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DOROTHY ANDERSON:
AN IN-DEPTH STUDY

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ABSTRACT

During the early 1930s, Dorothy Louise Anderson became the first woman to compete in intercollegiate athletics at what was then the Pennsylvania State College. She played on the varsity men's tennis team, earning a letter and graduating in 1935. She later had a notable career as an amateur tennis player, including winning the Wisconsin women's tennis championship in 1942. Almost three decades after Anderson played for the Nittany Lions, the university began their women's varsity program in 1964 as part of the old Eastern Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women. This paper explores Anderson's career at Penn State in an effort to determine whether she was aberration—the only woman to have competed in intercollegiate sport before the development of women's varsity teams in the 1960s—or a harbinger of future developments in women's sports at Penn State.

There are a series of questions addressed throughout the paper regarding Dorothy Anderson, a woman that played on the men's varsity tennis team in the 1930s, including: Who is Dorothy Anderson, and why was she the first woman at Penn State to pioneer the intercollegiate sport? Is Dorothy Anderson unique, or, were there were women similar to her around the country at other universities?

The main source of information regarding Ms. Anderson is from the Penn State archives, as it holds the majority of the information about her time at Penn State. That information includes publications from local newspapers, yearbooks, and any other samples written about her from her time at Penn State. Additionally, research was pulled from major publications such as the *New York Times*, *Pittsburgh Gazette*, and *Philadelphia Inquirer*. The archives of other universities were also utilized with the assistance of the archivists working there. There has also

been a great deal of research and facts about other women competing on men's teams and at other universities across the country. Although Dorothy Anderson was not the only person to compete on a men's varsity team, she was one of the earliest to do so, with only a few athletes coming before her. Through her success on the tennis court, Dorothy Anderson was able to thrive and pave the way for women across the university. Further, she was able to alter traditional views of women in sport based upon her successful performances and poise on the tennis court while playing men. This change extended beyond just Penn State to other universities, especially ones that she played at and in which she caused controversy. Intriguingly, Penn State men's tennis coach, Dink Stover, recruited her for the squad.

The paper, as a whole, will give a background on women's sport and athletics and the development of the views on women in sport. It then delves into some of the history around women's sport in the Big Ten to give a bit further background. After that, the paper looks at women across the country that have competed on men's teams before the passing of Title IX. Finally, the paper arrives at Dorothy Anderson – the center of the paper. Though she was not the only woman to compete on a men's team, she was one of very few, and she was one that was very successful.

Dorothy Anderson, through her success playing against men at the varsity level, had an impact on views of women in sport, especially in the Penn State community. Through her nearly perfect season, she was able to show that women are able to compete with men and deserve a chance to compete, even nearly forty years before the passing of Title IX. Still, it took nearly three decades for Penn State to create a varsity women's tennis team. Anderson's career opens windows into how women challenged male domination of intercollegiate sport and reveals that

even highly successful pioneering efforts did not bear fruit until many decades of struggle had transpired.

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Prologue: Why Dorothy Anderson

Over the past few years, the thought of writing a thesis has loomed over me. As an incoming Schreyer scholar four years ago, I genuinely had no idea what a thesis was, much less a topic about which I would write.

As freshman year came and went, I realized that I should probably start working toward my thesis by engaging in some sort of research. I searched the Department of Kinesiology Department's website, looking for a research lab that sounded interesting to me. Still interested in science, I wanted to figure out a way to develop an understanding in science while still studying something that interested me. My eye fell upon the Motivation Lab here at Penn State. I got very involved in a hydration study, but after nearly a year, I found that my heart was not in it, and chose to withdraw from the research.

I became a second semester junior with the thought of a thesis still looming over my head ominously. I figured that I should move forward and try to come up with a new idea, but even more importantly, another advisor to guide me through the process. So, I brainstormed. I thought about the classes that I had taken at Penn State. I called my mom.

Throughout all of this, I came back to one single class that I had taken at Penn State: Kinesiology 141: The Socio-Cultural Dynamics of Kinesiology taught by Dr. Mark Dyreson. Though many of my peers in the class felt bogged down by the amount of reading assigned in a 100-level class, I instead was energized by it. Growing up, I read every book about a famous sports player that I could get my hands on. I was always eager to learn as much about sports as I could. Being just as restless as I am now, I would wake up at 5:30 AM and watch SportsCenter

until the next re-run came on an hour later, but I would still continue to watch it. I had found that passion in Dr. Dyreson. Never had I met someone more passionate and knowledgeable about sport, and I learned more from a 100-level Kinesiology class than I did from a number of my 400-level classes.

With that, I decided to approach Dr. Dyreson. I asked him if he would be willing to take on an undergraduate to do research, and further, if he would take on a student writing a thesis. He was more than willing to do so, and asked me what my interests were. I explained that I loved tennis – playing and watching – all things tennis.

He took me outside into the hallway and directed me to a picture of the men's tennis team from 1935. He asked me, "What do you notice about this picture?"

I took a second to reply. "There's a woman on that team."

Dr. Dyreson explained that her name was Dorothy Anderson and asked me if I would be interesting in doing research into this woman, as he, himself, did not know a great deal about her. I took the project as a challenge, having no idea if I would even find anything.

With that, I discovered more about Dorothy Anderson than I would have guessed. The Penn State Archives served as a helpful start and guided me through a great deal of the project. I think there is more research to be done with the project, and I hope to accomplish more over the coming months, ideally uncovering more and more information about Dorothy Anderson Rhodes as time passes. Still, this served as an incredible learning experience on how to delve through archives, digital files, and anything related to sports history. I would say that I stumbled upon Dorothy Anderson, but I never would have found the success that I did without the guidance of Dr. Dyreson, who pointed me toward the project on day one of visiting him. I hope this project continues to grow, and I am excited at the prospect of what it may bring in the future.

Chapter 1 : A Background on Women's Sport

The world of women's sport has constantly evolved from the early nineteenth century into the twenty-first century. Sport has functioned as an indicator of society's views, particularly relating to the roles for and expectations of women. Over the course of these two centuries, women in the United States have found increasing opportunities to participate in sport as American society gradually embraced expansions of women's rights. During this period, American views have changed from initially viewing exercise as dangerous for women, to promoting exercise for fitness and even competition, to play days, to more expansive inclusion. Throughout these shifts, women engaged in a constant struggle for equality. In order to set the scene for women competing in men's sports, it is vital to first dive into the history and culture surrounding modern women's sport from its origins.¹

The nineteenth century in the United States saw the rise and transition of a number of things, from industrialization and urbanization to new technologies and scientific discoveries, many of which led to advances into the next century. In the midst of these advances, many Americans became concerned about their health and well being in an urban-industrial society. Mid-nineteenth-century writings reveal a consensus around the United States developed that health, in general, was declining.² The presence of endemic diseases such as cholera and a lack of effective medical technologies led doctors to attributed the decline in health to various factors, including the wrath of God³, the plight of the poor, or the poisons present in the atmosphere.⁴ The prevailing theory among experts was that some people were especially predisposed to disease. This idea paved the way for a new way to fight disease: exercise. In a popular scientific

magazine, Dr. F.I. Oswald claimed that up to ninety percent of diseases could be cured by exercise.⁵ Popular magazines such as *Atlantic Monthly* supported Oswald's dramatic declaration, contending developing the heart and lungs through exercise was a useful way to combat disease.⁶

Initially, the view that exercise could cure various diseases did not extend to women. Medical opinion considered women even more prone to disease and ill health than men. Not only were women accused of having poorer health, but they were actually blamed for the maladies of others. Experts declared that poor health of women brought about poor health of children, leading to the famous phrase, "nervous mothers bore nervous children."⁷ A writer for the *Atlantic Monthly* even went as far to argue, "Unless they [mothers] are healthy, the country is not safe."⁸ Thus, medical opinion blamed not only women for American disease but also burdened them with reforming the health of the nation by passing on their own health to the future generations. This meant that not only could women help the health of the future, but they could also destroy it through breast feeding while sick and maintaining poor health regimens. The scientific world demanded that women reform their own health to save the nation.⁹

Searching for a root cause of declining health, scientists attributed many female maladies to menstruation and women's reproductive organs. They described the average American female as weak and frail creature who could be felled by even the fear of disease. Some experts, such as Dr. Edward Clarke of the Harvard Medical School, warned that merely educating women about the perils they faced actually produced worsened health in women, claiming that the female body could not multitask. He believed that women exerted so much energy menstruating and going through the process of childbirth that they did not have enough energy for physical and mental learning and processes.¹⁰

