

THE PROCESS OF INCLUSION OF WOMEN IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES

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DISSERTATION PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE PROGRAMA DE PÓS-
GRADUAÇÃO EM EDUCAÇÃO FÍSICA DA UNIVERSIDADE GAMA FILHO

FEBRUARY, 2006

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To my parents:
Carlos Caetano Miragaya and Maria Anna de Freitas Miragaya

To my husband Vicente and my sons Daniel and Diego

To my advisor Dr. Lamartine DaCosta

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the people and institutions who have contributed in various ways to the completion of this dissertation. As a faculty member of Universidade Gama Filho, I received a partial four-year scholarship from their PROICAD Program, which greatly supported my research.

I was also a recipient of the Postgraduate Researchers Scholarship Program of the Olympic Studies Center during two months in a trip to the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland, where I had the opportunity to have access to the archives and so many other important documents of the International Olympic Committee, besides books, newspapers, magazines and periodicals. All of these materials were extremely valuable to my work especially the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC and the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings. I would like to thank the staff of the Olympic Studies Center (which includes the Historical Archives, the Library and the Documentation Service) for their helpful assistance and cooperation. Their expertise and knowledge of the archives, documents, and the so many other different types of materials aided my research remarkably. In fact, beyond the technical assistance, I appreciated their friendship throughout my time at the Olympic Studies Center and the Olympic Museum. All made my stay in Lausanne genuinely enjoyable. In particular, I would like to thank Patricia Eckert, Ruth Beck-Perrenoud, Nuria Puig and Yoo-Mi Steffen for their assistance in helping me find my way around the library, the archives, the Minutes, the books, and life in Lausanne.

I would also like to thank the University of California at Long Beach for funding Margaret Toohey Costa's trip to Rio to my defense on February 24.

Special thanks to Monique Berlioux, former director of the IOC, for the encouraging message and for articles she sent me, to Bill Mallon, researcher of the International Society of Olympic Historians, for information related to the presence of women athletes in the early Games, June Purvis, professor at the University of Portsmouth for details of Mrs. Pankhurst's biography, Panos Valavanis, professor at the University of Athens, for his suggestions of references, Hans Bölling, University of Stockholm, Sweden, for information related to the participation of women in the 1912 Olympic Games, Jim Parry from Leeds University and Don Anthony, Olympic Historian at the British Olympic Association, for information related to the participation of women in the 1908 Olympic Games.

To my examiners, D. Margaret Toohey Costa from California State University at Long Beach, Elaine Romero from Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Neíse Abreu from the

American School of Rio de Janeiro and Otávio Tavares from Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo, I owe a debt of gratitude for all of your suggestions, comments and criticisms of my work.

My supervisor during my doctoral studies was Lamartine DaCosta, who pointed me the way to go. His encouragement, suggestions and questions invaluablely enlightened the way to my goals. Beyond his outstanding guidance as an advisor, Lamartine has always been an example of all that is best about academia. I have learned much about teaching, research, service and networking from his example. Furthermore, Lamartine has shown himself to be a true humanitarian on many occasions, always willing to give of his time to aid those who need help. My thanks, Lamartine, for lessons which I will never forget and which will be extended to my students.

Finally, I must express my gratitude to my family for their support of this lengthy endeavor. My husband Vicente and my sons Daniel and Diego supported, encouraged and applauded my efforts in academia. Their understanding, encouragement, and cooperation hugely contributed for a very stimulating atmosphere for research and writing. Thank you for your affectionate e-mails, support and encouragement as I spent two months away from you. Most of all I offer my love and gratitude to my husband Vicente for his loving dedication, applause and patience and as I completed this degree.

MIRAGAYA, AMF (2006). The Process of Inclusion of Women in the Olympic Games. (Ph.D. Dissertation). Rio de Janeiro: PPGEF/UGF.
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Lamartine DaCosta

ABSTRACT

The aims of this research were: (1) to determine the status of women's participation in early Olympic Games of the modern era, (2) to trace women's participation in the Olympic Games of 1900, 1904 and 1908 and how women became co-opted members of the IOC, (3) to establish who or what caused the absence of women in the Olympic Games and the barriers that prevented women from fully participating in the Olympic Games as athletes and as elected IOC members, especially looking at secondary sources to examine historic origins in Ancient Greece and in the Olympic Games through the ages and their re-establishment, (4) to track women's development as athletes in the Olympic Games and as IOC members through the Minutes of the IOC Sessions, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters, and (5) to organize the information related to the evolution of the participation of women in the Olympic Games. The historical method of research used concentrated on primary sources, particularly the Minutes of the International Olympic Committee found in the archives of the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland. The results showed that contrary to what had been established by the specialized literature which has mentioned that women were excluded from the 1900 Olympic Games, according to official sources women were invited and recruited to participate in the Paris Olympic Games, participated in the 1904 in the Archery National Tournament that took place together with the Saint Louis Olympic Games, were invited to the 1906 Athens Games (not officially recognized by the IOC), and were finally admitted to the 1908 London Games. Although the absence of women in the IOC had been questioned by a member in 1967, women only became IOC members in 1981. The absence of women from the Olympic Games and from the administrative positions in sports bodies has been caused by various cultural constructions of biological origins which have been constantly elaborated and have been embedded in society for centuries and seem to be directly related to power. The Minutes of the IOC Sessions, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters show the evolution of the participation of women in the Olympic Games and the analysis of these documents demonstrated conclusively that: (i) the discrimination against women prevailed through implicit and explicit forms along the years, and (ii) the IOC developed strategies either to include or exclude women from the Olympic Games successive

programs. Summarizing, the central issue of this dissertation is focused on how discrimination works in the internal affairs of the IOC and the conclusions presented in each defined portion of documents critically scrutinize those discrimination mechanisms in terms of historical periods.

Keywords: Olympic studies, Women's Studies, Pierre de Coubertin, Sportswomen, History of Sport

MIRAGAYA, AMF (2006). O Processo de Inclusão das Mulheres nos Jogos Olímpicos. (Tese de Doutorado). Rio de Janeiro: PPGEF/UGF.

Orientador: Prof. Dr. Lamartine DaCosta

RESUMO

Os objetivos deste estudo foram: (1) determinar o status da participação da mulher nos primeiros Jogos Olímpicos da era moderna; (2) delinear a participação da mulher nos Jogos Olímpicos de 1900, 1904 e 1908 e como a mulher se tornou membro do COI; (3) estabelecer quem ou o que causou a ausência da mulher nos Jogos Olímpicos e as barreiras que impediram que a mulher participasse totalmente nos Jogos Olímpicos e que atuasse como membro do COI, especialmente olhando nas fontes secundárias para examinar as origens históricas na Grécia Antiga e nos Jogos Olímpicos da Antiguidade através das eras e seu restabelecimento; (4) estabelecer o desenvolvimento da mulher como atleta dos Jogos Olímpicos e como membro do COI através das Minutas das Sessões Anuais do COI, das Minutas das Reuniões da Comissão Executiva e das Cartas Olímpicas, e (5) organizar a informação relacionada a todo esse processo. O método histórico de pesquisa utilizado concentrou-se em fontes primárias, particularmente nas Minutas do Comitê Olímpico Internacional, localizadas nos arquivos do Museu Olímpico, em Lausanne, Suíça. Os resultados mostraram que ao contrário do que havia sido estabelecido pela literatura especializada, que mencionava que a mulher havia sido excluída dos primeiros Jogos Olímpicos, efetivamente e de acordo com fontes oficiais, a mulher foi convidada ou recrutada a participar dos Jogos Olímpicos de Paris em 1900, participou em 1904 do Torneio Americano Nacional de Arco e Flecha nos Jogos Olímpicos de Saint Louis, foi novamente convidada a participar dos Jogos Olímpicos de Atenas em 1906 (não reconhecidos oficialmente pelo COI), e finalmente teve que passar por um processo de admissão para os Jogos Olímpicos de 1908, em Londres. Embora a ausência da mulher no COI tenha sido questionada por um membro do COI em 1967, a mulher somente se tornou membro do COI em 1981. A ausência da mulher nas posições de liderança das administrações esportivas tem sido causada por várias construções culturais de caráter biológico que têm sido constantemente elaboradas e enraizadas na sociedade por séculos, parecendo estar ligadas a uma estrutura de poder. As Minutas das Sessões Anuais do COI, as Minutas das Reuniões da Comissão Executiva do COI e as Cartas Olímpicas mostram a evolução da participação da mulher nos Jogos Olímpicos e a análise desses documentos finalmente demonstra conclusivamente que: (i) a discriminação contra a mulher prevaleceu de forma implícita e explícita ao longo dos anos, e

(ii) o COI desenvolveu estratégias para incluir ou excluir a mulher dos sucessivos programas dos Jogos Olímpicos. Em suma, a questão central desta tese concentrou-se em como a discriminação opera no funcionamento interno do COI. As conclusões apresentadas para cada grupo de documentos investigam criticamente os mecanismos de discriminação em termos de períodos históricos.

Palavras-chave: Estudos Olímpicos, Estudos da Mulher, Pierre de Coubertin, Mulheres Atletas e História do Esporte.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Women's participation in sports is a recent social phenomenon. Acceptance of women's participation in sports by societies worldwide is an even more recent phenomenon. Although the register of women's participation in the Modern Olympic Games points to their debut in 1900, it took women 104 years to be 40.7% of the total number of athletes participating in Olympic Games (IOC - Games of the XXVIII Olympiad in Athens, 2004: 10,864 athletes: 4,306 women and 6,452 men) (IOC, 2005).

The fact that women compete in various sports in the Olympic Games (not all nations share the same sports, disciplines and events) is many times the motivation thousands of women have in order to take up a sport or start some physical activity, which brings them a number of health benefits. It is also essential that women have other role models in sport as Dr. Patricia Vertinsky mentioned in a letter to John Lucas in 1992 "More female role models would provide encouragement for girls in sport, and this means the role models in all domains – in the family, at school, in high-level coaching, Olympic committees, government officials concerned with sport, athletics, and so on" (Lucas, 1992, p.135).

The Olympic Games have always displayed the best there is in sports on the planet. They represent an appeal to women of all ages to engage in sports and physical activities. Even so, today, not all women exercise this right due to the fact that the many cultures they belong to still do not allow women to engage in physical activity or sports. The combination of religious and political power in countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Oman, United Arab Emirates and Bahrain does not encourage women to practice any sports or promote the development of women through sport (Chamerois & Gillon, 2001).

The inclusion of women in the Olympic Games as athletes has been many times characterized as a historically developed process in which women learned to revindicate their rights (stated, for instance, in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, December 10, 1948). Although women have been increasing their participation in sports and physical activities, they still are not participating in the same number as men, primarily due to cultural reasons, which include religious practices, cultural traditions, gender roles, and political reasons that do not permit women's emancipation through sport (Chamerois & Gillon, 2001).

The specialized literature in general and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) have formally described the female participation in the Olympic Games as a process of admission in which the IOC is said to have granted women participation since 1900, the first year women athletes participated in the Olympic Games. However, the present research is based on evidences related to the process of admission of women to the Olympic Games, which may differ from the official information as women had to struggle hard in order to be able to participate in the Games as athletes in the same way they are still striving to occupy positions in sports administration worldwide.

According to The Random House Webster's Unabridged Dictionary (2000), the word admission comes from the verb to admit, which means to allow or permit entry as to a place or privilege; to grant or afford entrance to; and to permit to exercise a certain function or privilege. This implies that one or more individuals or even institutions, which are named here as 'power group', control the access to this privilege or place where one or more individuals, which are named here as the 'submission group', seek entrance. The 'power group' then establishes the criteria for the 'submission group' to be admitted; therefore, a relationship of hierarchy in relation to a function, place or privilege is established. A process of admission then implies that certain criteria developed by the 'power group' need to be met by any 'submission group' so that permission is granted and the 'submission group' is finally allowed to share the privilege. The 'submission group' is exposed to the 'power group's' wills, the 'power group' then detains the power of the concession. In spite of different historical meanings, this concept can be applied to both the original Olympic Games in ancient Greece and the Olympic Games of the modern era.

It is then relevant to investigate the process by which women had access to the Modern Olympic Games including the nature of the structure of the International Olympic Committee and its official document sources. It is also important to remember that not only the founder of the IOC but also all the individual members, all of whom constituted the 'power group' of the institution, happened to be conservative and aristocratic males at the time of the foundation of the IOC. They had their upbringing during the 19th century, the century in which men, and not women, shaped modern sport.

According to official versions, women started in the Olympic Games as athletes, not as administrators. Although there is little information on the process of admission and participation of women in the very first Olympic Games of the modern era, the official documents found at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland, indicate that 113 women Olympians competed in the Olympic Games before World War I: 22 athletes in 1900 in Paris (France), 6 in 1904 in

Saint Louis (United States), 44 in 1908 in London (England) and 48 in 1912 in Stockholm (Sweden). There were no women athletes participating officially in the 1896 Games in Athens, Greece. On the other hand, the number of men in the first five Olympic Games (1896, 1900, 1904, 1908 and 1912) was 6,191. However, there are various other sources, some of which official, which acknowledge female athletes in the early Games under various different status of participation.

The International Federations (IFs), which put together leaders and enthusiasts of sports, started to be founded in the late 19th century. Their number increased during the early decades of the 20th century. The voice of the IFs, which regulated and controlled sports at the international level, was heard through negotiation in the IOC as the IFs organized competitions and kept register of the athletes. They began to share the IOC's position of power in establishing criteria for admission of sports and disciplines, especially concerning women's participation in the Games.

After World War I, the number of female Olympians started to rise very slowly and so did the number of disciplines open to women in spite of various restrictions that had been imposed by the IOC due to cultural influences and longtime traditional values and principles rooted in Victorian England. The slow process of admission of women athletes showed that women had become only very gradually involved in sports and in the Games. The rise of women in sports throughout the 20th century coincided with the various women's movements for emancipation in many countries. The position of women in society seemed to have changed the position of women in sports.

As women athletes had to seek admission to participate in the Olympic Games, they constituted a 'submission group'. In order to have their entries accepted, women had to present their request for participation as athletes to a 'power group', in this case, the IOC. Women athletes depended on the permission granted by the IOC and the IFs to start a new sport or to have a new discipline included in the Olympic Games. In other words, women have always belonged to the 'submission group' while athletes and had been seeking to enter the 'power group' as rulers, managers or sports leaders. The IOC only admitted women in such positions as co-opted members in 1981, for the first time after 87 years since the IOC foundation (1894).

Although women reached a higher percentage of participation in the Olympic Games as athletes in the 2004 Olympic Games, they are still struggling for their rights to make themselves represented in the most important bodies of sport as the international and national federations and sports management in general. For instance, in spite of the fact that in the 1990s the IOC had encouraged the representation of women in 20% in NOCs (National Olympic Committees),

in IFS and Recognized Federations, the press release of February 10, 2006 reporting on the elections for new members that took place on the same day during the 118th International Olympic Committee Session showed otherwise. Besides, there are only 14 women members out of 115 members of the IOC (101 male members), which represents only 12.0% of the total. This suggests that there is still a long way to go. The situation of 1981 for women as managers appeared similar to that of women athletes in 1900.

Although much has been written and published about the Olympic Games, it is here presupposed a dearth in the specialized literature concerning the participation of women. Moreover, historians, sociologists and sports scholars have registered facts and provided explanations on the basis of gender (Pfister, 2000), physiology (Vertinsky, 1989a), history (Daniels & Tedder, 2000; Mangan & Park, 1987), ethnography (Bolin & Ganskog, 2003), sociology (Hargreaves, 1994, 2000), but failed to explain the circumstances of women's initial absence and their slow insertion in a presumable elite all-male sports club: the IOC. References in books, articles, theses and dissertations covering related topics and issues, newspapers, private papers, documents, Minutes of the Annual IOC Sessions, Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings of the IOC, the Olympic Charters will have to be searched out and scrutinized for one to obtain a composite picture of the beginnings of the gradual participation of women in the Olympic Games.

1. PROBLEM

Much has already been published about the Olympic Games; however, although there has been research on the participation of women in the Games, there is paucity of data, which makes historical accounts incomplete and interpretations misleading, and many times controversial, especially for the very beginning of the Olympic Games, when records were lost or not reported at all.

Because of controversial or incomplete information that exists in the specialized literature, it has been difficult to know the status of the women who contested in the early Olympic Games as the different expressions used carry different meanings and imply specific procedures. On the one hand, it is not difficult to find in the specialized literature that women had their debut (Mitchell, 1977), participated in (Welch & Costa, 1994; DeFranz, 1995), were allowed to (Leder et al., 1996), were included (Boutilier & San Giovanni, 1983) in or were admitted to (Leigh, 1974) the Olympic Games in 1900. One key question then refers to whether women athletes were really admitted to the Olympic Games and how they requested their own admission. There is little explanation available

about how women were admitted, how many effectively participated, who promoted their participation, how it was done, the circumstances in which the process took place, and what happened in the subsequent Olympic Games (Leigh, 1974; Handley, 1976; Mitchell, 1977; Pfister, 2000).

On the other hand, authors such as DeFranz (1991, 1997, 2000), Théberge (1991), Hult (1986), Spears (1976), Choi (2000), and Rintala & Bischoff (1997) mention that women athletes were excluded from the Olympic Games by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the International Olympic Committee and renovator of the Olympic Games. These authors refer to women's initial exclusion and gradual admission to the Olympic Games.

As the history of the Olympic Games, which is mostly male, has been told from a general viewpoint, usually by male historians, it is possible to speculate whether there are more data referring to the participation of women in the Olympic Games or whether the information has not yet been completely touched upon and organized. Data referring to women have not been fully disclosed yet maybe either because women have already been taking part in the Games and therefore their participation is granted, or because sport historians have not given enough attention to it, considering the history of women in the Olympic Games not relevant.

As the early phase of any process tends to be crucial for its central meaning and development, the main problem consists in knowing the status-quo of women in the IOC at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and how they started taking part in the Olympic Games and in the Olympic Movement not only as athletes but also elected members of the IOC. The existing data seem to be scattered, in a non-organized form, with conflicting information. Published work has not investigated the situation of women's participation in the Olympic Games deeply enough in order to rescue facts that would provide a thorough explanation. It would be essential if facts and details especially related to the very beginning to women's participation could be brought forward to do justice to the efforts and struggle women had to go through in order to write their names in the history of the Olympic Games both as athletes and as leaders. In order to accomplish this investigation, documents and other primary sources of the IOC needed to be carefully examined, compared and studied, with support of secondary sources to provide the necessary information on the background that influenced the revivalist of the Olympic Movement and the members of the IOC.

2. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study were:

1. to verify the status of women's participation in the early Olympic Games of the modern era as athletes, and the circumstances of their entry: admission, inclusion, participation, permission and exclusion, according to the expressions used in the specialized literature;
2. to identify the different degrees of the exclusion of women from the Olympic Games and explain how this exclusion was and still is done;
3. to trace how women came to participating in the Olympic Games as athletes, especially in the early Olympic Games of 1900, 1904 and 1908, springboard for the future Games;
4. to trace how women became elected members of the IOC;
5. to establish who or what caused the absence of women in the Olympic Games and the barriers that prevented women from fully participating in the Olympic Games as athletes and as co-opted IOC members, especially looking at secondary sources to examine historic origins in Ancient Greece and in the Olympic Games through the ages and their re-establishment;
6. to track women's development as athletes and IOC members in the Olympic Games through primary sources such as the Minutes of the IOC Sessions, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters with the additional support of secondary sources;
7. to organize and compile all this information.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The study is referred to the following research questions:

1. Were women initially excluded, prohibited from participating or not included in the Ancient Olympic Games? Why? Did women participate in other types of Games? Were women initially excluded, prohibited from participating or not included in the Modern Olympic Games? Which barriers did women have to overcome?
2. How did then women take part in the Games? Were they admitted, allowed, given permission, helped or did they struggle to be included?
3. If women were excluded in and through sport, how did it take place?

4. If women did not take part in the 1896 Games, how did they compete in 1900 and then had their participation increased very gradually in the Games? Who promoted women's participation in the Olympic Games, especially in the first editions of the Games? How was it done?
5. Was women's inclusion in the Games led by the individual sports they played and by the federations they played under?
6. Were women in charge of any governance or administrative body of sports? If not, how did the relation between sports organizations and the IOC take place?
7. How do the Minutes of the IOC Sessions, other official documents and the specialized literature reflect the historically developed process of women's participation and inclusion in the Olympic Games both as athletes and as administrators?

4. LIMITATIONS OF PROPOSED STUDY

This research relied heavily on the English and French languages primary source materials of the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) archives related to sportswomen, female Olympic athletes, female administrators and men who supported women both as athletes and administrators.

The other major limiting factor was the documentation itself. The early organizing committees were not as meticulous about this point as later Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games were. Neither were the record keeping procedures of the National Olympic Committees any better. The study nevertheless relied on the documentation available at the IOC archives, here considered as the most detailed existing source.

5. DELIMITATIONS

The years 1894 to 1982 delimit the major part of this study for the following reasons: (i) 1894 established the foundation of the IOC and (ii) 1982 witnessed the inauguration of the first two women who had been co-opted by the IOC as members in 1981. However, the review of the participation of women in the original Olympic Games and other festivals throughout Western Europe was considered as this information could be an important support in the analysis of the participation of women in the Olympic Games of the modern era.

As mentioned earlier, this study intended to research how women were included in the Olympic Movement through the Minutes of the IOC and other official documents with the support of the specialized literature.

6. NEED FOR THE STUDY

The emancipation of women through involvement in sport has been well documented, along with the development of women's athletic attire through the evolution of societal mores regarding appropriate femininity. Various scholars such as Allen Guttmann, Roberta Park, and J. A. Mangan have focused on women's social emancipation through sport, and others such as Liselotte Diem, Linda J. Borish, and Uriel Simri have looked directly at the Olympic Games and the impact of women's movement. Some other academics such as Mary Leigh, Sheila Mitchell, Gertrud Pfister, Stephanie Daniels, Anita Tedder and the IOC former vice-president Anita DeFranz have described the process of the gradual increase in women's participation in the Olympic Games. However, their reports did not include detailed explanations that could clarify the circumstances in which women started participating in the Games. This researcher has not found any study that explained the circumstances of women's inclusion in the Olympic Games making use of official documents such as the Minutes of the IOC Sessions and of the Executive Board Sessions with the support of the specialized literature.

7. RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY

For many centuries, male athletes, especially Olympic athletes, have been taken as examples for other young male athletes and future athletes. Ever since the advent of film and television, the image of strong and powerful Olympic heroes has been made even more concrete and present in today's globalized society. However, the same could not be said about women and girls, who should also be given the chance to identify with female Olympic athletes with the recognition, consideration, respect, admiration, and approval which are usually given to high achievement in sports. If perhaps the facts which relate to women's struggle for inclusion in a full Olympic program are put together and treated as part of the whole effort for women's emancipation, this project will contribute to the pride of women and girls in their achievements in sports and will provide a way through which they can identify and recognize the contributions, struggles and efforts of the female Olympians of all times. The analysis of history is an important tool for people to appreciate and understand the events, forces and processes that have contributed for the construction of their lives and self-image. It would be therefore extremely beneficial if the analytical process related to the progressive participation of women in the Olympic Games is done intensively.

This careful overview and analysis of the past could be a tool not only to avoid mistakes made in the past but also to help understand the forces, movements and tendencies which were present in that context. It is expected, hopefully, that the result of this study as well as of any

other analysis of the history of women in sport produce not only feelings of dignity, respect and self-esteem in the struggles, efforts and accomplishments of previous generations of women but also a clearer comprehension of the conditions which have limited those accomplishments so that a greater sense of will, determination and aspiration will be stimulated in girls and women in the shaping of their own future.

8. ORGANIZATION OF CHAPTERS

Chapter II reviews reports from the International Olympic Academy Sessions, theses and dissertations from other sources, articles from periodicals, chapters from books, annals from conferences, and books dealing with the subject of the participation and admission of women in the Olympic Games.

Chapter III introduces the options of the methods, resources and materials as well as analysis of the questions of gender and the theatrical context of sport.

Chapter IV starts out with a brief introduction to the ancient Olympic Games, the time when everything started. The second part focuses on the participation of women in the ancient Olympic world and the third discusses the precursors of the modern Olympic Games.

Chapter V focuses on the Coubertinian era examining (i) the situation of women in the 19th and 20th centuries, (ii) Pierre de Coubertin's contribution, (iii) the IOC and the organization of the early Games until 1928, when women broke the barrier of athletics and were admitted to track and field, and (iv) the early female Olympians. In addition, Chapter V draws conclusions and makes interpretations about the topic under investigation accounting for the contribution of this dissertation to the state of knowledge in the areas of sport sciences, women's studies and Olympic studies. Chapter VI is a detailed account of women as athletes in the Olympic Games. This chapter is divided into 3 parts after a brief introduction: (i) women athletes in the Olympic Games through the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC and the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings 1900-1919; (ii) women athletes in the Olympic Games through the Annual Sessions of the IOC, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters 1920-1939 ; (iii) women athletes in the Olympic Games through the Annual Sessions of the IOC, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters 1946-1982.

Chapter VII makes a synthesis and draws conclusions about the topic under investigation.

a) CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF SECONDARY SOURCES RELATED TO THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES

The process of inclusion of women in the Olympic Games of the modern era has been very long. From the initial absence of women in the 1900 Games to 40.7% of participation in Athens 2004 (IOC, 2004) many barriers had to be overcome. The literature has been varied but not enough information has been brought to light in relation to the details of this inclusion. As women were not part of an active society either in France or in England, cradle of sport, the beginning of women's participation in sports and in the Olympic Games was not sufficiently documented. Therefore, written works that describe women's inclusion in the early Olympic Games have failed to mention and to explain the circumstances in which women managed to become part of the Games. The competitions were in their most part managed by the International Olympic Committee, a presumable private club for men, which had been created by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who just solemnly ignored the 'ladies'.

From reports given at the International Academy Sessions in Olympia (since 1963), Greece, to entire books and dissertations, the topic on women's inclusion in the Olympic Games (1980s, 1990s and 2000s) has not been exhausted as key explanations for the very early participation of women are still missing.

Most texts bring up Baron Pierre de Coubertin's and the early IOC's position of not counting on women for the Olympic Games, describe the situation that existed at the time the texts were written and offer a vision for the future. Below are main sources of information which were available to this researcher and which concentrate on women's participation on the Olympic Games. A brief summary of their content is added. Some of these sources provide good perspectives, others contradictory aspects and others very little pertinent information in spite of their title. They are here considered secondary sources, acting as support to the study of the participation of women in the Olympic Games. The primary sources used in this dissertation, are examined in Chapter III.

1. Reports from International Olympic Academy Sessions

- LEKARSKA, Nadia (1990). "Women in the Olympic Games and Movement and Coubertin's views on their participation in the Games". Report of the 30th Session, pp. 102 - 110. In her lecture Lekarska briefly describes the participation of women in the

Olympic Games both as athletes and as administrators. She divides women's participation into 3 periods: (i) from 1890 to 1936; (ii) from 1948 to 1968, and (iii) from 1972 to 1988. She mentions some of the difficulties women had to overcome and displays the two classic explanations women had not occupied until that time important positions in the Olympic Movement (women's lack of interest in sports administration and unavailability of qualified women). She ends up her lecture pointing out that the future will bring more participation of women in administrative positions as they become more aware of the situation and free to make their own choices.

- LUCAS, John (1990). *"Female competitors in the early years of the Olympic Games and a modern-day 52% solution"*. Report of the 30th Session, pp. 94-101. Lucas acknowledges the fact that 52% of humankind is female and presents some historical explanation for the fact that women were not included in the first Olympic Games and the subsequent difficulties they had to face in order to have themselves included. He finishes up by pointing out how important it is for women to also occupy administrative positions, which have also been a male preserve.
- MANOLIU, Lia (1990). *"Women's presence in the administration of contemporary sport (IOC, Ifs, NOCs and NFs)"*. Report of the 30th Session, pp. 124-130. This lecture focuses on the necessary qualities of a sports administrator to be part of the Olympic Movement. The author describes such qualities and argues that women who possess such characteristics can also perform the role of sports managers equally well.
- DIEM, Liselot (1980). *"Woman and Olympism"*. Report of the 20th Session, pp. 150 - 158. Liselot divided her lecture into 4 parts. In the first one she made a retrospective on former publications of the Olympic Academy. Next she discussed the World Federation for Women Sports and the 'Jeux Olympiques Féminins' of 1922, emphasizing that women always had to overcome their discrimination by forming independent federations. She then focused on the International Women Sports Federation, which was founded because the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) refused to engage in matters of the track and field for women. In third place, the author explains the meaning of Olympism: (i) internationality; (ii) loyalty, partnership, no discrimination, and (iii) self-determination, self-control, and self-victory. She closes her report mentioning the barriers women had overcome in sports, including the wrong diagnosis of medical doctors that hampered women's sports for decades.
- BERLIOUX, Monique (1985). *"The Olympic saga from a feminine point of view"*. Report of the 25th Session, pp. 156-165. In this article Ms. Berlioux, director of the IOC

from 1969 to 1985, summarized the participation of women in sports since ancient times providing several dates and finally discussed very briefly about women in the Olympic Games as athletes and as administrators. No details were provided. She just mentioned that Emmeline Pankhurst, the famous British suffragette, pressed the IOC to include women in the London Olympic Games. However, this fact does not appear in Mrs. Pankhurst's biography (Purvis, J. 2000). Neither is it recognized by June Purvis, Mrs. Pankhurst's most complete biographer (June Purvis, personal communication with this author – March 4, 2005).

2. *Theses and dissertations*

- HANDLEY, Brigit (1976). *“An account and explanation of the increased role played by women in the modern Olympic Games 1896-1972”*. Thesis presented for the degree of Master of Arts at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa. Handley cites the main facts that led Coubertin to restore the Olympic Games and brings up important aspects of his life. Next she describes in tables the sports, disciplines and events of Olympic Games and highlights events women participated in from 1900 to 1972. However, no explanations other than the classic ones are offered in relation to the inclusion of women in the Games.
- LEIGH, Mary (1974). *“The evolution of women's participation in the summer Olympic Games, 1900-1948”*. Dissertation presented in partial requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University. In her thesis, Leigh points out that although authors have stated that Coubertin's position and his attitude towards the participation of women in the Olympic Games had softened over the years, the materials presented in her thesis clearly indicate that that did not happen. He was violently opposed to the admission of women to competition in the Olympic Games. Contrary to fact, Leigh states that there is no report of the 1900 Olympic Games. Actually, the report was written in French by Daniel Merillon, president of the Commission that developed the Paris 1900 World Fair. In her work, Leigh describes the participation of women according to documents already published. In reality, there seems to be no investigation in relation to the reasons why women started in the Olympic Games.
- SCHWEINBENZ, Amanda (2001). *“All dressed up and nowhere to run: women's uniforms and clothing in the Olympic Games from 1900 and 1932”*.

Master of Arts dissertation, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Canada. Schweinbenz addresses the gender order, examines women's athletic apparel, especially in the Olympic Games, and how women emerged as participants in the early Olympic Games. However, she does not offer explanations in relation to the reasons women were admitted to the Games.

3. *Articles from periodicals*

- MITCHELL, Sheila (1977). "Women's participation in the Olympic Games 1900-1926". Journal of Sport History, Vol.4, N.2, pp. 208 – 228. Mitchell divided her research in two periods: (I) from 1896 to 1912 and (II) from 1912 to 1925. In the first part she described the whole male organization of the International Olympic Committee, its very principles, the first Olympic Games and the actual control of the Games' program by the IOC in 1912. The author concludes this first part after a review of the IOC's early years suggesting that in the primary stages of its development the Committee did not have enough structure in its rule system to control the result of the Games. The actual responsibility of formulating the program was in the hands of the Games Organizing Committees. The freedom these Committees experienced permitted them to establish to a large extent which events to include in the program. In the beginning, this responsibility was not carefully led and the Games that took place in Paris and in St. Louis had a number of highly disorganized events. Mitchell adds that it was under these conditions that women were first admitted to the Games without the official consent or comment from the IOC (women took part in competitions they did not know belonged to the Olympic Games). Still it was not the IOC that took control in 1908 but the British Olympic Association (BOA). They included women's events in tennis, skating and archery and allowed demonstrations in gymnastics and aquatics. Mitchell also points out that by 1912 the number of existing federations had increased to 10. An examination of the dates when particular IFs were created and the dates of events on the program of the Olympics suggested that by 1912 a very close relationship existed between the recognition of an IF and the appearance of its sport on the Olympic program. The author concludes: "as a result of the close relationship between the existence of an IF and its appearance on the Games program, that the acceptance of women by a particular IF was a necessary prerequisite for the consideration of their admittance to the Games". The nature

of the sports accepted may have reflected the gentleman amateur nature of the IOC and several of the Organizing Committees. During the period that starts in 1912 and finishes in 1925, the author emphasizes that the Committee was then ready to exercise its authority and really take control of the development of the program. According to Mitchell, the opening meeting of the IOC in 1912 re-evaluated some fundamental principles governing the program such as (i) the principle of amateurism (which maintained that the Olympic Games were contests for non-professional sportsmen), (ii) the principle of internationalism (admittance only of those sports which were practiced in a minimum of six countries), and (iii) the principle of individualism (the Olympic Games were competitions among individuals, which excluded team sports). The adoption of these principles significantly limited women's opportunity to participate. Mitchell mentions that during this period, the opinion of the IFs regarding women's competition was secondary to the attitude of the IOC in spite of the growing importance of these international bodies. Finally, the IOC's approval of women's athletics, an activity completely unacceptable by Coubertin's standards, arrived in 1926, one year after his retirement. Coubertin's dominance over the Committee seemed to have declined after the following two events, which contributed to the end of his authority: (i) the Committee adopted a proposal in 1920, whereby each nation represented by a member on the IOC would contribute a fixed annual sum for the financial support of the IOC (Coubertin's fortune was coming to an end); therefore, Coubertin no longer controlled the purse-strings and his influence associated with it and (ii) the creation of the Executive Commission or Executive Board by Coubertin: four members who were responsible for advice on major decisions made by the Committee. As a result, the IOC came to a position to overrule Coubertin's proposal to eliminate women's events in spite of the fact that the baron still affected the Committee's decisions from behind the scenes, as evidence suggests. Mitchell points out that all of the four events for women in the 1928 program were represented by their respective Federations. She adds that in contrast to the initial period of development, the Organizing Committees of the host cities for the Games played an insignificant part in the decision-making policy of the program. It was then clear that the IOC played a major role in the development of the Games program. The final effect of the Committee's

attitude towards women's competition combined with the conflicting pressures from Coubertin and the IFs ended up in a very minimal acceptance of women in the Olympic Games in comparison with men. In the end what really mattered was the effect that the early acceptance of sport competition for women on an international level would have on the general growth of women's sport. Mitchell concludes that Coubertin's retirement led to a gradual increase in the number of women and women's events in the games program.

- DEFRANZ, Anita (1997). "*The changing role of women in the Olympic Games in Women and Sport*". Olympic Review, XXVI-15 pp. 18-21. The author summarizes the progress conquered by women as athletes in the Olympic Games and emphasizes the importance of women in the administrative positions. She shows that much advancement is still needed for women to be equal to men in management matters. The report describes the years and events of the IOC related to the theme, but it does not provide any explanations or details.

4. Chapters in books

- WELCH, Paula and COSTA, D. Margaret (1994). 'A Century of Olympic Competition' In COSTA, D. M. & GUTHRIE, S. (Eds) Women and Sport Interdisciplinary Perspectives. Champaign: Human Kinetics, pp. 123 - 138. The authors describe women's participation in the early Olympic Games emphasizing that the women competitors of the 1900 Olympiad belonged to the upper classes. Welch & Costa also focus on the struggle for admission, on the participation of the American women, and on the slow removal of obstacles for admission. No details about the process of inclusion of women are provided. The authors discuss the introduction of sex tests and the Olympic Winter Games.
- PFISTER, Gertrud (2000). "*Women and the Olympic Games: 1900-97*" in DRINKWATER, B. (Ed.) Women in Sport. Oxford: Blackwell Science pp. 3 – 19. In the opening of her chapter, Pfister mentions that women had to face a number of obstacles on their way to Olympia: their participation in sports, the masculinization sports were thought of causing in women, the emancipation of women and, with that, the perceived threat of change in the gender order itself. When Pfister talks about the onlookers at the Olympic Games 1900-12, she

says that although physical exertion and competition were held to be contrary to woman's nature, by the end of the 19th century some women did participate in bicycle racing, swimming contests, and even in parachuting or ski jumping, much to the horror of the public. Women participated in the Olympic Games without the official consent or comment of the IOC. In the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris seven women took part in the tennis and 10 in the golf competitions, typical upper-class sports. Seven of these women were Americans, from rich families, who had come to Europe by chance and regarded golf and tennis mainly as social events. The author adds that women were also allowed to take part in sailing, a so-called 'mixed' event, and it was here that a woman first won a gold medal as a crew member of one of the winning yachts. At the St. Louis Games in 1904 only six American women participated in the only competition for women: archery. The American Olympic Committee claimed that was only a demonstration. Pfister states that the first women Olympic competitors came for the most part from the countries that hosted the Games, but the only women athletes who participated in the Olympic Games with any regularity before WWI were those from Great Britain, the country with the longest sporting tradition. British women were absent only at the 1904 Games in St. Louis. She adds that during the interwar years, there were two possibilities open to women who wished to practice sport in general and competitive sports in particular: they could either try to integrate 'men's sports' or they could found their own associations and organize their own contests and competitions. The 'Women's World Games' were among the first opportunities women had to participate in international athletics competitions, and especially in 'unfeminine' track and field events. They happened in 1921, 1922 and 1923 in Monte Carlo. These first 'Olympic Games' for women were organized by the International Sporting Club of Monaco in Monte Carlo and had as main objective to attract and entertain well-to-do sports enthusiasts on their visits to the Principality of Monaco. The success of the first Women's World Games made it much easier to organize more international sports meetings for athletic events and even for such 'unfeminine' competitions as soccer games. On October 21 1921, the FSFI (Fédération Sportive Feminine Internationale) was founded by 12 delegates (including 2 women) at a conference headed by the French Women's Sport Federation (FSFSF), presided

by Alice Milliat, who was then appointed president of this new organization. The FSFI organized the Women's Olympic Games in 1922 (Paris), and, the International Women's Games of 1926 (Gothenburg), of 1930 (Prague) and of 1934 (London). Among the struggles and conflicts pointed out by Pfister, it is important to mention the fact that women were almost excluded from the Olympic Games in 1920, the several times the IOC discussed about deleting women's sports due to the increase in the number of athletes, the struggle the FSFI had with the IOC concerning the efforts to be admitted into the 'men's Olympic club', the resistance movement that had developed in the 1920s that rejected competitive sports for women. The author then refers to the developments of the Olympic women in the interwar years, pointing out the sports and events that had been included and the exclusion of the 800m race in Amsterdam Olympic Games in 1928. Another point touched by the author is the Workers' World Games, which took place in Frankfurt in 1925, Vienna in 1931 and Antwerp in 1937. In the 1920s roughly 15% of the members of the German Workers' Gymnastics and Sports Federation were women. The workers' sports movement was abolished in 1933 by the National Socialist regime. Next the author discusses women's sport as reflected in the medical discourse, especially in relation to the 'vitalistic' theory, popular in the 19th century, which contended that the human body contained only a limited, unrenewable amount of energy. Applied to women's sports, this meant that women had to conserve their energy for their essential purpose in life: for bearing and looking after children. The polarity of the sexes, not their assimilation, was believed to guarantee the progress of civilization. Major importance was therefore attached to the physical differences between the sexes. Finally Pfister exposes women athletes to the limelight. She mentions that an important milestone in the history of women's Olympic sports has been the participation of strong teams of female athletes from the Soviet Union since 1952, which led to a rapid integration of women in the Olympic movement. In the postwar period sport became a weapon in the cold war. She ends up the chapter by talking about equal opportunities for women.

5. *Books*

- SIMRI, Uriel (1977). A Historical Analysis of the Role of Women in the Modern Olympic Games. Netanya: The Wingate Institute for Physical

Education and Sport. The author introduces Coubertin briefly and goes on to describe the Olympic Games that had women participants. He lists the sports and the athletes providing figures for all of them. After listing and discussing numbers and names, the author moves on to display the status of women's sports in 1976 and to bring up the subject of equality of sexes. He adds that in spite of the fact that there were at that time no women on the IOC; there was a directress, Monique Berlioux, who had joined the Committee in 1967 and to whom many refer as to the real boss of the IOC. Using records and figures Simri points out the improvement that female athletes had during the 20th century up to 1976 in relation to male athletes. He then adds that the IOC rules were still male orientated (at that time).

- BLUE, Adrienne (1987). Grace under Pressure The Emergence of Women in Sport. London: Sidgwick & Jackson. In her book, the author devotes one chapter, entitled 'The Mistake of the Century' (pp. 65 -73) to describe the admission of women to track & field events. She concentrates on the admission of American women. Although no details are given about women's inclusion in the very first games, Blue mentions Alice Milliat and her struggle to have women included in Olympic athletics. The Olympic debut of women's track and field in 1928, which seemed initially to be a giant sprint for womankind, became instead a historical sprained ankle. Women ended up losing the control of their sport. They became vulnerable not only to the whims of men but also to the whims of governments.
- GUTTMANN, Allen (1991). Women's Sports - a History. New York: Columbia University Press. In chapter 10, 'The Europeans Take the Lead', Guttman devotes part 4 to Women on the Road to Olympia (pp. 163-171), in which he emphasizes how much Coubertin disliked women participating in sports and did not approve of them in the Olympic Games. Guttman speculates the fact that Coubertin must have faced some opposition as women participated in the Olympic Games in Paris and in Saint Louis as he did not have access to the early documents of the IOC. He also mentions how much James Sullivan, president of the American Olympic Committee that organized the Saint Louis Games, was hostile to women's sports, but does not explain how women managed to compete in archery in 1904. The author also adds that during the 1908 in London, enthusiasts for swimming met at the Manchester Hotel and

organized the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur. FINA made women's swimming one of its priorities and the sport was introduced officially in 1912 Olympics at Stockholm, after swimming and diving demonstrations in London. However, documents are not cited.

- LEDER, Jane (1996). Grace & Glory. Chicago: Triumph Books. This book summarizes the participation of women in the Olympic Games from Ancient Times to the Present. It is interesting to notice that the author divides her chapters according to the different periods and names the first period Excluded: Ancient Times – 1896, when she describes women as excluded, but mentions women in the ancient world participating in the Games of Hera. These Games were held every four years to honor the Greek goddess who ruled over women and the earth. Married women did not compete, but young, adolescent, and unmarried women competed in age groups. Women were barred from competing in the Olympic Games. The author then goes on to the 20th century and summarizes women's participation in the Games pointing out the athletes for the different periods.
- DANIELS, Stephanie & TEDDER, Anita (2000). A Proper Spectacle' Women Olympians 1900-1936. Bedfordshire: ZeNaNa Press & Walla Walla Press. The authors concentrated on the women who were Olympic athletes in the 1928, 1932, and 1936 Games. Although the book features interviews with 33 female Olympians, the authors offer some information about women's ancient Olympic Games, the race to revive the Olympic Games and the very beginning when women started participating in the Games. Daniels and Tedder bring up the fact that, differently from the Ancient Greeks, William Penny-Brookes not only allowed women into the stadium giving them the best seats at the Wenlock festivals but also encouraged them to take part – even if their only race was for the prize of a pound of tea. A local paper at the time wrote the following about the women athletes: “They ran well, but, how much better would they have done if they had worn bloomers” (women wore Victorian attire, not appropriate for exercise because it restricted movement). The authors also mention some classic facts that had occurred during the Olympics and talk about the origin of individual sports and how they came into being played by women in the very first Games. As the organizers of the 1900 World Exhibition seemed unconcerned about the rights and wrongs of women competing in sport, women

competed in 1900 Games not only in golf and tennis (considered Olympic sports because they were open, amateur and international, not handicapped and not motorized), but also in ballooning, croquet, equestrianism and yachting. The women who competed in the Paris Games in 1900 participated in sports that were considered socially acceptable, in other words, not too vigorous. Women competitors were seen as elegant and not aggressively competitive: they were refined ladies who had time and money to follow their own leisure pursuits. Women had participated in tennis from the very beginning of the sport so there were few debates and obstacles to their playing, except for dress codes. They had to play in their own country houses if they did not fail to keep their kitchen and look after the children. When women tennis players started demanding admittance to the lawn tennis club in tournaments they were not accepted very easily. Dublin, Ireland, staged the first tennis tournament open to women in 1879. The top English (croquet) club, Wimbledon, rejected women tennis players at first but eased off in 1884, when the club introduced their own ladies' competition. Even so at that time it was still improper for women to play any sport too vigorously and competitively. Although women competitive tennis had started, they were encouraged to play their matches at different places away from the crowds and after the men had finished their own games. In the Paris Olympic Games of 1900, women's tennis was played at the same venue as the men's, at the Île du Puteaux Club, in the middle of the river Seine, ironically Pierre de Coubertin's own tennis club. In terms of golf, Daniels and Tedder point out that golf had very good development during the industrial age, but the late 1880s and 90s saw very few golf clubs that would admit women as members and no major women's golf tournament. Although most clubs were willing to allow women to accompany men to the course, women were not supposed to play serious golf. Some men's clubs encouraged women, but separate women's clubs were also established to make up for male prejudice and to promote the women's game. Equestrianism was another important sport. On a visit to the Olympic Museum in Lausanne in February 1999, Daniels & Tedder discovered a reference to mademoiselle Elvira Guerra, who competed for France on her own horse, Libertain, in the Chevaux de Salle (Hacks and Hunter Combined) event on May 31st though she was not among winners. After Elvira competed in 1900, it became extremely difficult for women to compete

again in equestrianism perhaps because the sport was rooted in military training long before women were accepted into the armed forces. Later in 1912, Helen Preece, outstanding British rider and just 15 years old, applied to compete in the Modern Pentathlon at the Stockholm Games, but had her entry denied by the IOC. Daniels and Tedder also pointed out another fact that was worth attention which took place in 1908 in London, based on Berlioux's article: Emmeline Pankhurst, feminist leader, and her suffragettes threatened to disrupt the London Olympic Games if the organizers agreed with the IOC and refused women's entry. This author then established contact with both Anita Tedder in London and Monique Berlioux in Paris in order to clarify Pankhurst's influence on the 1908 Olympic Games. Tedder replied by e-mail on February 12, 2005, that she was going to look for her sources in London. Berlioux through fax on February 25, 2005 said that she did not remember her source. In addition, June Purvis, Mrs. Pankhurst's most prominent biographer, on personal communication to this author via e-mail on March 4, 2005, replied that she did not know about any influence of Emmeline Pankhurst on the IOC for the London Games. Therefore, it was not possible to confirm this fact.

6. *Annals of Conferences*

- ADAMI, Sylvain (2000). « *Les femmes aux Jeux Olympiques d'Hiver* ». Deuxième Conférence Mondiale sur la Femme et le Sport. Regard sur les Femmes dans les Sports Olympiques. Université de Franche-Comté, France. According to the author, two facts contributed for the increased participation of women in the Games: the greater participation of women competitors from the socialist countries and the development of feminist movements in the 1960s and 1970s. Although Adami does not mention the very beginning of the Games or offer details and explanation as how this participation came into happening, she points out that women have competed in greater number in the Winter than in the Summer Games. The reason for this discrepancy was due to the nature of the NOCs that participated in the Winter Games: most of them were either from western countries or socialist countries ('developed countries' – 'Eurocentric position'). The author describes the participation of women in the Winter Games by country, discipline, number of medals, and performance, always comparing men against women.

- Olympic Studies Center (2000). “*Women at the Games of the Olympiad*”. IInd IOC World Conference on Women and Sport New perspectives for the XXI Century. Final Report pp. 24 – 30. Paris, Center of International Conferences. This paper is attached to Anita DeFrantz’s presentation entitled *Women’s participation in the Olympic Games: lessons and challenges for the future*. The document was prepared by the Olympic Studies Center at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. It displays the evolution of women’s participation across IOC Sessions starting from 1910, when the Organizing Committee proposed including women’s swimming events in the 1912 program. The paper is not exhaustive and does not add comments or offers any explanations.

7. *Brief analysis of the sources found*

The specialized literature points to the fact that women were excluded from the Olympic Games, which is a social and historical fact. The authors and the sources analyzed are displayed in Table 1, according to the main focus of their academic work.

Table 1: Summary of secondary sources about women in the Olympic Games

Main focus	Authors & Sources
Division into periods of women’s participation in the Modern Olympic Games (OG)	Lekarska (1990) up to 1988; Mitchell (1977) up to 1925; Daniels & Tedder (2000) up to 1938
Analysis of women as athletes and administrators	Lekarska (1990); Lucas (1990)
52% solution	Lucas (1990);
Brief historical description of the participation of women in the OG	Lucas (1990); Berlioux (1985); Welch & Costa (1994); Simri (1977); Daniels & Tedder (2000)
Women as sports administrators in the IOC	Manoliu (1990); DeFranz (1997)
Women as founders of independent federations as a way to fight discrimination;	Diem (1980); Pfister (2000); Blue (1987)

Alice Milliat	
Description of the participation of the women in the OG through tables with numbers using IOC documents	Handley (1976)
Detailed analysis of the participation of women in the OG using IOC documents	Leigh (1974);
Description of the participation of women in the OG through their apparel using IOC documents	Schweinbenz (2001)
Detailed participation of the women in the OG for a period of time using IOC documents	Mitchell (1977)
Analysis of the participation of women including social aspects of the 19 th century	Pfister (2000)
Beginning of women's track & field in the OG	Blue (1987)
Subjective account of the participation of women in the OG, no documents cited	Guttmann (1991)
Women in the ancient OG and in the Modern OG	Leder (1996); Daniels & Tedder (2000)
Interviews with female Olympians	Daniels & Tedder (2000)
Increase in the participation of women in the OG	Adami (2000)

Besides the main approaches listed in Table 1, it is interesting to notice that out of 20 authors whose work was studied 17 are women, which means 85%. This fact suggests that women are indeed responsible for the uncovering of facts related to the history of women's participation in the Olympic Games.

Although some of these authors had deeply investigated the progressive participation of women in the Olympic Games, relevant facts are still missing. Most texts employ the words ‘allowed, permitted, had permission, etc’ when referring to the fact that women participated in the Olympic Games, using the same expressions found in the Minutes of the IOC Sessions and in the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings. However, these words seem to be inappropriate when referring to the 1896, 1900, 1904 and 1908 Olympic Games, as Chapter VI examines them more carefully.

It is also important to mention that all sources examined maintain it very clearly that women were never included either in sports competitions or in the Olympic Games if they did not struggle for that inclusion.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

1. The Olympic Studies Center and the primary sources

The historical method of research was used to gather, and analyze materials related to the subject under investigation. Initially much of the material utilized in this study could only be found in international journals, available through the World Wide Web (internet) and the books identified by this author. Moreover, the essential materials were available only at their source: the Olympic Studies Center (OSC), located at the Olympic Museum (founded in 1993), in Lausanne, Switzerland.

This researcher received a grant from the Postgraduate Research Program of the Olympic Studies Center and spent two months at the OSC in Lausanne in 2004, which made this dissertation possible. The Olympic Studies Center is one of the largest centers of written, visual and audio information on the Olympic Movement and on the Olympic Games. It houses the collective memory of past Games and the Olympic Movement. This author concentrated efforts on the written documents which are kept by the following services: (i) Historical Archives, (ii) Library, and (iii) Documentation Service.

The International Olympic Committee's Historical Archives display documents that attest the evolution of the Olympic Movement since 1894 including not only the collections of Pierre de Coubertin, reviver of the Games, whose documents go back to 1886, including his correspondence, but also the Minutes of IOC Sessions and of the Executive Board Meetings, which were vital documents for this research. It is important to point out that the Minutes of the IOC Sessions had been written only in French until 1958. After that, an English translation was added to the original in French. Both versions were examined by this author, who discovered differences in translation that were brought to the attention of the head of the Historical Archives Service.

The Library aims to offer the most possibly complete collection of books, reports, annals of conferences and symposiums on the Olympic Movement, the Olympic Games and the Olympic sports, including theses and dissertations in several languages, including English, French, Italian and Spanish, consulted by this author. The works also cover scientific, medical, economic, legal and other aspects of sport in general. These materials represent an invaluable source of information as they are very scarce in Brazil, home country of the researcher. In addition, the library also offers consultation to the following important collections of documents used by this author: the Olympic Review; the Olympic Charters, and the Official Reports of the Olympic

Games. The library also houses not only a wealth of newspapers and magazines such as *La Vie au Grand Air*, *Le Sport Universel Illustré*, *L'Education Physique*, *Révue Sportive Illustré*, but also the Reports from the International Olympic Academy Sessions all consulted by this author.

The Olympic Review has been the official publication of the Olympic Movement since the creation of the IOC in 1894 (under the title “Bulletin du Comité International Olympique”). It displays a synthesis of the activities of the IOC and the so-called Olympic Family, which includes the Olympic athletes, the International Olympic Committee (IOC), the Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs), the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) and the International Sports Federations (IFs). The “Revue Olympique” or the “Olympic Review” were very important for this research as the first issues were written by Pierre de Coubertin, the Renovator of the Olympic Games, initially published in French and then English. First published in Paris in 1894, the “Revue Olympique” has had a complicated history, including several title changes. Publication was interrupted in 1897-1900, 1916-1925, and in 1945. Today, the IOC publishes three separate language editions (French, English and Spanish). The 1894-1896 editions were entirely in French. With the exception of a handful of articles, the 1903-1915 editions were also only in French. Many individual issues published in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s also were only in French. The early editions display Coubertin’s views and opinions on various subjects including women’s admission and participation in the Olympic Games. They are indeed an invaluable source for any researcher in the Olympic Studies area.

The Olympic Charter is the codification of the Fundamental Principles, Rules and Bye-Laws adopted by the IOC. It was published for the first time in 1908, but new editions of the Charter appear according to modifications made during IOC Sessions, which has proved to be crucial for the development of the research as the Charter shows part of the process of women’s admission to the Games. However, the earliest edition of the Charter available at the Olympic Studies Center was the one published in 1918.

The Official Reports of the Olympic Games are the syntheses of the organization, staging and results of the Olympic Games. As they are published by the Organizing Committees for the Olympic Games (OCOGs), they constitute an essential source of information in relation to the circumstances and context of women’s participation in the Olympic Games.

The Documentation Service makes available to researchers their collections of official documents, press clippings and other relevant information sources gathered by the documentalists. These files cover varied subjects related to the history of the Olympic Movement, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the Olympic Games, covering sporting, political, social, economic, scientific or artistic topics.

In addition to the sources available at the OSC, personal contacts were made with important Olympic researchers and influential figures directly involved with Olympic research related to the topic under investigation such as Dr. Bill Mallon (International Society of Olympic Historians), Dr. Hans Bölling (Swedish researcher specialized in the 1912 Olympic Games), Dr. June Purvis (University of Portsmouth, England), Dr. Jim Parry (University of Leeds, England), Dr. Donald Anthony (author and consultant, formerly connected with the British Olympic Association), Anita Tedder, Ms. (International Society of Olympic Historians), Prof. Panos Valavanis (University of Athens), and Monique Berlioux (former director of the IOC from 1967 until 1985).

The search for data and background information also encompassed books and articles written by Pierre de Coubertin and other International Olympic Committee members, women athletes, sportswriters, physical educators, and other prominent people interested in women's athletics. Finally some pamphlets and theses figured in the development of the subject under study.

The examination and analysis of primary sources, located in the last portion of this dissertation, required contextualization according to data found in secondary sources. The Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters, primary sources by excellence, were analyzed from the perspective of their own time and contextualized in subsequent chapters through information related to the following: (i) the participation of women in the Ancient Olympic Games as they deeply influenced Pierre de Coubertin; (ii) the position of women in society in the 19th and early 20th centuries; (iii) Coubertin's life and influences; and (iv) the foundation of the IOC, its control over women's admission process and the early female Olympians.

According to Cashman (2000), historical records constitute a valuable, educational and cultural asset and resource, the central component of a legacy. Today there seems to be a greater sense of the value of records in particular and legacy in general. Four aspects may have contributed for the changed climate concerning records: (i) the growth of sports exhibitions and museums; (ii) the fact that memorabilia has become big business; (iii) the recognition of the value of knowledge transfer; and (iv) the rise of sports in history and sports studies. Cashman (2000) adds that sports scholars, who now are an important part of the Olympic scenery, have a particular interest in the wealth of documents of the Olympic Games, which could be one critical reason why sport is being removed from 'archival obscurity'. In spite of the fact that the Olympic Movement was slow to recognize the value of scholars in the very beginning, opinion seems to have changed markedly in recent times for several reasons, specially because it is now

recognized that scholars can assist with Olympic education, articulate reform agendas and provide an objective long-term assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of specific sports (Cashman, 2000). Very recently the Olympic Studies Center has recognized the value of scholarship as it started a Research Council through which there is ongoing interchange between senior personnel of the Olympic Museum and some of the leading international Olympic scholars.

2. The question of gender

The approach to the methodological rationales of this dissertation is primarily based on Richard Holt's (1997) definition of sports history, which is "a recognized area of social history and a significant sub-discipline of physical education" (1997, p. 30). However, for that pre-eminent sport historian, there are difficulties in defining sports as an area of general research. Thus far, Holt suggests that any general history of sport must be read by social historians as well as specialists in sports. This formula may basically include gender research, which Holt emphasized by a significant declaration: "Gender is an obvious contender for comparative treatment (...) Gertrud Pfister has been notable in developing women's sport history on the European level and linking up with the work of leading scholars like Park and others in North America (...)" (p. 33).

In her introduction to the Journal of Sport History, Vol.18, No.1, of the Spring of 1991, Park mentions that the term 'gender' started to be increasingly used and often discussed. Even the very first issue of the journal Gender and Society (March, 1987) opened with the following statement: "Our focus is the social aspect of gender, which we see not as an additional variable or categorical factor, but one of the foundations of every existing social order. In this perspective, women and men are not automatically compared; rather gender categories are questioned..." Scott wrote in Gender and Politics in History (1999): "gender then provides a way to decode meaning and to understand complex connections among various forms of human interaction". Far from being massive and rigid, conceptions of gender may receive influences from a number of aspects such as chronological age, political status, race, ethnicity, and social class. For many researchers 'gender' can best - and probably only - be understood from comparative perspectives. Both gender and class have exercised powerful influences on English sport. According to Scott (1999), "gender is the social organization of sexual difference". Gender does not reflect or realize fixed and natural physical differences between women and men. It is the knowledge that establishes meanings for bodily differences, which may vary across cultures, social groups, and time since nothing about the body, including women's

reproductive organs, determines how social divisions will be shaped. As a result, sexual difference is not the very first cause from which social organization can be finally derived. It is instead a variable social organization that itself must be explained. Gender can also be defined from an anthropological viewpoint. Gilchrist (1999) defines gender as “the cultural interpretation of sexual difference that results in the categorization of individuals, artefacts, spaces and bodies. It may be understood as the cultural interpretation of sexual difference: its qualities can be conflicting, mutable and cumulative, contingent upon personal and historical circumstances”.

However, it is important to remember that the concept of gender has only been developed recently. Although it did not formally exist in the 19th and early 20th centuries, it is possible to observe some of its traits in the actions of individuals and institutions, especially in sport, at that time. Therefore, for methodological purposes, this study does not include profound investigations on the matters related to gender.

