
Let Us Take Care of Our Field: The National Association for Physical Education of College Women and World War II

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In March 1942, Ruth Atwell, Chair of the National Section on Women's Athletics (NSWA), which governed women's rules for sports, pledged America's female physical educators to the nation's massive defense effort in a time of war, when the prevailing mood called for everyone to make sacrifices for the good of their country. Writing in the *Journal of Health and Physical Education*, she called for her colleagues to use their professional expertise in the aid of the nation:

...our work is an essential phase of the country's defense program... we who are trained leaders should make work on expanded and better programs our "defense job." *Let others take care of other phases but let us take care of our field even though our first impulse might be that we should roll bandages.*¹

This pledge was well in keeping with the NSWAs "War Time Credo," which called for the profession to carry on its work promoting female physical activity during wartime.² The Credo's seven "Belief Statements" held that "the tendency to decry participation in recreational activities as a diversion of energy from serious war effort is both fallacious and harmful."³ It also called for the NSWA to be vigilant to ensure that its "Desirable Practices in Athletics for Girls and Women" would become the cornerstone for all wartime physical activity programs.⁴

Some two decades later Atwell recalled how her profession's war work helped America's female physical educators to "spread the word" far and wide about the NSWA and women's sport.⁵ During the war they created physical training programs for the U.S. Army Air Forces (AAF) basic training and programs of

sports and recreation for female enlistees. In doing so, they extended NSWA sports rules and governance structure to the Army Air Forces and to wartime industry.

This disseminating of a woman-centered vision of physical activity and the NSWA governance structure was a centerpiece of professional female physical educators' efforts to take care of their field. Their conception of "appropriate" activity for females, a central ideological value in their professional world-view, had long been articulated by them through their professional organizations and separatist sport governing bodies.⁶ Constructing a system of sport competition despite restrictions such as play days and modified sports rules, and maintaining separate physical education programs for women, female physical educators had several decades of experience in resisting the dominant male model of sport and physical activity long before WWII had begun. Their work was informed by notions of female frailty, and it was institutionalized through a number of professional organizations, including the National Association for Physical Education of College Women (NAPECW). To these organizers, athletics and intense competition were hierarchically oriented, masculinizing activities that needed to be eschewed in favor of process, inclusivity, and direction at the hand of maternal governors, whom they believed would act "for the good of the girls." Their model of appropriate female physical activity emphasized qualities considered to be feminine in the dominant culture, just as the male model emphasized masculine ones.⁷

World War II offered female physical educators unique opportunities to extend their work beyond the walls of educational institutions. Through wartime military and civic voluntarism, they aimed to use the military system and the wartime situation for their professional ends by extending their authority over women's sport. While the terms of women's military participation were determined by the predominantly male military, female physical educators used the military and the wartime situation in America to further institutionalize the preferences that they had for women's physical activity and to further their profession on their own terms. As Atwell's call for female physical educators to "take care of our field" suggests, this resistance to male dominance was an ongoing process that continued before, during, and after the war.

To illuminate this phenomenon, which has been neglected and marginalized in the existing literature of the history of WWII, physical education, and women wartime workers, this essay identifies and discusses briefly the "field" to which Atwell was referring, and the ways in which certain female physical educators used the wartime situation to sustain their particular domain: a separate world of female sport and physical activity. After outlining the pre-war construction of this domain, and the coalition of similarly motivated institutions designed to regulate women's sport and physical education, this essay focuses upon the wartime and postwar activities of the NAPECW, the organization that dealt with issues associated with the training of female physical educators in America's colleges and universities. Throughout its wartime effort the NAPECW aimed to shape a postwar world, which encouraged girls and women to become physically active.

At war's end it used Army Air Forces (AAF) resources to uncover ex-service women trained in physical education and recreation and place them back into civilian jobs in the profession. The NAPECW's massive, civilian-based campaign to repopulate a targeted female professional group, certainly a notable event in the history of WWII demobilization, reveals how one group of female professionals conceived of and conducted their war work during a period of national crisis.⁸ It also provides a unique opportunity to see how female physical educators struggled to promote controlled physical activity for women.

Female Physical Educators, Women's Sport, and the NAPECW

The professional involvement of female physical educators during WWII was preceded by a lengthy history of their promotion of female physical activity.⁹ As early as 1885, a handful of women united with some sixty-or-so other interested parties working in the area of health promotion, medicine, physical culture, and education to form the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education. Because it included both men and women, this organization was an anomaly in the male-dominated world of late nineteenth-century professions.¹⁰

In their efforts to promote physical activity for girls and women, early female physical educators were informed by notions of female biological limitation that were perpetuated in the popular medical literature of the day and by social practice." The effect was paradoxical, while liberating women's bodies through emancipating movement activity, they nevertheless adhered to the notion of the essential biological difference between males and females. This reinforced traditional social constraints through the conviction that certain physical activities were dangerous for female minds and bodies. For example, Catharine Beecher's *Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families* stressed the importance of exercise for females to cultivate the domestic qualities essential for fulfilling their "natural" duty as mothers and moral guardians.¹² This health reform rationale espoused by Beecher and by those in the emerging physical education profession at the turn of the century encouraged white middle-class girls and women to become physically active to better ready them for their biological destiny of producing a fit, healthy population in an newly urbanized and industrialized world.¹³ If women were to attend college, this line of thinking went, physical activities that emphasized feminine grace and beauty could replenish their vital energy, which was popularly believed to be depleted by intellectual work.

Female professionals working in the colleges and preparing future physical educators for employment in schools and other institutions, such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), thus had a unique calling. Sports like basketball provided them with a vehicle to carry out their social agenda of creating "appropriate" feminine physical activities. Soon after James Naismith invented the game of basketball in 1891, female physical educators like Smith College's Senda Berenson and Sophie Newcomb College's Clara Gregory Baer rewrote the rules of basketball to "feminize" the game. Their games aimed to eliminate

rough and vicious play and encourage teamwork. Crossing zone lines, dribbling, snatching the ball, or touching opponents were all rule infractions.¹⁴ By 1899 female physical educators had created a Basketball Committee to standardize modified rules for women's basketball, and in 1905 it became a standing committee of the American Physical Education Association.¹⁵

Over time the "feminizing" or "modifying" of games was extended to other sports, and women's rules became the domain of what would become the National Section on Women's Athletics (NSWA), a forerunner of today's National Association of Girls and Women in Sport (NAGWS).¹⁶ By WWII, women's rules existed for many sports, regulated by women professionals and published for the NSWA by the A.S. Barnes Company.¹⁷ The regulation of sports rules and the certification of member institutions and individual game officials were bases of NSWA power.¹⁸ So too were the behavioral standards ("desirable practices") set by the NSWA, which articulated the concept of "appropriateness" in physical activity.¹⁹ The policies created aimed "...to safeguard girls' sports and to help bring to every girl the opportunity to take part in recreational athletics suited to her strength."²⁰ According to physical educator and sport historian Joan Hult, the social agenda of promoting physical activity "for the good of the girls," and striving to find a "girl in every sport and a sport for every girl," was coupled with a political agenda of female physical educators to control whatever programs were to exist for females. They "...set out to achieve control of girls' and women's athletics programs. They began by seeing the whole world of female athletics as their domain and the setting of standards, policies, and rule modifications as within their purview."²¹

