The organizational development of women's competitive sport in Canada in the 1920's.

Sheila Louise Mitchell

University of Windsor

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NAME OF AUTHOR/NOM DE L'AUTEUR: Sheila Louise Mitchell

TITLE OF THESIS/TITRE DE LA THÈSE: The organizational development of women's competitive Sport in Canada in the 1920's.

UNIVERSITY/UNIVERSITÉ: University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/GRADÉ POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE: M.A.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE DÉGREN: 1977

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE: Dr. Alan Metcalfe

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE
THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S
COMPETITIVE SPORT IN CANADA IN THE 1920's

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Faculty of Human Kinetics
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Human Kinetics
at The University of Windsor

by

Sheila Louise Mitchell

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1976
THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF
WOMEN'S COMPETITIVE SPORT IN THE 1920's

by

Sheila L. Mitchell

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[Signatures]
ABSTRACT

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S COMPETITIVE SPORT IN CANADA IN THE 1920's

by

Sheila Louise Mitchell

The University of Windsor, 1976

This study employs an adaptation of R.J. Moriarty's model for the analysis of the development of sport organizations in order to write a history of women's athletics within the Canadian Ladies Golf Union and the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Union from 1919 to 1932. The purpose of the study is threefold in that it serves firstly as a means of gaining further insight into the nature of women's sport in Canada during the decade of the twenties. Secondly, by drawing inferences regarding the nature of women's sport, the study ultimately clarifies the interrelationship between developments of women within the sphere of sport and those in the larger societal milieu. Lastly, the study makes inferences regarding organized sport in Canada.

The body of the thesis encompasses a history of the growth of the CLGU and the WIAU on the basis of competitive and administrative developments and leadership influences within the organization. A comparison between the two organizations which presents their major similarities and difference serves to clarify the position occupied by women's organized sport in the twenties. The conclusion of the study focuses on the major areas of concern and justifies the topic as an innovative means of analyzing Canadian social history.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of the former members of the Canadian Ladies Golf Union and The Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Basketball League whose first hand accounts of the situation aided in an understanding of women's organized athletics as it truly was in the 1920's.
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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

The interwar predepression period of the 1920's has been described as a decade of prosperity which witnessed significant changes in the social development of Canadians.\(^1\) One prime feature of this development pertained to the advances incurred by the middle and upper-middle stratas of women in terms of their social and economic status.\(^2\) It has been suggested that the advances achieved in these dimensions were paralleled by the changing role of women in the field of athletics to such a degree that the decade of the twenties has been entitled the golden age of women's sport in Canada.\(^3\)

An acknowledgement of the premise that sport represents an integral part of society leads to the assumption that sport, in the twenties, was both a product and a process of the changing role of women in society.\(^4\) An assumption of this nature which underlies the thesis, is based on the realization that social values may place restrictions on what women may do but actions which women take in turn influence the social concepts of proper behaviour.\(^5\)

The function of the thesis, therefore, is to examine one aspect contained with the broader sphere of sport and

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\(^1\) See, for example, E. C. H. Tuckman, The History of Women in Canada (Toronto, 1968).

\(^2\) For an overview of the social and economic changes of the period, see E. L. Greenberg, Social Change in Canada (Toronto, 1967).

\(^3\) For the golden age, see V. M. A. Winkler, The Golden Age of Women's Sport in Canada (Toronto, 1920).

\(^4\) See, for example, H. J. M. C. Bell, The Impact of Sport on Society (Toronto, 1970).

\(^5\) See, for example, J. E. R. G. Smith, The Role of Sport in Society (Toronto, 1971).
thus focuses on the development of women's competitive sport at an organized level. The main purpose of the study is to gain further insight into the nature of women's sport in Canada during the decade of the twenties. By drawing inferences regarding the nature of women's sport, the study achieves two secondary purposes in that it ultimately attempts to establish the interrelationship between development of women within the sphere of sport and those within the larger societal milieu. Finally, the study relates specifically to the central focus of the organizational development of competition by providing some insight into trends which developed in women's organized sport in Canada post 1932.

DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM

In order to clarify the problem, it is necessary to establish at this juncture the centrality of the development of organized competition in addition to providing a rationale for analyzing development from this particular perspective. An elucidation of the problem on a definitional level forms an introduction to a discussion of the focus of the thesis. For the purpose of this study, competitive sport refers to organized contests scheduled between individuals or teams.
on an interclub basis. "Athletics", derived from the Greek word "agon"—meaning contest, is used interchangeably with the term "competitive sport" thus evolving a general definition which encompasses the entire continuum between sport and athletics as defined by Metcalfe. All references to competition at an organizational level simply refer to a unified group of women who were committed to the development of athletics.

From a practical perspective a focus on the topic as it has been defined, is warranted. Current justifications for terming the 1920's as a vital period in women's sport are dependent largely upon references to the success of individual athletes and records of general participation of women in sport whilst scant attention has been paid specifically to the development of organized sport. As this particular aspect of sport entails a high intensity of involvement resulting from the participants' degree of commitment to sport, it signifies a viable means of analyzing the totality of the nature of sport. Competitive development on a theoretical basis then, most certainly forms a central feature within the sphere of women's sport.

In order to fully establish a rationale for the study, it is necessary to recognize that the growth of
women's athletic organizations actually affected the development of sport. The above contention is supported by Lappage\textsuperscript{10} who in an account of the growth of sport during this period stated that one of the most significant progressive steps made by women in the realm of sport was at the organizational level. The growth of organized sport then, appeared as a prime determinant in the development of women's sport. To further support this contention, Moriarty\textsuperscript{11} by defining several organizational structures which have varying effects on competitive sport, confirmed the existence of the interrelationship between organizations and the growth of sport itself. The focus on organizations per se, has one further highly relevant distinction in that the developments which occur within them have direct implications regarding women's position in society. Boag\textsuperscript{12} commented on the increasing role of women's organizations in the early twentieth century and advocated a detailed breakdown of their composition as a means of better understanding their importance in society. Therefore, by analyzing the development of women's organized competition, the study provides a direct means of looking at women in society.

A final clarification of the focus of the study pertains to its centrality in terms of temporal delimitations.
The period is often described in societal terms as a transition from the World War I era to a situation of severe economic collapse and social depression which characterized the 1930's. The impetus given to sporting organizations by the return to normality in the twenties correspond with the tremendous growth in women's athletics. The natural result of this growth which was due in part to the advent of urbanization was the great need to establish sport governing bodies for women. Such a climatic rise of women's sport was apparently a phenomena which was limited to one decade. In support of this contention, Wise, in a newspaper survey of the depression years noted a decrease in the amount of coverage of women's sport. An indication of this type provides a rationalization for confining the study to the "golden age" of the twenties.

As a means of spatially delimiting the focus of the problem, the study involves only those women's organizations which were a product of the renewed growth of organized sport and which existed primarily for the purpose of governing women's sport at a national or interprovincial level. The sample in this case is restricted to the Canadian Ladies Golf Union, a national organization which was reorganized in 1919, and the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Union of
Ontario and Quebec, the basis of which was founded in 1921. The 1920's constituted the initial period of growth of the two organizations at which time the first policies and procedures were set out for the development of women's sport on a national basis. If one accepts the final underlying assumption of the thesis which maintains that the principles established during the period of the twenties had ramifications regarding future trends in organized sport then the purpose of the study with reference to its central focus is well justified.

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

The methodology for analyzing the development of competition within the Canadian Ladies Golf Union and the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Union employs an adaptation of Moriarty's model for the analysis of the development of sport organizations. The model comprises several dimensions which form the basis of the analysis. Firstly, the nomothetic dimension which represents the organizational aspects of the association incorporates and discusses such things as the organizational task or goals, the structure of the administrative body, and the actual control or scope of authority within the organization. The idiographic or
personal dimension pertains to the individual and or groups which make up the organization and it examines their personal behaviour and attitudes. The model presents both the organizational and personal dimensions in order that major causes of conflict or problems resulting from the growth and development are included.

Chapters II and III apply this research model in a history of the development of women's athletics within the Canadian Ladies Golf Union and the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Union respectively. The analysis is divided into a discussion of the competitive and administrative development and the leadership influence within the organization. In totality, it comprises an account of the individuals, events, and resultant trends which combined to determine the nature of women's competitive golf and intercollegiate athletics during the twenties.

The competitive aspect of the discussion consists of a description of the events pertaining to the growth of competition and identifies the nature of competition through a description of the competitors and their attitudes to competition. The administrative section encompasses a description of the growth of the organization in terms of its administrative structure, a determination of the policies
established by the administrative body and an identification of the associated organizations which affected the organization. In essence, this section deals with task, structure, and control within the organization, a major dimension of Moriarty's model. The third component of the analysis deals with the influence of the leaders of the organization on its development. Since individuals comprise the basis of an organization, it is their decisions and attitudes which ultimately determine the trends of the administrative and consequently competitive development within the organization. In sum, a discussion of the issues which relate to the development of competition provide a cursory description of the growth of sport while the administrative and leadership discussions complete the analysis of the development of competition with the Canadian Ladies Golf Union and the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Union.

Chapter IV provides a comparison of the two organizations as a means of clarifying the position occupied by women's organized sport in the period of the twenties. By focusing on the similarities and differences perceived between the two organizations, their commonalities indicate the features which characterized organized sport while the
differences highlight those specific components necessary for successful growth of competition for women during the period.

The conclusion is contained in Chapter V which provides inferences regarding the relation of organized athletics to the totality of women's sport in the 1920's and to the larger societal milieu. It suggests trends which were to influence further growth in women's organized sport and finally evaluates the research approach as a means of examining the organizational development of competition.
FOOTNOTES


12 V. Strong-Boag, op. cit.

13 W.L. Morton, op. cit.


15 S.F. Wise, personal interview, October, 1975, Ottawa.

16 Minutes of the CLGU, 1919; Minutes of the CWIBL, 1921.


18 R.J. Moriarty, "The Organizational History of the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union Central, 1906-1955", unpublished Ph.D dissertation: Ohio State University, 1971, pp. 5-13. Moriarty's model was adapted from the approaches of three theorists; the model of R.M. Stogdill, the molecular time series analysis of S.W. Halpin, and the theory of organizational growth and development of Daniel Katz and Robert Kahn. Within this model, it is specifically Stogdill's molar research model which comprises the basis for analysis.
Chapter II

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPETITION IN THE CANADIAN LADIES GOLF UNION, 1919-1932

INTRODUCTION

The function of this chapter is to provide an account of the growth of women's competition in the initial period of development of the CLGU. In order to establish a point of reference from which to commence discussion, a brief account of the actual founding of the Union and its basic structure in terms of stated objectives, size, and membership, comprises the first segment of the chapter. The remainder of the chapter is divided into a discussion of the development of the competitive and administrative structures of the organization and the influence of leaders on the organization. In totality, the discussion comprises an account of the individuals, events, and resultant trends which combined to determine the nature of women's golf competition in the twenties.

FOUNDING OF THE CANADIAN LADIES GOLF UNION

At the time of its inception in 1919, women's organized golf had a firm foundation from which to establish itself since the CLGU had originally been founded by a group
of women golfers who had organized themselves on the occasion of the Canadian women's open golf championships in 1913. The new organization was thriving with a membership of thirty-seven affiliated clubs when it was forced to disband in 1915 due to the advent of World War I. The post war reorganization of the golf union in the twenties with thirteen affiliated clubs, marked the beginning of a virtually uninterrupted period of development. At this time a primary impetus to the development of the young organization was achieved by means of the CLGW's colonial affiliation with the Ladies Golf Union of Great Britain and by its connection with the men's Royal Canadian Golf Association which continued to sponsor the ladies annual tournament as it had done since 1901.3

The purpose underlying the founding of the organization and therefore the raison d'être for its existence was clearly outlined in the stated objectives of the CLGU constitution. The organization committed itself to:

*The Ladies Golf Union of Great Britain is hereafter referred to as the LGU.

*The Royal Canadian Golf Association is hereafter referred to as the RCGA.
Promote the interests of the game of golf
To obtain a uniformity of rules of the game
by establishing a representative legislative authority
To establish a uniform system of handicapping
To act as a tribunal and court of reference on points of uncertainty
To arrange the annual championship competition
and obtain funds necessary for that purpose

In general terms, the organization was founded in order to guide the standardized development of women's amateur golf competition across the country. The specific aspects of these objectives with respect to the manner with which they were carried out and the degree to which they were actualized, are dealt with in a discussion of the competitive and administrative development of the organization.

A profile of the social nature of the organization revealed that membership from the outset was exclusive to women who belonged to private golf clubs in the country. The implications of such a membership criteria is clarified by means of a description of the competitors and the nature of the competition they engaged in throughout the decade of the twenties.
COMPETITIVE DEVELOPMENT

A description of the growth of competition within the organization serves to determine what in effect the CLGU achieved in terms of the development of competitive opportunity for women golfers in the 1920's and more explicitly, whom this growth affected. With reference to the stated objectives of the organization, one particular theme appears throughout the discussion and serves the purpose of characterizing the development of competition in the CLGU. In all facets of its development, the promotion of women's golf competition was indeed a major aim of the CLGU. The prime illustration of this theme in terms of the actual competition which took place is revealed in a description of the competitive schedule of the CLGU.

The climax of the women's competitive golf season in Canada was the annual championship which until 1919, had been closed to Canadian competitors. A Union decision of 1919 altered the format of the annual championship to an open competition which permitted the entry of British and American players. The entry of foreign competition increased the competitive element of the annual tournament because these women were able to play year round in a wider competitive
field and were consequently far more skilled in tournament play than Canadian women. The championship of 1921 enabled a larger field of Canadian golfers to compete at a national level because the structure of the national tournament which resulted, included the closed championship followed by the open for a duration of two weeks of continuous competition. The rationale for holding two championships lay in the differentiation in the calibre of skill required by the entrants. A player's skill was determined by her handicap which was measured by analyzing the individual's golf scores under standardized conditions. In the open championship, only women who met a particular handicap qualification were eligible, thereby restricting the field to a manageable number of the top competitors. Virtually all competitors could meet the requirements of the closed championships, a move which was described by a former competitor as a tremendous incentive for women of all abilities to experience golf competition.

The type of competition which dominated the championships during the twenties was referred to as match play. After a qualifying round was held to determine the top thirty-two players, match play which consisted of competition between two players in a game for the best score, was held
until a winner emerged. Match play was preferred over medal play, which was a type of competition in which a golfer competed individually striving to maintain the best score possible in order to compete with the entire field of golfers. This propensity for match play characterized the predominant attitude of Canadian women golfers towards athletics in the 1920's. The spirit of sportsmanship was embodied in match play; one on one confrontation between players in a manner that was enjoyable yet maintained the element of a sport contest. When engaged in match play one could lose a hole but rally in another round to win, whereas in medal play there was more strain on the individual as it forced the golfer to remain consistent throughout the tournament. During the twenties, match play, because it characterized the sporting ideal of amateurism, was considered for amateurs whilst medal play was reserved for professional players. In conjunction with the immense increase in competitive golf, match play was eventually phased out as a matter of course because the one on one competition was very lengthy and no golf course was willing to relinquish their course for a tournament of that length.

The attitudes of the players themselves clearly
emphasized the existence of the amateur concept of "the game for the game's sake". In many cases the women played hard, focused on winning but were motivated by the enjoyment and fun of the game. Rarely did competition dominate the players' life. Evidently golfing competition encompassed a number of values associated with sport participation, an illustration of which, was the important focus given to the social aspect of competition. The annual championship remained from its inception the highlight of the golf season and although based on competition, was in essence a two week gala affair interspersed with dinner parties and outings and climaxed by a formal banquet held at the host golf club. The players themselves had the choice to either pursue their competitive inclinations seriously or to attend primarily for the social life which was an integral part of the championships.

An examination of the precise nature of the competition that occurred at the national championships served one other function by defining the type of woman who actually participated in tournaments and engaged in competitive golf. The determination of the social background of these women provide a significant means of gaining further insights into the type of competitive development which was taking place in
in the CLGU. The nature of the competition at the annual championship was such that the only women who were able to compete in the annual tournaments were those who could afford the time and expense of travelling to, and remaining at, the site of the tournament for two to three weeks. In addition to the expense of tournament competition a certain degree of wealth was a prerequisite for merely playing the game. Golf itself was a relatively costly enterprise which involved an expensive fee for membership to the private clubs. Once the initial expense of joining a club was met though, money was not necessarily a restrictive criteria. It appeared that the golfing world was composed of a rather intimate group of women who assisted one another in financing trips and by billeting out of town competitors. An example of the kind of fraternity that existed was illustrated by the host clubs who allowed the competitors to write their expenses on their own club accounts thereby defraying expenses incurred at the annual championship.