Others disagreed with this view, including Dr. Diocletian Lewis, an early apostle of physical activity for women. Lewis believed that women did not exercise enough in childhood and that this contributed to their poor health later in life. Because the “ladylike” women of the time, the middle and upper-classes, were protected from strenuous labor and other difficult physical tasks, Lewis insisted that they never fostered muscle growth and instead became the sickly-looking females about which public health advocates fretted.¹¹ Many supported Lewis and his advocacy of the benefits of exercise for women. However, given Victorian attitudes about womanhood, the promoters of feminine exercise needed to demonstrate that women would not become coarse and mannish through physical activities designed to strengthen their constitutions and enhance their figures. By asserting that exercise actually promoted beauty, Lewis and his allies avoided this notion of coarseness. However, the issue of Victorian dress decorum remained a major obstacle. Stiff corsets and other confining undergarments limited the breathing capacity of women, while the great weight of their dresses and petticoats prevented women from engaging in exercise. Dr. Lewis sought to change these Victorian behaviors.¹²

Lewis, an advocate of exercise, implemented a new set of gymnastics founded on three main principles: “adequate ventilation, light exercise, and loose clothing.”¹³ His programs greatly resembled the calisthenics of today, instead of the modern view of gymnastics and many times were completed in any area where open space was available. Colleges for women began to adapt his version of gymnastics, including Vassar, Wellesley, and Bryn Mawr, believing that physical training essential for their students. By coupling physical education with teachings in domestic sciences, these programs garnered public support as they kept with the standards of decorum of the time while still showing that women’s health could be improved through physical

education. By 1918, twelve different women's colleges had established their own physical education programs dedicated to the gymnastics that Lewis prescribed.¹⁴

The new physical education programs for women also spurred interest in sport. Modern sport developed and grew rapidly during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, offering boys and men new opportunities to compete in a multitude of activities and programs. As with physical education, the medical community identified sport as an antidote to disease and frailty for men, eventually extending their embrace of sport to include women, under the same specific limitations as they endorsed physical education for women. By the late nineteenth century, American women had flocked to participate in a variety of new sporting pastimes, from basketball, volleyball, and swimming to golf, tennis, and cycling.¹⁵

The rise of these physical education programs at many of the smaller, all-women schools further transitioned as time passed. At schools such as Vassar and Wellesley, gymnastics programs were implemented, and more and more professional physical educators were hired to support such institutions, with most of the hires being women. The women participating at these early physical education programs enjoyed the drills and exercise, but they yearned for something. As these female physical educators instructed in the art of exercise, sports began to arise at such small universities. These sports gradually became part of the curriculum. For example, at Vassar, baseball was introduced to the women, and gradually, women began to play each other intercollegiately in sports like baseball and tennis. Though not incredibly popular, these programs sprang up, especially at other small schools such as Goucher, which built its first pool in 1888 for intercollegiate competition. Despite the rise of these sports, though, the persons in charge of physical education programs were still women. Many of these women held to the belief that women were not to engage in vigorous competition and should still engage in

activities such as play days, much to the disdain of many of the participants. This struggle would go on for the following forty years.¹⁶

As sport for girls and women gained popularity, interest in physical education declined, concerning physical educators. Some experts in women's recreation believed that sport might entirely replace women's gymnastics systems, while others believed that sport undermined that education and physical benefits of gymnastics. Nevertheless, sport began to be used more frequently in women's physical education programs as interest in it rose. By the first decade of the twentieth century, the belief that women should be pale and frail had faded out of existence, with improved fitness becoming a pillar in the world.¹⁷

In spite of these changes, some critics of fitness, sport, and exercise for women continued to warn women away from strenuous activity. Dr. Arabella Kenealy, a writer for the *Living Age*, declared that humans have a finite amount of energy and force. By engaging in physical exercise, Kenealy believed that women were draining the limited amount of energy that they possessed, stealing energy they needed for performing their reproductive duties. She also asserted that for both men and women, having a great deal of muscle actually weakened the immune system and that those individuals were more likely to develop illness.¹⁸

Others believed that exercise was good for women; however, they thought that over-exertion could cause a number of problems, including cardiac issues. Those concerns underscored the emergence of a key question for advocates of women's emerged: "what is the proper amount of difficulty in exercise?" Emma Walker, a writer for *Ladies' Home Journal* asserted that if "during your exertion you are obliged to breath through your mouth, you may be sure that your exercise is too strenuous."¹⁹ With childbearing being a major concern of the general public as relating to women, another argument arose: could too much exercise decrease

the strength of women's reproductive organs? Since many believed that over-exertion and vigorous exercise posed a greater threat of injury to women, some began to attack the notion of exercise and sport for women. Opponents argued that the uterus could not endure the strain of athletics and sport, especially during menstruation. Other opponents of women in sport argued that sport for women was too emotionally exhausting.²⁰

Critics of women's engagement in sport and strenuous exercise offered social as well as medical reasons for their antagonism. In the early 1900s, social norms dictated that women ran the household and reigned in the "domestic sphere". Women were expected to be refined and possess a form befitting women in order to reform these duties. With the introduction of athletics, opponents contended that the modern woman was losing her modesty. For example, many complained that the standard dress of women had become more scandalous as it adapted to the needs of sport. They insisted that leaving limbs and portions of the body exposed was inappropriate. Not only sporting attire but also sporting decorum came under fire. They observed that spectators watching women compete would witness, "disagreeable expressions, uncouth language, squealing, yelling, [sic] about the floor, masculinity, and boisterousness."²¹

This view of athletics was not lost on many physical educators at the time. They believed that competitive sport could destroy physical education. They believed that the opportunity of physical education should be afforded to all, and that instituting competitive and varsity sports limited the available opportunities. By eliminating some women from the pool of fitness, they feared that the spirit of play would be lost and the average woman would not engage in fitness-building activities. This spurred the implementation of "play days," -- an institution that included some sporting elements but limited competition and spectatorship while expanding inclusivity.²²

Although many schools already offered intramural sports for women, the implementation of play days in schools became the counter to intercollegiate sports competitions. During play days, women from various schools would gather to engage in a number of different sports, reducing the competitive aspect of them. Physical educators accepted this form of “sport” as it allowed for a greater participation. Not only was this the case, but play days also allowed for more social interactions and learning experiences. The common slogan for these play days became, “a team for every girl and every girl on the team.”²³

With the innovation of play days, physical educators believed that they had found a solution, but with competitive sport gaining traction as well as enrollment of women going from 85,000 in 1900 to 283,000 in 1920, they had more to do.²⁴ Physical educators addressed the importance of moderation in all athletics for women. By “moderation” they meant “the smallest amount of exercise which will call out a vigorous response.”²⁵ By adopting this philosophy, they believed that they could shield women from the masculinization of competitive sport. By seeking and gaining the support of academics and scientists, physical educators plunged forward with their endeavor, asserting that they were part of a greater women’s movement that built female networks and protected women from the grueling physical nature of competition.²⁶

Physical educators also worried that women competing in sport could lead to men overtaking the management of sport and exploiting woman. By showing women exerting themselves, many believed that women would be used for entertainment and sexual purposes to garner more money in the emerging sports industry. Hoping to combat this and being more interested in “improving women’s health, preserving gender differences, and protecting sexual sensibility,” educators created institutions to cement these beliefs. Women physical educators formed the National Women’s Basketball Committee under the American Physical Education

Association (APEA). They also formed the National Society for College Directors of Physical Education for Women. By institutionalizing their beliefs, women physical educators were better able to solidify one unified voice to stress moderation.²⁷

In addition to creating these institutions, women sought to regulate the physical education of young women in other ways. In these efforts they developed and used “health exams; follow-up consultations; lectures on ‘parenthood training’; posture inspections; special classes for the ‘defective student’; hygiene cards...exercise; sleep; and dress habits.”²⁸ Through these techniques, physical educators were better able to police the students and ensure that they were engaging in ladylike behavior. Physical educators also began to monitor the Women’s Athletic Association through the monitoring of competition policies. These physical education teachers sought to limit competition to on-campus intramural activities to comply with their views of femininity.²⁹