The NAPECW was among the earliest and most influential organizations to control women's sport in America.²² In 1909 Amy Morris Homans, director of the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics and a founding "mother" of American women's physical education, called for a much-needed dialogue among directors of physical education in women's colleges.²³ She aimed to empower professional women by breaking down the barriers that had separated individuals within the insular, gender-based "separate sphere" in American colleges. But this power was by design limited to a small, select group. Initially, only directors of accredited four-year college programs were eligible for membership in the NAPECW, and nominated candidates were subject to a two-thirds vote to gain entrance into the organization. Although by 1932 teachers were included as associate members, they were excluded from voting and office-holding until World War II.²⁴

Mabel Lee, professor of physical education at the University of Nebraska and president of the NAPECW during the mid-1920s, offered a glimpse of the association's early protective impulse. She noted in her well-known *A History of Physical Education and Sports in the USA* that the NAPECW was a coalition of regionally based groups of women, which provided a forum for peer-mentoring. Female physical educators "were turning to each other for help, for guidance, and they did not want any of their staff members sitting in on these so very exclusive and private meetings where they could confess their ignorance and help each other."²⁵ In 1923 the platform of the newly created Women's Division of the

National Amateur Athletic Federation (WD NAAF) made female physical educators' intentions clear on the matter of male incursion into what they considered to be female territory. Male involvement in female physical activity—as teachers, coaches, or administrators—was out of the question in their opinion, even though many male professionals shared their concern about big-time college athletics and were allies of the women's cause to promote “appropriate” physical activities for females.²⁶

The NAPECW was thus one link in a coalition of similarly motivated organizations, including the NSWA, the Athletic Federation of College Women, and the WD NAAF, intended to regulate women's sport and physical education in America. These organizations of female physical educators had overlapping memberships. As Joan Hult notes, “The same individual might belong to more than one group—and occasionally all four.”²⁷ The NAPECW laid the foundation for the cause by training female physical educators to adhere to women's sports rules and “desirable practices.” The NSWA provided a structure for governance and a voice to spread the word by affiliating itself with as many other women's organizations in America as possible.²⁸

The Profession and WWII

By December 1940, the NSWA began a strategy for its involvement in wartime preparedness.²⁹ Within months it passed resolutions supporting national defense, which were a blueprint for the organization's civilian war work. They included cooperating with national defense plans, protecting the educational elements of physical education programs, supporting the Schwert Bill for wartime physical preparedness, curtailing nonessential extracurricular activities during wartime, and preparing women for wartime community leadership. The organization also created a Committee on National Defense to focus on defense activities in education.³⁰

Within a year and a half, female physical educators and other American women found the military domain opened to them when the United States War Department authorized female military involvement for the national war effort.³¹ The Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) aimed to have women to fill manpower shortages in order to release men for combat in a total war. The WAAC, which in 1943 became the Women's Army Corps (WAC), brought thousands of American women into the war effort in an unprecedented way.³² By V-E day, May 8, 1945, women could be found in many other branches of the Armed Forces, including the Navy, the Air Force, the Marine Corps, and the Coast Guard. They could also be found in support services, such as the United Service Organization, the Red Cross, and the YWCA, as well as in government agencies like the Federal Security Agency and the Office of Education. Female enlistees and volunteers, of course, were helped in many ways by the quiet contributions of the countless numbers of women who kept American homes, factories, and schools on the “home front” running during the national war crisis.

By 1942, the NAPECW's president Elizabeth Kelly, who was a member of the national "Hale America" Fitness Campaign, could praise the organization's membership for their overwhelming response to the call of war. "We are told," Kelly reported, "that we can be proud of the performance of the members of our profession who represent us in such great numbers in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and the Women's Naval Auxiliary Corps. Those who are staying in the teaching positions are also giving a much needed service and doing it in a most commendable way."³³

On the military front, prohibitions against female combat stood as a basic principle and guiding philosophy for female involvement in the war. Women were to be noncombatant, although many did witness combat and lost their lives. Accordingly, women's military labor was to be circumscribed carefully by the AAF. Traditional gender-based work, for example, occupied the WACs, including jobs in clerical, transport, communications, health care, kitchen, and administrative work. In some cases, such as the Women's Air Force Service Pilots, women stepped well outside traditional gender-based boundaries. But these situations were generally rare and certainly short-lived.³⁴

Wartime mobilization created distinct problems for the female physical education profession. Female physical educators were needed to design and implement sports, recreation, and physical training programs for enlistees, and to use their specialized knowledge in exercise prescription and physical rehabilitation. The profession's civilian ranks were quickly depleted through AAF drives to enlist university-educated women (who were given perks such as officer rank) and through the Medical Corps' demands for physical therapists to rehabilitate injured soldiers. For those who did not enlist, decreased student enrollments, the curtailment of college programs, and the use of college campuses for military training threatened the job security of civilian professionals.³⁵ As evidenced by personal correspondence, NAPECW leaders were acutely aware of their diminishing civilian workforce and concerned about the potentially disastrous long-term effect that this situation would have on their profession.

They also had very practical concerns about women leaving their separate sphere to enter into a male-dominated military world. The army had its own traditions regarding sport and physical activity, and these traditions were at odds with the women's alternative model. The aid of well-placed enlisted professionals who worked behind the scenes in the military, such as Captain Donna Niles, Officer in Charge of WAC Physical Training for the AAF Military Training Division, worked to the profession's advantage.³⁶ With help from such allies inside the military, the NSWA had few problems encouraging the WAC to adopt its system of women's rules within a year of the creation of the Corps.³⁷ This ensured that "every precaution [was] taken to safeguard the health and safety of the women" who took part in military sports programs.³⁸

It is tremendously difficult, however, to assess the extent to which the mandated NSWA rules prevailed in military units outside the carefully monitored WAC training bases.³⁹ Although saying nothing about the NSWA rules specifically, Wanda Wakefield's *Playing to Win, Sports in the American Military*,

1898-1945, provides ample evidence of how the spirit of these rules were violated in the WWII military context.⁴⁰ Focusing mainly upon the sporting activities of Navy women (the WAVES), Wakefield chronicles the vast number of sporting activities available to military women—including “volleyball, archery, basketball, bowling, tennis, table tennis, badminton, and softball”⁴¹—and the importance that these activities held for the social well-being of enlisted women, who, like homosexual men and African Americans, were marginalized in military culture. Wakefield argues cogently that women taking part in military sport were objectified and sexualized for male pleasure—something that the NSWA agenda aimed clearly to avoid.