Peters (1996) states that “to understand gender in sport is not to understand, simply, women in sport or how women have been excluded from sport but to understand how sport, like science, is gendered. It is to recognize that sport, science and gender, are social relations, which are socially constructed and therefore change over time and place. It is to understand how the making of women and men affect the making of science and sport and how the making of sport and science affects the making of men and women”. In this case, if sport is generally defined as something in which men, and children participate (boys far more than girls), it is then possible to understand that as women entered the male world of sports, they were going to play the game by male rules. In fact, it has been observed in many nations that far fewer women than men participate in sporting activities (Bryson, 1994).

The assignment of men and women to the various roles in social life has been the result of the historical construction of sexuality and gender, which in this study is related to the legacy of the Victorian era with impact in many countries. On the one hand, this fact has had the tendency to stimulate women not only to cultivate features named ‘feminine’ such as physical weakness, dependence, compassion and empathy but also to take up roles as ‘caretakers’, as they become in charge of the emotional well-being of individuals. On the other hand, men have tended to develop features named ‘masculine’ such as aggression, physical strength, and independence, making them appear more adequate for the public realm of sport. This division of roles, according to Peters (1996), makes it very hard for individuals to reach the stage she calls ‘humanness’ as they are not stimulated to develop a wide range of human characteristics, as they are brought up in limited ways. Peters (1996) adds that sport is among the most

‘masculinizing’ of social institutions. It creates, maintains and perpetuates these apparent differences. At the same time that sport devalues the so-called ‘feminine’ principles, it values the so-called ‘masculine’ principles, such as independence, aggression and physical strength. From another perspective, according to Randall (1990), and from the male point of view, sex, and not gender, is constructed as power, specifically power over women; therefore, men’s use of sexuality to promote and market themselves as athletes is unquestionable, it only reinforces the power men already have access to as males. This power is then extended to the institutions.

3. The drama and theater of sport

Concerning the present research needs as depicted in previous chapters, the methodological option is then to address data collected in secondary sources to sport history as well as to read the primary data in the international context of social history of women’s emancipation. For this purpose, the collection of the Olympic Museum in Lausanne revealed itself resourceful in reason of including not only the Minutes of IOC Sessions and of the Executive Board Meetings, documents such as Pierre de Coubertin’s correspondence, pamphlets, leaflets produced at the time (primary sources) but also books, articles, periodicals, newspapers, magazines, annals of conferences and symposiums in which social reports of sports practices were described (secondary sources), focusing on the period chosen for this investigation. As a support to the methodological decision-making process assumed by this dissertation, Wray Vamplew (1997) can be mentioned as he demonstrated that sports museums (‘containers of things’) are the best place to compare data from documents with “drama and theatre of sport”, represented by the artifacts, photographs and objects (primary sources), as for example the ones used by athletes in their dramatic moments in finals of sports. Sports museums are in reality the best places that reproduce the performance, passion, emotion, romance and drama of sports. As sports make up a very meaningful aspect in the social, economic and political activity of the majority of countries, it would be important for historians to investigate the origins and development of these links between the sports in general and the communities in which they are inserted. Nevertheless, as historians progress in their examination, they should ask the ‘whys’ and the ‘whats’ lest the excitement and drama associated with sport should be lost as they represent sport’s great appeal, something Vamplew (2005) says sports historians, especially the academic ones, sometimes do not remember when they turn from reality to the documents.

In fact the comparison that scholars aim to develop today between theater and sport had its roots in the ancient Greek past. Erich Segal, American novelist and professor of Greek and Latin literature, who wrote the foreword of Sweet’s book, Sport and Recreation in Ancient

Greece (1987), made a very significant observation while flying over the ruins of the city of Sicyon (Sikyon) in 1972 in order to cover the lighting of the sacred flame at Olympia for a U.S. television network. He noticed from the helicopter he was on that all that remained from Sicyon, whose period of greatest prosperity had been in the 6th century B.C., were the clear outlines of its theater and its stadium, the gathering places for the Greeks' two greatest passions: drama and athleticism. From his perspective, on the helicopter, both structures looked like adjacent circles that represented two distinct activities but which together formed a unity that embodied Hellenic culture.

When athletic activities in ancient Greece are examined closely, the first aspect to come up is the remarkable importance that agonistic appeal assumed in the life and thought of the Greeks. It could be considered up to a point as a reflection of the singularly competitive character of the Greeks, who were not only avid participants in athletic contests but also regularly held competitions in, for example, dancing, lyre playing and drinking. The great plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes, which are among the masterpieces of Western dramatic literature, were all produced for the first time in Athens in a competition for the writing of tragedies and comedies. Actors also competed to be the best at festivals (Hartnoll, 1985). What is noticeable about Greek athleticism, today called sport, is the seriousness with which it was taken as a cultural and even religious phenomenon. It could be even much harder to accept the fact that "athlon" plays such an extraordinary role in Greek literature. The reason is that today literature and sport tend to be considered as belonging to very different levels of experience: while the former is part of serious cultural life, the latter is a mere form of entertainment or recreation. However, for the ancient Greeks, such distinction never existed. Greek literature may be said to begin with the Iliad of Homer, who devoted one of the twenty-four books (book 23) of his epic poem to a full and exciting account of the athletic contests held at the funeral of Patroclus. The reputation of Pindar, considered by many scholars to be the finest and most sublime of all Greek lyric poets, rests upon the four surviving books of poems that he wrote on commission to celebrate victories won by various wrestlers, runners and owners of horses in the Olympic Games and in the other so-called Pan-Hellenic Games. Not only Pindar but also other poets spoke of victors in athletic contests as embodiments of arete (a conception of human excellence that implies moral worth as well as success and such virtues as physical beauty, strength and courage), as gods and heroes (DaCosta, 2002; Sansone, 1988). However, no women athletes or actresses were ever included in these accounts in the leading roles of heroines.

Not only for athletic events but also for plays, purposeful, directed, and structured activity is enhanced with props and performed with the end of providing a gratifying experience for participants and spectators alike (Raitz, 1995). Museums in general display collections of items related to both pre-sports and theatrical performances.

Collections and exhibitions displayed in sports museums, if properly utilized, have a lot to say about a country's sporting culture and the social, economic, and political environment in which it developed (Vamplew, 1998). However, few sports museums can claim to be truly international, the most important of them being the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland. It is important to keep in mind that collections and archives of documents displayed in both sports and non-sports museums provide the necessary support for texts, so well wrought by sports historians. Many research projects are based on objects and documents found in museums which were donated by institutions or private individuals involved directly or indirectly in the conquest of a medal or participation in a certain sport competition.

On the one hand, sports museums in general tend to concentrate their efforts on displaying collections about winners and winning, emphasizing the 'heroic' side of the theater of sport. Some museums have made no attempt to come to grips with the important socio-cultural themes such as disabilities in general, class, religion, race and especially gender (Vamplew, 1998). Because of the chauvinism seen at national and club victories, insufficient recognition is given to the most common competitive sports experience: losing, or even just the mere participation in competitions. On the other hand, following Coubertin, who said that 'the most important thing is to take part' (1936), fortunately, recent work of sports historians has examined both participation and exclusion of men and women athletes in all sorts of contests and competitions (Vamplew, 1998).

In addition, some sports museums have gone beyond the conventional boundaries of their sport displaying items related to the nation's history, disabled athletes, and other themes related to society. One of these themes is the question of gender. The little participation of women in sports competitions during the 19th century and early 20th century limited the number of women athletes in the Olympic Games. As a result, a small collection of artifacts belonging to women athletes can be found in sports museums, including the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. Nevertheless, this very important museum carries in its sections of documentation and archives essential historical documents such as the Minutes of the IOC Sessions and of the Executive Board Meetings, newspapers and photographs, besides other official documents, all primary sources, and a wealth of secondary sources such as books, dissertations, journals and theses. It is

then possible to work carefully to investigate the participation of women in the ‘drama and theater of sport’ utilizing text.

Entering the ‘drama and theater of sport’ arena, it is essential to point out that both sport and theater share and/or have the following crucial features:

- (i) Greek beginning related to rituals: Greek theater started in the 5th century B.C. (Hartnoll, 1985) and Greek Olympic athleticism maybe before 776 B.C.
- (ii) Physical similarity as both require performance in front of an audience;
- (iii) Both athletic events and theater stage spectacles to attract grand public;
- (iv) Both take place in a distinctive setting, which is a kind of ‘theater’;
- (v) Both refused to have female participants;
- (vi) Both had their origins in religious rituals, festivals and celebrations;
- (vii) While theater was less regular and original sports done everyday, there are more reminiscent to theater than there are to sport;
- (viii) Both share theatrical elements as the ones shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Summary of theatrical elements in theater and in sport		
THEATRICAL ELEMENTS	THEATER	SPORT
Actors/characters	Protagonists – heroes /antagonists/secondary characters	Athletes/Heroes and heroines
plot	Tragedy	Competition
director	director	coach
acoustics	Sound effects	Sound of competition and cheering of the crowd

Visual elements	Costumes, make-up, scenery	Uniforms, gear,
Non-verbal communication	Gestures, facial expressions, some athletic aspects	Gestures, facial expressions, use of flags and the universal language of international competitions
Setting	Time and place	Location and time of competitions
Props	Objects that are part of the play	Equipment that is necessary in the competitions
Catharsis	Related to tragedies	Related to competitions
Shifting of scenes	During the acts of a play	Several phases of the same competition

The word drama derives from the Greek “draein” (to do, to act), which refers to a performance or representation by actors, who were in fact the heroes of the action, as they were in the limelight. Women were neither heroes nor heroines. Drama has its roots in cultic-ritual practice, time of preparation (training of the athletes), some features of which were still present in stylized form in the classical Greek drama of the 5th century B.C. Ancient tragedies and comedies were performed during festivals in honor of Dionysos, the patron of the drama (Sansone, 1988) and the god of wine (Klarer, 1999). Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) deals extensively with the general elements and features of tragedy. In the sixth book of The Poetics, he characterizes tragedy as “a representation of an action that is heroic and complete” and which “represents men in action and does not use narrative, and through pity and fear it effects relief”.

By watching the tragic events on stage, the audience is meant to experience a catharsis or spiritual cleansing, which may also take place in competitions enhancing the dramatic finals of games and athletics. Women were not part of any heroic action and this notion was also valid for the Ancient Olympic Games, which were sports for heroes (DaCosta, 2002). In classical Greek theater as well as in Elizabethan theater (British theater of the 16th century), women were banned from the stage, thus leaving all female roles to be played by young men. This tradition of casting men as women continued until the 17th century and was only abolished in British Restoration drama, after 1670 (Hartnoll, 1998). However, this practice indicates that the role of heroine in theater was played by men. Coincidentally, the Ancient Olympic Games also excluded women.

According to Sansone (1988), the word sport entered Middle English from the Old French word 'desport', which had a general application as it used to refer to hunting and fishing, athletic activities, wanton merry-making, and even erotic foreplay, by-lay and interplay. Significantly, Shakespeare used the word 'sport' to refer to theatrical performances, when male actors were used on the stage. Women could not expose themselves in public.

But if theater and sport were equally important to the Greeks, why do today's scholars in general always focus so intensively on the theater and ignore the stadium? A first and easy answer might be that there is so little extant athletic material compared to our abundance of dramatic texts. However, if anything, sport was even closer to them than the theater. The latter was restricted to a few festival days each year; the former was an integral part of their daily lives.

An awareness of how deeply primitive sports were ingrained in the Greeks' mentality enables us to understand other facets of their culture. Their drama, for example, is replete with athletic images, both literal and metaphorical. The adjective *athlios* (literally, 'like an athlete') is found often in Greek tragedy and well illustrates the dual reverberation, but only included men.

Finally, in a comparison of data from documents with "drama and theater of sport", it is clear that the very few articles exhibited by sports museums in general that show women's participation in the Olympic Games reflect their scarce presence in sports literature, especially related to the Olympic Games themselves. Once women were not protagonists or the main protagonists or heroines little was produced about them. Their voice was not heard in that male-oriented culture.

Although women started in the theater in England very timidly at the end of the 17th century, it was only in the 19th century that women were reported to have performed professional feats of

strength and endurance in public. Endurance walkers and runners known as pedestriennes were particularly newsworthy, gaining metropolitan newspaper coverage in Great Britain and North America from the mid-1870s to the late 1880s. English swimmers Agnes Alice Beckwith and Emily Parker, pedestriennes such as German Bertha Von Hillern, American Mary Marshall, and English Ada Anderson, professional bicyclists Louise Armaindo, May Stantley and Elsa Von Blumen became famous during her time as entertainers. By the early 20th century, however, historical recognition of these women was scarce (Shaulis, 1999). One of the few heroines of that day was Annette Kellermann Sullivan, who was in the world of competitive swimming and sports entertainment a significant person. In her day, on three continents, she was a recognized public entertainer with the *mise-en-scene* motif of the female body as spectacle (Lucas, 1998).

4. Conclusive remarks

The historical method used in this dissertation is mainly based on research done with written sources, primary and secondary, collected at the Olympic Studies Center located in the Olympic Museum, in Lausanne, Switzerland, where this author had the privilege to develop the study for two months in 2004. The written documents that are kept in the Historical Archives, Library, and Documentation Service were without doubt extremely valuable for the development of this study. It is important to emphasize the role played by sport museums not only as the best places that reproduce to some extent the performance, passion, romance, drama, and emotion of sport but also as the best places where sport historians can have access to the corresponding and related written sources of information. In addition, contact with foreign scholars greatly contributed to solve questions that remained from the gaps that exist in the specialized literature.

After the research method used in this dissertation was presented and once the field of sports history was established as a major area of social history and an essential sub-discipline of physical education, the formula suggested would include gender as one of the foundations of every existing social order. In this perspective, women and men should not be automatically compared. Instead, gender categories should be questioned. However, it is important to keep in mind not only that the historical construction of both sexuality and gender has resulted in the assignment of different roles in social life to men and women, but also that the coinage and use of the term gender in this area of study is very recent. Gender then helps understand what happened in the past but the analysis of past facts should be done within the context in which they took place, with appropriate care to place events and attitudes into the appropriate cultural perspective.

The method which was selected for this dissertation has the support in the assets of sports museums, which contain not only memorabilia but also and especially documents that permit the comparison with the “drama and theatre of sport”. It is important to keep in mind that both drama and Olympic sport, as the scenery of this investigation, had their origins in ancient Greece, when the participation of women had been ruled out. At that time women were never portrayed as either actresses or sports heroes. That was a legacy that went through many recent transformations shaped by social movements that allowed gradual social inclusion and the innovation with the emancipation of women (DaCosta, 2002).

Summing up, during the research process, after a careful literature review was conducted in the main sources of information of the specialized literature about the participation of women in the Olympic Games, it was observed that it was still not clear how women came to competing in the Modern Olympic Games. More information was needed drawing from sources from the Olympic Games through the times until the 19th century when the modern version was reinstated by French Baron de Coubertin. As the Modern Olympic Games and the participation of women are today a product of their past of longtime transformations through the years of European social movements, it became then necessary to investigate the earliest influences of Olympic ideas had upon Coubertin, as these transformations had impact upon his personality, his attitudes and his thinking. It was important to investigate the role women played in the Ancient Olympic Games and in other Games throughout history until the reestablishment of the Olympic Games of the modern era. It was also relevant to examine the influences Coubertin had had during his lifetime as that exercised absolute control upon his personality and attitudes. It was essential to analyze the foundation of the IOC and how it exposed information about the very first female Olympians. From the perspective of all the information gathered then, the analysis of the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters finally revealed officially the process of inclusion of women in the Modern Olympic Games.

CHAPTER IV
PRE-COUBERTIN ERA
PART A: INTRODUCTION

The objective of this chapter is to describe Coubertin's antecedents, since the very beginning of the original Olympic Games, and analyze the presence of women in other similar Games and festivals that started being promoted after the Ancient Olympic Games.

As the Mycenaean civilization was coming to an end around 1200 B.C., Greece was being invaded by several tribes, the most important of which was the Dorians (from Dooris, northern Greece), a Hellenic tribe that originated the Greeks (Boardman, 2002). Dorian leaders were mythologized as the Heracleidae, the sons of the legendary hero Heracles (Hooker, 2005). According to the specialized literature, the Greeks were one of the very first peoples to create myths, according to which, the original Great Mother Goddess, Gaia or Geia, present in Mycenaean and Minoan matriarchal religions, waned and became many separate entities related to each other in Classical Greece. The Dorians brought with them a patriarchal social order, a cosmology of sky, sun and storm, whose ruler was the great Father God Zeus, who hurled the lightning and the thunderbolt.

The old religion related Gaia, goddess of Mother Earth, had little to do with athletics or physical activity in a direct sense, but this new patriarchal religion, probably introduced by the Dorian tribes after 900 B.C., did.

It is necessary to look at the attributes of two gods, Zeus and Hera and a legendary king of Pisa called Pelops. In the course of religious change, Hera can be identified as the goddess of vegetation, women and marriage. Hera was popular with the Dorians of Argos and appears to have replaced Gaia of the old religion at Olympia. A temple to Hera is the first known sacred building at Ancient Olympia ("Olympia", henceforth). It was constructed about 600 B.C., with the accumulation of donations to the sanctuary. In the late 6th century B.C., foot races for girls dedicated to Hera were heard of.

The tradition of the ancient Olympic Games, their origin and purpose, the absence of women from the athletic competitions are issues that should be examined from another perspective. Were women forbidden to participate? The following quotation from Paleologos (2005) seems to indicate that women were segregated. Was this really true? "The sun was not yet risen behind the remote mountains and people descend in the Altis, whereas far away the women assemble on the other bank of the Alpheios and on the hills above the river. The law of Elis is severe and does not allow them to enter the sacred precinct".

However, in spite of the strict rules, some women managed to find loopholes in them and successfully defy male authority. Those were the ones who had their names printed in the history of male sport. What might have contributed for that? Valavanis (2004) remarks that the Olympic and other Pan-Hellenic Games and the whole of ancient Greek athletics constitute a complex historical phenomenon that developed alongside the major religious festivals and celebrations in ancient Greece.

The birth of the Games at Olympia in the 8th century B.C. was undoubtedly associated with the worship of gods, goddesses and heroes, not heroines, which had long been established there. The role played by Olympia is quite crucial as it establishes both the starting point and reference for the history of ancient and modern athletics. The Games played at the sacred place of Olympia were the inspiration for others. Originally there were three more contests that had Pan-Hellenic character and international reputation: the Pythian Games at Delphi, the Isthmian Games at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, and the Nemean Games at the sanctuary at Nemea. These festivals not only imitated the Olympic Games but were also combined with them in a compact group of competitions called the 'circuit', in which no other festival was ever included. The huge success of these games and festivals, together with the spatial expansion of Greek culture, led to the creation of dozens, even hundreds, of local games on varying scales all over the Greek cities on the Mediterranean Sea and later on in the Roman Empire.

Although these small festivals and games never reached the status of the Pan-Hellenic Games of Ancient Olympia, they nevertheless had a significant influence on the lives and activities of the people at that time. These events were frequently the only window to the outside world for the organizers, athletes and spectators, and provided them with an opportunity for pleasure, glory, authority, money, and prestige, common ambitions for the males who lived at that time. Women did not appear in these positions and opportunities, according to the specialized literature.

Among these smaller festivals, it is important to indicate the Panathenaic Games, which became highly important and exercised a great influence on history, art and culture. This is because of the important role played by Athens, the mother city of Greek culture, for the larger part of its history. The development of the Games was a long process, directly related to the history of the sanctuaries at which they were held. From events that had limited prestige and influence because of their initial local character, the Games evolved into predominant institutions that influenced the whole of Western civilization, which also as a result altered the status that women had in the different positions they occupied in society.

The Olympic Games were discontinued in 393 A.D. (394 A.D. for some authors and 396 A.D. for others) by the Roman Emperor Theodosius II; nevertheless, there is evidence that they did continue assuming diverse forms, which in the end allowed for the participation of not only women but also children and the handicapped.

According to Rühl (1997), between the end of the classical period and the start of Coubertin's venture in 1896, there were nearly a dozen Olympic Games, very few of which have been heard of. Nevertheless, the history of these Games sheds some light into the history of women's sports and athletic participation. From Robert Dover's "Olimpic Games" in the Cotswolds and the "Drehberg Olympic Games" in Germany to the inspiration of a Greek poet that led to the four Zappas Olympic Games in Athens and then to Dr. William Penny Brookes's "Olympian Games" in Much Wenlock, England, and his dreams of creating international Olympic Games to Pierre de Coubertin, who inherited the whole Greek legacy, the Olympic Games evolved into different options and took different roads, some of them included women. Why was the rule bent in some and not in most of them?

CHAPTER IV
PRE-COUBERTIN ERA
PART B: WOMEN IN THE ANCIENT OLYMPIC GAMES

1. The Tradition of the Ancient Games

In his article, “Directions in Ancient Sport History” (1983), Don Kyle provides an instrumental definition and contextualization for the word ‘sport’: “ ‘Sport’ is a non-ancient and vague term at best. ‘Athletics’ usually suggests serious competition, training, prizes, and the goal of victory. ‘Physical education’ implies instruction and exercise of the body. ‘Recreation’ or ‘leisure’ applies to non-work, relaxation and rejuvenation with pleasure or fun as goal. ‘Sport’ is used as a general rubric for all these areas as well as hunting, dance, and even board Games. Herein ‘sport’ generally will refer to public, physical activities, especially those with competitive elements, pursued for victory, pleasure, or the demonstration of excellence.” This last sentence contains expressions that constitute the key words used to qualify ‘sport’ in this dissertation: public, physical activities, competition, victory, pleasure and demonstration of excellence. The historical meaning of these words was commonly associated with men and not women in western cultural settings.

According to Sweet (1987), although the commonly accepted view of the origin of the Olympic Games is that they were first held in 776 B.C., many scholars suggest that the supposed first Olympic Games were not the innovation of a new ceremony but rather the reorganization of older Games. One theory indicates that the investigation of Olympic Games in Olympia before 776 B.C. usually leads into mythology. Some ancient authorities considered that the Greek semi-god Heracles or Hercules was the founder of the Olympic Games. Following mythology, he was supposed to have lived before the Trojan War (before 1200 B.C.). The Greek traveler Pausanias mentions in Book 5 of his guidebook about Greece (written between 120 A.D. and 180 A.D.) the names of around 12 people who staged the Olympic Games before 776 B.C., including some in which gods competed. Therefore, according to this view, it seems safer to assume 776 B.C. as the official date.

A second theory points out that the Olympic Games already existed during the Mycenaean kingdoms (1600 B.C. – 1250 B.C.), the beginning of which was imposed by the military use of chariots. The fall of the Mycenaean civilization may have occurred as a result of deadly wars (historically known as the Trojan Wars) among the kingdoms that made up the Mycenaean civilization. The pattern of rivalry between kingdoms is demonstrated in such great works as Homer’s “The Iliad”, and continued to be a pattern repeated throughout the history of Ancient

Greece. With the destruction of the Mycenaean kingdoms (1250 B.C. – 1150 B.C.), the Olympic Games fell into disuse, were neglected and ultimately forgotten as Ancient Greece entered its Middle Ages (Athens 2004 Olympic Games, 2004). It is essential to point out that Mycenaean charioteers had set up first kingdoms in mainland Greece around 1600 B.C. The chariots were used in warfare and their use represented power and superiority in relation to other peoples (e-museum, 2005). This is a very important fact as the first woman in antiquity to win in the Olympic Games competed in the chariot race.

Table 3 shows the approximate dates of the main events that took place in Greece from 6,000 B.C. until 410 B.C. The period that corresponds to the re-organization of the Olympic Games of ancient Greece is symptomatically the period that followed war and destruction in which people were beginning to recover from what was called the ‘Catastrophe’.

Archeological evidence indicates that women had already been engaged in sports during the Minoan period (Palmer & Howell, 1973). The ‘Taureador Frescoes’, restored by Evans and co-workers, are by far the most famous artifacts of bull vaulting. The main fresco itself shows a galloping bull, with three acrobats, two female and one male. The fresco shows one female acrobat holding the horn or horns, the male over the back of the bull in the later stages of a front somersault, while the third figure appears to be standing. Other frescoes of the period show female dancers such as the ‘Fresco of a Dancing Lady’ while a clay sealing shows three figures moving to the right, which appear to be women, and their arms are held as if they were running (Palmer & Howell, 1973). It is then possible to infer that sport for women was accepted on the Mediterranean island of Crete. Spears (1978) mentions that the Cretans were highly civilized as they had a system of writing, weights and measures, and indoor plumbing. Their major deity was the mother Goddess, which demonstrated the prominent position women had in Cretan society. Besides the household common tasks women had such as spinning, weaving, grinding corn, and doing male pottery, they also drove chariots, hunted, and engaged in the bull-grappling or bull-dancing activities. In spite of the influence, most of which still not completely known, that the Cretan civilization exercised upon the developing Greek culture, the Greek attitudes toward women in sport seem to greatly differ from those in Crete (Spears, 1978).

The very beginning of what is known today as the Olympic Games of antiquity is then believed to have started when Greece was tormented by civil war and pestilence around 776 B.C. (Sweet, 1987; Valavanis, 2004). The theory which is mostly accepted by historians is that Iphitos, the king of Elis at that time, asked the god at Delphi what could remove these evils. The Pythian priestess announced that Iphitos and the Eleans (the people from Elis) should hold the Olympic Games again. As a result, Iphitos, together with two other kings, Kleisthenes of Pisa,

and King Lykurgus of Sparta, agreed that the Olympic Games should be held every four years, that Olympia should be the site of their celebration and that the sacred truce should be established as an institution. The Olympic truce was one of the Greeks' most ingenious accomplishments as it placed the Olympic Games above city-state rivalries, enabling all free Greeks to compete. It seems that the ancient Olympic Games were then thoroughly bound up with a prevailing system of power that celebrated the subjection of women and slaves ideologically by excluding them from eligibility and the glory of victory (Kidd, 1994).

The text of the truce, written in circular fashion on a copper dish was called the 'Disc of Iphitos', and was the most sacred treasure of Olympia, curiously kept in the temple of Hera, where maidens who won the Heraia attached painted portraits of themselves. The temple of Hera was located in the Olympic sanctuary. The truce initially belonged to the kingdom of Elis, which was not to be violated militarily for the duration of the Olympic Games. Later on, the truce belonged to all Greek cities.

Table 3: Chronology of bronze-age and Homeric Greece

Period	Characteristics
6000 B.C.	First agriculture in Greece
3000 - 2500 B.C.	Bronze age in Greece
2000 - 1500 B.C.	Minoan palace-civilization of Crete
1800 B.C.	First writing in Crete (still undeciphered)
1600 B.C.	Mycenean charioteers set up first kingdoms in mainland Greece
1500 B.C.	Myceneans conquer Crete
1400 - 1200 B.C.	Height of Mycenean palace-kingdoms
1250 – 1150 B.C.	Palaces and cities throughout Greece, Anatolia, Syria, Palestine sacked and burned

1150 - 900 B.C.	Dark Ages in Greece. No palaces, no monuments, no writing; population plunges
900 - 750 B.C.	Population slowly recovers in Greece
750 - 700 B.C.	Writing returns to Greece. Possible dates for poet Homer who wrote the epics “The Iliad” and the “Odyssey”.
472 B.C.	Final and complete schedule of the Olympic Games
472 - 410 B.C.	Greek theater thrives in Athens

Sources: Gaddis, 2005 and Valavanis, 2004

In the beginning, from 776 until 724 B.C., the Olympic Games lasted only one day, with only one event: the Stadium race (Paleologos, 1976). But more athletic activities were added along the editions of the Games until finally, in 472 B.C., the complete schedule was drawn up including all known ancient athletic events, when the Olympic Games lasted five days (Athens 2004 Olympic Games, 2004). Although they were staged on the ancient plains of Olympia, famous for its magnificent temples of the gods Zeus and Hera (the wife of Zeus), the Olympic Games were performed at the stadium at Olympia every four years during the summer. Only one sport was held in the stadion dromos (racecourse), and that year’s Olympic Games were named after the winner’s name. The Olympic Games were staged in honor of Zeus, father of gods and humans. They initially had a religious character and combined a number of ancient athletic events, many of which were based on ancient Greek myths. Olympia flourished and became a religious, athletic, and artistic center of pan-Hellenic importance and incredible fame, especially from the end of the 6th century B.C. This period coincided with the period of the Persian Wars (510 - 450 B.C.), which brought great glory to the nation, gave birth to significant ideas and provided the necessary means for the development of an art which expressed the true meaning of beauty and opened the way to the so-called ‘classical’ era (Paleologos, 1976).

According to Sweet (1987) and Valavanis (2004), the Olympic Games were so crucial that other Games came up in different cities and locations. In fact, the Olympic Games constituted one of the so-called four crown Games as the victors of the Olympic competitions were crowned with a wreath. The Olympic Games were the very first and most successful of them all.

Next to the Olympic Games in reputation were the Pythian Games, held at the sacred oracle in Delphi, in central Greece. Founded (or re-organized) in 582 B.C., they were held in the third year after each edition of the Olympic Games. The Pythian Games were held in memory of the Python, a snake deity killed by the god Apollo, to whom the Games were consecrated. The crown was made of laurel leaves. The stadium located in a dramatic site has been well preserved, but because it had been built on a mountainside, it could hold only 7,000 spectators.

The Isthmian Games, honoring the memory of the hero Palaimon, were held at a precinct consecrated to Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth, which connects northern and southern Greece. The Isthmian Games were biennial, held in the second and fourth year of each Olympiad (the 4-year period between two Olympic festivals). The date of founding, or reorganization, was 581 B.C., and the crown was made of wild celery. The stadium has not been completely excavated, and therefore its capacity is not known.

The Nemean Games, founded or reorganized in 573 B.C. were held in honor of the hero Adrastos at the sacred precinct of Zeus in the northeastern part of the Peloponnesos. They were held in the second and fourth year of each Olympiad, in a stadium that held 40,000 spectators.

Table 4 shows a summary of the four crown Games, featuring their sites, prizes offered, intervals, founding dates and of whose honor they were held. It is important to notice their beginning dates and the fact that both the Isthmian and Nemean Games were staged in honor of heroes and not deities, which shows the prominence of individuals who became victors.

Table 4: Summary of the 4 Crown Games

Games	Site	Prize	Interval	Founding Date	Honor of
Olympic	Olympia	Wild olive	4 years	776 B.C.	Zeus
Pythian	Delphi	Laurel	4 years	582 B.C.	Python
Isthmian	Corinth	Wild celery	2 years	581 B.C.	Palaimon
Nemean	Nemea	Wild celery	2 years	573 B.C.	Adrastos

The Olympic Games were so successful that in addition to having influenced the (re)organization of the other crown Games, they inspired the organization of about 50 local Games (Sweet, 1987), many among which were staged at regular intervals throughout the Greek world. One of the most important local Games of Antiquity was the Panathenaic Games in Athens, which are of special interest because of the prizes that were awarded. Instead of crowns, the champions or victors received vases, or amphorae, that stood 2 feet tall and held 9 gallons of olive oil. The winner of one chariot race, for example, received 100 such vases. Amphorae were

painted with scenes and figures that reveal much information about athletics in ancient Greece. The Panathenaic Games were founded in 566 B.C. and organized every year. Those that took place in every fourth year were particularly splendid. In addition to Olympic events, the Panathenaic Games included boat races, throwing the javelin at a target from horseback, dancing, singing, playing musical instruments, and relay races with torches (Valavanis, 2004). The victors enjoyed great honors and on returning to their cities their compatriots pulled down part of the walls for them to enter. They were also given special privileges and high office. The great historical events that took place in the passing of centuries within the Hellenic lands, took their toll even on the athletic ideals of the Olympic Games, resulting in the gradual fall of the moral values, which was especially felt from 146 A.D. when most of Greece fell under the Romans and the Eleians lost their independence. The institution of the Olympic Games lasted for 12 continuous centuries and was abolished in 393 A.D. (the 293rd Olympiad) by order of Theodosios I, when the functioning of all idol worshipping sanctuaries was forbidden, and in 426 A.D., during the reign of Theodosios II, the destruction of the Altian monuments followed (Athens 2004 Olympic Games, 2004). In 394 the famous chryselephantine statue of Zeus had been taken to Constantinople and was destroyed in 475 during the great fire. From 395 onwards the fall of Olympia was very rapid: (i) in that year the first damage was caused by the invasion of Alaric's barbarians; (ii) a fire destroyed the temple of Zeus in 475; (iii) earthquakes in 522 and 551 and the most severe of all in 580 brought down whatever had remained standing; (iv) then came flooding of the river Cladeus; (v) the river Alpheus was diverted and Mother Earth gradually covered, to protect it, everything that had escaped plundering and robbing. Glory had vanished and of the last riches there were now left but a few ruins and the name of Olympia. However, in spite of such a tragedy, something immortal remained: the Olympic spirit (Paleologos, 1976). That would wake up a poet, centuries later.

According to Valavanis (2004), the athletic competitions that were added to the cult at Olympia already existed before they formally appeared as part of the Olympic Games in the 8th century B.C. These competitions were individual athletic events either in the form of military exercises or as a performance designed to entertain the ruling class. The specialized literature (Sansone, 1988; Valavanis, 2004; Paleologos, 1976) presents two theories for the addition of athletic competitions to the cult at Olympia. The first theory indicates that the Games had secular roots; therefore, their beginning is traced back to either prehistoric hunting methods that assumed a ritual character with the passage of time, or military training that prepared infantry soldiers, who depended on physical strength, for war. The second theory considers the Games to be the remains of rites of passage, in other words, young men had to go through ordeals or

severe trials or experiences in order to be admitted to adulthood. These rites of passage used to be very common in the ancient world. The second theory also states that the addition of the Games to religious celebrations was a further development of the rituals of passage, following what had happened before in earlier periods, when religious festivals were the only occasion for peace and calm in which men could gather in order to relax by taking part in various kinds of competitions.

At this point it is significant to recall that the Greek city-states were always at war, particularly in the late 8th and early 7th centuries B.C., when they were trying to expand their territory and found themselves in an intensified conflict with their neighbors. Olympia owed its initial rise to prominence to the very existence of an oracle related to the ancient cult of Gaia (Mother Earth). Due to the situation the Greeks were going through, the oracle of Olympia site began to specialize in questions related to intense and widespread war particularly because of the military character of the early Zeus. In addition, Valavanis (2004) cites Herodotus when the latter refers to the fact that many generations before that time period, prophets from Olympia played important roles. Not only did they serve in belligerent Greek cities and often accompanied armies on distant campaigns in order to make sacrifices before battles but also and mostly even provided advice on military strategy, invoking the will of Zeus. This is significant because it shows very clearly not only the influence of the Games in the preparations for war but also the religious association with this preparation to war.

Kidd (1990) also adds that the physical activities (athletics) practiced by the Greeks were very different from the sports which are known today. Sports today include a family of activities developed under the specific conditions of rapidly industrializing 19th-century Britain and spread to the rest of the world through emigration, emulation, and imperialism. Although modern sports are popularly equated with the athletic events of the ancient Games, for example, scholars now argue that there are many more differences than similarities between the contests of Ancient Greece and those of the Modern Olympic Games. It is essential to understand each of these competitive forms in its own terms. The athletics of classical Greece are completely different from our modern sport. By modern standards, the athletics of Antiquity were extremely violent (Kidd, 1990). The combative events, the most popular contests, were conducted with little concern for fairness or safety. There were no weight categories to equalize size or strength, no rounds, and no ring. Bouts were essentially fights to the finish, which is not surprising when one considers that these competitions began as preparations for war. While the modern Olympic Games are widely admired for their encouragement of participation for its own sake and personal growth through constant self-testing, the ancient competitions neither

attracted the same feelings nor held such ideals. Competitors of ancient Greece prayed “Give me the wreath of victory or give me death!” because victory alone brought glory. Places other than first were rarely recorded because defeat brought undying shame. This characteristic of violence becomes essential as the participation of women in the Olympic Games is examined. According to the specialized literature, women’s behavior has never been equated with violent actions of any nature. Therefore, it becomes hard to imagine women contesting the same types of fighting or combat as the men did.

According to Valavanis (2004), another source of information at about the same time as Herodotus, the poet Pindar (522 B.C. - 443 B.C.), referred to the sacred site of Olympia in his 8th century Olympian Ode as mother of the Games and mistress of the truth, the one who shows the way. In Olympia, representatives of Greek cities used to look for advice before they started a war campaign as they wanted to reach victory. As a result of their very positive accomplishments, the Greek cities erected trophies representing military dedications to Zeus in the sanctuary to thank him for his aid in their victories. There are also many dedications in the form of statues of Victory, in this case, Victory associated with military rather than athletic success.

It is then possible to infer that the Olympic Games were not a novelty as an event, introduced for the first time in Olympia, but that they came from an earlier habit of hero worship that survived after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization. This habit, transmitted in epic poems and oral tradition, was revived at the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 7th century B.C., along with other elements of the cult at Olympia’s Altis (processions, sacrifices, oracle, etc.). The same way as most of the more important events and institutions in ancient Greece, the Olympic Games were consequently a revival of earlier, possibly Mycenaean customs, now integrated into a larger religious, ideological and political context.

The ancient site of Olympia, buried under river-silt until its discovery in 1776, was not a significant site for explorations and excavations until the early 1800s. Under the leadership of the German archaeologist, Ernst Curtius, the site revealed many treasures, including a splendid sculpture of Hermes retrieved from the temple of Hera. Some historians contend that Curtius, inspired by his marvelous findings at the site of Olympia, made the initial suggestion to revive the ancient Olympic Games - an idea brought to fruition later on by Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France.

The ultimate Greek goal was to be the best by means of comparative conducts or behaviors and celebrations. All aspects of life, especially athletics, were centered on this cultural belief. They valued physical strength, agility, speed, and other physical qualities believed to be

inherent to men only. Because Olympic champions were considered victors, they enjoyed great honors and were entitled to receive several privileges such as (i) being given a crown made from olive leaves (the 'cotinus'); (ii) having statues made of themselves placed at Olympia; (iii) having all their meals paid for at the public's expense; (iv) getting front-row seats at theaters and (v) filling in high offices in the government (which shows close connection with power). Furthermore, because they were believed to bring their cities into favor with the Greek gods, their compatriots pulled down part of the walls of their original cities for them to enter upon their return. The culture of the victor developed into the culture of the male hero, which has been carried on throughout the times from the tradition of the past to the inherited tradition of today's society. The cult of the hero was taken to the theater and preserved in the literature in epic-form initially in poetry and drama and later in fiction.

While men deserved a very special position in society because of the manly roles they played in life that emphasized their courage and physical strength, women were valued for the quality of children they produced. Therefore, women could not compete or participate in similar physical activities or competitions as they had been thought of for being very delicate. Women were not heroines because they did not fulfill the same pre-requisites of Olympic heroes related to body size, physical strength, courage, abilities and skills. On the contrary, seen as weak individuals, women were supposed to stay home, leading a very passive lifestyle. This belief had been cultivated throughout the centuries and still existed when the Olympic Games were revived by Coubertin. It was then gradually modified as science evolved to prove that women could follow the same paths men did and still have children.

2. Participation of Women in the Ancient Games

In terms of tradition, the first step to investigate the ancient Olympic Games and other athletic festivals is to divide them into historical periods. Spears (1984) suggests the following major chronological periods with individual characterizations: the Archaic period (circa 800 B.C.); the Classical period (500 B.C. - 323 B.C.); the Hellenistic period (323 B.C. - 146 B.C.); and the Roman period (146 B.C. - 400 A.D.). Women's sport, and indeed all Games and sporting activities, are meaningful within the context of social history. The knowledge of women's place in society is limited to the meager evidence which has survived the deafening silence of women's sport in antiquity. More is known about the upper classes than the lower classes.

During the Archaic period (c. 800 B.C.), women were supposed to attain desirable characteristics or 'arete' (beauty, perfection, abilities, etc.) in addition to chastity, modesty,

obedience, and inconspicuous behavior. These characteristics were kept in many of the city-states throughout antiquity, with the exception of Sparta, where married women were expected to have children, to excel in household tasks such as spinning and weaving, and to manage the household, like in any other Greek town. However, as boys were trained to become rugged warriors, girls were trained to become healthy, vigorous mothers of strong sons and daughters (Pomeroy, 2002). Men lived in military groups, even after marriage, and came home occasionally. Because of that, women were also required to handle their husbands' properties, appear outside the home, and lead more public lives than women in other city-states. The Spartan law codified under Lycurgus (700-630 B.C.) in the 7th century B.C. remained unchanged throughout Spartan history and showed a curious fact. The law expressed the concept that the bearing of children was as relevant a service to the state as the service of the warrior, which permitted the inscription of the name of the deceased on a tomb only of a man who had died at war and of a woman who had died in childbirth (Lerner, 1986).

However, Athens, the capital, preserved the traditional principles for women's behavior. Athenians believed that women should be covered up and not seen; therefore, they were not allowed to take part in athletic competitions because they would have to expose themselves. Moreover, female bodies were to be conditioned for childbirth (Reese & Vallera-Rickerson, 2002).

Authors of the Classical and Roman periods confirm the evidence concerning exercises demanded of Spartan girls. Xenophon refers to girls' exercise program and "trials of strength for women" and Plato describes these exercises as current practice in his day. It is important to mention that, throughout Greece, with the exception of Sparta, women were supposed to attain feminine virtues while fighting Amazons abound in Greek vases and may suggest techniques and styles for women of the period. In these pictures, Amazons ride astride and appear to handle their mounts skillfully (Spears, 1984).

Dramatic and athletic festivals flourished during the Classical period (500 – 323 B.C.). The average lifetime of women during this period has been estimated at 36.2 years. Incidental evidence of Spartan women in sport-like activity is found in the plays of Euripides and Aristophanes. There is additional evidence for the persistence of exercise for Spartan women during this period. Inscriptions concerning women victors at Olympia exist in this period.

Several women were recorded as winners of chariot races during the Hellenistic period (323 B.C. - 146 B.C.) whereas the Roman period (146 A.D. - 400 A.D.), when the melting of Greek and Roman cultures took place, affecting more the larger cities than the remote villages, featured accounts of sport-like activities provided by the Roman authors: Plutarch, Pausanias

and Athenaeus. Plutarch reports that the girls' physical activity program inculcated in them a desire for health and beauty of body (Reese & Vallera-Rickerson, 2002).

The history of women's sporting activities in antiquity, particularly in Ancient Greece, must be viewed in the perspective of men's athletic activities of the same period. Any suggestion of sport-like activity for women throughout the specialized ancient literature becomes evidence because it is exceptionally rare. Women athletes were almost invisible. However, this is not true for men's sport as there is a wealth of reference to men's athletics and sport in ancient Greece. The specialized literature, which includes historians, philosophers, and other authors, refers many times to athletics, Games, and athletic festivals. For each vase depicting women in sport-like activities there are many, many more showing men in athletic activities. Thus far, whereas hundreds of men are recorded on victory lists, only a few women are recorded on surviving victory lists (Spears, 1984). As a matter of fact, the history of women's sport is based on a very few facts and the history of men's sport on abundant data. The meaning of athletics for men in ancient Greece with its crucial role of honoring gods in religious rituals, and the meaning of women's athletics during this period are clear. Women's place in Greek society, which includes feminine virtues, women's exclusion from political decision-making processes and from male religious rites, early marriages followed by several births, child rearing, home management and short lives did not favor sport. When a closer look is given to the 19th century A.D., it is possible to identify some of the similar reasons why women did not participate so much in games and physical exercises.

In Ancient Greece, it was common for girls, not women, to participate in primitive sport activities. They did so under a state edict in Sparta, to honor the goddess Hera, and to entertain others with acrobatic tricks. Some women engaged in athletic activities or pastimes such as chariot driving and juggling (Reese & Vallera-Rickerson, 2002). Why girls competed in athletic festivals in the first century A.D. does not seem so clear, but their participation may represent more freedom for women resulting in social changes over time. Greek society appears to have accepted a few highly skilled sportswomen throughout the period of ancient athletic festivals. This concept may explain powerful skilled goddesses, Amazons, entertainers, and the few known female victors at athletic festivals. This short analysis may lead to another perspective on women's physical activities during the period of the ancient athletic festivals as well as in their participation in sport in the 19th and 20th centuries: pre-sport for women was determined by women's place in society, which was represented by female 'arete', and in general, women's sport was perceived as insignificant except for a few highly skilled women.

Exclusion of Women from the ancient Olympic Games

Only Greeks were entitled to participate in the Olympic Games. "Barbarians", foreigners, slaves, those who had not paid the fine to the Elians for violation of a truce, and women were excluded.

Why were women excluded from the Ancient Olympic Games? The answer to this question lies essentially in the purpose of the Games, which was to develop physical strength and skills for males (particularly to develop war skills due to the very nature of some of the competitive events), while women had to follow the particular code that had been established by the men for the women. According to Mouratidis (1984), women in Greece and Italy were not allowed to enter the sanctuaries of Heracles or participate in sacrifices offered to him. The ancient saying that "a woman does not frequent the shrine of Heracles" was notorious and unquestioned. The reason was that it was believed that the presence of women could harm and diminish the warriors' or heroes' power, and Heracles being by tradition the warrior 'par excellence' and the hero of heroes, women had no place in his rites. It is reasonable to conclude that once the Olympic Games constituted a festival in honor of Heracles, women were naturally excluded. This prohibition survived throughout the history of the Olympic Games, even after the coming of Zeus, as did the presence of the priestess of Demeter Chamyne in the Olympic Games. She was the only woman allowed to enter the stadium to attend the Olympic Games. She had a special seat at the altar opposite the seats of the judges (Pomeroy, 2002). Paleologos (2005) mentions that Regilla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, who was a benefactor to Olympia, brought in water by constructing an aqueduct in order to be appointed priestess to be able to attend the Games. This demonstrates that positions of power, which were rarely occupied by women, played a very important role in bending the rules.

However, Antikas (1997) indicated that no written evidence exists to justify or clarify the Elean, Olympic-sized gender discrimination, or why those men were so hard with women. It seems that the phenomenon is one more instance of male, religious conservatism, if not fanaticism. Women still cannot participate in many religions equally with men or step beyond the sacred temple in any modern Orthodox or Catholic Church. Until present, women are not allowed to become priests and, surely, not Popes. This seems to be the case of a typical 'male-oriented culture'. Every culture has non-written traditions, which can many times be illogical and which offer no explanation for their very participants. Specific traditions seem to have a dynamic process which permits the survival of the habits from one generation to the next

without carrying any clarification or criticism. One typical example of that is the case of the long-time Jewish culture, which preaches against the pork-eating habit.

The story of Heracles' founding the Olympic Games probably had its roots in the Dorian Peloponnesus. The choice of Heracles by the Dorians as their preferred hero was after all an appropriate choice (Valavanis, 2004). The hero was connected with athletic contests, as it becomes known from many characteristics of the hero-athlete legend that are "scattered throughout the Heracles cycle. Heracles was among other things an especially strong man and fine athlete". The presence of Heracles at Olympia Altis is particularly noticeable during and after the second half of the 7th century B.C.

The Olympic Games were associated not only with religious rituals conducted by men in honor of a male deity, Zeus, but also with preparation to war. This can be observed in the description of the games and activities in which men competed. The first Olympic Games had the following competitions: (1) boxing; (2) equestrian events (chariot racing and horse racing); (3) pankration (a grueling combination of boxing and wrestling in which punches were allowed, although the fighters did not wrap their hands with the boxing himantes, which were straps of soft ox-hide around their hands to strengthen their wrists and steady their fingers); (4) pentathlon (discus, javelin, jump, running, and wrestling); (5) running, and (6) wrestling. They were mainly physical activities, some of them violent, which prepared men to battles (Antikas, 1997).

For many centuries adult married women were completely banned from the Olympic Games on the penalty of death as Pausanias reported on the laws of Elis, the city that hosted the Olympia's sanctuary and Olympic Games. Although it was ruled that any adult woman caught entering the Olympic assembly on the forbidden days or even crossing the river that borders the site was to be thrown to her death from the high, precipitous cliffs of Mount Typaeum opposite the stadium, there is no evidence that such executions ever took place. One example of that is the case of the widow Kallipateira, also known by the name of Phrenice, the mother who trained her son, Peisirodos, for the Olympic Games. Kallipateira attended the competition disguised as a gymnastic trainer and as Peisirodos won the competition and she wanted to congratulate him, she jumped over the enclosure in which the trainers were kept baring herself and revealing her sex. However, in spite of the strict laws, she went unpunished out of respect for her father, brothers, and son, all of whom had been victorious at Olympia. As a result of this incident, a law was passed so that in the future, trainers would have to strip before entering the arena. The ban on married women could have happened because they were somewhat rejected, and in some way refused entry because they were considered unacceptable in 'sacred' sites, temples or

ceremonies at the Altis, where the 'divine' Olympics were held (Reese & Vallera-Rickerson, 2002).

However, the only married woman allowed to watch the Olympic Games was the priestess of Demeter, whose privilege probably derived from the location of an ancient altar and sanctuary of that goddess in the middle of the stadium seating area. Young maidens were also permitted and encouraged to watch the Olympic Games, probably to familiarize themselves with the world of men as they should be in search of a husband. They were there to watch the beautiful bodies and talk with their brothers or father about the one man each wanted as their mate. According to Pausanias, in his description of Greece VI 20) (8) "...Now the stadium is an embankment of earth, and on it is a seat for the presidents of the games. Opposite the umpires is an altar of white marble; (9) seated on this altar a woman looks on at the Olympic Games, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, which office the Elians bestow from time to time on different women. Maidens are not debarred from looking on at the games" (Robinson, 1955).

Greek women of antiquity seemed to have been segregated in most part of ancient Greece (except for Sparta) as they were supposed to follow local female traditions, get married, become mothers and, as the ancient historians such as Herodotus describe, Greek women had to live indoors and not become involved in the outside world especially practicing physical activities or games. The only competition which was allowed to girls was the Heraia. Married and older women were not even permitted to attend the Olympic Games or any other festivals directed to male competitors, which reinforced the idea of exclusion and at least partial segregation, or even specialization of social functions, as frequently found in ancient civilizations (Spears, 1984).

Participation of women in the Hera Games

One of Pericles' statements, quoted by Scanlon (2005), "Fame will be great...for the woman whose reputation for excellence or blame is least known among males," reflects a typical attitude toward women's social roles in ancient Greek literature. This attitude seems to be related to women's appearance in public and to the fact that a woman should keep her 'victories' to herself, an expression that appeared many centuries later in Coubertin's writings such as (i) "Now I say frankly what I think: nothing serious not lasting is to be feared provided the rule which governs this whole question is observed: no spectators. The sports spectator always needs moral surveillance" (Leigh, 1974, citing Coubertin from "Pedagogie Sportive") and (ii) "Women could also take part here if it is judged necessary. I personally do not approve of the participation of women in public competitions, which is not to say that they must abstain from practicing a great number of sports, provided they do not make a public spectacle of

themselves. In the Olympic Games as in the contests of former times, their primary role should be to crown the victors”, Leigh, 1974, citing Coubertin’s “The Philosophic Foundation of modern Olympism, The Olympic Idea). It sounded as if men at that time had already a lot of competition from other men and would not tolerate any competition from women, which might diminish their social role.

However, some fragments of evidence suggest that some Greek girls did engage in athletic competitions, mostly at religious festivals, suggesting they were marking their progress toward womanhood, which can be compared to the religious rites young men had to go through to enter manhood in their preparation for the Olympic Games (Pomeroy, 2002).

According to mythology, the Olympic Games were founded by King Pelops after he defeated Oinomaos, king of Pisa, in a chariot race. For his victory Pelops won the princess Hippodameia as his wife. In thanksgiving he founded the Olympic Games to honor Zeus, while Hippodameia established the Heraia, a festival honoring Hera, Zeus' wife, as she believed that the goddess Hera had helped her marry Pelops. The first winner of the Heraian Games was Chloris, the daughter of Amphion (Athens 2004 Olympic Games, 2004).

Only young women could take part in the Heraia, older and married women were barred from the festival that took place every four years, one month before or after the Olympic Games since the participants, who came from all Greek cities, probably would have traveled to the sanctuary with the males in their families. Little is known about this festival other than what Pausanias, Greek traveler in the 2nd century A.D. reports in his “Guide to Greece” (Sweet, 1987). He mentioned the Heraia in his description of the Temple of Hera (Heraion) in the Sanctuary of Zeus, and says that it was organized and supervised by a committee of 16 women from the cities of Elis. It is important to notice that men could not organize and manage women’s activities. This was the only instance where women were the real organizers of a celebration and had the power to stage it. The festival took place when a new peplos (a body-length Greek garment worn by women dating to before 500 B.C.) was woven and presented to Hera inside her temple (every four years).

The Heraia consisted of only one athlos (contest), the dromos foot race, run in the same stadium as the men's races, and the participants were divided into categories according to age. There were in fact three footraces, one for each of three age divisions unspecified in the ancient sources, but perhaps ranging from 6 to 18. The track was shortened by one-sixth (to 160 m) for the competing maidens, whereas the distance run by men measured 192 m (ca. 600 ft). Winning girls at the Heraia were crowned with olive wreaths, just like their male counterparts at Olympia, and then they would attach painted portraits of themselves before the Sacred Altis

inside Hera's temple in the Olympic sanctuary. The paintings are now gone, but the niches into which the votives were attached on the temple columns remain. In addition, the winning girls, just like the men, received a share of the one ox slaughtered for the patron deity on behalf of all the participants (Scanlon, 2005). The above descriptions suggest that the women athletes who participated in the races as well as the women who organized the event played some kind of pioneering role as in a way or another they were seeking their inclusion in physical activities practiced in Greece (Miragaya, 2002).

Unlike the men, who competed in the nude, the girls wore a tunic hanging almost as low as the knees, a kind of short dress called an 'off-the-shoulder chiton', covering only the left shoulder and breast, and their hair free down their back, according to a description given by Pausanias. It was not in imitation of Amazon warrior women as some have speculated. It may have been an adaptation of a typical light garment worn by men in hot weather or while performing hard labor. Therefore, the girls dressed like men, a ritual custom often followed in ceremonies of initiation to adulthood, may be an inversion of gender roles, perhaps for the girls to experience the status of the "other" before assuming one's own role (Scanlon, 2005). On the other hand, the 'off-the-shoulder chiton' may have been the traditional costume at Olympia and possibly elsewhere for centuries.

It is interesting to observe that the first women athletes came from Sparta. The girls who lived at that time participated in an educational system that included training in most of the same athletic events as boys. The main objective was eugenic: healthy women produced healthy citizen-warriors, especially because the city was constant at war. The athletic contests were restricted to unmarried girls, who competed either naked or wearing little dress. Boys were allowed as spectators, a practice intended to encourage marriage and procreation. Some Spartan girls ran a special race for Dionysos, god of adult females, and this athletic ritual may also have celebrated their communal rite of passage (Pomeroy, 2002).

In Attica (a peninsula shooting out into the Aegean Sea), girls would celebrate the Arkteia or "Bear Festival" (girls were called Little Bears), a mystery ritual run every four years in honor of Artemis, goddess of wild animals and maidens at the sanctuaries of Brauron (Athenian township) and of Mounychion (Miller, 2004). According to a legend, this was a prenuptial festival required of all girls of Attica. A series of vases discovered at the Arkteia sanctuaries depicts girls, naked and in short chitons, apparently performing several ritual activities, including running and dancing. In the depicted scenes of running, girls seem to be chasing one another in a contest symbolic of their change of status from "wild" (girlhood) to "tame" (adulthood).

Miller (2004) adds that excavations have uncovered a sophisticated building with a courtyard, dining rooms and an inscription that mentions a number of other structures including a palaestra (place of wrestling). That building could have been a wrestling school for girls and women since the sanctuary of Brauronian Artemis was a strictly female cult center where girls, known as Little Bears (because of the affinity of the goddess Artemis to that animal), went through initiation ceremonies. Many fragments of pottery from that site have pictures that show girls running, clearly engaged in athletic competition, and young women racing in the nude. These pictures made by Athenian potters and painters portrayed Athenian women and girls competing in the nude at exactly the same time Euripides condemned Spartan women for running around 'with naked thighs and open clothes'. Furthermore, another cult center for Brauronian Artemis was built at this time on the Athenian Akropolis, very close to the Parthenon. Women's athletics may not have taken place there, but it offers a direct allusion to them at this religious center of Athens. It is possible to conclude that even in Athens little women's athletics played a role in society. The problem seems to be that the information available for research comes from the Athenians, who were not interested in documenting a practice so closely associated with Sparta, especially related to women's physical activities. It is not a coincidence that 4th century B.C. authors like Xenophon and Plato, who identified more with the Spartans, placed more emphasis on women's athletics (Reese & Vallera-Rickerson, 2002).

Miller (2004) draws a very interesting comparison between the past and the future in terms of exposure of women's athletics and the communication of this information. He states that he measured the amount of space given to different topics in the sports section of the "San Francisco Chronicle" on the day he lectured on women's athletics, once a year, from 1987 until 2003 (a total of 10 days). He discovered that the average coverage, measured in square centimeters of print, over these years was: 29.37% of advertising; 5.04% of horse racing; 64.10% of men's competitions and 1.49% of women's competition. He then asks if 2,000 years from now these newspapers are the only athletic records that survive, what will historians conclude about the relative importance of women's athletics today? (Miller, 2004).

Participation of Women in Ancient Games and in the Olympic Games

A first-century A.D. inscription found at Delphi mentions young women who personally competed in chariot races or footraces in three of the Crown Games, at Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea, but not in the Olympic Games. These girls probably competed against other girls, as it happened in a race for daughters of magistrates at the Sebasta festival, in Naples, during the

imperial period (146 B.C. – 400 A.D.) and in the races for women instituted by Domitian during the Capitoline Games in Rome in 86 A.D. (Mouratidis, 1984)

Valavanis (2004) reports that the Nemean Games included women in the later period as they had the right to compete in athletics. A decree found in Delphi, dating from 47 A.D., stated that Hedeia, one of the daughters of Hermesianax, from Tralles in Asia Minor, arrived first in the girls' Stadion, in Nemea.

Girls only competed in men's athletic festivals after the classical period (480 B.C. - 330 B.C.) as pointed out by the few and late references (Scanlon, 2005). This suggests that the inclusion of girls was due to exceptional social circumstances and perhaps to the pressure of the Roman political system, which allowed the daughters of the wealthy to participate in men's festivals. Several noble girls are recorded as victors in the chariot race at Olympia and elsewhere, but they were owners of horses, not charioteers. The fact that women were wealthy made it easier for them to enter and win competitions even though they were not driving the horses themselves. Wealth favored high status and independence and would not restrict women so much to the laws of the land.

A good example of that happened with the Spartan princess Kyniska. There are two interpretations of her victories at Olympia. The first one (Miller, 2004) says that Kyniska's brother, Agesilaos, wanted to prove to his sister that victory in chariot races at the Olympic Games largely depended on the value of the horse and on the fortune of the owner, not on the skills of the charioteer. Therefore, he encouraged her to enter a contest at the Olympic hippodrome. The second theory is an interpretation of Pausanias's words: Kyniska had become ambitious enough to win over men, especially over Athenian men. It is important to recall that it was Kyniska's father who had started the thirty-year Peloponnesian war of Sparta against Athens. In spite of her personal feelings, Kyniska did reach her goals; however, it is not known whether she attended the contest. Women were permitted to attend the horse racing competition probably because it was not essential for them to pass through the Altis and the stadium to go to the hippodrome (Paleologos, 2005). In fact, the Spartan princess won not just one, but two back-to-back Tethrippon (four-horse chariot race) victories within a time span of four years, becoming a stephanites (wreath bearer) at the 96th and 97th Olympiads of 396 B.C. and 392 B.C. As a result, Kyniska built two bronze statues at the Olympia site to celebrate her horse team's triumphs. The inscription carved on the bases of the larger memorial and carefully saved by Pausanias was discovered almost intact after 24 centuries. The epigraph, which did not show any modesty, is a true hymn to fast horses and brave women: "Spartan (kings were my) fathers and brothers/ and with chariot and storming horses, Kyniska/ wins and places this effigy, and

proclaims that/ of all women of Greece only I bore the wreath” (Antikas, 1997). Curiously enough, Raschke (1996) calls the attention to the fact that from the inscription alone it is possible for anyone to easily assume that Kyniska was the charioteer herself, for nothing in the language of the epigram suggests it was a man who drove the horses.