Physical educators sought to keep competitive athletics outside of women’s sport and recreation for a number of years, but they found their most difficult struggle in the 1920s. Media portrayals of standout female athletes such as Helen Wills, Sybil Bauer, and Gertrude Ederle inspired many emerging female athletes, especially as these athletes bested males at their own games. The popularity of sport, including women’s sport, also grew with the expansion of industrial capitalism that produced more leisure time with increasing technology and an emerging middle class. With this increase in leisure time, sport became even more popular, especially with icons such as Babe Ruth, Jack Dempsey, and Bobby Jones dominating their respective sports. Although male athletic stars frequently overshadowed female sporting heroines, the increases in leisure time created more opportunities for women. The family ideal was still important by society’s standards, but with the gap between adolescence and the duties

of marriage and family hood for women growing, they found the time to participate in sports and develop their fitness. Commercialization opened up opportunities not only through creating more leisure time, but also through local businesses, clubs, and welfare agencies. Industrial sports also developed, offering more opportunities for women to compete. Tennis, golf, swimming, bowling, basketball, and more became more readily available women through the workplace. Though most women still resided in the house, single, working women were increasingly able to engage in competitive sport.³⁰

The development of industrial sports, as well as more sports for women general, created a new push. With the birth of more sports, the participation of women in sport during the 1920s. American women became a force in both national and international sports. Though women had already competed in tennis and golf for years, they also became better known in sports such as swimming, skating, and track and field. This growing arena of sport for women led to the creation of larger, national sporting events sponsored by organizations such as the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU). For example, in 1916 the AAU introduced a national swim meet. The organization followed up their success in the pool with a track championship and basketball tournament in 1924 and 1926 respectively. These events were well attended, though not as well attended as men's events. The success of these events encouraged more competition for women. This implementation of more national competitions opened the gates for women in international sport. Though women had competed in the Olympics for the United States in individual events including archery and tennis, it was not until 1920 that an official women's team entered the games. In 1920, women from around the world competed for medals in skating and swimming. That 1920 American women's swim team took home four of five gold medals in swimming and diving events. The U.S. women repeated their success at the 1924 and 1928 teams.³¹

With women becoming more prominent in sport, a “new” view of women emerged. Swimming stars such as Ethelda Bleibtrey, Helen Wainright, Aileen Riggin, Sybil Bauer, and Gertrude Ederle were experiencing such success that they were publicized via newspaper articles, photos, and magazine covers. The media depicted them as young, healthy, attractive stars who were the embodiment of the new modern woman of the time. Many of these women were further sexualized, with the press referring to them as “nymphs” and calling them attractive, charming, and alluring in their descriptions. Sport historian Mark Dyreson notes this shift in the image of women in his article, “Icons of Liberty or Objects of Desire? American Women Olympians and the Politics of Consumption.” As Dyreson explains, the American women were extremely successful at the Olympic games in the 1920s, making them “icons of liberty.” This assertion, though, is underscored by the fact that women had still not entirely escaped the traditional social conventions. These women became attractive images who were put on display to the public to look at and create sexual appeal. They became “objects of desire,” as many of their photos that appeared in magazines and articles were in poses that accentuated their more feminine features. In contrast, photographs of men showed them competing in athletic poses. Dyreson gives the example of Bleibtrey being the ultimate showcase of this, as she is pictured next to a male competitor, Johnny Weissmuller. Weissmuller is shown to the public in an action pose where he is about to leap into the pool; whereas Bleibtrey, being a woman, is shown with “her hand on one of her hips, her breasts prominently displayed in silhouette, smiling beguilingly at the camera.”³² This shift in attitudes toward women in sport led to changing views of women in general. Previously, the frail, Victorian body type had been favored in women, but with the rise of women in sport, standards and expectations changed. By the 1920s, women, especially female athletes, were depicted as active, strong, and fit. This change in beauty ideals led to a

revolution in dress as well. Where before women had worn loose fitting, un-revealing clothing, they shifted to wearing clothing that emphasized their sexuality, with more form-fitting outfits. Skirts were shortened, sleeves were lost, and athletic women morphed into sexual objects of desire, as Mark Dyreson would call them.³³

This contrast between female athletes as “icons of liberty” and “objects of desire” came into sharp relief in tennis, one of the sports that saw the biggest increase in roles for women during the era. Suzanne Lenglen of France, who won the gold medal in singles at the 1920 Olympics, and Helen Wills of the United States, who won the gold medal in the 1924 Olympics, became international superstars in the 1920s and the 1930s. The two achieved stardom by dominating the tennis world, with Lenglen dominating for an eight-year span from 1919-1927 and Helen Wills overtaking her from 1927-1933. With the emergence of these superstars came a new era for women’s tennis – an era where matches became publicized in the radio, newspapers, and other mediums. With this increased interest, sometimes more than the men’s players garnered, came a monetary revolution. Women’s tennis, in the span of a mere decade, became lucrative. Wills and Lenglen were not only superstars, though. The two of them transformed what it was meant to be a woman in sport. Lenglen, with her lavish and stylish clothing, embodied the new woman. Wills, more physically beautiful than Lenglen, did not dress in such attire, though she still helped to establish the new view of women in sport. They were at the same time both icons of liberty and objects of desire, admired by girls and women around the world who dreamed of growing up to become the next generation of female superstars.³⁴

It was not all-smooth sailing for these competitive women, though. In an ironic twist of fate, the staunchest opponents of women competing in sport were other women. In the 1920s and 1930s, a heavy debate began between women who wanted to compete and the women who

were controlling physical education programs across the country. With the rise of more women in sport, this issue was accentuated, especially as the control of women's sport came into question. Concerned that women's athletics would come under the control of male-led organizations such as the AAU, Olympic agencies, and other groups, women formed The Committee on Women's Athletics (CWA) and the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF). These two organizations, led by the physical educators of the world, focused on fighting the various evils that competition brought to women. Not only did the AAU clash with these organizations in seeking to control women's sport, the organizations fundamentally disagreed with each other on the philosophy of women's sport. It was generally agreed upon that women should have the right to participate in sport; however, the organizations radically differed upon the sports that women should play as well as the level of competition that should be involved. The women in charge of the CWA and the NAAF argued that women should not compete in extremely competitive sports such as basketball and track and field. In their effort to control women's games the first Women's Olympic Games were founded by Alice Milliat. The games were a huge success, attracting over 22,000 spectators to watch the eleven different events contested. The success of the event, especially the track events, spurred the male-led International Olympics Committee (IOC) to take a vested interest in the games, as they wanted to take complete control of the sport. Because of this, the IOC introduced five women's track and field events to the Olympic Games in 1928. The International Amateur Athletic Federation mirrored the IOC's sentiment and drew up rules to manage women's track and field in Europe and internationally.³⁵

The struggle did not end there. The AAU took a major interest in track and field, as well, and created their own national championships beginning in 1924. The physical educators of the

world, horrified by all of these actions, sought to combat them through the CWA, as well as with an alliance formed with National Amateur Athletic Federation (NAAF). Placing women on a committee within the NAAF, the CWA and NAAF worked together to fight against all highly competitive sports for women. The women were able to gain the backing of over 250 schools, recreation groups, and others, peaking at 481 member organizations in 1932.³⁶ These organizations ultimately failed by 1940, giving birth to other organizations and more struggles that would ultimately plague amateur and intercollegiate women's sport in the future.³⁷

Especially today, with women competing in sports across the board, one might wonder why physical education leaders were so opposed to high levels of competition in women's sport. Physical educators found a number of reasons to do so, some of them going hand-in-hand with views from the late 1800s. One reason that they were so opposed to competition is that it hindered those who played for fun. By introducing high levels of competition, women that wanted to play sport for fun would no longer have spots on the team and would be ultimately eliminated from sport as a whole. Additionally, many still believed that strenuous activity could have negative implications for reproductive health, as many believed in the late nineteenth century. Though there was not medical evidence to back that up, educators stressed that the process of menstruation could be negatively affected by exercise. Others made the argument that competition was not good for women's social health and was unnatural. Women were viewed as the less aggressive and physical gender, and by encouraging high levels of competition for women, they would become inherently more "mannish." Taking it one step further, physical educators believed that women could be exploited sexually and economically. By promoting competition, women's sport would be opened up to commercialization, and thus, women would be covered more heavily in the media, generate more sponsorships, and have more pressure

placed upon them to win. This focus on winning for economic reasons could drive women to over-exertion, and thereby threaten the loss of their female “decency.” Further, with profits becoming a focus, women would be more likely to be exploited sexually. By introducing uniforms and clothing that exuded more sex appeal, a greater audience would surely be reached. With this occurring, physical educators worried that women’s sport would become a sort of exhibition.³⁸