In addition to the criteria of a certain degree of wealth and inclusion into the circle of golfing competitors, the time factor was an important consideration which excluded many women. Few working women could afford the time involved
In following major tournaments whilst retaining their amateur standing. The implications of this criteria were revealed by a former competitor who described the social situation of the golfers.

In those days one had plenty of time to play, there was nothing else to do. Even after marriage one had a nurse and a cook so we were much freer to play golf. 19

A consideration of the backgrounds of the competitors based on three criteria for the determination of social stratification, wealth, time, and inclusion into a select group suggest that these women indeed belonged to the upper-middle strata of Canadian society. 20 The admittance of a former competitor that the golfing circle was a "closed field" including members of a "certain strata" support the author's conclusions that competitive golf for women in the twenties was an exclusive system catering to women who met a minimum criteria of both social and economic acceptance within Canadian society. 21

As a consequence of their inclusion into this particular strata of society, the golfers were free from the restrictions of the average housewife and working women*

*It was apparent that some players did in fact have careers but they were also able to arrange time to play at tournaments.
thus enabling them to devote their energies to playing and practising golf. The extent to which the competitors practised, and the abilities they acquired, formed an integral part of the nature of competition. During the competitive season, most women played a daily eighteen or thirty-six holes of golf. Therefore, although strictly adhering to the amateur code, the majority of women spent as much time as professionals in playing the game. Perfection of their game was generally taught by club professionals but beyond this, the women simply played regularly to retain their form. Some women were the exception to the rule and in training regularly were able to distinguish themselves from the rest of the field.

As a result of their attitude towards training and the effects of Canadian climate, Canadian women, in terms of their comparative ability to other countries, were in a neophyte stage of development. One or two competitors were at the top of the field and had the ability to compete internationally but the remainder of the competitors were far below this level of skill. Despite the predominate approach to training, the golfers maintained a favourable attitude towards stiff competition and were desirous of competition with the more experienced American players as a
means of improving their skill. The report in the CLGU yearbook of 1922 served to summarize the prevailing attitude of the competitors.

Foreign competition added much to the keen interest and excitement of the week. In spite of nerves and the fact that our Canadian players were up against exceedingly hard opposition, they showed the most wonderful sporting spirit and acquitted themselves well.

Clearly, the central features of competition as expressed by the players' approach to training and their attitudes towards competition, was the perpetuation of the idea of sportsmanship. Competition most certainly was promoted, but it was regarded in terms of the many values of sport which were inherent within its framework.

The national championships on which the discussion has focused thus far, were only the climax of a series of tournaments held under the auspices of the CLGU. Players could compete at varying levels of competition including local, district, provincial and national meets, the range of which was indicative of the expansion of competitive opportunity established by the CLGU. Therefore, in conjunction with the promotion and organization of competition at the national level, several provinces held annual championships, and each district organized an annual affair. Local
level tournaments were instituted in Quebec with a series of field days (one day tournaments) in hopes of "increasing interest in, and improving standards of golf in the provinces". Eventually, a fifth level of competition was pursued by the CLGU in the area of international competition. In 1928 the president and secretary of the Union met with representatives from the women's golf associations in the United States to discuss holding an international cup team match. The proposed matches were to include Great Britain, France, Canada and the United States but initially, the United States invited Canada to compete in the first international women's team match on a dual basis. An international team fund was proposed to finance the expenses of the match and this offer the CLGU accepted. A match was eventually played in 1930 but due to financial reasons, the Union was unable to enter into the international Curtis Cup competition. The effect of the proposed international matches on Canadian golfers was expressed in the Canadian Golfer.

Triangular matches are proposed between Great Britain, France, and the U.S.A. If these matches are inaugurated and it would appear they will be, Canadian Ladies Golf will benefit indirectly from competition when France and Great Britain come to the U.S.A. Such international matches will be colourful interesting and educative.
It was not lack of interest which prevented the CLGU from entering international competition but rather, it presented too large an undertaking for a young organization which had not yet established a means of funding for national team ventures.

As golfing competition became established in Canada at all levels by the increase in numbers of competitors, certain programs were implemented by the CLGU to improve players' skills. At the national level, the CLGU, in an effort to encourage a higher standard of golf and in response to the improved calibre of play, raised the criteria for limiting handicaps. The required handicap for the closed competition was lowered from its original thirty-six to thirty in 1927 and again to twenty-five in 1930. Similarly, the open handicap was lowered from eighteen to sixteen in 1927 and to fourteen in 1930. The effects of this phenomena were expressed by the Union president.

A comparison of the entries in the championships of 1929 and 1930 with a lower handicap in 1931 proved to some extent that the standard of golf among our players is steadily and slowly improving.
In conjunction with the CLGU's scheme to lower handicap requirements, a program was implemented in 1925 to encourage junior players to improve. The program allowed all juniors to enter the national championships free from the handicap requirements which applied to all other competitors. The objective of the program was to provide young members with an opportunity to gain playing experience against seasoned competitors.

The improvement of the skill level of the competitors was paralleled by the growing regional representation at the national tournament, the result of which evidenced an increase in the significance of the championships. The championship of 1927 which was held for the first time in Western Canada also marked the first time that all provinces were represented in the tournament. The president's address to the Union in 1929 was a prime illustration of the growing importance of the annual championships. It read:

Last year in Toronto we had the most successful championships in our experience. The Open as a field was almost unique as indicated in an article written by one of the best American golf critics that it equalled if not out-stripped the American national. Our Canadian Open has become a very important event in the golfing world.
The increasing significance of the annual championships as the major event of the year, was indicative of the growth of virtually all aspects of competitive golf which were controlled by the CLGU. This growth was interrupted to some extent by the advent of the depression. The CLGU which relied on funding to survive was forced to cancel the closed championship in 1932 as the "severity of the present economical conditions prevented two championships from being held". To compensate for having only one championship, the handicap in the Open was raised from fourteen to twenty, thereby permitting lesser skilled players to enter. The depression also forced the cancellation of the international team match competition which had been started successfully with the United States. In view of the situation, the Union decided that it would be too difficult to arrange a Canadian team that was national enough in character because of the expense involved in transporting players from the West. As a result of the CLGU's reliance on funding for its existence, the advent of the depression signified a temporary curtailment of its initial period of competitive growth. Attainment of systematic funding would facilitate further expansion in competitive golf after national economic recovery.
Prior to the depression of 1932, the CLGU had undergone a decade of growth from which certain general observations regarding women's competitive golf in the 1920's became apparent. Clearly, the prime factor in the CLGU's promotion of competitive golf was encouragement of the sportsmanship ideal which was illustrated by the competitor's emphasis on the multitude of values inherent in sport. In particular, the social element of the tournaments played a major role in competition but existed concommitantly with the women's preference for stiff foreign competition and the very lengthy duration of play in tournaments. Indeed the length of the tournament had been further augmented in 1923 increasing the number of holes in the finals from eighteen to thirty-six. The programs which were a product of the association's working objectives resulted in a steady increase in the number of competitors and an improvement of their abilities. Another prevalent feature of women's competitive golf was the social background of the competitors. Because competition was designed in such a manner that it was restricted to women from the upper-middle socio-economic groups of society, it was apparent that organized golf competition in the 1920's directly affected only a small portion of the population.
ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

The development of competition for women golfers was intimately related to the development which occurred at the administrative level of the organization. As the actualization of the stated objectives of the CLGU were dependent upon the functioning and growth of certain aspects of the administrative structure of the organization. Therefore, an analysis of the degree to which the CLGU succeeded in establishing itself as a national body provides a means of measuring the development of competitive opportunity for women golfers in the 1920's.

The most basic element of the organization's profile was its administrative structure, a description of which provides a logical point from which to commence an analysis of the growth of the CLGU. The first design of the CLGU's structure illustrated in figure 1, was formulated at the reorganizational meeting of 1919. At this time the administrative body comprised an executive of the national president, secretary treasurer, four member Pars Committee and an executive committee of six members from the Toronto area as well as four members who represented the Pacific, Western, Middle and Eastern divisions of the Union. In 1921, representation on the executive was increased by the addition of a vice president from each provincial body affiliated with the Union and of seven new members to the local executive.
FIGURE 1
THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE
CLGU 1919

FIGURE 2
THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF
THE CLGU 1921
This structure is illustrated in figure 2. In both years, general membership in the administrative structure included one voting delegate for each club which was affiliated with the CLGU.

Although the club structure was based on a democratic process, it was the executive, and not the voting delegates who comprised the decision making body. The function of the executive, whose powers as stated in the constitution entitled it to management of all affairs of the union, included a responsibility for the development of both technical and administrative concerns. The technical concerns initially fell to the Pars committee which was responsible for the standardization of course pars, thus enabling women to establish handicaps which were regulated across the country. The administrative concern regarding the actual expansion of the Union and funding for tournaments was the responsibility of the executive committee.

In response to the expanding duties of the executive, its structure was strengthened to meet the demands placed upon it. Therefore in 1925, the President proposed the establishment of a new executive, whose structure as illustrated in figure 3, allowed for increased provincial representation supplemented by a local committee in Toronto to carry
FIGURE 3

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE

CLGU 1927

FIGURE 4

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE

CLGU 1932
on the routine affairs of the Union. Prior to the establishment of the standing committee in Toronto, routine meetings of the executive had rarely included executive members from distant regions due to the difficulties and expenses of travelling. The new system provided for national representation at the annual meeting of the organization whilst daily affairs were administered by the Toronto committee.

The growth of the executive powers on a technical basis in 1925 occurred within the Pars committee, a committee whose function was specific to the sport of golf and considered a necessity for the functioning of a standardized form of the game. The revised structure of the committee in 1925 included a chairman and representatives from various areas in the country who were given the task of organizing a schedule for paring all courses in the country according to a scale which was adopted to the varying climatic conditions across Canada. The pars system was rendered flexible enough to enable each province to form its own scale for paring golf courses, and achieved the function of standardizing the measurement system which was the basis for the determination of player handicaps. The ultimate outcome of this action was a stimulus for the increased skill level
of the competitors.

On a technical level, the work of the Pars committee was assisted by the Handicap committee which was inaugurated in 1925. The committee formed a network from the national to the local level with a national handicap manager heading the national committee of four persons whose responsibilities were to travel to all districts within the organization and demonstrate the handicap system to new clubs. On a local level, each club had a handicap manager who encouraged the submission of golf scores to enable them to compute player handicaps. The purpose of the handicap committee was to develop a system to incite women to strive for improved skill in golf, which again directly facilitated the development of competition within the organization.

The structure and functions of the executive body as illustrated in figure 4, were altered only slightly after 1925 to include the appointment of a first vice president in 1930 who was to assume control of the organization in the absence of the president. These changes which had occurred specifically between 1919 and 1925 were partially the result of certain influences which acted upon the organization. The major influences were manifested in the form of relationships that the CLGU maintained with two associated organizations,
the RCGA and the LGU.

At the time of its reorganization in 1919, the CLGU was reliant upon the men's RCGA for the organization of its national tournament and the financial assistance connected with the tournament organization. An illustration of the nature of the CLGU's reliance upon the RCGA occurred when an appeal was made to the RCGA at the annual meeting of 1920 requesting the establishment of a closed tournament in addition to the open championship. The suggestion was rejected by the RCGA who expressed the opinion that the CLGU was as yet not thoroughly organized to take over management of the tournament much less incurring the expense of an additional tournament. The RCGA again demonstrated their influence when in 1920 they requested the formation of a joint men's and women's committee to discuss the introduction of a women's handicap system that was to be instituted at all clubs affiliated with the CLGU. In 1922 a rule was issued by the RCGA which required that the CLGU must submit new decisions concerning constitutional changes and changes in handicap rulings to the male body for their approval. This rule indicated that the women's organization was not at liberty to develop without the consent of the RCGA. In addition to the overt control exercised by the men, they were often
consulted in an advisory capacity by the CLGU who respected their experience. For example, the RCGA was consulted on the matter of charging admission to the championships because of their previous experience in this regard. Similarly, the CLGU's decision to form a national fund to pay the expenses of team competition in the championships was made after conferring with the men in 1927.51

The relationship between the two groups appeared to be one that was mutually cooperative, and was based on the women's acceptance that they were playing golf out of clubs which were controlled by men*. Therefore, behind the scenes, cooperation with the men was essential for the development of women's golf. The two organizations were not officially affiliated but as it was the men who determined local course rules, the CLGU was obligated to work closely with them. One player explained that whenever the Ottawa district of the CLGU staged a tournament at the Royal Ottawa Golf Club which she described as a traditional male domain, the women required their cooperation before being allowed to play.52 The degree to which the RCGA influenced the CLGU was not

*During the 1920's only one golf club was founded which was run specifically by women. This was the Toronto Ladies Golf Club founded by Ada MacKenzie.
completely acceptable to the women and as the executive structure was strengthened, the women became anxious to control their own affairs. Evidently the influence exerted by the RCGA was regarded as a temporary measure by the women's organization, therefore the success of the Union's campaign to gain control of the Ladies Open Championship from the RCGA was considered the outstanding event of 1924.53 The president's description of this major concession on the part of the RCGA served to further illustrate the cooperative nature of the relationship between the two organizations. "This gracious act on the part of the RCGA has cemented the ever growing good will between the two associations".54 Apart from the cooperation with the RCGA which was incited by necessity, it was apparent that the two groups were joined in their mutual interest for the development of the game of golf from the club level to international competition. This cooperation was prompted by the fact that golfing in the 1920's was a social sport and golf club members both male and female hailed from the same social groups within Canadian society.55 These relationships were often strengthened by marriage and familial ties thereby cementing the connection between the two organizations.56

Whilst the development of the CLGU in Canada was
affected by the RCGA with regard to matters which mutually concerned the two organizations, such as course privileges for tournaments and the right to expand to other areas in the country, the development of the women's game itself in Canada was affected by the CLGU's relationship with the Ladies Golf Union of Great Britain, the founding body of ladies competitive golf. In 1919 the CLGU was established as a colonial affiliate of the LGU, a situation which gave the LGU the right to legislate rules regarding technical aspects of the game such as course rules, parming, and player handicapping. Concern over the authority exerted by the LGU was expressed by the president at the first annual meeting of the Union.

It is not the intention of the executive to do anything unconstitutional but rather to have rules interpreted in light of Canadian conditions. The intention to establish golf competition suitable to the specific environment of the country stemmed from a realization that the climatic differences between Great Britain and Canada would directly affect the results of handicaps and pars which would in turn influence the determination of the players' skill level. A resolution was soon drawn up in 1920 in which the executive expressed concern over the
detrimental affects of the rules and regulation submitted by the LGU. It proposed the drafting of a new constitution for colonial organizations which was applicable to Canada. The LGU responded to the appeal and a new constitution of the CLGU was ratified in 1921 which provided for the development of a parring system which suited Canadian conditions. Although the granting of a new constitution represented a significant step in gaining control of its own affairs, the CLGU continued to be influenced by the LGU in certain aspects of its development. The most notable evidence of this influence was the fact that in 1930, handicap regulations were still being issued by the older organization, thus confirming the LGU's continued status as a decision making body. With the progressive growth of the CLGU during the decade, fewer instances of this type of control occurred, and the LGU acted primarily in a referral capacity providing consultation for the CLGU on matters of uncertainty regarding game rules. The outcome of the CLGU's growing acquisition of control over its own affairs was the development of a strong and dedicated central authority designed to carry out the increasing range of tasks which confronted the organization. Two factors contributed to the development of this strong executive which emerged during the CLGU's first period.
of development. They were evidenced by the consistency of the executive membership and its centralization in the Toronto area throughout the twenties. The stability of the executive was illustrated by the fact that in its initial period of development, the CLGU was guided by virtually the same nucleus of women. Ella Murray, who served as president of the Union for its first nine years was a prime example of this situation. Her service record was paralleled by Kathleen Rowe, who remained on the executive in various capacities from 1919 until 1928 at which time she became secretary of the Union. Similarly, Ada MacKenzie was instrumental in the technical development of the game through her work on the local executive committee and later the Pars committee. The ultimate effect of having a very closely knit unit guiding the affairs of the Union was the maintenance of a consistent and well planned program for the early development of women's competitive golf which was indeed one of the factors which contributed to the growth of the Union during this particular period.

The strength of the CLGU executive was further facilitated by its centralization in the Toronto area, an occurrence which was a result of the concentration of golfers in the province of Ontario, specifically Toronto.
The proportion of affiliated clubs from Ontario in 1922 as illustrated in Table 1, was fifty-two per cent and dropped only to forty-two per cent by 1929. Consequently, the president and local executive committee remained rooted in Toronto throughout the first decade thus aiding in the achievement of a stable authority, which was able to meet often to discuss union affairs.