The importance of wealth, rather than talent or training, in the equestrian competitions was recognized in antiquity as men were the ones who were rich and could afford the best horses; accordingly, this partly accounts for Kyniska’s victory.

Kyniska then became the very first woman in Greek history not only to win at the Olympic Games but also to discover loopholes in man-made rules and in a way, following Pausanias’s interpretation, ridicule them. She managed to prove to both ancient and modern men that the horses made all the difference between victory and defeat, and not ‘manhood’. In addition, Kyniska proved to be brave enough to take the initiative and to antagonize men in the hardest equestrian contest and came out as a winner. It is possible to conclude that Kyniska set a unique example of female dominance in its best form, athletic competition.

Other women followed Kyniska’s lead and won victories in the hippikos agon (horse races) at Olympia Sanctuary, but those triumphs only reinforced the idea that women were not involved with the real athletics of a man’s world. In the 103rd Olympic Games, 362 B.C., Spartan Euryleonis’ horse team won the first place and she was crowned with the olive wreath, and became the second stephanites female in the long Olympic history (Antikas, 1997).

In 268 B.C., in the 128th Olympic Games, Belistiche, a young woman from Macedon won the four-horse chariot race and the back-to-back race, the same way Kyniska had done. However, as Antikas (1997) points out, Belistiche was either a Mycenaean descendant or a barbarian slave; furthermore, she was subject of a dispute between men who wanted her for wife. As she was Ptolemy Philadelphos’s girl friend, some anti-Macedonians may have looked down on Ptolemy, preferring to consider Belistiche’s victory as a Ptolemaic 'show-off' or 'trophy wife' instead of considering her athletic career. Trophy wife or slave, however, Belistiche left her own mark in the Greek history of chariot racing and feminism. In doing so, she justified the etymology of her name, which derives from the Latin bellum and stix, meaning war and order, respectively.

Many years later, not in Olympia, but in Athens, four other women were victors at the Panathenaia from 190 B.C. to 178 B.C. (Antikas, 1997). The Panathenaia was one of the great Pan-Hellenic festivals of the city of Athens and its deity, Athena. It can be seen as a commemorative celebration of the city’s foundation. Although the great festival was performed every four years from 570 B.C. onward, there were also "small" Panathenaias every year. The

female victors were the wife and the three daughters of Polycrates of Argos (governor of the Ptolemaic Cyprus). They filled their father with pride, and humiliated the manly mentality of the Athenians who, along with Plato, preferred their women to be 'quiet and invisible' (Pomeroy, 1995). The girls of Polycrates proved that women, other than invisible, can also be invincible. It is important to remember that the use of the chariot also represented power as peoples were conquered in wars in which chariots played a crucial role.

The next women to prove men wrong and win at the 174th Olympic Games (84 B.C.) were Timareta and Theodota, both from Elis. Timareta's two-horse chariot race finished ahead of those owned by her male opponents, and Theodota's four-horse chariot won one more wreath for the lady owner (Antikas, 1997).

Finally, right in the middle of the Roman-controlled 233rd Olympiad (153 A.D.), Kasia, also from Elis, took her four-colt chariot to the nearby Olympic hippodrome, and won one more wreath, becoming the sixth and last woman to win wreaths in an all-male festival, in a certain way 'humiliating' her male contestants, who had invented the 'no women' principle (Antikas, 1997).

Furthermore, Antikas (1997) points out that along the centuries other brave girls were declared victors both at equestrian and athletic events of several festivals outside Olympia. Hedeia, a young girl from Tralleis (Caesarea), won not only the armed chariot race at the Isthmia but also the 200-meter race at Nemea and Sikyon in 45 A.D. Hedeia's sister Dionysia, also a great stadion-racer, won foot runs at the Isthmia and the Epidauria. Finally, the third sister Tryphosa won the stadion at Delphi and Corinth filling their father Hermesianax with pride for his Spartan origins. It is essential here to indicate that the girls ran the footraces probably against other girls, as a Corinth excavation has revealed that a contest for girls had been instituted at the Isthmian festival in the late 1st century B.C. (Lee, 1994). As for the 'royal' equestrian contests, one should also remember the queens Cleopatra II or Berenike II, an entrant at Olympia and a victor at Nemea.

Several Greek women, coming from regions as distant as Macedonia, Caesarea, Cyprus or Peloponnesus saw to that and won wreaths against men. Following a tradition set by the Amazons, northern and southern girls alike, with bravery, smart thinking, and above all with the conditions to breed the best horses, demonstrated that they also could be winners in chariot races, especially because neither would they compete in the nude, which was forbidden nor would they demonstrate any strength or athleticism since it was the horses that had the physical strength.

In addition, epigraphic evidence also attests women victors in horse races from the 4th century B.C. onwards in Attica, Thessaly and the Aegean islands (Mantas, 1995).

Table 5: Winning female charioteers in Ancient Greece

Female Winners	Origin	Event	Where	When
Kyniska	Sparta	Four-horse chariot	Olympic Games	396 and 392 B.C.
Euryleonis	Sparta	Chariot race	Olympic Games	362 B.C.
Belistiche	Macedon	four-horse chariot race and the back-to-back race	Olympic Games	268 B.C.
Polycrates' wife and 3 daughters	Athens	Chariot races	Athenaia	190 to 178 B.C.
Timareta	Elis	Two-horse chariot	Olympic Games	84 B.C.
Theodota	Elis	Four-horse chariot	Olympic Games	84 B.C.
Kasia	Elis	Four-horse chariot	Olympic Games	153 A.D.

Source: Antikas, 1997

More evidence appears beyond the ancient literature and goes to the arts. In her research about women charioteers, Rashke (1996) came across the Attic red-figure kylix of the collection of Walter and Molly Bareiss, currently in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. In her description of the object, she points out that on the outside of both sides A and B there is a representation of a chariot at full gallop drawn by a team of three horses. The author adds that the charioteer seems to be a female driver, who wears a long garment fastened at the waist. Her

short hair flies in the breeze and she holds a whip in her right hand although there is some evidence that the female charioteers at that time did not drive three-horse chariots (Rashke, 1996).

However, there seems to be some evidence from the Homeric poems and from archaic pottery for women driving mule-carts or similar means of local transportation. There is also evidence that Spartan women drove their own chariots to the festivals of Hyacinthus at Sparta, and they may even have been competitors in chariot-racing (Raschke, 1996). The tradition continued in Sparta and also included chariot-racing. During the Classical period (500 B.C. – 323 B.C.) in Athens, women appear to have been driven by men (or swept away by them in their chariots). There seems to be no provision for and no direct evidence of female participation in the Pan-Hellenic Games at this time, only goddesses and Amazons are portrayed by the artists of the period as driving their own chariots.

The Amazons constitute one branch (a division of a family descending from a particular ancestor) of women who are generally portrayed as driving their own chariots. It is crucial to recall that the one who directs the horses stands in a position of power once s-he (she or he) conducts the horses anywhere s-he wants to for his or her own purposes. The driver occupies then a position of power because he or she has the command of the horses (the ones that have physical strength and power). Of course, not only for this metaphorical reason, the Amazons also represent the worst fears of Greek manhood as they were supposed to be members of a matriarchal society; therefore, they would go to war and assume men's roles.

According to Goldstein (2003), the Amazons of Greek myth not only participated in fighting and controlled politics, but exclusively made up both the population and the fighting force. They supposedly lived in the area north of the Black Sea around about 700 years before the 5th century B.C., when the historian Herodotus reported hearing stories about them (Gilchrist, 1999). According to myth, the Amazons were an all-female society of fierce warriors who got pregnant by neighboring societies' men and then practiced male infanticide (or sent male babies away). Amazons are an important theme in various forms of Greek art and in subsequent cultural currents throughout history. Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman art incorporated battles with Amazons on a regular basis. The mythical Amazons had their capital in Themiscyra, and were ruled by a series of queens (Wilde, 1999). After being defeated by the Greeks and having escaped to Scythian territory, the Amazons interbred with the Scythians but refused to settle down with them. Once in Scythian territory, women were supposed to stay home to deal with the required domestic tasks. Instead, the Amazons invited their husbands to move to a new place where they probably formed the Sauromatian people. For Herodotus, this

account explained why Sauromatian women went riding to the hunt on horseback sometimes with and sometimes without their husbands, took part in war, wore the same clothes as men and had a marriage law which forbade any girl to marry until she had killed an enemy in battle (Goldstein, 2003). Herodotus' account may have been exaggerated; however, some archaeological evidence from the early Iron Age indicates that nomadic women in the region of the Eurasian steppes, particularly near modern-day northern Kazakhstan, rode horses, may have used weapons, and may even have had some degree of political influence, though probably not dominance in their society. These women had 'warrior status' of masculinity (Gilchrist, 1999). Jeanine Davis–Kimball recently reported that excavations at a Sauromatian site (4th century B.C. and 2nd century A.D.) near the Russia-Kazakhstan border "suggest that Greek tales of Amazon warriors may have had some basis in fact" (Davis-Kimball, 2002). In the sites Davis-Kimball discovered, there were seven graves of females with iron swords or daggers, bronze arrowheads, and whetstones to sharpen the weapons, suggesting that these seven females were warriors. One young girl's bowed legs "attest to a life on horseback" and "she wore a bronze arrowhead in a leather pouch around her neck". Another woman's body contained a bent arrowhead, suggesting that she had been killed in battle. Since females generally "were buried with a wider variety and larger quantities of artifacts than males", Davis Kimball concludes that "females... seem to have controlled much of the wealth" (Davis-Kimball, 2002). This might be an explanation why Greek men feared and naturally felt an estrangement from the Amazons, which was maybe best illustrated by the use of Amazon motifs as subjects in the sculptural decoration of a number of post-Persian War buildings in Athens, in which Amazons fight the Greeks and stand as a metaphor for the triumph of Greek civilization over barbarians. On the one hand, it is then possible to speculate, from a sociological perspective, that women who would take part in athletics could be trying to defy man's position of power represented by the athletic competitions. This could be perhaps the reason why male Greeks, in general, did not want their women to either engage in systematic physical exercise or participate in athletic contests. They thought that their women could become as strong as the Amazons and consequently question men's positions of power in society. On the other hand, it is also possible to speculate from a biological perspective that the Greeks wanted their women to keep their biological roles of bearing children in order to preserve the Polis, as women were considered as sources of reproduction at that time. If women had had another function, they would not have been able to procreate and the maintenance of the population would have then been in jeopardy.

Brought to light, the evidences that could confirm the challenging position of women athletes and warriors in Ancient Greece facing men's dominance are of course not sufficient

enough to review social roles. Nevertheless, in a society in which these roles were so clearly defined as a matter of preparation for wars and of city's survival, the few examples of changes in women's social positions become significant.

As the Greeks seemed to fear the supposed life style a group of women whose way of life did not conform to what was then considered to be common for women, they banned it through ridicule and negative reinforcement. Therefore, the status and role of women involved in sport appeared to be similarly encircled by with myths, preconceptions and prejudices (Glen-Haig, 1985).

CHAPTER IV
PRE-COUBERTIN ERA
PART C: AND THE GAMES WENT ON...

The Revival of the Games: Tradition Maintained

The objective of this section is to show that the revival of the Olympic Games in the modern era was not due entirely to Pierre de Coubertin, as he claimed it to be in some occasions, as for example in 1908, when he asserted that he had conceived the idea all by himself, at some unknown time (Young, 1998). Coubertin's Olympic Games were in fact the last phase of a long process that had started much earlier. In addition to several attempts to revive the Olympic Games before Pierre de Coubertin, other festivals that had inherited some Olympic characteristics included the participation of women and girls, contrary to the traditional customs of the original Olympic Games. There had been some humanistic movements and facts during the second millennium, which had helped spread the knowledge of the ancient Olympic Games and their ideals.

Although the Ancient Olympic Games were officially abolished in 393 A.D., it is possible to say that they had died long before that through the agony of humiliations and violations of the Games' institutions. The Roman Empire experienced a climate of depression and agony during the 3rd and 4th centuries. It was split in two in 286 A.D. by Roman Emperor Diocletian: the Western Roman Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire, also known as the Byzantine Roman Empire. The Western Roman Empire, which had been going through huge economic decline, would finish in 476 with the abdication of Romulus Augustus (Davies, 1998). As a matter of fact, it was the end of an era and the beginning of new times: the end of the Western Roman Empire gave birth to Europe (Davies, 1998), which took place during the Age of Migrations (roughly 300 - 700), also known as the European Early Middle Ages. The Greek pedagogue Dimitrios Manos, cited by Driega (1997), regarded the new times from the bias of determinism: "As for the nature of things, the same is true for the world of ideas. Nothing is lost, everything changes. The historic, political or cultural events as memories or consequences or as traditions and ideas, as well as the ideas themselves are alive and continue to lead their peculiar lives. They are born, they flourish and then decline, but they never really die. They most certainly survive, and sometimes this survival is such that we talk of a renovation or regeneration".

The Emperor Theodosius had to sign the "death certificate" of the Ancient Olympic Games in 393 A.D. because of the political and military interest of his very vast empire. Olympia, once the hub of Greece, was destroyed by the new civilization that succeeded the one who had

worshipped it. But Olympia's greatest idea, its soul, did not die. It survived the centuries, either dormant or disguised, waiting for a favorable context, exceptional conditions that should be met and the best opportunity to be revived. These conditions were met several times before Baron Pierre de Coubertin brought the Olympic Games 'back to life' in 1894 through the Sorbonne Congress, whose main objective was to 'revive' the Olympic Games. The social-historical conditions which actually enabled Coubertin to renovate the Olympic Games as an international event should not be forgotten as they paved all the way for the best conditions to be met.

1. Humanistic Ideals

The Ancient Olympic Games survived the centuries in the world of ideas and began to re-emerge during the Renaissance (between the 14th and the 16th centuries), which was in fact some kind of re-birth, a re-connection with classical antiquity. The Renaissance meant the rediscovery of ancient Roman and Greek Latin heritage through ancient manuscripts and the humanist method of learning. These new ideas from the past (called the "new learning" at the time) triggered the coming advancements in art, science and other areas that advanced through the centuries. Table 6 shows some distinguished humanistic personalities and their ideas connected with the Olympic Games.

From all the above-mentioned writers, philosophers and poets, the most important of them all is Panagiotis Soutsos (1806-1868). He played an essential role in the revival of the modern Olympic Games. The same way that happened with many Greek writers and poets of the early 19th century, Soutsos was expatriated when he was very young as Greece was in Turkish hands (1453 - 1821). Finally the Greeks conquered their nation back from the Ottomans and Greece became an independent country. However, Greek allies (Russia, France and Germany) imposed on the Greeks that they be ruled by an adolescent king from Bavaria, who would become Otto I, King of the Hellenes, in 1832 (Young, 2003). Otto I then went to the first capital of Greece, Nafplio, followed by Soutsos, the young poet, who started a newspaper in which he would publish some poems to celebrate the birth of the new nation. The Turkish government had left Greece behind modern 19th century Europe. Greece did not live through either Western Europe's Renaissance or its Enlightenment; therefore, the Greek infrastructure including its government and institutions were all in a very poor condition. Soutsos felt that Greece should struggle again to be recognized by the other nations the same way it had been in its glorious past as he wrote in his poems.

Table 6: Humanistic personalities and their ‘Olympic’ ideas (15th to 19th centuries)

Humanistic personalities	Action	Year	Country
Metteo Palmieri	Statesman, wrote an essay in which ideas of the Antic World including the Olympic Games were cited quite often.	1450	Italy
Johannes Aquilla	Organized Olympic exhibition	1516	Germany
Hans Sachs	Poem based on the Ancient Olympic Games.	1545	England
Hieronymus Mercurialis	Wrote the book ‘De Arte Gymnastica’, in which he stated that the ancient physical culture in preparation for the Olympic Games was to be followed.	1569	Italy
Petrus Faber	Published the book ‘Agonisticon’, using the Ancient Olympic Games for the aesthetic education of the upper classes.	1590	Italy
Thomas Kyd ‘the sporting Kyd’	English playwright: include the Olympic idea in one of his plays	1558-1594	England
Jean-Jacques Rousseau	Olympics as a symbol for multicultural education	1712-1778	France
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	Interest in the exact location of Olympia	1749-1832	Prussia
Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller	Olympic aesthetical education	1759-1805	Prussia
Gilbert West	Doctoral thesis about the Olympic Games	1776	England
Panagiotis Soutsos	Poems inspiring Greeks to revive the Olympic Games	1833	Greece

Sources: Driega (1997), Young (2003)

Soutsos knew that it would take a while before Greece was able to catch up and jump to the top of the new world order without emulating nations such as France or England. In 1833, Soutsos wrote the poem 'Dialogue of the Dead', in which the ghost of Plato looks up from the underworld, and surveys his native land, all in pieces, and wonders in a loud voice if he is actually looking at Greece. He then addresses the new nation: "Where are all your great theaters and marble statues?" "Where are your Olympic Games?" It is interesting to observe that the poem features both theater and sport.

As mentioned before, the Olympic Games of antiquity represented excellence, prestige and glory, the heart for all of the Greek culture. According to Young (2003), Soutsos chose the Olympic Games to stand for all the best characteristics of ancient Greece, which particularly included the theaters and the art. Soutsos had a complete idea of what the Olympic Games did represent. In another poem, the ghost of the ancient military hero, Leonidas, advises Greece to revive its Olympic Games. With the recurrence of this theme, the idea of reviving the Olympic Games became so much attractive to Soutsos that he took a very courageous step: to transform his ghosts' poetic idea into a real-life proposal. As a result, he sent King Otto a long document in 1835 proposing that Greece revive the ancient Olympic Games. Although the king had agreed with the idea, which included a great national festival with contests in industry, agriculture, and ancient Greek athletic games, he did nothing about it. Soutsos went back to the proposal again in 1842, but this time he made it printed and public, "Let the ancient Olympic Games be revived in Athens" (Young, 2003).

What Soutsos really wanted was to revive the Olympic Games as a step in restoring all of ancient Greece and he kept at it for decades. However, it was a lonely campaign, which he carried on all by himself. Nobody else seemed to care about reviving the Olympic Games. Finally, in 1856, someone else did care about Soutsos' proposal. It was Evangelis Zappas, who will be referred to here later.

The relevant observation at this point is that the specialized literature searched does not point to any woman among the known writers and poets who thought of the idea of the Olympic Games. This is understandable due to the cultural life women led at that time. Following the long time tradition of the past, male individuals had no perceptions of the presence of women in their ideas about the Olympic Games as opposed to the Olympic festivals that followed up to the 19th century.

2. The Major Games

Ideas started then to leave the realm of dreams to become actual projects in the 1600s. According to the specialized literature, there were several festivals that either received the name Olympic or that attempted to revive the Olympic Games before Pierre de Coubertin. These attempts are being considered major due to their caliber, repercussion and information available. Table 7 summarizes the most important ones.

The very first major attempt took place in 1612. Robert Dover (1582-1652) instituted a series of competitions in a place called Dover Hill, in England. Although Robert Dover has been attributed with coining the term 'Olimpick' for his Games, he made no specific mention of the originals in the poem he wrote to thank reputable poets of his time such as Michael Drayton, Ben Jonson, Thomas Randolph, who had published a book entitled 'Annalia Dubrensia', in 1636, with a collection of poems in praise of the Games (Burns, 1985). Eighteen poems that appear in the book describe the excitement of the contest, the good-humored rivalry, and, above all, the sense of good honest sportsmanship which Robert Dover engendered.

Table 7: The Pioneers and their attempts

Organizer	Event	Time period	Country
Robert Dover	'Dover's Olimpick' or 'Cotswold Games'	1612 - 1852	England
Gustav Johan Schartau	Scandinavian Olympic Games'	1834 and 1836	Sweden
Dr. William Penny Brookes	Wenlock Olympian Games	1850	England
Evangelis Zappas	"Zappas Games"	1859, 1870, 1875 and 1889	Greece

The term 'Olimpick' was used for the first time in the title of the aforementioned *Annalia Dubrensia* (1636), in the introductory letter, and in 18 of the poems. The use of the term had an appeal to many who made direct comparisons between events and practices at the original Olympic Games in Greece and what occurred on the Cotswold Hills. The poets may have had in mind the Puritans' opposition to sport, but they made it clear that Robert Dover was reviving

the glories of the golden ages. The poet Michael Drayton made direct comparisons between the original Greek Games and Robert Dover's Games, and other poets followed suit, showing that the activities on the hill matched what had happened in Greece. Remarkably, the use of the term 'Olimpick' persisted over the centuries. The posters for the 19th century mentioned 'noted Olympic Games and National Sports' and acknowledged the "highly celebrated and renowned Olympic Games, for which this true and distinguished Festival claims precedence of all others" (Burns, 1985).

Robert Dover presided over his 'Olimpicks' on horseback dressed in grand clothes with a hat, feather and ruff which originally belonged to the British king James I. According to the poems, the Cotswold Games were a magnificent spectacle with competitors summoned to the hillside by the sound of a hunting horn and there they took part in all sorts of competitive activities. As the Games were held annually, they were connected to English physical culture traditions, mixing competition with recreation. Horse racing and running were very popular and there were other events to test skill and strength such as jumping, wrestling, shin-kicking, sword play and throwing the sledge hammer and bar. Music and dancing also had their place and there were contests for pipe playing, singing and country dancing. Chess was also played in tents. The closing event was a big outdoor party with ox-grilling. The Games were carried on with great spirit in the reigns of Charles I, William and Mary, even after the death of Robert Dover. In the reign of Charles III, the fields were enclosed; mainly as a reason of Puritan influence (Driega, 1997).

According to Burns (1985), the events of Robert Dover's Games had some similarities with the original Olympic Games. Both festivals had running, wrestling, jumping, throwing the javelin, and horse-racing. Throwing the sledge could be compared to throwing the discus. In addition, Dover's Games were not confined to physical activities as they had a broader cultural base with events such as singing, and dancing, and the playing of musical instruments. However, contrary to the Ancient Olympic Games, the Olimpick Games of Cotswold had no significantly sexual or social discrimination as everybody was eligible to compete (Driega, 1997; Burns, 1985). Spectators particularly enjoyed the Smock Race for women in which a Holland shift (a woman's chemise) was the prize.

The prizes for the contests included not only silver trophies but also yellow badges won by as many as 500 'gallants'. The popularity of the Costwold Olimpick Games continued for the next 250 years. The Games stopped after the Whitsun Meeting of 1852. They had started to attract people from the newly industrialized Midlands and with the crowds came rowdiness which the locals did not want. The Olimpick Games have a long history, possibly going back to

the time when the hill was the site of the Kiftsgate Hundred Court. They were revived a hundred years later (1951) for the Festival of Britain. Finally, in 1965, the Robert Dover's Games Society was established with the annual responsibility of organizing the yearly Games (Robert Dover's Games Society, 2005).

It is important to point out that the specialized literature does not mention whether Robert Dover had any inspiration from the ancient Olympic Games, themselves. What is in fact suggested is that Dover's Olimpicks followed the local traditions for games and festivals and also that it could be an off-shoot of the Olympic Games in another re-organization.

The second attempt in chronological order took place in Sweden. An Olympic Association was founded in the summer of 1833 in Helsingborg, a small village in the province of Skane, on the southernmost tip of Sweden. The initiative belonged to Gustaf Johan Schartau (1794 - 1852), a gymnastics and fencing teacher at the Royal Karolinka Academy in the town of Lund. Schartau was a disciple of Per-Henrik Ling (1776-1839), the founder of Swedish gymnastics, whom he replaced in 1814, when Ling moved to Stockholm to start the famous 'Gymanstika Centralinstitutet' (Svahn, 1984). The Olympic Association organized what the newspapers of the time called either 'Olympic Competitions' or 'the Olympic Games' at Ramlösa in 1834 and 1836. These competitions drew thousands of spectators, while the number of participants was low - about 40. The contests were sports competitions of the same nature and inspiration as the Ancient Games. Sport and gymnastics were already known to the Swedes as they had had exposure to physical activities since the end of the 18th century, when there was an increase in physical education in Sweden. Several competitions followed, particularly in swimming, running, throwing and dressage contests along the years. After Sweden lost Finland to Russia in 1809 because of the Napoleonic Wars, the spiritual climate in Sweden was favorable to activities that the Olympic Association tried to encourage. The very strong patriotic spirit and the evocation of the glorious days of Sweden are the origin of Schartau's work (Svahn, 1984). The articles and newspapers researched by both Svahn (1984) and Driega (1997) make no reference to the presence of women either as spectators or participants.

The second half of the 19th century had two eminent and significant national Olympic revivals according to Young (1991): one in Greece, founded by Evangelis Zappas, and another one in England, founded by William Penny Brookes. Several Olympic meetings took place in both countries.

The third individual to stage an Olympic festival was Evangelis Zappas (1800-1865), born in Lambove, Ottoman-occupied north-western Greece, a philanthropist who financed the revival of the modern national and international Olympic Games approximately 1,460 years

after the Ancient Olympic Games had been banned by the first Christian Roman Emperor Theodosius II. Zappas began a military career as a mercenary soldier in the Ottoman army of Ali Pasha, who was the warlord and governor of the region. Zappas then joined the Greek resistance forces in the Greek War of Independence. In 1831, Zappas migrated to Romania, where he made a fortune with land and agriculture. With his wealth, he purchased shares in the Greek shipping industry. By the 1850s, he had become one of the wealthiest men in Eastern Europe. He managed his financial empire from his estate in Brostheni, near Bucharest. Zappas was inspired by the poetry and ideas of the Greek poet Panagiotis Soutsos to sponsor the revival of the Olympic Games. In 1856, Zappas wrote to King Otto, of Greece, proposing a permanent revival of the ancient Olympic Games and generously offered to finance the revival. On July 13, 1856, Zappas was praised in the *Helios* newspaper (published by Soutsos). The article suggested that Zappas's name should be ranked amongst the heroes of Ancient Greece when the Olympic Games were re-established. On November 15, 1859, the first Greek modern revival of the athletic Olympic Games took place in Athens, Greece. The Games were staged again in 1870, 1875 and 1889 although they were to have had a four-year cycle. They had varying degrees of success, chiefly because of bad organization. For example, the 1859 Games were held in a square in the streets of Athens, as no stadium was available, and the problem of keeping the streets clear of spectators was only one part of the resulting confusion. Although the Greek Olympic Games of 1859, 1870, 1875 and 1889 were staged and sponsored by Zappas, it is possible to observe that they failed not only because the people in general were not quite ready for them yet and Greece was a poor country, but mainly because the Rumanian government had sequestered Zappas's fortune as it did to all the Greeks who no longer lived in Greece. However, Zappas's Games were intended to be entirely Greek, which means, for Greeks only and for the promotion of Greek fitness, athletics, art, industry and so forth. They lacked the deeper inspiration and vision of the international force, which was later on the purpose of the Baron Pierre de Coubertin (Young, 1991).

The fourth individual to stage an Olympic festival was Dr. William Penny Brookes (1809-1895). According to Rühl (2005), Dr. William Penny Brookes was the son of the local physician William Brookes in Much Wenlock/Salop. He had studied medicine in London (Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals), Padua, and Paris before he returned to Much Wenlock in 1831 to take over his father's surgery. Because of his various functions and offices, he became the philanthropist and supporter of his village. Besides being Commissioner for Roads and Taxes, he improved the water-supply system, helped in renewing the Guildhall and Church, in the building of the Corn Exchange and a Hospital. He was chairman of the Wenlock Gas Company,

which furnished street-lamps and was successful in supplying Much Wenlock with an own siding of the Much Wenlock and Severn Valley Railway. Brookes became a Justice of the Peace in 1841 and founded the Wenlock Agricultural Reading Society (W.A.R.S.) with a library, a reading-room, and a museum. The library also offered classes in arts, music, and botany to help improve the intellectual standard of the rural population, particularly the working classes (Virtual Schropshire, 2005). Brookes also created the very first tree nursery, next to the W.A.R.S. headquarters, with woods which were visited by Coubertin when he went to Much Wenlock in 1890 (DaCosta, 1997).

In order to promote the moral, intellectual and physical improvement of the local people, Brookes also developed a “Wenlock Olympian Class” (W.O.C.), under the wings of the W.A.R.S. in 1850, which staged eleven “Annual Meetings” on local level from 1850 to 1860. The objectives of such initiative were to encourage out-door recreation and to award prizes for “skill in Athletic exercises and proficiency in intellectual and industrial attainments”. The first Wenlock Games seemed to be a revival of the manly sports and outdoor recreations of a past English golden age. According to Mullins (2005), Brookes got much of the inspiration for the revival of the English traditions from Joseph Strutt’s Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, published in 1777.

Strutt (1749-1802) referred to some sporting activities as derived from the Romans, which demonstrate that there might have been some real connection between the Romans and the Englishmen: “We are not, however, to conceive that martial exercises in general were confined to the education of young noblemen: the sons of citizens and yeomen had also their sports resembling military combats. Those practiced at an early period by the young Londoners seem to have been derived from the Romans; they consisted of various attacks and evolutions performed on horseback, the youth being armed with shields and pointless lances, resembling the Ludus Trojæ, or Troy game, described by Virgil. These amusements, according to Fitz Stephen, who lived in the reign of Henry II (1133 -1189), were appropriated to the season of Lent; but at other times they exercised themselves with archery, fighting with clubs and bucklers, and running at the quintain (“a post with a crosspiece having at one end a broad board and at the other end a sandbag used especially in the Middle Ages in a sport, the object of which was to strike the board with a lance while riding under and to get past without being hit by the sandbag” - Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 2002); and in the winter, when the frost set in, they would go upon the ice, and run against each other with poles, in imitation of lances, in a joust; and frequently one or both-were beaten down, not always without hurt; for some break their arms, and some their legs; but youth, emulous of glory, seeks these exercises

preparatory against the time that war shall demand their presence. These kinds of pastimes, no doubt, were practiced by the young men in other parts of the kingdom” (Strutt, 1903).

Between 1850 and 1860, 44 various colourful events featured in the program carried out on the local racecourse. The events, which were newly introduced, kept or abandoned soon after were the following: (1) in 1850: cricket, foot-races (all ages), football, quoits (“game played with quilts that are thrown from a mark toward a pin in an attempt to ring the pin or to come as near to it as possible” - Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 2002), standing high leap, standing long leap, hopping (50 yds./one leg); (2) in 1851: foot-race (old women), 200 yds., 880 yds., hurdling (one round), archery, hammer-throwing, stone-throwing (15 lb.); (3) in 1852: wheelbarrow-race, jingling match, sewing (girls), knitting (women); (4) 1853: running high leap, running long leap, knitting (girls), arithmetics (boys), writing (boys); (5) 1854: walking (880 yds.), recitation (boys/girls), 110 yds. (boys); (6) in 1855: prison base; (7) in 1856: sack race; (8) in 1857: donkey-race, reading/spelling (boys/girls), bible history (boys/ girls), English history (boys/girls), drawing (boys/girls), pole-climbing; (9) in 1858: tilting at the ring, pigrace; (10) in 1859: javelin (distance), spear (ring), essay on physical. education, poem on M.W.G., solo singing (girls), glee singing; and (11) in 1860: ode on victor in tilting, rifle shooting (Rühl, 2005). The tilting event was probably taken from Strutt’s description of this medieval tournament contest. Introduced to the Wenlock Games in 1858, it was a great success and the high point of Wenlock Olympian Games. The mounted contestant, dressed in an obligatory medieval costume, competed to spear a small ring, which hung from a bar over the course, with a lance as they galloped beneath it (Rühl, 2005).

As it can be noted, the events offered allowed for the presence and participation of girls and women, even older women. In fact, Mullins (1983) mentions that the first Wenlock Olympian Games, were closer to the traditional English rustic sports than to the classical Olympic Games, which accounts for the presence of women and girls.

According to Rühl (2005), some events were restricted to the local people only. However, there were others which were signed up for by athletes from as far as London and Liverpool. Importantly enough, drunkenness, profane language, and misbehavior were fined 5d (‘denarius’, equivalent to 1/20th of a pound), which showed that undesired behavior was not to be pursued and people not to be disrespected.

The Olympic web of events then began to weave itself in strange and wonderful ways. The news of the Greek revival, sponsored by Zappas, reached not only Paris, with its Greek expatriates, but also Dr. Brookes in rural Much Wenlock, in England, thanks to some nameless Olympic hero who changed the course of history by writing from Athens to a Shropshire

newspaper on September 4 about the Greek Olympic news. A few days later, on October 6, 1858, Eddowes's Shrewsbury Journal carried a small news item about the Zappas Olympic Games to be revived after 1550 years in Athens. This little advertisement, as Young (1996) points out, not only moved Brookes to a new Olympic revival activity, but it also planted the seeds of internationalism in Brookes's mind, which destined later the modern Olympic movement to be international from its very start.

After Brookes read about Evangelis Zappas's Olympic Games (in a local newspaper) about to occur in Athens, he wrote to the Greek organizers in 1858 and then exchanged correspondence with them, and Zappas in particular. Brookes even sent them his 1858 Much Wenlock program as suggestion for the Greek Olympic Games (Young, 1996) that were about to happen. However, not all the games and activities were included because the Greeks felt that the program sent was too long. Only contests with male participants were included, leaving out the competitions in which women and children participated in, this way repeating the Ancient Greek Olympic traditions.

Brookes donated the "Wenlock Prize" worth £10 for the winner of the tilting event in 1859, which was not included in the Greek program. The money was donated to the organizing committee. In November of the following year, Brookes became president of the "Wenlock Olympian Society" (W.O.S.), which had come from the W.O.C., separated from the W.A.R.S. The W.O.S. had become independent. After he consulted with members of the W.O.C. in March 1860, Brookes formally inaugurated the "Shropshire Olympian Society" (S.O.S.) in 1861, which staged four "Shropshire Olympian Games" in Much Wenlock (1860), Wellington (1861), Much Wenlock (1862), and Shrewsbury (1864). After he studied the 1859 program of Zappas's Olympic Games, Brookes started correspondence with the Greek Queen Amalia in October 1860 and decorated his "Wenlock Olympian Games" (W.O.G.) with a pseudo-hellenic varnish in the following years. The Wenlock Olympian Games were staged on the "Olympian" field, Greek inscriptions in the ribbons, victors were crowned with laurel and olive wreaths, bronze, silver, and gold medals were coined, the last ones with the effigy of Nike, Greek goddess of victory, encircled by a Greek passage taken from Pindar, poet of ancient Greece.

Mullins (1983) offers a brief description of a typical Games Day: "The festivities began outside the Gaskell Arms, the town's principal inn, where after a stirring speech by Brookes, alluding to the classical Games, the importance of physical education and the dangers of national degeneracy, a procession was formed. Leading the procession was the young herald on a white horse, followed by the Society's committee and officers, the Wenlock band, school children singing and strewing flowers from their baskets and town organizations such as the

Oddfellows or Foresters in their regalia, with the rear brought up by the mounted tilters in tilting costume with brightly painted lances. The town was always decked out for the occasion with banners strung across the street wishing success to the Games and prosperity to the borough, and flags, flowers and evergreens adorned many of the houses. Once at the Linden Field, there was often a ceremony of dedication of a newly-planted tree commemorating a royal birth or honoring a statesman or soldier, with the tree receiving a libation of champagne. The Games then proceeded, with the tilting event in particular being accompanied by considerable ceremony. The previous year's winner threw down a gauntlet as a challenge to the other competitors. At the conclusion of the contest, the herald announced the winner's name. He came forward and knelt at the feet of a lady who crowned him with a laurel wreath and received a kiss on the hand. The champion tilter was reckoned the champion of all England and wore a sash embroidered with 'Honor my Guide'. Both the break for luncheon and a formal dinner in the evening were opportunities for inspiring speeches from Brookes, honored guests and the Society's officers as well as a long series of toasts to the Queen, Country, Borough, Dr. Brookes, Physical Education and the Honored Guest'.

It is possible to note in the above description the complete absence of women, except for the lady who crowned the hero with a laurel wreath. This could mean that either women did not participate in the Games at all or that their participation was totally ignored by the sports historians who produced most of the research about this subject. Since these individuals belong to the male sex and tend to identify with the main trend of male Olympic Games, it is possible that games and activities developed by women have been left out of the descriptions because men have tended to regard women's activities as unimportant (Leigh, 1974).

This idea of the coronation of the male athlete and hero by a lady inspired Coubertin in one of his declarations about the participation of women in the modern Olympic Games as mentioned in Chapter V.

As the Wenlock program became more like the Greek program, the javelin (in 1859) and three pentathlons (in 1868 and 1869) were added. Rühl (2005) points out that the following 26 new events were added to the 34 Wenlock Olympian Games from 1861 to 1895: tilting with ponies (1861); singlestick (1862); water-color drawing and throwing the cricket ball (1865); quoits - distance (1866); pentathlon in gymnastics, pole leaping, steeple chase with water leap, three-legged race (1867); sword exercise, and pentathlon for amateurs (1868); shot-putting 32 lb. right/left, pentathlon for children, hurdling 440 yds. handicap, and boxing (1869); 1876-1878: bicycle races for 1 to 3 miles (1876-1878); Zulu-contest (1879); tug-of-war (1880); brass band contest (1882); tricycle race for 1 mile (1885); obstacle race (1891); tent pegging (1892);

Victoria cross race and Balaclava melee (1893); umbrella/cigar race (1894); and gimcrack race (1895). Overall, these events were open to amateurs only, to farm laborers, coal-mine and quarrymen, locals, people from Salop, or to all England. Professionals started to participate in 1868 and handicapping began in 1869. It is important to notice the variety offered and the fact that although the participation of women was not explicitly stated, the participation of children was welcome in some events. It is then possible to speculate that women could have taken part in some of the events.

In addition to the development of the programs, Brookes co-founded the “National Olympian Association” (N.O.A.) in 1865, inaugurated in John Hulley’s Gymnasium in Liverpool, where six National Olympian Games on national level were staged: London (1866), Birmingham (1867), Wellington (1868), Much Wenloch (1874), Shrewsbury (1877), and Hadley (1883). Their first Festival, which took place at the First World Fair, Crystal Palace, London, was a great success and attracted 10,000 spectators (Much Wenlock Society, 2005).

The aim of the N.O.A. was to provide a sport association for amateur athletes: “to form a center of union for the different Olympian, Athletic, Gymnastic, Boating, Swimming, Cricket, and other similar Societies” (Rühl, 2005). However, the Amateur Athletic Club, later to become the Amateur Athletics Association (A.A.A.) and now Britain’s ruling athletics body, was hastily formed by an elite of men who were determined that British sport should be restricted to “amateurs and gentlemen”, in other words, athletes from the public schools and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and should be under their control with its base in London, except women. The N.O.A. faced powerful opposition, but by its very existence, forced the A.A.A. to open its doors to ‘every grade of man’ (Much Wenlock Society, 2005).

Brookes renewed his contacts with Greece again in 1877 and with the help of J. Gennadius, Greek Chargé d’Affaires in London, managed to convince King George I to donate a silver cup with a Greek inscription for the winner in the pentathlon at the 5th National Olympian Games in Shrewsbury, called “the modern Olympia of the British” by the Greek king.

Brookes’s Olympian Games had been so successful as they were very well-known around England and around the European continent as well. But they tended to spread around the world and had influence in Brazil. It is important to notice that two Olympic Clubs appeared in Niterói, Brazil, in the 1880s, organized by British citizens, probably due to immigration. Although there seems to be some connection with the Much Wenlock Games due to similar dates, names, and the English immigration that had taken place at that time, the link is still not very clear in spite of the primary sources consulted by Cantarino (2005).

Finally, Brookes tried, with no success, to organize an International Olympian Festival, to be held in Athens, in the fall of 1880. His dream of an international edition of the Olympic Games was postponed.

Ten years later, in October 1890, when Brookes was 81 years old, he met Pierre de Coubertin, who was then 27 years old. Brookes was ready to pass the torch after 40 years of Olympian campaigns. Coubertin had come to England to learn more about athletics, physical education, and school sports as he was still a newcomer at Olympic Games (Young, 1996). Up until that time Coubertin was not at all concerned with reviving the Olympic Games, as it is attested not only by Coubertin's own writings and Brookes's archives (Young, 1991, 1996, 1998) but also by the writings of an Argentine source cited by Torres (2005). Alejo Peyret, a member of the Argentine delegation to the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition in which Coubertin hosted the International Congress for the Propagation of Physical Exercise, wrote a very detailed report of the Congress in which, according to Torres, it was very clear that Coubertin's focus was on improving France's poor physical training system and not on restoring the Olympic Games.

Coubertin and Brookes met several times and Brookes told Coubertin all about the Olympic movement of their time, including his proposal for international Olympic Games (Young, 1991). Brookes told Coubertin about the medieval ceremony he had included in the Olympian Games, which was full of ceremony and pageantry, which enchanted Coubertin and entered the modern Olympic Games. Coubertin was especially taken with Brookes's inclusion of elegantly dressed women in the pageant and the fact that a young woman crowned the winning tilter (Young, 1996). After listening to Brookes's ideas, Coubertin felt very much attracted to the notion that Englishmen were 'fondly devoted to manly games and outdoor sports' (Coubertin, 1890). Brookes clearly had a similar vision of the past and spoke of the 'reinstitution of the games of our forefathers...to maintain that good feeling between high and low, rich and poor, which happily for us is the national characteristic of Old England' (Coubertin, 1890). After Coubertin learned of the Olympic movement, he immediately joined it. The torch can be said to have passed from Brookes to Coubertin, and Coubertin indeed appeared to have adopted most of Brookes's ideas after acknowledging them succinctly in his 1890 article in *La Revue Athlétique*, and also making an indirect allusion to Zappas's Games in Greece and the influence of Brookes upon them (Coubertin, 1890).

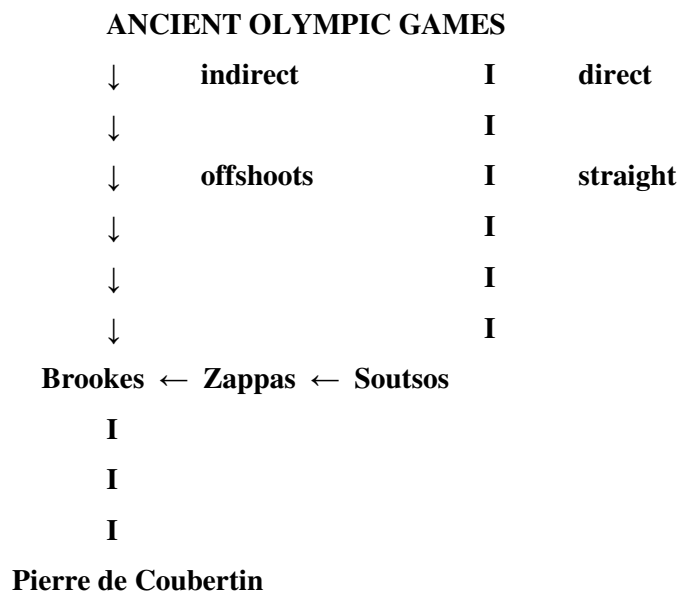
Two months later, Coubertin wrote that Brookes deserved the merit for the survival of the Olympic Games. Coubertin and Brookes kept contact through letters and Coubertin invited Brookes to the 1894 Congress in Paris. However, although Brookes could not accept the

invitation as his health had been deteriorating, he still managed to write to the Greek prime minister to support Coubertin. Brookes died in 1895, four months before the Olympic Games were staged in Athens in 1896.

As mentioned by Rühl (2005), Coubertin forgot Brookes's Olympic merits around 1908, when Coubertin reported that "this romantic English practitioner of another age had turned his little village into a metropolis of popular sports". The Wenlock Olympian Games were discontinued during the World Wars, revived in 1950, taken up again in 1977, when it welcomed eminent visitors of the Olympic community, and today it offers a large program with modern events (Rühl, 2005).

Soutsos's poems and ideals were inspiration to Zappas's Greek revival of the Olympic Games, which in turn inspired Dr. William Penny Brookes (1809-1895) from Much Wenlock, Shropshire, United Kingdom, who in turn incited Baron Pierre de Coubertin from Paris, France, to found the International Olympic Committee in 1894. Diagram 1 illustrates this interesting relationship.

Diagram 1: Two-way Development



Evangelis Zappas died in 1865 and left his vast fortune for the modern Greek Olympic Games to be held every four years. In his will he stated that the ancient Panathenian stadium was to be excavated and restored for the athletic games and for an adequate building to be erected for an exposition. The building was called the Zappeion. At the 1896 Athens Olympic

Games the building was used as an indoor arena for the fencing competitions (Zappas.Org, 2000)

Coubertin did not have the idea of international Olympic Games before he ever had contact with Brookes. What truly happened, according to Young (1998), was that Coubertin ceased to praise Brookes for his ideals in 1908, when he badly misrepresented Brookes's intentions and activities, omitting Brookes's Olympic Games and proposals. Coubertin never brought Brookes's ideas back up again. Brookes could have been far ahead of his times and Coubertin at the very forefront of his.

3. The Minor Games

In addition to these major attempts to revive the ancient Olympic Games, there were other proposals pointed out by Svahn (1984), Young (1991), Driega (1997) and Rühl (1997), which took place in Europe and in North America as other countries started organizing athletic games and festivals starting in 1850; however, they did not have a greater dimension in terms of repercussion. In addition the information available is still very little.

The initiatives which were actually carried out included: (1) the Drehberg Olympic Games, which was the program of the Ancient Games carried out by Prince Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau in Dessau, Germany, for the particular purpose to celebrate his wife's birthday, staged annually from 1777 and 1799 (Industrielles Gartenreich, 2005; Schwartz, 2005); (2) Games of Wörlitz, still Germany, in 1779, whose initiative had chiefly to do with paramilitary preparation (Driega, 1997); (3) Letrinon Games devised in 1838 by authorities of the little town of Letrinon, close to Olympia, who suggested that the Olympic Games should be organized every four years in Pyrgos (Svahn, 1984); (4) the Montreal Olympic Games, which took place in Canada in August 28 and 29, 1844 (Driega, 1997); (5) the Liverpool Grand Olympic Festivals, organized by the Liverpool Athletic Club, happened in 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865 and 1867 (the 1866 edition took place in North Wales) (Rees, 1997; Rühl, 1997); (6) the Morpeth Olympic Games in Northumberland, England, which were attended by professionals (Rühl, 1997); and (7) the Lake Palic Olympic Games in former Hungary (Rühl, 1997).

In the realm of ideas, there were still the following: (1) in France in 1790, Condorcet, Daunou and Lekanol, the revolutionary republican pedagogues, saw the possibility of a democratic leveling in the revival of the games, certainly with the idea of rounding off education for the formation of better citizens, and, as in Germany a few years earlier, with a definite paramilitary objective (Driega, 1997), and (2) the Swede Fredrik Bogislaus von

Schwerin (1764-1834) proposed that Sweden revived the Olympic Games and that each town and village in Sweden should build a sports ground (Svahn, 1984).

In spite of the little information about these Olympic Games (other than what was published in the newspapers of that time, researched by eminent scholars), it is important to mention a few characteristics of some of these festivals.

Driega (1997) points out that the inhabitants of the village of Letrinal (the city is in fact Letrinon, according to Rühl, 1997), Greece, agreed that to the memory of the liberation of the country from Turkish despotism, the ancient Olympic Games should be revived in every fourth year. The first of the planned series was staged in 1838 with a big popular feast. But there is no indication that more were held.

The “Morpeth Wrestling and Athletic Games”, founded by Edm. Dobson in 1873 under the patronage of Lord Decies of Bolam, had consisted of wrestling, 120 yds., high jump, pole leap, 440 yds., and 440 yds. hurdles up to 1881 before they changed their name to “Morpeth Olympic Games” in 1882 (Rühl, 1997).

The Drehberg Olympic Games (Festival Hill) were discovered in 1989 by students of Dessau’s ‘Philanthropinum’ (Industrielles Gartenreich, 2005). The Festival took place at the heart of the Dessau Wörlitz Garden Realm. From 1777 (some say 1776) to 1799, every year on 24 September, Prince Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau (1740-1817) celebrated the birthday of his wife, Luise von Anhalt-Dessau, with horse races and gymnastic contests organized in Drehberg, outside Wörlitz. Prince Franz would invite people to take part in a festive competition based on the Olympic Games of antiquity. As a kind of ‘parlor game’, the day’s events were supposed to exemplify life in perfect harmony in the future, when princes no longer played a role. A ‘social contract’ such as one formulated by Rousseau may have provided a point of reference for the Drehberg festival. The pantheonic circular structure located at the center of the Drehberg, which was demolished in 1826, had been erected on a burial mound. As the festival ‘united’ the opposites ‘life and death’, the Drehberg Games symbolized - within the realization of the Dessau Wörlitz reform project - the humanist message of antiquity involving the practical use of the countryside in creating a society based on solidarity as well as aesthetics, an aim which is still seen as a challenge today. The monument's cultural impact is demonstrated by the evolution of a festival culture linked to the everyday life of the inhabitants and to the new social aura that results from it (Industrielles Gartenreich, 2005).

The contestants of the Drehberg or Wörlitz Olympic Games were boys and girls from the surrounding schools as they included the famous model of progressive, child-oriented education of Das Philanthropin, founded by the Prince Franz himself. As a matter of fact, the

Wörlitz Games were played by schoolchildren to give a competitive edge to the physical training that was part of their humanistic education. In keeping with other aspects of the prince's personality, the event was not restricted to athletics. The day was also devoted to the celebration of the Saturnalia, the Roman festival of wild joy, even orgies. It was a day when class differences were ignored and rulers could fraternize, as the Prince did, with their subjects. Prince Franz met with poets, artists, philosophers, educators and economists with whom he was on friendly terms and with the peasants from the villages in the Wörlitz area. Marriageable girls were encouraged to dance with potential mates until deep into the night. They were considered part of a pedagogic and social ideal, which today are regarded as far from the spirit of the modern Olympic Games. The one-day Drehberg festival became famous as it drew thousands of visitors and served as some type of propaganda for Wörlitz as a 'model' for the world. Even Goethe attended and recommended it to the entire court of Weimar (Schwartz, 2005).

The Montreal Athletic Games were reported by the newspaper 'Montreal Gazette' to be open to all competitors, including Indians, who participated in the La Crosse contest on the first day. On the second day they played against whites, becoming winners because of their agility and swiftness (Driega, 1997). Although the Montreal Athletic Games were open, there is no reference to the participation of women.

4. Two types of Olympic Games

In spite of the little information available that was gathered about the Olympic festivals that preceded Coubertin's revival of the Olympic Games, it is possible to observe that from all the events described above only the Dover's Olympic Games, the Wenlock Olympian Games, and the Drehberg Olympic Games referred to the participation of women and/or girls as opposed to the other Games, which seemed to be devoted to principles related to the original Olympic Games and which did not include women. These three festivals might have come from offshoots of the ancient Olympic Games developed along the centuries through many cultures outside Greece disseminated through Roman customs and culture. Rühl (1997) mentions that although the ancient Olympic Games were extinguished in 393 A.D. by Emperor Theodosius, they lingered on until 521 A.D., when they were stopped by the Emperor Justinus. The explanation for that is that the town of Antiochia (Syria, today Turkey) had purchased a license from the governors of Elis, Greece, under the Emperor Commodus (161-192 A.D.) to stage Olympic Games for 90 Olympiads (360 years). This license expired in 521 A.D. If the Olympic Games were happening in Antiochia because of a supposed contract, the question remains that why would they not be happening explicitly or disguised in other towns and in other countries spread

by the Romans? It is not likely that any other town would have paid Elis to stage the Olympic Games, but they might have taken place if appropriately modified. It should be remembered that the original Olympic Games themselves inspired the organization of the other three crown Games and about 50 other local festivals in Greece. Therefore, their tradition and their influence might have been spread in terms of place and time, reaching all over the Roman Empire during many centuries.

In addition, Svahn (1984) states that, although the Ancient Olympic Games were banned in 393 A.D., there is no formal proof that they had really been finished. The Olympic Games could have continued for some time afterwards and in some other regions within the extensive Roman Empire, whose end was in 476 A.D. for the Western Empire and in 1453 for the Eastern Empire or Byzantine Empire, which had fallen to the Ottoman Turks. As tradition is very powerful, it is possible that the seeds of the original Ancient Olympic Games might have survived the centuries in small communities either disguised or adapted to local customs that permitted the participation of the locals, which included women and girls. As a result, new games and activities might have been added to the various celebrations, which gave another face to the original Greek festival.

Some of these developments of the ancient Olympic Games that survived the years might have acquired a different flavor as they were staged in different countries and in different towns. The Dover's Olympic Games and the Much Wenlock Olympian Games were both staged in England, which had been under the Roman Empire from 44 A.D. until 434 A.D. This can partly explain Rühl's theory as the Romans inherited Greek legacies and disseminated them. Dessau, Germany, where the Drehberg Olympic Games were held, might have had a similar situation as it became an important center in 1570, when the principality of Anhalt was founded, having Dessau as the capital of this state within the Holy Roman Empire.

As a result, it is possible to establish two ways for the revival of the Olympic Games. The first one points in the direction of the transformation and contextualization of the Olympic Games as they were at the same time preserved and transformed within small towns featuring particular characteristics. This could be called the indirect preservation of the Olympic Games as they were modified and had to adapt to the different local customs and did not have as their first aim the re-institution of the Olympic Games as they had been. Women then participated in these festivals.

The second pathway, the direct way, is the straight adoption of the Olympic Games rites and procedures the way they were in antiquity, with the same rituals and beliefs. These versions that 'rescued' the original Olympic Games in their 'original' form appeared particularly during

the 19th century emphasizing various ‘manly’ characteristics of the Olympic Games such as: (1) militarism as it is the case of the Wörlitz Games; (2) athleticism such as the Liverpool Grand Olympic Festivals, and (3) glory such as the Letrinon Games and, in particular, the Zappas Games. The latter were so important in terms of preservation of ideals and traditions that William Penny Brookes modified his Wenlock Olympian Games in order to make them more ‘Olympic’ as he had established contact with Evangelis Zappas. Women then did not participate in these festivals.

Most of the Olympic revivals occurred in the 19th century because of the discovery of Greek ruins in Olympia; however, the veneration of Greece had begun in the 15th century during the period of humanism and Renaissance, and reached its peak with the publication of the 18th and 19th century German classics (Ueberhorst, 1976). In 1776 the British archaeologist Richard Chandler from Oxford discovered the ruins using some information he had gotten by accident (Driega, 1997). A Turkish officer had mentioned to him about ‘....a big church and statue of wrestlers around it near the village of Miraka’. In spite of the efforts to unearth the site, systematic excavations only started in 1829 by a French scientific expedition sent there by the French government when troops occupied the Peloponnesus. However, research was suddenly discontinued after the layer of earth which covered the Temple of Zeus had been cleared away and several fragments of sculptures were discovered, taken to France and exhibited at the Louvre. When the Greek government was informed of the looting of artifacts, the excavation was stopped.

However, it was only 45 years after that that work was resumed, this time by German scholars. The reconstruction of the Ancient Olympic Games started with the work of linguists, archaeologists and art-historians. The main dig-up took place between 1875 and 1881, headed by the German professor and archaeologist Ernst Curtius (1814-1896), who had been interested in Ancient Greece for a very long time as he had visited the site at least three times. Curtius had even given a lecture on ancient Olympic Games in Berlin on January 10, 1852. It was still a long time before anyone thought of giving new life to the ancient Olympic Games. The excavation and research are being continued to this day by the German Institute of Archaeology in Athens, and the Ephorate of Antiquities in Olympia and the revival of the Olympic Games seemed to be closely associated with it.

As it could be observed, women seemed to have some discontinued participation in the Games described so far, which is an aspect of historical significance. In other words, women’s need or request seemed to have been always there but their participation depended on the opportunity and on the male acceptance of their presence in the Games.

CHAPTER V
THE COUBERTIN ERA
PART A: INTRODUCTION

The major objective of this chapter is to study Coubertin's influence upon the Olympic Movement and some of its early consequences in relation to the participation of women in the Olympic Games. The study includes not only an examination of the period Coubertin lived in, the position of women in the 19th century, but also Coubertin's life, the foundation of the IOC, the very first Olympic Games and data about the very first heroines of sport.

Section B of this chapter summarizes the position of women in society and in sport during the 19th and early 20th centuries based on legacies of previous centuries. The analysis is centered on Great Britain as the cradle of modern sport and as Coubertin's source of inspiration for his Olympic ideas, principles and doctrines although some background of other countries such as France and Germany are also presented in a condensed form. The objective of this section is to display details of women's life during the Victorian era, the origins of this period and how it may have exercised important influence not only upon women's sports practices but also on Baron Pierre de Coubertin himself.

Section C focuses on Pierre de Coubertin's life and on the influences that might have contributed for the formation of his personality and for the interference with his thinking and attitudes related to women in sport: influences from the original Olympic Games, from religion, from British social life, sports, and prominent figures in sports, from his own background as an aristocrat and from sport and education.

Section D introduces the foundation of the International Olympic Committee and the position of women as athletes in the Olympic Games that start in 1896 until the Amsterdam Olympic Games in 1928. The objectives are (i) to examine the very nature of the beginning of the IOC and its first members; (ii) to analyze women's participation in these early Games and describe this participation as it did happen, particularly according to primary sources such as the Official Reports of these Games; (iii) to establish once and for all the status of women's participation in these early Games and with it discard speculations and false ideas; (iv) to indicate Alice Milliat as the very first woman to start an institution (FSFI) that would encourage women to become sports leaders, and (v) to analyze Milliat's role in the acceptance of track and field by the IOC in 1928.

Section E presents a tribute to the female Olympians who participated in the early Olympic Games from 1896 until 1912. The study reveals not only the names of these athletes but also the number and the sports they contested.

CHAPTER V
THE COUBERTIN ERA
PART B: SITUATION OF WOMEN AND SPORT DURING THE 19th AND EARLY 20th
CENTURIES

Since women's participation in sport is directly related to women's participation in society, the objective of this section is to present a view of women's position in society and in sport in the 19th and early 20th centuries in European and North-American societies, but primarily concentrating on France and England.

As modern sport came originally from Britain and as Pierre de Coubertin was influenced by British culture and shared some of its aspects, it becomes essential that a description of sport and society be enhanced and presented in more detail as sport was spread around the European and the North-American continents. Sports comprise a family of different activities developed under specific conditions of rapidly industrializing 19th century Britain and spread to the rest of the world through emigration, emulation and imperialism. These views seemed to have exercised influence upon Coubertin's behavior and proposals as it will be presented in Part C of this dissertation.

During the 19th century, according to Polley (1998), sport had become a public forum for celebrating, displaying, and reproducing masculinity. If this represents what has been suggested, the dominant masculine image in the western world can be that of the man (not the woman), hunter, competitor, hero and conqueror; therefore, it is not a surprise that sport should reflect this. Without any doubt, women have been and are hugely under-represented in all types of sport: from participation in both professional and amateur sports to financial rewards, media coverage, media representation, and, above all, in sport establishments and institutions.