As these concerns mounted, the CWA created its own model of sport. Instead of focusing on the competitive, higher skilled athletes, the CWA’s model focused on the average girls and helping them to become more physically fit. They sought to market sport to a wider audience and create a view that all girls could and should participate in sport. As mentioned earlier, the CWA instituted “play days” for the girls at different schools where any girl that was interested could show up and play in the various provided activities. These “play days” moved to “sports days” in the 1930s and 1940s. These “sports days” were a little bit more competitive than the original play days originally had been, but they still were not the high level of competition that some women wanted. Ultimately, the CWA struggled in its cause, as the prevailing norms of womanhood could not be agreed upon. As industry continued growing, more and more young women embraced the new model of strong, modern women that did not have to abide by the strict Victorian dress code.³⁹

With all of these organizations working against each other and with differing values, a stalemate was reached for much of the 1930s and 1940s. No single organization could gain control of women’s athletics, but the physical educators were most successful in preventing women from engaging in competitive sports at the college level. Between 1936 and 1945, a survey found that only 16-17% of schools had intercollegiate varsity women’s sports.⁴⁰ At the

high school level, eighteen states no longer put on state tournaments for girls, creating a total of thirty-six states that did not offer state tournaments. Many still offered other tournaments, but there were certainly fewer opportunities provided to women in school settings.⁴¹

In this strange period in which opportunities for women to compete simultaneously contracted and expanded, a young tennis prodigy arrived on the campus of a small state college in Pennsylvania, determined to compete at the highest level she could. Dorothy Louise Anderson, who had been born in Sandusky, Ohio, in 1912, and grew up in Butler, Pennsylvania, arrived at the 3000-student campus of Pennsylvania State College in geographic center of the state for the fall semester of 1933.⁴²

At that time, like the vast majority of colleges, Penn State had no intercollegiate sports program for women, only “sports days” and intramurals. Anderson, however, was determined to play intercollegiate tennis. She had already tried to join the men’s varsity squads at the University of California at Los Angeles and at Carnegie Tech in Pittsburgh, where she had spent her freshman and sophomore years respectively. Stymied by administrative officials at those two schools, she transferred to Penn State after varsity tennis coach H.W. “Dink” Stover promised her a shot on the squad. Her brief career at Penn State would illuminate the struggles surrounding competition and femininity that consumed women’s sport during the era. Now almost entirely forgotten, Dorothy Anderson was a revolutionary in women’s intercollegiate sport who demanded not just an intramural “team for every girl” in which “every girl” could find a spot “on the team,” but a place on the men’s team.⁴³

Chapter 2 : Dorothy Anderson: Unknown but Unforgotten

Penn State has a long history of going against cultural norms in college sports. One of the better-known stories, at least around the Penn State community, is the story of Penn State's challenges of racial "color lines" in intercollegiate sport in the late 1940s. With much national fanfare, Penn State in 1946 refused to play the University of Miami when the Southern school would not permit Penn State to play its African American players in the football game.⁴⁴

Penn State asserted itself again two years later as a contradictor of racial norms when the opportunity to play in the 1948 Cotton Bowl presented itself. After Southern Methodist University dominated the Southwest Conference, going undefeated, they were set to host the Cotton Bowl in Dallas. Feeling that Penn State would be a worth adversary, they welcomed the talented Nittany Lions to compete in Dallas. Penn State accepted the invitation immediately, but there was still the concern of their African American team members, Wally Triplett and Dennis Hoggard. Bob Higgins, the coach of the team, insisted, as had been insisted upon by the 1946 squad in the Miami controversy, that the team would be together and would stay together. With all of the hotels in the area being segregated, the team was forced to stay in the quarters of the Dallas Naval Air Station. In many reports about the game before the fact, Triplett and Hoggard remained unmentioned. The *Dallas Morning News*, though, on the day of the game finally remarked that Triplett was a powerful, African American running back.⁴⁵ With Penn State integrating the notoriously white South, 20,000 tickets were requested when Penn State had only

3,000 to give. Again, Penn State served as a pioneer in the struggle of racial equality in college sports.⁴⁶

The list of Penn State student-athletes that have broken race barriers could go on and on.^{47,48} Some of these people are more well known than others, with Hoggard and Triplett leading that drive. Though Penn State's breaking of racial barriers is well known, many do not know that women also broke barriers at Penn State. As early as 1871, Penn State admitted its first six woman students into the agricultural college. Ellen A. Cop registered as the first woman student while Rebecca Ewing became the first female graduate in 1873. With the emergence of women coming to campus, Penn State's administrators made rules to insure Victorian gender decorum. In 1883, the administration instituted a policy that men were allowed to accompany women to the Ladies Parlor between 6:45 and 7:00 PM on non-Sundays. The Lady Principal of the time was to chaperone these interactions, with visitations ending at 10:45 PM on Saturdays, 9:00 PM on weekdays, and 8:00 PM on Sundays. Progressing a little further, in 1888, the first woman was chosen to be associate editor of the *Free Lance*, the student newspaper at the time. In 1891, more programs began to be developed for women as Penn State introduced a Domestic Economics degree. In 1893, Penn State developed its first organized gym classes for female students. Following that, May Day exercises began in 1914, a parade involving many women at the time. In 1915, the women's student government began. By 1926, Penn State sponsored a women's debate team. When she arrived on campus in 1933, "Miss" Dorothy Anderson joined the tradition of female innovators on campus. Penn State had neither women's tennis team, nor intercollegiate women's athletic teams in any sport. The extremely talented Anderson set out to compete on the men's team.⁴⁹

Dorothy Anderson was raised as a tennis player from a young age. After receiving professional instruction in Los Angeles as a teenager, Anderson decided to continue her playing career at the university level. Her freshman year, Anderson stayed in California and attended the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). Unfortunately, though recruited to play tennis, Anderson was not allowed to join the squad and she decided to transfer.⁵⁰ She transferred to Carnegie Tech (now Carnegie Mellon University) – another school to which she had been recruited to play. Much to her frustration, in spite of promises from coaches, Carnegie Tech’s administration once again disapproved of her playing against the other men, as a woman’s team did not exist at the time. After having been recruited to play there and still being denied the opportunity to play, Anderson vented her frustration, while also professing understanding: “Men don’t like it, I don’t blame them.” Anderson was willing to play a women’s college tennis team; however, because none existed, she yearned to play on men’s team, unwilling to relinquish her love of the game. Her hope to play against other women instead of men was underscored by a statement she gave the press: “You cannot imagine a Wimbledon final with a man against a woman.”⁵¹ Anderson’s travails at Carnegie Tech made news from coast to coast. Even the *Los Angeles Times* took notice of Anderson not being able to compete on the men’s team at Carnegie Tech. The *Los Angeles Times* also noted that Dorothy Anderson would have been the first woman on a men’s team there had the dean not disapproved; however, the dean of women at Carnegie would not permit her to accept the place.⁵²

While at Carnegie Tech, and even before, Anderson competed in various tennis tournaments in the northwest Pennsylvania area, near her home in Butler. From 1931-1933, Anderson reigned as the women’s singles champion of Northwestern Pennsylvania. In 1934, Anderson and her partner Jean Artberger became the doubles champions of Northwestern

Pennsylvania.⁵³ Despite a great deal of success on the court, Anderson was not entirely dominant throughout the country. In a July 1933 tournament in the Pittsburgh area, Anderson made it through the quarterfinals before losing in the semifinal.⁵⁴ She also suffered a loss earlier in the summer in the Pittsburgh area, losing in a tournament on June 26.⁵⁵ Still, Anderson was very successful in the majority of her tournaments, very rarely losing in the early rounds and winning multiple championships around the area.

Though she was able to compete in many tournaments around the Pittsburgh and Northwestern Pennsylvania area, not being able to compete in college tennis frustrated Anderson. Turning away from the western part of the state, Anderson looked toward Centre County, coming to the Pennsylvania State College. Her decision was greatly influenced by Penn State tennis coach H.W. “Dink” Stover, as he recruited to her to come play for the men’s team. Stover characterized Anderson’s style and personality, as thoroughly feminine. He reassured Penn State fans that she was not “mannish” in any way. “She was not a muscle-type athlete,” Stover stated. “She was reasonably tall, user her height to advantage, and had the grace of a girl.”⁵⁶ Stover did not seem deterred by her gender and was much more attracted to the high level of skill that she brought to the team. Unfortunately for Stover, Anderson, and the rest of the team, by transferring from Carnegie Tech and coming to Penn State as a junior, Anderson lost an entire year of eligibility, giving her only one year to compete.