As the CLGU executive emerged as a strong central authority it became committed to the realization of a national organization for the governing of women's golf. The conviction with which this ideal was maintained was expressed by the president of the Union in the following address:

Our ideal is to make this organization a truly national one. I firmly believe that if this ideal should be lost, the end of our organization shall be in sight. 64

It was the actualization of this ideal which formed the basis of a number of programs which were designed by the executive body. The immediate task which confronted the executive in this regard was the expansion of the organization to include branches of the CLGU in each province. Again, the president in an address to the members reiterated the attitude of the executive.
TABLE I
GOLF CLUBS AFFILIATED WITH THE CLGU 1922 - 1931

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<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>B.C.</th>
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<th>Man</th>
<th>Ont</th>
<th>P.Q.</th>
<th>N.B.</th>
<th>N.S.</th>
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*Yearbooks with reference to these years were misplaced.
It is only by having a big outlook that we are going to succeed as a national organization. Our interest must be as great in the Western provinces and Maritimes as it is in Ontario and Quebec. 65

The executive began to fulfill its program by assisting in the establishment of the first provincial body in Quebec in 1921. 66 The establishment of branches in the East and West were the result of promotional tours undertaken by the CLGU executive, the first of which occurred in 1925 when Ella Murray, the Executive President led a delegation of four CLGU members to the Maritimes with the purpose of encouraging the clubs in the area to join the central body and unite to form their own district branches. 67 The success of the tour prompted its sequel to the Western provinces in 1927. This tour, which culminated in the admittance of several Alberta clubs, was recognized by the Union as the major event of the year. 68 The eventual success of the Union's drive for national expansion through the development of branch offices was climaxed in the twenties with the formation of branch offices in virtually all provinces. This development is illustrated in Table 2 and figure 5.
Table 2

Formation of Provincial Branches of the CLGU

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Year</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Ontario*</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1922</td>
<td>Alberta</td>
<td>1928</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1925</td>
<td>B.C.</td>
<td>1933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saskatchewan</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Ontario until this date had been run by the National Office due to the concentration of National Officers from the province.

The realization of the national policy of the CLGU was dependent upon its two aspects of administrative expansion therefore in conjunction with the administrative focus on the formation of Branch offices, the technical development of the game received due attention. Within this sphere, the Pars committee began its work in 1920 by paring eight courses in Ontario and by 1927 had increased its output to meet the demands created by the new golf courses which were springing up across the country. Additional programs of the Pars committee involved the revision of rules specific to Canadian conditions which combined with their paring efforts, greatly aided the development of a higher standard of golf across the country. A similar goal was sought by the Handicap committee which succeeded in gaining permission from the LGU to adjust handicapping procedures which would
FIGURE 5
EXPANSION OF CLUBS AFFILIATED WITH THE CLGU
1919-1932

(affiliated clubs)

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account for the adversity of the Canadian climate, thereby "putting Canadian women on equal footing with the English players". 71

An illustration of the committees' approach to the achievement of a national policy was revealed in a statement of the Pars committee chairman regarding the branching of competition to the West.

The effect of holding our two championships in the West last year was to bring the Western clubs into closer affiliation with our organization. Our aspirations should be to cover the entire dominion of women's golf with the CLGU to see the Canadian championships in each of the Western provinces and Maritimes and thus secure a truly complete consolidation of the national policy of the CLGU. 72

The outcome of the efforts of the executive body which in a decade had succeeded in establishing itself on a truly national basis, was an indicator of the development of competitive opportunity for women's golf. The ultimate realization of the national policy of the CLGU although well established in the twenties, was by no means completed since the Union was confronted by a number of problems which inhibited the fulfillment of such a goal. A major deterrent in this regard resulted from the immense size of the country, a condition which prevented many delegates and executive members of outlying branches from attending meetings of the
CLGU in order to contribute their opinions. The lack of representatives from distant branches led to further difficulties regarding provincial rivalries. Ella Murray in 1928, commented on the problem.

Our distances are so great that it is difficult to overcome provincial prejudices. In Ontario we are as interested in the other branches as we are in our own. For obvious reasons the executive finds it difficult to make rules that apply to our country as a whole.

Throughout the twenties, then, the establishment and maintenance of an effective liaison with all branches of the organization as a result of its large span of control remained a difficulty to be dealt with by the executive body. One particular problem which confronted the executive occurred concomitantly with the problem presented by the size of the country. The actual difficulty of attending distant meetings of the executive was manifested in the difficulty of financing long trips. Money not only prevented member delegates from achieving the degree of unity sought by the executive, but became a central issue with regard to funding the organization's operation. The income of the CLGU through-

*Attendance at the meetings was inhibited by transportation because the rail service, although fully developed across the country was still a relatively slow and costly means of travel.
out its early years was derived from two sources. The major source of revenue was obtained from a modest subscription fee for new clubs who joined the Union as well as small annual fee for memberships. This fee structure remained unchanged from 1919 to 1932, therefore any increase in revenue for the organization in this regard resulted from a growth in membership. One may speculate that since the ultimate aim of the Union was to facilitate national growth by the admittance of new clubs into its ranks, that the fee scale was deliberately kept to a minimum by the executive as a means of encouraging growth. In order to substantiate revenue from the membership fees, one further source of income was extracted from entry fees for the open and closed tournament. The monies obtained from these entry fees were specifically for the administration of the championships.

In light of the rising expenses and growing membership within the CLGU, an analysis of the yearly financial balance of the organization indicated a slight though steady increase over the decade. The financial structure however, was not conducive to the founding of a team fund*

*The team fund permitted a field truly representative of Canada's best female golfers with the provision that payment of team expenses would not infringe amateur standings.
nor an administrative fund which were ideas which had been proposed to assist in sending provincial teams, composed of top players to the national championships and executive representatives to Union meetings. The outcome of such a situation necessitated that all women pay their expenses for tournaments and meepings, thereby excluding many women from active involvement at a national level. The availability of funds to run the organization appeared as a factor which affected the organization's achievement of autonomy and ultimately its growth. Autonomy for the CLGU was dependent upon its relationship with the RCGA as it was this body which originally provided the financial support for the national tournament and consequently exerted control over the CLGU. The vestiges of this control remained throughout the initial period of the CLGU's existence because a provision remained in the constitution for the RCGA to retain control over the finances of the CLGU. Once the CLGU was in a position to take control over the running of the open and closed tournament, the actual growth of the organization in terms of the amount of money spent on technical development, promotional tours, tournaments, and administrative development, which was in essence the realization of the national policy of the Union, was dependent upon the
financial situation of the organization. The CLGU's status as a voluntary non profit organization involved with amateur sport coupled with the immense territory to be covered by the organization were definite limitations to the expansion of the Union in the twenties. 78

In spite of the problems encountered by the CLGU, an assessment of its administrative development indicated that the organization did indeed strive for and succeed in actualizing its objectives which were designed to promote competitive opportunity for women golfers. These objectives were encompassed in the national policy of the CLGU which committed its executive to the attainment of national status for the Union. Realization of the Union's national policy was facilitated by the establishment of a strong central authority based in Ontario which was a product of the support lent to the CLGU by the older more established Ladies Golf Union of Great Britain, and the Royal Canadian Golf Association. Once on its feet, the CLGU determined that it should control its own affairs, and by the end of the twenties was virtually an autonomous organization which was guided in the realization of its national aim by a select group of women who were responsible for the organization's growth. The work of the executive in this regard was divided
into the technical concerns of the Pars and Handicap committees and the administrative work which was headed by the president. The outcome of their efforts determined the development of competition for Canadian lady golfers in the twenties.

**LEADER INFLUENCE**

The direction taken by the administrative body of the CLGU was dependent essentially upon the individual efforts of the members of the executive body. Therefore, an identification of the national officers, the specific decisions they initiated and their attitudes regarding the organization's growth, lend further insight into the nature of competitive women's golf in the 1920's. Specific identification of these leaders revealed two women in particular whose efforts in the area of administrative and technical developments respectively, became prime forces stimulating the direction and degree of the organization's growth.

From an administrative perspective, it was Ella Murray, President of the Union from 1919-1927 who was deemed chiefly responsible for the original building and expansion of the CLGU. Her contributions to the growth of the organization were manifested in numerous ways, the most sig-
nificant of which was her financial contributions to the Union. The revenue of the CLGU was very restricted, particularly in the first few years of the organization's existence, and it was during this period that Ella Murray defrayed expenses incurred by the Union, as well as travelling at her own expense on promotional trips for the CLGU. Her motivation for undertaking such a responsibility was clarified by accounts of former executive members who portrayed her as a highly influential woman whose personal ambition was to establish the CLGU as a national organization. She had many friends in the higher echelons of the golfing world and used her influence to generate memberships in the CLGU. It was apparent that Mrs. Murray exuded a special charm which she utilized in her dealings with the male executives of clubs whom she wished to incorporate into the CLGU. As one delegate on the Western trip put it, "she simply wound the men around her finger and came away from the Western provinces having achieved everything she set out to. In summary, it was apparent that Mrs. Murray's drive and devotion to the national ideal was a crucial factor which facilitated the development of an national organizational structure. In the opinion of her fellow executives, golf for women would have started slowly but with Ella Murray's
initiative, it achieved an organized state much sooner than would have been possible in her absence. Her intentions were well defined in the following address she gave to the Union.

I ask you this year to sit down and study our system, our rules, our ideals, and above all to have the vision of what the CLGU could mean to us all. Visualize a real union of women out for clean sport, and the very best of good will and friendship.

Although Mrs. Murray was in fact the most significant individual on the executive in terms of initiating administrative growth, her work was carried out primarily behind the scenes and was not widely recognized. On the other hand, much of the technical development of the sport was attributed to the efforts of the widely renowned Ada MacKenzie. She was recognized as the best female golfer in Canada during the twenties and used her influence as a competitor and long standing member of the executive to promote various facets of the sport. For example, in an effort to stimulate competition and improve the calibre of women's golf in Canada, Ada MacKenzie convinced American players to compete in the Canadian Open, thereby raising the standard of play against which Canadian women were required to compete. One particular program for which she was chiefly responsible, was the development of future competitive potential among junior golfers whose advancement ensured that the standard of
competition for Canadian women would increase beyond the level achieved during the twenties. According to a former player MacKenzie had the ability to spot potential players, and would then use her influence to invite them to the Toronto Golf Club and arrange a lesson with George Cummings, a well known golf professional. In summary, MacKenzie's fame as a successful golfer in international circuits made her a figure for emulation to all aspiring competitors and in this facet alone she did much to aid the development of competitive golf.

Although the development of the administrative and technical aspects of the organization were headed by Murray and MacKenzie, their efforts were supported by the core of executive officers who were mutually devoted to the Union's ideal.

The nature of the executive group as a whole, and the attitudes which they held toward competitive golf provide a further rationale for the direction that the organization took in its initial years of development. One primary feature of the executive body was that the majority were successful players whose names appeared on the lists of competitors in provincial and national tournaments. As players who were directly affected by the consequences of
their decisions, it was logical that all decisions made by the executive were in the best interests of the sport. Therefore, the attitudes they expressed towards competition were indicative of the type of decisions that they made and in a wider sense, were representative of the collective attitudes of the Union members. The general sentiment of the Union executive embraced the ideal of sportsmanship and fairplay, a concept previously introduced in a discussion of the players' attitudes. The maintenance of this ideal was characterized by a strict adherence to the rules of fair play in the game and was illustrated by a number of incidents which exemplified the executive's attitude.

In 1920, a special meeting of the executive was held in order to adopt a ruling that it was not fair to have at a championship an individual personally interested in a player, caddy for that person. To allow such an occurrence was a violation of the code of fair play and was therefore taken very seriously by the CLGU. The same issue was highlighted again in 1922 when a ruling to ensure that a player play only for one club during the season, was passed according to the executive, "in the best interests of the sport and to prevent a monopoly of team play by any group of players".
The maintenance of the code of fair play was an essential ingredient of good sportsmanship and as such was a prevalent concern of the executive. The essence of the concept of sportsmanship espoused by the organization's executive was expressed in the president's address to the Union in 1928.

I believe that the English spirit of sportsmanship represents the deepest spiritual value which can be read in the human struggle of existence. It is not the game which is so important but the spirit in which it is played and the character developed by playing it.91

Another integral feature of the concept of sportsmanship was the strive for excellence. Again, the president verbalized the executive's attitude in this regard.

The system and rules are all conducive to aiding the ardent and devoted golfer, and when thoroughly understood will interest those who simply play for shall we say, exercise.92

In conjunction with the attainment of excellence, the encouragement of improved standards for elite competitors by lowering their handicap comprised a major aim of the Union, and players were actively reminded to practice and compete on a routine basis.93 The executive's support for the development of excellence was illustrated by their continued advocation of two separate national championships. A major discussion evolved in 1930 over the feasibility of holding
two championships and was sparked by an argument introduced
by one member of the executive. She condemned the lengthy
championship tournament on the grounds that biologically,
women could not stand the strain of continuous play for three
weeks of the tournament. The executive unanimously vetoed
the proposal in favour of the double championship and their
opinion was expressed in the following summary of the issue.

Having a closed tournament entirely would be
thoroughly fatal to future development by
eliminating foreign entries. Our idea should
be that the Close Canadian Championships will
always have a much larger entry than the Open
which should aim at quality rather than
quantity, gradually reducing the handicap limit
so that only Canada’s best players will be
eligible.

A similar encouragement for the achievement of excellence
was expressed in the executive’s attitude toward the Junior
Development Program.

A most successful tournament for Juniors has
just taken place and will be of great assis-
tance to the making and development of lady
champions to be. We have arranged for a number
of exhibition matches. These matches will serve
to create a wider interest and have proved an
added stimulus to the younger players instilling
in them the ambition to emulate the play of our
leaders in Canadian golf.

The executive’s attitude towards amateur golf was
definitely favourable to the development of competition and
notably stressed three ingredients of the ideal of
sportsmanship; the adherence to the rules of play, maintenance of the spirit of friendship in competition, and a genuine desire to promote excellence within the sport. The spirit of fun and love for the sport remained the prime motivating factor which stimulated improvement in and development of the game of women's golf as promoted by the leaders of the organization.

CONCLUSION

The extent to which women's organized golf was able to develop on both a competitive and administrative basis was largely dependent upon the efforts of the leaders of the CLGU who were committed to the realization of a national organization for competitive golf. In fact, it is probable that the leaders of the CLGU were the prime forces behind the expansion of women's organized golf and without their initiative, the CLGU may not have achieved the degree of growth witnessed in the twenties. These leaders certainly did not undertake the task devoid of support, as they received invaluable assistance from both the men's RCGA and the LGU of Great Britain. The support of the established golf organizations combined with the initiative and devotion of the CLGU executive determined that the organization was able to
achieve national status, a truly unique occurrence in Canadian women's sport during the twenties.

A further analysis of the CLGU's development revealed certain other features which served to define the nature of competition characteristic of the organization. One such predominate feature was the association of the organization with women from the upper-middle social strata of the population. The expressed attitudes of these women revealed that they were strongly supportive of the ideal of sportsmanship and thus instituted this concept within their competitions. In essence, they strictly adhered to the amateur code whilst supporting the development of competitive opportunity for women.

The problems which arose to deter the development of the organization represented firstly a basic organizational difficulty with regard to financing a newly established non profit organization and secondly, an environmental problem which was manifested in the size of the organization's span of control across the country. The fact that the CLGU reached national status within its first decade of existence in spite of the problems it encountered, demonstrates that it did indeed create the opportunity for the development of competition for female golfers in the 1920's.
FOOTNOTES

1 Yearbook of the CLGU, 1920.

2 "The First Fifty Years", (pamphlet issued by the CLGU, Ottawa, Ontario, 1963).

3 Ibid.

4 Yearbook of the CLGU, 1920. These objectives constituted the formal or stated objectives of the organization. The actual guidelines which the union followed in its development were the working objectives and as such provide a more realistic means of evaluating the growth of competitive opportunity for women within the CLGU.

5 Constitution of the CLGU, 1921.

6 Minutes of the CLGU, September 8, 1921.

7 Ibid.

8 Statement by E. Mills, personal interview, Ottawa, November 6, 1975.

9 Yearbook of the CLGU, 1921.

10 Statement by M. McBain (Laird), personal interview, Toronto, October 20, 1975.

11 Statement by R. Stuart, personal interview, Toronto, October 20, 1975.

12 Statement by M. McBain, personal interview, October 20, 1975.

13 Statement by M. McDougald, personal interview, Toronto, October 21, 1975.

14 Statement by A. Fraser (Stirling), personal interview, Ottawa, October, 1975.
15 Statement by H. Holmes (Paget), personal interview, Toronto, October 21, 1975.


17 Statement by H. Holmes (Paget), personal interview, October 21, 1975.

18 Ibid.

19 Statement by M. McBain (Laird), personal interview, October 20, 1975. This statement did not refer to all competitors as some of the younger single women were gainfully employed.

