

# *Control of the Female Body: Physical Training at Three New Zealand Girls' High Schools, 1880s -1920s*

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This article explores the origins and development of girls' physical education and sport in late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand using Waitaki Girls', Otago Girls' and Southland Girls' High School as case studies. Although only a minority of girls attended secondary schools, they provided a nucleus for sporting developments. Because the girls who attended these schools were middle-class, their participation in new physical activities lent respectability to women's sport. Medical concern for improving girls' health provided the impetus to introduce physical education in secondary schools. From this beginning the development of physical education gained its own momentum. The physical education movement was pervaded by dominant ideals of femininity which advocated the complete control of the movement of girls' bodies. Yet, at the same time, girls used the opportunities for increased exercise to subvert conventional femininity and to gain enjoyment and to extend the definition of sport for women. The complexities and contradictions of physical education for girls will be illuminated in this article by using Susan Bordo's and Marian Langston's ideas, which draw on Foucault's notions of social control. Marion Langston discusses the pregnant body (using her own as a case study) and Susan Bordo analyses anorexia as another site for struggle over meaning. Powerful versus powerlessness and 'in control' versus 'out of control' dualities are explored whereby pregnant and anorexic women are seen as conforming to dominant discourses of femininity and self-discipline and, at the same time, resisting them by producing their own meanings within these discourses. Bordo, who emphasises the practices which shape bodies, explores how bodies are trained to be 'docile' and useful.'

### **The Beginnings of Girls' Physical Education**

Many historians have examined the effects of the medical profession on women. Patricia Vertinsky, for instance, documented how, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, scientists and the medical profession widely disseminated theories about sex and gender difference which suggested an ideology of female bodily incapacity.<sup>2</sup> This view, that women had physical limitations, was prevalent when the three high schools opened at which time there was limited provision for physical education.<sup>3</sup> There were, in this period, medical concerns over the effects of higher education on the health of girls. Ironically, while the medical profession initially discouraged exercise for health reasons, it later encouraged physical activity for the same reason.

The survival of the race was perceived by public leaders to be in jeopardy as a consequence of the declining *Pakeha* (of European descent) birth rate. This factor together with poor *Pakeha* fitness were attributed to the higher education of women and their entrance into industry and the professions, diverting them from what was considered their natural, biologically determined role of motherhood.<sup>4</sup> Medical men warned that the physical effects of education would be disastrous for women as well as for the overall health of the nation. Doctors argued that continual brain work by girls caused short term nervous exhaustion. In the long term it caused sterility, puny or feeble-minded children, the inability to suckle infants, infant mortality, and fewer children. Complicated theories on imbalances in bodily nerve forces explained how this happened. Imbalances were thought to be a particular problem for girls because it was believed that their systems required greater reserves of energy to cope with puberty than boys.<sup>5</sup> This argument was aired in the Cramming Debate 1880-1908 which was led by Frederick Truby King after his arrival in Dunedin in 1889. Truby King believed that the education system focused too much on rote memory which was bad for the health of children.

Deficiencies created by cramming prompted the addition of domestic training to girls' academic education and the introduction of what was considered to be a healthy regimen. According to Truby King, it was preferable for girls to play games rather than being 'sedentary and bookish', such practice would improve their mental health.<sup>6</sup> The phrase 'a healthy mind in a healthy body' was prevalent in school magazines, prospectuses and principals' reports throughout the period. Doctors and

principals frequently lectured school pupils on how to achieve a state of health by retiring and rising early, having ten hours' sleep, cold showers every morning, plenty of sun and fresh air and recreation - though this did not include attending the movies, and participating in exercise.<sup>7</sup>