Curiously enough, ever since the rise of modern sport in the 19th century, while sport has often appeared as an institution created for and by men, ironically, it is the women who have supported and rendered service to this institution. With their work, women have provided the space for others to participate in sport, contributing directly to individual sporting careers and generally servicing sport as an institution (Thompson, 1999). Two out of many explanations for this fact stand out: (1) the under-representation of women in sport reflects prevailing sexist attitudes in a patriarchal society, developed along centuries and (2) it is part of a capitalist economic system that is designed to keep women as a means of cheap labor, pushing them to take up several shifts. As a result, women would end up having little time for participation in sport.

The situation that appears during the 19th century in Europe and in North America shows very clearly where women were coming from and where women were going to. The 19th and especially the 20th century represent an era of huge changes, transitions and assertion for women, when important and decisive steps were taken for women to participate more in sports as athletes and administrators, assuming roles that belonged to men.

1. Situation in England

England has been hailed as the cradle of modern sport, developed there particularly during the 19th century. The major period in the 19th century in England is the Victorian era, considered the height of the British industrial revolution and the apex of the British Empire. It is often defined as the years from 1837 to 1901, when Queen Victoria reigned. It is also important to examine England during the pre-Victorian period to clarify the context where modern sport came from.

a. Pre-Victorian times

Little is known about British sport before the 16th century, when the English language was finally re-established as the official language of the country (Crystal, 1995). According to the specialized literature, it is very difficult to find sources that describe sport before that time except that the Roman soldiers had brought organized sport to Britain, but it had died out with the collapse of the Roman Empire. As England entered the Medieval Age very little historical reference is made to sport in spite of the appearance of new forms of recreational physical activities.

Because of a law issued in 1337, which forbade all games and sports except archery (Britain was getting ready for war with France), the working man did use physical activities as leisure at that time period (Derek, 1993). Most of the prohibited games and sports would have included either both gambling (dice, cockfights) and physical aggression (football, cudgel play) or both. Even though there was authoritarian intervention, people always found a way out to play what they wanted. The specialized literature mentions that some of these games were officially approved as some local level documents from churches mentioned that football was very much widespread in the 14th and 15th centuries and donations from the church contributed for the purchase of the ball. However, there were still many measures to diminish the public's interest in sport. Derek (1993) mentions not only legislation from 1457 that had the objective of suppressing the playing of football and golf, which had become more popular than archery, but also Henry IV's punitive tax on French balls in 1453 (as one of the influence of politics on

sport) and a proclamation in 1526 that ordered tables, dice, cards, bowls, tennis balls and other 'instruments of the devil' to be burned because they distracted Britain's potential armed forces from training with their weapons, the sword and the bow. This clearly shows not only that training for battles was British priority but also that males were the ones to have their access to games even though in a limited way. However, the specialized literature does not mention anything about women except for two women: (i) Dame Juliana Berners, a fisherwoman, Catholic nun and an 'avid angler', who wrote the first known essay on sports fishing, in which she described how to make a rod and flies, when to fish and the many kinds of fishing in her essay Treatyse of Fishing with an Angle, published in 1406, two hundred years before Izaak Walton's Compleat Angler (Sparhawk et al., 2003) and (ii) Mary, Queen of Scots (1542-1587), who was an avid golfer, coined the term 'caddy' by calling her assistants cadets. It was during her reign that the famous golf course at St. Andrews was built (AAUW, 2005).

The end of the 16th century signaled that sports and games had become increasingly woven into the fabric of the common man's daily routine. As the economy was growing, people had a little bit more personal freedom due to a certain degree of political and religious tolerance that existed during that time period. As a result of that, the specialized literature mentions that the sporting life had increased and the period saw vibrancy through recreational activities especially the popularity of the sporting spectacle, which can be measured by the terrible accident that had taken place at the Paris Garden bear pits in London. In 1583, over a hundred people are believed to have died when one of the stands collapsed. Meanwhile, university authorities in Cambridge were trying unsuccessfully to prohibit their undergraduates from participating in fencing and bowling matches for profit.

As the 17th century started with gambling and Sunday play as commonplace activities everywhere in spite of clamorous protest from religious leaders, it was not surprising that entrepreneurs started to realize that there was money to be made from the common people's leisure time because the growing economy had provided the two ingredients that are essential for profit: disposable income and the free time (Brailsford, 1991).

Up until the English civil wars that started in 1642 and for some considerable time after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, sports and pastimes throughout Britain were closely connected to what might be called 'festive culture' (which were in a way similar to Greek festivals). Most recreational activity occurred in an atmosphere of eating, drinking, gambling, and a fair degree of sexual promiscuity. As a result, all of this together was fuel to the hot feelings of the Puritans, who had become increasingly vociferous at a decline in moral standards that they had been witnessing parallel to the expansion of personal freedom. From the Puritan

viewpoint, festive recreation had always been loaded with vices, but the current beliefs of the age meant that this would no longer go unquestioned.

Brailsford (1991) mentions that Saint Days and Holy Days (all in all around 150 days a year) were very important in the 17th century England because they not only employed the 'festive' professionals (acrobats, cardsharps, prostitutes, stall-holders and the like) but also allowed people to lay down their tools and pick up the wine flagon. However, this was not a phenomenon only common to the British.

Holt (1981) identified similar trends in France, where the Catholic people, especially the men, were provided with the excuse of celebrating the Holy Days with an extra vigor. In England, the Puritans were concerned with the festivals because both pagan and Christian occasions were celebrated with a lot of enthusiasm, which caused the Puritans to think that the real reason for participating in the festivals was the feasting itself and not the occasion being celebrated.

Recreational and religious celebrations co-existed around the world and throughout the centuries. They are neither exclusively a British privilege nor a peculiarity of the 17th and 18th centuries. The festival of Rusching in Germany, Carnaval in Brazil and Mardi Gras in New Orleans still exist and are celebrated yearly. Northern Portugal throws feast-day parades in which maidens try to remove red apples from the ends of lances held by young beaux in what is an unsubtle but very ancient fertility rite. Scandinavia has a number of pagan rituals and superstitions. Most people do not see any paradox in the conservation of the pagan alongside the Christian rituals. The same way happens in Hungary, Romania, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Bulgaria, where people have all along celebrated the height of spring on the traditional day of fertility, May 1st (Mayday). However, the feast was disguised as a workers' holiday under the various socialist regimes from 1945 till 1989 and has, for many, lost its meaning. However, the color, pageantry, dancing and merry-making are all there, whether accompanied by parades of the armed forces or celebrated to the sound of pig-skin pipes and the clinking of wine-glasses in country villages (Brailsford, 2001).

Once the Puritans came to power in England between 1642 and 1660 as a result of the civil wars, they condemned parish feasts and seasonal festivals because of the vicious nature of the British celebration of 'holy days' that had sex and alcohol. Many of the most popular events were pagan, such as Mayday and the solstices, and thus had no place in the life of the 'good Christian'.

Drinking and loving were by no means absent from the festivities of that time. In addition, summer festivals were gentler affairs, with running and chasing, which replaced the

violence of Shrove Tuesday gatherings. Mayday had a particular meaning as it celebrated fertility rites, and the symbolism of that day turned into reality when chasing became more than just a game. An example of such practice was Whitsuntide or 'Pentekoste' (later 'appropriated' by the church as a celebration of baptism). It was originally a country fair, with dancing displays, music, socializing, eating, drinking, sports, competitions, and games where men had to chase and catch women. Some of the variations on the chasing theme showed great creativity, involving, for instance, the retrieval of ribbons which could be hidden about the female person. Stone (1990) refers to the 'pagan admiration for virility', which characterized this merrymaking; however, this admiration was not shared by the Puritans. After the civil wars, the Puritan government banned all types of merrymaking.

According to Holt (1989), many people believed that the Puritan short era meant the beginning of a 'civilizing' process, particularly related to lifestyles in Britain. This process began through Puritan attitudes towards Sunday observance, sports, and the drinking habit. The Puritan government then adopted three measures that deeply affected British culture and British thinking and in a way determined society's code for the next centuries, particularly in the sport institution. In the first place, nobody could work, drink or play on Sunday as it was God's day, also known as 'the Sabbath'. The name Sunday was even rejected as it was said to carry pagan overtones. This cult of Sabbatarianism went beyond the Puritan period into the 20th century.

The second measure adopted by the Puritan government hit the free time of the working population as there was a drastic reduction in the number of festivities which included a ban on both pagan rituals and Saint Days.

Thirdly, the Puritan government banned assemblies for the purpose of entertainment and pleasure, which included the shutting down of theaters and the notorious bear-pits, besides the effective end of dancing and drinking celebrations at those few fairs which escaped prohibition. Even Christmas Day did not escape any Puritan law. Puritans, who saw the consumption of mince pies, puddings and alcohol as irreverent on a day that was meant to be of purely religious significance, found a way to have houses systematically searched by some zealots for evidence of indulgence. Brailsford (2001) mentions the fact that a law had been passed to forbid 'vainly or profanely walking' and 'idly sitting in doorways' and blames the Puritans for removing women from participation in sports, saying that the Puritans emphasized domestic virtues and not family participation. However, in spite of the fact that the Restoration (beginning in 1660) started a period of slow relaxation of these attitudes, the industrial revolution was coming fast, and had a dramatic effect on the working woman's leisure time.

Even when women were not working in the factories, food had to be bought and cooked and the children had to be looked after. This was woman's work, which left little time for anything else.

The Puritan government did not last for long, but it laid deep roots with long-lasting effects in the British people. It was under the Puritans that the morality of what we may loosely term 'play' was first examined. And, very importantly, out of this grew the 'fair play ethic', the most British of traditions although it had taken another two centuries and the trappings of Victorian public schools to establish itself. Together with the belief in 'playing the game', or in other words, playing according to the rules, grew the notion of the manliness of sport, the idea that suffering could be endured because of the cleansing effect (similar to the catharsis so much aimed in theatrical tragedies) on both mind and body. This was another Puritan ideal which was to lie dormant for a considerable time before gaining dramatic prominence through the "mens sana in corpore sano" motif of Victorian public school and university life.

With the end of the Puritan government and the Restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660, there was an inevitable return to former doctrines and attitudes. After 11 years without a king, the transition back to a true monarchy was quick and almost uneventful. The people might have supported the limiting of the power of the king, but what they did not like were the strict rules placed on society by the Puritans. The arrival of Charles II, the Merry Monarch (the name says it all), brought a relief from the warlike and then strict society that people had lived in for several years. The theatre returned, along with expensive fashions such as the periwig and even more expensive commodities from overseas.

Almost everything that had been banned by the Puritans appeared to flourish after the Restoration as if in 'a spirit of release' (Brailsford, 2001). The reinstatement of the monarchy was mirrored at local level by the restoration of the local parish feast days, some of which had been banned 50 or 60 years before. Drinking became a serious social problem, particularly with the availability of cheap gin, and the crowded living conditions of city life from the late 18th century onwards worsened this social issue. Because of the increase in the consumption of alcohol and the decrease in the level of ritual significance, the fairground turned out to be an unwelcoming and disagreeable place to be, and events such as the May games became inappropriate for what was called at the time 'respectable' women. Hiring fairs were still places where men and women would participate and mix in seasonal merrymaking; similarly, each parish had its own feast days and dances. However, the trend of the second half of the 18th century pointed towards the gradual replacement of the fair and feast day by a new phenomenon, the sporting spectacle.

The Industrial Revolution, which reached its peak in the 19th century, is said to have had its very beginning in the 16th century. It took the form of agricultural revolution during the Georgian era. Because of the so many developments in technology in the fields, more people were laid off in the rural areas because progress needed larger areas for the new mechanization process. The unemployed and the poor were forced off the land they occupied and headed to cities and towns in search of new opportunities. For this reason, not only did existing cities grow but small market towns such as Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds became cities because of the increase in population.

Leisure activity that started at the end of the 17th century was characterized by unruliness, orgies and promiscuity, which gave rise to violence. The industrial revolution fed gambling, the other great vice of that time, as money went to the hands of whoever was willing to do a day's work. The entrepreneur of the late 18th century faced the question of how to exploit recreation and gambling to maximize his profits. The answer was to produce some kind of spectacle many people could attend as the audiences of the fairs were small: horse races and prizefights. Women were spectators in both sports and athletes in the latter.

The specialized literature does not cite any sportswomen during the 18th century, except for Elizabeth Wilkinson who entered the boxing ring for the first time in 1722 (AAUW,2005).

The very first horse race as a sport with spectators began in 1780 and was sponsored by Lord Derby. As a result of his patronage, his name was extended to mean 'horse race'. Very soon, the Derby was attracting thousands of spectators, most of whom would never see the big race itself, as they would come for the sideshows and entertainments and, above all, for the gambling that was part of the occasion. With the festivals of the races came pickpockets, prostitutes, shady bookmakers and con-artists. Horse-racing flourished as a spectator sport throughout the 19th century as it appealed not only to men but also to women of all classes, who would come and see the races. The American Association of University Women (AAUW, 2005) mentions Alicia Meynell as the first woman jockey in 1804, when she first competed in a four-mile race in York. However, later on, in 1837, Donald Walker's book Exercises for ladies: Calculated to preserve and improve beauty, and to prevent and correct personal defects, inseparable from constrained or careless habits: founded on physiological principles warned women against horseback riding, because it was supposed to deform the lower part of the body (AAUW, 2005).

Prizefights or fistfights were closer to the people as a matter of necessity as life on the streets was tough. As a result, bare-knuckle fighting or pugilism became the second great gambling and spectator sport of the age, followed by boxing in the second half of the 19th

century due to the high number of injuries and deaths in the fights. Boxing was different from pugilism as it had timed rounds, required the boxers to wear gloves, imposed rules to be followed and was governed by the Amateur Boxing Association, founded in 1880. As the use of techniques replaced brutality and the athletes fought according to weight divisions, serious injury became less likely to happen. Therefore, the relatively safe but nevertheless manly sport of boxing attracted participants of all classes and was destined to become the great proletarian sport of late Victorian and twentieth-century Britain, providing as it did dreams of glory and riches for the common man. Fights were not for men only. Fights between women also took place, but were less widespread and less well-attended. Women also liked to watch these fights, even more so when other women were fighting. Brailsford (2001) mentioned a fight in 1813 between Charlotte York and Mary Jones, which was attended by at least 400 women.

Besides their participation in pugilistic competitions, where women were not afraid to show their bodies as they fought in their underwear, scantily-dressed women were even used as bait to attract spectators to cricket matches and festivals, a common practice in the 18th century and at the turn of the 19th century (Holt, 1991a). Besides, according to Brailsford (2001), while on one level there seemed to be an attempt to tease the male spectator (but there were usually guards with dogs to prevent over-excitement), there was another level of entertainment that presented the young woman in a different light. At feasts and festivals around the end of the 18th century, it was far more usual for the organizers of running events to stipulate that the women's races were for virgins only, presumably to keep away the rougher women who would voluntarily take part in the 'bait' events. One can only suppose that when posters and fly-sheets were circulated advertising foot races for maidens 'whose characters are unsullied and persons impregnable', it was also a warning to the men that this was not an event for the rowdy, boozing crowd, but a true competition, something like the Hera Games.

Unusual incidents of an exhibitionist nature involving women of the lower classes, such as horse and foot races, and football, boxing and stoolball matches, continued to be recorded. Rural women still hunted and rode, occasionally even in breeches, ignoring negative comments about her talk of horses and hounds and audacious leaping over gates. Queen Anne (1665-1714) loved to hunt when she was young, and her love of horse racing led to the organization of the Ascot Racecourse in 1711 and the acceptance of respectable women as spectators. However, such activities were considered exceptional and did nothing to compromise the view that sport was essentially a man's business. The situation changed little during the Georgian period (1714-1830) in spite of warnings about the need for girls to have exercise and criticisms of its limitation in the name of gentility appeared in print with increasing frequency starting in 1750.

An example was Thomas Gisborne, a clergyman of Durham, who argued in 1747 that, while girls did not require the audacious amusements of boys, they needed more vigorous bodily exercise in order to become healthy, strong and alert. John Gregory in his famous advice to daughters in the 1770s compromised his adherence to the tenets of female inferiority sufficiently to recommend outdoor exercise and horseback riding energetic enough to produce rosy cheeks and good health. Twenty years later Erasmus Darwin, in spite of being convinced that women's sexual function limited their intellectual capacity and required the cultivation of mildness and reticence, argued that social convention, not nature, made schoolgirls sedentary and that ball games, shuttlecock, dumb-bell exercises, and vigorous walking and dancing would improve their health (McCrone, 1988). However, all the arguments of girls' necessity of open-air activities were frequently ignored by educational practitioners. The increasing number of private boarding and day schools for girls from wealthy families deliberately neglected genuine physical and mental training in favor of stylish accomplishments. Mistresses supported only reserved walking and decorous dancing which were supposed to contribute to adequate postures and social skills required of a well-educated and god-mannered lady (McCrone, 1988).

During seasonal holidays, at various occasions such as fairs and festivals, girls and women played ball games such as cricket, stool ball, trap-and-ball, handball, and 'folk' football, ran in footraces and battled one another in prize fights, quarter-staff fights and sword fights (Parratt, 2001). Curiously enough, cricket and football, sports that were later to be considered manly by Victorian men were also played by women in the 18th and early 19th centuries. The earliest documented women's cricket game took place in 1745 between teams from the southern English villages of Bramley and Hambleton. Women also participated in certain customary forms of football. They undoubtedly took part in some of the rough, ranging games that were to be found before the 19th century throughout the length and breadth of the British Isles (Baker, 1988). All these games which were played by the women had been utterly simple and were modified through the different ages as they had been very popular pastimes in the towns and villages of late medieval England. One of the most typical adaptations was stoolball. It was originally a game played by milk maidens who used a milking stool and a ball. According to Baker (1988), one player stood in front of the stool while another threw the ball trying to knock the stool over. At first the 'batter' dispensed no bat or stick, but used the hand instead. Every time she successfully defended the stool from a pitch, she scored a point. When the pitcher finally knocked over the stool, or caught the hit ball before it touched the ground, she changed places with the batter. The boys soon adhered to the game, which was also played by children of different ages and adults. Stoolball became the basis of games such as cricket and rounders

(Irish game), which originated American baseball many centuries later. Although modern baseball is primarily American, urban, and male, its roots are medieval, English, rural and female (Baker, 1988).

During the Georgian period, Mary Woolstonecraft seemed to be the only one to have reached the heart of the matter. In her original work about the rights of women (1792), she identified the liberation of women's bodies as among those that most needed vindicating. Woolstonecraft acknowledged the superior bodily strength of men, but urged women and girls to take up masculine types of exercise to demonstrate 'how far the natural superiority of man extends'. Bodily dependence produced mental dependence and weak mothers weak children, she warned (Woolstonecraft, 1988). However, although Woolstonecraft went to every source she could possibly find to think about the rights of women, it never occurred to her to make use of the imagery of the Amazons drawn from Greek and Roman literature. Even though classical writers made the Amazons ugly and brutal, maybe to discourage women from having them as models, early modern women could have transposed the image of women fighters into positive imagery. They could have referred to the image of the Amazons defenders of Troy, who as an army of women were able to stand off an attacking force for a very long battle in which they displayed great heroism and physical courage and inflicted severe wounds on their opponents. In the imagery of those Amazon women warriors, early modern women could have seen a picture of women taking power, being physically courageous and ready to fight for their cause. But Mary Woolstonecraft only had access to a romantic notion of the female who was non-violent, had no political motivations, and had to see herself as exercising power in relation to her sexual and generative functions and not her political status as a potential ruler. All of that because with the arrival of the romantic movement in the 19th century, with its cult of childhood and the sexual innocence of women (Klarer, 1998). The classics were closed as a field of study for 19th century French, German, Italian and English women. The classics were viewed as indecorous as they dealt with unnatural vices and were not considered appropriate reading for women. Women were educated in a culture that had allowed them access only to the models of a world inherited from Christianity (Conway, 2001).

b. Victorian times

In terms of dates, this period started with the ascension of Victoria to the throne in 1837 and finished with her death in 1901, when a new era began.

The second quarter of the 19th century witnessed some moral changing which was in a way responsible for the end of pugilism. After two centuries that had seen a complete reversal of Puritan ideals, there was a return to many of the old doctrines of the Puritan government, including the world of sport and individual leisure. The very country fair and the traditional countryside recreations became pale shadows of their seventeenth-century versions as bourgeois town magistrates declared their endings amidst allegations of drunkenness, wagering, violence and bawdiness, the features that had been the mainstay of the feast-day and fair for hundreds of years. The traditional image of British leisure was going through radical changes not seen since the time of the Puritans. This change mirrored the social upheaval caused by the increasingly urban lifestyle of industrialized Britain in the 19th century. The only exception seemed to be gambling, which would continue to flourish, but new locations would have to be discovered, along with new sports for the public to bet on. The public house (pub) had some extra support in popularity because of the Beer Act of 1830, under which anyone who could afford a two-pound license could brew and sell beer. For the next 50 years or more, working-class sport and gambling had found a new place to grow.

As the public house was installed and began to flourish so did a new public school system, which then became responsible for the notion of fair play that arrived with a new breed of British sportsman, and to a much lesser degree, a new breed of sportswoman. The vanguard of British sport counted on the so-called gentleman amateur and the golden age of British sporting activity started. The slogans of that time were fair-play and manly participation, which were incorporated to what has been referred to as a spirit of 'muscular Christianity', which meant that women were out. These concepts greatly contributed for the British middle-class man to live almost isolated in a very particular world. Between the middle of the 19th century and the First World War, the stiff upper lip and the spirit of 'play up and play the game' ruled the emotions of the British. The terrible reality of the war brought back to England the message that life was much more than just a game. According to Brailsford (2001), brave men who were fighting in the fields under the spirit of the 'game' died, also taking with them a sporting ideal. In the end, sport and life were not identical as the British had thought.

The British public school system of the Victorian era, preached the motto of "mens sana in corpore sano", which means a sound mind, referring to moral standards, in a healthy body (moral purity and health). The adoption of this guiding principle by most Victorian public schools was a consequence of a combination of causes: (i) the various developments in medicine which led to an increased consciousness of the necessity for physical exercise and outdoor life; (ii) the revival of the high moral standards of the Puritan period which coincided

with the crowning of Queen Victoria, and (iii) the not so-much recognized awareness of the dangers of war that would come from different directions such as the instability of the French (specially political), threatening Germany, the high number of Russians and the growth of the United States. Britain would have to produce great leaders and the best would be from sports (Brailsford, 2001).

Because of these reasons, the public school system underwent a general reform. The public schools that kept the Christian ethic had to fight the two great unmentionables of the Victorian era: masturbation and homosexuality as the boys were secluded at the schools. One of the most famous initiatives was conducted by Thomas Hughes, who wrote the book Tom Brown's Schooldays (1857), a manly open-air school novel, which enchanted Coubertin and made a revolution in his mind while he was at school in France. Hughes was a champion of the fair-play and purity ethic.

The reasoning used at the time was that if a boy concentrated his energies and spirit to aid his school to win sporting competitions against other schools, there would be less risk that he would lose his way. Therefore, the fields were the stage for that. Schools were to develop boys' sporting prowess. The main idea seemed to be that if the animal was cultivated, the beast in man could be tamed. Health seemed to be the great concern, but in reality the Christian belief behind it was that the body would develop along with the soul, which puts together notions of Muscular Christianity with a confused form of Darwinism. Physical exercise was the recipe to form character, promote manliness, not sexuality; however, the pathway to manhood was very hard. It is relevant to point out that girls were excluded from this type of schooling.

As manliness and sport went hand in hand, aesthetics and homosexuality were the opposite of masculinity. These ideas of masculine behavior were spread throughout the public schools that were developed as the middle class became wealthier. Within these schools, the sons of the newly rich played alongside the sons of the aristocracy trying at the same time to break down social barriers as they all had to conform to the rules of the school and to its internal organizational system of hierarchy, independently of title and position outside the school. The idea was to 'play up and play the game', play your best but play by the rules. This notion of sticking to the rules became deeply ingrained in middle-class culture. Young men had to show courage, also called 'pluck', which was one of the manly virtues of the age. Pluck and fair-play characterized the gentleman both on the sports ground and, indeed, in life itself. The objective was not winning, but competing with honor and with team spirit. Team sports encouraged adherence to established rules, preparing boys for life as responsible members of society. However, as Mangan & Park (1987) point out, the Victorian public schools that preached fair-

play, pluck, playing fields of Eton, and all that contrasted against the reality of the brutalization of English youths in those institutions.

According to Holt (1991a), the public school for boys had patterns of obedience and order which were very similar to the military. They became evident in the recreational provision that consisted not only of military style drilling such as marching in unison and turning to the left and right when ordered to do so, but also general exercise such as jumping on the spot, legs apart then legs together, arms spread then by the sides, and so forth. These routines were neither exciting for the boys and young men nor would they provide the students with the fresh air and the exercise demanded from the medical and moral opinion of the time. Holt (2001) points out that the drilling was so military that instructors tended to be ex-army sergeants hired by the hour. However, even being regarded as a chore, the working-class boy saw the drilling an escape from the dull classroom.

The concept of Victorian morality is essential for the understanding of the position of women in British society. Although Victorian morality represents some type of purification of the moral views of the people who lived during Queen Victoria's time in particular, and to the moral climate of Great Britain throughout the 19th century in general, it is not tied to this historical period and can describe any set of principles that includes sexual repression, low tolerance of crime, and a strong social ethic. The specialized literature has considered the period a stage of many contradictions. The Victorians were so much impressed by science and technology that they felt they could improve society in the same way they were improving technology. On the one hand, there was an abundance of social reform movements concerned with improving public morals with an outward appearance of dignity and restraint. On the other hand, there was a class system that allowed prostitution, child labor, an imperialist colonizing economy and rough living conditions for thousands (perhaps millions). They were the two sides of the same coin.

Since the expression 'Victorian' might have multiple meanings, acquired along the years, the connotation which is being used in this dissertation is that of a particularly strict set of moral standards, often applied hypocritically. Queen Victoria and her husband, Prince Albert, did not seem to be aware of the habits of their subjects, especially in regard to their sex lives. As Queen Victoria had very good education (her biography points out that she read German, English, Italian, Greek, Latin and French), her attitude toward sexual morality seemed to be the result of the knowledge she had acquired, particularly of the destructive effect of the lax morals of the aristocracy during the reigns that succeeded Oliver Cromwell's government, when the

Puritans' law imposed a very tight moral code of fundamentalist Christianity on the population as already mentioned.

As a result, two social forces started to co-exist after Charles II was restored to the throne in 1660. On the one hand, Puritanism had not disappeared and continued to exist with all its strict codes and principles. On the other hand, libertinism, the beginnings of which dated back to the 16th century, emerged as a way to blow off steam of the so many years of tough repression. Libertinism was a form of freethinker philosophy that rejected many of society's established mores and advocated a community of goods and of women. The expression "libertine" has come to mean one free from restraint, particularly from social and religious norms and morals. Libertinism gained new-found adherents during the 18th and 19th centuries, particularly in France and in England. The co-existence of these two social forces was so significant that by the time Victoria ascended the throne, the interplay between high cultured morals and low vulgarity was interwoven in the British culture.

Victorian morality was also closely associated with prudery, with the frequent use of euphemisms such as 'limb' for leg and with the use of the 'bathing machine', a device that allowed people to wade in the ocean at beaches without violating Victorian principles of morality. Bathing machines were a type of roofed and walled wooden carts that would be rolled into the sea. Their use was part of sea-bathing etiquette, which was more rigorously enforced upon women than men. In addition, the language of the flowers was used to talk about emotions or sexual feelings.

Another concept that greatly contributed for the establishment of the Victorian era was the abolition of slavery in England, which had taken place in 1833 after a long campaign. To have the new law enforced, the British Royal Navy patrolled the Atlantic Ocean against any irregular ships, and to keep the plantation owners in the Caribbean satisfied, financial compensation for the losses was provided by the British government. Also, once slavery was over in the Americas, there was no competition against British labor. These facts contributed for the British to secure a high moral ground as the nation, from their viewpoint, stood for freedom and decency. However, in spite of that, many historians still mention the extremely bad living conditions of the British workers in the factories. As a result, on the one hand there were movements for justice, freedom and other strong moral principles, but, on the other hand there were greed, exploitation and cynicism.

In spite of the high degree of moralizing, the pub continued to exercise influence on gambling and the playing of games. In his book Sport and the British: A Modern History (1991a), besides the habitual workers and the not-so-rare presence of respectable women, Holt

mentions a male audience to a cockfight in 1865 wearing top hats and morning coats, which means that members of all classes attended pubs to watch competitions. As Sporting Clubs, which attracted members of all classes, were often affiliated to pubs, centers for many indoor and outdoor sports, it is easy to understand why the Football Association itself was founded in a pub in 1863.

Due to the restrictions of time and space during the Victorian era, the pubs became the focus of most of the recreational activity with the demise of the fairs. The new city-dweller had to balance between the demands of the factories under another organization of labor hours and the little time for recreation, which led to the innovation of the 'timed encounter'. A football game would begin at an established time and finish at an established time.

In addition to time restrictions, there were place restrictions. Spaces for playing games and participating in physical activities were growing smaller and the enclosure for the first time was being used. This opened a great opportunity for those who wanted to earn a penny as the public who wanted to watch a game would have to pay their admission to attend competitions of cricket, football or even races. The open space of the fair and of the feast day gave way to the enclosed, timed, regulated, gate-money sport. The focus on the spectacle continued, but the environment for the audience had changed completely. The restrictions of time and space placed the athletes on the limelight not only as sportsmen but also as heroes as they drew audiences to watch them at the games and competitions. As the sport as spectacle continued well through the end of the 19th century and well into the 20th century, the sports heroes became increasingly public figures. At this point, it is important to mention that women were not considered heroines. They were not part of the 'sport on the stage'.

In addition, there were the exclusively male clubs, which started to proliferate in the 1880s and which were the places where men could go to drink, play, or drink and play, as they were the focal points of whichever they chose. As the sports and social clubs had their counterparts for younger men and boys, most men grew up with the notion of the male club, something they could count on. The Boys' Brigade, which Holt (1991a) describes as 'in tune with the growing militarism and imperialist sentimentality of the period,' was one example, and, despite its rather moralistic position on recreation and national duty, it did at least give boys the chance to play organized games and go to camp. On the other hand, there was little in the lifestyle of the working-class woman which would permit her to relax or to engage in activities that would be considered conducive to health, fitness and fun.

According to Mangan & Park (1987), physical courage, chivalric ideals, virtuous fortitude, militarism, patriotism were all attributes of manly men. The early Victorians seemed

most concerned with good character, with such traits as earnestness, selflessness, maturity and integrity. By late in the 19th century, however, manliness had more to do with Spartan virtues like stoicism, hardiness and endurance. The cult of manliness was a trans-Atlantic phenomenon as it was exported to many countries. Victorian manly ideals included the masculine achiever, the Christian gentlemen, and the masculine primitive. Most of these characteristics were coincidentally found in Pierre de Coubertin's behavior in spite of his motives for rejecting women's participation in the Olympic Games, which were explicitly attained to Hellenistic traditions. So far, the cult of manliness was rooted in France, in other European countries and everywhere as it seemed to have been reinforced by, even exported to or adopted by many other countries by Victorian ideals.

c. Women in the Victorian era

The early 19th century saw the balance of power between men and women in society, and consequently in sport, extremely uneven. The Victorian period gave rise to modern sport, and the British boys' public schools provided the setting for their codification and organization. Victorian images of masculine and character building dominated as games provided the prevailing images of masculine identity in sports and model for their future developments in Britain and throughout the world (Fossey, 2005). Nineteenth-century attitudes towards women's participation in sports in Britain were consolidated by attitudes to women that were pervasive throughout society (Hargreaves, 1994). Polley (1998) argued further that such attitudes and indeed 'norms' had been established during the 19th century debates over medicine and anatomy. As a result, these concepts became principles that had a deep and long effect not only in British society but also in societies influenced by the British culture.

Although Queen Victoria has been considered one of the most powerful women in Britain since Queen Elizabeth I, her status did not dramatically contribute to the improvement of the position of women in society. There were many movements to obtain more rights for women, but voting rights did not come until the 20th century. Women were benefited by the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, which granted them the right to keep their own property and to divorce without fear of poverty. Even so, divorce continued to be frowned upon and very rare during the 19th century.

As it had been mentioned before, the new English public school system of the Victorian era that produced stiff-upper-lipped sporting heroes was ideally created for boys. Girls had only some public schools available to them once their education was generally conducted in their homes. This was mirrored in adult life, when men had the masculine atmosphere of the

gentlemen's club to escape to, and women had only the drawing room (room in a house where visitors can be entertained. The name came from 'withdrawing room', a room where the owner of the house, his wife or a distinguished guest could withdraw for more privacy). Men could go out to enjoy some public life while women were restricted to the home to live their private life.

Girls were excluded from the drilling lessons at the public schools. In addition, there was the view that since girls could get enough exercise by cleaning out the home on a Saturday, they had no need of additional recreation. This disrespectful attitude to girls and sport was extended to their adult lives. John Hargreaves (1987) points out that the inferiority of women, seen in their almost total exclusion in all activities except the most passive and subordinate capacity as helpers and spectators, strongly reinforced all those other forces, cultural, economic, and political, which restricted women's horizons and led them to passivity.

Victorian attitudes towards women competing in sports were limited by notions of appropriateness, and dress restrictions made their participation in formal competitions extremely hard if not impossible (Schweinbenz, 2000). Teenagers could dress in a manner which allowed exercise, as for example, Lottie Dod (1871-1960), the girl who became famous because she had won the Wimbledon tennis title in 1887 as a schoolgirl. She competed against adult women who wore corsets and full-length skirts. Society as a whole also feared that women who took up 'masculine' sports would 'masculinize' themselves in spite of the already popular view at the time of eugenic propositions.

As it had become indecent to show one's body, female participation in sporting activities diminished. The pressure on women's responsibility in industrial Britain increased and contributed to worsen the situation of working-class women, who had very rare opportunities for exercise and personal leisure. Even drinking lost its place as part of the working woman's leisure after the Beer Act of 1830. Women stayed away from the public houses as they did not want to ruin their reputations. Because healthier recreational opportunities required free time, a commodity in short supply in urban Britain, the working-class woman had her life around the home and the factory. Bedarida (1991) summarizes the situation of the working-class woman of the 1870s saying that the picture was gloomy as women were subjected to low wages, did repetitive work, and had poor qualifications. Besides, their productivity was reduced because of the amount and accumulation of household tasks. The economic exploitation of women aggravated the social inferiority of their sex at every level of work in town as well as country.

Middle-class women had few problems with free time and some upper-class women had a lot of time to spend. The problem was to decide on the middle-class decorum, or what was appropriate for a lady. Hargreaves (1987) mentioned that few public schools encouraged girls to

play games and tennis, popular sports at that time. However, as they were out of school, they were ready to get married and had to follow the rigors of the Victorian dress code. If bare calves and some knee were seen at school, on the hockey field for example, that was not possible to happen at the local tennis club. Even the prestigious sporting tournaments such as Wimbledon made serious athletic attempts next to impossible by insisting on the covering up of arms, legs (including ankles) and throats (Schweinbenz, 2000). When Lottie Dod won the Wimbledon Championship, she was allowed to play in her school kit and must have run her opponents ragged, as they wore long dresses and were held firm by corsets. In fact, Lottie Dod was a British athlete best known as a tennis player as she won Wimbledon Championships five times. Dod also competed in many other sports, including golf, field hockey, and archery. Among her many successes, she won the British amateur golf championships, played in the British national field hockey team, and won a silver medal at the 1908 London Olympic Games.

The dress code remained one of the greatest obstacles to women's leisure until at least the 1932 (Schweinbenz, 2000). In the 1890s some recklessly bold women provoked outrage by assuming rational dress (i.e. pants) for cycling, which was not considered appropriate for women (Derek, 1993). These pants were a further development of the 'bloomers' (loose pants gathered at the ankles like those worn by Middle Eastern and Central Asian women topped by a short dress or skirt and vest), thought of by the American feminist Libby Miller in 1851, and promoted by Amelia Bloomer (1818-1894) in her temperance magazine "The Lily" in the 1850s. American feminists adopted that costume as they considered it a more rational dress allowing them more freedom of movement. The 'bloomers' had actually started to sell quite well after a time, but only after the British had adapted them to be worn under the long dresses which decency demanded. The 'bloomers' put up a valiant fight for a few years, but were subjected to so much ridicule in the press and harassment on the streets that the costume died temporarily to show up again at full force in the 1890s as a woman's athletic costume. The bloomers were the most important device for women at that time because they allowed women to have more freedom of movement and introduced many to the practice of sports (Schweinbenz, 2000). The bloomers represented a tool for European and American women, who broke tradition and started to assert their independence. These women ignored medical warnings concerning athletic activity and challenged the biological theories of that time as they defiantly rode in their fashionable bloomers on their bicycles with rubber tires (Hall, 1996).

If dress was a matter of social opinion and of the morals of the age, health was a matter of medical argument. According to Park (1991), in the late 1860s, the British chemist Edward Frankland, using the analogy of a steam engine's "piston and cylinder," asserted: "Muscle is

only a machine for the transformation of heat into motion; both are subject to wear and tear, and require renewal". The term and the concept became widely employed. Although the precise mechanisms remained unknown, it was generally agreed that the manifest activities of the organism (e.g., locomotion, digestion, glandular secretion) demanded a great amount of energy for their performance. It was also assumed that each individual possessed a pre-determined, fixed amount of energy or "vital force". As a class, women had less than men and were, therefore, more liable to be adversely affected by either too much physical or too much "brain" work. The "vital force" or "conservation of energy" theories were repeatedly called upon in debates over whether, for example, women should be admitted to higher education. Because of their smaller brains (due to the size of men's and women's bodies), women were judged to be inferior to men and colored races inferior to Anglo-Teutonic races (Park, 1991).

The 'vitalistic' theory of conservation of energy was so deeply ingrained in society that Elliott-Lynn, pioneering aviator, while Vice-President Women's Amateur Athletics Association of England, wrote a note about the influence of the 'vitalistic' theory of conservation of energy: "We have before us the problem of finding a suitable means between those sports which tax the muscular frame and put a strain upon it, and which are, of course, wholly unsuitable for the feminine organism, which is more delicate and should conserve its energy for the great work before it, and those recreations which are not sufficiently energetic to assist the women towards the most healthy development she may attain. Their very heritage of housework and childbearing seems to indicate that that they must have these powers in a marked degree, but what we want to determine is the advisability of using up this energy or letting it lie dormant till required in the fulfillment of her function in life, which in many cases is never utilized" (Elliott-Lynn, 1925).

There were some who considered that excessive exercise was bad for the woman in her role as a child-bearer and even some who would argue in the early 20th century that sport could develop the upper parts of the body, the same way it did for men, and not the lower or breeding parts of the body. However, Darwinists believed that sport and eugenics went hand in hand: and the question was: could weak women produce strong sons? Besides, there was the long and controversial debate on the benefits or dangers of exercise for women. In Germany, the view held was that eugenic theory required fit and strong women; therefore, the gymnastics movement for women was given official encouragement. As the British wanted to act differently than the Germans, the controversy over sport for women persisted at least until the First World War.

Starting in mid-nineteenth century, even the physical positions adopted by women could provoke scandal and the restrictions imposed were every bit as awkward as those of dress. It was dangerous to ride side-saddle (as the Queen still does on official occasions), which needed a special saddle attachment to stop the lady rider from sliding off. The invention of the ladies' cycle (without the crossbar) still did not make cycling very morally good as it required the parting of the legs. It appeared that it was not proper for a lady to wear long skirts, a bloomer and throat-lace (Schweinbenz, 2000). Even later on in French newspapers such as La Vie au Grand Air pictures of women on bicycles, taken from special angles, probably had the intention of exposing women's postures on the bicycle in such a way that would discourage them from adhering to the sport. At the same time that the article described how ugly the women who used the bicycle had been in the past, Lafreté mentioned that times were changing and so were women (Lafreté, 1899).

Another physical position was that of rowing. Women rowers were accused of lack of dignity for permitting themselves to be seen semi-supine in public. The only acceptable alternative to that was punting because it was serious and required little movement from the vertical but it did not work for competitions. Oxford and Cambridge ladies teams started to compete in 1855. However, they were not judged for speed, but style, which enabled the competitors to exert themselves to a reasonable degree without upsetting the college authorities. Even target shooting was frowned upon. Women had to adopt the prone position, which did not make it easier for them to hit the target. As a result, there was really very little left which the lady could take part in without causing offence. Tennis and, to a lesser extent, golf were acceptable, if the dress restrictions were observed, and there were always house party games, like badminton and croquet. Participation in sport demanded courage and effort far beyond any similar demands that might be made on the men, and it is a tribute to the fortitude and willpower of many Victorian and Edwardian women that, as Britain prepared for war with Germany, the country was on the threshold of 'the golden age' of women's sport. By 1914 they had come a long way from the model woman of Tennyson's 'The Princess': "Man with the head and woman with the heart, Man to command and woman to obey".

Middle-class girls who exercised were far better off than the inactive girls who belonged to the working classes. Cycling was the most common physical activity taken up by middle-class girls and young women and with such enthusiasm that resentful members of the working classes would throw stones at the sporty women as they cycled past low-income neighborhoods (Holt, 1991a). In addition to the health aspect, another advantage of playing games or simply watching them in exclusively middle-class environments such as the tennis

club was that, as it had happened with young maidens in antiquity, it permitted a single woman to find a suitable mate as chances to be with groups of young men were few at the time.

The position of women during the Victorian era can be seen as an illustration of the striking discrepancy between the country's power and richness and its appalling social conditions. Women had a very difficult position particularly because of the vision of the 'ideal women', which had been constructed and was shared by most in the society. As women were seen as pure and clean, their bodies were seen as temples that should not be adorned with makeup or used for such pleasurable things as sex. The main role of the woman was limited to be a mother and a homemaker; thus, a woman could not hold a job unless it was that of a teacher and was not allowed to have her own account at a bank. In the end women were treated like 'saints', but saints that had no legal rights.

One of its very important points was the fact that since women's main role was to bear children, maternal love was considered the only truly unselfish feeling on earth. Because of this reason, women received the mission to establish peace, love, harmony, and unselfishness as they were naturally meant to worship, to reverence, and to self-sacrifice. Women were also thought to be naturally predisposed not only to devotional practices but also to religious sensibility and even unintelligent obedience. As they were meant to be regenerators of society, women had to be Christian. Since the influence on the children was considered very important, women were regarded as the nurturer and more important parent. This is perhaps the reason why women were rarely allowed to work outside the home. While men had to face danger and temptation in the public sphere, the woman was regarded as the 'angel in the house' and therefore should be protected against supposed evil and terrors in her private sphere. The man's duty was to assist in the maintenance, in the advance and in the defense of the state while the woman's duty was to ensure the ordering, the comforting and the beautiful arrangement of the home.

In addition to the fact that women could not vote or sue or own property, married women had very limited rights, similar to the rights of children. The law regarded a married couple as one person with the husband responsible for his wife and bound by law to protect her while she was supposed to obey him. The husband had the rights over his wife's personal property, her income, and the custody of the children, even in case of a divorce. Women were to be confined to their private sphere: the home, where they would have to develop themselves (Bodichon, 1854).

Thinking about the housewife's role, Isabelle Beeton coined the term 'the household general', which appears in her manual Duties of the Mistress of the House of 1861, in which she

compared the middle-class housewife to the commander of an army. The housewife had to run a respectable household to make sure that she was providing happiness, comfort and well-being to the family, organizing, delegating and instructing her servants. The housewife was also expected to organize parties and dinners to bring prestige to her husband so that it would be easier for them to meet new people and establish economically important relationships. Another duty of the Victorian wife pointed out by Beeton was that of the 'sick-nurse': the one who took care of ill family members. This role required a number of characteristics which were supposed to be naturally developed in women: a good temper, compassion for suffering, sympathy with sufferers, neat-handedness, quiet manners, love and order and cleanliness. In her book, Beeton also mentioned the very special connection that had to exist between women and their brothers. Sisters had to treat their brothers as they would treat their future husbands as they were dependent on the male family members. Their brothers' affection and protection might secure women's future in case their husband treated them badly or in case they did not get married at all. Although at that time there was education for housework, women also started to think as they were going off to work, that men should assume some share in child care and the work of the home. Feminist magazines and newspapers of the 1890s featured articles which argued that women's entry into the public world of employment and citizenship needed to be counterbalanced by men's participation in the work of the home (Dyhouse, 1989). But to no avail. The home continued to be run by the housewife alone with the paid help of the female servant.

Victorian morals affected both men and women. The body of the woman was regarded as pure and clean, except when she was menstruating. As the woman was in a way considered property of her husband, she was not encouraged to wear any kind of cosmetics or any other adornments, or wear clothing that showed her skin, or even stockings or any other undergarment; otherwise, she would be 'advertising' her body to other men.

Prostitution in the Victorian era was usually seen as a woman 'losing her way' in terms of her soul becoming unclean if she violated one of the rules that has been mentioned so far. Preachers often argued that prostitution could happen to any woman who violated the wishes of her husband. If a man found out that his wife had been unclean in some way, he would expel her from the home. Being unclean (for whatever reason) then was considered a generally accepted cause for a man to divorce his wife. As she would have no way to support herself, she would end up on the streets. This view continued far into the 20th century. On the other hand, it was considered acceptable for a man to sleep with another woman as it was often regarded as natural that a man might need the body of another woman. Because women had no rights, this

male behavior could not be punished through divorce. As a result, women had just to accept and learn to live with that (Ryan, 1839).

In terms of education, Victorian women did not need to have the same kind of education as men. Women were supposed to know the things necessary to bring up their children and to keep a home. That explains why school subjects such as history, geography and general literature had great relevance while Latin and Greek had little relevance. Women who wanted to study law, physics, engineering science or art, for example, were satirized and discredited. People thought women did not need to go to the university. It was even said that studying was against women's nature so much so that it could make them ill (Sewell, 1868). Women were supposed to be an 'ornament of society' and subordinate to their husbands. Obedience was the only requirement.

In 1887, the Chairman of the British Medical Association proposed that, 'in the interest of social progress, national efficiency and the progressive improvement of the human race, women should be denied education and other activities which would cause constitutional overstrain and inability to produce healthy offspring' (Fossey, 2005). There were vigorous protests against such claims, but the view of the 'physically limited' female became an institution in the scientific and medical establishments. The first consequence was that women were pushed into certain sports considered appropriately feminine. Second, in spite of the fact that team games developed in a limited way in parallel to rugby and football at boy's schools, these typically involved less direct physical contact between players than the male team games: netball, hockey and lacrosse were the main sports here and attempts to establish women's football and rugby teams were resisted by the male authorities in these sports as they probably threatened the male supremacy.

Developments in women's education during the last third of the 19th century probably did more to legitimate more active forms of sports and exercise for women than any other factor. Increasing numbers of physicians were adopting the view that gentle forms of physical exercise would help women's health and their ability to bear healthy children. The development of education for women was the prerequisite for sport. Most of women's sport, in their institutionalized forms, took place in the education system and in the specialist colleges of physical education. Several historians note that a number of public boarding schools for girls modeled themselves on the boys' public schools (Fossey, 2005). The fact that girls played games provided the setting for them to emulate certain physical and moral characteristics that had previously belonged only to boys. However, the breakthrough was a practice of contradictions. As Hargreaves (1994) observed, 'since the girls were not educated with the boys

and they did not play games with them, the male sporting role was not directly challenged'. It should also be noted that, even though Madam Bergman-Österberg (1849-1915), founder of Dartford College and a leading name in physical education, introduced the Swedish system of physical training into the London elementary girl schools in 1887, for most of the 19th century there was no form of physical activity for working-class girls (Fletcher, 1993). The female dimension of the sporting revolution was primarily middle-class, for it was women of the middle ranks whose sport awareness was awakened first by educational and recreational experiences. They were the ones who had the free time and financial means to participate in physical activities and play sport. Middle-class girls were also the ones who in spite of a number of obstacles related to the patriarchal nature of social relations and restrictive perceptions of femininity, began to 'play the game' by the thousands. On the other hand, women of the working classes were much less involved because they lacked financial means, schooling and time for leisure activities, and because they kept subservient relationships with men of their own class and with women of higher classes (McCrone, 1991).

According to Fletcher (1993), Madam Österberg created not only a school (Dartford) but also a phenomenon in the late 19th century. In the context of a growing market, two of her students created their own schools, and by the beginning of the Great War, there was a specialist 'chain' of six institutions: Dartford, which Madame Österberg had founded, Anstey and Bedford, founded by her students, with Chelsea, Liverpool, and Dunfermline, of varied origin, but all, by this time, completely committed to the gospel of Ling (see Chapter IV, Part C). In addition, by means of the Ling Association, the female gymnasts made sure that their new profession was recruited as strictly as a medieval society or fellowship. In fact, it was a women's guild. Men were not excluded, but curiously enough, for many years they were effectively blocked out because of their lack of adequate training, for there were no colleges of physical training in England for men before the 1930s. The paradox was that men appeared on the periphery of the sphere of influence the women created of that particular sport, a sphere extending well beyond the confines of the specialist women's colleges, and surviving essentially intact into the years beyond the Second World War (Fletcher, 1993). The irony was that women were only admitted in gymnastics contests in 1928, in spite of demonstrations given in 1906, 1908, 1912, 1920, and 1924.

Three medical professions were opened to women in the 19th century: nursing, midwifery, and doctoring. But it was only in nursing, the one most subject to the supervision and authority of male doctors that women were widely accepted. Victorians thought that the medical doctor profession belonged to the male sex and a woman should not enter this area but

stay with the conventions the will of God had assigned to her. In conclusion, Englishmen would not have woman surgeons or physicians; they confined them to their role as nurses.

The construction of the image of women by British society during the Victorian period may have created an archetype (defined here as an original model of which all other similar persons, objects, or concepts are merely derivative, copied, patterned, or emulated), which may have possibly exercised influence upon the social roles of women in other nations as England was the most powerful country during that period. Geographical proximity, intellectual and scientific interchanges and political relationships with other European countries such as France and Germany, and with Canada and the United States in North America may have made it easy for frequent contact, which also brought along some images of the Victorian woman to other societies.

It is important to keep in mind that when the aristocrat Pierre de Coubertin was born in 1863, the archetype of the Victorian woman had already been constructed and was used as a mirror. Coubertin was raised in a period in which Victorian ideals were emulated not only in Britain but also in other European countries and even in France. The archetype of the Victorian woman was so powerful that it was used in many plays of the period and survived well into the 20th century (Hartnoll, 1998).

At the same time that the image of the 'ideal woman' had been slowly constructed along the centuries, reinforced and powerfully structured during the early Victorian period, it underwent on the other hand a deconstruction process through social movements whose objectives were to contribute for a more just society. Along the 19th century there were attempts at reform and great changes in the situation of women began to happen. As a result, the archetype that had been constructed by society for women slowly started to give way to more modern social structures. Several laws were created in order to secure positions that soothed women's hard position in society such as (i) the Custody of Infants Act of 1839 gave mothers of unblemished character access to their children in the vent of separation or divorce; (ii) the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 gave women limited access to divorce; (iii) the Custody of Infants Act was extended in 1873 access to children to all women in the event of a separation or divorce; (iv) an Amendment to the Matrimonial Causes Act guaranteed women separation on the grounds of cruelty and claim custody of their children and, very importantly, (v) an amendment to the Married Women's Property Act in 1884 made women no longer a slave but an independent and separate person (Anderson & Zinsser, 2000). However, in spite of these attempts to reform society, it was possible to identify two patterns at the end of the Victorian period that went well into the 20th century. On the one hand, there was prevalence of the

constructed image of the Victorian woman by the most conservative social groups. On the other hand, there was erosion of the image through reformation.

d. Edwardian times

The Edwardian era, from 1901 up to the First World War, was marked by an enthusiasm for the art and fashions of continental Europe, maybe because King Edward VII was very fond of traveling. Socially speaking, the Edwardian era was the period during which the British class system was at its most rigid. This would change rapidly in the aftermath of the First World War. The upper classes took up leisure sports, which conducted fast development in fashion, as more mobile and flexible clothing styles were needed. The corset was modified and its everyday wearing was gradually abandoned (Schweinbenz, 2001).

The Edwardian era in England and in some other countries may also be characterized as a period of both chauvinism and emancipation for women and sport played an important role in the social lives of middle-class women. Sporting activity permitted young women to meet other people, especially young men, as they had a chance to escape from the chaperoned world of drawing-rooms, house parties and afternoon tea. Archery, for example, favored opportunities in a country home for mutual admiration and courtship. Hargreaves (1987) mentions that sport played a very important role in the emancipation of middle-class women in part because much of the recreational activities such as horse-riding, cycling, croquet and house tennis parties were not primarily competitive; consequently, male pride was not threatened. He adds that “socializing through sport, in fact, formed part of an emergent restructuring of relationships between the sexes at this level, which was taking place outside the work sphere, in the home and at play, whereby ladies were being treated less as an appendage of or an ornament to, gentlemen, and more as a partner and companion whose wishes had to be taken into account.... Playing sport on a competitive basis and indulging in vigorous physical exercise, not only improved their health but also, being able to socialize more freely with their own and with the opposite sex through sports, widened bourgeois women's social horizons and thus gave them a significantly greater degree of independence and freedom”.

However, as the 19th century became the 20th, young women began to discover that their male counterparts had not been treating them as equals, but with a heightened awareness of their status as individuals. However, and extremely important, those older men who had grown up with strictly Victorian principles and code of conduct were not quite ready to accept the new version of the young, athletic woman, and chauvinism within the sporting hierarchy and, in sports such as golf, on the field of play, took much longer to annihilate. The journals,

newspapers and sports books of the first decade of the 20th century have many references to the unsuitability of women for sport, and one of the most common complaints was that women did not know how to conduct themselves in a sporting environment. In other words, women did not always follow the rules, written and unwritten, which had been laid down by the men who formed the committees and associations which governed play. In addition, sporting procedures had come a long way and had implicit and cultural codes that women, new in the field, were not aware of. Men expected women to behave the way they did and as it did not happen, exclusion was imposed by the rule book. It seemed that it was not possible for men to accept the fact that women had another way to view things and to conduct themselves.

An example of that took place in golf. As women would stand round idly talking when they should have been playing and the men would have to wait for them to finish, women were made to give way to men on the course or were only allowed to play at restricted times (i.e. when the men did not want the course, usually at lunchtime or in the late afternoon) (Holt, 1991a). The golf clubhouse, where they would all go for a drink at the end of a game (the nineteenth whole) reflected, in effect, an extension of the after-dinner separation of the sexes which Victorian mores had demanded. The original aim of that would appear to have been men-only clubhouses, but this was more difficult to achieve.

Women had gone through so much segregation and exclusion when they wanted to participate in sports (golf, for instance) that they started to set up their own golf clubs and for their insistence on separate sporting organizations in golf, tennis and athletics. This process began in the first decade of the 20th century but was still part of a fight for recognition as late as the 1930s. The independence to run their own organizations was vital to the success, even the survival of women's sports. It was through setting up their own associations and clubs that women were first able to demonstrate their ability and achievement without being merely the second-string attraction at meetings primarily for men. They not only played the games and participated in the sports as athletes but also learned to settle and found their own organizations and clubs. It seemed that women had to be apart from men as a condition to have their own space and develop their own sports.

In spite of all the movement for women's emancipation and the various and rapid social changes which rendered women more freedom and awareness of their positions in society and which took place at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century well into the 1930s and 1940s, there was still some reluctance to accept the new, especially from the part of men, who felt their positions of 'physical power' threatened by the women. That delayed the participation of female athletes in sports in general and, in particular, in the Olympic Games.

2. Situation in France

The situation of women in France was not much different from that of Britain. Sentences such as (i) 'Man and woman will be to each other as the head and the heart: the man with intelligence, reason, reflection, wisdom, majesty, strength, energy, authority, resolution and the woman with delicacy, sensibility, grace, sweetness, goodness, tenderness, discreet attention, devotion, enthusiasm, communicative warmth' and as (ii) 'What is a man's vocation? It is to be a good citizen. And a woman's? To be a good wife and a good mother. One is in some way called to the outside world. The other is retained for the interior'. These were part of sermons of the 19th century, which illustrate the relationship between men and women (McMillan, 2000). A gender order based on sexual differences rather on sex equality was still widely considered to be fundamental to the well-being of society.

Women suffered for their powerlessness in both Catholic and Protestant religions. Girls were brought up to believe that they ought to obey their husbands; and boys were brought up to believe that they had the power of correction over their wives. In actual marriage, subjection might be moderated by the common causes of economic support (to which they both contributed), of sexual need, of childbearing, or of shared religious interest (Davis, 1968).

Although it was extremely unusual for a woman to practice physical activities, considered today as modern sport, Sparhawk and collaborators (2003) point out Margot of Hainault, a fifteenth-century French woman, who was recognized as an expert in 'royal' or 'court' tennis, which was played simply with the bare hand. It was said that Margot could hit a backhand or forehand as well as any man in her day.

Festivities were found in all the cities of France, and indeed of Europe, in the later middle ages and well into the 16th century: masking, costuming, hiding, charivaris (a noisy masked demonstration to humiliate some wrongdoer in the community), farces, parades, and floats; collecting and distributing money and sweets; dancing, music making; the lighting of fires, reciting poetry, gaming and athletic contests – the list of all its forms and variations would be longer than the 81 games in Bruegel's famous painting or the 127 games that Rabelais gave to Gargantuan (Davies, 1968). They took place at regular intervals, and whenever the occasion warranted it they were timed to the calendar and of religion and season (the 112 days of Christmas, etc.) and timed also to domestic events such as marriage and other family affairs (Davis, 1968). Unmarried adolescent girls had prescribed roles in rural festivities. There were various festivities and confraternities of unmarried girls in honor of Saint Catherine.

McMillan (2000) mentions that building on the work of their 18th century predecessors, 19th century doctors affirmed with even greater confidence that sexual difference was rooted in

the facts of biology. In medical discourse, the sexualized female body thus became a site of multiple meanings which, in addition to defining 'women', configured her place in the wider social order. What fascinated doctors was the perception of woman as 'Other'. Doctors turned to female biology to unlock the mysteries of a specifically feminine nature and, consequently, keep the binary system of gender: a person can only be one gender, never the other or both. Man and woman are constructed as categories that exclude each other (Pfister & Hartmann-Tews, 2003). Simone de Beauvoir in her book The Second Sex (1952) defines woman in terms of biology as male-constructed society had always placed it: "Woman? Very simple, say the fanciers of simple formulas: she is a womb, an ovary; she is a 'female' – this word is sufficient to define her. In the mouth of man the epithet 'female' has the sound of an insult, yet he is not ashamed of his animal nature; on the contrary, he is proud if someone says of him: "He is a male!" The term 'female' is derogatory not because it emphasizes woman's animality, but because it imprisons her in her sex" (Beauvoir, 1952).