20 Alan Metcalf, "Sport and Social Stratification in Toronto, Canada, 1860-1920", (paper presented at the meeting of the North American Society of Sport History, New Orleans, La., August 28, 1972). Metcalf's analysis of social stratification in various sporting clubs in the Toronto area indicated that golf club members were from the upper-middle stratas of Torontonian Society with members of two elite clubs, belonging to the upper strata. Inclusion to these elite clubs was not based entirely on economic status as often highly skilled golfers with a lower socio-economic status were accepted on the basis of their ability.

21 Statement by E. Mills, personal interview, November 6, 1975.

22 Statements by H. Holmes (Paget) and M. McBain (Laird), personal interview, October 20 and 21, 1975.

23 Statement by H. Holmes (Paget), personal interview, October 21, 1975.

24 Statement by M. McDougald (Smith), personal interview, October 21, 1975.

25 Statement by A. Fraser (Stirling), personal interview, October 2, 1975.
26 Statement by H. Holmes (Paget), personal interview, October 2, 1975.

27 Yearbook of the CLGU, 1922.

28 Minutes of the CLGU, September 24, 1927.

29 Ibid., April 3, 1928.

30 Ibid., September 19, 1928.


32 Minutes of the CLGU, September 3, 1927 and September 5, 1931. See Appendix A.

33 Minutes of the CLGU, September 5, 1931.

34 Minutes of the CLGU, April 12, 1925.

35 Minutes of the CLGU, September 3, 1927.

36 Yearbook of the CLGU, 1929.

37 Minutes of the CLGU, September 18, 1928.

38 Minutes of the CLGU, September 12, 1932.

39 G. Luschen, "Sociology of Sport and the Cross Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games", The Cross Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Luschen, (Champaign, Illinois: Stripes Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 6-13. Sport is defined as an institutionalized type of competitive, physical activity located on a continuum between play and work. Its many values are derived from the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards inherent within the concept.

40 Minutes of the CLGU, December 4, 1919
Constitution of the CLGU, 1921. Minutes of the CLGU, March 9, 1925.

The par of every course was fixed at the score which a lady champion could do under normal medal conditions, when playing at her best and allowing two puts for every green.

Minutes of the CLGU, May 20, 1925.

Ibid., February 10, 1929.

Ibid., April 4, 1928; see also Appendix B.

Yearbook of the CLGU, 1929.

Minutes of the CLGU, September 14, 1930.

Ibid., October 6, 1920.

Ibid.

Ibid., April 23, 1922.

Ibid., September 3, 1927.

Statement by E. Mills, personal interview, November 6, 1975.

Minutes of the CLGU, September 5, 1924.

Ibid.

Henry Roxborough, op. cit., p. 8.

The majority of the CLGU members who were interviewed had familial ties in the golfing world.
Specific rules legislated by the LGU included:
1920 - An LGU ruling that a player must play for one club only.
1920 - The LGU sent permission to the CLGU President to enable her to take authority to make local rules for Canadian conditions.
1923 - The CLGU consulted the LGU ruling concerning scoring on temporary greens.

Minutes of the CLGU, May 4, 1920.
Ibid., September 8, 1920.
Yearbook of the CLGU, 1920.
Minutes of the CLGU, February 17, 1930.

In 1925 the CLGU wrote to the LGU requesting guidance on whether to reinstate the amateur status of a golfer who had turned professional. Much correspondence of this nature occurred between the two bodies.

See Appendix D.
Yearbook of the CLGU, 1927.
Ibid., 1925.
Minutes of the CLGU, September 8, 1921.
Ibid., September 3, 1927.
Yearbook of the CLGU, 1928.
Minutes of the CLGU, September 8, 1920, April 4, 1928.
Ibid., April 12, 1925.
Yearbook of the CLGU, 1922.
Ibid., 1927.
There are few records of Murray's specific contributions in the CLGU Minutes although there are many instances when her efforts were praised. Personal interviews with former executives of the CLGU revealed the specific contributions of Ella Murray in terms of her financial donations to the CLGU.

Statements by H. Holmes, personal interview, October 21, 1975, and D. Darling, November 1, 1975.

Statement by H. Holmes (Paget), personal interview, October 21, 1975.

Statement by E. Mills, personal interview, November 6, 1975.

Yearbook of the CLGU, 1925.

Statement by A. Fraser, personal interview, Oct 1, 1975.

Statement by H. Holmes, personal interview, October 21, 1975.

88 See Appendix E.

89 Minutes of the CLGU, September 5, 1920.

90 Ibid., March 19, 1923.

91 Yearbook of the CLGU, 1928.

92 Ibid., 1922.

93 Ibid., 1925.

94 Minutes of the CLGU, March 4, 1926. See also Appendix F.

95 Minutes of the CLGU, March 4, 1926.

96 Yearbook of the CLGU, 1927.
Chapter III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMPETITION IN THE
WOMEN'S INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETIC UNION 1921-1932

INTRODUCTION

The function of this chapter parallels that of Chapter II in that it provides an account of the growth of organized sport in the initial period of women's intercollegiate competition. Similarly, since one aim of the thesis is to compare the development of competition experienced in women's intercollegiates with the CLGU, the analysis of the Women's Intercollegiate Athletic Union follows the same pattern as that established in the discussion of the CLGU. The division of the chapter into competitive and administrative developments and leadership influence which is preceded by an overview of the founding of the organization, therefore facilitates the task of comparison. The rationale previously established for such a division is equally applicable to the WIAU as for the CLGU since both organizations were chosen for discussion on the grounds of their basic similarities as organizations governed by women to promote competitive sport in Canada during the 1920's. The content of the chapter begins with a focus on competition which identifies the nature of competition through a description of the events pertaining to its growth. The administrative topic encompasses an
analysis of the growth of the organization itself and finally, the last section deals with the influence of the significant individuals who were essentially the policy makers of the organization guiding the trend of the administrative and competitive developments of women's intercollegiate athletics during its initial period of growth.

FOUNDING OF THE WOMEN'S INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETIC UNION

A brief overview of the events which led to the formation of organized competition for university women provides a perspective from which to commence an analysis of its development. One particular characteristic which was immediately apparent was that women's intercollegiate competition encompassed a number of sports, and during the twenties, the sports programs which evolved, formed their own separate leagues that were governed by a body representing the universities involved. Basketball was the first to achieve an organized status and as a result of its prominence, forms the focus of the study on intercollegiate competition.

The establishment of the first intercollegiate competition in the form of an invitational tournament at McGill, was initiated by the universities of Queen's, McGill, and Toronto in 1921. Prior to the establishment of
intercollegiate competition at this meet, each university had undergone a stage of development which saw a predominantly student controlled committee exercising loose control over the sports clubs on campus which gave way to a joint student faculty athletic committee exercising tight control over all women's athletic activity. Although each university experienced its own particular phase of growth in sport which led to the actualization of intercollegiate competition in 1921, the development which occurred at the University of Toronto exemplified the path taken by the three founding universities regarding the genesis of intercollegiate women's sport.

In 1905, a women's athletic association was formed at the University of Toronto, called the Toronto University Athletic League. The purpose of the league was to:

- promote sports in the colleges of the University of Toronto and make friendly competition possible ... and that from the various teams in hockey, basketball, and tennis it will be possible to form a University of Toronto team to play other universities.

The efforts of the league to actualize its objectives of university competition resulted in the acceptance by the University in 1920, of a constitution for a Women's Athletic Directorate which was established to organize competition.
for all women's sport outside the university.  It was evident that the pattern traced at the University of Toronto was similar to the organizational development experienced at McGill and Queen's. Much correspondence between these two universities regarding intercollegiate competition resulted in what was recorded by the McGill Women's Athletic Association as "the biggest event of the season" at which time Queen's and McGill met for an invitational basketball match. The following year the University of Toronto was included in the three day tournament. Immediately following the tournament, the basketball coaches and university representatives of the basketball clubs of McGill, Queen's and Toronto, gathered to form the Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Basketball League*, whose function was "competition for university women in athletics". The league established its purpose:

the furtherance of basketball for women in the colleges of the Dominion, enforcement of the game as adopted by the league and supervision and carrying out of the championship of the league in a spirit of good sportsmanship.10

*The Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Basketball League is hereafter referred to as the CWIBL.
Since the CWIBL was the first intercollegiate league founded by university women, the development of competition in the WIAU focuses primarily on this league and consequently on the objectives established by the organization as its guidelines for growth.

COMPETITIVE DEVELOPMENT

A discussion of the development of competition within the CWIBL provides a viable description of the nature of competition engaged in by the intercollegiate participants during the twenties and in doing so, determines the extent to which competitive opportunity for college women was actualized.

The most logical point from which to commence the analysis, is a description of the annual tournament of the CWIBL because it formed the basis of the organization's competitive schedule. After the invitational tournament in 1921, the newly formed CWIBL structured its competitive schedule to include an annual three day tournament in which each university played one another to determine a champion. A relatively small portion of the weekend was devoted to competition because the games were restricted to one per day for each team in order to avoid strain on the players.
The once yearly competition formed the entirety of the intercollegiate basketball schedule as organized by the CWIBL and it remained unchanged throughout the twenties. In view of the limited schedule for competition, the CWIBL undoubtedly had other reasons for founding a league to organize women's basketball beyond that of desiring competition between teams. In fact, one important aspect of the tournament which was emphasized and served to determine the league's attitude to competition, was the social element. The comments of two former competitors aptly expressed the relationship between the competitive and social aspects of the annual tournament.

We were out to do our best but we stressed the social side. One didn't go to Toronto or Queen's just to play the game. There was always a party attached.13

The social aspect of the championships was important. The girls arrived with their basketball uniforms on one arm and their evening gowns on the other. The tournament was highlighted by a formal banquet with escorts provided.14

The league clearly emphasized the social interaction of the players as much as the competitive aspect of the tournament and in doing so revealed its adherence to the concept of sportsmanship in which sport interaction represented many values beyond that of winning in the competition. A
discussion of the changes which occurred within the rule structure of the annual competition illustrates the league's adherence to this ideal of sportsmanship and is therefore indicative of the manner in which women's basketball developed at the intercollegiate level.

Basketball as a game for women was relatively new, therefore the existing rules for the game were either men's rules or those written for women by the Spalding Women's Committee in 1901. In lieu of completely accepting the existing women's rules, the CWIBL made certain revisions in 1921 to suit their interpretations of the game. After objecting to a restriction within the Spalding Rules which limited a player's tournament to one third of the court area, the league drew up a "two-thirds rule" which allowed each of the six players to move in two-thirds of the court in accordance with their designated positions. Although the new rule was less restrictive than the Spalding women's stipulation, it was consistent with preference of the league to maintain activity at a friendly, moderate pace by forcing players out of the play for periods of time during the game. The rationale for establishing a rule which limited player activity was in accordance with the league's concern for
maintaining the health of the players. Over exertion and body contact were considered very harmful to the players' health and it was the concern for protecting against these occurrences which formed the basis for the development of many rules. Protection against over exertion was instituted firstly when medical check ups became an essential procedure and regulations restricting player activity were introduced which permitted only the forwards to shoot the ball. Over exertion and body contact were considered very harmful to the players' health and it was the concern for protecting against these occurrences which formed the basis for the development of many rules. Protection against over exertion was instituted firstly when medical check ups became an essential procedure and regulations restricting player activity were introduced which permitted only the forwards to shoot the ball. The league appeared undecided about the degree of freedom which was desirable in the game and consequently much discussion occurred in 1926 over a proposal to allow the centres as well as the forwards to shoot. The members of the league felt that such a move would indicate willingness to cooperate with advocates of men's rules, a position which was deemed undesirable. A modification of the proposal was therefore adopted, allowing one of the two centres to shoot. Freedom of movement was further restricted by certain boundaries which were established by the league, as it refused to accept the University of Toronto's suggestion that side centres have unrestricted movement on the floor. One particular rule regarding player stress which was written in the first constitution of 1921 appeared to contradict the league's desire for
The rule disallowed player substitutions during the game and even when a player was incapacitated, she was removed from the games leaving the team less one player. This rule which symbolized the British tradition of sportsmanship, was strictly upheld by the teams from McGill and Queen's whose athletics were fashioned after this tradition. After repeated insistence from the Toronto team to permit free substitution in order to prevent overfatiguing, the rule was modified in 1925 to permit substitution after injury, and again in 1927 to permit free substitution. A notable implication of the rule was that it very probably contributed towards increasing the speed of the game by allowing all eleven players to interchange freely on the court.

The second category of rules designed to protect the players' health was concerned with bodily contact. To prevent an occurrence of this nature, certain rules were passed which stipulated firstly, that players must stay one arm's length apart during a game and secondly, that two players could not block an opponent thus effectively "boxing her up." It was apparent that the league, which existed during a period that condemned vigorous competition for women at the intercollegiate level, was moving very cautiously towards moderation of activity.
increased freedom and speed in the game.26

Further insight into the type of competition which was advocated by the CWIBL is gained by an examination of the rationale established by the league for maintaining organized competition for women's basketball strictly on an intercollegiate basis. The league's position in this regard was clarified by a former competitor who recalled that during the twenties there existed women's teams who were highly competitive, playing men's rules with rigorous training schedules. The other side of the spectrum included the college teams who enjoyed competition but did not wish to spend hours working at the sport. Intercollegiate competition was designed for women who wanted to play against other women of similar interests.27 The maintenance of such a rationale highlighted the exclusive nature of the organization where participation in the league was confined to university women. In the 1920's these women formed a small percentage of Canadian women and were drawn primarily from the upper-middle stratas of society.28 Intercollegiate basketball therefore, was an upper-middle class institution and as such, competition was dictated by the approach of this select group of women.
The CWIBL's particular brand or organized competition did not necessitate an extensive training schedule for its participants. In fact, the McGill program proved quite the contrary as it consisted of three, one hour practices a week, which commenced in the middle of January in preparation for the annual tournament at the end of February. The amount of time devoted to practice was one determinant of the type of game which was played in the tournament and combined with the overall player attitude to the game, produced a type of competition which emphasized the friendly interaction of the competition rather than a highly competitive confrontation. Evidence to support this observation came from a former competitor who claimed that the players, who were not in very good physical condition, did not take the game seriously and played primarily for fun. The league's desire for a limited intensity of competitive training was emphasized by an issue which occurred regarding the coaching of teams by men. The problem surfaced as a result of the acute scarcity of women who were qualified and desirous of coaching the inter-varsity teams. To alleviate the situation, the University of Toronto hired a male coach and was subsequently berated by the Queen's and McGill directorates who maintained the
attitude that male coaches would expect the players to practice more than three hours a week. In addition to the objection on the grounds of the training intensity, the problem sparked another objection based on the assumption that men did not fully comprehend the needs of the female physique thus resulting in a lack of tolerance and criticism of the "weak female". Toronto argued that Varsity's type of play was not injurious to the girls and raised the question of whether it was more beneficial to development of the game to hire a male coach who was skilled in basketball strategy and techniques or to have a female who knew little about the game. Initially, their defense proved insufficient and a rule was adopted that enforced female coaching. A concession was made a few months later which stipulated that all teams should have female coaches if women coaches of the same standards as men could be procured. The preference for female coaching served therefore to highlight the league's approach to training which was characterized by a desire to maintain competition at a low intensity, emphasizing the friendly, social interaction of women on the playing court.

Again, with regard to the training schedule of the league, a valuable perspective from which to evaluate the
type of competition engaged in by the CWIBL is gained from a description of the interaction between the university teams and neighbouring American College teams. In conjunction with their training schedule, the teams of McGill, Queen's and Toronto were desirous of arranging further competition against American universities who were in closer proximity to the universities than their respective league members. Such interaction was limited because at the time, the American women were involved in play day activity* as opposed to inter-team matches. Intercollegiate matches were banned in the States on the grounds that they were detrimental to the healthful development of the female. The CWIBL in comparison, appeared as a forerunner for women's intercollegiate basketball by merely condoning the existence of annual intercollegiate matches and by continually adjusting the structure of the rule system to suit their interpretations of the game. While significant changes were taking place in the development of intercollegiate basketball in terms of the development of the game itself, the annual tournament

*Play day activity referred to extramural activity in which women from several schools were mixed together on teams to play a variety of sports and recreational activities.
structure remained unchanged until the University of Western Ontario joined the league on a temporary basis in 1927 and became an official member in 1929. Because basketball was considered "the sport" in the twenties, a number of smaller universities were anxious to engage in intercollegiate competition. They were unable to submit their teams in the CWIBL and therefore organized an intermediate league. This league which began in 1924, was composed of teams from the Ontario Agricultural College, The University of Western Ontario (prior to its league acceptance), and the University of Toronto second team. The development of this intermediate league appeared to forecast greater expansion in intercollegiate basketball in the ensuing years particularly as Toronto and McGill both had second teams which they considered excellent training ground for seniors as well as keeping basketball alive for many players who could not play on intercollegiate teams.