Improving the health of the girls provided the rationale behind introducing drill and gymnastics, despite some initial opposition. In 1876 only fifteen out of 187 pupils pursued gymnastics and callisthenics<sup>8</sup> at Otago Girls', and then only during winter.<sup>9</sup> Alexander Wilson, the new principal, made gymnastics compulsory twice a week for 40 minutes upon his appointment in 1885. However by 1889, he reported that although there were some excellent gymnasts, he was 'forced to conclude that there are some parents and pupils who do not sufficiently realise the importance of this part of a girl's education'.<sup>10</sup> The girls used the boys' gymnasium and its apparatus, which included rings, ladders, ropes and parallel bars. Wilson encouraged the girls to jump and vault and regretted that these activities were deemed 'hoydenish' outside the gymnasium.<sup>11</sup> When Southland Girls' opened in 1879 there were no games or even a playground, but by 1885 drill and callisthenics were listed in the prospectus. A gymnasium was built for the use of both the boys and the girls in 1902 and gymnastics became compulsory.

### **Comparisons with Boys' Schools**

The belief that girls should and could be educated on an equal basis to boys provided the impetus for establishing girls' secondary schools in New Zealand as well as in England.<sup>12</sup> While early New Zealand feminists created a female world of learning with a curriculum similar to that of the boys' schools,<sup>13</sup> this did not extend to physical education since it was not organised by women until after 1920.<sup>14</sup> Girls also had fewer resources than boys and physical education was based on completely different activities to those of boys.

Drill and gymnastics were taken by sergeant majors and visiting male physical training instructors. Female teachers, principals of both genders, and men outside of the school played an unofficial role in coaching and encouraging girls to play sport. Unlike England there was no specialist training of physical education mistresses. The situation began to change in 1912 when Southland Girls' appointed a full-time specialist sports mistress trained in England, although they still retained a male physical training instructor. Otago Girls' and Waitaki Girls' did

not have their own sports mistress until the late 1920s.

Access to resources was another way in which girls' schools differed from their male counterparts. In 1930 boys' schools owned substantially more land than girls' schools. Otago Boys' had six-and-a-half acres while Otago Girls' had two-and-a-half, Southland Boys' had eighteen in comparison to Southland Girls' seven-and-a-half, and Waitaki Boys' had 25 whereas Waitaki Girls' had a mere two-and-a-half acres.<sup>15</sup> All three schools continually raised money to obtain new courts and playing equipment through games subscriptions, 'bring and buy' sales, gymnastic displays and pantomimes. School magazines voiced many complaints about the lack of space for sport. Even Principal's Reports commented on it. Otago Girls', for example, did not own a full size hockey ground until 1965 and the 1912 magazine stated indignantly that the Board had refused to give £5 towards the rent of a hockey ground yet had given £15 to the Boys' Sports Fund. Girls' physical education also differed from boys' in having a completely separate curriculum to that of boys' physical education. Physical activities such as drill, tennis, croquet and basketball were introduced to create a feminine body, which was expected to be graceful and to make precise movements with little freedom for creativity and limited scope of movement. This constituted 'ladylike' movement. Non-competitiveness and team spirit were also considered feminine attributes.

### **Femininity and Control**

Feminine attributes were produced by a particular framework of power relations. Foucault discussed how 'docile' (that is, feminine) bodies were produced as an aspect of the operation of power in society.<sup>16</sup> 'Hierarchical observation' was the constant visibility of individuals which induced the effects of power.<sup>17</sup> In the three schools considered in this article there were structures in place which ensured that girls were continually observed so that ladylike behaviour could be enforced at all times. The playground was constantly visible to the public and this was used by staff as a rationale for maintaining ladylike activities. There was a network of teachers, prefects, inspectors and school committees that watched pupils and enforced correct behaviour. The house system and the school magazine were other aspects of an extensive system of exposing students and ensuring conformist behaviour. The 'examination' that Foucault discussed as part of 'hierarchical observation' and which also provided 'normalised judgment' was present in the medical inspection of each

pupil by a doctor and the inspection of drill by school inspectors. There were comprehensive written records on each student's physical condition. According to Foucault these power structures became internalised so that individuals monitored their own behaviour.<sup>18</sup> Thus, girls contributed to their own bodily inhibition in sport and physical education.<sup>19</sup>