Her year away from tennis did not stop her from becoming active across Penn State’s campus. In her spring semester of her junior year (1934), Anderson played music in a local festival where the dancers were trained by “Miss” Marie Haidt, the head of the women’s physical education program at Penn State. Anderson played Old English Folk songs with Lucy Albert in the festival. Anderson became active in other ways across campus. Anderson joined a sorority

at Penn State, Kappa Alpha Theta that still exists at the University today. Anderson was not only talented at sport but also in music, serving as the Concertmaster of the College Symphony Orchestra and singing in the University's Episcopal Choir. Anderson was also a member of Archousia, a women's senior honorary organization, as well as the president of *Le Cercle Francais* – a French club on campus.⁵⁷ In addition, Anderson also took that time to travel to Altoona. As an education and French major, Anderson student-taught in Altoona, along with 44 other education students.⁵⁸

In athletic endeavors, Anderson participated in one of the “play days: held at Penn State that also included women from Bucknell, Lock Haven, Dickinson, and Susquehanna. For this meeting, the students from every school formed two teams named “blue” and “white.” Organizers chose Anderson as Penn State's representative at the play day. The festivities began at 2:00 PM that day. Teams competed in hockey, baseball, archery, volleyball, and tennis. They also held relays using old clothes, balloons, bugs, candles, as well as staging egg races. In addition to there being a mild amount of competition at the play day, the girls were then sent over to the Women's Athletic Association cabin on hay wagons where they were fed dinner and stayed for the night, discussing issues related to women's athletics at the time.⁵⁹

Taking advantage of her year of ineligibility to excel in other campus activities, Anderson's life changed when administrators finally declared her eligible to play tennis at the intercollegiate level during her senior year. This did not go as easily as some would have hoped. Anderson caused Coach Stover more than a few headaches, as her eligibility to play on the team questioned before the season even started. With Anderson trying out and petitioning to be on the team, her fate was left in the hands of the Senate Committee on Athletic Eligibility. The Dean of Women at the time, Dean Charlotte Ray, was in favor of her playing, as were Dink Stover, and

Athletic Director Hugo Bezdek, but the final decision was still left to the faculty committee. Though the committee stated, “From a strict interpretation of the Athletic Association’s regulations, varsity sports are only for men,” they still ruled in favor of Anderson’s petition. They cleared her to play on the team.⁶⁰ The headaches did not stop there for Stover and Anderson, though. When traveling to matches, Anderson could not stay with the team as men’s players normally did. She was forced to stay in sorority houses or in her own hotel room.⁶¹ Stover could not help but deal with the issues having a woman on a men’s team created. He defended her place on the squad by pointing out her extraordinary talent. “Her volleying at the net is as good as any college man’s. She has a good man’s serve, and is an excellent doubles partner. She plays a typical man’s game, having everything but punch in her drives.”⁶² Clearly, though she could not stay with the men at away matches, Stover certainly believed in her ability. He believed she could help Penn State win matches. Though five starters returned to the team in 1935, Anderson managed to earn the number six spot on the team during intrasquad competition.⁶³

Anderson’s tennis career at Penn State was nothing short of intriguing. That is not to say she was not successful – she was. Being in a male-dominated field, though, frequently put her in interesting situations. Even Stover noticed it, remarking, “I think it was an item of curiosity when we played. A lot of people wanted to see this weirdo.”⁶⁴ The desire to “see this weirdo” drew fans, including a strong turnout at a match against a team that could have been her own. In her first match as a Nittany Lion, Anderson and company squared off against Carnegie Tech – her former school that did not allow her to play. Anderson took court against a male from Carnegie Tech, Charley Vukovich, and handled him, using her “unwavering form rather than power to gain her victory.”⁶⁵ Some claimed that Vukovich was at a psychological disadvantage

competing against a woman, yet others claimed the same about Anderson. Regardless, Anderson took the first two games of the first set proving to everyone watching that she could more than hold her own with the men. The first two sets were close, with Vukovich taking the first 6-4 and Anderson taking the second 8-6. In the decisive third set Anderson dialed-in, dominating with a 6-0 victory and gave Penn State another point in its 5-0 victory. After the match, Anderson was interviewed about her performance. She remarked of Vukovich that “He went to pieces after losing the second set.”⁶⁶ When asked about playing Carnegie Tech in her first ever intercollegiate match, Anderson responded, “I had to beat him with the people from Carnegie Tech watching.”⁶⁷

Anderson’s interesting season did not end there, though. Much like Barney Ewell and other track athletes at Penn State, Anderson met some resistance from the United States Naval Academy. When Penn State was to play Navy that year in tennis, Navy’s athletic director expressed a problem with her competing in Annapolis. An article in the press revealed, however, that the “Director of Athletics could find no regulation which would permit a girl to enter into athletic competition with a midshipman.”⁶⁸ Not only did Navy draw a color line a few years later, they also drew an anti-woman line. Penn State’s athletic director, as well as Navy’s, sought to negotiate a solution. In the midst of their talks, Navy’s athletic director was approached by two reporters who questioned if Navy’s leader was scared to have his men play against a woman. The reporters threatened to write an exposé about the situation. The exposé never surfaced, as Stover was willing to cancel Anderson’s match competitively and put on an exhibition match in its place. Anderson lost the match to the midshipmen 7-9, but as it was an exhibition match, it did not count toward her overall competitive record.⁶⁹

The rest of Anderson's season went by relatively uneventfully. She did not make any more headlines other than a short article in the *Pittsburgh Gazette* describing her victory against an opponent from Dickinson College. The correspondent reported "Miss Dorothy Anderson, of Butler, Penn State co-ed star, won her fifth straight match of the season by defeating Winans of Dickinson."⁷⁰ Anderson went on to win a sixth straight match, but ended the season at 6-1 after a loss to a Cornell player in her final match of the season.⁷¹

Throughout her last semester at Penn State, Anderson continued to remain engaged across campus as well as playing varsity tennis. In March of her senior year, Anderson served as the chairman of decoration for the Kotillion in State College. This cotillion, much like any other, is a way of introducing women to society and is rather similar to ball.⁷² In addition, Anderson was also nominated to carry the Hemlock chain at the May Day festival – a great honor for her.⁷³ Near the end of April, she was selected for induction in Phi Kappa Phi – a Penn State honors society.⁷⁴

After graduation, Anderson returned to Butler, Pennsylvania to teach French and history at the local high school for a few years. In 1941, Anderson married Edward Rhodes and they relocated to Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In Milwaukee she continued to compete in tennis. She won the Wisconsin State Women's Tennis Championship in both 1941 and 1942.⁷⁵ Unfortunately for Rhodes, formerly Anderson, she injured her arm in a boating accident, rendering her unable to continue competing.⁷⁶ In 1968, she and her husband moved to Saint Petersburg where they became members of the Saint Petersburg Yacht Club and the Pinellas County Republican Club. In 1981, she was inducted into the Butler Area Sports Hall of Fame. Rhodes passed away on July 18, 2001, in Sunrise Florida at the age of 89. She was survived by her children, Linda R. Salverston, Evelyn Thistle Rhodes, and E. Andrew Rhodes.⁷⁷

In 1935, Dorothy Anderson briefly became a local star in the Pennsylvania sports scene. In the state capital after her graduation from Penn State, she played a series of matches against men sponsored by a local newspaper, the *Harrisburg Telegraph*. Near the end of August, Dorothy Anderson competed in two separate matches against these men, with the first being Louis Biggott. The two played at the Reservoir, and Anderson came out to an early lead against the young Spaniard, taking the first set 6-3. After that, Biggott found his groove, winning the next two sets at love, while a tired Anderson could not recover.⁷⁸ The next day, Anderson engaged with Bill Strawinski, losing in straight sets 2-6, 3-6. Though she hit her backhand well that day, she was hurt by a number of double faults, which prevented her possible victory.⁷⁹ Though she was not successful in either endeavor, she was once again able to show the fierce competitor that she was on the court throughout her time as a player. Though she continued her playing career after her time at Penn State, Anderson's major moment in the sun was earning her varsity letter at Penn State on the men's team – a feat that brought her recognition within the Penn State community.⁸⁰

In spite of Nobe Frank's glowing praise, Dorothy Anderson's brief moment in the spotlight failed to open the floodgates for women to compete in intercollegiate sport. That would take several more decades of struggle. The fact remains that Dorothy Anderson was an anomaly in her time. Though there were a few women that did similar things around her time, she was one that had great success and able to thrive at a major university such as Penn State. In her own era, she was an outlier. In the longer curve of history, she was a harbinger of the future.