A final adjunct to the discussion regarding the amount of participation in intercollegiate competition deals with the development of sports other than basketball. The growth of these leagues was not as great as the basketball league but nonetheless it widened the scope of women's intercollegiates and set the stage for the establishment of
a central body to govern all women's intercollegiate sports. The first league to organize after the CWIBL was the Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Ice Hockey League which was conceived after an invitational match between Toronto and McGill in 1922. By February of the following year the league comprising the Big Three* as members, was formally constituted and it ratified a competitive schedule which included an annual tournament organized on the same basis as the CWIBL. The league did not experience successful growth and was considerably weakened when McGill dropped out in 1929 due to difficulties regarding the procurement of ice accommodation and because of a lack of funds with which to host tournaments. Although the hockey league managed to function throughout the decade, its future demise was evident with only two teams in active participation. The only other sport to achieve an organized state during the twenties was tennis. The league began in a pattern similar to the other two, after an invitational tournament hosted by Toronto, for Queen's, McGill, and Western in 1927. The first meet was deemed successful and plans went ahead for the formation of an intercollegiate league represented by

*The Big Three included the Universities of Toronto, Queen's and McGill.
five universities which included McMaster University and The University of Western Ontario. The establishment of this league in 1932 represented an important final addition to the initial period of growth of Canadian women's intercollegiate sport as the inclusion of Western and McMaster signified expansion in the number of schools participating and the addition of another sporting league heralded the future development of a central body to govern all women's intercollegiates. It appeared that by the close of the twenties, the concept of growth for women's intercollegiate competition in a variety of sports within a number of universities, was beginning to take root. An illustration of this growth appears in Table 3.

An overview of this development of competition which focused primarily on the CWIBL leads to certain observations regarding the growth of women's intercollegiate sport in the 1920's. Firstly, the formation of the rule structure of the CWIBL was guided by an adherence to the concept of sportsmanship, the most dominant expression of which, was illustrated by the emphasis on the social element of competitive interaction. The league's emphasis on the social element pervaded its entire approach to competition to the extent that the competitive aspect of the sport whilst still within the
TABLE 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZED INTERCOLLEGIATE COMPETITION 1921-1932

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>UNIVERSITIES INVOLVED</th>
<th>SPORT</th>
<th>EVENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>Founding of the CWIBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Queen's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McGill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Hockey</td>
<td>Founding of the CWIBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Queen's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McGill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>Formation of the Intermediate League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>UWO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Guelph Ag. College</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>UWO made unofficial member of CWIBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>Basketball</td>
<td>UWO made official member of CWIBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Tennis</td>
<td>Founding of CWIBL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Queen's</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McGill</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Western</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>McMaster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ideals of sport, was deemphasized. The second feature of the rule structure was the overriding concern for the health of the player as illustrated by the rules designed to guard over exertion and bodily contact. These rules resulted in a limited degree of activity and freedom within the game thus reflecting the predominant beliefs regarding women's participation in sport in the 1920s. In conjunction with a preference for a deemphasis of the competitive aspect of competition, the actual growth of competition in terms of the number of teams engaged in tournament play, witnessed very limited expansion. An occurrence of this nature was prompted in part by situational factors in which the potential for league expansion was restricted financially and geographically and partially by a preference of the league to concentrate on the development of the game rather than on league expansion. A final prevalent feature of women's intercollegiate competition was the social background of its competitors. The very fact that the league was based on inter-

*The only English universities within the area of Quebec and Ontario in addition to the Big Three were, Western, McMaster, Guelph, Ottawa and Bishop's.
university competition necessitated that the competitors come from upper-middle social backgrounds where attendance at university was considered feasible. The exclusive nature of the organization was further emphasized by the rationale established by the league for forming a league among university teams.

In conclusion, the preceding description of the development of competition revealed the nature of the competition engaged in by the CWIBL. A further determination of the degree to which the organization actualized its objectives of promoting the game are dealt with in a discussion of the administrative growth of the organization.

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

The degree to which intercollegiate competition was established in the decade of the twenties was largely dependent upon the functioning and growth of certain aspects of the administrative structure of the CWIBL, therefore a discussion of the administrative development is essential to an understanding of the growth of women's competition. A primary aspect of the administration was the structure of the league which provides an introductory perspective from
which to interpret the organization's growth.

The league's basic structure which evolved in 1921 provided for two student representatives from each of the three universities, Queen's, McGill and Toronto. The structure was immediately changed in 1922 to a committee of nine, the composition of which was retained throughout the decade as shown in figure 6. The committee of 1922 included two student representatives from each university who were elected annually by the women's athletic directorates of their respective universities. The third member was a faculty representative who was most often a member of the athletic directorate or physical education department of her university. The executive positions of president and secretary rotated annually to the two student representatives of each university thus giving the league the appearance of being a student dominated organization. An examination of the behind the scenes structure of the organization showed the reality of the situation to be contrary to its outward appearance. The CWIBL did not function as an autonomous entity because each student, as a delegate of her university athletic directorate, represented at the league committee meeting the policy established by the directorate. An analysis of the basic structure of these directorates is
CWIBL LEAGUE COMMITTEE

9 Representatives
- 2 students and one faculty member per university

University of Toronto

Queen's University

McGill University

Athletic Directorate

Athletic Directorate

Athletic Directorate

Faculty Council

Faculty Council

Faculty Council

President of the University

President of the University

President of the University

FIGURE 6

The Administrative Structure of
The CWIBL 1921-1929
essential to an understanding of the overall structure of the intercollegiate administration. In this regard, the composition of the Women's Athletic Directorate of the University of Toronto served to exemplify the structure of the three directorates.* The framework of the University of Toronto directorate revealed the administrative structure of the CWIBL to be divided into three levels of authority. Policy which was determined by the league committee of nine members was in actuality an integration of the politics advocated by the three athletic directorates of Queen's, McGill and Toronto who in turn were influenced by their respective non-athletic faculty members. This structure remained virtually unchanged throughout the decade except for the admittance of the University of Western Ontario into the league. This change simply caused the addition of three more members to the league committee and introduced another athletic directorate to the ranks of the policy makers. The effect that this structure had on the development of the organization clearly illustrated the position of the league.

*The University of Toronto Athletic Directorate was composed of two university faculty members, two graduate student members, a medical advisor, the physical director, a secretary appointed by the University President, and five undergraduate representatives.47
within the sphere of the educational institution of the university.

The ultimate effect on an administrative structure composed of three levels of influence within the educational sphere of the university produced a situation which in all probability determined that the student representatives voiced the viewpoints established by the faculty members who dominated the Women's Athletic Directorates. A former competitor commented on this figurehead role of the student chairman, recalling that the students were given the position to enable them to have a better chance to express themselves and to guard against being dominated by the Athletic faculty representatives who resided on the committee. In fact, it was suggested that often the student chairmen were issued strict guidelines to follow at the meeting by their faculty representatives. It appeared then, that the faculty representatives on the league who often occupied a dual role on the committee and on the Athletic directorate of their university formed an important liaison between the league and the directorates and therefore maintained a position of authority within the administrative structure.

An overview of the administrative structure of the CWIBL revealed several features which affected the organiza-
tion's potential for competitive growth. One such feature of the league was the high turnover of its committee members. Few women remained on the committee for any length of time and thus a situation was created which appeared as a deterrent to the development of a well unified policy. The maintenance of a unified development was further complicated by the administrative structure in which policy had to be decided from a combination of the different plans of the athletic directorates who often disagreed on vital matters and by the fact that the committee usually met only once yearly to discuss policy otherwise relying on written correspondence for communication. A final and highly significant factor affecting the league's growth was the influence of the non athletic faculty members of the universities. Although the degree to which these members did influence the league's decision is unknown, the mere fact that they, and not the players, themselves, had a voice in determining how the league would grow, provided sufficient evidence to maintain that the league policy was not necessarily the desired policy of the competitors. The outcome of these factors which characterized the administrative structure of the league led to the creation of an administration which lacked both cohesiveness and strength.
thus inhibiting the development of the organization. The league structure clearly had an effect on the programs which were developed by the CWIBL and an examination of these programs indicated the direction taken by this administrative body.

The functions of the administrative group or league committee of the CWIBL were clearly divided into administrative concerns regarding the expansion of the league to other universities and technical concerns which concentrated on the formation of a rule structure to guide the development of the game. The latter concern received the greater focus throughout the first decade of development and served furthermore to illustrate the autonomous position maintained by the league regarding relationships with related sport groups. A prime illustration of the league’s position in this regard occurred when it set out in 1921 to develop a rule structure for the game of basketball choosing to reject the previously established framework of rules which the men’s Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union was using and those of the Spalding Women’s Committee of the United States. The apparent desire for autonomy extended to the administrative concerns of the league as the women were determined to maintain control over the organization and function without
the assistance of the men.\textsuperscript{53} It was apparent that this policy stemmed from a concern on the part of the women that their game would develop the unwanted characteristics of men's basketball.\textsuperscript{54} By maintaining a position of independence, the CWIBL was confronted with the task of designating a set of rules for women and of governing the expansion of competition in the intercollegiate system.

The major factor affecting the programs which the league undertook in its administrative and technical role, was the association of the league with the system of education in the universities. This was one relationship in which the league was inextricably tied and in such a position, had its policy outline clearly established at a conference of Canadian universities held in 1923. The conference determined that the policies of athletic programs were to uphold academic standards and promote good sportsmanship by maintaining the standards of amateur sport. Athletics was to have no place in the university unless it was designed for student-participation and maintained educational objectives.\textsuperscript{55} Therefore, as a consequence of its orientation to education, the CWIBL was guided in its development by an adherence to the educational values of athletics for women and was obliged to admit to its ranks.
only women of high academic standing. The major objective of the league became the development of a game of basketball which was considered within the bounds of activity acceptable for the educational development of college women.

The position of the league regarding its relationship with the educational system in conjunction with the features which characterized its administrative structure, established a profile of the organization which formed the basis for the development of the league's programs on both an administrative and technical level.

**Technical Development**

An analysis of the programs which were introduced showed clearly that the central focus of the league was a concern with the technical development of a game of basketball which met the standards imposed on college women's athletics. Immediate action was taken to achieve this goal and in 1921 a rules committee was formed to draw up a rule book of Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Rules. The league wished to promote the development of a purely women's game on a national level and in order to do so the opinions of all physical directors across Canada regarding women's rules were sought by means of a questionnaire.
The committee's efforts to promote the acceptance of these rules which were published in 1924 resulted in the sale of a continually increasing number of books across the country.\textsuperscript{57} The next step in encouraging the development of women's rules was an attempt to standardize Canadian women's rules with the Spalding Women's Rules of the United States.\textsuperscript{58} The outcome of the league's efforts in this regard proved rather inconclusive but served to demonstrate the dedication of the league regarding the promotion of the game of women's basketball. The desire to standardize rules for women was further emphasized by the league's strong opposition regarding the use of men's rules by the Edmonton Grads at the Olympic Games.\textsuperscript{59} This protest was in keeping with the women's concern for protecting the health of the players since men's rules were not considered conducive to the proper educational development of the female. In 1927 the CWIBL accepted the suggestion of the Montreal Women's Basketball Coaches Association that the CWIBL relinquish control over the rule development to the newly formed Women's Amateur Athletic Federation in order that a concentrated program for standardization could be actualized.\textsuperscript{60} The suggestion proved unsuccessful however, as the Women's Amateur Athletic Federation claimed itself unable to accept
the task. The responsibility for developing the rule system was again left with the CWIBL who met with the Eastern Canadian Basketball Association to compose a set of rules for all classes of women's basketball based on the CWIBL rule book. A governing body was subsequently set up which was composed of a committee of representatives from Central and Eastern Canada. All coaches affiliated with the committee were to be trained by the CWIBL. The achievement by the CWIBL of a standardized set of rules for Central and Eastern Canada gained further notoriety when the Spalding Women's Committee finally adopted virtually all rules set up by the league in 1936.

To summarize, the CWIBL's work in this regard accredited the league with the responsibility for establishing the women's basketball rule system in the more populous regions of Canada and the United States. The development of the rule structure contributed to the growth of competitive opportunity in one respect by providing the players with a standardized guideline for playing, thus creating the opportunity for the future development of standardized competition with a greater number of teams. Conversely, though, the development of competition was inhibited by the league's emphasis on establishing rules specially designed
for women in lieu of accepting the established men's rules and focusing on other aspects of growth. A complete analysis of the league's programs then, necessitates an examination of the administrative aspects of development as a means of clarifying the direction of its growth.

**Administrative Development**

The administrative development of the league with regard to its expansion to other universities within Central and Eastern Canada, witnessed only slight progress during the period of the twenties. It was apparent that the league was not soliciting members to its ranks because in 1924 the University of Western Ontario requested entry into the league and was subsequently refused on the grounds that billeting and financial costs would be insurmountable. UWO submitted its request two years later and was again rebuffed in part due to McGill's disapproval of home and home games*, a condition which would have resulted if Western joined the league. The decision appeared to emanate from the faculty members and not the players as Ethel

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*Home and home games were equivalent to dual tournaments and implied that the McGill team would have to play two "away" games at a time.
Cartwright of McGill reported that the authorities of McGill did not approve of admitting Western. Furthermore, Miss Cartwright's unlikely suggestion that Western form a league with Manitoba and Saskatchewan suggested that "The Big Three" were reluctant to accept another university into their midst thereby disturbing the convenient schedule of three day tournaments. As one former competitor saw it,

Western was just a tiny newly established university in the Western part of the province. It had to grow larger before being considered seriously by "The Big Three".

The issue regarding Western's entry revealed a certain degree of snobbery on the part of the original league members and also served to demonstrate the limited degree of competition which was acceptable for the players by the leaders of the organization. An augmentation of the league schedule was certainly not welcomed at this time in spite of Western's readiness to join the competition. Eventually though, Western, by its insistence, won out and was admitted conditionally on an agreement that it cover its own travel and accommodation costs. After the official acceptance of UWO in 1929, the league remained composed of four universities until McMaster University requested entry in 1932. It was refused on the same grounds as Western had.
been but nonetheless forecasted the expansion of the league in the thirties.

The league's approach to the above mentioned issue can not be attributed entirely to their attitude towards expansion as it was genuinely inhibited by situational factors of limited finances and by the relatively long distances between the universities. Difficulties created by the necessity of holding the tournaments on weekends in order to meet the regulations imposed by education, accentuated the problem of distance between the schools and therefore contributed to the reluctance of McGill University to accept Western. In addition to the factor of distance, the problem of procuring funds for competition became a major deterrent to the league's growth. Toronto's position in this regard exemplified the situation.

The Women's Athletic Directorate of Toronto is not able to expand their playing due to finances. The Women's Athletic Directorate handles their own finances and gets no assistance from the men's athletic association of the university. We have managed to meet the expenses of the intercollegiate basketball and hockey trips by a few exhibition games and collection from the general student body as gate receipts have never been an adequate form of income.68

It was apparent that the league member's desire for independence from the men's athletic associations heightened
their financial difficulties thus severely restricting the league's growth. The league as a group, relied on the collection of gate receipts as the sole means of financing its championship. Expenses were particularly high in the case of intercollegiate competition because, as an organization within the university system, it was obliged to cover the cost of travel and accommodation for players. Initially the gate receipts were divided among the member universities but with the addition of Western in 1929, each university became responsible for its own funding with the gate receipts going to the host team. The league consequently had no means of collective funding to facilitate or promote expansion, therefore any expansion which was to occur, was reliant upon the initiative of a particular university which wished to compete. Because the league had not matured to a point where it had the means of establishing a regulated income, the only viable solution was to decentralize and allow the separate universities to manage their own financial affairs. This move tended to deter the establishment of a central body with power to govern all aspects of women's

*Financial responsibilities included the payment of referees, the cost of a formal banquet, and accommodation and travelling expenses of the teams.
intercollegiate sports. The financial problem of the CWIBL was indeed a major factor which limited the growth of the league and although a problem of this nature was natural for a young organization, it was accentuated in the case of the CWIBL by the league's determination to remain independent of supportive organizations and by its responsibility within the educational sphere.