Correct deportment or posture was emphasised throughout the period as an essential attribute of young ladies. Drill was valued as a way of teaching girls to walk and hold themselves in an upright, military manner. Manuals contained detailed descriptions of the exact position of the body for each exercise.<sup>20</sup> Swedish drill replaced military drill around the turn of the century. Although both types of drill had in common a military style, the proponents of Swedish drill claimed that it had more authority because it came under the dictates of the medical profession: 'under modern gymnastics we understand the science of rational and progressive training of the body after a special, physiological plan laid down by philosophers and doctors'.<sup>21</sup> Swedish gymnastics had the added advantage of forming a class into a unit where the members were considered parts of a whole.<sup>22</sup> Another way of learning deportment was by walking along a plank with a book on the head.<sup>23</sup> At Southland Girls' it was a practice to award a medal for deportment, good carriage, correct position when standing or sitting, good manners, neatness and satisfactory work in callisthenics.<sup>24</sup>

Energetic behaviour was considered antithetical to a ladylike manner. An example of this was the Southland Girls' student who was punished for throwing snowballs because it demonstrated 'boisterous and unladylike behaviour'.<sup>25</sup> Another student felt the lack of 'boisterous' games in 1903 had a 'cramping' effect on her.<sup>26</sup> In general access to sports which required endurance, strength or physical contact was limited, and the amount of energy expended had to be restricted for the sake of the girls' health.<sup>27</sup> Sports were thought to produce a 'stimulating' effect, but the emphasis was on 'moderation'.<sup>28</sup>

Competitiveness was discouraged as unladylike. Sports days, for example, mainly consisted of non-serious events such as sack, egg and spoon, and three-legged, races to name a few.<sup>29</sup> There were also bicycle competitions such as the parade of decorated cycles, dismounting and steering, which emphasised gracefulness and skill rather than speed.<sup>30</sup>

## Croquet and Tennis

Croquet and tennis were two of the earliest sports played by women and were widely accepted as appropriately feminine. Tennis, for example, did not challenge ideals of femininity partly because it was regarded as a minor and not completely manly sport at boys' schools, and partly because the male ego was not threatened by the first generation of female players, who did not attempt to become competent at the game. Tennis was valued more as a social activity than a sport, providing opportunities for courtship and even matrimony.<sup>31</sup> Where tennis afternoons were held in schools, afternoon tea was provided by the girls, and students brought their parents and friends along.

Tennis was consistent with ideals of femininity in that it was a non-contact sport and considered to be graceful.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, players reinforced their femininity by not showing aggression, competitiveness or vigour. Clothes suitable for a garden party were worn while playing which meant that women's movements were restricted.<sup>33</sup> Tennis evolved from providing a gentle form of recreation to a form of genuine exercise that women could play competitively.

Tennis soon became a popular sport among girls leading to the problem of 'tennisitis', which was identified in the Southland Girls' magazine. The author referred to 'tennisitis' as a disease that developed in stages, its main symptoms being the extreme efforts that girls went to in order to play tennis and the excitement they experienced whenever a game of tennis was about to be played or in progress. Firstly, the patient nearly killed herself trying to get to school early. Secondly, uncontrollable excitement was displayed whenever it was nearly time for the bell to ring. Thirdly, nervous convulsions took place when the patient tried to hit the ball:

It strikes blindly with its racket in all directions, and performs extraordinary antics. It frequently gives vent to heated exclamations such as: 'Funny thing that! I used to be able to send the ball from that side every time', etc., etc., and at frequent intervals, astonishing in fact, the patient calls out 'What's the score?' This is usually when about twenty points behind.<sup>34</sup>

In the final stage patients ate their lunch on the court while trying to write essays. Tennis was equally popular at Otago Girls' and Waitaki Girls'.