The female sex was thought to be the disorderly one 'par excellence' in early modern Europe: "Une beste imparfaicte," went one motto, "sans foy, sans loy, sans crainte, sans constance." Female disorderliness was already seen in the Garden of Eden, when Eve had been the first to yield to the serpent's temptation and incite Adam to disobey the Lord. This disorderliness was found in physiology. What were the proposed remedies for women's unruliness? Religious training to give them modesty and humility; selective education that showed them their moral duties, but not encouraging their undisciplined imagination or loosening their tongue for public talk; honest work that kept them busy; and rules and regulations that made them subject to their husbands. In some ways, that subjection was gradually deepening from the 16th to the 18th centuries as the patriarchal family streamlined itself for more efficient property acquisition, social mobility, and preservation of the line. By the 18th century women in France and in England had largely lost independent legal right to make decisions on their own about their possessions more than at an earlier period. Women who had properties were involved less and less in local and regional political assemblies. Working women in prosperous families were beginning to withdraw from productive labor; those in poor families were increasingly filling the most ill-paid positions of wage labor. This is not to say that females had no informal access to power or continuing vital role in the economy in these centuries as many still continued to influence their husbands (Davis, 1968).

As France did not have the strong Protestant middle class which characterized Britain, the United States and Germany, the political and social emancipation movement of women was weak. According to Holt (1991b), the Catholic Right demanded that women be only mothers

and wives whereas the Left did not want to promote women's emancipation because it feared female conservatism.

To Outram (1989), the construction of images of masculinity and femininity which served to exclude all women and validate some men comprised the political culture of the French revolution, apart from its symbols, which were dominantly feminine such as hats, flags, etc. As the 19th century progressed, science and technology evolved, which caused scientific facts to increasingly press the maintenance of the perceived differences between masculinity and femininity, until feminists found themselves in a position that they had to convince an unwilling public that such differences were not 'natural'.

Women's sports were utilized to enhance femininity and especially to increase the birthrate once France was worried about its demographic inferiority, particularly in relation to Germany as France had lost the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. In 1871 France had a population of 36.1 million while the German Empire had 41.1 million and growing at a much higher accelerated rate (McMillan, 2000). Women were allowed some physical activity as they would improve the quality of their children, a purely eugenic principle (Holt, 1981). Leaders who were for a reformation of physical education and sport in general supported their new views on the duties of the mothers and wives and not on the rights that women had to participate in physical activities just like their male counterparts. Women's sport in France cannot be regarded as a feminist manifestation challenging a long-inherited male position. Reformers in the world of physical education and sport for women tended to support their argument more on women's duties, such as motherhood, than on terms of rights (Holt, 1981).

The medical profession played a dominant role in prescribing safe and adequate sporting activities for women. This dominance may be understood as yet another instance of medical control over women's lives in general, and over reproduction in particular (Lenskyj, 1986).

One French peculiar style of the 19th century referred to the objective of women's sport that was not to make women tough and competitive. However, on the rare occasions women participated in the so considered violent sports such as boxing or wrestling, the purpose was the thinly veiled sexual gratification of the male audience. Female acrobats and circus performers were permitted, and even celebrated, but they were not role-models of most French girls. These festivities appeared in periodicals such as La Vie au Grand Air and other newspapers of the time with pictures and descriptions. Champclos (1899) points out that in the beginning there were sports and physical fighting among the ladies, but those became second plan, as the 'fête des artistes' was moving in another direction close to the end of the 19th century. More elegant

women participated in events and competitions such as car racing, skate boarding and bicycle races. The competitors would parade down the streets and receive armbands. The objective was to display elegance and famous artists.

In spite of the very peculiar views that French society had of women's participation in sport, the moral and social opposition of the late 19th century gave way to a scientific caution which warned against overstraining the female body while accepting that certain forms of exercise were both necessary and desirable. The argument switched to what kinds of event and what sort of techniques were appropriate for women and their functions as wives and mothers.

Holt (1981) mentions that there has been very little published about the participation of French women in sports. The participation of French women in sport and physical activity evolved from an outright hostility to female sport to a carefully qualified and limited approval. There was a great deal of direct opposition to any form of women's participation in competitive sport, particularly from Baron Pierre de Coubertin. His ideas delayed women's participation in the Olympic Games. In spite of the delay, female sport did develop. It came first through the aristocracy. Noble women, by virtue of their family wealth and position, had always been more independent of men than other women. Therefore, the convention by which husband and wife sometimes led more or less separate lives after the succession was established by the birth of children. A survey of attitudes to 'the modern women' carried out in 1900 by the Revue des Revues underlined the fact that the nobility laid significantly less stress than the bourgeoisie on the duty of domestic management. The idea of 'prowess' applied to a certain extent to noble women as well as to men. It was important to show spirit; to be courageous and stylish. Though very few followed noble women into hunting (Duchess d'Uzes - the first female master of hounds in France) or shooting (Princess Marie Ghika), many more were impressed by their enthusiasm for the bicycle in the 1890s, particularly because it was the bicycle which really began female sport in France (Holt, 1981).

The idea of women's bicycling went through a lot of controversy. In 1894 a survey of 48 doctors by the Faculty of Medicine revealed that 39 of them thought that cycling which involved moderate distances and effort was not harmful to women (MacMillan, 2000).

To opponents of women's sport, the race 'La Marche des Midinettes', in which the participants finished 'sweating, disheveled and on the point of collapse' and where the interest of many men seemed more voyeuristic than anything else, was evidence enough that women were not suitable for serious competitive sport (Holt, 1981). What men seemed to have found difficult to accept was the fact that women could suffer to win. It appeared for them that only men could suffer because it was a male preserve, meaning that, part of the proof of masculinity

was the ability to endure pain and exhaustion. The suffering women who had to go through when delivering a baby would not count. In all, to see women voluntarily submitting themselves to such challenges apparently undermined the rationale of masculinity and it was difficult for men to accept this social interplay probably shared by Coubertin as a typical member of the French society .

The most important sources of support for women's sports in France came from two different directions. The first one was linked to the prevailing concern of nationalists of various kinds in relation to the future of the race, which was expressed in a qualified support for female gymnastics and later on for athletics, but to a lesser extent. The second one came up from the sociable requirements of an elite society, especially the need of a supervised and socially regulated mixing of the sexes for courtship either in the family home or on holiday, which explains the prominence of tennis. In other words, women progressed in these activities because they were working within the dominant system of social and political behaviors and not against it (McMillan, 2000).

In the later part of the 19th century, concern for national regeneration through improvement of the race took over as the main stimulus for female exercise. The ideological motives that supported the growth of a large gymnastic movement for men also had an impact on women, who were cautiously being accepted into the world of male gymnastics with its emphasis on German-style exercise rather than on the agility stressed by the Swedish school. The extent to which women's gym developed within either the state-subsidized gymnastic union or within the large rival Catholic grouping is not clear but there were separate female gymnastic clubs until 1909 (Holt, 1981).

Women's athletics, in fact, developed not out of the male athletics clubs, which seem to have opposed women's sport. It developed as an offshoot of the growth of gymnastics (Holt, 1981). A leading Parisian gymnastic club, 'En Avant', organized a women's section named 'Femina Sport', which offered its members basic track and field events and gym for an annual membership fee of 12 francs a year (Holt, 1981). The first completely independent female athletics club was set up three years later after the initiative of a male journalist, Gustave de Lafrete, who organized a female athletics meeting in the Stade Briancon in 1915. The new club was called 'Academia' in 'gratitude' to Plato, who in his 'Laws', proclaimed the same obligations for women as for men in protecting the city-state (Holt, 1991b). The idea might have been a consequence of the First World War. The sense that France was going through a dangerous period might have produced a surge of patriotism, which in turn might have persuaded educated French women to take up some kind of sport. Academia had the famous

Duchess d'Uzes, the slayer of 1200 stags, for president, with the declared intention of 'purifying and beautifying the women in order to beautify and purify the race'. Out of Academia came first a national body for women's athletics in France, the Federation des Sociétés Françaises des Sports Féminins (FSFSF) in 1916 (Drevon, 2005). It was here that a key character that will shape the future development of women's athletics comes up: Alice Milliat. She began taking up rowing with Femina Sport and soon became club treasurer.

The early success of tennis in France seemed to have little to do with outstanding competitors or spectators events. In fact, it was linked with elite tourism and sociability. Tennis was a leisure activity par excellence. Tennis courts were built in leading resorts by hoteliers anxious to attract the sporting British. The late 19th century saw the formation of the Île de Puteaux club in Paris by the viscount de Janze; in Bordeaux, there was the Villa primrose and in Lyon the Tennis Club de Lyon (Holt, 1991b).

Although expectations in sport in relation to the roles played by the sexes were mostly explicit on the part of women, they also clearly had a profound impact on men. Indeed it seemed that at that time sexual identities were interdependent as men could only be strong if women were weak, and vice-versa, in a kind of self-reinforcing cycle. In fact, it seemed that the threat to establish distinctions between the sexes was what lay behind much of the hostile male reaction. As Coubertin had said, 'the role of women was to crown the victor's brow with laurels.' Apparently the Renovator of the Olympic Games was not influenced by his home country's social innovations.

According to AAUW (2005), France had some women's firsts, which seemed to be unique to France, particularly the ones related to balloon flying: (i) in 1784, Elizabeth Thible of Lyons, was the first woman to soar in a hot air balloon; (ii) in 1798, Jeanne Labrosse made a solo balloon flight; (iii) in 1805, Madeleine Sophie Armand Blanchard soloed in the first of 67 gas-powered balloon flights and made her living as a balloonist, being appointed official Aeronaut of the Empire by Napoleon, and toured Europe until she fell to her death in an aerial fireworks display in 1819; and (iv) in 1869, Frenchwomen entered cycling races at Bordeaux, France.

3. Situation in other countries

The situation in Germany was not that much different from the British and French contexts. Pfister (1990) points out that the establishment of gynecology as an acknowledged branch of medicine in the 19th century has had a considerable influence on the development and

popularization of women's sports as physicians were considered experts on the female body and felt authorized to speak on almost all aspects of women's lives including sport.

Similarly to other nations, the changes in principles and codes of conduct that happened as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of capitalism imposed permanent alterations in the economic and social structure of the developed societies around the world so much so that the changes in the economic structure and the accompanying ideological changes had far-reaching effects on women's lives and perspectives.

Also in Germany, whereas women from the lower classes had to work more than before, since they had to work outside the home as well as inside to help support the family, women from the upper classes demonstrated status of their husbands by noticeable leisure instead of earning their own living.

Concepts such as women's work was considered less productive than men's work, the women's domain was the house, women were the 'weaker sex', women were seen as the 'other sex', 'biology is destiny', were giving way to general social changes, which included the acceptance of women's gainful employment. The increase in the female working population was due to several interrelated factors such as the mechanization of many occupations and the rise of new jobs such as telephone operator and secretary, which also seemed suitable to bourgeois women. There was also a rising demand for jobs for unmarried women from the middle classes who were no longer occupied in the household of their parents due to a redistribution of functions. Profitable jobs for unmarried women was therefore one of the central demands of the bourgeois women's movement.

However, the most important aspect in Germany was the military potential of the German population that seemed to be threatened at a time of military tension and rearmament. The eugenic theory that "the strong are born only by the strong" suggested that women should be more robust and healthy as the country would need strong men for an eventual war. As a result, towards the end of the 19th century, women began to participate more and more in Turnen, games, and sports, often on the initiative of female physical education teachers. The rising interest of women in physical fitness coincided with new directions in physical culture, particularly in the games and sports movements. This opened up new opportunities for women, but also put up obstacles in that competition and records would contradict the woman's ideal of this period. Just as the social fate of women in other respects was determined by their bodies, so women's physical culture was decided, in the view of male doctors, by the women's obligation to bear children. In a way, a woman seemed to be not only the product but also the slave of her own reproductive system.

According to Pfister (1990), 19th century gynecologists developed four theories to describe the link between the ability to bear children and to participate in sports, which were even then partially outdated and certainly untenable: (1) the ‘vitalistic’ theory, popular in the 19th century, proposed that human organs contained only a limited, nonrenewable amount of energy; (2) the notion that the uterus was the most vulnerable and endangered part of the female body and excessive physical exercise was claimed to have an inhibiting effect on the development of the pelvis and, as a result, it would cause difficulties having children; (3) Dr. Hugo Sellheim’s theory that claimed that men had strong muscles while women had loose muscles, which ought to be capable of expansion (This theory was cited repeatedly right up to the 1970s); (4) The notion that women might lose their ability to bear children was closely linked with the fear that they could become physically and psychologically more masculine and be turned away from heterosexuality.

The so-called “masculinization” of women was not only opposed on the grounds that it seemed to present a threat to the essential purpose of women, but also because it was a threat to the division of labor and, consequently, the dominating structure of society. Man was the norm; measured accordingly, women were described as deviant and deficient (McCrone, 1988).

The medical discourse on female physical culture in Germany in the 19th and early 20th centuries emphasized the very nature of women as a biological phenomenon and laid on them the heavy load of multiple shifts, increasing their responsibilities as new roles were being developed. However, this view seemed to be the norm in the developed countries of that time. In the United States, for instance, women have historically been conditioned to getting adapted to fundamental assumptions of physical inequality (the weaker sex). Certainly, the fragility of women was a theme which was constantly repeated in the 19th century (Vertinsky, 1979). In addition, medicine relied heavily upon systems of gender differentiation in the late 19th century. They were important for the construction of sexual ideology and for the social perceptions of “woman as body”. The problem seemed to be fear of female independence and competition, and the movement of the 19th century medicine toward somatization contributed for the inclination that mostly male doctors had to closely supervise female patients’ lives (Vertinsky, 1989b).

Still in terms of the United States, powerful groups and their ideologies are a major force for deciding what is newsworthy, profitable, revolutionary, or immoral, and ultimately how history is written. In the 1870s Americans were influenced by a number of restrictive ideologies. Trans-Atlantic Victorian beliefs commanded that women and men maintain different social responsibilities and that women, supposed to be home in their private sphere, be considered frail creatures. The principles and beliefs of ‘medicalization’ that supported female

frailty and enterprising businesses were spread through books and newspapers which supported Victorian beliefs, also in the United States. Consistent with these beliefs, women were often restricted from public leisure, vigorous exercise, and sports (Vertinsky, 1989b).

Professional sport was often located and associated with those who aggressively gambled, consumed alcohol, and smoked. It was even considered immoral to read sporting and theatrical journals, and many women would not allow such material in their homes. However, contrary to doctors who did not encourage physical activities for women and prescribed bed rest for some situations, there were groups of doctors who were in favor of physical culture as they believed that women would be healthier and more productive if they engaged in physical activity. As a result, these doctors and the businesses that supported women's physical activities profited from the prescription of gentle exercise for women with doctor-sponsored exercise equipment. In the United States, there were also a few thousand women working in entertainment, performing athletic feats as circus performers, swimmers, boxers, baseball players, wrestlers, bicyclists, and professional long-distance walkers (pedestriennes). Women in sporting entertainment gained great newspaper attention despite Victorian beliefs because, of course, newspapers wanted to be sensationalist and be sold by the thousands (Shaulis, 1999).

Park (1991) adds to the American picture that the admission of women to universities and colleges was also related to the idea of the over-taxation of the brains as they were liable to serious anatomical and physiological disturbances. Imported Victorian principles were even present in science. Moreover, even if it should be proven that women could endure the same intellectual demands, there would be no purpose since the diverse work for which each sex was destined to was so different. Females were not welcome in the male-dominated world of science in the 1880s. According to Park (1991), Lilian Welsh in 1923 summarized the major arguments that doctors had used, showing how easily 'science' had been manipulated to reinforce established dogma. To prove how mentally inferior women were, physicians, anthropologists, physiologists, and psychologists had weighed brains, measured the grey matter of the cerebrum, and examined the microscopic structures of the cortex and the arteries leading to the brain. As it was known that the red cells carried oxygen, the conclusion had been drawn that since "the red corpuscles in a millimeter of male blood... (were) five million compared to four million five hundred thousand in the female," it would not be worthwhile to cultivate whatever intelligence a woman had. The notion, Welsh recalled, had become so rooted that "even children knew it". Although intelligence and sharp wits were important qualities for defining what it was to be a man, muscular and well-formed bodies were so appealing to Victorians that they were repeatedly invoked in a variety of contexts, particularly in the athletic arena.

Park (1991) adds that in the late 19th century, Victorian principles were so ingrained in society that it was unimaginable to find any picture of sport with a scantily-clad woman athlete while photographs of semi-nude male athletes and illustrations of fig-leaf adorned males in books and periodicals were unusual. Victorian sensibilities prohibited portrayals of disrobed women because women were to be portrayed as modest and vulnerable. The intrusion of a female athlete displayed the same way a male athlete into one of the last bastions of a “man’s world” was hardly to be tolerated.

In the United States, before 1887, the participation of women in sports was limited to noncompetitive recreational activities, which included bowling, croquet, golf, and horseback riding. Many of these early recreation activities for women in the late 19th century and early 20th century were outdoor-oriented. Indoor recreation facilities had not yet been constructed on any large scale. Besides, it was considered healthy for women to be outside (Henderson et al., 1996). Athletic clubs provided opportunities for women to participate in collegiate rowing and fencing. American women’s participation in sport during this period included skill displays in boxing, weight lifting, marksmanship, and ballooning. Some women took part in ‘female pedestrianism’ (long-distance walking) or endurance swimming. In 1879, the National Archery Association sponsored a public exhibition of skill in which 20 women and 59 men took part (Sparhawk et al., 2003). This display was extremely important as it essentially contributed for the participation of women (only American) in the 1904 Saint Louis Olympic Games.

The American Mary Ewing Outerbridge’s initiative represented significant impact on the development of sports for American women. As she was enchanted by the game of tennis she had seen in England, she brought the design for a lawn tennis court to the United States in 1874. Five years after she had introduced the sport to American women (1879) and it became competitive, at least one woman had won a tennis championship. Before 1887, the objective of sport participation for women in the United States had been the encouragement of respectable social encounters and not the development of physical vigor as most of the sport activity was limited to members of the upper classes. Women were accepted as spectators at horse races and ice skating contests, for example, and in other sports such as baseball. In 1883, the New York Giants offered the first Ladies’ Day baseball game, where both ‘escorted’ and ‘unescorted’ women were admitted free of charge (Sparhawk et al., 2003).

Another American who defied dress codes was Eleonora Sears, a Boston Brahmin and descendant of Thomas Jefferson, who made a name for herself at the turn of the 20th century not only in the so-called men’s sports such as polo and shooting but also in tennis, squash, and

equestrian events. In fact she was one of the first well-known women to appear in public in pants and short hair, riding astride her polo pony (Cahn, 1994, cited in Henderson et al., 1996).

In 1893, the American Frances Willard (1839-1898), at the height of her power and influence as leader of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the first mass organization of women, started to learn how to bicycle at 54 years of age, after her doctor recommended she take exercise out of doors. Willard was determined to learn how to ride. It was not an easy task for a woman of her age wearing long skirts, but she was eager for the challenge. She hoped her example would help women seek a wider world and saw "great advantage in good fellowship and mutual understanding between men and women who take the road together", according to the book she published in 1891 (Willard, 1991).

The real breakthrough for American women in sport had in fact taken place at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, when the bicycle was introduced to the American people, and particularly to the American women, who suddenly started to have a vehicle for participation in physical activity. Later on, the American society witnessed more and more women wearing bloomers not only for bicycling but also for performing a variety of athletic activities in the 1890s. A new era of women's participation in sport was underway.

Sparhawk and colleagues (2003) divided the modern history of American women's participation in athletic competition into four periods: the Pre-Organizational Era (1887-1916), the Organizational Years (1917-1956), the Competitive Period (1957-1971), and the Title IX Era (1972-today). The Pre-Organizational Era was characterized by the general disapproval of most types of athletic competition for women. In American college, the control of women's athletics was exercised almost completely by members of women's education faculties at the institutional level. During the Organizational Years, several regulatory groups were founded including the Committee on Women's Athletics, the Athletic Conference of American College Women, and the Women's Division of the National Amateur Athletic Federation. All of these organizations expressed their opposition to the participation of American women in the 1932 Olympic Games.

Summing up, originally, all the innovative physical activities that emerged at the end of the 18th and during the 19th centuries were for men mostly. Women were excluded from Jahn's Turnen in Germany, Ling's Swedish gymnastics, Amorós's military gymnastics exercises and even the English philosophy of sport advocated by Arnold, for example. According to ideological principles of that era, women were meant to fulfill other social functions which were totally unrelated to these physical activities (whether military or for relaxation). It was not until the medical profession began advising women to take physical exercise in order to fulfill their

role as mothers, for example, that they were encouraged to participate in some of these activities. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was acceptable for women to engage in sport and physical exercise as long as they stuck closely to the stereotypical standards expected of women at the time. Nevertheless, certain conditions were set out, enabling women to go further than the established norms and to experience activities run by women in order to protect their involvement in sport and to establish a new kind of sports development. In England, the principle of segregation was adopted, the theory being that women knew better than anyone what they needed. This philosophy was radically opposed to the myth of the weaker sex, removing it completely from the stereotypes of the Victorian era. It provided the basis for women's sports culture. However, this movement was widely criticized for its strictness and discipline, which only served to heighten the differences between the sexes. Segregation clearly did not help women to gain ground in terms of their influence on sports administration and, at a time when coeducation was being introduced, women were powerless to introduce their own ideas.

Puig (2001) points out that previous attempts at integration and segregation in women's sport, where the focus was on equality and difference respectively, never produced a satisfactory outcome. Integration meant the assimilation of women into a world dominated and defined by men (which would lead them to equality), whereas segregation simply endorsed the hierarchy of the sexes engendered by biological differences. Equality still remains a distant reality. And traditional sport is very male-orientated, according to the evidences put on record by the present review. It was during this controversial period that Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the International Olympic Committee and the revivalist of the Olympic Games in the modern era, was born and raised in France (Sparhawk et al. 2003).

CHAPTER V
THE COUBERTIN ERA
PART C: BARON PIERRE DE COUBERTIN

As Pierre de Coubertin was the founder of the International Olympic Committee and the person who put a dream into practice, he is in fact the centerpiece of the whole project of what has become the Modern Olympic Games. The amalgamation of Coubertin's ideas, principles (the way he was brought up), "philosophy of life", personality, educational background, life experiences, dreams, aspirations, efforts, and particularly his own financial support made the Baron plunge head on into the Olympic idea of the Modern Games, which he adopted after interviews with William Penny Brookes. As he devoted his entire life to 'his creation', sacrificing even his family, the Modern Olympic Games had to look like his 'creator', which did happen for many decades, even after his retirement and his death. As a result, the views Coubertin had about the position of women in society and consequently in sport, which had had various influences, were deeply ingrained in his attitudes and decisions in regard to women's participation in sports and in the Olympic Games.

It is interesting to notice that during Coubertin's life, according to his own writings and to his biographers, facts seemed to have contributed for the non-presence of women other than his mother and sister from his childhood until his late days.

Pierre Frédi, Baron de Coubertin, was born in Paris at 28 Oudinot Street, in the family home, on January 1, 1863, and died in Geneva on September 2, 1937, at the age of 74. He was a French educationist, untiring reformer and author of 36 volumes of writing (55,000 pages); besides, he was called the 'Rénovateur' because he organized the Modern Olympic Games. He was very far from being a mythological person (MacAloon, 1981).

Pierre de Coubertin's old French family had some of its roots in Italy. On his father's side, his genealogy can be traced back five centuries to the Roman Fredi family established in Viterbo, near Rome. One branch of this family immigrated to France, where the descendants attended the court of Louis XI. One of his representatives, years later, having made his wealth as a spice merchant, purchased the estate of Coubertin, located about six kilometers from Versailles. As this estate remained the family property, the family took its new name from it (Eyquem, 1966)

Other ancestors were a naval organizer, a lawyer in parliament, merchants (one of whom made a fortune in the India Company and from the profits built the Coubertin Castle), an inventor, a councilor in the Court des Aides in Paris, a consul of Napoleon, a violinist and an

artist who owned the Chateau de Mirville. This last one was Charles Louis (1822-1908), Pierre de Coubertin's father, who spent his holidays there for 30 years. This is then the origin of the man who renovated the Olympic Games and this is what doubtless accounts for his make-up: the aristocracy of his spirit, his faith in an idea, his liking for writing and his ability to take action, and his love of the Arts (Mandell, 1976).

When Pierre was a small child, the family was close and affectionate. They walked in the parks of Paris or in the French countryside. Pierre's large room in the Paris home had a rocking chair and a piano and, most importantly, the walls exhibited English sporting prints (Mandell, 1976). When Pierre was seven years old, his family shared the same feeling French people had that France had been humiliated by Prussian's easy victory, in 1870, over an 'effeminate', non-sporting, excessively educated French population. That seemed to have sunk in as Pierre later struggled to provide France with muscular boys and young men who would be involved in sports and who would not have to spend 11 hours at schools seated and doing assignments. That was without any doubt not a world for girls and young women.

Pierre, born third, after Paul and Albert, did not resemble the others of the family, including his sister Marie, who was the fourth child in the family. Pierre was a slightly stunted, hyperactive child. Differently from his older brothers who had fair skin and were tall, Pierre's complexion was dark, his nose was off center, he had a slightly drooped left eyelid and was smaller than his brothers (Mandell, 1976). In terms of personality, he was affectionate but rebellious. Pierre rode horses and took fencing lessons as expected from any aristocratic boy of his age. He also took up rowing in an individual scull, at the time almost exclusively an English sport and secretly practiced boxing, also emphatically British. However, he never became an athlete (Eyquem, 1966).

When Pierre was 11 years old, he was sent to a Jesuit school (for boys only) as his parents wanted their children to have a strict ritual to follow, particularly Pierre. His older brothers were going to pursue 'worldly' prestigious careers and Pierre had been selected to follow another prestigious career for Catholic families: that of priesthood. Jesuit schools were distinct because of their moral formation, which implied the suppression of passions and the acquisition of inner circumspection and logical reasoning that would allow him to resist the adulation of radicals, republicans and the so-called 'freethinkers', outside school. In addition, Pierre's rebelliousness needed some restraining. As his parents did not want him to belong to groups that were considered inconvenient for their moral and aristocratic principles and interests, Coubertin had his days limited by the walls of the Externat Saint Ignace for 7 years.

In the 'cours de lettres', which Pierre entered and completed, composition, and Latin and Greek grammar were the main subjects (MacAloon, 1981). Rhetoric was also a favorite subject (Mandell, 1976). The stimulus that the Jesuits employed consisted exclusively in competition used through classical games, the matched combats between students in the classroom, the persistent shaming and mortification of the weak, round after round of contests and prize-givings, and the 'academies' of the senior forms to which only the best students belonged (MacAloon, 1981). Pierre was not only a member of the 'academies', he served as one of the officers. This important fact reveals not only that he was a bright student who intensely learned about Greek and Latin literature, but also that he excelled in the extremely competitive regimen Jesuits maintained in school (MacAloon, 1981).

As schools are supposed to educate students for life, it is essential to understand the influence the Jesuit school exercised for Coubertin's future life and career through the procedures and facts that were not only present in the everyday school routines but also, and in particular, those that were absent. The seven years Pierre spent at school indicate the following experiences: (i) Pierre was well-educated in rhetoric, which made him a prolific speaker and writer with a large number of published writings; (ii) Pierre learned several languages, including English, which made it easier for him to have direct and frequent access to the British culture and to straighten the contact with English-speaking countries; (iii) Pierre received training in the various rituals of a religious school, which contributed for the establishment of the rituals he adopted as renovator of the Olympic Games; (iv) Pierre did well in the competitions and contests he had to participate in, which made him an intellectual athlete, providing him with the experience necessary to think up and link intellectual competitions to physical competitions; (v) Pierre served as an officer in the academies at the school as if in preparation for his future mission as founder and president of a great institution which required of him an enormous capacity to draw people together; (vi) Pierre proved to be very good at Latin and Greek, which made it easier for him to get in contact with ancient Greek and Roman cultures, establishing a link that took him to his dream.

However, the Jesuit school only educated boys and no girls. The lack of opportunity to develop friendships with members of the opposite sex probably almost excluded women from Coubertin's life and from his writings. The procedures implemented at the Jesuit school did not allow for girls and young women to participate as competitions, serious studying, commissions, intellectual life and introduction to rituals of religious order were not appropriate for females at that time especially because the activities developed at school were supposed to prepare the young men for positions of power they would have in their adulthood.

During the years Pierre spent at the Jesuit school, he developed his mind differently from what his parents had expected from him. He continued a 'rebel' as he renounced the church career, gave up the army, and refused the political career that was open to him in order to become a teacher and an educator (Mandell, 1976). The experiences Pierre had at school had left profound marks so that he wanted to become an educator to reform education in France. He would probably start it by redistributing the hours a boy would spend at school. An adolescent needed physical exercise as it was against nature to force him to be all brains or an inactive being. Coubertin compared the situation in France with the situation in England pointing out that the English gentleman had the same ambitions of a Greek athlete. Therefore, he would like to offer French boys the same opportunities.

Pierre de Coubertin received his baccalaureate at the age of 17 in 1880. He was rich, had very good manners and the aristocratic title of Baron. His good taste and animation more than compensated the conventional good looks for a young man his age (Mandell, 1976). However, the specialized literature does not mention whether he had a girlfriend, which would be natural for young men entering adulthood. It is widely known that Coubertin married Marie de Rothan. She was two years older than he was. It seemed that she was the one who conquered him as she was present at the 1892 Congress and supported his Olympic ideas to revive the Games. Coubertin was so concentrated upon his own projects that he seemed to have no time to look for a companion. Marie's declarations of faith in his ideas struck him so much that they got married three years later, against his parents' wishes. However, their marriage was not a happy one not only because of his continuous absence due to his engagements and responsibilities but also because of the expenditure and loss of his inherited fortune (MacAloon, 1981).

Throughout his excellent education Pierre became convinced that the classic French pedagogy of his day did not fit modern conditions. The aristocratic Pierre first came into contact with a part of English society in 1875 at the age of 12, when he read a French translation of Thomas Hughe's English classic 'Tom Brown's Schooldays'. The image Pierre created of vigorous young English boys, future leaders of the well-spread and powerful British Empire, disporting themselves endlessly on the green English playing fields, was to influence the young Baron profoundly throughout his life. Pierre read this book a number of times in French and then in English. It is important to point out here that girls did not play any role in 'Tom Brown's Schooldays' (1989). Pierre also read Hippolyte Taine's "Notes sur l'Angleterre", written between 1859 and 1870 and published in 1871. In his book, Taine (1973) spoke especially of Anglophilia and his thought might have exerted powerful direct and indirect influence over Coubertin throughout the 1880s and 1890s. Coubertin read the chapter on education which dealt

with the English public secondary schools and the amount of time boys would spend at books and in physical activities such as athletic games, football, running, rowing and cricket. Taine added that pride played an important part as each school tried to beat its rivals sending teams of players and oarsmen, picked out and trained, to play and row against the others. But no girls or young women were mentioned (MacAloon, 1981).

As Taine (1973) also suggested that the hierarchical organization and teams sports of the English preparatory schools as well as universities went by obedience and command, it is not very difficult to associate this type of instruction with that of the military. France had no tradition of schoolboy sports and it did have the stinging memory of military humiliation due to their defeat in the war against Prussia.

After reading Taine, Coubertin concluded that the principal features of English character were 'the need for independence, the capacity for initiative, the active and obstinate will, the vehemence of the passions concentrated and controlled, the harsh though silent grinding of their moral machinery, the vast and tragic spectacle which a soul entire furnishes for its own contemplation, the custom of looking into the self, the seriousness with which they have always considered human destiny, their moral and religious preoccupations' (MacAloon, 1981). While Taine found these qualities admirable and their native habitat, enviable, he reserved the adjectives fetid, livid, filthy, confined, and brutish for the poor and their dwellings, as he described social discrepancies observed in Britain. However, Coubertin seemed to have preferred the former as he identified himself with the aristocratic British class and ignored the latter. Coubertin was morally pleased with Taine's views of the innocence and propriety of the English upper classes in matters of sex, which he probably adopted for himself. The real 'gentleman' was a truly noble man, a man worthy of command, a disinterested man of integrity, capable of exposing, even sacrificing himself for those he led; not only a man of honor, but a conscientious man in whom generous instincts had confirmed by right thinking and who acted even more rightly from good principles. Taine assured Coubertin that in England he would find a different model of nobility, a modern aristocracy whose citizens are the most enlightened, the most independent and the most useful of the whole nation. Finally, Taine suggested Hughes as complementary reading, which Coubertin did again. At that time with more mature eyes (MacAloon, 1981).

On the other side of the English Channel, sport was growing at top speed, together with the whole English nation, which was admired in the Western world. Traces of Anglophilia were not new to the French intellectuals as it can be observed in the writings of Voltaire and Montesquieu, for example. The industrial transformation of Western society had started with the

British: their technology, industry, literature, and social thought were original, vigorous and widely spread. The British Empire grew so much that it was all around the world. Victorian England exported its philosophy and principles, habits and manners, social and political life to continental Europe. Education flourished in the public school system that used sport as a means to educate British boys. Girls had to behave according to the 'laws' imposed by British society. This was also exported to other countries, including France, despite its firm nationalism. Pierre de Coubertin became an example of this selective influence, when he adopted the English sportive education as a model.

Coubertin was so enchanted with the ideals of British education he had constructed that he could barely wait for the first opportunity to visit his own dream land. After his graduation from the lycée, he wandered around but did not know exactly what he wanted to do. A way to escape from familiar and social pressures was to travel.

Many sources point out that Coubertin went to England several times between 1883 and 1887 in order to acquaint himself more intimately with the sporting principles of the famed English Public Schools, and with a desire to attach his name to a great pedagogical reform. However, a report of his own speech of 1890 suggested that he could have gone to Britain for the first time in 1881 and not in 1883. According to Anthony (1997), the report in "The Wellington Journal Shewsbury news" of October 25th, 1890 read: "When he first came to England, which was nine years ago..."

In 1883 Coubertin went back to England to visit some friends near Windsor (at the Jesuit Beaumont College) and spent several weeks visiting public schools in Rugby, Harrow and Eton and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. He was back again in 1884 and 1885. He took his longest trip to England in 1886, when he was 23 years old. It was the year the National Physical Recreation Society (NPRS) was formed. Leading officers of this society, such as Herbert Gladstone and Lord Kinnaird, were members of the welcoming party for the IOC's first outing to London in 1904. Dr. William Penny Brookes was also a member of the NPRS Executive Committee.

Coubertin was so much interested in the British public school system that he went back to England in 1887 and visited not only public schools at Winchester, Marlborough, Charterhouse, Coopers Hill, Westminster and Christ's Hospital but also several catholic schools in England and Ireland (Anthony, 1997).

The figure of Dr. Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School from 1828 to 1842, had a special importance in the development of the Modern Olympic Games as he was the mentor of a system of education for boys that epitomized everything Coubertin had always identified with.

“Dr. Arnold was the single most important influence on the life and thought of Pierre de Coubertin. The Baron’s philosophical approach to the many facets of his life combined the ‘wholeness’ of the Grecian spirit of antiquity, with the extreme 19th century moralism of Thomas Arnold. Coubertin’s concept of Grecian thought, exemplified in the trinity of ‘character, intellect and body’ was inextricably fused with the image of disciplined austerity and sportsmanship of the English Rugby School. The Anglophilic Coubertin was convinced that the vigor, wealth and power of Great Britain were due primarily to its unique system of public education” (Lucas, 1973).

According to MacAloon (1981), Coubertin had a vision in 1886 at Thomas Arnold’s tomb. The dead master of Rugby School had been deified by Coubertin, who had taken him as his lifelong hero, prophet, and father-substitute. Coubertin’s vocation (aristocrats were supposed to have vocations, not professions and certainly not occupations) was confirmed by his vision and he began in 1887 his ‘21-year campaign’ to bring to France what he took to be Arnold’s legacy: “la pedagogie sportive”, athletic education, a proven method for the production of ‘Muscular Christians’ which, as a republican, Coubertin intended to extend not only to the boys of his own class, but to the bourgeoisie and ultimately to the working-class boys as well. The ‘Arnoldian’ system of school sports, student self-government, and post-graduate athletic associations would, Coubertin felt, be the means by which France would recover after the French disasters of 1871, and would create a lasting democratic society as the English had. Coubertin himself, through tireless patronage, would be the apostle of this great reform. The ‘régime arnoldien’, coherent with its manhood doctrine, did not include any girls.

MacAloon (1981) points out that Coubertin then enrolled in the École Libre des Sciences Politiques and his political and social views were indeed still being formed in 1885. The objective of the École Libre seemed to be the training of men who belonged to the upper classes and who had an interest in exercising influence on the masses in terms of politics, in the service of the government, or in big business. The great service the École did was the ‘legitimation’ of Coubertin’s own ‘irregularity’ as he was a socially marginal man, at odds with his class, his family and his traditions (MacAloon, 1981). In reality, it seemed that the École Libre had provided a home for Coubertin, particularly because in those days he was a moralist, not a scholar as he wished to bring a piece of England to France, and not to study England. What appeared to be important was Coubertin’s decision, his confidence, and his self-credibility as a potential reformer. At the École Libre, social improvement was a matter of everyday consideration and not the mere fantasy of isolated young men. However, Coubertin’s center of attention continued to be the public schools, Rugby in particular (MacAloon, 1981).

As Bidiss (1997) points out, Coubertin in one of his observations about education in French schools mentioned that his nation was bound to create a bachelor, a licencié, a doctor, but doubtfully a man. On the contrary, after a student spent 15 years destroying his virility, France would give society a ridiculous little mandarin who did not have any muscles, who did not know how to leap over a gate, to elbow his way forward, to shoot a gun, or to mount a horse, and who was afraid of everything. How would this young man be prepared for battle?

After his so many visits to British schools, Baron Pierre de Coubertin was convinced that the sports-centered English public school system of the late 19th century was the sole support for the vast and majestic British Empire. Coubertin saw a catharsis, not only for the English but also for the Frenchmen and for all mankind, in the scholarship of Dr. Arnold and the following trend toward manly sport at Rugby School, and in England. Thomas Arnold had sown seeds and Coubertin harvested the crops years later as he put together (i) his faith in the qualities of English sports education that built character in boys and (ii) his own life-long devotion to the Hellenic trinity of body, mind and spirit. The combination of these two powerful elements formed the rationale for his dream of universal amateur athletics (sports), which constituted the guiding principle of the Olympic movement, called 'Olympism', viewed by Coubertin as a cult of beauty, an instrument for world peace and a pervasive religion (Lucas, 1973). Although Coubertin frequently called modern Olympism a 'religion', he recognised that the interconnections between secular and sacred had died down since the time when altars were raised to Zeus and Hera at the sacred site of Olympia, during a period in which the Olympic Games had inevitably to be controlled by the Elis government because they were dedicated to the Gods (Bidiss, 1997).

Pierre de Coubertin went back to England in 1888 and, as an enthusiastic rower, visited Henley (the very first race took place in 1839). He was impressed by the Henley Royal Regatta organization, which he described as 'three concentric circles': the nucleus (those who were deeply committed), the nursery (those who could be educated to the cause) and the façade (those whose position and influence could be useful). This model was used as the basis of the IOC constitution (Anthony, 1997).

It did not take long for the French government to trust Pierre de Coubertin the mission to investigate physical education in the United States in 1889. He gladly did this investigation as he had read and admired Tocqueville's writings. Alexis-Charles-Henri Clérel de Tocqueville (1805-1859) was a French political thinker and historian, whose most famous work, the two-volume Democracy in America (1835 and 1840), based on his travels to the United States, presented his views on American democracy and social equality.

In 1889, Coubertin also organized a congress in Paris as part of the Universal Exposition. In this same year, he conducted a postal survey in the English-speaking countries (Anthony, 1997). One of the results of his research was a pamphlet he received from William Brookes: a copy of the research made by Brookes at the 1st National Olympian Games held at London's Crystal Palace in 1866, which illustrated the importance of the Olympian idea in education. Coubertin was so impressed by these ideas that a friendship with Dr. Brookes through correspondence started that very year. After exchanging some letters with Brookes, Coubertin took off for Much Wenlock (Wenlock Olympian Society, 2005), where a special edition of the Olympian Games was organized in his honor. At this time the two men discussed their similar ambitions and older William Penny Brookes shared with the young Coubertin his dream of an Olympic revival, international Games, to be staged in Athens (Wenlock Olympian Society, 2005), especially after he had had Zappas's influence, as mentioned before. When Coubertin went back to France, he gave a flaming report of his stay at Much Wenlock and referred to the fact that Penny Brookes wanted to revive the Ancient Olympic Games on an international basis. Coubertin paid grand written tribute to Brookes. He even wrote in his article for the December issue of La Revue Athletique (Coubertin, 1890): "If the Olympic Games that Modern Greece has not yet been able to revive still survives today, it is due, not to a Greek, but to Dr. W. P. Brookes". Their respect was mutual: Coubertin referred to the doctor as 'my oldest friend' and was made Honorary Member of the Much Wenlock Olympian Society in 1891.

Coubertin made his first speech at the Sorbonne, University of Paris, in 1892, calling for the revival of International Olympic Games. Such sports exchanges, he said, would be the 'new free trade' of Europe. As his speech did not find echoes, Coubertin planned the International Olympic Congress for June, 1894, in Paris, when the IOC was established. The Much Wenlock Olympian Society welcomed the Congress, wished it well and suggested that the congress should have a 'motto' in Greek or in Latin. Years later, Coubertin adopted his Jesuit mentor Father Didon's invention: 'Citius, Altius, Fortius (Faster, Higher, Stronger). Brookes and Coubertin corresponded through this pre-Congress time. Brookes said that he had always wanted to revive the Olympic Games internationally and that they should always be staged in Greece. He added that Coubertin's idea to send them to the capitals of the associated nations was a much better idea. As Brookes had broken his leg, he was not able to travel to Paris for the Congress, when the IOC was formally established on June 23rd 1894. Brookes died the following year and Coubertin wrote a grandiose obituary in the New York 'Review of Reviews', paying excessive tribute to his 'oldest friend', later to be forgotten (Mandell, 1976).

Back to his origins, Coubertin was educated by Jesuits, and his mother hoped he would enter the priesthood some day. Instead, he became enchanted with late Victorian humanism, which was busily rediscovering the glories of pre-Christian Greek and Roman society, and a relatively new trend in English education, sometimes associated with 'Muscular Christianity', which stressed sport as an aid to the development of morals and even godliness.

According to Putney (2001), 'Muscular Christianity' was an important religious, literary, and social movement of the mid-nineteenth century. The notion of 'Muscular Christianity' was an important feature of some key discourses around work with boys and men in the second half of the 19th century. It can be defined as a Christian commitment to health and manliness. The phrase "muscular Christianity" probably first appeared in an 1857 English review of Charles Kingsley's novel Two Years Ago (1857). In the following year, the same phrase was used to describe Tom Brown's School Days, by Kingsley's friend, Englishman Thomas Hughes, whose book was read by Coubertin. Soon the press in general was calling both writers muscular Christians and also applying that label to the genre they inspired: adventure novels replete with high principles and manly Christian heroes. Hughes and Kingsley were not only novelists; they were also social critics. In their view, asceticism and effeminacy had gravely weakened the Anglican Church due to the following aspects: (i) imbalance of women to men in the pews; (ii) women's influence in church, which had led to an overabundance of sentimental hymns, (iii) effeminate clergymen and (iv) sickly-sweet images of Jesus. These things were repellant to 'real men' and boys, condemned critics, who argued that males would avoid going to church until "feminized" Protestantism gave way to muscular Christianity, a strenuous religion for the strenuous life (Putney, 2001). To make that church one suitable for British imperialism, Hughes and Kingsley sought to equip it with rugged and manly qualities. The presence of women and their culture had a negative effect even at the church.

Coubertin ended up fusing late Victorian humanism, the new discoveries about Greek and Roman societies and muscular Christianity into 'Olympism', and began marching for a revival of the games, preaching what has been called a 'gospel of sport'. "Have faith in it; pour out your strength for it", he said. "Make its hope your own". Coubertin knew that his project promulgated a new belief system. When he announced his decision to reinstate the Games, he said, "The first essential characteristic of the Olympics, both ancient as well as modern, is to be a religion. ... It represents, above and outside the Churches, humanity's superior religion". He also consciously modeled its ceremonial aspects—processions, oaths, hymns—on rituals he learned in the Catholic Church, which only included women who attended mass and did charity.

In his “Memoires Olympiques” Coubertin explained that for him sports were “a religion with church, dogmas, and ritual... but most of all with religious feelings.” The idea was later adopted by Avery Brundage, who announced to his colleagues in the IOC that Olympism was a twentieth-century religion, “a religion with universal appeal which incorporates all the basic values of other religions, a modern, exciting, virile, dynamic religion” (Krüger, 1993).

It has been suggested that the idea of athleticism as a religion for Coubertin came from the Olympic Games of antiquity, when the holy days of ancient Greek religion were the days athletes spent at Olympia, the Mecca for the athletes. From a Coubertinian viewpoint, as the individual strove for perfection of performance, the spirit of competition and fair play were considered the most important dimensions of the “*religio athletae*”, who expressed the harmony between physical and intellectual courage. When Coubertin came to learning what British “fair play” was, it had already been modified through the ages as its genesis, according to Mangan (1997), lay not in nobility but in savagery. “Fair play” was not the instinct behavior of gentlemen but the acquired behavior of bullyboys. The purpose of “fair play”, as a utilitarian tool of social engineering, was to promote social integration and avoid social disintegration. As a result, male sport became England’s greatest teacher and Coubertin was caught up in this moral euphoria.

Krüger (1993) points out that in 1928, Coubertin published in English the paper “*Religio Athletae*” in the very first issue of the “*Bulletin du Bureau International de Pédagogie Sportive*”, explaining the term and clarifying the difference between Olympic Games and world championships: “But we may be asked what difference do you make between Olympic Games and what are nowadays called world championships? We agree that world championships do form a part of the Olympic Games; nevertheless, the Olympic Games are ‘something else’ that matters, as it is not to be found in any other variety of athletic competition... For centuries, athleticism, its home in Olympia, remained pure and magnificent. There states and cities met in the persons of their young men, who, imbued with a sense of the moral grandeur of the games went to them in a spirit of almost religious reverence”. This quotation is essential as it contains Coubertin’s feelings for the ancient Olympic Games when he says ‘something else’. Would that be the soul of the Olympic Games? As athleticism had been kept pure and magnificent like a religion throughout the centuries, it should remain still and unchanged. Coubertin did not desire to alter the status quo of the ancient Games because as religions had their own rituals, they should be maintained and preserved so that generations to come could still preserve and practice it. When Coubertin mentions that young men who represented states and cities met to compete in the Games, he could be comparing the competitions with a war, when young men who

represent their nations dispute their honor in the battlefields. The spirit of religious reverence is closely connected to the notion that men as athletes are performing a superb service for their country, short only to fighting for it on the battlefield (Krüger, 1993). Coubertin had referred to this point back in 1913: "...Sport with its youthful élan which we witness today...can be seen as an indirect preparation for war. In sports all the same qualities flourish which serve for warfare: indifference towards one's own well being, courage, readiness for the unforeseen... The young sportsman is certainly better prepared for war than his untrained brothers" (Coubertin, 1913). This quotation shows how close sport was to war as it discloses Coubertin's intentions of using sport as a preparation for war following rituals that could be described as almost similar to religious rites. This direct comparison places war, religion and sport at the same level and automatically excludes women as historical tradition had always done since war, religion and sport involved manliness and power. However, History is also made of 'invisible presence'. The fact that women were not so much mentioned does not mean that they were not there. They were not in the limelight, but they were there. It is possible to conduct research that can shed some light on areas that had been in the dark to recover what was supposed to have been lost. The history of the Modern Olympic Games has shown it and names of women start to appear.

In general, historians tend to analyze Coubertin's deeds and writings in order to better understand the phenomenon behind it all. Nevertheless, there are certain aspects which have to be studied by their absence and by their invisibility, which is the case of the presence of women in Coubertin's life, works and deeds and in the Olympic Games. It then seems that women were almost invisible in Coubertin's writings as they remain invisible in Coubertin's biographies and in analyses of his work. Although the preference concentrates on his career and on the IOC, it does not appear to be possible to examine the Olympic Games if women are not part of the process.

Nevertheless women were not so invisible. As the 19th century was coming to the end, many changes were happening not only in British society but also all around the world. With the invention and adaptation of the bloomers to sporting life, many middle class young women took up a sport. Women had already made their debut in British male sport as physical education schools were being directed by Scandinavian women who had been hired to start programs for girls. Women were also struggling for their right to become citizens in many countries. In 1893 New Zealand was the very first country to grant women the right to vote.

By examining Coubertin's influences, his context, his motivations, it is possible to account for the absence of women as key concepts and principles of the 19th century related to religion, Muscular Christianity, preparedness for wars, militarism, ancient Olympic Games,

Victorian England, and especially power are among the main aspects that prevented women from entering Coubertin's sport arena, particularly competitive sport. "Coubertin understood the world at his time. What would he say today? He said the best competitors must come to the Games – though he never said the best women! The Games without women would be like a military barracks" said Juan Antonio Samaranch (Lucas, 1992).

There was in fact a great deal of direct opposition to any form of women's participation in competitive sport. Coubertin's collection of writings provides ample evidence. Coubertin opposed female involvement essentially because it was not 'natural' according to the patterns of his time. As Leigh (1974) pointed out, 'Coubertin was a man of his time' and remained so as time went by and as social changes started to happen in Europe, causing an upheaval in customs and principles. Nevertheless, Coubertin gave in very little. In fact, he never seemed to have adapted to the new changes of society and it was hard for him to do so as his youth had been thoroughly shaped by deeply rooted principles to which he was faithfully devoted.

In 1901, Coubertin wrote: 'The role of women in the world remains what it has always been. She is above all the companion of man, the future mother of a family, and she should be brought up with this fixed destiny in mind' (Coubertin, in Müller, 1986).

From Coubertin's point of view, women playing male sports was part of the wider demand for 'equality' which, if unchecked, would lead to the collapse of (male) authority in the family and society as well as to problems of public decency, according to the already known Victorian principles. Such fixed ideas played an important part in preventing women from gaining access to athletics and severely limiting their involvement in the Olympic movement before 1914. In spite of that women's sport did develop.

The very first time perhaps that Coubertin thought of women related to the reinstitution of the Olympic Games took place when Brookes mentioned it to him in 1890, when they met in Britain, and later on when he attended the edition of the Olympian Games staged on his honor. It was the figure of a young herald on a white horse. The winner of a competition would come forward and would kneel at the feet of a lady who would crown him with a laurel wreath. The winner would then kiss the lady on the hand. That image must have impressed Coubertin a great deal as he had already adopted the English style of life, particularly in the area concerned with sport. The image of the lady crowning the winner was to be repeated by Coubertin. On August 4, 1935, in a conference recorded on a Geneve station, Coubertin declares : « le véritable héros olympique est, à mes yeux, l'adulte mâle individuel ». He recognizes that « l'enceinte sacrée...[on pourrait] organiser... [des] tournois de football et autres jeux...les femmes pourraient

participer si on le juge nécessaire...Aux JO, leur rôle devrait être surtout, comme aux anciens tournois, de couronner les vainqueurs » (Coubertin, in Müller, 1986).

Summing up, sport was derived from both physical power and religion as it implied the use of rituals in order to develop this physical power. The cult of physical power goes back centuries, ingrained in male behavior, a springboard for any other type of power that exercised control over others. Women were not to have physical power as their functions have always been related to reproduction.

Although the position that Coubertin had in relation to women's participating in sport and in the Olympic Games seems to be very clear in the specialized literature, Marie-Thérèse Eyquem (1976), who was a sportswoman, French feminist, union leader, and the first biographer of Pierre de Coubertin, wrote an article in which she defends a different position for Coubertin. As a matter of fact, her position tries to be exactly the opposite from the one found in the specialized literature as she describes how Coubertin changed his initial position of opposing women's sports to a position in which he accepted women in sport. The portion of the article is as follows:

“One of the most positive changes in Coubertin's thinking in relation to the Olympic Movement was that in his attitude towards women. At one point in the early days he seemed totally opposed to their participation in the Games but he gradually changed his mind. In his report on the 1920 Games he referred to the participation of women in the swimming events: ‘they have excelled, beating their previous records’. From 1900 he had protested against the differences between educational programs for girls and boys and deplored that ‘certain careers which they would willingly take up are barred to women’. He was no less conscious of the importance, in women as in men, of the qualities of force, endurance, skill, objectivity, fair play and will, which sport developed. He was therefore very quickly a supporter of women's participation in gymnastics, dancing, games, then sporting competitions, but on certain conditions. When he wrote on the subject in the Olympic Review of July 1912, he admitted that time, psychological and social factors would ensure the eventual admission of women. In 1920 the Executive Committee of the IOC voted for a majority to admit women to the Olympic Games, but Coubertin was not happy. “Should women be allowed access to all Olympic sports? No. Then why allow them to take part in some and prohibit others? And, above all, upon what is the barrier between permitted and forbidden sports to be based?”

By the latter days of his life, however, his only reservations were about the presence of the public at women's competitions, which was curious since he accepted women's presence in other forms of public life. He always opposed the injustices of which women were victims.

Writing on “La Crise de Mariage et la femme Nouvelle aux États-Unis” (The Crisis of Marriage and the New Woman in the United States) in 1920, he noted stages of women’s evolution. Women were restricted for different reasons, he wrote, by war, economic conditions, the industrial revolution. When they worked at the same jobs as men, they claimed equality of rights, and having proved that they possessed the same qualities they demanded access to the same careers. Women, he claimed, had exercised the right to vote in France since the first assembly of the États-Généraux and he admired the ‘progressive boldness’ that led Christine de Prisan to become a writer and avant-garde feminist in the 14th century. In 1937 he said: “Let women practice all the sports if they wish, but let them not show off.” In the end, Coubertin’s reservation only prompted the counter-propaganda brought about by sportswomen who were inadequately prepared or struggled in events that required mainly strength and violent effort, those that risked shocking the public and provoking its hostility against sportswomen in general. So, in writing about the 1920 Games, after praising the women swimmers and tennis players, he commented, referring to certain athletic specialties and to football: “Which sports practiced by women could constitute therefore a spectacle suitable for the crowds that assembled for an Olympiad? We do not think that one could be claimed.” He was worried by possible reactions of the public to sportswomen and especially athletes – that possibility shocked him more than the reality of sporting women which he considered normal and even necessary.”

There are various relevant points to be observed in this text in relation to Coubertin’s acceptance of women’s participation in the Olympic Games: (i) when Eyquem says ‘he gradually changed his position’ in relation to women’s participation in the Olympic Games it is probably because he had to admit it whether he liked it or not because women had been participating in the Olympic Games since 1900, officially accepted by the IOC ; (ii) she points out that “he was therefore very quickly a supporter of women’s participation in gymnastics, dancing, games, then sporting competitions, but on certain conditions”, but she does not say when and does not provide any reference to it; (iii) she mentions that “when he wrote on the subject in the Olympic Review of July 1912, he admitted that time, psychological and social factors would ensure the eventual admission of women”, which is not exactly what was written in the document (transcribed above) as the tone of irony is very clear in the way Coubertin used the words as he was furious with the fact that a ‘néo-amazone’ (Hellen Preece) wanted to participate in the Modern Pentathlon; moreover, Eyquem does not exploit this text any further, which in reality shows that the text does not really support her position; (iv) Eyquem adds that “his only reservations were about the presence of the public at women’s competitions”, which seems a bit exaggerated because of the word ‘only’ due to the fact that Coubertin’s position was

very clear as he had shown in the 1914 IOC Annual Session; (v) from sentences such as (a) “He always opposed the injustices of which women were victims” and (b) “In the end, Coubertin’s reservation only prompted the counter-propaganda brought about by sportswomen who were inadequately prepared or struggled in events that required mainly strength and violent effort, those that risked shocking the public and provoking its hostility against sportswomen in general”, Eyquem seems to refer to Coubertin as the ‘protector of women’ (the one who is there to defend women), therefore agreeing with him that women’s performance should be restricted; (vi) the article contains no references to any of the sentences or articles said or written by Coubertin in the text and (vii) the article failed to observe other written discourse made by Coubertin through primary sources such the Minutes of the IOC , the Olympic Review and his writings.

Besides, the same Eyquem’s text displays several contradictions: (i) the author compares two different aspects, for example, Coubertin’s position in relation to the participation of women in the Olympic Games with his position in relation to education of boys and girls and the participation of women in public life; (ii) Eyquem mentions that “in 1920 the Executive Committee of the IOC voted for a majority to admit women to the Olympic Games”, which does not seem to be the truth because the Executive Commission or Board was only created in 1921, as it is described in the following chapter; (iii) when Eyquem cites the sentence “But Coubertin was not happy. “Should women be allowed access to all Olympic sports? No. Then why allow them to take part in some and prohibit others? And, above all, upon what is the barrier between permitted and forbidden sports to be based?”, she is reinforcing exactly the fact that Coubertin was not happy with the fact that the IOC had approved the participation of women; (iv) Eyquem also adds that, when observing stages of women’s evolution, Coubertin mentioned that “women had exercised the right to vote in France since the first assembly of the États-Généraux”, which is not true as women only had the right to vote in France in 1944; (v) finally, after trying to support her thesis that Coubertin had evolved his ideas of women’s participation in the Olympic Games throughout the text (“One of the most positive changes in Coubertin’s thinking in relation to the Olympic Movement was that in his attitude towards women. At one point in the early days he seemed totally opposed to their participation in the Games but he gradually changed his mind”), she adds the following Coubertin’s sentences at the end of the text: “Which sports practiced by women could constitute therefore a spectacle suitable for the crowds that assembled for an Olympiad? We do not think that one could be claimed”, which completely contradicts her initial point.

As a result, this text reinforces the well-known idea here supported by primary and secondary sources that Coubertin's thinking hampered the progressive insertion of women in the Olympic Movement and their participation in the Olympic Games.

CHAPTER V
THE COUBERTIN ERA
PART D: THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND THE EARLY
OLYMPIC GAMES UNTIL 1928

The objective of this section is to examine the process of the participation of women in the Olympic Games through the IOC from its very beginning in 1894 and the first Olympic Games in 1896 until women athletes were finally accepted to contest athletic events in 1928. This is the period in which the status of women as participating athletes most varied. The inclusion of women athletes in track and field events in 1928 was the result of an arduous process whose objective was the acceptance of female Olympians in the considered most ‘manly’ of all sports.

The very first president of the IOC was the Greek Demetrius Vikelas (1835-1908), president from 1894 until 1896. He was followed by Coubertin (1863-1937), president from 1896 until 1925. The presidents that succeeded Coubertin were: the Belgian Count Henri de Baillet Latour (1876-1942), president from 1925 until 1942; the Swedish industrial and sports official Johannes Sigfrid Edström (1870-1964), president from 1942 until 1952; the American athlete, sports official, art collector and philanthropist Avery Brundage (1887-1975), president from 1952 until 1972, the Right Honorable Michael Morris, 3rd Baron Killanin, British Lord Killanin (1914-1999), president from 1972 until 1980; the Spanish Juan Antonio Samaranch (1920-), Marquess de Samaranch, president from 1980 until 2001 and the Belgian Count Jacques Rogge (1942-), the current president.

The IOC: Early Organization and Programs

The International Olympic Committee (IOC), the founding and governing body of the Olympic Movement, is one of the earliest international non-governmental organizations (NGO) to come into existence (Zakus, 2000). The beginning of the IOC in 1894 places it as one of the few organizations to bridge three centuries.