The assessment of the administrative development of the CWIBL revealed that the league was genuinely committed to its objective of developing the game of basketball for college women and was guided in its progress by an adherence to the educational values of sport for women. The adherence to these values in conjunction with the organization's position within the educational system led to an administrative growth in which the development of the rule structure of the game for women in Canada received a great deal of focus. Only slight attention was paid to the league's expansion which was an essential component of the administrative development. Although the potential for gradual expansion of the league in the future was assured, this aspect of development in the twenties, was overshadowed by the league's insistence that the game itself be established on a national scale prior to expanding the league.
LEADER INFLUENCE

The complexity of the administrative structure of the CWIBL renders it difficult to determine who in fact was responsible for the particular direction taken by the league in its initial period of growth although it was apparent that the policy advocated by the league was dependent upon the individual efforts of certain members of the administrative body.\(^1\)

An analysis of the structure of the organization revealed three levels of administration which ranged from the league representatives of students and faculty, to the athletic directorates of each university and finally to the non athletic faculty members of the universities. Although each group in all probability had some influence on the direction taken by the league, those who did appear to maintain a certain degree of authority based on their position within the structure and on their long standing service, in comparison to the relatively short terms served by other committee members were the athletic directoresses.\(^2\) In short, they occupied the dual roles of representatives on the league committee and the athletic directorates, a position which gave them an advantage to influence league policy. Throughout the twenties, two women in particular occupied this role and an examination of the part they played in the development of the league, support the conten-
tion that they were in fact, influential leaders within the organization.

Ethel Cartwright, Physical Directoress at McGill, served in the capacity of coach and administrator from 1920-1928. She was the instigator of the first intercollegiate match in 1920 and because of her continued efforts to establish intercollegiate competition was deemed responsible for the formation of the CWIBL. According to the reports of a former competitor, Miss Cartwright virtually ran the league until her retirement in 1928. Several of the policies adopted by the league were illustrative of Miss Cartwright's influence in this regard. As a British immigrant she drew her ideals and attitudes towards competition from the British tradition of sportsmanship in which the spirit of the game was of great importance and the idea of friendly, non exerting competition was advocated for women. Cartwright's position in regard to "playing the game in its proper spirit", was demonstrated by her stand on the issue of substitution in which she strongly supported maintenance of the "no substitution" rule. Her opinion conflicted with other league members who were desirous of preventing over exertion of the players.
Cartwright's opinion regarding the type of competition which was acceptable for young women was shown by the emphasis she put on the great danger in straining the growing girl, an occurrence which she maintained at all costs was to be avoided. By upholding this viewpoint she also appealed for an increase in the medical supervision for girls in school.\(^77\) In consideration of the long and active service of Cartwright on the league and on her athletic directorate, it was clear that she wielded some degree of influence with regard to the league's approach to competitive development.\(^78\)

Another long standing member of the administration was Anne Marie Parkes, Physical Directoress at Toronto who served continually from 1922-1932.\(^79\) The extent to which Miss Parkes influenced the direction taken by the league is difficult to ascertain but it was apparent from her active involvement in league meetings, that she occupied a position of centrality within the intercollegiate framework.\(^80\)

In light of the three tiered structure of the CWIBL's administration, the policies supported by the physical directoresses must have been in accordance to some degree with the non athletic faculty members of the universities. Consequently, a determination of the expressed
attitudes of these faculty members provide a perspective from which to evaluate the policies advocated by the league and as well provide a further rationale for the direction that the organization took in its initial years of growth. In this regard, Miss Margaret T. Addison, Dean of Women at the University of Toronto, as a means of setting the stage for the league's growth, voiced her opinion of the venture.

As our young women have an Intercollegiate and Inter faculty Athletic Association with scheduled games in basketball, hockey, tennis and swimming contests, and as these tax them beyond wise play, we are wondering if the future excitement is desirable, which would attend long journeys and the conditions of public games.81

Miss Ethel Hurlbalt, Warden of Royal Victoria College, McGill University added her concern for the proposed league:

... especially with regard to publicity and the tax on students strength and time; no suggestion has come up here, as far as I am aware, for public games ... for my part I think there is something to be said for encouraging students of universities to become more conscious of each other than they are at present, and it is also very important in our very elongated country to promote interchange of visit ... If a plan can be judiciously worked out for a limited interchange of visits for athletic purposes, much good might result. I do not think however, that anything should be done that tied a university to maintain an intercollegiate schedule every year.82
It was apparent that both these influential faculty members were opposed to what in essence was the fundamental concept of intercollegiate athletics, a regular schedule of games which consequently necessitated long trips and a certain amount of publicity within the campus sphere. The fact that the game did achieve a higher level of development than was advocated by these faculty members, suggested that the athletic faculty representatives possessed some power to establish their own rule system. On the other hand, in view of the developments of the game, many of the cautions advocated by the non athletic faculty women formed central considerations of the league. The dominant values of the leaders of the CWIBL were aptly summarized by the President of the McGill Women's Athletic Association.

It is bringing players together in the spirit of fellowship that is so much to be looked for among our Canadian universities. Our aim should be to have every student take part in some sport in order to experience the love of the game for its own sake.83

In conclusion then, the development of competition for its own sake was certainly not the primarily focus of the leaders of the CWIBL but it was established nonetheless as an integral part of the leaders' desire to promote the English spirit of sportsmanship and the joy of play in an
interchange of visits among university women.

CONCLUSION

The ultimate direction that the CWIBL followed regarding the development of intercollegiate basketball on an organizational basis was dependent upon the combined attitudes and influences of the women who formed the three levels of the administrative structure. These leaders were united within the educational sphere of the university and therefore the policies which emanated from the league appeared as a product of the leaders' educational affiliation. Several factors comprised this educational orientation and served to characterize the development of the organization. One prevalent feature of the league was its desire to maintain independence from the respective male association in order to ensure the development of a game which suited their interpretation of competition for women. Their attitudes reflected the predominate societal attitudes regarding women in sport during the twenties in which a subdued form of activity was considered adequate for sporting interaction. The promotion of a type of game which embodied these ideals became the focus of the league's developmental efforts and resulted in a compromise between
the vigorous activity of men's basketball and the maintenance of feminine composure as advocated by ardent proponents of limited competition for women in sport. As a result of the CWIBL's efforts to develop the game of basketball for women, the establishment of the game had implications beyond the university environment. Women's basketball in a number of educational institutions across the country were guided in their rule development by the Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Basketball League.

A consideration of the remaining essential components of competitive development indicated that the league's adherence to educational values was a deterrent to growth specifically in terms of the amount of competition which was accepted and the number of teams allowed to participate. Competition, very clearly was promoted by the members of the CWIBL as a means of promoting for university women, the educational ideals of sportsmanship through the social interaction of a sport match. The promotion of a league to govern the sport on an interprovincial basis was definitely not considered a priority therefore this aspect of development experienced limited growth in the decade of the 1920's.
FOOTNOTES


The formation of the WIAU as a centralized body which controlled all women's intercollegiate organizations did not occur until 1949. Women's intercollegiate organization in the 1920's refers to the separate leagues which were formed to govern basketball, hockey and tennis.

2 Minutes of CWIBL, February 24, 1921.


Moriarty describes a parallel type of development which took place thirty years earlier within the men's university athletics.

4 Minutes of the Toronto University Athletic League, 1905.

5 Ibid.

6 Minutes of the Women's Athletic Directorate, The University of Toronto, 1920.

7 Both Queen's and McGill had parallel associations in the Levana Athletic Board and McGill Women's Athletic Association.

8 Minutes of the Royal Victoria College Athletic Association, 1920, cited by Taylor, op. cit., p. 36.

9 Minutes of the CWIBL, February 24, 1921.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.
Correspondance of the CWIBL, 1925.

Statements by Iveagh Munroe, personal interview, November 18, 1975.

Statements by Marion Ross, personal interview, November 9, 1975.


Constitution of the CWIBL, 1921. Marion Ross, a former competitor commented that the Canadian League chose not to accept the Spalding women's rules because they considered them too restrictive.

Marion Ross explained that the reason for enforcing the two-thirds rule was to prevent over fatigue of the players by keeping them out of active play for periods during the game when the ball was not in their area of the court.

At this time a team was composed of six players, two of whom were centres.

Rule Book of the CWIBL, 1927.

Minutes of the CWIBL, February 29, 1927.

Minutes of the CWIBL, February 20, 1927.

This trend was partly the result of the influence of the Athletic directoress at McGill in particular who was a British immigrant to Canada.
The existence of more freedom of movement and speed within the game were indicative of the development of competitive opportunity for women.

Statements by Marion Ross, personal interview, November 9, 1975.


Statement by Marion Ross, personal interview, Kingston, November 9, 1975.

Ibid.

Minutes of the CWIBL, February 20, 1927.

Ibid.


Minutes of the CWIBL, February 20, 1927.

Statement by Marion Ross, personal interview, November 9, 1975.

Minutes of the Women's Athletic Directorate, The University of Toronto, 1925.

Ibid., 1923.

Ibid., 1922.

Ibid., 1923.

Ibid., 1929.
Taylor, op. cit., p. 53. Queen's withdrew from hockey in 1934 leaving Toronto to play occasional games.

The scarcity of recorded data on the CWIBL made it difficult to determine the reasons underlying the league's lack of expansion.

Minutes of the CWIBL, February 23, 1921.

Constitution of the CWIBL, 1921.

Minutes of the CWIBL, February 23, 1921.

An analysis of the proceedings of the CWIBL, 1921-32 revealed that whenever a member of the Committee expressed an opinion or made a proposal, that the action was taken on behalf of the athletic directorate which she represented.

Minutes of the Women's Athletic Directorate, The University of Toronto, 1920.

The degree to which the non athletic faculty influenced the policy of the league is difficult to quantify due to the scarcity of data pertaining to this subject. That control did exist, is substantiated by an examination of the structure of the University of Toronto Athletic Directorate, and by references in the proceedings of the CWIBL to disagreements among the universities on matters of policy.

Statement by Marion Ross, personal interview, November 9, 1975.

Ibid.

See Appendix G, CWIBL Committee Members, 1921-1931.

Specific reference to the disagreements among the universities is made on page 78.

Statement by Marion Ross, personal interview, November 9, 1975.
54 Minutes of the CWIBL, February 24, 1924.


56 Minutes of the CWIBL, February 23, 1921.

57 One hundred rule books were sold in 1924 and four hundred were sold in 1926.

58 No record is made in the proceedings of the CWIBL of the Spalding Committee's response to the CWIBL's proposal. It is presumed that the league received none because it decided in the following year to send a representative to the U.S. University Athletic Meeting to discuss the same issue.

59 Letters of protest were sent to the National Olympic Committee, the President of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada, and the National Director of the YMCA explaining the situation in the Dominion with regard to the detrimental use of men's rules by women.

60 Minutes of the CWIBL, February 19, 1927.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., February 23, 1936.

63 Ibid., February 21, 1924.

64 Ibid., February 20, 1926.

65 Statement by Marion Ross, personal interview, November 9, 1975.

66 Minutes of the CWIBL, February 20, 1927.

67 Ibid., February 16, 1932.
Appendix C indicates the lack of continuity of the committee members with the exception of the Athletic directoresses who served long periods of time throughout the decade.

The scarcity of data on the CWIBL makes identification of the leaders very difficult.

Appendix G indicates the lack of continuity of the committee members with the exception of the Athletic directoresses who served long periods of time throughout the decade.

The scarcity of data makes it impossible to ascertain the degree of power held by Ethel Cartwright.

References to Miss Parkes' position on the league committee are reliant upon comments of former competitors, Marion Ross of Queen's and Iveagh Munroe of McGill as well as an evaluation based on the comments she made in league meetings from 1922-32.

Correspondence of the CWIBL, 1921.
83 Taylor, op. cit. p. 43 cites the Minutes of the Royal Victoria College Athletic Association, 1923.


Chapter IV

A COMPARISON BETWEEN

THE CANADIAN LADIES GOLF UNION AND

THE WOMEN'S INTERCOLLEGIATE ATHLETIC UNION

A determination of the degree to which organized sport competition developed for women in the twenties and the characteristics specific to this development is assisted by a comparison of the two organizations which were both founded specifically to govern women's sport during this period. The comparison aids in an understanding of the position occupied by women's organized sport in Canadian society and facilitates the establishment of a rationale for the direction that women's sport was to take after the depression. In particular, it was the commonalities perceived between the CLGU and the WIAU which appeared as vital components for the establishment of organized sport for women in the twenties while the differences perceived between the two organizations highlighted the specific components of successful growth of competition for women during the period.

From a cursory examination of the decade of development a comparison of the CLGU and the WIAU revealed remarkable similarities between them in terms of the social milieu in which they were centered and the theoretical rationales established by each to justify their existences. Both
organizations were composed of women who belong primarily to the upper-middle stratas of society, who were committed to the development of organized amateur sport consistent with the spirit of good sportsmanship, fair play and friendly competition. An examination of constitutions of the two organizations demonstrated their common commitments, as the 1921 constitution of the CLGU proposed to promote women's golf in Canada, standardize basic rules and procedures for the game, and organize the national tournament. The CWIBL paralleled these aims by claiming its purposes were: the furtherance of basketball for women in colleges, enforcement and development of the rules of the game, and the organization of the annual intercollegiate championship.

In contrast to the theoretical position established by the organizations, a description of the reality of the situation revealed a great number of differences regarding measurable characteristics of competition and league expansion which developed over the first decade. One rather evident feature of contrast appeared in the amount of competitive involvement undertaken by each organization. In 1932, the CLGU had increased the number of tournaments held under its auspices from one national championship in 1919 to numerous competitions in 1932 ranging from city and district
tournaments across Canada to branch championships in eight provinces. It finally culminated its schedule with the national open and closed championships. The Union, in addition, had by the thirties indicated an interest in, and was participating to a limited degree in international competition. A focus on the primary event of the competitive season which was the national championships, revealed that they had gradually increased in size and prestige over the decade thus drawing an increasing number of foreign entries. The national tournament evolved into a two championship affair entailing three weeks of continuous playing. As a consequence of the active competitive schedule, improvement in the skill of the competitors was forthcoming and the handicap was lowered regularly to restrict the championship field to a manageable number of only the top players. Growth of the organization on an administrative level occurred in conjunction with the expanding competitive schedule and membership affiliation throughout the decade increased from an original number of sixteen clubs to two hundred and eighteen clubs across the country. In order to cope with this expansion the national body facilitated the organization of branch offices in the majority of provinces. Administrative affairs on a governmental level witnessed the
augmentation of the national executive from a central committee of six members to a truly national executive who met regularly to discuss the business of the union. By 1932, the CLGU had experienced a steady period of expansion from its inception which encompassed virtually all aspects contained within the concept of the development of competitive opportunity.7

In contrast to the CLGU, competition for women at the intercollegiate level did not reach an entirely organized state during the twenties. It was instead represented by the establishment of separate leagues to govern basketball and later hockey and tennis. A focus on the development of the CWIBL which was the only league that was established at the commencement of the twenties, revealed no actual increase in the number of competitions sanctioned by the league. In fact, from its outset, the competitive schedule for intercollegiate basketball remained one annual championship which allowed a team one game per day of tournament play.8 The limited competitive schedule had a direct affect on further aspects of competitive growth since the opportunity for the players to increase their calibre of play was consequently inhibited. Administrative growth of the league in terms of expansion of its membership was naturally restricted by the
scant number of universities in the country at the time but nonetheless, the league appeared to actively discourage growth by restricting the admittance of other members to its ranks. Throughout the decade, only one additional university team from the University of Western Ontario was accepted. Consequently, the administrative decision making body was augmented to include three more required representatives from Western in order to equalize the number of representatives from the three founding universities.

Competitive opportunity in totality, witnessed limited expansion in the CWIBL in the twenties and it is evident from an overview of the development within the organizations that the CLGU, by actively encouraging development, experienced a greater degree of expansion and growth of competitive opportunity for its golfing members than did the women's intercollegiate league.

The utility of such a comparison is merely to highlight the diversity perceived between the two organizations as it is not possible to formulate any conclusive remarks regarding the type of development experienced by each organization without accounting for the factors which attributed to their divergent development. These factors were of considerable significance as several of them
combined to influence the direction that each organization was to take regarding the development of women's competition in the twenties. One such feature lay in the nature of the two sports and the resulting potential of the respective organizations for expansion. In this regard, the two organizations although both designed to govern women's sport in the twenties, developed under a completely different set of circumstances based primarily on type of sport which they represented.

In support of this contention an examination of the sport of golf revealed that not only was it considered one of the most popular sporting pastimes of Canadians but it was considered as such for women as well. Part of its acceptance as a suitable sport for women at a time when not all sports were socially sanctioned, was based on the fact that it was an individual sport which did not involve ungraceful, vigorous movements, nor any body contact. Therefore, according to the standards established for women's sport in this period, golf, played under the same rules as men was considered acceptable for female participation. Furthermore, women's golf as an institution, was firmly entrenched in Canadian society by means of the numerous private golf clubs which, though originally...
established by men, had begun accepting women's memberships as early as 1894. 13

The impetus for uniting the women golfers into an organized body for competitive purposes was generated through the establishment of a ladies branch of the men's RCGA who had run the annual tournament for women since 1901. 14 Therefore, when the golfing enthusiasts gathered together after the annual tournament in 1919 they had at their fingertips a means of expanding the sport through the private golf clubs to which women across Canada belonged. As a means of further augmenting this potential for growth, the CLGU had a well established administrative and rule structure to emulate in the Ladies Golf Union of Great Britain. In light of the immense popularity of golf in Canada, it was apparent that the social acceptance of the game for women combined with the impetus received from the two established administrative bodies, to produce by 1919 a blue print for the development of a union to promote competition for the growing number of female golfers.