## **Basketball**

Along with tennis, basketball (later known as netball) was the other mainstream sport played at the three schools. Basketball required more exertion than tennis which meant that it did not fit the aesthetic ideals of womanhood quite as closely as croquet and tennis. However, it was a non-contact sport with rules that discouraged aggression. As well as this, basketball was only played by women, forming a separate world to male sport, and therefore was disassociated from any overtones of masculinity. These factors ensured that basketball retained the label 'feminine' and enabled girls to take up the sport.

Although basketball was enjoyed at Otago Girls' as early as 1916 and at Southland Girls' by 1918, it became a passion at Waitaki Girls' by 1922. Everyone at Waitaki Girls' played and the inter-form final was watched by the whole school. Basketball successes reached a peak in 1925 when the A team won the Association competition and the annual tournament, and students were represented on the North Otago team. At a special ceremony the team was presented with red and black caps worked in gold. The occasion was reported in the school magazine in a poem called 'Capping Day at Waitaki':

Last term we had a capping day  
 (Presenting caps that were hard-earned)  
 When to the hall we took our way  
 and gladly from our lessons turned.  
 Oh! how we honoured our A team.  
 As one by one their names were read.  
 Their good play did we much esteem;  
 Of vict'ries, too much can't be said.  
 Upon each head a cap was put,  
 And three loud cheers rang through the hall,  
 Unbeaten in the realm of sport-  
 Nine graduates of basket-ball.<sup>35</sup>

After this only four teams entered the competition between 1924 and 1926, and in 1926 they were all from Waitaki Girls'. In 1927, when the Association was not even formed, hockey having become more popular than basketball in Oamaru it was thought.<sup>36</sup>

### **'Playing the Game'**

Sport, by the 1920s, was viewed as an agent which could instil feminine

morals and 'character' in girls, summed up as 'playing the game'. Team spirit, honesty, the ability to lose in a dignified way, self-control, courage and endurance were all thought to be learnt on the playing field. 'Playing the game' ensured that girls were socialised into accepting the state of the world and responding to it in conventional ways. 'Playing the game' was a phrase taken from the English boys' public school sporting tradition but it had a different meaning when applied to girls. Team spirit and obedience were learnt by both boys and girls but authority and leadership were not mentioned as contributing to character for girls. Instead the 'splendid "comraderie"[ *sic* ] that sport engenders, banishes all the selfishness from the hearts of those who have been used to living and working for themselves and their own ends'.<sup>37</sup> Boys' schools aimed to produce leaders. Manliness learnt on playing fields conjured up images of the battles of life which were won by 'the strong, the powerful, the brave and the true'.<sup>38</sup> Although character building was emphasised in girls' schools, the emphasis on conflict and power was absent. This socialised females and males into adult roles where men filled the responsible positions in society and women were merely the 'team players'. McCrone suggested that there was a less strong sense of hierarchy in girls' schools than in boys'. However, this concept was not entirely absent, as shown by the comparison of life with climbing up a ladder in a tennis competition in a Southland Girls' magazine. It was suggested that both life and tennis ladders involved people in lower positions trying to surpass those above them. Although 'superior' middle-class attitudes were instilled in both girls and boys through this type of rhetoric, there were gender differences over the specific attributes it instilled.

Sport and physical education circumscribed femininity by imposing an ideology of teamwork and by encouraging ladylike movements. At the same time the increase in physical activity challenged notions of femininity. Magazines gave in-depth descriptions of the merits of players and intense inter-form competitions even though competition as a feminine trait was discouraged.

The main alternative form of unorganised physical activity was tramping. Even before 1900 school magazines contained reports about groups of girls who climbed Mount Benmore or walked the Routeburn. In 1927 a group from Waitaki Girls' went to Mount Cook for the weekend and climbed Mount Sebastopol as well as walking to the Stocking Glacier.<sup>39</sup>

Jenny King (nee Grey), daughter of a famous mountaineer, attended

Waitaki Girls' from 1915 to 1919. Throughout her teens she went with her father on his tramps.<sup>40</sup> Jenny King and others resisted the traditional image of femininity by displaying endurance and strength. Tramping had the added attraction for students of sometimes giving them the opportunity to socialise away from the strict supervision of parents and teachers.