Beyond this there is much evidence in the NSWA papers that other, more specific abuses to “desirable practices” occurred often and throughout America. For example, WAC teams traveled between bases to play against commercial teams for gate receipts.⁴² These instances generally went on outside the controlled environment of WAC training bases—which were the center of the profession’s power—among women who were assigned to units in the field. In response to this situation, the NSWA adopted a strategy of civilian monitoring of WAC units through encouraging civilian professionals to report evidence of “undesirable practices” as they occurred locally throughout the United States.⁴³ Even so, as Ardelle Carlson, Chair of the NSWA for the State of Utah, discovered in January 1945, local-level action did not always work:

...the WAACs [sic] at Camp Kearns, Utah, were playing basketball in an Industrial League in Salt Lake. The team is made up of Colored Girls. The league is one that is sponsored by men, coached by men and refereed by men, and they play boys rules... I have talked to a number of the players and they were willing to play girls’ rules if we can swing it for next year. I have also talked to a couple of the coaches, and got my ears pinned back.⁴⁴

In raising this issue at a meeting of the National Civilian Advisory Committee of the WAC of which she was a member, Mabel Lee found little satisfaction:

When I brought up the matter of WAC basketball teams touring the country and causing much unfavorable comment and dissatisfaction among women physical education teachers in general, the two women physicians on my committee and a few WAC officers who sat in on our meeting informed me most emphatically that it was none of my business nor anyone else’s business... I wasn’t quick-witted enough at the close of the meeting to jump up and demand a hearing on a minority report, but maybe it is just as well. I intend to talk these things over personally with Colonel Hobby next month. I am sure that she will not feel that it is none of our business, for she is very eager that the WAC be accepted by civilians.⁴⁵

As Lee and others discovered, the assurances given by heads of command to the profession sometimes had little bearing on what was being done in the field. The sporting experiences of enlisted women thus appear to have been too large a matter for the profession to control.

Regarding physical training during basic training, the other area of the

military in which enlisted female professionals were the most involved, myriad problems arose, stemming from females engaging in types of activities that were off-limits to them before the war. Until WWII the male military had used programs of physical training, coupled with highly competitive and combative sports, to harden soldiers for combat.⁴⁶ But women were to be non-combatant. Given this constraint, enlisted female physical educators struggled to design and administer physical training programs for women in basic training and in the field.⁴⁷ Their effort to establish physical training for the basic training of WAC enlistees was particularly problematic.⁴⁸ For example, in the WAC official history, historian Mattie Treadwell pointed out that women's physical training was the "only one masculine-type course, [which] encountered serious objections on the grounds that it might be harmful to women ...it appeared impossible to please everybody... more time and concern was given to this one course than to any other, with less satisfactory results."⁴⁹ But female physical educators, like other patriotic Americans, nevertheless were committed to contributing to their nation's war effort. Despite the numerous problems that they encountered and the inherent contradictions between their espoused professional philosophy and the rigors and demands made upon them by the military, they were eager and willing war workers.

Professional Planning for the Postwar World

Throughout their war effort, female physical educators in general and the NAPECW specifically aimed to contribute much more than simple war work. They hoped to create a postwar world that encouraged girls and women to step beyond gender constraints to become physically active. In June 1943, after co-sponsoring with the U.S. Office of Education a seven-day "Victory Through Fitness" Workshop, the NAPECW urged the office to establish a permanent division in Health and Physical Education and to formulate peacetime health and physical education programs for colleges and universities.⁵⁰ The "solution of war-time needs," reflected the workshop's coordinator, Laurentine Collins, "has a direct relationship to all plans and hopes for the postwar world... As citizens, educators, and teachers of physical education it [is] mandatory that no sharp separation be made in that thinking directed to war programs and purposes and in that thinking directed towards post-war plans."⁵¹

This concern for protecting and advancing peacetime programs for girls and women remained a constant professional concern of the NAPECW.⁵² By war's end NAPECW president Elizabeth Halsey identified postwar planning as being the most urgent concern of the day. "How shall we meet the problems of the returning veteran?" she wrote in an open letter to NAPECW members. "Will the WACs and WAVES come back to college? Will our physical education teachers who have gone into the Red Cross and other war services return to teaching?"⁵³

Of course, concerns over the restoration of normalcy in the postwar world preoccupied all of American society. The historical record of demobilization

indicates that females were often sent home abruptly to reestablish their “proper” roles in society.⁵⁴ Clearly, countless numbers of demobilized women found a postwar world of limited occupational and social possibilities. Anticipating this scenario, the NAPECW devised a strategy to deal with the reemployment of demobilized women physical educators. It hoped to ensure that these women returned to their professional fold without the wartime interruption damaging their professional careers, and also to do what it could to prevent veterans from leaving the profession altogether. The NAPECW had a twofold strategy: to protect the separateness and sanctity of their profession as a female preserve; and to ensure that those women who had been war workers returned to work in the civilian profession.

In the former effort, the NAPECW had a half-century of well-calculated professional practice to fall back on. This practice involved a well-crafted balancing act that emphasized gender differences on the one hand and equality with men on the other. As early as 1943, physical educator Rosalind Cassidy of Mills College spoke to this issue, arguing that female physical educators could not be displaced from their jobs in the postwar world as other women would be, since they had entered the war from a separate professional world where men had no place.⁵⁵ By design, males could not return and expropriate jobs in this female profession since their gender already excluded them.

In an attempt to maintain this separate world, the NAPECW instituted a Placement Bureau in November 1945 designed to place demobilized U.S. Army Air Forces female physical education veterans back into jobs in college and university physical education programs. This grand scheme involved a long-range plan for the profession “to build up a nest egg” of employable professional practitioners to ensure its dominance over women’s sport and physical activity.⁵⁶ The Placement Bureau gave female physical educators opportunities to find peacetime employment at a time when countless other American women, especially servicewomen, were struggling in a radically restricted employment market. Eventually it provided placements for all physical education job vacancies, growing to include civilian women who had worked in the war effort, not just ex-servicewomen.⁵⁷ In doing so, the NAPECW presented itself as a “‘big sister’ [for women] while they were going through what was turning out for them to be a difficult readjustment period.”⁵⁸ This big sister motif, a maternal approach often taken by liberal feminists, was used masterfully by female physical educators. It was just as evident in the NAPECW wartime discourse as it was in the “for the good of the girls” agenda promulgated by the NSWA.