Chapter 3 : Not the Only One

Dorothy Anderson was one of a handful of women who during the era before the re-emergence of intercollegiate sport for women in the 1960s and its rapid expansion following landmark 1972 legislation in Title IX written by the U.S. Congress, competed on men's varsity athletic squads.⁸¹

The earliest evidence of women competing on men's teams comes from Michigan State University, or the Michigan Agricultural College (MAC) as it was known at the time. The archives at Michigan State contain records of several women competing on men's varsity teams.

In 1913, the MAC competed in three tennis tournaments, one of which was with Ypsilanti and the other two with Olivet. There were two women on the team at the time, Misses Lorena Fuller and Ethel Taft, who were noted to have had excellent performances against Olivet. It is unclear whether these two were competing against men or other women in the match, but they are pictured as one team with the men.⁸² The following year, Ethel Taft is once again pictured with the men's team; however, it is once again unclear whether she competed against men or other women.⁸³ During the 1915 season, the six-member MAC tennis team went undefeated and possessed six members. Two of the team members, Miss Ruby Clinton and Miss Haidee F. Judson were female, and as noted in the yearbook, they were awarded monograms at the close of the season, indicating that they had, in fact, earned varsity letters.⁸⁴ Though it is again not noted whether these women were competing against men or other women, according to scholar Dr. Mark Havitz, women's teams were not awarded major or minor varsity letters and were instead given awards through the Women's Athletic Association.⁸⁵ The evidence indicates

that Clinton and Judson were likely competing against males from other schools, thus indicating that the women before them have been, as well. In 1916, three women joined the tennis team at MAC – Ethel Taft, Florence Amelia Stoll, and Lea Esca Swift. All three majored in Home Economics at the time.⁸⁶

Though it seems likely that the women on the MAC tennis team competed against men from other universities, given the current evidence, it cannot be known for certain. One female athlete who the evidence is clearer about, Audrey Glenn, undeniably did compete against men. Glenn was a member of the 1928 varsity men's fencing team, as well as the president of the Spartan Fencing Club. In the yearbook, she is noted as the only female member of a varsity fencing team in all of the United States, though this has not been independently confirmed. In the summary of the fencing team's season and varsity award winners, the yearbook stated: "Not a little attention was drawn to the sport by the fact that one of the stars of the squad was Miss Audrey Glenn, who was able to outpoint most of her opponents, and hold her own with the best in the Big Ten."⁸⁷ This indicates not only that Glenn was competing against men, but that she was able to be successful against them and even bring more popularity for the sport. This is especially important given that in 1928, it was generally frowned upon for women to be engaging in competition at all, let alone against men. Though fencing was one of the "softer" sports, having women in competition, especially against men, was generally taboo at the time, making Glenn, like Dorothy Anderson, a pioneer.

Another example of a woman joining a men's team comes from the University of North Carolina. At UNC two women trained with the men's varsity swimming team, Prince Nufer and Ruby Hudson. Nufer was the better known of the two and experienced more success. Neither Nufer nor Hudson actually competed against men in intercollegiate meets. Instead, they trained

with the men for competitions against women at AAU meets. There were no separate facilities for Nufer and Ruby as well as no teams for them to compete in, so they were given the opportunity to practice with men from 1944-1945 and compete against other women while they traveled.⁸⁸

Nufer actually experienced a great deal of success against other women. In August of 1944, Nufer was able to capture three out of the four women's first places at the South Atlantic AAU swim meet in Baltimore. At the time, she was competing on the Carolina Blue Dolphin swim team. At the meet, she won the 100-yard freestyle as well as the 50-yard backstroke, beating the former national indoor and outdoor champion, Helen Perry. Nufer also, at the time, "held 37 district championships, the National Junior Championship in the 150 yard individual medley, the 100 National Junior back stroke, and the American record in the 50 meter back stroke."⁸⁹ In February of the next year, Nufer went on to compete in the National Junior Meet at Emory University in Atlanta. At that competition, Nufer won the 220-yard freestyle, breaking the pool record at the time by 13 seconds. She also won the 100-yard freestyle championship breaking the original record by seven seconds. She won her third national championship while there. Additionally, she received second place for the Teague Award – an award given to the most outstanding woman athlete of South and North Carolina.⁹⁰

Press coverage of Nufer reveals the typical focus on her attractiveness and femininity as well as on her performances. In the article on her achievements at the national meet, though the majority of it is spent describing her achievements in swimming, the writer describes Nufer as, "Prince Nufer, attractive Carolina coed."⁹¹ Nufer remains an "object of desire" as scholar Mark Dyreson would describe it, in press accounts of her swimming feats. By merely adding that one word, the tone of the piece shifts from a woman merely competing against other woman

to a woman being required to retain attractiveness and decorum while doing so, showing the attitudes of the time toward women in sport.⁹²

Though it is possible that other women beyond the Michigan Agricultural College contingent, the North Carolina swimmers, and Dorothy Anderson competed against or trained with men's teams before the passing of Title IX, few others have been found and identified. The most notable, and relatively famous exception is Fern Lee "Peachy" Kellmeyer. Kellmeyer was born in February of 1944 in Wheeling, West Virginia, and started playing tennis from a young age. In 1957, she won the Orange Bowl Title – an international tennis tournament that attracts some of the best competition to the University of Miami to this day. Kellmeyer also won the Penn State Tournament in 1957. In 1956 and 1967, Kellmeyer was crowned the West Virginia State Women's Singles Champion, and in 1959, Kellmeyer competed at the US National Championships at Forest Hills. She was the youngest player to ever participate at the time. A few years later, Kellmeyer was named to the US Junior Wightman Cup team.⁹³

Although clearly an avid tennis star, there was not much controversial about her career until she arrived at the University of Miami. In 1964, Kellmeyer joined the varsity men's tennis team, the only woman at the time to have done so at the University of Miami. An article written about her in May of 1964 details her struggle with the men's tennis team at the time. Kellmeyer was originally slated to be the number seven player on the team, but due to an injury to Juan Rubio, the number six player, Kellmeyer moved up to play at the number six singles slot. Though she lost 6-1, 1-6, 6-1 to Florida State's Don Monk, Kellmeyer noted that she enjoyed the match, even though she was nervous at first. Miami's number one player, Rod Mandelstam, was not thrilled about her performance and presence. "When the California schools hear about this we will be the laughingstocks of the tennis world," Mandelstam fumed.⁹⁴ He also vehemently

opposed her being let onto the team in the first place, with Coach Dale Lewis stepping in to allow her to play. Mandelstam also added that he thought that there were a number of male players that were better than Kellmeyer across campus, but they were not encouraged to tryout for the tennis team.⁹⁵

Kellmeyer's stint in men's tennis did not last long. After even more complaints from Mandelstam that eventually led to him threatening to leave the team, Kellmeyer left, joining the women's program. The women's team wanted to challenge the men's team to a match in 1966, but Peachy, having gone through the debacle with Mandelstam, wanted no part of that. Instead, she kept to her business, earning herself the ranking of fourteen in the country among women's tennis players. She served as the number one's singles player during her time at Miami.⁹⁶

Through the early 1960s, when Peachy Kellmeyer briefly suited up for both the men's and women's tennis teams at the University of Miami, intercollegiate sporting opportunities for women remained rare. Still, some advocates of women's sport worked tirelessly to create chances for women on campuses to compete against their rivals at other schools. Gladys Palmer, the chair of the Department of Physical Education for Women at The Ohio State University, sought during the era when Dorothy Anderson briefly starred for Penn State to create an overarching National Women's Sport Association (NWSA) to promote and govern women's intercollegiate sport. She presented this idea first in 1936 and again in 1941, but the National Section on Women's Athletics of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation rejected both of her proposals.. As a head of physical education at Ohio State, her fellow female physical educators expected Palmer to share their views that women should not be engaging in highly competitive sports. Going against this norm, Palmer persisted even after her two failures. In 1941, she proposed a national intercollegiate golf tournament. Once again, her

fellow physical educators opposed the concept, arguing against any form of intercollegiate competition for women. Determined to make the tournament happen, Palmer persisted. With the help of her colleagues at Ohio State, she hosted the first national intercollegiate women's golf tournament. Over thirty women ended up participating – coming from schools across the country to compete. The NSWA disapproved of the tournament, even though the tournament was very successful in its first run. The outbreak of World War II put Women's National Collegiate Golf Tournament on hiatus, but it resumed after the war ended in 1946.⁹⁷