Hockey, regarded as effeminate in boys' schools, gave girls the opportunity to get dirty, sweaty and to engage in rough play. Players 'generally carry home with them much of the hockey field on their boots and skirts' yet it did not matter as long as they carried their hockey sticks so people accepted their muddied appearance.<sup>41</sup> Opponents of hockey thought that the sport was too strenuous and unladylike for girls. For that reason Jessie Wilson did not allow hockey while she was Principal of Waitaki Girls' (1920-49), although lack of space may have contributed to her decision. From its inception at Otago Girls' in 1889, and at Southland Girls' in 1906, hockey became the most popular sport overshadowing tennis.

Southland Girls' High School formed a cricket team in 1916 despite cricket's long association with manly attributes. Although this was a minority sport it attracted some dedicated players. The cricket players took pride in their skill: 'Knowing as we do the contempt of a masculine mind for a feminine attempt at games, we consider it a great tribute to our bowlers that their "overarms" frequently draw forth exclamations of approval from admiring small boys ...'<sup>42</sup> There were, however, difficulties in finding other teams to play.<sup>43</sup>

Sports facilitated changes in clothing fashion providing women and girls with more physical freedom. At first women played games and did gymnastics in their ordinary clothes. Schoolgirls wore the same clothes as older women for physical education, which included corsets, high heels and ankle length skirts, until the gym tunic was introduced. The gym tunic was shorter, lighter and looser than normal daily wear. Flat shoes were worn with this uniform. There is no mention of when corsets were abandoned by girls in the school records or in the secondary literature but Madame Bergman-Otserberg forbade wearing corsets when she introduced the gym tunic.<sup>44</sup> Coney's discussion of corsets shows that Truby King and other doctors opposed their use and those who opposed corset wearing often encouraged physical exercise. However, some form of the corset for adult women in New Zealand existed until the 1960s.<sup>45</sup>

Otago Girls' had a special gymnastic costume which was longer than the gym tunic and had long sleeves as early as 1886. Alexander Wilson awarded a prize for the best dressed doll in gymnastic costume to encourage reluctant girls to wear it from 1887-89. The gym tunic was adopted in 1901 but there is no record of when it became school uniform. Southland Girls' introduced the gym tunic in 1902 and at first they could not be worn in the street or the corridor because of their 'indecent shortness' but it became the uniform in 1912. Waitaki Girls' did not introduce a school uniform until 1920 and when it did the gym tunic became the uniform. Less constricted clothing that was designed specifically for gymnastics became every day wear in schools and thus contributed to liberating the body in a wider social context than just physical education.

### **Contradictions and Tensions**

Contradictions and tensions between adhering to and resisting constructions of femininity clearly existed in physical education and sport. While exercise was introduced for the stated purpose of making girls better mothers, its boundaries were soon expanded and extended to widen definitions of femininity. Drill and gymnastics were initially limited to set group exercises which were rigidly defined and cannot have inspired much creativity or allowed freedom of movement. The vigour of the exercises were also curtailed in accordance with the assumed physical incapability of girls. Yet drill and gymnastics made girls fitter and paving the way for the introduction of sport in schools. Tennis began as a graceful social activity and while initially conforming to these principles girls managed to redraw the boundaries of femininity enabling tennis to include competitiveness, physical skill and fitness. Basketball was an acceptable game for girls because boys did not play it, there was no physical contact or any overt expression of aggression (unlike rugby, for example). However, girls extended the definitions of femininity even further in basketball, the court allowing even greater movement than the tennis court. Tennis and basketball established girls' abilities to participate in physical exercise and facilitated the adoption of even more vigorous games such as hockey and cricket. Because these were the most marginally feminine sports, girls who participated in them, did so with a passion. Hockey enabled girls to get dirty and to run around a large field. Tramping was a similar activity. Participation in this and other sports also led to a

general increase in freedom of movement through the clothing reforms it inspired.