Mabel Lee, while sitting on the National Civilian Advisory Committee of the WAC, argued strenuously to military and civic leaders that the helping of demobilized women to find their way in the postwar world was “a war job still to be done.”⁵⁹ WAC propagandists, acutely aware of the bind that the limited civilian workforce presented to women veterans, lamented this situation in the *WAC Bulletin*.⁶⁰ An open letter to NAPECW members penned by Lee reminded all of their duty to help demobilized women:

...Professional contact gives a clear-cut picture of the ex-service women, eager for advice, for a helping hand, and for sympathetic understanding and patience at this critical time in her career. Particularly restless and unsettled in her thinking about her future is the woman who saw overseas service. Those of us who are on college faculties have a special opportunity to be big sisters to these ex-service women who are enrolled in college this year. It will mean much to them if we will take the trouble to get acquainted with them and let them know that we are ready to help them. The sacrifices that they made for us in the years just past bespeak our service to them now.⁶¹

The NAPECW's Placement Bureau's campaign to track down ex-servicewomen and find them suitable jobs in their field was massive and impressive considering the technological constraints of the times (bulk surface mailings of mimeographed material) and the fiscal constraints of the project (volunteer staffing, and a shoestring budget of some \$50). The committee "scoured the country to learn of possible openings and put the women in touch with these sources" of jobs.⁶² Such activities led Mabel Lee, Chair of the Placement Committee, to use her military "insider" status as part of the National Civilian Advisory Committee of the WAC to establish NAPECW connections to AAF and government offices.⁶³ The plan apparently worked: page 1 of the War Department *Separation Counselling Bulletin* featured an advertisement for the NAPECW's Placement Bureau.⁶⁴ The directors of the WAC, the Coast Guard, the Women's Marines, and the Surgeon General all helped the NAPECW to identify ex-servicewomen with physical education backgrounds.⁶⁵ And the Army Medical Corps promptly sent the Bureau the names, addresses, and other personnel information regarding some 411 physical therapists who had physical education and recreation training.

The committee also worked through less formal channels to attract demobilized women. Advertisements posted at Army and Navy separation centers, as well as in the offices of the YWCA and the American Red Cross, reached enlisted and volunteer women. The *Journal of Health and Physical Education* and the *WAC Newsletter* advertised the NAPECW program; and the National Recreation Association, the Industrial Recreation Association, and AAHPER each channeled qualified women into the placement pool. Yet efforts to locate women who had entered war-related industry to conduct industrial recreation programs proved fruitless. Apparently home front workers were the hardest to track down, presumably owing to the decentralized and vast nature of the civilian-based war industry, Nor could USO volunteers who joined up through an agency other than the YWCA be uncovered by the placement committee.⁶⁶

While the absolute number of professional physical educators involved as workers in the war effort will likely never be known, the NAPECW does have detailed records of the women who were actively assisted by the Placement Bureau. These records and committee correspondence offer some clues to the types of women attracted to the prospect of a postwar professional job. To be sure, the bureau was self-consciously class- and race-bound. It designed its postwar activities to "encourage people to enter the field of physical education, but see that ...their

cultural background is the equivalent of other teachers.”⁶⁷ In addition, like the profession itself, the program consisted almost entirely of white women. Only one African American woman is recorded as being aided by the Bureau. Considered to be a “special” case, she was referred to a job in a historically black college through Mabel Lee’s contacts with the prominent Negro activist and member of the National Civilian Advisory Committee of the WAC, Mary McLeod Bethune.⁶⁸

The Placement Bureau’s records also reveal the types of war work done by physical educators and the nature of the postwar professional world that they entered. The NAPECW’s fears regarding a diminished postwar workforce were apparently well-founded. Only half as many registrants surfaced as there were jobs available.⁶⁹ One hundred and twenty qualified placement registrants came from some twenty-eight states (mostly from the Central, Northeastern, and Southern regions), and they vied for some two-hundred twenty-six available professional positions located throughout thirty-seven states. The registrants all held baccalaureates, while half of them held a master’s degree. A handful of the women, an impressive six percent, held a doctorate which, considering the times, was a rarity. As shown in the war work background of the registrants on Table I, three-quarters of them came from either the Army Air Forces or War Related Services. A smaller proportion of them spent the war in non-service-based occupations, presumably in jobs such as recreation for war-related industry.

Table I
The War Work Background of
NAPECW Placement Candidates

<i>War Work Background</i>	percent
Army Air Forces (AAF)	
Army Medical Corps (AMC)	24%*
WAVES	12%
WAC	9%*
SPARS	7%
Marines	5%
Navy Medical Corps (P.T.)	2%
 <i>War-Related Service</i>	
American Red Cross	12%
USO	2%
Army Air Corps (civilian)	1%
Non-Service	26%
Total Registrants (N=120)	100%

*3 duplicated in AMC/WAC; Source: *NAPECW Report, 1946-7; in rounded figures.*

Most of the positions filled by the candidates involved college or university placements, an obvious area of NAPECW concern, since it was in the training of future professionals that much of their power over women’s sport and physical activity resided. In fact, as seen on Table II, some sixty-eight percent of the women expressed interest in this type of position. The remainder preferred jobs in the fields of recreation, high school teaching, YWCA employment, and grade school teaching. Many of the qualified candidates were interviewed by prospective employers at the 1946 St. Louis, Missouri, AAHPER Convention.⁷⁰

Table II
NAPECW Placements

<i>Places</i>	<i>% of calls</i>	<i>% placed</i>
Colleges/University	68.1	34.1
YWCA	14.1	4.2
High School	9.7	13.4
Medical/Phys. Therapy	3.5	6.6
Elementary School	3.5	-
Foreign Service	.4	-
Veterans Administration	-	5.8
Community Organizations	.4	3.4
Graduate Student	-	3.4
Placed but unknown where	-	29.1
Total n.	226	120

Source: *NAPECW Report, 1946-47; in rounded figures.*

Unfortunately, the anxieties of placement candidates about readjusting to civilian life and reentering the civilian professional workforce have been largely not recorded. What is more well-documented is the legacy of those who ascribed to the NAPECW agenda. Even so, some clues remain in official correspondence and in the handful of personal testimonials sent to the committee and included in the final report. “After 41 months in the service,” wrote one unnamed, yet grateful, woman applying to the Bureau, “the prospect of civilian life and securing a position for the fall seems almost terrifying. Your letter expressing a desire to help us in our great need makes one feel that this transition isn’t so bad after all.”⁷¹ Another woman wrote in a way that revealed her sense of professional commitment: “I was quite delighted with the idea that someone in the association was interested enough in the profession to recognize one of the most important problems facing professional women upon discharge from the service and to do something about it.”⁷² Finally, one letter must have been music to NAPECW ears when it stated: “I am sure [the Placement Bureau] has aided in the reestablishment of many of the girls who might have left the profession had this interest not been shown.”⁷³

Whatever successes resulted from their Placement Bureau scheme, female physical educators, to be sure, did not emerge from World War II with uncontested power over all female sport and physical activity. Many battles remained to be fought in extending their own unique vision for female sport and physical activity. After the war, for example, the perennial debate reemerged over whether drill-oriented combative-style physical training ought to replace a pedagogically oriented model of physical and movement education.⁷⁴ “Military science is not physical education!” became the rallying cry of the women and their male professional allies as they wrestled with the prospect of college administrations crediting either past military service or newly developed ROTC programs for students to fulfill college physical education requirements.⁷⁵ Irene Clayton of Bryn Mawr College argued privately to Lee, “We must see that the military drill of women never replaces physical education. It should be in addition to physical education.”⁷⁶ The militarist tendency of using physical activity as an instrument of imposed discipline was repugnant to many professionals—both male and female—on pedagogical grounds. Female physical educators also believed that the military model, with its emphasis on certain male-oriented social and physical skills, was inappropriate for women.⁷⁷