The early organization of the IOC was very much based on Pierre de Coubertin’s thought, action, and financial input. The original IOC, as he later wrote in his Mémoires Olympiques: “was already what it would be for 30 years (and still is) composed of three concentric circles”, almost in the same fashion he had seen at Henley in 1888 (Anthony, 1997): “a small nucleus of active and convinced members”, the ones who were deeply committed; “a nursery of members of good will who were capable of being educated” to the cause; “and finally

a façade of more or less useful men whose presence satisfied national pretensions while giving some prestige to the group” (Anthony, 1997). Moreover, to protect the consolidation of power and leadership in himself and his intimates, the baron established the principles of the IOC, as a ‘self-recruiting body’ (*Mémoires Olympiques*). The irony of such an organization at the head of a movement claiming to serve democratic aspirations and values was never lost on Coubertin, an aristocrat searching for a role in modern democratic social life. The titles, appointments, and offices of his ancestors and of his own seemed to have been perceived by him as signs of past, and the charters for future, which he used with accuracy for his own interests, maybe following Brookes’s model. Brookes had written to many titled and famous people when he founded the Agricultural Reading Society. Coubertin followed the same procedures as he invited the prominent members of the upper classes of Europe to his Congress in Paris in 1894 (Wenlock Olympic Society, 2005).

Although 2,000 people attended the Congress at the Sorbonne in 1894, only men participated in the discussions. At this point, it is relevant to clarify some information which came up in 2000 and which could be source of future misunderstandings. Maybe because she found the invisibility of women in Coubertin’s Congress in 1894 outrageous and after some research, DeFranz (2000) stated in a paper she presented at the “2nd IOC World Conference on Women and Sport” that “one woman was among the 50 leading citizens of the world who were listed on the invitation to the delegates of the Congress. Unfortunately her name was misprinted on the invitation as Baron von Suttner, rather than Baroness. The Baron had passed away many years before. The Baroness, who was a supporter of the Modern Olympic Games, was also a close confidant of Albert Nobel. In Nobel’s will, she was given the responsibility for creating the Nobel Peace Prize, as well as four other prizes. Baroness von Suttner became a Nobel laureate in 1905 for her work in promoting peace”. However, looking at Baroness von Suttner’s biography, Bertha Felicie Sophie von Suttner (1843-1914), according to the Nobel Foundation (2005), this researcher found out that Bertha von Suttner only became a widow in 1902, 18 years after the Sorbonne Congress. The Baron who had died years before was in reality her father-in-law, and not her husband.

The money to pay for the opening banquet of the 1894 Sorbonne Congress and concert came from Coubertin’s own pocket. At that time, he had a great deal of money, and most importantly, by sponsoring events he could have everything his own way. As the Congress had a Program divided into two parts: (i) amateurism and professionalism and (ii) Olympic Games, the participants were divided into two committees (IOC, 2005). The Committee on Olympic Games started out with five members: Demetrios Vikelas from Greece, Victor Balk from

Sweden, Charles Herbert from England, William Sloane from the United States and Pierre de Coubertin from France, and then nine more were added. Their first meeting was informal and they all enthusiastically renamed themselves the International Olympic Committee (IOC, 2005).

This original committee adopted some general rules for conducting the Games, drew a list of possible events, and decided what athletes and countries would live up to their Olympic ideals. According to Mayer (1960), former general secretary of the IOC, Coubertin personally named the first members of the Committee as he had declared his desire for complete freedom of action during the beginning period because he feared someone might seek to modify the direction of the movement he had created. It is not surprising to acknowledge the fact that, following the social context of the time, no women were either part of any committee or mentioned as athletes of any participating country (Lambros & Polites, 1896).

From its initial steps Coubertin had determined that the Committee be self-recruiting, which means that when a member died, resigned, or was dismissed, the rest of the members would select someone to replace him. The members thus selected would become members for life. In addition, they were not delegates from the countries or sports federations to the Olympic organization, but on the contrary, they were representatives of the IOC to the national committees and sports federations, having enough power to impose the ideas of the IOC at home. It then becomes clear that this policy would never allow for women to be selected unless the members themselves would change the IOC policies. The incipient IOC was in fact an association of gentlemen amateurs, a private 'male club', which was financially supported by Pierre de Coubertin, a man who remained faithful to his Victorian principles and to the influence of the Greek Ancient Games. However, this supposed private institution, which in the beginning would 'belong' to the person who was financing it, would expand so much in its growth process that it would leave its initial private sphere to become 'public' and include the 'world'. Although there has never been any regulation in the IOC that excluded women or prohibited them from becoming members, the exclusion of females seemed to be implicit in a subtle code of male honor that persisted until the first female members were co-opted in 1981, 87 years after the foundation of the IOC, as found in the Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC in the next chapter. It must be said, of course, that expansion in order to widen the involvement of women competitors had been long overdue, and until today, women have grounds for complaining that prejudice and male chauvinism continue to operate against them. It must be doubtful whether the full emancipation of women within the Olympic Movement will be achieved until well into the 21st century (Miller, 1992).

During the years of his presidency Coubertin assumed alone all the administrative and financial burdens related to the office. Coubertin had established La Revue Olympique (The Olympic Review) very early in the Olympic movement. He also published it, financed it, and acted as its director for many years. Moreover, it is assumed that he wrote most of the articles which appeared in it at least in the early period as stated by Mayer (1960). Müller (1986) also made the same observation in the introduction of the three-volume collection Pierre de Coubertin Textes Choisis.

It is important to point out that the IOC had to face two types of opposition within its organization in the early period. The first one was from the few International Federations (IFs) that existed along with the national federations, which seemed to be generally anti-Olympic as they regarded themselves or were regarded as rivals of the IOC. Although the athletic federations, both national and international had the power to formulate regulations and to settle Olympic rules, they had only a consultative share in the decisions made by the IOC, which created a certain amount of discontent (MacDonald, 1998). Later on, in 1920, the question of the relations between the IOC and the IFs took a long discussion. Many of the members of the IOC were looking for some understanding with the IFs. At that time there were no direct lines of communication between both IOC and IFs. It was during the session of Antwerp that there was talk of a movement, emanating from the IFs, to modify the institution of the IOC as the IFs, which had been growing in number, required more space to make their decisions. The problem between the IOC and the IFs was recurrent and Count de Baillet-Latour, the IOC member who was supposed to succeed Coubertin, after he retired, knew that sooner or later a movement would be established to change the structure of the IOC. According to MacDonald (1998) the IOC and the IFs engaged in a process of negotiation about their respective roles in the Olympic movement and about how they would interact in general, reaching finally general agreements about how to interact.

Another form of opposition for Coubertin, very early, was that which came from the various gymnastic societies of Europe. Even before the Congress of the Sorbonne in 1894, the Belgian federation wrote to the other federations suggesting a negotiated position against the work of the Congress. Most of the gymnastic societies of Germany, France, and Belgium, said Coubertin at the time, were animated by a rigorous spirit and were not inclined to put up with other forms of athletics which they referred to as 'English sports.' Because of their increasing popularity, sports had become particularly offensive to them (Coubertin, mentioned by Leigh, 1974). On the other hand and paradoxically, Coubertin did not like gymnastics and criticized gymnastic societies saying that they had militaristic ends in mind, which in a way shows that he

had forgotten about his childhood fears (especially of the Germans) of another war against France.

After the Games of 1896 in Athens, in which no women athletes participated, the first major task for the organizers of the Modern Olympic Games was the need to establish rules for Olympic competitions. At that time the IOC was described as a lonely nucleus, a ruling body with no subordinates, as it was an incipient institution. As already mentioned, the IFs and the National Olympic Committees (NOCs) were just beginning organizations, which left much of the task of planning in the hands of the IOC and more specifically to its leader, who at that time could not imagine the size of the responsibility he would have and what he would permit to happen. As a consequence of the lack of experience for such a decision, no subsequent proposals were produced by the Committee, which resulted in a delegation of power to the Organizing Committees of the host cities of the Olympic Games. That was exactly the entry gate for women when the Olympic Games were organized in Paris in 1900 and in Saint Louis in 1904. In addition, this pattern of organization persisted and was formalized in 1907 by a proposal in which the entire judging of the Games was placed in the hands of the British Olympic Committee (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1907). It appears that this delegation of authority was a temporary strategy on the part of the IOC because after the 1908 Games, a commission was nominated to study the possibility of developing a Program for future Olympic Games (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1909). Moreover, in 1910 the Committee acknowledged that, up to that time, the organizers had had much room in the choice of sports of the Olympic Games. To correct the situation a new plan effective in 1916 was to be enforced (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1910), but it never happened because of World War I. In the Session of 1911, many discussions took place regarding the Program for the 1912 Games. It appeared that although the IOC agreed with the wishes of the Swedish Organizing Committee, it was starting to get involved in the decision-making process. No major policies were set forth at this time as the Committee merely decided that the Program was to be similar to the London Games of 1908 (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1911). It is then possible to conclude after a review of the IOC's early years that the Committee did not have enough structure in its rule system to control the outcome of the Games. Consequently, although the IOC was believed to have control over the Program, what really happened was that the responsibility for formulating the Program was in the hands of the Organizing Committees. The freedom these committees experienced allowed them to determine to a large extent which events were to be included.

The Organization and the Early Games

Athens 1896 - The first step – Exclusion and unofficial female participation

The 1896 Olympic Games were staged in Athens under the command of Demetrius Vikelas, Greek president of the IOC from 1894 to 1896, as it had been established during the Sorbonne Congress in 1894. While the Greek people as a whole accepted the idea of the Games enthusiastically, Greece was going through a series of political problems which included even bankruptcy (Mallon & Widlund, 1998). If Coubertin had not pulled all his strings and worked really hard, the Olympic Games would not have happened. In spite of all Coubertin's efforts, the Games were not well advertised (advertising was the way at that time to summon competitors); consequently, only athletes of 15 countries contested the events. The considered top or elite athletes at that time did not take part in these Games (Mallon & Widlund, 1998).

The fact that the first Olympic Games were not divulged enough could be a reason why women did not participate in the first Olympic Games. Although at that time there was no tradition of women in competitive sport due to the Western cultural context, some European countries already had women competing in a few sports at the end of the 19th century and women's sports organizations were just beginning to appear (Guttmann, 1991). The other reason, more accepted by historians, is that since these Games were supervised by Coubertin himself and as he did not approve of the idea of female sports, he had excluded women. However, it is crucial to point out that the Program of the 1896 Games (Lambros & Polites, 1896), with all its rules and regulations, had no specific article which prohibited or excluded women. In addition, according to Mallon & Widlund (1998), Coubertin had very little participation in these Games as they were organized entirely by the Greeks. What may have happened in 1894, when the IOC was founded and in the next IOC meetings, was that neither Coubertin nor the other IOC members had ever thought of including women in the Games as the few sportswomen of that time were either invisible to society or discriminated against. According to the way those gentlemen had been brought up in the 19th century, they simply took for granted that women were not to do sports. But they were all wrong.

The Greek researcher Tarassouleas (1997) examined the Greek newspapers of March 1896 and discovered that the Greek woman Stamata Revithi, a common woman and mother of three children, ran the Marathon on March 30th. In fact she wanted to run it on March 29th, when the Olympic Marathon did happen, and declared to several journalists that even if the Committee would not allow her to run with the competitors, she would run behind them. She was deeply motivated because she had heard that the winner or winners would receive financial compensation. Accordingly, she thought that if she participated in the marathon, she could

receive something for herself or for her children after she had run the race. But the Organizing Committee used the excuse that the deadline had expired in order to persuade her not to compete. After her insistence they promised her she would compete on the day of the Marathon, but together with a group of American women who were temporarily living in Athens. As this competition never took place, she decided to run alone on Saturday, March 30th, at 8:00, when she met some officers and requested that they sign the record, testifying her time of arrival in Athens. Tarassouleas (1997) mentioned that the newspaper “Estia” on Saturday March 23, 1896 referred to the “runner Mrs. Revithi, the strange woman, who having run a few days ago the Marathon Run, as a try-out, intends to compete the day after tomorrow”. The Greek researcher added two more reports from newspapers: (i) the newspaper “Neos Aristofanis” of March 1, 1896 indicated that a woman with a baby registered to run the Marathon and (ii) other Greek and French newspapers of the time such as “Estia”, “Astia” and *Messenger d’Athènes* recorded the fact that Stamata Revithi declared that if her shoes were a hindrance, she would remove them and continue barefoot.

The newspaper “*Messenger d’Athènes*”, in its Supplément 8 of March 14, 1896, in the section *Les Jeux Olympiques*, indicated that one woman ran the marathon: “Une femme à la course de Marathon. On a parlé d’une femme qui s’est fait inscrire pour participer à la course de Marathon. Dans la course d’essai qu’elle a faite jeudi toute seule elle a mis quatre heures et demie pour parcourir l’espace (42 kilomètres) que sépare Marathon d’Athènes. Elle ne s’est arrêtée qu’une dixaine de minutes à moitié chemin pour sucer quelques oranges. C’est une femme du peuple aux traits prononcés, au tempérament sec et nerveux ». To Tarassouleas (1997), the fact that she ran before the day of the official competition indicates that she was getting ready and so started training herself. Tarassouleas (1997) also indicated that other women, Americans, were also planning to take part in the Marathon and that, at that time, the Greek Committee had even thought of a special race for women, long before female athletics was accepted by the IOC in 1928 or the women’s marathon became part of the Program in 1984.

After reading Tarassouleas’s article ““The female Spiridon Loues”, Lennartz (1994) rectifies it adding that two women (Stamata Revithi and Melpomene) ran the Marathon in 1896. However, the report written by Tarassouleas a few years later clearly indicates that both women were the same person as some newspapers did not mention names but offered physical descriptions, which match for both women. What happened, according to the reports from the newspapers presented by Tarassouleas (1997), was the fact that Stamata Revithi ran the distance at least two times.

The fact described and narrated by several Greek newspapers of the time was that a Greek woman, Stamata Revithi, ran the Marathon unofficially on March 30th 1896, in spite of the reaction of the Organizing Committee and the adverse social conditions of that period, especially in Greece. The circumstances for a female to participate in athletics were so negative that even a priest had been prohibited from running the Marathon in spite of his repeated efforts. He was then punished for misconduct (Tarassouleas, 1997). More research is needed in other Greek sources of information to find out who those American women willing to run the Marathon in 1896 were. If they wished to do so, the reason could be that they may have already done it before, which can be characterized as an exception to the general Western rule for women's sports.

1900 to 1908 – Fairs and Expositions – Invitations and admissions

Paris 1900 – Invitations and participation

The responsibility of organizing the first editions of the Olympic Games was not carefully guided and the Games of Paris and St. Louis contained a conglomerate of highly disorganized events as they were staged together with exhibitions. In a way, fairs and sideshows were a tradition that had been cultivated in the Ancient Greek Games and transformed along the centuries by European cultures as mentioned before.

The Olympic Games were staged together with the “Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris”, which was headed by Alfred Picard (“Commissaire général de l’Exposition de 1900”) and had Daniel Mérillon as “Délégué général aux Concours d’exercices physiques et de sports” and Viscount Charles de la Rochefoucauld as president of the “Comité d’Organisation des Jeux Olympiques de 1900” (Mérillon, 1900). Coubertin dreamed of reconstructing Olympia in Paris and developing a large edition of the Games especially because of the excavations that continued to happen at Olympia (Valavanis, 2004). However, political problems related to the organization of the exposition arose and threatened to shatter Coubertin's Olympic dream as two institutions seemed to politically dispute the organization of the sports events: the IOC and the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sports Athlétiques (USFSA) (Mallon, 1998). As a result, Coubertin and the IOC withdrew from the scene, losing control of the Games (Drevon, 2000). Coubertin regretted this later (Coubertin, 1908). But it had already been too late.

According to some scholars such as Mitchell (1977), Leder and collaborators (1996), and Leigh (1974), women were first admitted to the Games in 1900, without the official consent or comment from the IOC. It is true that the IOC had no word in relation to the staging of these

Games as they were also entitled the “Concours Internationaux d’Exercices Physiques et des Sports de l’Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris”. The expression Olympic Games does not appear on the cover of the official report written by Mérillon. However, it is important to point out that as the Olympic Games of 1900 were organized by a special committee headed by Daniel Mérillon (1900), he delegated the responsibility of organizing some of the contests, such as tennis and golf, to the Parisian clubs, the institutions in charge of recruiting or, euphemistically speaking, inviting the participants for the Olympic Games, as attested by Mérillon’s report (1900): « C’est dans toutes les classes de la société, il est bon de constater, que les concurrents, tous amateurs, s’étaient recrutés pour ces concours, car, à côté de millionnaires américains, nous avons vu dans la même partie de modeste employés et même un simple facteur des postes, distributeur de lettres dans le nord de l’Ecosse ». As golf and tennis, for example, had had a tradition for both men and women in some European countries, particularly in England and in France, as well as in the United States, it was natural for the managers of the clubs who were organizing the competitions to include contests for ‘ladies’ once they had been used to competing in these sports. Champ’s article « Le Tennis à Entretat » of 1900 demonstrates it : « A Paris, que ce soit à la Société de Sports de Île de Puteaux (where Coubertin played tennis), au racing-Club de France ou encore au Tennis-Club de Paris, il est à remarquer que les dames et les jeunes filles s’abstiennent – les exceptions sont rares – de participer aux épreuves que leur sont ouvertes. Il n’en est pas de même à Entretat; on a vu cette saison un handicap simple en 36 points réunir le chiffre formidable de 47 engagements dont ceux de 18 dames... Le Championnat simple pour dames a obtenu un succès complet. Mlle Foucher très en progrès a battu aisément Miss Thomas par 6 jeux à 2... » (Champ, 1900).

Mérillon reaffirms the position of recruiting (inviting) members of the whole society to take part in the competitions as he reported : “Dans la grande manifestation sportive à laquelle a donné lieu l’Exposition Universelle de 1900, il était de toute importance de faire connaître davantage ce jeu si intéressant et si sain, et qui s’adresse à toutes les classes de la société, aux messieurs comme aux dames. Conditions générales du concours: Des circulaires imprimées furent envoyées dans le monde entier, l’une en décembre 1899, l’autre en mars 1900, à tous les clubs de golf et à tous les journaux s’intéressant à ce sport. Les concours de golf s’adressait à tous les clubs de golf du monde entier sans restriction aucune » (Mérillon, 1900). The same procedure probably happened with the other sports as the general instructions in the report read in its 4th article that “Les imprimés ayant le caractère d’un appel ou d’une invitation aux participants du concours ou au public devront être soumis en épreuves avant tirage au Service des Sports » (Mérillon, 1900). In fact women participated not only in golf and tennis, but also in

equestrian events, croquet, yachting, and ballooning (there was a tradition unique to France from women in this sport as it was mentioned in Part B of this Chapter). However, neither croquet nor ballooning was considered Olympic events by the IOC.

This means very importantly that, in reality, women athletes did not struggle to participate in the 1900 Olympic Games, they were 'recruited' or invited and not admitted, or allowed to or permitted to participate. They were recruited or invited because they belonged to the clubs they usually attended to regularly play their games. It is important to add that these women, who belonged to the upper classes, had the free time necessary to devote to the sport as they possessed the financial and independent condition to pay for their outfit, equipment or membership. Such circumstances were not found in women who belonged to lower-income or working classes. But Coubertin's IOC would never admit to the fact that women were invited especially because the Baron was against the participation of women in competitive sport. In fact, it appears that the IOC, initially commanded by Coubertin, wanted to forget about these Games because of the problems which had come up and transformed Coubertin's dream into a disaster. This is attested in Drevon's book Les Jeux Olympiques Oubliés Paris 1900 (2000). Furthermore, as the IOC did not organize the 1900 Games, the IOC could be regarded at that time as a weak institution (against Coubertin's principles) as it had lost its power because another committee had organized the events. The essential fact was that women competed in various sports in 1900 and a precedent for future Olympic Games had been set up.

The fact that the 1900 Games had a lot of advertisement and several women participated in the events, one might wonder if the same amount of advertising and the same strategies had been used for the 1896 Games, women might have taken part in the Athens Games.

Saint Louis 1904 - Invitation and tradition

The Olympic Games that took place in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904 were also very unusual. They had been originally scheduled to be held in Chicago. But St. Louis was planning to hold a World's Fair in 1904: the "Louisiana Purchase Exposition". A large number of sporting events were being planned to take place at the Exposition, which would mean that they would have been in direct competition with the Olympic Games. The IOC then decided to move the Games to Saint Louis. James Sullivan, president of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) and probably the most powerful sports administrator in America at that time, became the "Chief of Physical Culture for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition". He tried to hold a sporting event every day of the Exposition, which similarly to the "Exposition Universelle" lasted over six months. Moreover, Sullivan insisted on labeling every event as Olympic, which caused an

overabundance of the so-called Olympic contests (Mallon, 1999). As the IOC was not present at St. Louis except for very few members, it was supposedly considered that after the Games were over, the IOC would sit and decide rather arbitrarily which events it would consider official. Nevertheless, it is not certain whether this meeting took place or in fact if the IOC members actually reached this goal.

The relationship between Coubertin and Sullivan was complex and decidedly confrontational. As a result, following his own Olympic philosophy and using diplomatic fashion, Coubertin once more withdrew from the scene and left James Sullivan with the title of Director of the Olympic Games (Mallon, 1999). Although Sullivan shared Coubertin's opinion concerning the participation of women in competitive sport (he was also against it), women did compete during the 1904 Exposition in archery only. Contrary to what some historians state, as for example Mitchell (1977), both official reports of these Games show that women competed only in archery, and not tennis and archery.

However, little is known about all the events that took place in 1904 during the Exposition. It is not known for example whether women participated in competitions other than archery as the organization of the Games did not seem to have so much control of where and which events were happening, particularly women's events. As women were already involved in competitive sport in the United States (Leigh, 1974), it is possible to speculate the fact that women might have contested other sports which were not part of the two reports (Lucas, 1905; Sullivan, 1905) that resulted from the 1904 Saint Louis Games. Since both reports do not mention any word related to women's exclusion or women's prohibition to compete, this unofficial supposed female participation might have been recorded in print in both reports either because the female events might have been considered minor activities or because Sullivan ignored them as he was not in favor of women's competitive sport. As so little information is available, research is needed to discover more details of the competitions, particularly women's events, in the places they happened. The 1904 Games were very similar to those of 1900 as they lasted five full months and were scattered around a large area.

American dominance in the 1904 Games was almost complete owing to the fact that only a few countries attended the Games, and very few foreign athletes competed, especially due to travel costs. The women who competed in archery were all American. No woman from any other country contested any other event, even archery.

The logical question is related to the fact that women contested archery and not tennis or golf. According to Mallon (personal communication on July 4th 2005), the 1904 Olympic competition was also considered the 1904 USA National Championships in archery. Women

had competed in national championship competition in archery in the United States since 1879 although the National Archery Association of America had been founded in 1870 and included both men and women (Baker, 1988). Thus, their participation seems to have primarily been one of simply taking part as usual in the National Championships, as they had done for 25 years. The fact that women were officially recorded as participants in the 1904 Games also added to the formal documents that archery was also another sport women could contest. As a result, another precedent was set up as archery became one more sport for women athletes, being added to tennis and golf.

After the disasters that happened at the 1900 and 1904 editions of the Olympic Games, Coubertin vowed that never again he would hold the Olympic Games as a sideshow to a major international fair. Nevertheless, the 1908 edition of the Olympic Games would have a loose connection with one fair (Mallon, 1999).

Because the IOC had no control over the 1900 and the 1904 Olympic Games, the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Idea were staggering and Coubertin really needed something to help revive his great dream. Again he was helped by the Greeks, a source he had not thought of.

Athens 1906 – Invitations and demonstrations

According to Mallon (1999), after 1904 Coubertin's position as leader of the Olympic movement was tenuous for four basic reasons: (i) he had resigned and lost control over the 1900 Olympic Games; (ii) he was supposed to have appropriated the idea of the Olympic Games from the Greeks as the newspaper *Messenger d'Athènes* had criticized him; (iii) he had his authority challenged by Sullivan, who ended up the director of the Games in 1904, and (iv) the fact that several members who did not believe in the IOC had resigned.

The 1906 Games were very successful and perhaps the most important edition of the Olympic Games according to Mallon (1999) because they saved the Olympic Movement from its death. They were the most international up to that time, they were the best managed to date, and they had the most international media attention of any of the Games since 1896 (Mallon, 1999). However, the only one person who should appreciate the Athens Games of 1906 all as well as help the staging of the Games definitely did not consider the 1906 Games as important: Baron Pierre de Coubertin. The same way it had happened in 1904, he did not even attend these Games and the same way it had happened in 1900 and 1904, he did not help organize them either.

Maybe because Coubertin did not participate in the staging of the 1906 Olympic Games, they presented some innovation for women: an exhibition of gymnastics by 12 Danish girls, under the supervision of Magdalene Petersen, daughter of Paul Petersen, the person responsible for the new face of the Danish gymnastics system for women. The women athletes were invited by the Greek king and were guests of the royal family. Denmark had a tradition in women's gymnastics as it was being modified to construct its own method, different from the German and the Swedish (Trangback, 1996). This was a very important fact because it was the first time that women appeared in the main Olympic stadium; besides, women also contested lawn tennis.

As Coubertin made sure to all references to the 1906 Athens Games were titled unofficial (Miller, 2003), the IOC still does not recognize the 1906 Olympic Games in Athens as official Olympic Games but as Intercalated Games, Intermediate Games, Interim Games, or almost IIIB Games. However, very few scholars and researchers ignore the Second International Olympic Games in Athens. The fact that the Games were held two years after the 1904 edition did not seem to make any difference for the IOC as in the 1990s the Winter Games of Albertville in 1992 and Lillehammer in 1994. The fact was that Coubertin did not participate in the 1906 edition of the Games because he may have thought that the Greeks really wanted to keep the right to stage the Games every four years instead of following Coubertin's idea of rotating capitals around the world.

The 1906 Athens Games were very important for female Olympians for the following reasons: (i) women made their debut in a gymnastics display, opening up more room for displays in future Games; (ii) women competed in lawn tennis, which suggests that the tennis championship for ladies in 1900 had found some echo; (iii) women seemed to have been invited to participate in the same fashion that had happened in Paris 1900, without Coubertin's interference and without any restriction to their participation in a sport that already had some tradition for women; (iv) women were seen once more as participants on European soil, which would greatly contribute for their participation in the 1908 London Games.

London 1908 - Regulation and admission - Change in the system – Stockholm 1912

The London Olympic Games took place together with the "Franco-British Exhibit", which had been planned since 1905. In fact the 1908 Games were to be staged in Rome, but due to several circumstances, including the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in early 1906, the organization of the Games was offered to the British. The offer took place during the 1906 Games as King Edward VII, other British authorities of the recently created British Olympic Association (BOA) and some of Coubertin's British friends, present at the events, could be

consulted and therefore manifest their opinions ahead of time. The BOA had been formed at a meeting at the House of Commons on 24 May, 1905. The Association included representatives of the following sports: fencing, life-saving, cycling, skating, rowing, athletics, rugby, football and archery. All of these sports had governing bodies or clubs at the time (BOA, 2005).

Although the Organizing Committee of the London Games did not have the experience of any comparable celebration to serve as model, they showed superb organizational skills from which many future Games were to profit. They initially adopted a provisional Program, based on the 1906 Games, although some events originally scheduled to form part of the London Games were never held (Mallon & Buchanan, 2000).

Differently from the previous Olympic Games that advertised the competitions to receive entries of the candidates, the Organizing Committee of the London Games established general regulations for the Games, which was not only a way to control or 'select' who was qualified to compete but also, and very importantly, the beginning of a more constant presence of the IFs in the choice of athletes. The previous editions of the Olympic Games (1896, 1900, 1904, and 1906) had not been very organized. Rule 8 states that "All entries will be made through the governing associations, or, where governing associations do not exist, by amateur clubs, through the Olympic committees of each country, who will be responsible to the British Olympic Association for the competence of such amateur clubs to guarantee that the competitors entered by them are amateurs ..." (Cook, 1908). In addition, Rule 12 reads "The British Olympic Council reserve to themselves the right to refuse the entry of any competitor without being bound to give reasons for their decision" (Cook, 1908). Based on these two rules it is then possible to infer the consequences that would come. In the first place, rules and regulations were officially laid down by an Organizing Committee in relation to the participation of athletes in the Games. In the second place, IFs would start to play an essential role in the decisions related to the Program and its events. In the third place, as the Organizing Committee gave itself the right not to accept any given entry, it becomes clear that much more control would then be established as athletes considered not-qualified according to the Committee's prerequisites could be turned down. This measure would imply that women's entry could be denied by any Organizing Committee as it did happen with Hellen Preece, who wanted to compete in the Modern Pentathlon in the 1912 Games. The modern Pentathlon had been devised by Coubertin himself as he thought of a competition that would determine the greatest all-around sportsman, similar to the pentathlon of the ancient Olympic Games. Coubertin seemed to have followed Aristotle's words: "The most perfect sportsmen, therefore, are the pentathletes because in their bodies' strength and speed are combined in beautiful harmony."

The modern pentathlon consists of shooting, fencing, swimming, riding, and running. Initially called 'military pentathlon', the Modern Pentathlon is described as follows by the Union Internationale de Pentathlon Moderne (UIPM): "The choice of the five diverse and unrelated sports which make up the Modern Pentathlon arose out of the romantic, rough adventures of a liaison officer whose horse is brought down in enemy territory; having defended himself with this pistol and sword he swims across a raging river and delivers the message on foot" (IOC, 2005). As this sport appeared on the Olympic Program for the first time in 1912, it was outrageous for any woman to contest it, particularly because the sport involved the supposed military skills.

As the Swedish Organizing Committee was not prepared for such a request, they asked Coubertin who indirectly told the Swedish Committee to refuse her entry. After that consultation, Coubertin wrote the text 'Les Femmes aux Jeux Olympiques', published in the *Revue Olympique* of July 1912, which not only summarizes the participation of women up to that time but also analyzes it from Coubertin's viewpoint and reveals the future position of women's participation in the Olympic Games. It is one of the most important texts Coubertin ever wrote about the participation of women in the Olympic Games as it can be assessed in the following section in its original version in French. In this text it is possible to observe Coubertin's indignation at Hellen Preece's (he called her 'néo-amazone') request although women had already been participating in horseback riding events for some time (Burke, 1997). At this point it is relevant to remember the position of power that the Amazons were supposed to have in antiquity as described by Homer's and Herodotus' texts Coubertin had read in school. It is possible to understand how horrified he had become. Women only started contesting Modern Pentathlon in Sydney 2000 Olympic Games.

Coubertin's text: "Les Femmes aux Jeux Olympiques

La question de l'admission des femmes aux Jeux Olympiques n'est pas réglée. Elle ne saurait l'être dans le sens négatif par le motif que l'antiquité l'avait ainsi résolue; elle ne l'est pas davantage dans le sens affirmatif du fait que des concurrentes féminines ont été acceptées pour la natation et le tennis en 1908 et 1912. L'autre jour un engagement est venu signé d'une néo-amazone que prétendait concourir pour le Pentathlon moderne et le Comité Suédois laissé libre de se prononcer, en l'absence d'une législation fixe, a refusé cet engagement. On le voit donc, la discussion demeure ouverte.

Il est mieux qu'une décision trop prompte ne soit pas intervenue et que l'affaire ait traîné. Elle se solutionnera tout naturellement lors de ce Congrès de Paris que donnera aux

Olympiades leur physionomie définitive. Dans quel sens ? Nous n'avons pas la qualité pour le prévoir mais nous ne craignons pas, quant à nous, de prendre parti du côté négatif. Nous estimons que les Jeux Olympiques doivent être réservés aux hommes. Et d'abord, en application du proverbe fameux illustré par Musset: il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée. Peut-on consentir aux femmes l'accès de toutes les épreuves olympiques ? Non ? ... alors pourquoi leur en permettre quelques unes et leur interdire les autres ? Et surtout sur quoi se baser pour établir la frontière entre épreuves permises et épreuves défendues ? Il n'y a pas que de joueuses de tennis et de nageuses. Il y a aussi des escrimeuses, il y a des cavalières et, en Amérique, il y a des rameuses. Demain il y aurait peut-être des coureuses ou même des footballeuses ? De tels sports pratiqués par des femmes constitueraient-ils donc un spectacle recommandable devant les foules qu'assemblent une Olympiade ? Nous ne pensons pas qu'on puisse le prétendre.

Mais il y a un autre motif d'ordre pratique celui-là. Organiserait-on des épreuves séparées pour les femmes ou bien accepterait-on les engagements pêle-mêle sans distinction de sexe, qu'il s'agisse d'un concours individuel ou d'un concours par équipes ? Ce dernier procédé serait logique puisque le dogme de légalité des sexes tend à se répandre. Seulement il suppose des clubs mixtes, quatre vingt quinze fois sur cent (95%), les éliminatoires favoriseront des hommes. Les Jeux Olympiques, ne l'oublions pas, ne sont pas des parades d'exercices physiques mais visent l'élévation ou du moins le maintien des records. Citius, altius, fortius. Plus vite, plus haut, plus fort, c'est la devise du Comité International et la raison d'être de tout l'olympisme. Quelles que soient les ambitions athlétiques féminines, elles ne peuvent se hausser à la prétention de l'emporter sur les hommes en courses à pied, en escrime, en équitation... Faire intervenir ici le principe de l'égalité théorique des sexes, se serait donc se livrer à une manifestation platonique dépourvue de sens et de portée.

Reste l'autre combinaison consistant à doubler les concours d'hommes d'un concours de femmes dans les sports déclarés ouverts à celles-ci. Une petite Olympiade femelle à côté de la grande Olympiade mâle. Où serait l'intérêt ? Les organisateurs déjà surchargés, les délais déjà trop courts, les difficultés de logements et de classement déjà formidables, les frais déjà excessifs, il faudrait doubler tout cela ! Qui voudrait s'en charger ?...

Impratique, inintéressante, inesthétique, et nous ne craignons pas d'ajouter: incorrecte, telle serait à nos avis cette demi-Olympiade féminine. Ce n'est pas là notre conception des Jeux Olympiques dans lesquels nous estimons qu'on a cherché et qu'on doit continuer de chercher la réalisation de la formule que voici : l'exaltation solennelle et périodique de l'athlétisme mâle avec l'internationalisme pour base, la loyauté pour moyen, l'art pour cadre et l'applaudissement féminin pour récompense.

Cette formule combinée de l'idéal antique et des traditions de la chevalerie est la seule saine et la seule satisfaisante. Elle s'imposera d'elle-même à l'opinion ».

This text has many messages. Coubertin makes it very clear that the participation of women had not yet been regulated and was still at that moment without regulations, which means that the IOC had had no rules up to that time, maybe because its members had never thought of that before.

Coubertin also refers to the fact that women did not take part in the Ancient Olympic Games; therefore, he would conclude for himself that if women did not take part in the Ancient Olympic Games (although it is already known that they did up to a certain extent), they would not take part in its modern edition now as tradition should be preserved.

The sentence “des concurrentes féminines ont été acceptées pour la natation et le tennis en 1908 et 1912” suggests that Coubertin acknowledged women's participation in the Olympic Games in 1908, but he says that they were admitted, which means that some authority gave these women permission to contest the sports he mentions: swimming and tennis. He was probably outraged with ‘swimming’ as he used that word as the first one in the sentence. He did not say ‘tennis and swimming’. Neither did he mention the other sports already contested by women such as archery, golf, croquet, yachting, or equestrian. He either ignored or wanted to ignore that women had been invited and not admitted in the previous Games as the corresponding published reports attested. Besides, women had also been invited to give demonstrations in 1906 and in 1908. Coubertin really makes it clear that he does not want the participation of female athletes and uses the arguments of his time as in the sentence “Nous estimons que les Jeux Olympiques doivent être réservés aux homes”. The fact that, as founder and president for life of the IOC, Coubertin never changed his Victorian aristocratic position in relation to the participation of women in sports, developing and adapting his views in relation to the changes that time would bring ended up influencing so much deeply the other members of the IOC (some of whom in favor of women's competitions) that women had to slowly change their position from guests to ‘suffragettes’ in order to campaign for their right to participate more in the Olympic Games and in the IOC. According to Barney and colleagues (2004), the IOC resisted including women, a position originally influenced by Coubertin's Victorian beliefs, which was extended to his successor, Baillet-Latour.

What Coubertin was unable to do was to suppress his “old man's” reflexes and understand that, even through the excesses of the movements of the feminists and suffragettes that were taking place at that time in various countries, a new relationship between the sexes was being established, and that would last throughout the subsequent century. Different roles

would have to be established as women were beginning to occupy new spaces. Coubertin had a restricted vision of women's sport. He reluctantly bowed to the ultimately victorious attacks of a female and sporting counter-society (Boulongne, 2000).

The participation of women in the 1900, 1904 and 1906 Games set such a precedent that it was unlikely that the IOC would deliberately deny women entrance to events in which they had previously participated when the 1908 Games were being planned. For a number of reasons, the BOA was of particular significance in this regard as the IOC had granted it authority to develop the official Program. In addition, the fact that there were women athletes in several sports seemed to have contributed for the acceptance of female Olympians in the land that created modern sport.

Women competed not only in the two sports they had already previously contested, archery and lawn tennis, but also in two new sports: sailing and ice skating. Besides, women athletes were invited to give demonstrations in swimming, diving and gymnastics ("The London Times", according to Leigh, 1974). The demonstrations in swimming and diving might have happened as the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur (FINA) was founded on July 19 by representatives of England, Ireland, Wales, Belgium, Sweden, Germany, Finland, Hungary, France and Denmark, exactly during the swimming contests. British G. W. Hearn, president of the Amateur Swimming Association became the first President of FINA (Cook, 1908). It is interesting to notice that in spite of a constant preoccupation with the dress code for women, swimming had already been accepted in several countries including England. The reasons could have been the following: (i) the gracefulness of movement that was facilitated by the water; (ii) the elimination of the problem of sweat; (iii) the fact that it appeared unlikely that many women would swim while menstruating (therefore, the problem of over-exertion at this time was relieved); (iv) swimming had received early medical blessings for its mild, beneficial exercise, and (v) swimming was performed in a closeted environment which would free women from many of the constraints related to their public behavior (Lenskyj, 1987; Raszeja, 1992). The public would only see the final results and not the process. The female athletes who gave the demonstrations in London had come from Iceland, Sweden and Finland (Mallon, 2000).

The demonstrations in gymnastics were given by Danish athletes, similarly to what had taken place in Athens two years before.

The participation of women in the 1908 Games resulted in some very important comments that appear in the official report written by Theodore Cook, member of the British Fencing Association and of the BOA: (i) "The Danish ladies in gymnastic costume were loudly and deservedly applauded" and (ii) "The successful appearance of ladies in these competitions

(skating) suggests the consideration that since one of the chief objects of the revived Olympic Games is the physical development and amelioration of the race, it appears illogical to adhere so far to classical tradition as to provide so few opportunities for the participation of a predominant partner in the process of race-production. More events might be open to women, whether they are permitted to compete with men or not. They have already so competed, successfully, in the case of Mrs. Syers in international skating meetings. They have competed in skating, archery and lawn tennis in the Olympic Games. Perhaps it may be worth considering whether on future Olympiads they may not also enter for swimming, diving and gymnastics, three branches of physical exercise in which they gave most attractive displays during the Games in London. In rifle-shooting and possible other sports, they may also have a fair chance of success in open competitions” (Cook, 1908). Not only does Cook exalt the appearance of women but he also proposes that they participate more as athletes, which he justifies based on eugenic principles. However, these observations of his official report did not find echoes in the IOC. Cook also made a relevant observation in relation to a purpose for the sport displays: they might mean an entry for women to contest in the sports that they were demonstrating.

It is essential to keep in mind that Coubertin and the IOC really had almost no say in the Olympic Program until 1924, after the 1921 Olympic Congress settled some questions referring to the Program (Mallon, 1999). Very few IFs existed in 1908; therefore, there were no rules saying that women were not allowed or were excluded. The only direction the male organizers of the Games, members of the Organizing Committees followed were probably the implicit social and cultural codes they all shared and the experiences of the previous Olympic Games.

By 1912 there were 12 IFs. An examination of the dates when particular IFs originated and the dates of events on the Program of the Olympic Games suggested that by 1912 a very close relationship existed between the recognition of an IF and the appearance of its sport on the Olympic Program. There is evidence to indicate that the IFs that represented sports in which women could participate had a favorable attitude towards women’s competition. In his book, A Travers les Anneaux Olympiques, Mayer (1960) constructed Table 8 that shows the relationship between women’s events in the Olympic Games and the origin of the IFs. However, there seems to be a problem in relation to gymnastics, as women only gave a demonstration and did not participate in the competitions in 1908. Women had also given displays in 1906, but would compete in gymnastics only in 1928 in Amsterdam (IOC, 2005).

It is then possible to infer that as a result of the apparently close relationship between the existence of an IF and its appearance on the Games Program, that the fact that women were accepted by a particular IF was a necessary prerequisite for the consideration of their admittance

to the Games. The nature of the relationship between the IOC and the IFs was made clear by Coubertin himself in a declaration during the 1911 IOC Annual Session:

Table 8: Relationship of women's events in the Games to the origin of IFs

Women's events 1900-1926	Date of entry	Corresponding IF	Date of origin
Tennis	1900	No recognized federation	
Golf	1900	No recognized federation	
Archery	1904	Archery	Unrecorded
Skating	1908	Skating	1912
Swimming	1912	Swimming	1908
Gymnastics	1908	Gymnastics	1881
Fencing	1924	Fencing	1913
Track and Field	1926	Track and Field	1912

Source: Otto Mayer (1960)

“The Olympic Movement is no longer the work of a single organization, the IOC, but that of an understanding and collaboration between the IFs, the National Olympic Committees and the IOC” (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1911).

According to Mayer (1960), there were already some women in the few federations that existed, but although they might have a say in the administration of some IFs, their opinion was not taken into consideration as the IFs were consulted only on an advisory basis by the IOC. If the situation of the IOC is considered in terms of its effects on the development of the Program during this initial period, the subordinate position of the IFs had little consequence. What is important to keep in mind is the perceived effect that the developing IFs were to have on the IOC later on during its development. Summing up, the nature of the sports accepted may have reflected the gentleman amateur nature of the IOC and several of the Organizing Committees.

The Stockholm Games of 1912 were the most modern and the most successful Games of the modern era to that date. The 1896 and 1906 Games were smaller and had a few countries represented. The 1900 and 1904 Olympic Games were sideshows to world fairs and were considered disasters from which the Olympic Movement was fortunate to recover. The London Olympic Games of 1908, based on the 1906 Athens Games, were better, more modern, but still ran together with an exposition. But the 1912 Stockholm Olympic Games showed the world what the Olympic Games really could be. They were very successfully organized and represented the climax of Coubertin's career as a sports leader. The system of admission of athletes was similar to the preceding Olympic Games (Bergvall, 1912). At the same time that archery was deleted from the 1912 Games, swimming was introduced and brought with it a larger number of women competitors: 42 in only three events (Mallon & Widlund, 2002). Besides competing in swimming and lawn tennis, other 236 women athletes from Sweden (48), Norway (22), Denmark (148), and Finland (18) were invited to give demonstrations in gymnastics. Leigh (1974) investigated why female gymnasts did not participate in competitive events as (i) they had already given successful demonstrations in 1906 and 1908 Games; (ii) had been very favorably received; and (iii) played a very relevant role in the physical activity programs of Europe, particularly in Scandinavian countries. Leigh (1974) found out that the problem was that the Swedish Olympic Committee was against competitive gymnastics for women in 1912 and only proposed displays (men were accepted to compete). However, Leigh (1974) believed that the IOC and the International Federation of Gymnastics did not want competitive gymnastics for women either. The evidence for this opposition comes from the fact that the gymnastic federations of that time were masculine and refused to accept feminine sections. Leigh (1974) mentions the French example: Madame Ludin organized in Lyon on April 21, 1912 the first independent female federation in France, under the name "Union Française de Gymnastique Féminine". This fact shows a tendency that was taking place in many countries. As many sports federations, ruled by men, did not accept women in their ranks, women started their own federations. This observation is crucial not only for the development of women's sports but also for the increase of the number of female Olympians in the Games. Also, as the playing of team ball sports by men had expanded in the late 19th century, the playing of sports by women also increased, but even where both sexes played the same sport, the usual practice was for separate governing bodies to be established for women and men (Williams, 2000).

In its meeting in Luxemburg in 1910, in spite of Coubertin's opinions, the IOC included 'swimming for ladies' after a request from Great Britain (Bergvall, 1912); however, it is not

known the reason why the IOC agreed to include swimming events for women, especially because swimming was a sport in which bodies were exposed at a time when prudery was still being cultivated in European societies. However, as one examines the history of swimming in the European countries and in Australia, it becomes possible to ponder that women were participating in swimming events because as swimming had already become a tradition in many countries and women were swimming for eugenic purposes, they had also participated in competitions, particularly in England (Parker, 2001). When the presidents of the national federations met in 1908 to form the FINA they probably asked that some swimming demonstrations were given at that time and probably for this reason the British, who were hosting the Games, asked to have the event included and women were then invited, not admitted. As Cook published in the Official Report of the 1908 Games, the 'attractive' demonstrations given by women could mean participation in competitions in future Games. Then it might be possible that the inclusion of women swimmers was just a consequence of the process. However, American women could not compete in the 1912 Olympic swimming competitions because James Sullivan, Chairman of the Organizing Committee and Executive Secretary of the AAU of the United States, was against the participation of women in competitions. He effectively halted women swimmers from registration by the AAU until his death in 1914. According to the new rules of the IOC, athletes could only compete with registration in the federations of their sports (Leigh, 1976).

The period following the 1912 Olympic Games witnessed an IOC's meeting to establish a set Program of Olympic competition (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1912). The events of the period 1894-1912 illustrate that the change in the IOC's decision-making policy was not so much from a theoretical perspective but they took place in a technical manner. The Committee seemed then to be prepared to claim its authority and actually control the development of the Program. It becomes then important to examine the nature of the group of IOC members, who they were, what their background was as well as their preferences and their titles. According to research developed by Mitchell (1977), the common profile of the members of the IOC at that time indicated that 81% of the members were European while most of the remainder had an Anglo-Saxon heritage. The profile of the members suggested that as a group those individuals possessed similar attitudes towards sport competition and that this attitude reflected their European upper class background. Particular decisions made by the Committee in the course of events which followed revealed an inclination for aristocratic sports which undoubtedly applied to women's sport as well.

Since the Committee's control over the Program was to finally parallel the theoretical position which had been previously established, the specific nature of the group was of considerable significance in relation to the type of policy that was established for women. The discussions the IOC had during the Annual Session of 1912 resulted in a reassessment of fundamental principles governing the Program.

In the next 12 years the IOC made four important decisions that were to affect the participation of women: (i) as the principle of amateurism was maintained and as the Tennis Association did not conform to this principle, tennis was deleted from the Program, which contributed to limit the participation of women in the Olympic Games (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1924); (ii) as the principle of internationalism was redefined, the new policy admitted only those sports which were practiced in a minimum of six countries, which reduced the opportunity for minor women's sports that were struggling to get recognition by means of promotion at the international level of competition (the policy ensured that only well established predominantly male sports would qualify for admission) (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1912); (iii) the motto "all games, all nations and all men" (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1912) was revised (but not to include women) to diminish costs and to continue to cater for most desired sports; as a result, the IOC decided to establish three categories of sports: indispensable sports, sports that had a team element and optional sports (to be selected on the discretion of the Organizing Committees), which meant that the IOC could alter the status and permanence of a particular women's event by placing it in the unimportant category of optional sports (which happened with fencing in 1924) that could be deleted later (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1912); and (iv) as the principle of 'individualism' required competitions between individuals, the IOC excluded team sports in 1924, which would not only reduce the number of women athletes but also bring up discussions on the IOC's attitude towards female competition (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1924).

After a Program was established in 1912, it was submitted to the Paris Congress of 1914 for discussion with the IFs and NOCs. Although the number of delegates was high and the decisions made very important, the official report of the 1914 meeting was never published. Because of the war, the commission in charge of the report never met and Coubertin ended up publishing a short and distorted version of the proceedings in 1919. However, it was possible to have access to what had been discussed during this Annual Sessions because, as the attendance to the Congress had been massive because this 17th Session combined with the celebration of the 20th anniversary and the 6th Olympic Congress, many journalists were there to cover the event. As a result, they published what they saw and heard. In addition to that, each member took with

himself a copy of the final report they had drawn for the meeting (Franz-Reichel, 1914). During this meeting the NOCs (32 at that time) wanted a voice in the proceedings and so did the IFs (10 at that time). One of the most important discussions that occurred was that of the participation of women athletes as the theme had become a must once more women were taking part in competitive sport and the theme had been recurrent at the IOC meetings but never treated accordingly. The discussion of this issue had been announced in the “Revue Olympique” in January 1913, in an article (written by Coubertin) under the heading “Chronique du mois”. It read “ Le Danemark fait comme la Belgique, ce don’t on ne saurait que le féliciter. Le féminisme gymnique y règne de plus de façon péremptoire. Est-ce un bien ? ...Nous ne poserons pas la question puisque le congrès de 1914 doit la discuter » (« Denmark...There is gymnastics, feminism rules and in addition it does so without any objection. Is this a good thing?... We will not ask the question since the 1914 Congress is supposed to discuss it”) (Coubertin, 1913). After researching in the newspapers of that time, Krüger (1997) discovered that Coubertin was really moved to get women out. In fact he had tried it three times during the 1914 Session, asking the same question, but he was outvoted three times by majority.

The whole problem started when Gordon Inglis from Australia and Cap. Wetherell from South Africa proposed that women be permitted in lawn tennis, swimming, skating, and fencing for the next edition of the Games. Both had the support of the British Committee (Krüger, 1997). Inglis and Wetherell formulated their proposal as an amendment to the original proposal made by Coubertin. As a result of the move, some journalist of the “Toronto Evening Telegram” who wanted publicity ran the headline “Suffragettes in Sport: Women at Olympics”. This headline caught the attention of many people especially because that was a period of time in which feminist movements were taking place in various countries in order to give women the right to vote. As a result, it might have caused some confusion as many people might have thought that the fact that women were competing in the Olympic Games was a direct result of the suffragette movement, especially in relation to what was taking place in London under the leadership of the famous feminist Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters (Purvis, 2005). As a matter of fact, a report written by Monique Berlioux (1985), former director of the IOC, after a presentation she gave at the International Olympic Academy and a book by Daniels and Tedder (2000) mention the fact that women were accepted at the London Olympic Games due to the pressure made by Pankhurst and the feminist movements, which is not true (Purvis, 2002). On a personal consultation for this author’s investigation to Professor June Purvis, British professor of women’s and gender history and Ms. Pankhurst’s biographer, on February 25, 2005, her

words were “I know nothing about this at all, in regard to the Pankhurst women, but their encouragement for women's participation would be typical” (see Chapter II).

Coubertin felt so defeated that he was willing to resign if he were outvoted for the third time. Coubertin even proposed in a fit of temper that the Australian Gordon Inglis should chair the meeting and even the IOC itself, if the Congress so desired. But the members present at the meeting would not follow him. It was explained to Coubertin that he should accept functional role differentiation. As IOC president he should accept principles of majority rule; as President of the Session he should run the session according to the rules, and as President of the French Committee he might debate accordingly. These arguments seemed to have calmed him down as he did not press any further after his third defeat (Krüger, 1997). He might have become frustrated because for the very first time, as it appears in the Minutes of the IOC Sessions, he was defeated in something which went deep down in his own convictions and which was an integral part of his upbringing and his beliefs. In the end, the vote that favored the ‘ladies’ would open the door to women’s competition just a little bit and the medals earned by women would have the same weight in the official medal table as the medals won by men.

After the 1914 Congress the First World War began its devastating rages in Europe. Coubertin, the rich host of the IOC, paying for most of the proceedings and festivals out of his own pocket, after the war was over, came back a different person. He had lost all his money in wrong investments, he was broke, and worse for his manly pride, had to depend on his wife’s little pension money. As a result of that situation, Coubertin and his family went to live in Lausanne at the expense of the municipality of that city, which provided him with free accommodation and guaranteed the neutrality of the IOC. The Committee was also affected as it had to give way in many instances to the Organizing Committees and the IFs. The IOC was changing and reflected European society. During the Great War the lights went out in Europe. When the lights came back again, the result was a much more democratic Europe in civil life as well as in sports. The nobility of the IOC drastically declined reflecting the dramatic changes that took place because of the war (Krüger, 1997).

The war had a tremendous influence on how women should behave, dress, and think, their attitudes and on their way of questioning and addressing the status quo (Elshtain, 1987). Women were progressing in their emancipation movements in many countries, having more access to education, becoming more conscious of their rights and becoming citizens with the right to vote. The “women’s movement” around Europe and America brought women to the fields, courts, rivers, swimming pools and other sporting areas. The social roles were beginning to change and women were having more access to jobs and power (Anderson & Zinsser, 2000).

There is no doubt that the First World War accelerated social trends for women. It added impetus to the women's rights movement and tore down barriers against women's entrance into industry. The war provided women with the opportunity to demonstrate their ability, adaptability and efficiency in jobs which had been previously closed to them, either because of social convention, the bias of employers, or because of the opposition of the male-dominated labor unions (Anderson & Zinsser, 2000). Women succeeded in the advantages of power and influence and in many cases earned money beyond anything they ever expected. With the coming of the Great War to them fell the responsibility of supporting their families or running the farm, and they proved to be equal in the situation, perhaps even to their own surprise. The realization of their own self-sufficiency provided the seeds of social change for women where they had been absent before (Elshtain, 1987).

Women also participated in the war. Many were part of the noncombatant forces at the front, became soldiers and auxiliaries in the military besides being part of the Nurse Corps in the Navy and in the Army. Women sailors could not go to the sea, but they did more than routine office work: some worked as radio electricians, drafters, fingerprint experts, translators, camouflage designers, and recruiters, for example. Some put on overalls and assembled torpedoes while others worked with intelligence units (De Pauw, 1998)

During the First World War, women had to learn many lessons of participation and had to assume and play roles that had been previously established by men for men. Women had to be strong to move and operate machines, to work in the war industry and to feed their children. Women learned to attack and to defend their positions. They walked in men's shoes, played sports and ran in the streets. Their minds changed and so did their attitude towards life and sport. Their clothes changed to adapt to the work in the factories and in the fields because long dresses could cause many accidents and even death (Schweinbenz, 2000). And above all, women learned to fight, which in a way became an advantage once they would have to stand up for their rights in the decades to come.

As it had started in the 1908 Olympic Games, women had to go through an acceptance process through the IFs they belonged to in order to qualify for participation in the Games. Admittance then became more difficult as they would have to face a Coubertinian IOC in order to conquer new positions year after year.

The influence the IFs had started to have on the Program increased but only on the basis of recommendations. Although indication of this evolving relationship between the IOC and the IFs appeared in the 1921 Session, when the IOC had a unanimous vote to authorize the Lausanne Congress of 1921 to discuss the changes of the Olympic Program suggested by the

IFs, it had already been pointed out years before as already mentioned. In other words, the final say was still kept by the IOC as it refused to authorize the proposals without first checking with the Federations that were affected by the alterations (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1921). However, as the IOC delegated responsibilities in relation to technical matters to the IFs, they were finally granted technical control of the Games Program while the IOC kept the absolute right to make decisions in relation to which events were obligatory or optional for the Organizing Committees to choose from. As time went by and the number of IFs increased, the line that divided matters of principle and authority by the IOC and the decision about technical matters on the part of the IFs became finer.

As the Olympic Games became larger and the expanding Program threatened their continued existence, the IOC proposed a reduction of the Program by cutting down on the even small number of women's events, which did not make sense because the suppression of female events would have a negligible effect on the overall reduction of the Program. This strategy continued from Session to Session that dealt with the problem of the reduction of the size of the Games until 1957 as it will be demonstrated in the next chapter when the Minutes are analyzed in detail.

In 1920, according to his own long-time and preciously kept-through-the-modern-times manliness principles, Coubertin even proposed that the IOC dropped all women's events. The proposal was refused by the IOC (Coubertin was outvoted) and the Committee acknowledged the acceptance of women into the Games of 1920, in which they participated in tennis and swimming (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1920). The admittance of women only became official in 1924, when the Executive Board of the IOC brought to attention an error in the composition of the general rules. The text should read: "Les femmes sont admises à certaines épreuves des Jeux Olympiques. Le Programme mentionnera les épreuves qu'elles peuvent disputer" ("Women are admitted in certain competitions in the Olympic Games. The Program will mention the events in which they may participate") (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1924).

It seemed then that Coubertin's influence and dominance over the Committee had diminished with two factors that had contributed to the decrease of his authority: (i) the Committee adopted a proposal in 1920 by which each nation represented by a member in the IOC would contribute a fixed annual sum for the financial support of the IOC (after Coubertin lost his fortune and a lot of the influence possibly associated with it), and (ii) the creation of the Executive Board, at that time composed of four male members who were responsible for advice on major decisions made by the Committee. Therefore, the IOC occupied a relatively

comfortable position that allowed it to overrule Coubertin's proposal to delete women's events, but Coubertin still affected the Committee's decisions from behind the scenes. Curiously enough, by 1924, women were still concentrated on the so-called 'feminine sports'. However, after Coubertin's retirement in 1925, during the 1926 Session, the IOC approved women's athletics « M. Edström informe le CIO que le prochain Congrès d'Athlétisme pouvait être appelé à envisager l'admission des femmes à 4 épreuves d'Athlétisme. M. Edström demande que le Comité veuille bien se prononcer sur la question de principe. Le Comité permet l'admission des femmes à un nombre restreint d'épreuves athlétiques aux Jeux Olympiques » (Minutes of the Annual Session of the IOC, 1926). Women athletes entered the main stadium for the first time to compete in track and field in Amsterdam in 1928. That was the last barrier of masculine hegemony to be broken by women athletes.

The admittance of women to athletics in 1926 was the culmination of a long process. The IOC had refused to consider the admission of athletics events for women for the 1920 Olympic Games in Antwerp and the Paris Games of 1924. The decision of the IOC and the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) not to concern themselves with women's track and field sports led to the creation of the International Federation of Women's Sports, which was one of the greatest forces during the 1920s and 1930s in the fight for female athletes' inclusion in the Olympic Games. This International Federation of Women's Sports, formally entitled the *Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale* (FSFI), was created on October 31, 1921, in Paris with Alice Milliat, a strong-willed French woman, at its head (Drevon, 2005). The FSFI grew from five representative nations in 1921 to 30 representative nations in 1936, the year of its demise. The importance of this organization to the evolution of women's participation in the Olympic Games was crucial for the evolution of women's sports.

The *Fédération des Sociétés Féminines Sportives de France* (FSFSF) was organized in 1917 by Alice Milliat at the same time as the Austrian Amateur Athletic Association. In 1918 the first women's national championships were held in Austria as women's participation in athletics had been developing in Great Britain, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium and Norway, even during the war (as men were in the battlefields) (Guttmann, 1991). The impetus needed to organize a legislative body to administer the control of international competition for women in track and field was provided by this dedicated and not so much well-known French sportswoman, Alice Milliat. It was through the unrelenting efforts of this determined 'institutrice' and her associates that Olympic officials were forced to recognize the desire of women to compete in international sports and to represent their countries as men did in the

Olympic competitions. As George Pallet said of Milliat when she created the FSFI in 1921: “she lit a candle which has spread a flame round the world” (Lucas, 1992).