Susan Bordo's research uses Foucault's ideas to construct a political discourse about the female body that embodies these contradictions, 'a discourse adequate to an analysis of the insidious, and often paradoxical, pathways of modern social control'.<sup>46</sup> These paradoxical pathways can be seen in this study of girls' physical education. The girls became fitter and stronger by taking advantage of new forms of exercise available to them. They engaged in sport for fun rather than just for health reasons. Yet at the same time, the nature of their physical exercise colluded with dominant discourses of femininity and health. As sports and physical education developed, girls had more scope for physical freedom, but within new constraints which still circumscribed femininity and prepared them for motherhood.

Marian Langston has pointed out that the contemporary focus on female exercise reinforced the current doctrine of individual responsibility for health and the desirability of self-discipline. What looks like an 'empowering experience with a feminist ideal of reclaiming my body, is also propping up the disciplinary power practices that govern our society'.<sup>47</sup> This also applies to girls in late nineteenth and early twentieth century schools who worked on their bodies through exercise to make them fitter within specific limits and imposed discipline upon themselves.

### Conclusions

In the early 1880s very little physical activity was available to girls, but by the 1920s athleticism was accepted as part of the feminine construct. Athletic girls were privileged, popular and admired. The end result is exemplified in a description in the 1912 *Southland Girls' Magazine* of the 'Real Student' in contrast to the 'Ideal Student' who walked slowly and correctly, with her toes pointed and feet planted correctly. The 'Real Student' was pictured:

... swinging along the street in a free, easy style with tennis racket in hand, and books carelessly slung over one shoulder with a strap ... upon gaining the grounds, throws down her hat and books, in readiness for a game of tennis. She plunges into the games with the keenest of enjoyment, slashing the ball about with a force that a boy might envy.<sup>48</sup>

Such girls had succeeded in creating a new discourse of femininity, which

challenged nineteenth century dominant modes of femininity. Essentially, the body was a site of struggle over the meaning of femininity. Langston contends that we should be aware of the contradictory ways in which docile bodies are formed, so that we can create personal meanings by sometimes colluding with and at other times challenging dominant discourses.<sup>49</sup> Girls at Otago Girls', Waitaki Girls' and Southland Girls' created their own meanings by achieving personal enjoyment and status in physical education, sometimes by accepting and at other times by resisting the dominant discourses of femininity and health.

### Notes:

- 1 S R Bordo, 'The Body and the Reconstruction of Femininity: A Feminist Appropriation of Foucault', A M Jagger and S R Bordo, eds, *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstruction of Being and Knowing*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1989, pp. 13-33; M Langston, 'Pregnancy and Power: Consciousness and Control', *Women's Studies Journal*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1992, pp. 15-24.
- 2 P Vertinsky, 'The Social Construction of the Gendered Body; Exercise and the Exercise of Power', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 11, no. 2, 1994, pp. 149-50.
- 3 Otago Girls' opened in 1871, Southland Girls' in 1879 and Waitiki Girls' in 1887.
- 4 *The Home Physician and Guide to Health*, Australia, c 1920s, pp. 115-7.
- 5 S Patullo, 'Cramming Controversy in Dunedin 1880 - 1908', unpub. BA Hons. thesis, University of Otago, 1988, pp. 2-8, 82-4; M Tennant, 'Natural Directions: The New Zealand Movement for Sexual Differentiation in Education during the Early Nineteenth Century', B Brookes, C MacDonald and M. Tennant, eds, *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand*, Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson Press, Wellington, 1986, p. SO.
- 6 Patullo, 'Cramming Controversy', p. 85.
- 7 Otago Girls' High School [OGHS] Report and Prospectus, 1885; Southland Girls' High School [SGHS] Report, 1886, p. 4; SGHS Report, 1915, p. 15; Waitaki Girls' High School [WGHS] Magazine, 1921, pp. 1, 19; WGHS Magazine, 1922, pp. 2, 13.
- 8 *Drill was a separate activity which the whole school participated in from 1876.*
- 9 OGHS Report, 1881.
- 10 OGHS Report, 1889.
- 11 Otago Daily Times 2 Aug. 1890.
- 12 Tennant, 'Natural Directions', p. 88.
- 13 D Page, 'The First Lady Graduates: Women with Degrees from Otago University 1885 - 1900', B Brookes et al, *Women in History: Essays on Women in New Zealand*, vol. 2, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992, p. 119.
- 14 The situation at Waikato Girls' and Otago Girls', where women did not organise sport until the late 1920s, contrasted with England where women were responsible for organising physical education from its inception.
- 15 R Fry, "'Don't Let Down the Side": Physical Education in the Curriculum for New Zealand Schoolgirls 1900 - 1945', B Brookes et al, eds, *Women in History*, p. 110.
- 16 B Smart, *Michael Foucault*, Routledge, London, 1988, pp. 76-7.
- 17 M Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, Pantheon Books, New York, 1977, pp. 141-69.
- 18 Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 171-7.