Despite these continuing battles, World War II had much to offer female physical educators. As architects of their own separate sphere, they believed their wartime work was tremendously important to their cause. The military and thus the national government’s sanctioning of the NSWA rules and standards had formally empowered their vision. The WACs disseminated NSWA rules well beyond the confines of educational institutions, to all of America and wherever American troops were located. The wartime emphasis on fitness spearheaded by John B. Kelly’s “Hale America” National Fitness Campaign focused national attention on the need for physical fitness and physical activity for all Americans—children, men, and women. And to this end, the campaign provided female physical educators a new and important public forum to operate within, broadening the profession’s opportunities to cooperate with agencies—military, government, and community-based—in its quest to promote female physical activity according to its own vision.

In the decades after the war, the women’s profession came to hold a nostalgic view of the importance of the war years to its work, and the oral histories and published reminiscences of professional leaders such as Ruth Atwell and Mabel Lee reflect this view. By 1958 female physical educators enshrined their own version of their wartime work and its effect upon their profession through their time-honored myth-making medium—a historical pageant. In March of that year, at the 60th National Convention of AAHPER in Kansas City, MO, the Division for Girls and Women in Sport (DGWS) presented a pageant titled *Women in Action. The Story of DGWS, 1892-1958*.⁷⁸ A well-crafted script accompanied the pageant’s visual images of girls and women in historic costumes moving to music. It celebrated female physicality and the wartime gains made by the profession:

Script: Just as we were beginning to roll along in tine style, it was 1941. The bombs fell at Pearl Harbor; and the officials' whistles blew "Squads right!"

Music: "Stars and Stripes Forever" [on the accordion]

Stage: Enter four women in military uniforms of 1942, marching abreast. Official blows whistle and the standing lines of pyramid fall in behind them in column of fours and continue marching.

Script: Some of us were in USO or Red Cross, doing the hokey pokey.

Music: "Doing the Hokey Pokey."

Stage: Enter a woman in Red Cross uniform. She leads the front line of the pyramid in the hokey pokey.

Script: Some of us were in industry.

Music: Continue the "Hokey Pokey" with jerky vibrato.

Stage: Second line of pyramid stimulates riveters.

Script: And FITNESS was the watchword.

Music: "Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning."

Stage: All performers start doing toe touch, Burpee exercise, push ups, sit ups, etc. The two calisthenic girls come running out and start doing the Smith routine with great enthusiasm.

Script: Wherever NSWA women went, they took their Guides with them,— into the military services and into industry and recreational programs. In the far places where Red Cross girls carried on their invaluable services, they did a little missionary work with schools and women's groups on the side. And in our schools, thanks to the insistence of the women physical educators who stayed at home to keep on doing the essential job of teaching, the girls still played.

Music: "Trojan Marching Song." (Fight On for Old SC)

Stage: All sports performers enact their sports

Script: In 1945, we all returned to our schools and recreation jobs.

Music: Continues

Stage: Led by military services, all performers tile off the stage.

Script: But life had changed for women and would never be quite the

same again. We were now recognized as an indispensable part of the team, and the stage was set for further progress...⁷⁹

For the audience packed into that Kansas City sports arena, the spectacle must have indeed been memorable: WWII was just over a decade away, and the nation was focused on yet another war, the Cold War. Once again concerns over national fitness preoccupied the nation.

The profession had steered its own course between these two wars through what Joan Hult terms “An Age of Transition,”⁸⁰ a period when the profession’s idealistic philosophy of competition began to be reconciled with the reality of the emergence of popular and highly competitive programs for women in the post-WWII world.⁸¹ This reconciliation involved subordinated groups—working-class women, professional athletes, women of color, women outside American colleges, and women of a younger generation—both challenging and resisting the women’s alternate model as it was constructed by female physical educators who endeavored to define *the* way to play. By redefining their world view, professional leaders responded to the challenges made to their leadership. Only then could female physical educators continue to make claims to lead and represent all through the years leading up to the 1972 passage of Title IX.

But it was during WWII that the NAPECW and its allies in the profession appropriated elements of legitimacy from systems that were traditionally outside its seat of power. And by replenishing the potentially “lost” members of the profession who may or may not have returned to the fold after demobilization, the profession had accomplished a prescribed task that it had set for itself. Female physical educators diligently responded to Ruth Atwell’s “let us take care of our field” call.

The NAPECW’s activities during wartime and its placement of female veterans back into jobs in the profession provides a glimpse of how American female physical educators used the wartime situation to sustain a particular domain: their separate world of female sport and physical activity. It also provides a record of a much-overlooked women’s profession as it provided war work for its country in a time of need. These glimpses are only a piece (but a heretofore largely neglected piece) of the larger picture of the story of the female physical education profession and women’s sport in America.

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1. [italics mine] “Women’s Athletic Section News.” *Journal of Health and Physical Education* (hereafter *JOHPE*) 13 (March, 1942), 197-8.
2. NSWA, “War Time Credo.” (1942). NSWA Files, Hearst Gymnasium, University of California, Berkeley. See also NSWA Newsletter, 3 (May 1942), 2.
3. “War Time Credo.”