The CWIBL in contrast to the CLGU, was influenced in a different manner by the nature of the sport on which it based its development and also, by the organizational framework within which it developed. Women's basketball was a
sport which was mainly popularized in schools and colleges in the 1920's. The societal acceptance of basketball as a suitable women's team sport was attested to by the fact that it became the first sport to achieve an organized state in intercollegiate competition. From an administrative perspective though, the scope of a league based on competitive basketball at the university level was limited. To illustrate this point, a comparison of the number of universities in the Ontario-Quebec region with the number of individual golf clubs on which the CLGU based its expansion confirmed that the CWIBL had considerably less potential for development. Furthermore, with reference to its potential for development, the league had no preceding organization from which to derive its initial framework because women's basketball had never been played on a national or inter-provincial level prior to the establishment of the CWIBL. The organization's affiliations were limited because the new league was connected in no manner with the men's Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union. In fact, the league was adamantly opposed to having any associations with the men for fear of being dominated and thus having men's rules instituted in women's basketball. As a consequence, the league had no tradition to follow nor organization to
emulate which would assist in establishing a framework for development.

From a perspective of the development of the sport, growth was further complicated due to the nature of the game. Basketball was a team sport where the possibility of body contact was ever present. Therefore, as a result of prevalent social attitudes which frowned at the notion of rough play in women’s sport, the development of a set of rules for the game which were considered suitable for female play, was considered a prerequisite to the establishment of a competitive league. It appeared that the CWIBL desired a type of play which suited their standards and therefore would accept neither the men’s rules for the games nor the existing Spaldings Women’s rules which they considered too restrictive. This left the league with the task of drawing up a set of rules for the game which were conducive of the type of play they desired. Since the development of the game in the league was dependent upon the existence of these rules, their formation evolved as a major priority of the league thus resulting in less consideration being given to the various facets of development with which the golf union was concerned.
Another facet of the development of the two organizations which accentuated the differences between them, was the administrative structure designed to implement the policies of the organizations. The fundamental factor which formed the basis of the differences perceived between the CLGU and the CWIBL was the ideals and policies which were generated by the CWIBL's educational affiliation. To support this contention, the structure of the executive in each organization formed a prime example of the influence of the educational system within which the CWIBL operated.

The CLGU, was guided by a central executive that became the dominant authority for the entire field of organized women's golf in Canada. Its executive created a situation in which they were in complete control of their own affairs and as the majority of them were players, they had the interests of the game itself at heart. The executive was technically free to guide the development of the Union according to their priorities. The CWIBL, in contrast, did not possess complete control over its affairs. It was under the influence of the women's athletic directorates of the universities which each team represented and these directorates were in turn influenced by the non athletic faculty members of the universities who governed the
athletic directorates. Policy was therefore generated from a group which in all probability did not possess the same attitudes towards the development of competitive opportunity for college women as did the players themselves. The situation differed markedly from that of the CLGU and in terms of establishing a program suited to the competitors desires, the CLGU held a more advantageous position than the intercollegiate league.

A further feature of the CLGU's executive structure regarding the effect it had on the policies of the organization which emerged as a contrast to the CWIBL, was the low rate of turnover of its primary leaders. Key women remained on the executive during the first decade who thereby acted as a cohesive force within the Union and served to keep the organization focused on its major goals. The CWIBL most definitely did not experience the same degree of unity. No core of leaders were produced within the administrative body thereby leaving policy to be decided by the three university directorates who often disagreed on key issues. This lack of cohesiveness proved detrimental to the development of the league due to the difficulties confronted in the establishment of a unified policy for growth, a policy which clearly benefited the CLGU.
The strength accrued by the CLGU executive from its unified position was solidified by the continual expansion of the executive in response to the growing membership of the Union. The formation of a larger executive in this case served as a cohesive force in binding the Union as a national entity. Therefore, whilst the CLGU was able to expand its executive and form branch offices, the CWIBL neither expanded its executive to any degree nor did it amalgamate with the other sport leagues to attain a position of greater strength as a unified body governing all women's athletics. Clearly, the CWIBL's executive structure confined within the boundaries of the educational system, did not facilitate the development of the organization to the degree experienced by the CLGU.

Another manifestation of the educational system within which the CWIBL existed, appeared in the educational values espoused by the leaders of the CWIBL. The impact of these values was reflected in the divergent goals of the two organizations. Firstly, an analysis of the various policies established by the golf union during its initial years enables one to conclude that the organization, by increasing the difficulty of competition, encouraging player improvement, and adhering to its policy of national expansion, was
bent on improving the standard of women's golf in Canada. The primary goal of the CWIBL was the creation and subsequent national promotion of a set of rules which in essence ensured that the competitive level of women's basketball would be minimized. The rationale on which these rules were based were derived from the belief that all body contact and over exertion was injurious to the health. The adherence to these beliefs resulted in the formation of strict rules to guard against such occurrences. A further objection to over exertion and rough play resulted in many leaders opposing the acceptance of male coaches as they were believed to inculcate harmful values regarding the training of players and did not fully comprehend the needs of the female physique. The leaders' stand on the issue resulted in a preference for female coaches in spite of the fact that men in many cases, were the best available coaching personnel in terms of their knowledge of the game.

It would appear from the evaluation of the two organization's policies, that competitive excellence was regarded as a far greater priority within the CLGU structure than the CLGU. The successful actualization of the policies established by the CLGU which contributed towards competitive
excellence revealed a further distinction between the two organizations which appeared in an examination of the influential personages of the associations. Clearly, the degree to which the CLGU was able to realize its goals during the 1920's was dependent upon the contributions of the two dominant leaders who actually moulded the goals of the union into a philosophy consistent with their own. Ella Murray's vision of a national union designed to promote women's competitive golf greatly facilitated the CLGU's growth. The Union had in addition, in the person of Ada MacKenzie, a figure for aspiring competitors to emulate and who subsequently devised a system for promoting player development. Progress in both aspects of development, competition and administration, was immeasurably increased through the efforts of these two women. In the case of the CWIBL, situational factors regarding the structure of the university system guarded against the emergence of one administrator devoted to an ideal of competitive excellence and national unity. The two administrative leaders of the league which did emerge, Anne Marie Parkes and Ethel Cartwright, expressed no plans for expansion and in any case their position in this regard was influenced by the directorates which they represented. In the same token,
the system prevented the emergence of an individual as top coach because at this time the pool from which to draw female expertise was rather limited. The effect of this situation was to restrict the potential for skill development. Also, in terms of inspiring the achievement of excellence, a function performed by Ada MacKenzie in ladies golf, the only team which the CWIBL could have aspired to emulate was Edmonton Grads which was an internationally successful women's team. Instead, the league openly condemned the Grads for using men's rules in their games thus refusing to acknowledge the quality of the team's skill.

The effect of this educational system proved again to accentuate discrepancies between the two groups even in areas where their positions were closely related. Such a situation was manifested by the problems which each experienced in their financial affairs. Lack of finances appeared as the major problem which confronted both organizations, ultimately restricting their potential for development. Neither organization had a significant source of income, but again, the CLGU proved itself to be in a more favourable position for handling the problem. To illustrate, both organizations relied on gate receipts from the annual championships as a source of income but the CLGU augmented
this sum with entry fees and membership dues. In addition, Ella Murray's personal donations provided the supplement so necessary for the survival of the golf union's schemes for expansion. The basketball league by contrast, had no such benefactor and was beleagured by a greater financial responsibility than the CLGU as a result of its educational affiliation. Because the CWIBL was dealing with university students, it was obligated to manage the cost of their travel and accommodation for the annual championships. Although the CLGU was desirous of developing a similar team fund for its provincial teams at the championships, it was in no position to accept such an obligation during its early stages of development. It was the freedom from this responsibility that enabled the CLGU to direct its funds towards achievement of its national policy, while the annual tournament of the CWIBL was in view of its financial status, the only realistic solution for structuring its competitive schedule.

Although both organizations were faced with financial difficulties, the CLGU was able through the initial decade of growth, to achieve a more stable economic position than the CWIBL. Evidence of this greater stability was apparent through an examination of the divergent effects.
that the economic slump of the thirties had on the organization. The CLGU as a result of the depression, experienced several cutbacks specifically with regard to the secretary's salary and the length of the competitive schedule. Conversely, the basketball league did not record any similar cutbacks because it had not yet developed to a state in which lack of financial resources had any noticeable effect on its operation. An observation of this nature is based on the assumption that an organization's development is closely related to its pattern of financial growth.

It would appear in summary, that because the CLGU had more to lose in the wake of financial depression, that it had attained a higher stage of development that the CWIBL. Indeed, in virtually all aspects of development, the CLGU evidenced more advanced growth with regard to competitive opportunity. The key factor which attributed to the perceived differences and which led to a greater development in the CLGU was clearly the effect of the educational system on the CWIBL. The educational orientation of the CWIBL was manifested in the values espoused by the CWIBL, its administrative structure, the power of its leaders, its relationship with other associated organizations, and finally, its financial position. The rather adverse effect

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of the CWIBL's educational orientation was coupled with an additional factor that diminished the league's potential for competitive development. This factor lay in the nature of the sport which was being promoted. Essentially, the game of golf was far more popular and well established in Canada in the early 20's and thus had a greater potential for development at an organizational level than did the sport of basketball. To conclude, the myriad of differences between the two organizations stemmed from these two factors and consequently led to greater development in the CWIBL. The comparison however, did not fail to emphasize the similarities between the two organizations and it was these similarities which enable the author to draw general conclusions about the collective nature of women's organized competition during the decade of the twenties.
FOOTNOTES

1 A determination of the societal backgrounds of the sportswomen was established on p. 20.

2 Constitution of the CLGU, 1921.

3 Constitution of the CWIBL, 1921.

4 Reference to the CLGU's involvement in international competition is made on p. 23.

5 Reference to the development of the handicap system occurs on p. 32.

6 Reference to the growth of the club affiliation occurs on p. 40.

7 The concept of the development of competitive opportunity encompasses all facets of growth on an organizational and competitive level which facilitated increased competition for women.

8 Reference to the tournament schedule of the CWIBL occurs on p. 70.

9 Reference to the "Big Three's" hesitation to admit The University of Western Ontario is discussed on pp. 96-97.


12 Men's and women's golf rules were both based on the rules produced by the Royal and Ancient Golf Club of St. Andrew's, Scotland.


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Those English Universities in the Ontario-Quebec region which were developed by 1920 included: Bishop's University, McMaster University, Ottawa University, The University of Toronto, The University of Western Ontario, Ontario Agriculture College, McGill University and Queen's. *A Complete Guide to Canadian Universities*, (Toronto: Forum House Publishing Co., 1969).

The discussion of the level of competition achieved in women's basketball refers strictly to organized leagues.

Reference to the development of the CWIBL's rule system is made on pp. 72-76.

See Appendix D.

Reference to the attitude of CWIBL leaders on the issue of having male coaches is made on p. 77.

No record in the official minutes of Parkes and Cartwright advocating organizational expansion.
Chapter V

CONCLUSION

Certain observations regarding the collective nature of women's organized athletics which were derived from a comparison between the CLGU and the CWIBL, enable one to draw conclusions with reference to one major concern of the study. More explicitly, those commonalities perceived between the two organizations which formed the focus of the thesis, are central to an understanding of the interrelationship between women's organized athletics and the position of women in the larger societal milieu of the 1920's. One predominant illustration of this interrelationship was revealed from an analysis of the social composition of the athletic associations. It was apparent that membership in these leagues which were national or interprovincial in scope, was confined to women from middle and upper middle socio-economic backgrounds. A study of developments from a societal perspective revealed that this particular feature of women's organized sport was a reflection of a larger societal phenomena which resulted from the formation of a new leisure class in Canadian society. By the late nineteenth century, the advent of the Industrial Revolution had had the effect of reducing the endless domestic chores of upper-middle class women thereby confronting them with the
problem of too little work. As a means of filling their lives, a considerable number chose the avenue to personal and social betterment through charitable organizations thus initiating the role of the "Canadian Club Woman". Sport in all probability presented one further vehicle for involvement. In this case the proliferation of women's organized sport at the turn of the century appeared as an integral component of the evolution of women's organized activity.

Clearly, the club movement was an important stimulus to activity as the period of prosperity and social change of the 1920's recorded great advances in the social and economic status of women. The central position occupied by the "Canadian Club Woman" in this regard was illustrated by Nellie McClung who commented that: "Women are coming together in clubs and societies and by this are gaining a philosophy of life which is helping them over the rough places in life". The formation and subsequent expansion of women's organized sport on a national level by the CLGU and by the WIAU on an interprovincial level, appeared to coincide with the new change of women's status which characterized the 1920's. This change in status involved demands by women of the middle strata of society for a single, moral and economic standard.
for men and women. Consequently, men, who were unaccustomed to having women strive for equality, clung to the Victorian ideals of manliness and patriarchy as the only way to maintain their identity. To some degree this position by men in the twenties was reflected in the relations that the CLGU and to a lesser extent, the CWIBL maintained with their male counterparts.

With reference to the CLGU, its early years witnessed a situation in which the RCGA maintained tight control over its development. Gradually, the CLGU managed to achieve autonomy, however the men's organization continued to hold provisional hold over financial aspects of development. The relationships which existed within the intercollegiate scene were of a more subtle nature. Although the CWIBL operated completely devoid of support from the Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union, it did so for fear that any assistance from the men's organization would lead to their complete domination. Also, from another perspective, the administrative hierarchy of the CWIBL was such that the university president and the faculty body retained a position of authority over the women thereby effectively preventing complete autonomy of the organization. In sum, the collective features of women's organized athletics mirrored aspects of a larger societal milieu out
of which women of the twenties gained greater rights and freedoms. 13

In addition to establishing the relationship between women's organized athletics and women in society, the common characteristics perceived between the two associations enable one to gain insights into the nature of women's sport. Indeed, a prevalent question raised by the study was concerned with the significance of the development of organized competition in relation to the totality of women's sport in the 1920's. An evaluation of the growth of the two organizations within a decade in which the CLGU did succeed in establishing itself as a truly national organization and the CWIBL facilitated the standardized development of women's basketball in educational institutions, confirm that organized competition did constitute an integral and significant component of the growth of women's sport. Consequently, a conclusion of this nature provides one further rationale for recording the period of the 1920's as the golden age of women's sport in Canada.

In order to adequately understand the nature of women's sport, it is necessary to consider the distinct features of organized competition in addition to its collective characteristics. With regards to this
consideration, it was evident that the nature of the competitive experience was emerging in at least two distinct tracts whose division was based primarily on the educational orientation of the associations. An analysis of the non school organization of the CLGU indicated that it had in a decade, expanded from a small cluster of clubs in the Ontario-Quebec region to a national organization whose membership extended to all provinces. The leaders within this framework were dedicated to the establishment of a network to facilitate competition and encourage skill development from local to national levels. College sport for women on the other hand, was much less grounded in the ideals of competition. It was evident that the leaders of the CWIBL designed their positions on women's athletics to be in accordance with three general factors which tended to downplay the element of competition. The maintenance of educational objectives as a means of guiding the development of the intercollegiate program constituted a prime factor in this regard. An analysis of the situation revealed that the league had taken the position that athletics was not designed purely to develop elite competitions which was a major aim of the more competitively oriented CLGU. Its aim rather, was to promote the educational ideals of good
sportsmanship, obedience, experience in team work as well as facilitating the development of social values through interaction with members of other institutions.\textsuperscript{15} Competition was most definitely secondary to the attainment of these values.

A second factor which influenced the type of development experienced by the CWIBL, was the beliefs upheld by the leaders regarding appropriate social behaviour for women. These beliefs were manifested in the formation of rules which were designed to prevent unfeminine body contact and to restrict aggressive movement in the game.\textsuperscript{16} A further conviction which occurred in conjunction with the opinions regarding acceptable behaviour for women was expressed by the Dean of Women at McGill University. Her disapproval of the publicity to which the players would be subjected during a competition reflected a lingering Victorian notion that women should be unobtrusive.\textsuperscript{17} A final condition which governed intercollegiate competition was derived from the predominance of medical opinions which maintained that physical training could lead to physical straining.\textsuperscript{18} Again, great precautions were taken in forming rules to guard against over exertion and fatigue in the players.\textsuperscript{19}

The combination of these three considerations on the
part of the CWIBL had the effect of reducing the intensity of competition within the games thus limiting the development of competitive opportunity for the players. In view of the approaches advocated by the leaders of the two organizations, it appeared that the influential members within the CWIBL were expounding a philosophy of morality and behaviour consistent with their own upbringing and training based on the Victorian ideal which required modesty, propriety, and protection of the feminine qualities of the fragile female.  