The war ended up stimulating women's competitive sport in the long-run. First, as women entered the workforce in large numbers as many men joined the military, new notions of gender equality were entertained. Second, the war effort required higher level of fitness not only for men but also for women. Colleges utilized not only physical education classes and but also began to introduce competitive sports programs to improve fitness among women. Local, state, and federal governments funded the new physical education programs that flourished and grew. This funding legitimized and normalized highly competitive sport for women on campuses. The war served as a major catalyst for changing the general attitude toward women competing in sport. Many women physical educators – the toughest critics of intercollegiate competition, also began to adopt these attitudes. The end of the war and the reinstatement of the Women's National Collegiate Golf Tournament further cemented the attitudes adapted during wartime. As more and more physical educators moved toward the competitive attitude, the anti-varsity and anti-competition models began to erode. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, women's intercollegiate sport programs began spread rapidly.⁹⁸

Another institution that helped to popularize and legitimize women's competitive sport at the time was The All-American Girls Baseball League. During the mid-1940s, about nine

million Americans, both men and women, were playing softball.⁹⁹ Seeing the opportunity to capitalize on a women's softball league, Major League Baseball entrepreneurs Philip K. Wrigley and Arthur Meyerhoffer started the All-American Girls Baseball League (AAGBL). Through this league, they sought to market the talent and competitive spirit that the women possessed while still creating a feminine, attractive image for their players. The AAGBL mandated their players to have "pastel-skirted uniforms, makeup, long hair, and strict standards of off-field dress and behavior."¹⁰⁰ The league had a great deal of success in the twelve years that it existed and was able to promote women competing. Despite a successful run, the league ultimately failed because of its reliance upon viewing the players as too nice and requiring to maintain femininity despite being expected to play like men.¹⁰¹

The Cold War between the United States and its allies and the Soviet Union and its allies also stimulated interest in women's sport. As the United States sought to out-power the Soviet Union in a variety of arenas, the Americans realized that it would not be able to dominate the Olympics without highly competitive women. The United States had dominated the Olympics for the first half of the twentieth century, but when the USSR joined the Olympic movement at the Helsinki games in 1952, the Americans narrowly won the medal count against the Soviets. In the following Olympics, 1956 and 1960, the U.S. lost the overall medal counts to the Soviets, a major blow to American morale. Analyzing the medal counts, the US realized that it was lacking medals in one major area: women's sport. Realizing that something needed to change, the NCAA stepped in, declaring its desire to control U.S. amateur sports. Thus began the "Federation Movement" initiated by the NCAA to improve U.S. performances in the Olympics. In the realm of women's sport, this led to a male-dominated NCAA seeking to provide

opportunities for women in sport, despite the resistance of the governing bodies of women's sport.¹⁰²

During the 1950s, as the NCAA began to explore the potential of women's sport, the older, more established institutions that governed women's physical education began to shift their stances. In 1957, the Division of Girls and Women's Sport (DGWS) altered its position and declared that intercollegiate sports for programs "may" be created. By 1963, they had expanded their support to state that women's intercollegiate programs were "desirable." A year later, the DGWS launched the Commission on Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (CIAW). This organization became the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) in 1971.¹⁰³

After making moves to take control of amateur athletics from the AAU, the NCAA also maneuvered to take control of women's athletics. E. Wayne Cooley, an advocate for bringing women's sport under NCAA governance, spearheaded this movement, claiming that women's sport did not have a strong enough infrastructure to expand. The birth of the NCAA Special Committee on Women's Intercollegiate Athletics ensued. This committee explored the ideas of acquiring power of women's sport, which pressured the CIAW to form their own championships. The CIAW coexisted with the Division for Girls' and Women's Sports at the time. Under increasing pressure from the NCAA, the two formed the AIAW.¹⁰⁴

Originally, the NCAA had regulations only allowing men to compete. However, in seeking more control over amateur sport, the NCAA released its legal opinion that the NCAA's constitution did not prevent it from accommodating the rules of women's sport. This, in turn, allowed the NCAA to serve as a governing body for women's sport. Before attempting to overtake the AIAW, though, the NCAA attempted to affiliate with the AIAW--but to no avail.

The AIAW was unwilling to budge to collaborate, fearing that the world of men's athletics would overtake that of women's and women would have no room in the administration of sport anymore. In the midst of these battles, the U.S. Congress in 1972 passed Title IX, a set of statutes designed to prohibit discrimination in against women in education by institutions that received federal funding. Title IX would have far-reaching consequences for women's sport.¹⁰⁵

At that moment, Peachy Kellmeyer, who in the early 1960s had played on both men's and women's tennis squads at Miami, once again entered the battles over gender in intercollegiate sport. After her playing career, she became the director of physical education at Marymount College in Florida, where she oversaw a growing women's intercollegiate sports program. In 1973, Kellmeyer filed a lawsuit against the Association for Intercollegiate Athletics for Women . Those on the plaintiff's side included Kellmeyer, eleven females students that received athletic scholarships at Marymount and Broward Community College, the tennis coaches at both schools, and Marymount College. In the case, Kellymeyer and company cited the Fourteenth Amendment and Title IX to indicate that the AIAW's rule of not allowing scholarships was unjust. Joel Kerwitz, one of the main lawyers on the case for the National Education Association, outlined the argument against the AIAW. He pointed out that one of the issues at hand was whether an organization actually had a rational reason for treating women differently to men and not awarding them scholarships. If men were afforded the opportunity of earning academic scholarship, Title IX would be violated at those federally funded programs. By definition, despite the AIAW wanting to help women, they would legally be discriminating against women. Because of this, the suit never went to court. The case ended up being dismissed as the DGWS and AIAW adapted their scholarship policy to allow women to receive

funding for their athletic prowess. Through Kellmeyer's leadership, scholarships were made available to women – a policy that has stood in place to this day.¹⁰⁶

Even after the lawsuit, Kellmeyer went on to many different firsts. In 1973, was chosen as the referee for the Virginia Slims Championships. In addition to that, she was hired as the first full-time employee of the Women's Tennis Association, or WTA, by the founder of the WTA, Gladys Heldman. Kellmeyer organized the first ever women's tennis event at Madison Square Garden four years later and proceeded to build the WTA into the organization that it is today. From the time that she started in 1973 to 2017, the prize money awarded in the WTA was raised 446 times what it started as, going from \$307,000 to \$137 million. As a woman who constantly fought for equal pay and prize money between men and women, this was a major accomplishment for Kellmeyer. Additionally, in 2007 and every year since, men and women have been awarded equal prize money at all four major tournaments – another cause that Kellmeyer championed while at the WTA.¹⁰⁷

Because of all of the work that Kellmeyer has done for the tennis community, she has been given a number of different awards and even has some named after her. She was inducted into the Intercollegiate Tennis Hall of Fame and was the first-ever tennis player, male or female, to be honored by the West Virginia Sports Hall of Fame. When asked, though, about her proudest achievement, she responded that she could not be prouder of accomplishing Title IX. She believes that Title IX forever changed intercollegiate sport for the better and that she could not have done all of the work that she did without the help of others. She also claimed that equal pay at all of the Grand Slams was one of her favorite achievements after working so hard for so many years to see it to fruition. It all comes back to Title IX and intercollegiate sports for her. She recalls going to the Tennis Hall of Fame induction in Newport, Rhode Island and being

approached by a number of women there that thanked her for the scholarships that they or their daughters had received.¹⁰⁸

Ultimately, Peachy Kellmeyer, of all of the women presented, had the largest impact upon women's sport. By helping to push Title IX into the core issues in college sports and steering women toward receiving equality in scholarships and pay, she changed both intercollegiate and professional women's tennis. That is not meant to diminish the accomplishments of the other women mentioned, Ethel Taft, Florence Stoll, Lea Swift, Audrey Glenn, Lorena Fuller, Ruby Clinton, Haidee Judson, Prince Nufer, and Ruby Hudson – they were pioneers of their time. By playing on men's teams, they went against the cultural norms and broke stigmas that existed for many years both before and after they competed. It is possible that it was not the right time for these. It is possible that they only sought to play as opposed to changing the field forever. Researchers may never know without first hand accounts of said women, but regardless, these women all changed sport in their own respective ways.