4. Ibid.; NSWA, "Desirable Practices in Athletics for Girls and Women." (NSWA: Washington, DC, 1941).
5. Ruth Atwell Interview (c. 1965), American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance (AAHPERD) Archives, Reston, Va. Atwell was a Professor Emeritus of George Washington University at the time of the interview. She had been active in the NSWA between 1936 and 1953, holding positions such as chairman of the publications committee and legislative board member.
6. For an overview, see Joan Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women. Leadership by Women Physical Educators." *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* Centennial Issue (April 1985), 64-77; also see Idem, "The Story of Women's Athletics: Manipulating a Dream, 1890-1985." In D. Margaret Costa and Sharon R. Guthrie, eds., *Women and Sport. Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (IL: Human Kinetics, 1994), 83-106.
7. See, Susan Cahm, *Coming on Strong: Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth Century Women? Sport* (NY: Free Press, 1994); Michael A. Messner, *Power at Play. Sports and the Problem of Masculinity* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992); Michael A. Messner and Donald F. Sabo, "Toward a Critical Feminist Reappraisal of Sport, Men, and the Gender Order." in Idem. *Sport, Men, and the Gender Order. Critical Feminist Perspectives* (IL: Human Kinetics, 1990), 1-16.
8. I have not been able to uncover any other instances of a civilian professional group similarly canvassing veterans in the U.S. Army Air Forces (AAF) in order to place women in a civilian professional labor force.
9. On the history of the profession see, Paula Welch and Harold Lerch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport* (Springfield, IL: Thomas, 1981), 169-188; Mabel Lee and Bruce Bennett, "A Time of Gymnastics and Measurement." *Journal of Physical Education, Recreation and Dance* 54 (April, 1985), 19-26; Betty Spears and Richard Swanson, *History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States* (Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1995 ed.); Dorothy S. Ainsworth, *The History of Physical Education in College for Women* (NY: A.S. Barnes, 1930).
10. See Samuel Haber, *The Quest for Authority and Honor in the American Professions, 1750-1991*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), for the "gentlemanly" origins of nineteenth-century professions.
11. On the medicalization of women's bodies and physical activity, see: Patricia Vertinsky *The Eternally Wounded Woman. Women, Doctors, and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* (IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994 edition); Idem, "Women, Sport and Exercise in the 19th Century" in Costa and Guthrie. *Women and Sport*, 63-82, Martha H. Verbrugge, *Able-Bodied Womanhood: Personal Health and Social Change in Nineteenth Century Boston* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); Helen Lenskyj. "Common Sense Physiology: North American Medical Views on Women and Sport, 1890-1930." *Canadian Journal of History of Sport (CJHS)* 21 (May 1990), 49-64.
12. Catharine Beecher. *Physiology and Calisthenics for Schools and Families* (NY: Harper and Bros., 1856); See also, Patricia Vertinsky, "Sexual Equality and the Legacy of Catharine Beecher." *Journal of Sport History* 6 (Spring, 1979), 38-49; and Linda Borish, "The Robust Woman and the Muscular Christian: Catharine Beecher, Thomas Higginson and their Vision of American Society." *The International Journal of History of Sport* 4 (1987), 139-154.
13. For a fine description of the world of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century female physical educators, see Betty Spears, *Leading the Way. Amy Morris Humans and the Beginnings of Professional Education for Women* (NY: Greenwood, 1986).
14. Joan S. Hult and Marianna Trekell, *A Century of Women's Basketball. From Frailty to Final Four* (Reston, VA: AAHPERD, 1991); Joan Paul, "A Lost Sport: Clara Gregory Baer and Newcomb Ball." *Journal of Sport History* 23 (Summer 1996), 165-174.
15. Joanna Davenport, "The Tides of Change in Women's Basketball Rules," in Hult and Trekell, *A Century*, 83-108.

16. Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women"; For a broader treatment of the profession and its involvement in sport governance see Hult, "The Story of women's Athletics"; Karen V. Epstein, "Sameness or Difference? Class, Gender, Sport, the WD NAAF and the NCAA/NAAF." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 9 (August, 1992), 280-287; and Paulajeane Searcy, "The History, Organization, and Function of the Division for Girls and Women's Sports, 1940-1962." (M.Sc. thesis, Smith College, 1962).
17. Women's Division, NAAF, NAPECW, and NSWA Files, AAHPERD Archives, Reston, Va. Folders on Standards for Competition and Legislative Minutes; Also NSWA and NAPECW Files, Hearst Gymnasium, University of California, Berkeley. By wartime the NSWA had subcommittees dealing with aquatics, archery, badminton, basketball, fencing, field hockey, golf, lacrosse, officials rating, outing clubs and winter activities, recreational games, riding, soccer, softball, speedball, tennis, track and field, and volleyball Rules were distributed throughout the United States and Canada to professionally affiliated physical educators and coaches. See Eline Von Borries, *The History and Functions of the NSWA* (n.p., 1941).
18. For the philosophical basis of this approach see, Joan Hult, "The Philosophical Conflicts in Men's and Women's Collegiate Athletics." *Quest* 32 (1980), 77-94.
19. Examples of governance legislation include: "Original Resolutions as Adopted by the Conference on Athletics and Physical Recreation for Women and Girls, April 6-7, 1923." Reprinted in Betty Spears and Richard Swanson, *History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States*, 240-241; NSWA, "Desirable Practices in Athletics for Girls and Women." (Washington, DC, 1941). For a history of the WD NAAF see, A.A. Sefton, *The Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Federation* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1941).
20. *WD NAAF Membership List and Platform* (NY: April 1936). The WD NAAF Platform included promoting: athletics activities that meet female "needs" and "capacities"; enjoyment-based competition and emphasizing good sportsmanship; awards of little or no extrinsic value; promoting an ethical basis for sport; "suitable" sporting apparel for females; "adequate" environments and facilities for activity; the training and employment of women for leadership in sport; protecting female (reproductive) biology; protecting females against highly competitive and commercialized sport; a distinct system of sport for girls and women; and modifying existing sports for girls and women.
21. Hult, "The Story of Women's Athletics," 87.
22. Spears and Swanson, *History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States*, 241. See also, Ellen Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women, 1923-1936." *Journal of Sport History* 2 (Spring, 1975), 1-28.
23. Humans first called the women together in 1909; however, "The Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women" was not created until 1915, and it was for women living in the Eastern United States. In 1923 women from the Eastern, Mid-Western, and Western Societies met and drafted a resolution to form the Association of Directors of Physical Education for Women in Colleges and Universities. They held their first meeting in 1924. The organization changed its title in 1944 to National Association for Physical Education of College Women when its membership broadened to admit staff members. See Phyllis Hill, ed. "*The Way We Were: A History of the Purposes of the NAPECW 1924-1974*" (NAPECW, 1975); Dorothy S. Ainsworth, "The History of Physical Education in Colleges for Women (USA)," in Earle F. Zeigler, ed., *A History of Physical Education and Sport in the US and Canada* (New York: Stipes, 1975), 167- 180; Mabel Lee, *A History of Physical Education and Sports in the USA* (N.Y.: John Wiley & Sons., 1983), 195-196, 272-273.
24. NAPECW Files, Hearst Gymnasium, University of California, Berkeley. Elizabeth Halsey, "The Life and Lights of the NAPECW," (1962), 5. In 1942 the membership restrictions were fully lifted. Membership numbers increased tremendously over a thirty-year period: there were 16 members in 1924; 132 members in 1934; 249 members in 1944; 591 members in 1954; and in 1961 there were 960 members. (p.8)