- 19 I M Young, *Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays in Feminist Philosophy and Social Theory*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1990, p. 154.
- 20 Manuals contained similarities to descriptions of the 'control of activity' in Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, pp. 162-7.
- 21 O David, *Physical Education*, Fergusson and Mitchell, Dunedin, 1889, p. 12.
- 22 M A Johnstone, *The Physical Training of Girls*, Sidgewick and Jackson, London, 1924, pp. 28-9.
- 23 SGHS *Centennial Magazine*, p. 43.
- 24 SGHS *Report*, 1916, p. 17.
- 25 SGHS *Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Magazine*.
- 26 WGHS *Golden Jubilee Magazine*, p. 30.
- 27 David, *Physical Education*, p. 13.
- 28 SGHS *Report*, 1917, p. 10.
- 29 *Sports days started in 1897 at OGHS, in 1904 at SGHS but the existence of sports days at WGHS before 1927 is disputed.*
- 30 SGHS *Magazine*, 1920, pp. 26, 31.
- 31 K E McCrone, *Playing the Game: Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Women 1870 -1914*, Kentucky University Press, Lexington, 1988, pp. 155-7.
- 32 Fry, 'Don't Let Down the Side', p. 110.
- 33 M A E Hammer, "Something Else to Live For": Sport and the Physical Emancipation of Women and Girls in Auckland 1880 - 1925', unpub. MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1990, p. 9; R Crawford, 'Sport for Young Ladies: The Victorian Independent Schools 1875-1979', *Sporting Traditions*, vol. 1, no. 1, Nov. 1984, p. 167.
- 34 SGHS *Magazine*, 1908, pp. 10, 17
- 35 WGHS *Magazine*, 1925, pp. 5, 49
- 36 WGHS *Magazine*, 1927, pp. 7, 35.
- 37 OGHS *Magazine*, 1915, pp. vol. 6, no. 1, p. 4.
- 38 McCrone, *Playing the Game*, p. 88.
- 39 WGHS *Magazine*, 1917, pp. 7, 50-2.
- 40 *WGHS video of the oral history of Jenny King (nee Grey) who attended Waitaki Girls' from 1915 to 1979 (produced for the WGHS centenary celebrations, Oamaru, 1987).*
- 41 SGHS *Magazine*, 1914, pp. 11, 21.
- 42 SGHS *Magazine*, 1920, pp. 26, 32.
- 43 SGHS *Report*, 1919, p. 16.
- 44 *Madame Bergman-Osterberg established the first college in Britain to train gymnastics teachers in the late nineteenth century. She was a leading organiser of girls' physical education in Britain.*
- 45 *W S Coney*, *Standing in the Sunshine: A History of New Zealand Women since They Won the Vote*, Penguin, Auckland, 1993, p. 115.
- 46 Langston, 'Pregnancy and Power', p. 18.
- 47 Langston, 'Pregnancy and Power', p. 21.
- 48 SGHS *Magazine*, 1909, pp. 12, 22.
- 49 Langston, 'Pregnancy and Power', pp. 21-2.