Alice Milliat (1884-1957), born Alice Joséphine Marie Million, the ‘soul of the women’s sports movement... a living example of modern woman, accustomed to all sports disciplines, highly capable of fulfilling the social role which falls to women in this vibrant 20th century’ as described in an article written after she had conceded an interview in the “Cahiers de la République des Lettres and Sciences et des Sports” of May, 1927 (after she had already constructed a reputation), was an excellent sportswoman at her favorite sport, rowing (just like Coubertin), which she took up when she was in England, where she met her husband. According to the “Cahiers de la République des Lettres and Sciences et des Sports” (1927), Milliat traveled extensively in Europe and in the United States (just like Coubertin) and was very much interested in sport and physical education. She gained her first experience of sports leadership with the Parisian club “Fémina Sport”, one of the three major societies in France for women’s sports, founded in 1912, where she became President in 1915 (Drevon, 2005). She was elected treasurer in 1917, when Fémina Sport organized the first French National Championship on a national level. She proved herself so capable that by June 1918, she had become General Secretary of the French Federation and in March of 1919, she was elected President by unanimous vote. As President, Milliat organized championships in field hockey, association-football (soccer), basketball and swimming. By 1920, the leadership of the organization originally administered by males was exclusively female. In that year, events were organized for schoolgirls and the first international game in which French women were to take part was held in England, where they participated in four soccer games (Drevon, 2005).

According to Dr. Fr. Messerli, founder of the Swiss Olympic Committee, former historiographer of the IOC and one of Coubertin’s personal friends, women in the sporting world put in strong appeals with the IOC to add women’s events in track and field. These pleas were entered for Antwerp Olympic Games in 1920 and the Paris Olympic Games of 1924 (Messerli, 1952). Messerli adds that if these statements are considered as fact, a plea was entered by Milliat for the inclusion of women’s track and field in the Olympic Games before 1920. Drevon (2005) confirms that in 1919 Alice Milliat proposed to Coubertin the registration of a Program of women’s athletics to the Olympic Games of 1920 (Parienté, 1978). This date was given by F.A.M. Webster in “Athletic of Today for Women”, London, Frederick Wrane and Co., 1930, p.14 (Drevon, 2005). In the registration of the FSFI, Milliat indicated that that request was done twice: “Avant même la création de la FSFI (1921) et également après cette création” (archives Musée du Sport, Paris).

Alice Milliat was a dedicated feminist and believed that women suffrage could help bring about acceptance and recognition for women's sports. Evidence of her perception of the relationship between the broader feminist issues and women's participation in sports can be found in a statement she made during the 1934 Women's World Games in London, when she was interviewed by a writer for "Independent Woman": "Women's sports of all kinds are handicapped in my country by the lack of playing space. As we have no vote, we can not make our needs publicly felt, or bring pressure to bear in the right quarters. I always tell my girls that the vote is one of the things they will have to work for if France is to keep its place with other nations in the realm of feminine sport" (Leigh, 1977). Women were only granted the vote in France in 1944.

Alice Milliat used all her experience to aid women's sport by organizing the first Women's Olympic Games in Monaco in 1921 and the second again in Monaco in the following year. Both were very successful and attracted a large public. By organizing these international competitions and setting up the FSFI, Milliat and her colleagues achieved two objectives: (i) to overcome Baron Pierre de Coubertin's reluctance to allow women to play an adequate part in the Olympic Games and (ii) to force the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) to take women's athletics seriously. Both of these objectives were reached and part of the negotiation process is illustrated by the correspondence between the presidents of the IOC (Comte de Baillet-Latour) and of the FSFI (Madame Alice Milliat).

The success of the First Women's Olympic Games in Paris in 1922 forced the IAAF to negotiate with the FSFI the control of women's athletics. The IAAF voted in 1924 to sanction women's track and field but not to advocate its inclusion in the Olympic Games (Miller, 2003). As the FSFI continued to press, Edström (president of the IAAF) met Milliat, and the following agreement was produced: the IAAF would leave the FSFI in control of women's events and the FSFI in return would omit the title 'Olympic' from their event. Milliat then removed the expression 'Olympic Games', and used the expression Women's World Games.

Milliat said in the interview she gave to the « Cahiers de la République des Lettres and Sciences et des Sports » in 1927: "Au surplus, il faut considerer que le sport féminin, du point de vue purement national, est un 'outil' de propagande aussi puissant que le sport masculin. Les Jeux Olympiques féminins intéressent les masses; lors des derniers Jeux de Gothembourg, tous les diplomates étrangers sont venus de Stockholm – une nuit de voyage – et ont assisté aux épreuves athlétiques. N'est-ce pas une référence? »

The FSFI was becoming an autonomous and powerful body, a real challenge to the Olympic Movement, particularly after the first Women's Olympic Games in 1922. The IOC and

the IAAF quickly moved to control this development of women's sport. The international authorities tried to channel the movement for their own benefit (Senn, 1999). The IAAF laid claim to control of women's athletics and an agreement was finally signed by the two federations. The IOC was then prepared to include women's events in the Olympic Games. As a result, only five events featured in the Stockholm Games in 1928. The IOC had not agreed to stage the complete Program of 11 events that had been staged during the Women's World Games as the IOC argued that women's physiques were not fit for such tasks (Senn, 1999), even though women had already participated in several of those competitions. As Milliat verified that the number of women's events was inadequate and she was not sure whether they would be kept for the 1932 Olympic Games, she decided to continue organizing the Women's World Games. The last edition took place in 1936 (Drevon, 2005).

Baillet-Latour had not adopted the idea of women's participation in the Olympic Games. However, at that time, the relatively new IAAF under the leadership of its president, Sweden's Sigfrid Edström, faced the issue and led the way in persuading the IOC to include women's track and field events in the 1928 Games on an experimental basis. It is essential to mention that the IAAF's action was strongly advocated by Alice Milliat and the FSFI. In 1932 Olympic women's track and field gained permanent legitimacy (Barney et al., 2004).

Track and field events were almost deleted from the 1932 Los Angeles Games because of the press coverage of the 1928 Games. The reporters (mostly males), all used to covering men's athletic events, did not seem to be prepared to see women as athletes. It was a new experience for them. Women heaving and sweating in public seemed to disarm many of them, as it was a scene that had been long proscribed by society and male sports administrators. The 800-meter run provided a good example of their reluctance to accept women as serious contenders and became an occasion of the biggest controversy of the 1928 Games. Even though a 1000-meter run had been held without incident at the FSFI Women's World Games two years earlier, as the women finished the 800-meter race, many sports sections reported with alarm and exaggeration that the female runners were in hysterical collapse at the end of the race. The New York Times reported that the race demonstrated that the distance was too great on feminine strength and noted that six of nine runners were completely exhausted and fell 'headlong on the ground'. In addition, it said that several runners had to be carried off the track (Stanley, 1996). Other reporters exaggerated on the news. American John Tunis reported that on the track were 'eleven wretched women, five of whom dropped out before the finish, while five collapsed after reaching the tape, and one fainted in the dressing room'. However, according to official records, only nine women contested the 800-meter race final, not 11. Additionally, only two runners

failed to finish the race, not five. Although some journalists reported what was fact, “there was nothing wrong with them, they burst into tears, thus betraying their disappointment at having lost the race” (Stanley, 1996), nothing was changed. Witnesses also claimed that the finishers were no more distressed than the men were at the end of their race; however, conservatives stumbled at the images of the fallen women athletes and suggested tight restrictions on women’s track and field Olympic participation. However, the curious fact, pointed out by DeFrantz (1997) was that after the 1904 men’s 800-meter track event in Saint Louis, two men truly collapsed on the track: one had to be carried to his training quarters and stimulants had to be administered to revive the other. The IOC did not consider this reason to withdraw the men’s event from future Olympic Games.

Accounts of the women’s 800-meter race served as a ringing denouncement of women’s athletics. Physical educators used such exaggerated reports to strengthen their condemnation of women’s sports Programs. The National Amateur Athletic Federation of the United States, which had always been against women’s participation in competitive sport, used the negative and the distorted publicity of the 800-meter race as part of its basis for lobbying against all Olympic events for women. In America newly trained women physical educators fought to keep women’s sport different from men’s and removed from male control as much as possible by proposing separate programs, teachers, coaches, and officials. They campaigned against all championships including the Olympic Games, tournaments and interscholastic competitions labeling them ‘unwholesome’ (Hall, 1996).

The issue about women’s track and field was intensely debated at the Congress of International Athletic Federation in 1928. Although some countries wanted to delete all women’s competitions, the governing body decided to abolish only the 800-meter race for women and keep the other events. Women athletes in previous Olympic Games had not generated such hostilities. Track and field attracted so much criticism maybe because it did not have the aristocratic country club heritage of golf and tennis. Track and field participants did not appear in magazine covers or product advertisements. Track and field was not for the aristocratic upper class ‘ladies’ and for this reason it permitted the participation of women from lower classes, who would come from factories, offices and, shops. Track and field’s identification with the working class and lower class continued for decades.

In 1929 the IOC voted to remove women’s track and field from the 1932 Los Angeles Games. As an ironic alternative, the Women’s Division proposed an alternative program that included singing, dancing, and lunching (McElroy, 1998). There is even a report that IAAF members threatened to boycott the men’s Olympic Program if the women were not included,

and a compromise was reached in which 100 meters would be the longest individual women's race in Los Angeles. Pressure from the organizers of the Los Angeles Games of 1932 forced the IOC to reinstate the women's competition, although the IOC, claiming medical documentation for its position, ruled out the 800-metre run (Senn, 1999). The women's 800-meter event was not reinstated until 1960 Rome Games. It seemed to be a question of power.

Although the FSFI closed down in 1938, victim of its own success, its structure designed and put into practice by Alice Milliat and her colleagues became a model for several independent women's sports federations and clubs to fight discrimination by existing authorities. This was the case in football, swimming, hockey and rowing (Leigh, 1977). Alice Milliat's career as an international sports leader was over. Thanks to her character, charisma and actions, she remained a key figure of the women's sports movement of the early 20th century. She also remained a visionary of the realities of sport: "Malheureusement, nous n'avons pas de dirigeants; les homes qui s'intéressent au sport masculin ne se rendent pas compte qu'ils pourraient servir leur proper cause en donnant quelque intérêt au sport féminin; ils se cantonnent dans l'éternel égoïsme masculin... »

Coubertin and Milliat were both French, had similar backgrounds in terms of international experiences and studies, the same favorite sport, both were administrators of sports and sports people; besides, both shared almost similar views in relation to sports, except that Coubertin was for sportsmen and Milliat for sportswomen. They were opposites when one considers women's sport. And the irony lies in the fact that the French Baron opposed so much to the participation of women in competitive sport that it was from his own France that a sportswoman came to place women from all over the world into the most treasured of male's sports: track and field.

The events which took women to officially be accepted into the Olympic Games suggest that the IOC members had a more liberal attitude towards women's participation than Coubertin, especially because some of the members who started out in the IOC were no longer around and others from other countries and backgrounds succeeded them, in particular after the Great War.

However, it is very doubtful that the IOC's acceptance of women's competition came from a desire to increase their involvement in international sport. In fact, the IOC members seemed reluctant to permit any further movements to increase women's level of participation. This opinion was clear in the 1923 Session when the issue of the "feminist movement" was brought up with reference to the problems it had caused the IOC. Several relevant orators expressed the view that claims of women would disappear with time (Minutes of the Annual

Session of the IOC, 1923). Their awareness of the strength of the women's movement was apparently rather limited. Although the Committee was concerned with the women's movement, the extent of the movement's influence is difficult to measure.

Pierre de Coubertin was a great man in many ways, but because he was a Victorian-Edwardian aristocratic gentleman, it was impossible for him during his 29 years of IOC leadership to support competitive events for women anywhere, particularly events at the Summer Olympic Games. Coubertin's leadership was so effective that it had a long-lasting influence on the various members of the IOC. Coubertin was the role model for three presidents that succeeded him, Baillet-Latour, Edström, and Brundage, who were not interested in campaigning for more women in the Olympic arenas and in executive administrative positions (Lucas, 1992). On the contrary, they were against women's participation in the Olympic Games as it can be observed in the analysis of the Minutes in the next chapter. Vikelas, Coubertin, Baillet-Latour, Edström, Brundage, and Killanin were unable to perceive that all of human progress is delayed when there is universal failure to know that the ultimate triumph lies in cooperation and complementarity of men and women and not in opposition.

CHAPTER V
THE COUBERTIN ERA
PART E: WOMEN IN THE EARLY OLYMPIC GAMES

The objective of this section is to recover and review information related to the participation of female Olympians in the early Olympic Games before World War I, in a tribute to the very first women who defied their time by writing their names in the history of modern sport. This initial period of the formation of the IOC and the staging of the first Olympic Games showed the most important changes in the criteria by which women participated in the Games as athletes. According to the previous section, women athletes as competitors were nearly absent in the 1896 Athens Games, were invited or had their presence requested in the Paris Olympic Games of 1900 and in the Athens Games of 1906, were included in Saint Louis 1904 Olympic Games but their status changed in the 1908 London Games. For the Olympic Games of 1908, rules and regulations for athletes in general (both men and women), which were established for the first time by the British Olympic Committee and which were kept by the IOC from then on, required that competitors would have to be entered through the IFs or clubs they belonged to. However, women athletes who participated in displays were invited in 1906, 1908 and 1912.

As technology and communication systems evolved and women had already become part of the Olympic Games, those true sports heroines became more visible after 1920. For methodological concerns, recognition of pioneer actions is also a category of historical and scientific research giving legitimacy to the scrutiny of the first modern female Olympians appearance.

Most of the information available about early women Olympians tends to be related to the number of women who earned medals, to the percentage of their participation in the Olympic Games, especially in relation to the participation of male athletes, and to the sports and events women contested. Very little has been published about these heroines in the history of sport due to the scarcity of information since women were not supposed to take part in competitive sport. Women did not belong to what was considered at the time the male world of sports. The little data that exist are scattered around in various primary and secondary sources, most of which not readily available to the researcher due to their location and to the languages the information was recorded in. In addition, because of new methodologies of investigation and the overcoming of gender barriers, new numbers and names of women have been disclosed as research progresses. There is still a lot of controversy as for numbers, names and spellings. From all documents that have been found and analyzed, the option was for the spelling of official reports as much as

possible. The purpose here is not only to present updated numbers of women athletes who participated in any kind of event in the Olympic Games from 1900 until 1912 based on official documents but also to reveal the identities of many of these women through their names and the circumstances of their participation. All names and new numbers are italicized. When it was not possible to retrieve their original names, the titles Mrs., Mme and Miss as well as Mlle and Mme (in French) were used for gender identification as they appear in the Official Reports.

The official documents found at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland, indicate that **112** women Olympians participated in the Olympiads before the Great War: **22** athletes in 1900 in Paris (France), **6** in 1904 in Saint Louis (United States), **36** in 1908 in London (England) and **48** in 1912 in Stockholm (Sweden). However, as information from other official sources is taken into consideration, the number of female Olympians goes up to **416** when including **3** other women who competed in the 1900 Paris Games but have not yet been acknowledged by the IOC; **2** more women who competed in archery in 1904 (there were 8 and not 6 according to some other official sources); **7** women who competed in the 1906 Olympic Games in Athens - recognized only as Interim or Intercalated Games by the IOC - in addition to **8** women who contested two events in ice skating in 1908 and **268** female Olympians who took part in demonstrations, which were not competitions for medals, during the 1906, 1908 and 1912 Olympic Games.

It also becomes relevant to pay homage to the women athletes who wanted to participate in the Olympic Games but had their entries refused. They were not included in the total number of the participants as they did not compete in the Olympic Games. These would-be-Olympians were **Stamata Revithi** (mentioned earlier) in 1896 and **Helen Preece** in 1912. **Helen Preece**, according to Tedder & Daniels (2000), was an outstanding British rider and just 15 years old. She applied to compete in the Modern Pentathlon at the Stockholm Games of 1912 (Lyberg, 1996). Although there were no rules or regulations about women's entries at that time, the Swedish Organizing Committee chose to accept Pierre de Coubertin's opinion and refused **Helen Preece's** application, saying it would be impossible to accept a woman competitor in that sport.

Although Baron Pierre de Coubertin, President of the IOC from 1896 to 1925, was against the participation of women in competitive sport, the IOC had no control of the 1900, 1904 and the 1908 Olympic Games as they happened during expositions that had their own organizers. The 1900 Olympic Games took place in Paris during the "Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris" and received the name of International Games (Jeux Internationaux, as it appears extensively in the newspapers of that time such as "La Vie au Grand Air", "Le Sport

Universel”, “Le Miroir des Sports”) lasting from May 14 to October 28. The 1904 Olympic Games took place in Saint Louis, Missouri, United States during the “Louisiana Purchase International Exposition” from July 1 to November 23. In 1906, Greece organized their second edition of the Olympic Games (the first one had taken place in 1896), which was not recognized by Coubertin and became later the Intercalated Olympic Games, from April 22 to May 2, a very short edition of the Olympic Games. The 1908 Olympiad, organized by the British Olympic Council culminated with the Games that took place during the “Franco-British Exhibition” in London from April 27 to October 31. The 1912 Olympic Games, organized by the Swedish Olympic Committee and held in Stockholm, from May 5 to July 27, was not attached to any exhibition.

1900 Olympic Games - Paris

The official information of the IOC (IOC, 2005) shows that 22 women competed in the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris: 7 in lawn tennis, 10 in golf, 3 in croquet, 1 in equestrian sports and 1 in yachting. However, 3 women have not yet been acknowledged by the IOC: 1 in equestrian and 2 in ballooning (sport not considered Olympic by the IOC), part of the Jeux Internationaux. **Mlle Moulin** participated in the equestrian event (Drevon, 2000), but was not placed. In ballooning, **Mme. Maison** competed with her husband in the distance and endurance discipline for top balloonists in Paris on 9th – 11th October, sailing for 11.38 hours and covering 650 km from Paris to reach Keulroth, in Silesia, arriving in fourth (Daniels & Tedder, 2000) and **Mme. Lemaire** sailed with her husband towards Juchmès in the very first distance event (Drevon, 2000).

Women had had a long tradition in ballooning in France. Reports found in French newspapers state that women started in ballooning in 1875 (Peyrey, 1904a) and even participated in international competitions (Peyrey, 1904c) with balloons constructed by the Brazilian Santos Dumont (Peyrey, 1904b), “l’audacieux aviateur” and “un Christophe Colombe de l’air”, according to the newspaper “Le Miroir des Sports”. This French newspaper had as headline of its November 1924 edition: “Il y a dix-huit ans: l’audacieux aviateur Santos-Dumont, a bagatelle, volait sur une distance de 220 mètres et tenait l’air 21 secondes” (G.H., 1924) to celebrate the invention of the airplane by this famous Brazilian personality. Furthermore, as aviation at that time was a sports discipline, Santos Dumont was the first sportsman aviator to receive the “Diplôme Olympique” in 1905, created by the IOC, “pour récompenser un ensemble de qualités athlétiques, physiques et morales”, registered in the Minutes of the IOC of 1909 and in the “Revue Olympique” of 1906: “Le diplôme Olympique

institué l'an passé et conféré pour la première fois à l'occasion du Congrès de Bruxelles à S. E. le président Roosevelt, au Dr. Fridjhof Nansen, à M. Santos Dumont' (Coubertin, 1906).

In Paris 1900, yachting was an 'open' sport, with men and women competing together. **Hélène Barby** (U.S.), later Countess de Pourtalès (Lyberg, 1996), was the very first woman Olympic medalist in a mixed event, and, by participating on May 22nd, she became the very first female Olympian. She was able to sail on the river Seine, on the Franco-Swiss 'Lerina' with her husband to win her first race, followed by another victory on June 23rd and a second place on June 25th – two Olympic gold medals and one silver (Daniels & Tedder, 2000; Drevon, 2000).

In equestrian sport, **Elvira Guerra** competed for France on her own horse, Libertin, in the Chevaux de Salle (Hacks and Hunter Combined) event on May 31st, though she was not placed.

Three French women competed in croquet on June 28th in two events against men: **Madame Filleaul Brohy**, **Marie Ohnier** and **Madame Déprès**. However, according to Mallon (1995), neither **Madame Filleaul Brohy** nor **Marie Ohnier** progressed to the second round and **Madame Déprès** did not finish the event.

Lawn tennis was the sport with the most available information. In spite of the small number of women competing, only 6, the standard was high with all the top international players competing, including British Wimbledon champion **Charlotte Cooper**, the U.S. champion, **Marion Jones**, and the leading players in Europe: **Hélène Prévost** of France and **Hedwiga Rosenbaumová** of Bohemia. The event took place between July 6th and 11th at the Île du Puteaux Club in the middle of the River Seine, ironically the same club sportsman Pierre de Coubertin attended for his tennis matches. **Charlotte Cooper** was the very first Olympic gold in a women-only event. She also won the mixed doubles tide with her male partner of Great Britain, making her a double gold medal winner. Lawn tennis had two events: singles and mixed doubles. In singles the champion was **Charlotte Cooper** (Great Britain); 2nd place, **Hélène Prévost** (France), and 3rd place, **Marion Jones** (U.S.) and **Hedwiga Rosenbaumová** (Bohemia). In the mixed doubles event, the champions were: **Charlotte Cooper** (Great Britain) and male partner; 2nd place, **Hélène Prévost** (France) and male partner, and 3rd place, **Marion Jones** (U.S.) and male partner together with **Hedwiga Rosenbaumová** (Bohemia) and male partner.

Ten women contested the Olympic Golf competition on October 3rd in Paris: 4 American and 6 French women. According to the Official Report of the 1900 Olympic Games, the champion was **Margaret Abbott** (U.S.), 2nd place was **Pauline Whittier** (U.S.); 3rd place, **Daria Pratt** (U.S.); 4th place, **Mme Froment-Meurice** (France); 5th place, **Mme Henri Ridgway** (France), 6th **Mme Fournier-Sarlovèze** (France), 7th place, **Mary Abbott** (U.S.), 8th

place **Baronne Fain** (France), 9th place **Mme Gelbert** (France) and 10th place **Mme A. Brun** (France). Mary Abbot was Margaret Abbot's mother.

1904 Olympic Games - Saint Louis

Although the Olympic Games of 1904 had a large number of sporting events, women only competed in archery. Since it was very costly to send athletes overseas, especially female athletes, who had very little participation in competitive sport at that time, only 8 American women were included in two archery events with the following results according to Sullivan's "Spalding's Official Athletic Almanac for 1905, Special Olympic Number containing the Official Report of the Olympic Games of 1904" (1905). The Double National Round had **Lida Scott Howell**, Cincinnati, as champion; 2nd place went to **Jessie Pollock**, Cincinnati; 3rd place to **Emma Cooke**, Washington, D.C.; 4th place to **Laura Woodruff**, Cincinnati, 5th place to **Mabel Taylor**, Cincinnati and 6th place to **Louise Taylor**, Cincinnati. The Double Columbia Round also had **Lida Scott Howell** as champion; **E. C. Coolen** in 2nd position; **Jessie Pollock** in 3rd place; **Laura Woodruff** in 4th place, **Louise Taylor** in the 5th position and **Mabel Taylor** in the 6th position. The Ladies' Team Championship was the Cincinnati Archery Club winners: **Lida Howell**, **Jessie Pollock**, **Laura Woodruff**, and **Mabel Taylor**. In 2nd position came the Potomac Archers, from Washington, D.C.

1906 Olympic Games - Athens

Although not recognized as official Olympic Games but as Intercalated Games, Intermediate Games, Interim Games, or almost IIIB Games by the IOC, the Second International Olympic Games in Athens (Lennartz, 2002) had the participation of 19 women Olympians with an innovation: sports demonstrations or displays in which 12 Danish women gymnasts (Trangback, 1996) participated. Their names could not be retrieved.

According to Cook, cited in Mallon (1999), the Danish girls gave 'the most pleasing exhibition'; besides, it was the very first time women entered an Olympic stadium. However, the only sport women athletes contested was lawn tennis, which had two events: singles and mixed doubles, similarly to the Paris 1900 events. Seven women athletes from Greece and France competed and had the following results: in the singles event, **Esmee Simirioti** (Greece) was champion, followed by **Sophia Marinou** (Greece) in 2nd place and **Euphrosine Paspatis** (Greece) in 3rd position. The mixed doubles event had **Marie Decugis** (France) and male partner as champions; **Sophia Marinou** (Greece) and male partner in 2nd place and **Aspasia Matsa** (Greece) and male partner in 3rd position (Mallon, 1999). Since these women were not

international champions such as the French, the British or the Americans, their names are rarely mentioned in any research.

1908 Olympic Games - London

According to the IOC, 36 women athletes had their entries accepted by the British Olympic Committee to contest the 1908 Olympic Games in London: 25 in archery, 10 in lawn tennis and 1 in sailing. However, the number of female Olympians goes up to **71** if the other participating women athletes are included: 8 in ice skating, and 27 in demonstrations. As times were changing and sportswomen becoming more visible, the Swedish female swimmer **Ebba Gisico** and 6 Icelandic sportswomen were invited to give demonstrations of diving and swimming (The London Times according to Leigh, 1974) while 20 Danish female athletes displayed gymnastics on the very first day of the London Games (Trangback, 1996), a very much appreciated event according to research done by Leigh (1974). Archery and lawn tennis for women were the most awaited events as they had already appeared in previous Olympic Games. The results for archery are the following: the National Round had **Sybil Fenton ‘Queenie’ Newall** (Great Britain) as champion; **Charlotte ‘Lottie’ Dod** (Great Britain) in 2nd place and **Beatrice Geraldine Hill-Lowe** (Great Britain) in 3rd place. Lawn tennis had 10 participants in two singles events: the out-of-doors courts had **Dorothea Katherine Chambers** (Great Britain) as champion; **Penelope Dora Harvey Boothby** (Great Britain) in 2nd position; **Ruth Joan Winch** (Great Britain) in 3rd place; **Miss A. M. Morton** (Great Britain) in 4th position and **Angela Nora G. Greene** (Great Britain) in 5th place. The champion of singles in indoor courts was **Gwendoline Eastlake-Smith** (Great Britain), followed by **Angela Nora G. Greene** (Great Britain) in 2nd place and **Märtha Adlerstrahle** (Sweden) in 3rd position. The 1908 Olympic Games also introduced ice skating for women with the following results: in figure skating, the champion was **Florence ‘Madge’ Syers** (Great Britain); 2nd place was for **Else Rendschmidt** (Germany); 3rd place, **Dorothy Greenhough Smith** (Great Britain); 4th place, **Fröken Montgomery** (Sweden) and 5th place, **Miss Lycett** (Great Britain). In pair skating, the champions were **Anna Hübler** (Germany) and male partner; the 2nd place went to **Phyllis Johnson** (Great Britain) and male partner and the 3rd place was for **Florence ‘Madge’ Syers** (Great Britain) and male partner. Official IOC documents also show that **Frances Clytie Rivett-Carnac** of Great Britain crewed with her husband in the seven-meter class aboard the ‘Heroine’ and won the Olympic gold medal. In addition, according to the official 1908 Olympic Games report (Cook, 1908), although not placed, the following women athletes became Olympians: (i) in archery **Mme K. Csery** (Hungary), **Mrs. G. W. Honeywill** (Great Britain), **Miss Hyde**

(Great Britain), **Mrs. E. Leonard** (Great Britain), **Miss K. J. Mudge** (Great Britain), **Mrs. Priestley-Foster** (Great Britain), **Mrs. N. Robertson** (Great Britain), **Miss Thackwell** (Great Britain), **Miss Wadworth** (Great Britain), **Mrs. A. H. Wadworth** (Great Britain), **Miss Wood** (Great Britain), **Mrs. S. H. Armitage** (Great Britain), **Mrs. Bowen** (Great Britain), **Mrs. Buddam-Wheathan** (Great Britain), **Mrs. C. Cadman** (Great Britain), **Mrs. Rushton** (Great Britain), **Miss J. Vance** (Great Britain), **Mrs. L. Weedon** (Great Britain); (ii) in lawn tennis **Miss M. Coles** (Great Britain), **Mme C. Fenwick** (France), **Mrs. B. Hillyard** (Great Britain), **Miss V. M. Pinkney** (Great Britain), **Miss Pietrzikowski** (Austria), **Mrs. C. R. Sterry** (Great Britain), **Mrs. G. E. Smith** (Great Britain), **Mrs. E. Wallenberg** (Sweden); (iii) in ice skating, **Miss J. Herz** (Austria).

1912 Olympic Games - Stockholm

The Olympic Games that took place in Stockholm in 1912 had 57 women athletes contesting swimming and lawn tennis events, according to the IOC. However, the number goes up to **293** when the women athletes that gave demonstrations in gymnastics are included. At the same time that archery was deleted from the 1912 Games, swimming was introduced and brought with it a larger number of women competitors: 42 in only three events. The results were the following: in 100 meters, free style, the gold medal went to the champion **Sarah ‘Fanny’ Durack** (Australia); the silver medal went to **Wilhelmina Wylie** (Australia) and the bronze medal for **Jennie Fletcher** (Great Britain). The 400 meters team race (teams of 4) had as champions the female Olympians from Great Britain: **Isabella Mary Moore, Jennie Fletcher, Annie Speirs** and **Irene Steer**; 2nd place went for Germany: **Wally Dressel, Louise Otto, Hermine Stindt** and **Grete Rosenberg** and 3rd place for Austria: **Margarete Adler, Klara Milch, Josephine Sticker** and **Bertha Zahourek**. **Greta Johanson** (Sweden) was gold medalist in high plain diving; **Lisa Regnell** (Sweden) earned the silver medal and **Isabelle White** (Great Britain) won the bronze medal.

Lawn tennis had 15 women athletes competing in four events. The results are as follows: (i) the gold medal in the singles out-of-doors courts went to champion **Marguerite Broquedis** (France); the silver medal to **Dora Köring** (Germany) and the bronze medal to **Mola Bjurstedt** (Norway); (ii) the mixed doubles in out-of-doors courts had **Dora Köring** (Germany) and male partner as champions; **Sigrid Fick** (Sweden) and male partner in 2nd position, and **Marguerite Broquedis** (France) and male partner in 3rd position; (iii) in the singles covered courts **Edith Hannam** (Great Britain) earned the gold medal; **Thora Castenschiold** (Denmark) won the silver medal and **Mabel Parton** (Great Britain) earned the bronze medal; (iv) the mixed doubles

in covered courts had **Edith Hannam** (Great Britain) and male partner as champions; **Helen Aitchison** (Great Britain) and male partner in 2nd place and **Sigrid Fick** (Sweden) and male partner in 3rd position.

The success of gymnastics demonstrations that had started in Athens 1906 and repeated in London in 1908 also took place in Stockholm with a much larger number of women athletes: **236**. There were 148 gymnasts from Denmark, 18 from Finland, 48 from Norway, 48 from Sweden (letter from Lyberg to Leigh, 1974, pg. 122), whose names are still to be retrieved.

The Official Report of the Stockholm Olympic Games lists the following women who although not placed also became Olympians. Swimming had **E. H. Andersson** (Sweden), **S.A.M. Andersson** (Sweden), **E. Björklund** (Sweden), **Greta Carlsson** (Sweden), **Daisy Curwen** (Great Britain), **E.M. Edström** (Sweden), **E.D. Eklund** (Sweden), **Mme Guttenstein** (Belgium), **Sonja Jonsson** (Sweden), **T.M. Järvi** (Finland), **Regina Kari** (Finland), **P. Kellner** (Austria), **Mary Langford** (Great Britain), **K. Lundgren** (Sweden), **B. Moore** (Great Britain), **Dagmar Nilsson** (Sweden), **Aagot Normann** (Norway), **Elsa Regnell** (Sweden), **I. M. White** (Great Britain), **M. E. Adlerz** (Sweden), **Hanny Kellner** (Austria), **A. V. Larsson** (Sweden), **Vera Thulin** (Sweden). Lawn tennis had **E. Amheim** (Sweden), **E. Brusewitz** (Sweden), **M. Cederschöld** (Sweden), **A. Holmström** (Sweden), **M. Bjurstedt** (Norway), and **Ebba Hay** (Sweden).

As society started to change and better accept the idea that women were also able to do sports so rose the number of women Olympians not only in competitions but also in the demonstration events that later became official Olympic sports for women. But it was a long way before women were finally accepted as athletes with the same rights as men.

During the first period of the development of the women's program, 1896-1912, before World War I, women moved from the shadow of extra unofficial participation, to invitation and recruitment, to inclusion and to admission as summarized in Table 9.

The circumstances that favored the participation of women in golf and tennis tournaments in the second edition of the Olympic Games (1900) and in an archery tournament in St Louis (1904), sports which were socially acceptable for women, led to the competitions in lawn tennis and archery events in the 1908 London Games for women athletes. By the 5th official Olympiad in Stockholm in 1912, according to IOC records, 113 women from more than 10 countries had already pioneered in international sport competition and established themselves as part of the Modern Olympic Games, which initially would not favor women's participation, according to words of the founder. However, if all participating women are included, **416** had taken part in the Olympic Games of 1900, 1904, 1906, 1908 and 1912.

It is significant to notice that at the same time that scholars and non-academic observers were looking for names of women who ‘participated’ unofficially or ‘almost’ participated in the early Olympic Games, names of true Olympians, women who indeed participated in the Games, have been forgotten. As the 1906 Games are still not considered official Olympic Games by the IOC, the tendency seems for researchers to overlook the names of women who were not ‘internationally’ known.

Table 9: Status of female Olympians in the Olympic Games 1896-1912

Olympic Games	Status of participation	Female Olympians and status	Total number:
			416
1896 Athens	Extra-unofficial	At least 1	—
1900 Paris	Invitation or recruitment	2 extra-official 22 invited 1 not acknowledged	25
1904 Saint Louis	Included	8	8
1906 Athens	Invitation	7 for competitions 12 for displays	19
1908 London	Admission and invitation	36 admitted 27 invited for displays	63
1912 Stockholm	Admission and invitation	57 admitted 236 invited for displays	293

The question behind this possibility refers to the reductionism and even prejudice often found among sport historians when analyzing evidences of emancipation in terms of sport minorities, as depicted earlier by DaCosta (2001).

Finally, by displaying all the names possible to be retrieved of the **416** female Olympians who participated in competitions and demonstrations in the Olympic Games from 1900 until 1912, when the position of admission of athletes had been consolidated by the IOC, this dissertation pays a tribute in this section to those who so much devoted themselves to competitive sport and who paved the road for future female participation and equality in sports.

CHAPTER VI

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES

PART A: INTRODUCTION

For much of its early life, Coubertin's International Olympic Committee was little more than a 'phantom organization'. The size of the IOC was such that no need existed for the separation of governance and management. However, after the First World War, the size and business of the IOC increased. The work of the IOC took on proportions that were beyond any one person or an executive to handle. As a result, an Executive Board (EB) was formed in 1921 and a 1926 meeting of the EB passed a resolution "to establish a permanent Secretariat in Lausanne" (Meeting of Executive Board, 1926, p.19).

The mission statement of an organization is central to its understanding. While the Olympic Movement was founded on bases other than purely dealing with sport, the central focus and mission have been on the development and production of sport, especially through the Olympic Games. Analysis of the historical documents of the IOC, and its movement, permits access to the way the organization was formed and how it evolved. The Charters of the IOC provide an excellent basis for this analysis together with other historical documents such as the "Bulletin", the "Olympic Review", other in-house publications, and in particular and most importantly, the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC and the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings, which are copied and analyzed in this chapter.

The "Bulletin" contains a record of the IOC's business in form of minutes of meetings, which included policy matters. The early versions of the "Bulletin" do not indicate the existence of any formalized Charter. The earliest published account of the IOC's mission appeared in 1908, 12 years after the foundation of the IOC, under Regulations, a "goal." The goal charges of the IOC, as entrusted by the 1894 International Congress in Paris, to ensure the regular celebration of the Olympic Games, to ensure the Games were celebrated within the perfection and dignity of their glorious past and that the Games conform to the elevated ideals of their renovators (IOC, 1908).

Within its constitution the IOC in 1894 designated itself as the central administrative authority of the Olympic Games and thus assumed responsibility for the decision-making policy of the Games program. Theoretically then all decisions related to women's participation were to be ultimately controlled by the IOC. According to Mitchell (1977), it is possible to divide the factors which affected the policy of the women's participation in the program of the Games into

two categories. They can be identified as the internal factors, which exist within the sphere of control of the IOC and the broader, societal factors, external to the Olympic organization. Mitchell (1977) pointed out that the external factors, which have already been mentioned, naturally affected women's position around the world and added that the influence of these factors had already been recognized, but, she did not describe these influences. Mitchell added that the members of the IOC were able to make decisions regardless of external influences. However, it is important to remember the fact that the men who made the decisions in relation to the actions of the IOC were all from the same time period, shared the same cultural background and were all under the same 'external influences' and particularly under Coubertin's command and influence. As a result, the so-called 'external factors' were in fact present in all decisions made by the IOC.

In reality, the IOC had a highly centralized form of governance and structure, placed on the President, as it was originated in the figure of Pierre de Coubertin, who moved his entire life in this direction. The position of Coubertin, the early organizational structure and operation of the IOC, and the historic 'self-government basis of sport organization governance and structure are all part of the way in which the IOC existed from the 19th century to the present day. That is, a volunteer board overseeing the governance and management of a sport organization, today most often with professional staffs (Zakus, 2000).

The following chapter, divided into three sections, contains extracts from all of the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC (from 1896 until 1982) as well as extracts from the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings (since its creation in 1921 until 1982). These extracts are all possibly related to women's participation in the Olympic Games as athletes and as members of the IOC found in these Minutes after a research that lasted two months in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland.

As an analysis of the situation of the IOC was provided in Chapter V, comments are added to the extracts of these Minutes printed in bold for easy identification. Conclusions related to each section of analysis of the Minutes and Charters follow these point-specific comments. In addition, it is relevant to point out that the comments and conclusions basically refer to the research questions proposed in Chapter I of this dissertation. Finally, general conclusions are found after the analysis of the Olympic Charters as proposed for the 1948-1987 period, representing a synthesis of previous chapters and sections.

CHAPTER VI

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES

PART B: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES BETWEEN 1896 AND 1919 THROUGH THE MINUTES OF THE IOC SESSIONS

History is also made of ‘invisible presence’. The fact that women had not been so much mentioned by the IOC does not mean that they were not there. The lights were only out, but they were there. It is possible to conduct research that can shed some light on areas that had been in the dark to recover what was supposed to have been lost. The history of the Modern Olympic Games has shown it and names of women start to appear.

This research was divided into three parts as the Great Wars exercised a tremendous influence not only on the IOC decisions but also and in particular on the social changes women went through during this time period. The first part of the research includes the minutes of the IOC Sessions and the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings from the very foundation of the IOC in 1894 until the beginning of the First World War. The Olympic Charters were not included in this period as they only started in 1918. The second part includes the Minutes of the IOC Sessions, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters from 1920 until 1938, the Inter-War period. The third part includes the documents from the end of the Second World War (1946) until 1982.

Analysis of the Minutes of IOC Annual Sessions and Executive Board Meetings

This research shows the parts of the original Minutes (primary sources) that deal with women, are related to women’s admission, directly and indirectly, to the Olympic Games and that mention the words ‘femmes’, ‘ladies’, ‘women,’ girls, ‘filles’ etc. As the Minutes were recorded in French, free translation into English is provided by this author for the initial Sessions. The Minutes that do not carry information about women or are not directly or indirectly related to women are also cited but with the indication that no information about women was mentioned. The Minutes that carry some information are italicized and the text is transcribed. Comments and conclusions are presented in **bold type**. At the end a summary is provided with Table 10. It is important to remember that the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings start to be examined in Part C of this chapter as it was only created in 1921.

Analysis of the Inclusion of Women as Athletes through the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC

1st IOC Session – Paris, 1894

From its very beginning it is possible to notice that Pierre de Coubertin was not at all interested in discussing the participation of women in sports. Although his main objective was to restore the Olympic Games, the first purpose of the “Congrès International de Paris of 1894” was to define the word amateur: especially internationally (“définition de l’amateur: bases de cette définition – possibilité et utilité d’une définition Internationale” – definition of amateur: bases of such definition – possibility and utility of an international definition) as the Program says it. Coubertin was just following what was common for himself for what he had been experiencing during his own time, his background, upbringing and principles. The definition of amateur applied only to male athletes because only men participated in highly competitive sports at that time. The organization of sports was so naturally restricted to men for their standards and social structure (in which women played other roles) that women were never mentioned. They would never have expected that women at that time would like to participate in the Olympic Games.

In the minutes of the first IOC Session, written by hand, the following words are found on the very first pages spoken by the aristocratic gentlemen who participated in the first IOC meeting: “M. Bergh remarque que en Suède le patinage est un exercice très populaire et même national, les jeunes gens de 11 à 20 ans prennent part à toutes les courses de patineurs ... y aurait intérêt à organiser pour certains exercices des épreuves spécialement réservées aux jeunes garçons. M. M pense que dans ce cas les épreuves en question ne ne seraient vrais emsemblablement disputés que par les jeunes garçons de pays où auront lieu les jeux olympiques. M. Bergh trouve jeunes garçons devraient être admis à participer à toutes les épreuves... M. Masson pense que les jeux olympiques étant destinés surtout à la jeunesse, il faudrait ajouter deux classes d’épreuves – un pour les jeunes garçons âgés de moins de 18 ans, par exemple – l’autre pour les hommes faits. » (« M. Bergh observes that in Sweden ice skating is a very popular exercise, even national, young people from 11 to 20 years of age take part in all skating competitions. There would be some interest in organizing for some exercises events specially reserved for young men. M. Masson thinks that in this case the events will only have the participation of the young boys of the country where the Olympic Games will take place. M. Bergh thinks that young boys should be admitted to participate in these events... M. Masson

thinks that the Olympic Games being destined above all to the youth, it would need to have two types of events – one for the young boys under 18, for example – and the other for adult men”).

This document contains many other references to the expression young boys and men. It also mentions youth and young people. On the one hand, it never mentions women, young girls or females. On the other hand, the document neither excludes women or girls nor prohibits them to participate in the Olympic Games. There is not a single reference to women. It is as if women did not exist or participate in sports. They remained invisible.

2nd IOC Session – Athens, 1896

The subject of women was not mentioned.

3rd IOC Session – Le Havre, 1897

The only words related to women in the Minutes of this Session are “M. Thornstein Nordenfeldt a porté un toast aux dames françaises.” (M. Thornstein Nordenfeldt proposed a toast to the French ladies”) during the banquet. Women accompanied their husbands to the many celebrations, dinners and feasts promoted by Coubertin. In other words, the same invisibility detected in the 1st Session is also found in the 3rd Session, 1897.

4th IOC Session – Paris, 1901

The subject of women was not mentioned.

5th IOC Session – Paris, 1902

The subject of women was not mentioned.

6th IOC Session – Paris, 1903

The subject of women was not mentioned.

7th IOC Session – London, 1904

The subject of women was not mentioned.

8th IOC Session – Brussels, 1905

The subject of women was not mentioned.

9th IOC Session – Athens, 1906

The subject of women was not mentioned.

10th IOC Session – The Hague, 1907

The subject of women was not mentioned.

11th IOC Session – London, 1908

The subject of women was not mentioned.

12th IOC Session – Berlin, 1909

General Balck read the report prepared by a commission that had studied a provisional proposition for a standard Program to be used in future Games. The commission deleted several sports from the Program including archery, which had been the only sport women had competed in during the Saint Louis Games. As a result, women would have even fewer chances to be seen in the Games. However, there was not an explicit reference to the participation of women in the new Program.

13th IOC Session – Luxemburg, 1910

The original Minutes show the following text when it refers to women: “Les Suédois se proposent toujours un idéal opposé aux spécialisations. Ils sont aussi féministes et les femmes, déjà admises en 1908 aux épreuves de lawn tennis et aux exhibitions gymniques, le seront sans doute en 1912 aux championnats de natation ” (“The Swedes always propose an idealistic opposition to specialization. They are also feminists and the women, already admitted in 1908 to the events of lawn tennis and to gymnastics exhibitions, will be admitted to swimming events”). The following sports for women were unanimously accepted for the 1912 Olympic Games: gymnastics, lawn tennis and swimming (the new sport). Therefore, this acceptance was the first register made about women’s participation issue in the IOC Minutes.

14th IOC Session – Budapest, 1911

The original text of the Minutes says: “Le Rev. de Courcy-Laffan demande d’ajouter au Programme une course de 300m et de 400m (équipe) pour dames. Le Colonel Balck répond que la chose sera examinée”; (“Rev. Courcy-Laffan asks to add to the Program a race of 300m

and a race of 400m (team) for the women. Colonel Balck answers that the issue will be examined”).

This is a swimming competition and not track & field. It is important to notice that the British (Courcy-Laffan) were in favor of swimming for women.

15th IOC Session – Stockholm, 1912

In this text it is possible to observe the absence of women very clearly when the Commission mentions the second fundamental principle of the Olympic Games:

« 2. les Jeux Olympiques doivent se proposer d’admettre – autant que possible – ‘all games, all nations, all men’ sur un pied d’égalité aussi parfait que possible » (The Olympic Games should propose to admit, whenever possible, ‘all games, all nations, all men’ over a foot of equality as perfect as possible).

After that there was a long discussion about the naturalization of athletes. The word ‘men’ was taken literally and women were not included or even referred to. However, the President (Coubertin) proposed that the admission of women be studied as a general order question. Women were already taking part in tennis and swimming competitions in increasing numbers. It was decided to review the question of admission of women in the following year.

16th IOC Session Lausanne, 1913

The subject of women was not mentioned.

17th IOC Session – Paris, 1914 (last Session before World War I)

No official report was published after the Session was over, especially because of the Great War, as mentioned in the previous chapter (see Chapter V, Part D for comments about the 1914 Minutes). What is found in the Minutes is that one of decisions of the Session was that no women would participate in track & field, but as before – allowed to participate in fencing and swimming. France (Franz-Reichel, 1914) wished that the points obtained by women athletes should not be counted, but the proposal was turned down by 66-41. France had from the beginning opposed participation of women in any way (Japan and the U.S. seconded), but a very big majority voted for participation (fencing, swimming and tennis).

It is relevant to notice that women had started to depend on the words ‘allowed, permitted or admitted’ to participate in the Olympic Games as rules had been established

for the 1908 London Games. This is a demonstration that there was an implicit rejection to the participation of women in the Program.

18th IOC Session – Lausanne, 1919

The subject of women was not mentioned.

CONCLUSIONS

From 1894 until 1919 there were 18 Annual Sessions of the IOC. According to the Minutes, only 5 Sessions (27.8%) dealt with the question of the participation of women athletes and these Sessions took place closer to end of the period 1894-1919, when women had already increased their numbers of participation. Another observation to make is the fact that as women contested events as recruits, guests or were just product of mere inclusion, as the case of archery in 1904, there were no comments in the IOC Annual Sessions. As their status of participation changed to admission in 1908, as a result of the first rules and regulations established by the BOA, and a standard program of participation for both male and female athletes was suggested and adopted in 1909, more comments started to appear in the Minutes. That happened after 1909 (See Table 10).

Table 10: IOC Sessions 1894-1919 and the participation of women

IOC Annual Sessions	Summary
1 st IOC Session – Paris, 1894	_____
2 nd IOC Session – Athens, 1896	_____
3 rd IOC Session – Le Havre, 1897	_____
4 th IOC Session – Paris, 1901	_____
5 th IOC Session – Paris, 1902	_____
6 th IOC Session – Paris, 1903	_____
7 th IOC Session – London, 1904	_____
8 th IOC Session – Brussels, 1905	_____

9 th IOC Session – Athens, 1906	_____
10 th IOC Session – The Hague, 1907	_____
11 th IOC Session – London, 1908	_____
12 th IOC Session – Berlin, 1909	Proposition for a standard program
13 th IOC Session – Luxemburg, 1910	Acceptance of gymnastics, lawn tennis and swimming (the new sport)
14 th IOC Session – Budapest, 1911	Swimming events for women
15 th IOC Session – Stockholm, 1912	Coubertin proposed that the admission of women be studied as a general order question and review the question of admission of women in the following year.
16 th IOC Session Lausanne, 1913	_____
17 th IOC Session – Paris, 1914	The continuation of the participation of women was unanimously accepted.
18 th IOC Session – Lausanne, 1919	_____

CHAPTER VI

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES

PART C: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES BETWEEN 1920 AND 1939 THROUGH THE MINUTES OF THE IOC SESSIONS, THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETINGS AND THE OLYMPIC CHARTERS

Analysis of the Inclusion of Women as Athletes through the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC

19th IOC Session – Antwerp, 1920

The Minutes report Comte de Clary's comment: « le Comte Clary lui aussi désire une simplification du Programme, mais nous aurions tout d'exclure les femmes complètement. Ce sont les femmes fortes qui font la race forte et il y a assez de sports où la femme peut lutter avec l'homme (la natation, l'aviron) (Cte Clary also desires a simplification of the Programme, but we would have to exclude women completely. Strong women make the race strong and there were already sports where women can compete with men (swimming, rowing))”.

This reported comment is important because it reveals two important and recurrent facts: (i) the question of improvement of the race (eugenic issue), that is, women should practice sports and physical activities to mother strong offspring, especially boys, and (ii) the question of dropping women's events to simplify or reduce the Olympic Program. In this case, the program would be simplified or reduced at women's expenses, which had already been discussed in the previous chapter.

In this Session the President (Pierre de Coubertin), who did not want women in the Games and probably hoping that the present members would vote against women's participation, asks the members of the IOC if women athletes should be admitted to the Games and the answer is yes!: “Les dames sont elles admises aux jeux? Réponse: Oui” (“Shall women be admitted to the Games?” Answer: “Yes”).

The President demanded the right, as founder of the Games, to explain how he envisaged the Program. On the subject of women, his intentions were as follows: “... and I would not admit women. In general, they should not take part in the Olympic Games at all.” **It was said in reply that it would be wrong to exclude women completely. There were strong women who made the race strong, and there were enough sports in which women could compete with men (e.g. swimming and rowing). After discussion, the President placed the**

question again: “Shall women be admitted to the Games?” The final answer from the IOC members: “Yes”.

20th IOC Session – Lausanne, 1921

The Minutes of this Session expose the Statutes of the International Olympic Committee. Under the “*Règlements Relatifs à la Célébration des Olympiades*” (Regulations related to the Celebration of the Olympiads), the very first article reads: « Les Jeux Olympiques réunissent les amateurs de toutes les nations sur un pied d’égalité aussi parfait que possible » (“The Olympic Games put together amateurs of all nations on a foot of equality as perfect as possible”).

It is clear that the IOC wants to do justice to ‘all’ athletes; however, women were not included as an evidence of the reluctance of the IOC in the inclusion of women two decades after the reinstitution of the Olympic Games.

21st IOC Session – Paris, 1922

In this Session women are only referred to when IOC members discussed the (mis)use of the term Olympic by other institutions, including the Monte-Carlo Games (Women’s Olympiads): “Le Comte Clary signale qu’il est intervenu dans le même sens auprès des organisateurs des manifestations sportives féminines de Monte-Carlo ainsi que de celles qui auront lieu prochainement à Vichy” (“Comte Clary observes that he had intervened in the same sense next to the organizers of women’s sports manifestations in Monte-Carlo as they were going to take place at Vichy in the near future”).

These Monte Carlo Games were very well covered by the press of the time, which clearly favored the realization of the Games (see Chapter V Part D). Moreover, Clary’s observation suggests that there were contacts or negotiations between the IOC and the organizers of the Women’s Olympic Games.

22nd IOC Session – Rome, 1923

The IOC dwelt on the feminist movement and the abuses and excesses to which it had given rise.

23rd IOC Session – Paris, 1924

In this Session, June 28, “A propos de l’épreuve (escrime) pour les dames, le président rappelle que son introduction est illégale et que la Commission Exécutive ne l’a tolérée que sous

d'expresses réserves » (« In relation to the event (fencing) for the ladies, the president reminds us that its introduction is illegal and that the Executive Board would only tolerate it under special reservations»).

On the next meeting day, July 7, the Executive Board corrects a mistake in the text of article 6 of the General Rules that should read: “Les femmes sont admises à certain épreuves des Jeux Olympiques. Le Programme mentionnera les épreuves qu’elles peuvent disputer” (“Women are admitted to certain events in the Olympic Games. The Program will mention the events in which they may participate”).

On the next meeting day, July 8, «le Comité aborde la question de la participation des femmes aux Jeux Olympiques. Quelques membres seraient d’avis de laisser cette question de côté mais il est reconnu qu’elle risque d’être soulevée à Prague et qu’il vaut mieux s’en préoccuper dès maintenant. Du reste, alors que l’on cherche à diminuer le Programme déjà trop chargé des Jeux, ce serait l’alourdir singulièrement que de l’ouvrir plus largement à la participation féminine. Après échange de vues, le comte Clary propose la motion suivante qui est adoptée: ‘Devant la nécessité universellement reconnue d’alléger le Programme olympique et sans vouloir toucher ici au principe même, le C.I.O. décide en ce qui concerne la participation des femmes aux Jeux Olympiques de maintenir simplement l’état de choses actuel. En aucun cas il n’acceptera comme obligatoires des épreuves féminines d’escrime » («The Committee touches the question of the participation of women in the Olympic Games. Some members would say to let the question aside but it is recognized that it will risk to be taken to Prague and that it would be better to start worrying from now. Therefore as we look for diminishing the Program already too charged with Games, it would be more to load it than to open more for women’s participation. After exchange of views, Comte Clary proposes the following motion, which is adopted: ‘Facing the need universally recognized of making the Olympic Program lighter and without wanting to touch here on the same principle, the C.I.O. has decided that in which it is related to women’s participation in the Olympic Games to maintain simply the state of things as they are now. In any case it will accept as obligatory women’s events of fencing”).

The IOC adopted the following text, to be included under Article 6: “Women are admitted to certain events of the Olympic Games. The Program shall list the events in which they may compete.”

24th IOC Session – Prague, 1925

The subject of women is not mentioned.

The meeting that took place in the afternoon of May 28 elected Baillet-Latour as the 3rd President of the IOC as Coubertin was bidding his leave. It is significant that even announcing he was retiring, Coubertin still got 11 votes from the IOC members: “Il est alors procédé au premier tour qui donne les resultats suivants: votants 40; majorité 21. Ont obtenu: le comte Baillet-Latour, 17 voix; M. de Coubertin, 11 voix; M. De Blonay, 6 voix ; MM Clary, 4 voix et de Polignac, une voix ; plus un bulletin blanc. Le second tour rendu nécessaire par ces résultats présente 27 votants ; majorité 14. Obtiennent : MM. De baillet-Latour, 19 voix ; de Blonay, 6 voix ; de Coubertin et Clary, chacun 1 voix. Le Baron Pierre de Coubertin donna lors communication du résukltat définitif et proclame, conformément à la constitution, le comte Henry de Baillet-Latour, président du Comité International Olympique pour huit ans, de 1925 à 1933 ».

As Coubertin was leaving, ‘tradition’ as a factor of exclusion may have started to wane.

25th IOC Session – Lisbon, 1926

In this Session, « M. Edström informe le CIO que le prochain Congrès d’Athlétisme pouvait être appelé á envisager l’admission des femmes à 4 épreuves d’Athlétisme. M. Edström demande que le Comité veuille bien se prononcer sur la question de principe. Le Comité permet l’admission des femmes à un nombre restreint d’épreuves athlétiques aux Jeux Olympiques » (“Mr. Edström informs the CIO that the next Athletics Congress could be called to face the admission of women to 4 events of track & field. Mr. Edström asks that the Committee should have a position about the question in principle. The Committee permits the admission of women to a certain number of athletic events of the Olympic Games”).

The question related to the admission of track & field for women was analyzed in the previous chapter; however, it is important to notice that at the same time that there had been pressure for the IOC to include women’s athletic events, the members of the IOC did not include in the Minutes any comment about that. One may wonder if discussions really took place at the meetings of the Sessions but were never recorded in print. The IOC seemed to have used the strategy of ‘systematic postponement’ when confronted with decisions related to power. Similarly, the study about the expansion of the Olympic Movement conducted by DaCosta (2002), in which he examined the occupation of the space related to sports in the various continents, demonstrated that the confrontations that involved decisions related to power were either hidden or postponed. It is then possible to say that the question related to the inclusion of women in the Olympic Games

was a question related to power and not to a central theme; therefore, the use of the ‘systematic postponement’ strategy was adequate for the IOC.

26th IOC Session – Monaco, 1927

The subject of women is not mentioned.

27th IOC Session – Amsterdam, 1928

The subject of women is not mentioned.

28th IOC Session – Lausanne, 1929

« Mr. Nyholm (Danemark) fait part des vœux exprimés au sujet de la réduction du Programme, par une réunion des pays du Nord, à laquelle la Finlande était excusée. Ces pays se sont prononcés pour la suppression absolue des épreuves féminines... Mr. Krogius (Finlande): Le Comité Olympique Finlandais s’est prononcé pour l’exclusion des femmes. L’opinion du Comité est fortement divisée»; («Mr. Nyholm –Denmark – was part of the expressed wishes about the subject of the reduction of the Program, in a meeting of the Nordic countries, of which Finland was excused. These countries spoke about the total deletion of women’s events ... Mr. Krogius – Finland: The Finnish Olympic Committee votes for the exclusion of women. The opinion of the Committee was strongly divided”).

Summing up, the President read a letter encapsulating the wishes expressed at a meeting of northern countries on the subject of reducing the Program. Those countries wanted women’s events to be excluded completely. It was proposed that the Executive Board be asked to produce a report on excluding women from taking part in the Olympic Games. The opinion of IOC members on this point was strongly divided. Since the proposal had been admitted, the Executive Board was to discuss the issue with delegates from the IFs.

It is then crucial to observe that, not only in this Session, in particular, but also in the other Sessions of this decade, there seemed to be a division between the IOC members when a decision about the inclusion of women’s events in the Program was to be made: some wanted to add while others wanted to delete. This is one more piece of evidence that there was a dispute of power, which could not be explicitly assumed in order not to weaken the organization. This disagreement between the IOC members did not seem to be in terms of either tradition, as defended by Coubertin, or in terms of eugenic and biological principles, as adopted by society in general at that time. This internal separation

of opinions seemed to be related to power particularly because of the historical dispute between the IOC, the IFs and the NOCs, which had been separating the members of the IOC in their decisions (MacDonald, 1998).

29th IOC Session – Berlin, 1930

The subject of women is not mentioned.

30th IOC Session – Barcelona, 1931

« M. le Président (Baillet-Latour) attire l'attention de ses collègues sur le fait que le Congrès de Berlin (1930) a laissé subsister sans modification l'article IV des Règles Générales. Le C.I.O. aura donc à décider, au cours de la séance de l'après-midi, quels sont les sports où les femmes seront admises. M. de Matheu présente un rapport en faveur de l'admission des femmes. Ce rapport est joint au procès-verbal. Participation des femmes : Après une discussion à laquelle prennent part MM. Le Comte Clary, le Marquis de Polignac, le Dr. Karl Ritter von Halt, de Matheu, le Comte de Baillet-Latour, le Comte de Rosen, S.E. le Dr. Lewald et le Général Sherrill, la participation des femmes aux jeux de la X^{ème} Olympiade a été admise à l'unanimité en patinage, gymnastique, natation. En athlétisme, par 16 voix contre 3 ; en escrime, par 17 voix contre 2» (« The President (Baillet-Latour) calls the attention of his colleagues to the fact that the Berlin Congress (1930) left without any change Article IV of the General Rules. The IOC should decide during the afternoon session which sports women will be admitted. Mr. De Matheu presented a report in favor of the admission of women. This report was added to the Minutes. Women participation: after a discussion in which Comte Clary, Marquis de Polignac, Dr. Karl Ritter von Halt, Mr. de Matheu, Comte de Baillet-Latour, Comte de Rosen, S.E. Dr. Lewald and General Sherrill participated, the participation of women in the 10th Olympiad was admitted unanimously in ice skating, gymnastics, swimming. In athletics, by 16 votes against 3; in fencing 17 against 2".)