The aftermath of Dorothy Anderson's career at Penn State demonstrates that her legacy far outlived her single season on the Nittany Lion men's tennis team. After she finished competing in 1935, *The Daily Collegian*, Penn State's student newspaper, continued to use her example to push for more opportunities for women in intercollegiate sport. A 1956 editorial, published more than two decades after Anderson took the court with the men's team, detailed Penn State's failure to provide more opportunities in women's athletics. Lil Junas, the writer of the editorial, discusses how Penn State's women have interest in sport, but the only thing provided for them are intramural ten sports sponsored by the Women's Recreation Association. Junas complains that these competitions are not strong enough for the women that want higher levels of sport and that women do not receive the same campus recognition for their feats that

men garner. She highlights Dorothy Anderson as an example of what should happen more often in women's sport, observing that Anderson received a fair amount of media attention, as well as the fact that Anderson was a true competitor. Using Anderson as an example, Junas calls on Penn State to put more resources into women's sports as there may be more record setters out there who have not yet discovered their talents. She also points out various other places where there are coed sports such as the University of Iowa and Grove City College.¹⁰⁹

The same year, 1956, that Junas employed Dorothy Anderson in a *Daily Collegian* editorial requesting more sporting opportunities for women at Penn State, another *Daily Collegian* reporter used Anderson to try to encourage female leadership in athletics on campus. Jackie Hudgins, in an article entitled "Look Who's Talking about Leaders," observes that all of the leaders on campus at Penn State during the early 1950s were male. Varsity athletes dominated the group. Hudgins points back to Dorothy Anderson, explaining that Anderson could have been the precedent for women in leadership roles, but notes that Anderson, in spite of her athletic feats, was not nominated for All-University – a group of campus leaders. Hudgins thinks times might have changed and calls on women to follow Anderson and try out for more varsity sports so that they can become campus leaders. Hudgins also speculates that if the opportunity to tab Anderson of All-University had not been missed, it is possible that by the 1950s both women's sport and women's leadership roles on campus could have blossomed.¹¹⁰

Women's intercollegiate sports at Penn State finally developed in the early 1960s.¹¹¹ A 1963 *Daily Collegian* article by John Lott announced: "Tryouts Set for Tuesday for Women's Net Team." In his essay heralding the beginning of women's intercollegiate tennis at Penn State, Lott details that twenty-eight years earlier, Dorothy Anderson made the men's tennis team. "Since that time, the Penn State coeds have had a few informal matches with other colleges, but

tennis as a varsity sport has been solely to the men,”¹¹¹ Lott observed. By 1963, Penn State finally agreed that there was enough interest and talent around for a women’s team to form. The university hired Ann Valentine as the first coach. The reference to Anderson in the birth of a women’s team reveals that even three decades after her departure from Penn State, she was still exerted an influence upon the formation of women’s tennis in Happy Valley.¹¹²

Several decades later, a 1989 article in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, entitled “Sport Pioneer was ‘Item of Curiosity,’” briefly details Anderson’s history and claims that her career may have helped to lead toward Penn State becoming an early advocate of sport for women.¹¹³ For example, Penn State’s field hockey program played its first game on October 3, 1964 – the birth of its first program, eight years before the passing of Title IX. Between the years of 1964-1965, Penn State added nine women’s teams, compared to only two at the University of Pittsburgh. Even though early competition mainly featured contests with smaller schools around the area such as Lock Haven and Bucknell, Dorothy Anderson served as a model for Della Durant and the other pioneering administrators who in the early 1960s created a women’s intercollegiate sport program at Penn State.¹¹⁴

There are a few more articles written about Dorothy Anderson that pay tribute to her fight for women’s athletics as well as for women in general, but they very briefly touch on her. The fact remains that Dorothy Anderson was an anomaly of her time. Though there were a few women who did similar things at other universities in the period between the 1910s and the 1940s, Anderson had the greatest success. She helped to pioneer women’s sport at Penn State, both directly and indirectly. Though she believed that women should compete against other women and not against men, when those opportunities failed to emerge she took to the court

against men—and more than held her own. Her career inspired women to continue to fight for opportunities in competitive sport, both at Penn State and beyond.

Epilogue: The Legacies of Peachy Kellmeyer and Dorothy Anderson

Women's sport, especially at the university level, has come a long way. The NCAA hosted its first set of women's championships in the 1981-1982 academic year, garnering the allegiance of most schools at the time. In 1984, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Grove City College v. Bell* ruled that Title IX only applied only to programs that received federal funding – a major blow to the women's athletics movement. This decision was reversed with the passage of the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1988--an edict that mandated that schools must remove all sources of gender discrimination.⁵⁰ Recent statistics show how far women's college athletics have come. In 2010-2011, there were 191,131 intercollegiate varsity women's athletes – the highest number that there have ever been. There are now more women's teams than men's teams in the NCAA, with 9,746 women's teams and 8,568 men's teams in 2010-2011. Additionally, the average NCAA athletics programs fields 17 teams total – 8 of which are men's and 9 of which are women's.⁵¹ Though women have certainly not achieved complete equality in athletics, the NCAA has made massive strides since the early 1900s. More women than ever are competing at the intercollegiate varsity level, a trend that has held consistently for the past five decades. Though full equality has not yet been reached, women are inching closer and closer in their fight.

Dorothy Anderson, though she has passed in 2001 and may never have known about it, had a significant impact on the game of tennis, especially women's tennis, immensely. Having

been influenced by the likes of both Helen Wills and Helen Jacobs, Anderson never had any qualms competing against men, much like Wills. Although Anderson openly admitted to preferring to play against women, by competing against men at the intercollegiate level in the 1930s, she set herself apart as a harbinger of the future. Her impact as a woman may not have been stated as frequently in newspapers, magazines, and books as it could have been, but that does not mean that she did not serve as a role model for women across campus. By serving as the captain of the 1934 play day, Anderson was clearly selected as a leader among her female peers. This, as well as being recruited by Coach Dink Stover, indicates that she held some capacity about her that she was ready to lead the charge for women. Her success on the tennis court, coupled with her abilities in various activities off the court, made her an ideal candidate to be a leader and role model to women around the Penn State community, as well as those who were exposed to her story in the 1930s. Her legacy lives on, as there are still articles such as this thesis being written about her today.

Peachy Kellmeyer, a name much more recognizable than Anderson, had a much more tangible impact upon women. In the court case referenced earlier, Kellmeyer was able to destroy the AIAW – an organization that sought to keep the educational model of sport for women. This model was doomed from the start, but Kellmeyer solidified its doom but earning women the right to acquire athletic scholarships. Though she may not have realized it at the time, through her actions, Kellmeyer set a legal precedent that over the next forty years provided millions of dollars for women across the country to attend college and receive education. Not only was she able to inspire young women by competing against men on the tennis court and being successful, but she was also able to provide women with this equality in scholarships. Additionally, Kellmeyer is a heroine for women for another reason: her pioneer work for wage equality.

Kellmeyer fought vehemently to ensure that men and women received equal prize money in each of the four major tennis tournaments – The U.S. Open, Australian Open, French Open, and Wimbledon. Having made this happen, Kellmeyer has left a lasting impact upon the world of women's sport. Through her actions, as well as the actions of Anderson, women's sports have moved toward greater inclusion and more equality.

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Academic Vita

Penn State Motivation Lab

Designed and conducted hydration study with human subjects
Recorded and analyzed activPAL, heart rate, and body metric data
Trained in ion and osmolarity concentration analysis

Penn State Sports History Research

Worked under direction of Dr. Mark Dyreson, noted sports historian
Researched Penn State tennis standout and activist in women's community
Engaged in outreach to Universities across the country

Lancaster Tennis Patrons Tennis Instructor

Directed instruction of children ages 6-14 in tennis
Created and implemented drills and programs for participants

Lion Ambassadors, Penn State Student Alumni Corps

Executive Vice President

Allocated a \$200,000 budget and oversaw a \$1,000,000 endowment
Led and executed 14 projects designed for a 45,000 student campus
Presented to the Penn State Board of Trustees about the student body

Strategic Planning Committee

Created a three-year plan and set long term goals for the organization
Oversaw the reconstruction of the organization's Constitution

New Member Education Committee

Instructed new members on how to give tours to prospective students and alumni
Taught professionalism to an incoming class of 50 Lion Ambassadors

Global Medical Brigades

Spanish Chair, Honduras Trip 2016

Facilitated workshops to teach 25 students phrases in Spanish
Translated native-Honduran Spanish to peers for the duration of the trip

Achievements

Summer 2016 & 2017 Undergraduate Research Awards
The Evan Pugh Scholar Award
The President Sparks Award
The President's Freshman Award
Dean's List 2014-2017
High School Valedictorian

Skills

Fluency, Spanish Language
Trained in IRB protocol
Proficiency, Statistics
Proficiency, Alumni Association Databases