25. Lee, *A History*, 195. Lee argued that such an organization was essential for women's success in directing physical education programs in colleges and universities and overseeing the women's sport rules system.
26. "Original Resolutions as Adopted by the Conference on Athletics and Physical Recreation for Women and Girls, April 6-7, 1923."
27. Hult, "The Governance of Athletics for Girls and Women," 63. According to the author, the four groups, "spoke almost as a single voice in opposing varsity sports for women." See also, Gerber, "The Controlled Development of Collegiate Sport for Women, 1923-1936."
28. Von Borries, *The History and Functions of the NSWA*. Organizations contacted included: The American Association of University Women; Camp Fire Girls; the Federation of Women's Clubs; Girl Scouts; Lions Club; National Recreation Association; Rotary International; the Young Women's Christian and Hebrew Associations.
29. AAHPERD Archives, NSWA Minutes, December 1940.
30. AAHPERD Archives, NAPECW Papers. Resolutions adopted by the NAPECW, Atlantic City, New Jersey. 29 April 1941.
31. On American women and WWII, see, Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982).
32. Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington, DC: Department of the Army, 1954), 14-15; Betty J. Morden, *The Women's Army Corps, 1945-1978* (Washington, DC: Center of Military History, US Army, 1990), 3-33.
33. *1942 Record of the National Association of Directors and Teachers of Physical Education for College Women*, 3.
34. See, for example, the case of female air pilots in "Demobilization and the Postwar Transition: 1945-1949" in Deborah G. Douglas, *United States Women in Aviation, 1940-1985* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1991), 57-68.
35. In one instance, one female professor of Physical Education (16 December 1942) received a letter from her Department Head that noted the possibility of her not getting her contract renewed at the prominent American University where she worked. It stated, "I feel fairly certain that at least four, possibly five, staff members in the women's division will be affected by the curtailment." Whether this occurred at other campuses is unknown, although likely. The female professor in question became a Red Cross volunteer. NSWA Files, University of California at Berkeley. For accounts of other women's experiences, see Sharon L. Van Oteghen and Allys M. Swanson, *AAHPERD Leaders: The First 100 Years* (Reston, VA: AAHPERD, 1994), 56; 61-3.
36. As C.H. McCloy who was working in the Office of the Surgeon General at the time, remarked privately to Mabel Lee, he had confidence in the profession's "insider" connections to the military. Referring to Cpt. Brenda Boynton (who was the head of Physical Training for the WAC in Washington at the time) and Dr. Margaret Craighill (Boynton's director, who was the Dean of the Women's Medical College of Pennsylvania, and the Director for the WAC in the Office of the Surgeon General), McCloy wrote: "If you have anything to suggest, Boynton and Craighill are the people to work through. They will push things, and if you have some good ideas, send them on." Mabel Lee Papers, AAHPERD Archives, Reston, Va., 22 Oct. 1944.
37. Lee Papers, 22 Oct. 1945. In a letter to Gertrude Manchester of Georgia State College for Women, Mable Lee refers to at least four such well-placed individuals. Although they are unnamed in this correspondence, other sources suggest their identities (for example, Lee to Donna Niles, 15 August 1944). Their positions included Head of PT. at the WAC Des Moines Training Center (Elna Lombard, who held a B.Sc. from Peabody College); two heads of WAC P.T. stationed in Washington (presumably Donna Niles, a graduate from St. Olaf College who held a master's degree in physical education from Columbia University and Cpt. Brenda Boynton), and a woman described as working under General Bradley overseas. All had received commendations for their work in WAC

physical training. On the role of the profession in these commendations, see Nancy B. Bouchier and Marla Steiner, "The Politics of the Physical: American Female Physical Educators and the U.S. Army Air Forces at War." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11 (April 1994), 7 (especially footnote 66). Niles left a teaching position at Northwestern University to join the WAAC in July 1942, and soon rose through the ranks to become the Chief of the Physical Training Section, and later Chief of Health and Well-Being for the WAC in Washington, D.C. During her war-work she kept in constant contact with civilian professionals and both presented at and attended AAHPER conferences. Her correspondence with civilian leaders, particularly Mabel Lee, continued throughout and after the war. Others whom she corresponded with during the war on matters related to the profession included: Ruth Glassow, Dorothy LaSalle, and Anna Espenschade, as well as C.H. McCloy and Arthur Steinhouse. Her diligence in keeping tabs on WAC sport activities to ensure NSWA rules were enforced raised some eyebrows in military circles. In May 1943, a monthly report of the Special Service Activities of the base at Daytona Beach includes an unsigned handwritten note about Niles's request for more information about base activities: "Why does Niles need a copy?" it asked, "That office should *not* build up files." NARA RG 165-54 box 126—353.8. 31 May 1943.

38. War Department. *Circular No. 282 section 8*, 7 July 1944. The NSWA rules were specifically identified in this document.
39. Maj. Lavina L. Redd, "History of Military Training: WAAC/WAC Training." (p. 10). NARA RG 165-54-122. The three largest WAC training bases included sites at Des Moines, Iowa (July 1942-Dec. 1945; 56,00 trained); Daytona Beach, Fla. (Oct. 1942-Jan. 1944; 28,000 trained); Fort Olgeethorpe, Georgia (Jan. 1943-Jan.1945; 52,949 trained). Other forts in Massachusetts, Louisiana, and Arkansas trained a further 6,264 women.
40. Wanda E. Wakefield, *Praying to Win. Sports and the American Military 1898-1945* (Albany: State University of New York, 1997).
41. *Ibid.*, 112.
42. Lee Papers. For example, Leona Holbrok of Brigham Young University, Southwest District NSWA Chair to Alfreda Moss crop of Vassar College, Coordinator of State and City NSWA Representatives, 29 Nov. 1944; Virginia Miller, Chair of the Milwaukee Association of Women's Officials to Mabel Lee, 20 Dec. 1944, reporting that teams from Camp Grant and Fort Sheridan played boys rules and competed against commercial teams.
43. *Ibid.* Jessica Nixon, Chair of the Cleveland Board of Women's Basketball Officials to Mabel Lee, 6 December 1944, Mabel Lee to Anna Espenschade of the University of California at Berkeley, Chair of the NSWA, 5 January 1945.
44. *Ibid.* Ardelle Carlson to Alfreda Moss crop, 26 January 1945.
45. *Ibid.* Mabel Lee to C.H. McCloy, 23 February 1945.
46. On the military and sport, see Wakefield, *Playing to Win. Sports and the American Military, 1898-1945*; Steven W. Pope, "An Army of Athletes: Playing Fields, Battlefields, and the American Military Experience, 1890-1920." *The Journal of Military History* 59 (July 1995), 435- 56; Donald Mrozek, "Sport and the American Military: Diversions and Duty." *Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport* (1985), 38-45; Donald Rominger, "From Playing Fields to Battleground: The United States Navy V-5 Preflight Program in World War II." *Journal of Sport History* 12 (Winter, 1985), 252-264; Timothy O'Hanlon, "School Sports as Social Training: The Case of Athletics and the Crisis of World War I." *Journal of Sport History* 9 (Spring, 1982), 1-24.
47. The problems were numerous and ongoing. For example, when eager WAC physical trainers designed their own makeshift obstacle course, Pentagon officials responded swiftly to curtail the activity. (Whether the course had actually been constructed is unknown.) National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) RG 165 SPWA 353 4 August 1943. Memo. No.W635-16-43 6 August 1943.