The player leaders of the CLGU on the other hand, by striving for competitive excellence and organizational growth, seemed to embody the ideal of the "new woman" of the twenties in which an increasingly liberated younger generation of middle class women were overturning the Victorian code of purity and demanding equal societal status.

It is necessary to recognize at this juncture that the CLGU's expansion was not entirely a function of the leader's policies since the direction followed by the organization was the result of many influences. The highly popular nature of the game of golf and its inherent potential for rapid growth was indeed a major factor which positively influenced the CLGU. Its popularity was widespread and extended specifically to women as the game allowed them to
retain a quality of femininity and beauty whilst actively competing. The inherent qualities of golf were lacking in the game of basketball as it was played by men's rules therefore the game required modification in order to meet the standards imposed by the CWIBL leaders. Nonetheless, the development of the CLGU within the traditionally male dominated sphere of organized sport was indeed a significant indicator of women's efforts to gain equality and advancement in social and economic issues. Therefore, in view of the accepted premise that sport can act as an initiator of change, one may conclude that the distinctive trend developed by the CLGU was both a process and a product of the social change of Canadian women during the 1920's.

An analysis of both the collective features and the divergent trends in women's organized athletics, facilitate an evaluation of the initial policies and procedures which guided the development of competition for women. The formation of conclusions regarding the implications that these trends had on the future development of competition constitute another area of concentration within the study. It was readily apparent that the future trends in women's organized athletics were dependent upon certain societal and organizational parameters. Again, the educational
orientation of the institutions proved to be a prime determinant of the direction of future growth. The development of the CWIBL illustrated the effects of this particular parameter in that its leaders set the tone for a gradual, cautious growth of athletics within the educational sphere. In the case of the non school organization of the CLGU, all indications pointed to its continued expansion and suggested that a similar occurrence was possible in subsequent national club organizations.

A predominate feature which was common to both the school and club structures was their socio-economic composition. Clearly, a middle to upper-middle social background was a minimal criteria for inclusion within these organizations, which therefore suggests that a trend of this nature was to persist beyond the twenties in women's organized sport. Distinctly associated with the upper-middle socio-economic backgrounds of the CLGU and the CWIBL was the central philosophy which they espoused. The British ideal of sportsmanship and the many values inherent within such a concept was indeed widely upheld and it was evident that such a philosophy would continue to characterize development within organizations of this nature.

A final socially related trend can be identified
with the nature of the sport associated with the particular organizations. The development within the CLGU best exemplified the fact that the social acceptance and popularity of a given sport was an important criteria for its development. Clearly though, the impetus for the growth of both organizations was contingent upon a prior social acceptance of the sport which ultimately led to the birth of the associations in central Canada. From a geographical perspective then, it was apparent that in the future, the development of women's organized competition would emanate primarily from Ontario. Such a trend was a natural consequence of the fact that Ontario, during the 1920's, comprised one-third of the population of Canada and was considered the centre of Canadian sport.

An overview of the organizational components of development within the CLGU and the CWIBL revealed several factors which were also determinants of the future expansion of women's organized athletics. A prime factor in this regard which was demonstrated by the influence of the LGU, the RCGA and the university structure, was the existence of a framework from which neophyte organizations based their structures. Such evidence suggests that the impetus for the establishment of future women's organizations was
largely dependent upon a supportive body to aid in development. Once established though, it was apparent that success was affected to a great extent by the existence of a centralized executive who were committed to the realization of a common goal. The expansion witnessed within the well-structured CLGU in comparison to the rather confined growth of the CWIBL whose executive was not solidly unified, clearly support such a contention. A final trend which manifested itself was an outcome of the great difficulty encountered by both organizations with regard to financial issues. The problem of funding was very likely to continue to hinder the development of women's non-profit organizations which were designed to govern amateur sport at a competitive level.

In summary, the magnitude of the criteria upon which the achievement of a national or interprovincial scale of development in athletics was dependent, suggests that subsequent development in this area of women's sport would be a gradual process. Initially, it would most likely consist of organizations associated with the upper-middle stratas of society which had some type of organizational framework from which to establish themselves. Most certainly, the ideals of sportsmanship would continue to dominate.
women's competition although with a distinction remaining between school and non school organizations.

A final issue to be dealt with in attempting to conclude the study is an evaluation of the utility of employing a technique of organizational analysis to write a history of the development of competition within the CLGU and the WIAU. Very briefly, the analysis encompassed three general areas in which the chronicle of events focused on the formal aspects of the organization including its task, structure and control mechanisms. The history of individuals in institutions centered on the leaders' expressed group tendencies and on the social processes identified with them. Lastly, the history of trends revealed emerging ideas and movements resulting from the organization's process. This framework was incorporated into a discussion of competitive and administrative developments and leadership influences within the two organizations and focused on major questions dealt with in the thesis. The comparison between the organizations intensified the analysis by highlighting similarities and differences perceived between the two, thus lending further insights into the analysis. Employing such a methodology in essence allows the many components of the organization's development to blend into
a greater understanding of women's sport in the period of the 1920's. A study of this nature provides an innovative means of analyzing Canadian social history. 27

With reference to future research in the area, the author recommends that the same model for organizational analysis be employed in order to determine the actual pattern of growth which did occur within the CLGU and the WIAU during the period immediately following the decade of the 1920's. A study of this nature would facilitate a greater understanding of the direction that women's organized athletics was taking and the subsequent influence that a different period of social and economic development had on this growth.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid.


6 Nellie McClung, In Times Like These, (Toronto: McLeod and Allen, 1915), p. 34.


9 See p. 34.

10 See p. 36.

11 See p. 121.

12 See p. 89.


See pp. 71-73.

See pp. 73-76.


See p. 75.


Peter Filene, op. cit., p. 129.

M. Ann Hall, op. cit., p. 79.

See p. 74.


## APPENDIX A

### CANADIAN LADIES GOLF UNION OPEN AND CLOSED CHAMPIONSHIPS 1920-1932

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NUMBER OF COMPETITORS</th>
<th>HANDICAP</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1920</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
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<td>144</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925*</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1928</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pionship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>110</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>135</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>No champ</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pionship</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Championship results of 1924 and 1925 were unrecorded.
APPENDIX B

CLGU SYSTEM FOR DETERMINING COURSE PARs

1920-1925

"The Par of every course is fixed at the score which a lady champion could do under normal medal conditions, when playing at her best, always allowing two putts for each green, and broadly speaking, from the lengths of the holes in accordance with the following scale.11*

1920-24

A hole under 175 yards, par 3
A hole over 175 yards and up to 350 yards, par 5
A hole over 350 yards and up to 500 yards, par 5
A hole over 500 yards to have special consideration

1926-32

A hole 200 yards and under, par 3
A hole 200 yards to 375 yards, par 4
A hole 375 yards to 500 yards, par 5

*CLGU Yearbook, 1920-32, "Report of the CLGU Pars Committee".

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APPENDIX C

CLUB FEES OF THE CANADIAN LADIES GOLF UNION

1921-1932*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTRANCE FEE:</th>
<th>1921-32</th>
<th>$ 10.00</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANNUAL FEES:</td>
<td>Clubs less than 100 lady members.</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clubs of 100-200 lady members</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clubs of 201-300 lady members</td>
<td>15.00</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Clubs of 301-400 lady members</td>
<td>20.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clubs of over 400 lady members</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
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*Constitution of the CLGU 1921,1932.
# APPENDIX D

## EXECUTIVES OF THE CANADIAN LADIES GOLF UNION

### 1919-1928

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>1919</th>
<th>1920</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1922</th>
<th>1923</th>
<th>1924</th>
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**Prov.:**
- Ont. (Toronto)
- Nova Scotia
- Quebec
- Ontario
- Manitoba
- B.C.
APPENDIX D (continued)

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*1926 and 1927 listed only 4 officers.
**1928 listed only 11 officers.

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APPENDIX E

NATIONAL-PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE MEMBERS WITH
ATHLETIC RECORDS IN CLGU YEARBOOK*

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<th>NAME</th>
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<td>Miss Hope Gibson</td>
<td>1922</td>
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<td>1922</td>
<td>Runner up, Ontario Championships</td>
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<td>Miss Helen Paget</td>
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<td>Runner up, Canadian Closed</td>
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<td>1923</td>
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<td>Winner, Quebec Championships</td>
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<td>Miss E. Bauld</td>
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<td>Runner up, Maritime Championships</td>
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<td>Mrs. R. Bearisto</td>
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<td>Mrs. D. Laird</td>
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<td>Runner up, Manitoba Championships</td>
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<td>Winner, Bermuda Ladies Open (2 times)</td>
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<td>Miss Rideout</td>
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*Record is not complete.
Reasons for having only one championship may come under the following classification -- 1. Climate. 2. Experience. 3. Expense. 4. Representation. 5. Physical.

1. CLIMATE. Our country is not suited climatically to the holding of two championships, distances between the cities are too great and as the East has only about four to six months golf, compared to some parts of British Columbia where golf is played all the year round, it is impossible to divide the time of holding the championship, as they do in England, when the British (Open) is held in the spring, and the English (Closed) is held in the autumn.

2. EXPERIENCE. Low handicap players are anxious to participate in tournaments that will give them match play against stronger and better players. At present golf is not developed among our women as it is in the United States. We have not developed enough low handicap players, to compete in a closed championship to make it worth while. If we could concentrate on the development of more competitive play in the districts, (such as Field days in Quebec), we would have more entries for the closed tournament and the brand of play would not be mediocre as it is at present. While not appearing to be unpatriotic it is only natural, if a player has the preference of two weeks' golf, she would rather go where she would get more experience and better golf, therefore she would choose the Open and the National tournaments.

The question arises whether match play is better for a person than medal play. In the former the personal element is supposed to be a great factor, but within recent years the score in match play seems to have replaced the personal factor. Every competitor is out to make the lowest possible round even in match play.

3. EXPENSE. Three weeks tournament golf as it now is, proves very costly to the individual, especially for an amateur sport. Distances are so great between cities that it makes it expensive travelling. Also golf as a sport is an expensive one, so the result has been that players, due to the expense, have not been
attending in large numbers the closed championships, and it has been made more or less a provincial affair. Why is it that the Royal Canadian Golf Association only hold one tournament? Have we not been a little premature in starting two tournaments? The men need the experience as much as the women do, and as for expenses, they have the money (we are dependent upon them financially more or less). Yet they are satisfied to have one Open Championship.

4. REPRESENTATION. While we agree it would be nice to have our own champion, why cannot our players win the open? Then we would have a Canadian champion. Does not representation mean as much as having our own champion? Is it not important for our players representing our country, to take part in the National? The experience one receives at the National is invaluable. Rather should the emphasis be placed upon participation in the open and the National than having a closed tournament where the play is mediocre.

5. PHYSICAL. Biologically, women cannot stand the strain of continuous play. The following is a resolution passed at a meeting of the American Physical Association:

WHEREAS "a large number of medical authorities and trained women in the field of physical education hold the opinion based on practical experience that formal spectator athletic contest in any athletic activity, bring about detrimental effects upon the physiological processes and emotional reactions of girls and women participation".

Thus, from a physical point of view, it is harmful for women to take part in a three weeks of tournament golf, as it is arranged at present.
APPENDIX G

CWBL COMMITTEE MEMBERS FROM QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
1921-1931

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**Athletic Directoress

**It is not known whether Miss Chown was in fact an athletic directoress but from her service record it was apparent that she was a faculty member.
## CWIBL COMMITTEE MEMBERS FROM MCGILL UNIVERSITY
### 1921-1931

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*Athletic Directoress

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APPENDIX G (continued)

CWIBL COMMITTEE MEMBERS FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO 1921-1931

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* Athletic Directoress
** Faculty Member

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### CWIBL Committee Members from the University of Western Ontario

#### 1928-1931

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* Athletic Directoress
APPENDIX H

INTERVIEW FORMAT

1. Could you describe how and when you were introduced to your sport?
   - reasons for competing
   - popularity of the sport

2. Could you describe what it was like when you were actively competing in your sport?
   - number of years of active competition
   - personal success
   - type of training
   - type of coaching
   - facilities for training and competing
   - major events in competitive season

3. Could you comment on the amount of participation in your sport?
   - opportunity for women to compete
   - number of competitors and changes
   - number and level of competitions and changes
   - effects of the depression on the amount of participation

4. Could you comment on any publicity that you received as a competitor?
   - press

5. Were you aware of the effect of any British or American influences on your sport?

6. Could you comment on your involvement with the administration or describe how it was run?
   - identification of leaders
   - structure
   - goal or objectives of the organization
   - finances
   - relations with related men's organizations
APPENDIX H (continued)

Questions specific to the CLGU
1. What was your opinion of the handicap system of the CLGU?
2. Could you comment on the CLGU's efforts to par all courses?
3. Which club did you play out of and what were the fees?

Questions specific to the WIAU
1. What effect did the rule changes have on competition?
2. What was the effect of having more universities join the basketball league?
3. What was women's basketball like in comparison to the men's game?
APPENDIX I

RESEARCH MODEL

EVENTS (NOMOTHETIC DIMENSION) \rightarrow TASK STRUCTURE \rightarrow COMPETITIVE AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT

EXTRAORGANIZATIONAL (SOCIAL)

TRENDS \rightarrow PATTERN OF ORGANIZATIONAL GROWTH (INTRAORGANIZATIONAL CHANGE)

RELATED ORGANIZATIONS

MEN (IDOGRAPHIC DIMENSION) \leftrightarrow ADMINISTRATOR'S BEHAVIOR \leftrightarrow LEADER INFLUENCE

\rightarrow DECISION MAKERS
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS


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**B. INTERVIEWS**

Darling, Dora, néé Virtue. Member of the CLGU, 1925. Personal taped interview with the author, Montreal, November 1, 1975.
Fraser, Alexa, neé Stirling. Member of the CLGU 1925-. Winner of American Women's Amateur Championship in 1916, 1919 and 1920. She won the Canadian Women's Open in 1920 and 1934. Personal taped interview with the author, Ottawa, October 1, 1975.

Holmes, Helen, neé Paget. Member of the CLGU, 1920-. She was Chairman of the Pars Committee, Ontario Branch of the CLGU, 1928 and travelled with Mrs. Murray on promotional tours of the CLGU in 1920's. She was the winner of numerous provincial and national championships during the twenties. Personal taped interview with the author, Toronto, October 21, 1975.

McBain, Margaret, neé Laird. Member of the CLGU, 1920-. Personal taped interview with the author, Toronto, October 20, 1975.

McDougald, Maude, neé Smith. Member of the CLGU 1919-. She was the winner of numerous district, provincial and national championships. Personal taped interview with the author, Toronto, October 21, 1975.

Mills, Evelyn. Member of the CLGU, 1920-. She became Chairman of the National Pars Committee in 1929. Personal taped interview the author, Ottawa, November 6, 1975.

Moyer, Mary. Member of the CLGU, 1925-. Personal taped interview with the author, Ottawa, October 16, 1975.


Rochester, D. Member of the CLGU in the 1920's. Personal taped interview with the author, Ottawa, Ontario, October 16, 1975.


Rowe, Kathleen. Executive member of the CLGU 1919-1929 and Executive Secretary from 1929-1932. Personal taped interview with the author, Toronto, October 21, 1975.
Stuart, Mrs. C.A. Member of the CLGU 1925-. She was handicap manager for the Ontario branch during the 1930's. Personal taped interview with the author, Toronto, October 19, 1975.

C. PROCEEDINGS AND REPORTS


Wise, S.F. Author of Canada's Sporting Heroes. Personal taped interview with the author, Ottawa, October 12, 1975.

D. PERIODICALS

Canadian Golfer, The. November 4, 1929, 40-44.


Lee, Mabel, "A Case For and Against Athletics for Women Since 1923", Research Quarterly. II (May, 1931), 93-125.

Lindsay, P. "Women's Place in Nineteenth Century Canadian Sport", CAHPER Journal. XXXVI (October 1970), 25-33.


E. DISSERTATIONS


F. MINUTES AND CONSTITUTIONS

Constitution of the Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Basketball League, 1921.

Minutes of the Canadian Ladies Golf Union. September 1919 - December 1932.

Minutes of the Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Basketball League. February 1921 - December 1932.

Minutes of the Toronto University Athletic League. 1905.

Minutes of the University of Toronto Women's Athletic Directorate. 1920-1924.

Rule Book of the Canadian Women's Intercollegiate Basketball League, 1927.

G. ADDRESSES AND ESSAYS


VITA

NAME: Sheila Louise Mitchell

PLACE OF BIRTH: Winnipeg, Manitoba

YEAR OF BIRTH: 1952

POST SECONDARY EDUCATION AND DEGREES:

The University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
1970 - 1974 B.P.E.