48. Bouchier and Steiner, "The Politics of the Physical: American Female Physical Educators and the U.S. Army Air Forces at War."
49. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps*, 638. In a letter from Mabel Lee to C.H. McCloy dated 27 Oct. 1944, Lee expressed her incredulity that women's physical education/physical training could be a source of problems for military authorities. She wrote: "Why is Colonel Hobby not pushing physical education? Has she unpleasant experiences with it?" She also responded in this letter to an earlier observation made by McCloy that p.e./p.t. for women was just not a high priority for the AAF. She wrote, "Your belief that physical education is purposely shunted to one side puts an altogether different light on it, I just never dreamed of that situation. I surely was taken in, as you say, *if* [sic] you are right."
50. NAPECW. *Victory Through Fitness Workshop* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1943), 5.
51. *Ibid.*, 6-7. At the time Collins was a member of the National Committee on Physical Fitness.
52. *Ibid.* For example, among the concerns that were raised at the conference were: "What tensions between men and women are likely to arise when the men return from war expecting to take over these jobs again?"; "There is great danger in the present plethora of opportunities for women. Can girls be guided to make choices which will make them permanently better fitted for their role in society?"; "How may the present desire for and practice of fitness be preserved to carry over into the post war period?"; and "How may we help young women to balance professional life with home and child bearing?"
53. NAPECW. *Record of the NAPECW. Biennial Report of the Districts and Committees, 1944-1945*, 6.
54. For example, see, Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War II* (CT:Greenwood Press, 1981); D'Ann Campbell, *Women at War With America. Private Lives in a Patriotic Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1981); Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*.
55. NAPECW. *1943 Record of the National Association of Directors and Teachers of Physical Education for College Women*, 33.
56. Lee Papers. Mabel Lee to Gertrude Manchester, 22 October 1945.
57. *Ibid.*, Memo from Lee to the Committee, 15 January 1946.
58. Final Report of the Committee of NAPECW for Placement of Ex-Servicewomen Trained in Physical Education and Recreation. *Record of the NAPECW 1946-1947*, 37.
59. *Report of the Conference of the National Civilian Advisory Committee for the WAC*. (Washington, 31 July 1946).
60. *WAC Bulletin*, (14) 13 November 1945, 2.
61. Lee Papers, AAHPERD. Lee to NAPECW membership, 10 October 1946.
62. Lee, *A History*, 272-3.
63. For a full accounting of her WWII activities, see Mabel Lee, *Memories Beyond Bloomers* (Washington: AAHPER, 1978). Lee's status on the National Advisory Committee of the WAC provided her with access to well-placed WAC leaders. See, for example, correspondence to Mrs. Oswald Lord, National Chairman of the National Civilian Advisory Committee, WAC, 11 September 1945.
64. War Dept. *Separation Counselling Bulletin. Information Bulletin No. 12* (Washington, DC: Office of the Adjutant General, 1946).
65. Lee Papers, 26 November 1945, letter to Colonel Westray Battle Boyce (WAC). Similar letters were sent to Captain Dorothy Stratton (Director of the SPARS), Colonel Ruth Cheney Streeter (Director of the U.S. Women's Marine Corps), and to the Surgeon General.
66. *NAPECW Report, 1946-47*, 37.
67. *NAPECW Report, 1944-5*.

68. Lee's relationship with Bethune is unknown, but it appears to have been limited to their work on the NCAC of the WAC and their correspondence involves only this particular case. Whether the school in question was Bethune-Cookman College is also unknown; however, the records show that the Bethune was a trustee for the college in question, which needed a female physical educator. *NAPECW Final Report, 1946-7*, 41; Lee Correspondence 31 July 1946.
69. Lee Papers. Mabel Lee to Mrs. Oswald Lord, 31 May 1946. Lee speculated, in maternal fashion, that this could be due to "the fact that they all were taking orders for so long from superior officers and had to abandon their former habits of making decisions for themselves." "If this is true," she writes, "it cannot help but take many months to readjust to the old ways."
70. *Ibid.* Lee to Placement Committee, 18 April 1946.
71. *NAPECW Report, 1946-1947*, 37.
72. *Ibid.*
73. *Ibid.*
74. To be sure, this wasn't entirely a "woman's issue"-many male leaders in the field, for example, Charles H. McCloy, were equally opposed to the militarist model for pedagogical reasons. In a letter to Lee dated 11 January 1945, he writes: "I think that we need to do some plain talking about postwar programs, or we are apt to find the Army running away with the ball." On the historical relationship between physical education and military preparedness see, Welch and Lerch, *History of American Physical Education and Sport*, (1981), 169-188; Gerald Redmond, "Historical Aspects of Fitness in the Modern World." in *Physical Activity in Early and Modern Populations* (American Academy of PE Papers, No. 21, 1987), 22-33.
75. Lee Papers. Mabel Lee to NAPECW Committee 10 October 1946; *NAPECW Newsletter*, 1949, 9 "Military Training versus Physical Education." After the Conference of the National Civilian Advisors Committee of the WAC. 31 July 1946. Lee advised the NAPECW regarding the' discussions about the establishment of women's ROTC programs. She wrote candidly to Irene Clayton of Bryn Mawr, "The possibility of establishing a women's ROTC on college campuses throughout the country is still in the 'hush, hush' stage. What little I know, I know because of my membership on General Eisenhower's CAC for the WAC. Since it still is in the confidential stage, we cannot talk openly about these possibilities, but we can secretly be getting organized and collect our own thoughts and be ready to move when the time comes." 19 November 1947.
76. *Ibid.* Irene Clayton to Mabel Lee, 19 November 1947. Ever mindful of the image problems associated with female physicality, Clayton argued further that, "we should see that girls are not drilled in conspicuous places."
77. *Post-War Planning Committee. NAPECW*. 25 September 1944. The report cites a "tendency to return to use of physical education as an instrument of imposed discipline" as a negative aspect of Wartime programming. It also cites the visibility of active females in uniform as being "Bad Publicity," presumably in reference to the negative stereotype of WACs as "wanton women," which prevailed at the time and which was a matter of concern to military authorities. In a letter to Lee marked personal and confidential dated 5 Sept. 1946, one female physical educator working in India remarked that job prospects for ex-servicewomen there were hindered because of the stigma attached to women in uniform. She wrote: "...when we [Americans] are away from home, safely anonymous inside a uniform, with only a few women in a great crowd of men... very odd things happen... or at least they seem odd in India." [sic] She suggested that any ex-servicewoman applying for jobs in India "play down her service record," presumably to avoid stigmatization. See Wakefield, *Playing to Win*, 113, and Ruth Roach Pierson, *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), especially pp. 129-168 and 169-187.
78. "Women in Action: The Story of the DGWS, 1892-1958." in Eleanor Metheny, *Connotations of Movement in Sport and Dance* (IA: Brown, 1965), 129-148.

79. Ibid., 141-142.
80. Hult, "The Story of Women's Athletics," 93-94.
81. Ibid. Hult argues: "The 1940s gave women physical educators experience in conducting highly competitive programs for the War Department and in leading elite-caliber athletics for the armed services. Young women recruits, who would later prepare for physical education careers, also competed in athletics in the armed services or in recreational settings. This experience led female athletes and young physical educators to question provincial attitudes." (p. 93)