Summing up, the admission of women to the Games of the X Olympiad (1932): The President drew his colleagues' attention to the fact that the Berlin Congress (1930) had left Article 6 of the General Rules (adopted at the 23rd Session in Paris) unchanged. After discussion, women were admitted to take part in the 1932 Games as follows: in gymnastics and swimming – by a unanimous vote; in athletics – by 16 votes to 3; in fencing – by 17 votes to 2. Symptomatically, these votes revealed that members inclined to support women's participation became the majority in this 1931 Session.

31st IOC Session – Los Angeles, 1932

The International Federation of Archery asked the IOC to be re-included on the Program. The request was turned down ‘with a big majority’. Women participated in archery in 1904 and then it was dropped from the Program. Since archery was refused again, there would be fewer chances for women to participate more in the Games. In other words, the supposed majority identified in the previous year was unstable.

32nd IOC Session – Vienna, 1933

The subject of women was not mentioned.

33rd IOC Session – Athens, 1934

“Après discussion, le Comité a admis la participation des femmes dans les sports suivants: athlétisme (11 oui, 9 non), patinage (unanimité), escrime (unanimité), natation (unanimité), ski (9 oui, 8 non). La participation des Amazones à un concours spécial d’obstacles a été écartée par 13 voix contre 2 » ; « Participation des femmes – hockey sur gazon. Le Comité examine la demande présentée para la Fédération Internationale de Hockey sur Gazon, qu’un tournoi féminin de Hockey ait lieu aux jeux de la XIe Olympiade. Cette demande n’obtient, au vote, aucun suffrage et est repoussée » (After discussion, the Committee admitted the participation of women in the following sports: athletics (11 yes, 9 no), ice skating (unanimity), fencing (unanimity), swimming (unanimity), ski (9 yes, 8 no). The participation of Amazons in a special event with obstacles was eliminated by 13 votes against 2”; “Participation of women – field hockey. The Committee examines the request presented by the International Federation of Field Hockey in which a feminine tournament to take place in the 11th Olympiad. This request does not receive a single vote and it is repelled”).)

Summing up, after discussion, the IOC admitted women to take part in the following sports: fencing and swimming – unanimously; athletics – by 11 votes to 9. A proposal for women to take part in a special show-jumping competition (equestrian sports) was turned down by 13 votes to 2. This proposal may have been refused because of the preservation of Coubertinian perspectives and traditions in relation to equestrian events that would supposedly grant power to women. However, it is relevant to mention that although women had been riding horses since antiquity, as shown in previous chapters, they had participated in competitions as Mégnin points out in “La Vie au Grand Air” of 1899. In short, it seems that the ‘big majority’ favored women’s participation, but

when the discussion involved sport disciplines, there was a split of interests, which suggested another influence of power as related to sport itself.

34th IOC Session – Oslo, 1935

«Des doutes exprimés par divers membres, relatifs au respect intégral des règles de qualification amateur par certains des compétiteurs les plus célèbres des deux sexes dans les épreuves de patinage ont amené le Comité à rechercher quel serait le moyen le plus approprié d'intervenir dans cette question sans amener un froissement inutile avec les dirigeants de la Fédération Internationale compétente » (Doubts expressed by various members in relation to the complete respect to the amateur qualification rules by some of the competitors, the most famous of both sexes, in the events of ice skating made the Committee look for what would be the most appropriate means to intervene in that question without causing useless friction with the managers of the competent International Federation »).

It is significant to notice the very first time women were being considered equal to men took place in a discussion in terms of honesty. Women had been amateurs and not professionals. The question to be asked was whether the IFs were entering professional instead of amateur athletes of both sexes. However, the big discussion of that time was related to a precise definition of what the term ‘amateur’ really meant, which involved very sophisticated and complex principles.

In this very Session, the Minutes register: « Le Comité a reçu une lettre de Mme. Milliat, Présidente de la Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale, proposant au C.I.O. d'exclure des Jeux Olympiques toute participation des femmes, qui auraient leurs propres jeux quadriennaux comprenant tous les sports féminins et régis par la Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale. Après un échange de vues, auquel prirent part MM. Edström, Comte Bonacossa, S.E. Matuszewski, S.E. Lewald, Marquis de Polignac, le Comité décide qu'aucune délibération ne peut être entamée avant que les propositions de Mme Milliat ne soient faites d'accord avec les Fédérations Internationales intéressées » (“The Committee received a letter from Mrs. Milliat, president of the International Women’s Sports Federation proposing to the IOC to exclude from the Olympic Games all women’s participation, as they would have their own Games every four years including all women’s sports and regulated by the International Women’s Sports Federation. After an exchange of viewpoints in which Mr. Edström, Comte Bonacossa, S.E. Matuszewski, S.E. Lewald, and Marquis de Polignac participated, the Committee decided that no decision would be made before Mrs. Milliat’s propositions were put forward according to the International Federations concerned”).

In other words, the IOC had received a letter from Madame Milliat, President of the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale, proposing that the IOC should exclude all participation of women from the Olympic Games since they have their own quadrennial games embracing all feminine sports. After an exchange of views, the IOC decided that the proposal could not come up for deliberation until they reached an agreement with the IFs concerned.

The reason for such request was the fact that the IOC did not include all of the athletic events that the Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale had opened up for women and further on had decided to reduce the size of the Olympic Games by first deleting women's events and, on a second motion, keeping them down to a minimum, therefore breaking the promise that Edström (also president of the IAAF) had made in 1928 in a FSFI meeting to add more women's events. Alice Milliat indicated that the five events proposed for women were meager. Mrs. Elliot-Lynn of the Women's Amateur Athletic Association of Great Britain felt that women had nothing to gain through participation in the Olympic Games. As a result, the British women decided not to participate in the Games of 1928, which meant that their boycott was even more dramatic because the British athletes were extremely well prepared. As promises did not become reality and as the IOC was not going to include any more track and field events for women, the FSFI felt it would be more convenient to have to re-establish the former situation. This discussion confirms that there was an explicit confrontation in order to include women in the Games in a broad sense. This struggle started in the 21st Session, 1922, involving the IOC from outside pressures as it has already been indicated.

35th IOC Session – Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 1936

The subject of women was not mentioned.

36th IOC Session – Berlin, 1936

The subject of women appears again here but as abnormal athletes: “Athlètes femmes anormales: Le Comité transmettra à toutes fins utiles aux Fédérations Internationales des sports où la participation féminine est admise une lettre du Comité Olympique Américain à ce sujet » (“Abnormal women athletes: the Committee will transmit to all useful purposes to the International Federations of sports that admit the participation of women a letter of the American Olympic Committee about this subject”).

This signaled the beginning of sex testing in addition to a growing concern towards the expansion of women's sport. Actually this decision represents an important point of historical development process of women's inclusion in the Games.

37th IOC Session – Warsaw, 1937

« Une proposition du Comité Olympique Italien tendant à exiger qu'un sport, pour pouvoir demander son admission au Programme des Jeux, si pratiqué par un plus grand nombre de pays que ce n'est le cas actuellement, a été retenue par le Comité ; après discussion, le Comité décide que seules pourront être prises en considération les demandes d'admission de sports pratiqués par dix nations et non plus six. Il faut que chacun de ces dix pays ait une fédération nationale affiliée à une fédération internationale » (“One proposal of the Italian Olympic Committee tended to require that a sport, in order to demand its admission in the Program, if practiced by a great number of countries, which is not the case today, was refrained by the Committee; after discussion, the Committee decides that requests for admission will only be considered by sports practiced by ten nations and not six anymore. It is necessary that each one of these ten countries have a national federation affiliated to the international federation”).

It is important to point out here that the greater the number of countries required for certain sports, the more difficult it was for women to participate in the Games. As the number of elite women athletes was generally smaller in the different countries, the probabilities for their participation would be even smaller. The smaller the number of countries to play a sport to be admitted the more women would have a chance to participate.

It is important to notice that with the increase in the participation of both male and female athletes in the 1930s there was an ‘elitization’ of sport, which created another form of inequality. As a matter of fact, there had been a male ‘elitization’ of the Olympic Games at its very beginning, which ended up in the initial not-inclusion of women.

38th IOC Session – Cairo, 1938

“Le Président lit également une lettre de la ‘Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Federation’. Sa proposition pour la suppression des concours d'athlétisme féminin et pour la limitation de la participation féminine à tous les autres sports de Programme Olympique, est rejetée comme l'année précédente » (« The President also reads a letter of the ‘Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Federation’. Its proposition for the elimination of women's

events in athletics and for the limitation of women's participation in all of the other sports of the Olympic Program was rejected as the year before").

This remarkable letter, requesting that all feminine sports on the Program of the Games be deleted was considered by the IOC as a matter of the IFs. It had a special meaning. As it was in fact the intention of this organization to start Olympic Games for Women later on, this request probably helped women sports to come on the Program later. Thus far the check-and-balance strategy adopted by the IOC in its power disputes had already been confirmed in this case of pressure from the outside.

39th IOC Session – London, 1939 (last Session before World War II)

“Des démonstrations de hockey sur glace et de patinage organisées spécialement en honneur du C.I.O. avec le concours des meilleurs patineurs et patineuses en tête Cecilia College, embellirent la soirée. Un comité spécial pour les dames auquel appartenaient Lady Aberdare, Lady Burghley, Lady Curtis-Bennett, and Mrs. Porritt, eut le soin d'élaborer un Programme spécial pour les dames accompagnant les délégués, Programme que comprenait un luncheon chez Lady Londonderry, une visite d'Hurlingham et du château de Windsor. Dans la soirée du 10 Juin ceux des Members qui n'avaient pas encore quitté Londres assistèrent à une démonstration de la 'Women's League of Health and Beauty' au Stade de Wembley » (« Demonstrations of ice hockey and of ice skating organized specially in honor of the IOC with a contest of the best ice skaters, men and women, of Cecilia College enhanced the evening. A special committee for the ladies, especially including Lady Aberdare, Lady Burghley, Lady Curtis-Bennett, and Mrs. Porritt, had the care to elaborate a special program for the ladies that accompanied the delegates. This program included a luncheon at Lady Londonderry's, a visit to Hurlingham and to Windsor Castle. In the evening of June 10 those members who had not yet left London attended a demonstration of the 'Women's League of Health and Beauty' at Wembley Stadium”).

« Jeux d'Hiver de 1940 - Le Président rapporte qu'il y a plusieurs demandes des Comités Olympiques nationaux d'ajouter des 'courses de vitesse pour dames' au Programme des Jeux d'hiver. L'Union Internationale de patinage appuie cette demande. Dans la discussion qui suit la lecture de la lettre de l'Union Internationale de patinage, MM. Schimmelpenninck, Fearnley, Coudert et Merrick appuient la demande. Le vote qui suit la discussion décide en faveur de l'admission par 16 voix contre 11. Le Programme des Jeux Olympiques d'hiver comprendra donc des courses de vitesse pour dames » (“Winter Games of 1940 – The President reports that he had various requests of the National Olympic Committees to add ‘speed skating

for ladies' to the Winter Games Program. The International Skating Union supports this request. In the discussion that follows the reading of the letter of the International Skating Union, Mr. Schimmelpenninck, Mr. Fearnley, Mr. Coudert and Mr. Merrick support the request. The voting that follows the discussion decides in favor of the admission by 16 votes against 11. The Program of Winter Games will then include speeding skating for ladies”).

It is important to notice that this decision of including speed skating for women was completely forgotten. There were no Sessions during the Second World War. However, at the Melbourne 1956 Session, speed skating for ladies was once again accepted. Not until 1960 in Squaw Valley did the ladies compete. In 1932 there had been demonstration for ladies in speed skating in Lake Placid. These interpretations came out when the Minutes of the above-mentioned years were compared.

Another aspect to refer to was the role played by members' wives in the Minutes of the IOC Annual Sessions. Lord Killanin gave a short account of the presence of women in the IOC in his book My Olympic Years (1983). Besides referring to Pirjo Haggman and Flor Isava Fonseca, the very first women co-opted for the IOC, he mentions Monique Berlioux as his assistant (she was Director of the IOC) and dedicates a few paragraphs to some members' wives such as Mme Bolonaki and Mme Stoychev and the receptions they prepared for the wives of the members: “What part do wives play in Olympic matters? ... The Organizing Committee of the Sessions always arranged a program for the ladies...”

« Afin d'éviter le retour de pareilles difficultés le C.I.O. décide de charger la Commission Exécutive d'étudier une refonte complète du Programme des Jeux d'été et la question de la participation des femmes aux Jeux Olympiques » (“In order to avoid the return of similar difficulties the IOC decides that the Executive Board should study a complete reformation of the Program of Summer Games and the question of the participation of women in the Olympic Games”).

« Le Comte Zamoyski fut alors introduit. Il vint plaider la cause des épreuves de gymnastique pour dames. M. Rangell, après avoir rappelé que les concours pour dames en gymnastique avaient été refusés pour les mêmes raisons que les tournois de hockey dur gazon, de basketball et de handball, a promis de réexaminer la question avec bienveillance » (The Comte Zamoyski was then introduced. He came to ask the cause of the events of gymnastics for ladies. After remembering that the events for ladies in gymnastics had been refused for the same reasons of field hockey, basketball and handball, Mr. Rangel promised to re-examine the question with good will”).

It is significant to mention that Leni Riefenstahl received an Olympic Diploma of Merit for her official film of the Games in Berlin 1936, granted in this 1939 Session.

CONCLUSIONS

There were 21 IOC Annual Sessions between 1920 and 1939. Subjects related directly or indirectly to women's participation in the Olympic Games came up in 15 of these Sessions (71.0%), which means a great progress in relation to the previous period. It is important to notice that most of these Sessions discussed the reduction of the Games by either deleting women's participation altogether or cutting down on the participation of women by dropping some events (see Table 11). A very significant issue of this period was the inclusion of women's track & field through the continuous effort of Alice Milliat and her colleagues.

In general, the comments made for the selected extracts of the Minutes in this portion indicate that the exclusion of women in the period between 1894 and 1939 took place because of the following influences that were already evident: (i) tradition of the Ancient Olympic Games; (ii) eugenics; (iii) dispute of the IOC and the IFs; (iv) masculine elitization in sport and (v) overlapping of the problem of inclusion from the part of the IOC, and other problems such as amateurism, the growing size of the Games and the independence of the various sport disciplines. On the other hand, the observed reactions of the IOC were the following: (i) implicit discrimination (without formal register, but revealed in terms of behavior); (ii) systematic postponement of the decisions about the inclusion of women in the program of the Games; (iii) invisibility of women as athletes in the Games and as usual sportswomen; (iv) subjection to external pressures caused by process of emancipation of women and by Women's Olympic Games; (v) acceptance to include in a voting session the participation of women in the Olympic Games, but with successive obstructions in the discussions during the Sessions.

Table 11: IOC Sessions 1920-1939 and the participation of women

IOC Annual Sessions	Summary
19th IOC Session – Antwerp, 1920	Eugenic questions and reduction of the program dropping women's events
20th IOC Session – Lausanne, 1921	The Olympic Games put together amateurs of all nations on a foot of equality as perfect as possible except for women.
21st IOC Session – Paris, 1922	Misuse of the term Olympic by other institutions (Milliat's Women's Olympic

	Games)
22nd IOC Session – Rome, 1923	General discussion about the feminist movement.
23rd IOC Session – Paris, 1924	Fencing for ladies is not approved, mistake corrected about the participation of women, women's program maintained for the next Olympic Games.
24 th IOC Session – Prague, 1925	The subject of women is not mentioned.
25th IOC Session – Lisbon, 1926	The Committee permits the admission of women to a certain number of athletic events of the Olympic Games”
26 th IOC Session – Monaco, 1927	The subject of women is not mentioned
27 th IOC Session – Amsterdam, 1928	The subject of women is not mentioned
28th IOC Session – Lausanne, 1929	The Nordic countries were for total suppression of women's events as the Olympic Games were expanding.
29 th IOC Session – Berlin, 1930	The subject of women is not mentioned.
30th IOC Session – Barcelona, 1931	After discussion, women were admitted to the 1932 Games in gymnastics, swimming, athletics and fencing.
31st IOC Session – Los Angeles, 1932	The IOC refused again the re-inclusion of archery, which meant fewer events for women.
32 nd IOC Session – Vienna, 1933	The subject of women was not mentioned.
33rd IOC Session – Athens, 1934	After discussion, the IOC decided that women would contest: skating, fencing, swimming, gymnastics, athletics, and skiing, but not equestrian events.
34th IOC Session – Oslo, 1935	Alice Milliat wanted to have all women's events removed from the Olympic Games.
35 th IOC Session – Garmisch-Partenkirchen, 1936	The subject of women was not mentioned
36th IOC Session – Berlin, 1936	The very first signal for tests to check on women athletes' sex.

37th IOC Session – Warsaw, 1937	There was a raise in the number of countries for sports to enter the Olympic Games.
38th IOC Session – Cairo, 1938	Letter from the Women's Division National Amateur Athletic Federation requesting that all women's events be removed from the Olympic Games program.
39th IOC Session – London, 1939	Decision to include speed skating for women (forgotten later); the question of gymnastics for women

Analysis of the Inclusion of Women as Athletes through the Minutes of Executive Board Meetings

The Executive Board (EB) founded on June 6, 1921. Coubertin surprised the other members of the IOC with the following words: “Dear friends, since in the near future I shall be making a long trip abroad, I will not be able to take care of the IOC’s ongoing work in a satisfactory manner. I therefore suggest that we create an Executive Board so that the IOC work can be handled properly during my absence” (in Lyberg, 1996).

From Coubertin’s announcement it is possible to infer that he had been thinking of his retirement as he was 58 years old at that time. He retired indeed in 1925, but continued to exercise much influence in the IOC from behind the scenes as he was the founder.

The EB’s tasks were: (i) to handle IOC finances and respond incoming letters, (ii) to deal with IOC “challenges” and take responsibility for the archive; (iii) to take appropriate action to ensure that the IOC rules were adhered to; (iv) to supervise all matters relating to the Olympic Games; and (v) to prepare the agenda for IOC Sessions, together with the IOC president. At that time, besides the EB president, Godefroy de Blonay from Switzerland, there were four other members.

As the EB meets when convened by the President on the latter's initiative or at the request of the majority of its members, the members could meet more than once a year. Below are registered the meetings when women were referred to with their respective texts.

Paris, November, 1921

« 8° Attirera l'attention du Congrès sur l'erreur de rédaction de l'article 6 des Règles Générales que devrait être ainsi conçues : ' Les femmes sont admises à certaines épreuves des Jeux Olympiques, le programme prévoyant les épreuves qu'elles pourront disputer'. »

This statement reflects the changes the IOC was going through once there were in fact no rules or regulations for the admission of women to the program of the Games. As a matter of fact, this discussion had been postponed for a long time, since perhaps the London Games of 1908, when women were admitted for the first time. Furthermore, women at this time were getting ready for the Monte Carlo Games as the FSFI was beginning to organize various international events for women under the leadership of Alice Milliat.

Lausanne, Octobre 1923

« Nationalité des femmes

Trop tard pour la discuter pour VIII^{me} Olympiade. On pourrait modifier le règlement au profit des femmes mariées, ayant déjà participé aux Jeux comme jeunes filles, mais elles ne pourraient changer de nationalité qu'une seule fois ?... »

As there were more women competing, problems of several natures could arise; therefore, the EB members had to start adapting the already existing rules for the new situations that were beginning to appear. In this case, the problem was the change of the female athletes' nationalities and marital status, which has repercussions until today. Moreover, the overlapping of different problems is here again creating barriers to women's inclusion.

« 14. Congrès de Prague

c) Question féminine : qu'elles fassent ce qu'elles veulent, mais pas en public ».

This statement was given by Coubertin as he was outraged by the fact that women competed in their own Olympic Games organized by Alice Milliat in 1922. The subject had been probably brought up by one of the members and Coubertin let it out during the discussion that took place. At this point it is interesting to notice that although Coubertin had always kept his position against women in competitive sport, it seems that he was already admitting the fact that women could compete but not openly in confrontation with the Olympic Games.

This comment appears to show how much power the IOC wanted to exercise over women's sports practices. They really wanted to control the show not only in terms of Olympic Games but in terms of other demonstrations or other Games. The fact was that women were already competing in all sports they wanted to and that seemed to be a nuisance for the IOC particularly because the Women's Olympics of 1922 had around 20,000 spectators.

Texte de Resolutions Votées

« La C.E. ayant pris connaissance du désir de la Fédération Internationale d'Escrime d'ajouter au programme d'escrime de la VIIIe Olympiade un concours de fleuret pour dames constate, après lecture attentive du compte rendu du Congrès de Lausanne de 1921 et sur l'avis conforme de Mr. J.S. Edström qui présida ce congrès – que l'addition en question n'est pas régulière en raison de la non-observation des conditions prévues à la page 5 (lignes II, I2, I3) du Compte Rendu. D'autre part on paraît s'être mépris sur la portée de la proposition de M. le Marquis de Chasseloup par laquelle s'est terminée la discussion. Dans ces conditions la C.E. autorise le C.O.F. à accueillir le voeu de la Fédération, étant bien entendu que la question demeure entière pour l'avenir ».

This resolution shows that a decision was yet to be reached in women's fencing that would be part of the 1924 Games.

Paris, July 1924

« 8° Attirera l'attention du Congrès sur l'erreur de rédaction de l'article 6 des règles Générales qui devraient être ainsi conçues : ' Les femmes sont admises à certaines épreuves des Jeux Olympiques, le programme prévoyant les épreuves qu'elles pourront disputer'. »

The question related to 'pourront disputer' is subject to speculation. As women were allowed to compete in certain events, the IOC determined or selected such events on the basis of what they considered adequate social conduct for women (questions of femininity following the Victorian code, for instance) or what they considered that was appropriate for women as long as their participation would not affect what they considered a threat to the IOC's position. The question is how to determine the criteria that for feminine appropriateness of a sport. This is difficult to determine as the rules governing the sports program make no mention of either feminine or masculine appropriateness. Judgments about feminine appropriateness seemed to be based on subjective criteria derived from personal attitudes and beliefs.

Paris November 1925

Jeux Olympiques Féminins

« La C.E. s'est ensuite occupée des Jeux Féminins qui doivent avoir lieu à Bruxelles en 1926. Elle s'est émue de l'appellation 'Olympique' que s'est à l'organisation de ces Jeux et fera des démarches auprès des F.I. afin d'obtenir leur aide pour ce titre, qui est la propriété du CIO, soit uniquement réservé aux Jeux organisés par lui la 1^{ère} année de chaque Olympiade ».

This statement deals with the use of the word Olympic as part of the expression Women's Olympic Games. The IOC did not want that word to be generally used because it already belonged to the IOC. In fact, the IOC wanted to keep the rights of the use of the word as a trademark for themselves. This is a typical example of the change of a word that had generic use during the 19th century and ended up acquiring a very strict use as a trademark.

Paris, March 1926

« Jeux D'Hiver

M. le Général Kentish demande quel est en principe le point de vue du CIO relativement à l'admission des femmes aux Jeux Olympiques. M. Le Président déclare que la question de principe est tranchée par les Statuts dans le sens de l'affirmative. M. Le Général Kentish ne croit pas que les Fédérations Féminines seront satisfaites par l'admission des femmes aux quatre épreuves féminines proposées par l'International Amateur Athletic Federation ».

« International Amateur Athletic Fédération : le Programme soumis n'est pas définitif. Il sera encore examiné par l'Intern. Amat. Athletic Federation en août 1926 et admettra peut-être les femmes à quatre épreuves ».

« Un échange de vue au sujet de l'admission des femmes a lieu entre MM. Edström et Kentish. La Fédération Internationale d'Athlétisme désire que les femmes soient admises aux Jeux Olympiques. Les autres Fédérations régissent à la fois les groupements masculins et les groupements féminins. La F.I. d'Athlétisme désire unifier dans son sein ces questions d'organisation et de pouvoirs. Dans certains pays en efft les groupements d'athlétisme masculins et féminins sont séparés. Le programme de la International Amateur Athletic Federation devra être soumis au CIO, puisqu'il contient quatre épreuves où les femmes seraient admises ».

« Jeux Féminins

La C.E. a reçu Mme Milliat, Présidente de la Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale, et a insisté auprès d'elle pour obtenir l'abandon du terme Olympique dont la Fédération Féminine fait usage pour les tournois mondiaux qu'elle organise. Après son départ, M. Edström insiste sur l'opportunité qu'il y aurait à faire admettre à Lisbonne que les femmes pussent concourir dans les quatre épreuves prévues par l'International Amateur Athletic Fédération ».

« Communiqué à la Presse

...La C.E. a approuvé les programmes des Jeux de...et de l'International Amateur Athletic Federation, ce dernier sous réserve de la partie du programme comprenant éventuellement l'admission des femmes à certaines épreuves d'athlétisme, cette question relevant du CIO lui-même....

La Commission a reçu Madame Milliat, Présidente de la Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale et a insisté auprès d'elle pour obtenir l'abandon du terme Olympique dont sa fédération fait usage pour les tournois mondiaux qu'elle organise ».

This is a crucial meeting as it reveals at its very core the negotiating process between the FSFI and the IOC for the inclusion of women's track & field events in the 1928 Olympic Games of Amsterdam as it has already been pointed out. Furthermore, the conflicting nature of using the expression "Olympic" by FSFI continued in this meeting.

Brussels January 1927

« Fédération Sportive Féminine Internationale – Sa présidente, Mme Milliat, qui devait primitivement venir à Bruxelles pour une entrevue avec la C.E., y a renoncé ».

Alice Milliat said she was not able to attend the meeting.

« Jeux de la IXe Olympiade

Programme de Gymnastique

M. le Président : Il apparaît maintenant que la F.I. de Gymnastique a considérablement augmenté son programme. Cette augmentation, fait de l'admission des femmes aux concours, était inévitable. La participation des femmes est de droit, si les F.I. le désirent. Néanmoins, il a échappé à l'examen de la C.E., en août 1926 à La Haye, que la F.I. de Gymnastique avait prévu dans son programme, l'engagement, pour chaque pays participant aux concours pour dames, d'une équipe de 16 à 18 gymnastes-dames, alors que dans les concours pour hommes l'équipe ne sera formée que de 7 ou 8 gymnastes. Il est décidé qu'une lettre sera adressée à la F.I. de Gymnastique sur ce sujet ».

This meeting reveals the process of inclusion of women for gymnastics events in the 1928 Amsterdam Games. The IOC had been reluctant to approve women's gymnasts even after their first demonstrations in the 1906 Athens Games. However, the pressure exercised by the FSFI to have athletic events for women that other federations seemed to have followed the same track.

Lausanne, April 1929

« IV. Participation des Femmes (Règles Générales)

‘ Les femmes ne sont admises dans les Jeux Olympiques que dans les épreuves de gymnastique, de natation, de lawn tennis et de patinage’ ».

This resolution demonstrates the intention of the IOC to limit women's participation in the Games in order to reduce the program. Therefore, it seemed that track and field and fencing had been officially eliminated from the program. The fact that lawn tennis was included appeared to be somewhat confusing because it had already been excluded from the 1928 Games.

Berlin, March, 1930

« Il sera demandé aux Fédérations Internationales, le 11 octobre lesquelles d'entre elles demandent pour leur sport une participation féminine. Le C.I.O. fixera, au cours de sa Session de 1931, à quels sports les femmes seront admises à participer ».

The pressure exercised by the Federations was enormous. The IAAF had a very important meeting in 1930 in which it was decided that IAAF representatives in the IOC would vote for women's participation in the 1932 Games. However, as it can be observed, the IOC had the last word in relation to the acceptance of women's events.

Viena June 1933

« M. Edström estime que le programme de Natation devrait être réduit : il compte à présent 9 concours pour les hommes et 7 concours pour les femmes. Les concours pour les femmes devraient être réduits à cinq »

The participation of women in the Olympic Games had diminished from 278 athletes in 1928 to 127 athletes in 1932. The IOC probably wanted to reduce the size of the Games by dropping women's events, but not men's events.

Oslo, February 1935

« Programme de la Gymnastique: Le programme proposé par la Fédération Internationale est identique à celui d'Amsterdam, et est admis. Le Président écrira à la F.I. que pour le concours féminin par équipes, seul admis, il ne peut être question de l'augmenter de lancement du disque, de course, ainsi que Mme la Comtesse Zamoyska, présidente de la commission technique féminine, l'avait proposé au Comité Organisateur. Le programme féminin doit être identique à celui d'Amsterdam. »

« Participation féminine aux jeux Olympiques

Le Président met la C.E. au courant de la proposition faite par la Fédération Féminine Sportive Internationale ».

Conclusions

It is significant to notice that the proposition is not identified in the Minutes. One may wonder whether it refers to the dropping of women's competitions. Besides, comparing the discussions of this meeting with the previous ones, it becomes conclusive that the EB during the period 1921-1935 had concentrated its discussions on the conflicting relationships with the FSFI in addition to the problem of adapting the General Rules to women's inclusion. Overall, this inclusion represented up to 1935 a mixture of 'struggle' with 'permission granted'.

Analysis of the participation of women as athletes across provisions of the Olympic Charters (Olympic Rules) and Olympic Congresses concerning the Summer Games

The Olympic Charter, the founding text of the Olympic Movement, represents the codification of the Fundamental Principles, Rules and Bye-laws adopted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). It governs the organization and the running of the Olympic Movement and sets the conditions for the celebration of the Olympic Games (IOC, 2005).

From the original Olympic Charters which are available for consultation at the Olympic Studies Center at Lausanne, the earliest one dates back to 1918. In this document, whose title is "Almanach Olympique", probably written by Coubertin at the end of the Great War and particularly after the hot discussion in relation to the participation of women in the Olympic Games during the last IOC Session that had taken place in 1914, the following text expresses the policies of the IOC very clearly:

"Les Jardins de l'Effort

Qu'est-ce donc que l'Olympisme? C'est la religion de l'énergie, le culte de la volonté intensive développée par la pratique des sports virils s'appuyant sur l'hygiène et le civisme et s'entourant

d'art et de pensée...'Si vous saviez, a écrit Paul Bourget, combien le mariage des violents exercices physiques et de la haute intellectuelle peut être fécond en splendeurs viriles » 'Citius, altius, fortius', disait à son tour père Didon aux élèves de son collège d'Arcueil : plus vite, plus haut, plus fort, c'est la devise de l'athlète véritable ; et l'Institut olympique de Lausanne résume son programme en ces mots : 'mens fervida in corpore lacertoso', un esprit ardent en un corps entraîné. Mais alors, direz-vous, de quels exercices s'agit-il ? Quels sont ces 'sports virils' auxquels on doit faire appel ? C'est bien simple. Ces sont ceux qui concurent au sauvetage, à la défense et à la locomotion (courir, grimper, sauter, lancer, nager, boxer, lutter, tirer, l'épée, ramer, monter à cheval), ceux qui font l'homme complet, calme, décidé, débrouillard, de vision et de conception rapides, d'exécution réfléchie et persévérante. Ajoutez-y le football et l'alpinisme et la liste sera complète... Le tennis n'est qu'un jeu d'adresse et la bicyclette, un transport ingénieux. Moralement, n'en attendez pas davantage que lapêche à la ligne. Et ne permettez pas surtout que de jeunes hommes robustes s'y adonnent de façon continue ; distractions passagères, rien autre. Autour de ces exercices fondamentaux desquels sortiront le gymnaste infatigable, l'escrimeur d'offensive, le cavalier sans peur, le rameur obstiné, le footballeur courageux et vigilant, évoquez les visions de l'Esprit et de la Beauté. Que la Loyauté veille près de l'enceinte et que les dieux Lares y aient leurs autels...Ainsi se formeront les êtres solides où s'engage l'humanité. La Vigueur et l'Idéal, absolument unis sont les seuls maîtres de l'heure et dans le jardin de l'effort que'ils enseignent » (Coubertin, 1918).

This text shows what Coubertin expected from Olympic athletes and the sports they should devote themselves to. The repetition of words such as 'virils' and the adjectives selected for the text demonstrate the qualities Coubertin expected from men in general and very well worked out and exaggerated in male athletes. Women were never mentioned in this Charter.

1919 Olympic Charter

No rules related to women.

1920 Olympic Charter

No rules related to women.

1924 Charter

« Règles générales techniques applicables à la célébration de la VIIIe Olympiade :...4.Participation des femmes – les femmes sont admises aux jeux Olympiques. Le programme fixera les épreuves qu’elles pourront disputer ».

This is the first time women are mentioned in the Olympic Charter.

1925 Charter

No additional rules related to women.

1930 Charter

« Règles générales applicables à la célébration des Jeux Olympiques...IV.Participation des femmes – les femmes sont admises à certaines épreuves des Jeux Olympiques ; le programme mentionnera les épreuves qu’elles peuvent disputer ».

1933 Charter

“...Jeux Olympiques... Les femmes ne sont pas exclues, mais le Comité International décide des épreuves qu’elles pourront disputer au cas où les FI en font la demande ».

It is possible to observe here the interference of the IFs.

1938 Charter

« Règles générales applicables à la célébration des Jeux olympiques...4. Participation des femmes : Les femmes sont admises à certaines épreuves des Jeux Olympiques ; le programme mentionnera les épreuves qu’elles peuvent disputer ».

Five years later, the control of the sports contested by women went back to the IOC.

Conclusions

The previous charters issued between 1918 and 1923 did not offer space to women’s participation, but in 1924 women were included according to a decision from the IOC Session of that year (see Chapter VI Part B). Other changes related to women’s inclusion were mostly attained to disputes with IFs as reported in previous chapters. This interplay of invisibility and visibility as promoted by the IOC may stand as some basis for understanding the historically developed process on the theme of women’s participation in the Olympic Games.

CHAPTER VI

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES

PART D: PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES BETWEEN 1946 AND 1982 THROUGH THE MINUTES OF THE IOC SESSIONS, OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETINGS AND OF THE OLYMPIC CHARTERS

After the Second World War, the IOC resumed its activities in 1946. As time went on, the pressure for the inclusion of new sports continued and, with it, the pressure to insert women's events. It is then possible to observe two forces acting during this period: at the same time the federations were pressing the IOC for the inclusion of their sports, the IOC wanted to reduce the size of the Olympic Games by limiting the amount of events, particularly women's events. The worst moment for women's sports took place in 1953 when President Brundage wanted once and for all suppress all women's events from the Olympic Games; however, he was persuaded not to by majority vote. The threat of reducing women's events was only over in 1957. After this date, the IOC started thinking of limiting men's events as well. Another important observation is that contrary to what happened during the first period of the Olympic Games (1894-1919) and, to a certain extent, during the second period (1920-1939), issues related to the admission of women to the Games were directly or indirectly present in almost all of the IOC Sessions, which featured discussions in relation to the inclusion of new sports and new events at the same time that reduction of the size of the Olympic Games was considered desirable.

The third part of this research exposes the long way women had to go in order to get accepted as athletes in the Olympic Games, an institution commanded by men. The reports of the Sessions show the many drawbacks, acceptances, returns, detours and the step-by-step process of the slow inclusion of event-by-event challenging women's odyssey. Although women had conquered their space and have been respected for that there is still another long way to go: in administrative careers and positions of command in sport.

Analysis of the Inclusion of Women as Athletes through the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC

40th IOC Session – Lausanne, 1946

« Nouvelles demandes de participation aux Jeux – Divers sports ont demandé leur participation aux Jeux. Il est décidé ce qui suit : baseball - refusé ; tir à l'arc – refusé ; patinage à roulettes – refusé ; volleyball – refusé ; tennis de tables – refusé ; echecs – refusé ; hockey féminin sur gazon. Mr. Brundage tient à retenir notre attention sur cette demande. En effet, dans divers milieux féminins, il existe une opinion assez défavorable en faveur des Jeux Olympiques. Il faut avoir les dames avec soi plutôt que contre. S'il n'est pas possible d'y songer pour 1948, il faudra y penser à l'avenir » ("New requests to participate in the Games – Various sports have requested their participation in the Games – The following has been decided : baseball – refused ; archery – refused ; roller skating – refused ; volleyball – refused ; table tennis – refused ; chess – refused ; women's field hockey. Mr. Brundage insists that we pay attention to that request. As a matter of fact in various women's environments, there is an opinion too much unfavorable in favor of the Olympic Games. It is better to have the women on your favor than against you. If it is not possible to include them in 1948 it would have to be thought about for the future").

As the Olympic Games had been such a success, it was natural that many other sports wanted to be contested in the Games including women's field hockey. Mr. Brundage, 4th president of the IOC, was sharp to draw the IOC's attention to this matter. Actually, a current opinion that was fairly unfavorable toward the Games permeated many women's circles. As Mr. Brundage perceived, it was better to have women on his side (than against it). Although this was unimaginable for 1948, it would have to be thought about for the future. This speech met with approval, and the 1948 organizers were to be contacted, even though there was no hope of bringing the sport in at the 1948 Games, as the program of the Games was already full enough.

It is important to observe that if the number of admitted sports was limited so was the number of women to participate. The more sports are admitted the more chances women would have to participate in, especially in terms of team sports.

41st IOC Session – Stockholm, 1947

« Le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, Président de la FIG est introduit pour développer la motion qu'il a présentée à la réunion des F.I. motion ayant trait à l'admission de la gymnastique féminine aux

Jeux Olympiques. Se basant sur les règles olympiques en vigueur, il demande de repousser le projet des organisateurs de Londres, tendant à éliminer la gymnastique féminine des Jeux. Il a été en rapport avec Londres, mais n'a jamais reçu de réponse concluante à ses demandes réitérées. Les F.I. de l'avis de l'orateur, ont seules le droit d'inscrire un athlète aux Jeux, qu'il soit masculin ou féminin. Ce point de vue est conforme aux règles olympiques, et sa demande est formulée sur une base légale. Il demande en conséquence de repousser le projet de Londres et d'accepter définitivement les femmes gymnastes aux Jeux dès 1948. Les femmes, ajoute-il, se préparent activement depuis deux ans déjà, et ce serait leur causer une grande désillusion que de ne pas les accepter. Il faut tenir compte du fait que Londres n'a jamais répondu négativement, mais toujours de façon dilatoire, laissant entendre que 'peut-être' les femmes seraient admises. Le Comte Goblet d'Alviella se retire en demandant qu'une décision soit prise encore à la présente session. M. Edström rappelle qu'à Lausanne il faut convenu que les épreuves de gymnastique seraient les mêmes qu'à Berlin en 1936 où les femmes y avaient pris part. Lord Burghley refute quelques uns des arguments du Comte Goblet d'Alviella, mais se soumettra à la décision du CIO à condition que selon les règles, 10 nations au moins pratiquent ce sport et que 6 d'entre elles s'inscrivent aux Jeux. Il ajoute également qu'il ne pourrait admettre une augmentation du nombre des épreuves. La demande du Comte Goblet d'Alviella est acceptée à l'unanimité, aux conditions énoncées par Lord Burghley. Il est entendu qu'il s'agit d'équipes et non de femmes gymnastes individuelles » ("Comte Goblet d'Alviella, President of the FIG was introduced in order to develop the motion that he had presented during the meeting of the IFs. This motion dealt with the admission of women's gymnastics in the Olympic Games. Based on the current Olympic rules of that time, he demands to repel the project of the London organizers, which aimed at the elimination of the women's gymnastics from the Games. He had contact with London, but he never received any conclusive reply to his requests. From his point of view, only the IFs have the right to enroll an athlete to the Games, either man or woman. This viewpoint follows the Olympic rules and his request is made on a legal basis. As a result, he requests that the London project be repelled and, therefore, that women gymnasts be definitely accepted starting by the 1948 Games. He adds that the women have been actively preparing for two years already and the denial of their participation would cause them great disappointment. It is important to mention that London has never given a negative answer, but always postponing the decision, letting them understand that the women might be admitted. The Comte Goblet d'Alviella bids his leave and asks that a decision should be made still during that Session. Mr. Edström remembers that in Lausanne it was agreed that the gymnastics events would be the same ones that took place in Berlin in 1936 when the women had taken part. Lord Burghley

refutes some of Comte Goblet d'Alviella's arguments, but would agree with the IOC's decision in relation to the condition that according to the rules, 10 nations at least practice this sport and that 6 of them could enroll in the Games. He equally adds that it would not be possible to increase the number of events. Comte Goblet d'Alviella's request was accepted unanimously, under the conditions listed by Lord Burhley. It was understood that it was a matter of teams and not of individual women gymnasts").

« Canoë – Il est décidé d'accepter les femmes dans le sport du canoë, pour Londres, à condition que le nombre des épreuves ne soit pas augmenté » (« Canoeing – it was decided to accept women in canoeing for London with the condition that the number of events should not be increased »)

« Sports féminins d'équestre et de hockey sur terre – Le CIO approuve la décision négative au sujet de ces deux sports féminins. Ils ne figuront pas au Programme des Jeux de Londres” (“Women sports equestrian and field hockey – The IOC approves the negative decision in relation to these two women sports. They would not be part of the London Games”).

In addition, the representative for Denmark in the International Olympic Committee, Prince Axel, writes a letter (Copenhagen 13th June 1947 - Annex N° 4) to the IOC requesting that football, archery and canoeing be taken up for discussion at one of the meetings to be held at Stockholm. The request for the inclusion of archery is especially important because it would add a few more athletes and who knows women would be able to participate as they did in the past (1904 in Saint Louis).

It is possible to observe that more sports and women events were being added such as canoeing, which increased women's participation. Although field hockey and equestrian events were not accepted this time, they were added to archery in the 'waiting room'.

42nd IOC Session – Saint-Moritz, 1948

The Swedish conflict with FEI came up during this Session in a very long discussion, which is summarized here. Equestrian sports include three disciplines: dressage, eventing and jumping. Only commissioned officers could participate in jumping. Von Rosen in a document (von Rosen's testament) accuses FEI of 'snobbism'. It is necessary he says according to FEI to have reached a certain military grade in order to be allowed to start in the Games. This is absolutely anti-democracy. He wished that everybody had the right to participate.

It is then important to notice here that IOC members were not even referring to the participation of women because female athletes were not allowed to contest equestrian sports. There seems to be a paradox in the use of the word ‘democracy’ and ‘everybody has the right to participate’. This everybody surely did not refer to women.

43rd IOC Session – London, 1948

“It was decided that in the future Games, women should be allowed to compete in yacht racing and in art exhibition. In yacht racing, a boat’s crew might be mixed or entirely female”.

44th IOC Session – Rome, 1949

“Participation féminine aux Jeux figurera dans les nouvelles règles » (« Women’s participation in the Games would feature in the new rules »).

Sidney Dawes, Miguel Moenck and Avery Brundage, making up a sub-committee formed in London to consider numerous questions raised by various members including Mr. Ekelund, Mr. Ketseas, Mr. Albert Mr. Meyer, Mr. Mezo and Mr. Porrit, gave a long report in which they considered the following: (i) women competitors; “Our new rules will specify in which events women competitors may participate. The conditions of their participation are of course a matter for the respective International Federations to decide” and (ii) the length of the Olympic Program, which would have to be shorter therefore eliminating the following sports: “Athletics for men (50,000 meter walk, 3,000 meter steeple chase), athletics for women (200 meter run, long jump, high jump, shot put), modern pentathlon, gymnastics (the Program is too long and should be reduced. Individual entries should be permitted in addition to team entries in the same events), rowing (doubles without coxwain, fours without coxwain), canoeing (all women’s events and 10,000 meter), equestrian (3 day event), fencing (we suggest a reduction and simplification of the program to permit completion of the events in 7 days), basketball (it is essential if this sport is to be kept on the program that the number of games be reduced), cycling (either the number of events should be reduced or some method should be found to expedite the preliminaries). We also suggest that handball and polo be eliminated as optional sports”.

Again here it is noticed that there is some preoccupation with the reduction of the size of the Olympic Games. Women’s events would be sacrificed but some men’s events would be also reduced. In other words, the nature of the problem of women’s exclusion has changed, becoming a part of an overall limitation.

45th IOC Session – Copenhagen, 1950

« Gymnastique féminine par équipes - Mr. Brundage, que présida la Commission nommée à la séance de la CE avec les FI, rapporte en concluant qu'aucune solution n'a pu être trouvée. Il appartient donc au CIO de décider si ce sport féminin doit être considéré selon les règles comme étant un sport obligatoire ou facultatif. Mr. Von Frenckell voudrait supprimer cette épreuve du Programme d'Helsinki. Après discussion à laquelle prennent part en faveur de l'inclusion de la gymnastique féminine par équipes aux prochaines Jeux, MM. Seeldayers, Albert Mayer, Lord Burghley et F. Piétri, la gymnastique féminine par équipes figurera au Programme des Jeux d'Helsinki, ainsi qu'aux Jeux futurs en tant que sport obligatoire, contre les votes de MM., von Frenckell et Lord Burghley » (« Women's team gymnastics – Mr Brundage, who presides the Commission appointed at the meeting between the Executive Board and the IFs, reported in conclusion that no solution had been found. It was therefore up to the IOC to decide whether, in accordance with the rules, this women's sport was to be considered a compulsory or an optional one. Mr. Von Frenckell wanted to delete that event from the Helsinki's Program. After the discussion in which Mr. Seeldayers, Mr. Albert Mayer, Lord Burghley and Mr. F. Piétri took part in favor of the inclusion of women's team gymnastics for the next Games, women's team gymnastics will be part of the Program of Helsinki's Games as an obligatory sport, against Mr. von Frenckell's and Lord Burghley's votes").

Archery was accepted as a non-Olympic sport (or a recognized sport) and a report from the FEI: Mr. de Trannoy (FEI President and IOC member) reports that (i) women have been allowed to participate in the dressage in the future and that (ii) soldiers, corporals, sergeants and other non-commissions participants now are qualified to participate if they are amateurs. Mr. Ekelund congratulates FEI to the decision and reminds his critics last session.

The seeds that were sown were being harvested in a way or another: women's gymnastics was finally accepted, archery became a recognized sport, which could be added in the future, and dressage was included for women.

46th IOC Session – Vienna, 1951

“Rapports des commissions élues à Copenhague en 1950: c) Réduction du nombre des athlètes aux Jeux futurs » (« Reports of the Commissions elected in Kopenhagen in 1950 : c) Reduction of the number of athletes for future Games »).

« Fédération Internationale Équestre : Le baron de Trannoy (Belgique) soumet les propositions suivantes à l'assemblée : A) admission des femmes dans les épreuves de dressage M. Brooks

Parker (USA) désire soumettre une proposition de la Fédération américaine équestre, que n'a pas encore pu être soumise à la FEI. Cette fédération demande l'admission des femmes dans l'épreuve de Grand Prix des Nations. M. Brooks développe le point de vue de la Fédération américaine et désire que le CIO l'accepte sous réserve bien entendu que la FEI l'accepte à son tour. M. Edström signale que les délégués des FI réunis l'autre jour à Vienne se sont opposés à cette participation. Le baron de Trannoy (Belgique) aimerait connaître l'avis du CIO avant de convoquer une réunion urgente de la FEI, car celle-ci serait inutile si la décision du CIO devait être négative. M. Edström dit qu'au point de vue procédure, ce serait à la FEI de présenter cette requête et demande à l'assemblée de donner les pouvoirs à la CE, si une telle demande lui était adressée par la FEI. MM. Von Frenckell et Bo Ekelund (Finlande et Suède) se solidarisent avec la proposition de M. Edström, M. Bolanaki (Grèce) pense que pour simplifier les choses, il y aurait qu'à ajouter aux règles que les femmes sont autorisées à participer aux épreuves équestres. A ce moment, la FEI aurait entière liberté de décider à quelles épreuves elle désire que les femmes participent. M. Massard (France) voudrait que les femmes soient admises aux Jeux dans les épreuves mixtes où elles sont en mesure d'entrer en compétition avec les hommes. Cela réduirait déjà le nombre des athlètes aux Jeux. M. Loth (Pologne) constate qu'il y a une forte tendance dans le monde et dans tous les domaines à accorder aux femmes les mêmes droits qu'aux hommes. Il demande l'application de cette formule dans nos règles, en ce qui concerne le sport équestre tout au moins. Décision : sur la proposition de M. Edström, il est décidé d'ajouter à l'article 41 de nos règles que les femmes sont également admises dans le sport équestre »

(« International Equestrian Federation : Baron de Trannoy (Belgium) submits his propositions to the assembly : A). Admission of women to the dressage events, Mr. Brooks Parker (USA) desires to submit a proposition of the American Equestrian Federation which has not yet been submitted to the FEI. This Federation asks the admission of women to Grand Prix of Nations. Mr. Brooks develops the viewpoint of the American federation and desires that the IOC accepts it under reservation once FEI accepts it on its turn. Mr. Edström signals that the delegates of the IFs together the other day in Vienna opposed to this participation. Baron de Trannoy (Belgium) would be glad to know the IOC's opinion before calling for a meeting of FEI because it would be useless if the IOC's decision should be negative. Mr. Edström says that from the point of view of the procedure, it would be for FEI to present this request and asks the assembly to empower the Executive Board, if such request is addressed to him by FEI. Mr. Von Frenckell and Mr. Bo Ekelund (Finland and Sweden) sympathize with Mr. Edström's proposition, Mr. Bolanaki (Greece) thinks that in order to simplify things, it should be added to the rules that women were allowed to participate in equestrian events. At that minute, FEI would have entire

liberty to decide to which events it desires that women participate. Mr. Massard (France) would like that women be admitted to the Games within mixed events where they are able to compete with men. That would reduce already the number of athletes to the Games. Mr. Loth (Poland) observes that there is a strong tendency in the world and in all domains to give the same rights men have to women. He asks then the application of that formula to our rules at least in that which concerns equestrian sports. Decision: on Mr. Edström's proposition, it is decided to add to article 41 of our rules that women are equally admitted in equestrian sports»).

In spite of the strong objection that certain representatives had to let women start in dressage, after a long discussion, the IOC decided to put into their rules that women were allowed to participate and then it was up to FEI to decide in what events.

It is essential to observe the comment made by Mr. Loth (Poland) about the strong tendency that there was in the world and in all domains to give the same rights men have to women. He asks then the application of that formula to the IOC rules at least in that which concerns equestrian sports. One may wonder whether the IOC really thought of that when the decision about the inclusion of women in dressage was made.

47th IOC Session – Oslo, 1952

The subject about women was not mentioned.

48th IOC Session – Helsinki, 1952

“Réduction du nombre des athlètes aux futurs Jeux” (Reduction of the number of athletes to future games).

There was a commission in charge of reviewing the number of sports and athletes in order to submit a report so that a decision could be made. It is important to point out that the fewer male athletes competing, the fewer the number of women athletes and the fewer the number of new sports women would be ‘allowed’ to compete. But, anyway, the equivalence between the sexes for participation in the Games had reached an agreement.

49th IOC Session - Mexico City, 1953

“Réduction du Programme des Jeux Olympiques – Le rapport de la commission von Frenckell a été distribué à tous les membres du CIO présents. L’auteur le commente. Les demandes des nouveaux sports tels que volley-ball, tir à l’arc, judo, golf, et pentathlon moderne d’hiver sont renvoyées à la prochaine session. Le Lt. Gén. Stoytchev est en faveur de l’introduction du

volley-ball dans le Programme des Jeux, car ce sport est pratiqué dans de nombreux pays et devient de plus en plus important. Le Président fait remarquer à l'interpellateur que le Programme de Melbourne est déjà établi, et que cette question ne pourrait entrer en ligne de compte qu'en 1960. L'ensemble des nouveaux sports sera porté à l'ordre du jour de la Session de 1954. Adopté. Il en est de même de la demande de la FINA concernant l'introduction de la brasse papillon, ainsi que du patinage vitesse pour femmes, de la course 800m pour femmes, et de la luge dans le Programme du bobsleigh » (« Reduction of the Programme of the Olympic Games – The report of the von Frenckell commission was distributed to all IOC members present. The author comments on it. The requests for new sports such as volleyball, archery, judo, golf and modern winter pentathlon are passed on to the next Session. Lt. Gen. Stoytchev is in favor of the introduction of volleyball in the Games Program because this sport is practiced in numerous countries and becomes more and more important. The president (Brundage) calls the attention of the interlocutor that the Program of Melbourne has already been established and that this question can only get to be discussed for 1960. New sports will be taken to the 1954 agenda of the 1954 Session. Adopted. Similar requests were FINA concerning the introduction of the butterfly style, speed skating for women, the 800m for women and of luge in the bobsleigh Program »).

« Rapport von Frenckell sur la reduction des Jeux - Reprise de la discussion : d) Qu'en principe les sports d'équipes ne soient pas exclus. Accepté. Le Comte Thaon di Revel se déclare opposé à la suppression des sports d'équipes dits artificiels (escrime, gymnastique, tir, équestres). Mr. Bolanaki se prononce pour la suppression des équipes dans les sports facultatifs et de leur maintien dans les sports obligatoires. Le Général Stoytchev est opposé à ce point de vue. Dr. Karl Ritter von Halt est en faveur du maintien des courses de relais, qui sont également des sports d'équipes. Décision : la question des sports d'équipes sera revue par la commission. e) Il est décidé à l'unanimité de ne pas exclure les femmes des Jeux. Mr. Brundage toutefois ajoute que les femmes ne devraient être acceptées que dans les sports qui leur sont appropriés. Accepté. Mr. Andrianov est en faveur du maintien de tous les sports 'équipes, y compris la gymnastique, le tir, l'escrime et les sports équestres. Ces sports d'équipes dits 'artificiels' peuvent être maintenus sans augmenter le nombre des participants. Il faut en effet tenir compte des traditions des Fédérations Internationales, et en particulier de celles de la F.I. de Gymnastique. Mr. Brundage partage le point de vue de Mr. Andrianov » (« The von Frenckell report about the reduction of the Games – Re-start of the discussion – d) that in principle teams sports should not be excluded. Accepted. Comte Thaon di Revel declares that he opposes the suppression of team

sports known as artificial (fencing, gymnastics, shooting, equestrian). Mr. Bolanaki speaks about the suppression of teams in optional sports and their maintenance in obligatory sports. Général Stoytchev opposes this view. Dr Karl Ritter von Halt is in favor of the maintenance of relays, which are equally team sports. Decision: the question of team sports will be revised by the Commission. e) It was unanimously decided not to exclude women from the Games. However, Mr. Brundage adds that women should only be accepted in the sports that are appropriate to them. Accepted. Mr. Andrianov is in favor of maintaining all team sports including gymnastics, shooting, fencing and equestrian. These team sports known as artificial sports can be kept without increasing the number of participants. It is necessary to keep in mind the traditions of the International Federations and in particular those of the FIG. Mr. Brundage shares Mr. Andrianov's viewpoint »).

Summing up, the von Frenczell commission had made a written report, which was distributed to all members present. The requests from archery, golf, judo and modern winter pentathlon and volleyball should not be discussed until the next session. Requests from FINA (butterfly events), ISU (speed skating for ladies) and IAAF (800m ladies) as well as FIBT (luge) went the same way. Most importantly: women were not to be excluded from the Games, as President Brundage wished, by unanimous vote. Brundage followed Coubertin's thinking as he demanded that women were only to participate in 'suitable' sports. The question then was related to the meaning of 'suitable' from the part of the President and from the part of the IOC members that agreed with him. Surprisingly, the belief of women's inferiority seemed to be still alive in mid-twentieth century, at least in terms of the IOC relationships.

50th IOC Session – Athens, 1954

“Nouvelles épreuves de ski. Sur la demande de la FIS, il est décidé d'inclure deux nouvelles épreuves dans les compétitions de ski et ceci déjà aux Jeux de Cortina 1956, à savoir : course de fond, 30km hommes et relai dames, 3 x 5 km. Course 800m pour dames. Il est décidé de ne pas inclure cette course dans le Programme de Jeux. Patinage vitesse pour dames (Jeux d'Hiver). Les 4 épreuves de 500 – 1000 – 3000 et 5000m. Demandées par la FI de Patinage sont repoussées. Candidatures : volley-ball, tir à l'arc, Judo, Roller-skating. M. Massard (France) estime que ces sports pourraient fort bien être inscrits dans la liste des sports facultatifs, car rien n'oblige le comité d'organisation à les porter au Programme. Le volley-ball a pris une extension considérable dans le monde entier. M. Von Frenczell appuie les paroles de M. Massard. Bo Ekelund parle en faveur du tir à l'arc, tandis que M. Albert Mayer et M. José Fontes appuient la

candidature de la FI de Roller-Skating. MM. Romanov (URSS) et Mezö (Hongrie) parlent en faveur de la candidature de la FI de volley-ball. M. Loth (Pologne), tout en approuvant ce qui vient d'être dit, insiste également pour l'introduction du tir à l'arc. Lord Burghley (Grande-Bretagne) estime qu'il faut envisager ce problème sous un autre angle. L'important n'est pas de savoir si un sport est régi par une FI mais ce qu'il ne faut pas déterminer avant tout c'est la question de savoir si les sports qui sollicitent leur adhésion au Programme sont dignes d'entrer dans les Jeux Olympiques et d'y prendre part. M. Ketseas est d'avis qu'il ne faut pas augmenter le Programme. M. Azuma (Japon) parle en faveur du judo. MM. Seeldrayers (Belgique) et Lord Aberdare (Grande Bretagne) prennent encore la parole, et sur la proposition du Président, ces 4 candidatures sont renvoyées à la prochaine session « (New ski events. About the request of FIS, it was decided to include two new events in the ski competitions and this already in Cortina's Games 1956: long distance, men 30km, and relay women 3x5km. Women 800m. It was decided not to include this race in the Program of the Games. Speed skating for women (Winter Games). The 4 events of 500 – 1000 – 3000 and 5000m, requested by the International Federation of Skating, were refused. Candidatures: volleyball, archery, judo, roller-skating. Mr. Massard (France) estimates that these sports can be part of the list of optional sports because nothing can force the organization committee to bring them into the Program. Volleybal has received a considerable extension in the whole world. Mr. Von Frenckell supports the words of Mr. Massard. Mr. Bo Ekelund speaks in favor of archery while Mr. Albert Mayer and Mr. José Fontes support the candidacy of the Roller Skating Federation. Mr. Romanov (URSS) and Mr. Mezö (Hungary) speak in favor of the candidacy of the International Volleyball Federation. Mr. Loth (Poland) totally approving what has been just said, equally insists on the introduction of archery. Lord Burghley (Great Britain) estimates that it is necessary to face the problem from another angle. The important fact is not to know if a sport is regulated by an IF but what cannot be determined before anything is the question of knowing if the sports that request their adherence to the Program deserve to enter the Olympic Games and to become part of them. Mr. Ketscas thinks that the Program should not be enlarged. Mr. Azuma (Japan) speaks in favor of judo. Mr. Seeldrayers (Belgium) and Lord Aberdare (Great Britain) speak again and the President's proposition puts off these 4 candidatures to the next Session »).

Summing up, the commission on the reduction of the Games Program reported that the only addition to the events in Melbourne was butterfly for men/women, but only 3 entries would be accepted for the two competitions breaststroke and butterfly together. Compulsory and optional sports were retained. New sports were considered only if

practiced in at least 20 countries and out of which 12 had to take part in the Games, which made it harder for women to get their sports accepted for the Games. In this Session, 800m for ladies was not accepted and requests for recognition by archery, judo and volleyball were referred to the next session. A minimum of 6 entries for teams and 12 for individual events was necessary for the sport being competed.

51st IOC Session – Paris, 1955

« Reconnaissance de nouveaux sports facultatifs. Le Président déclare : Plusieurs demandes d'ajouter de nouveaux sports à la liste des sports facultatifs du Programme Olympique nous ont été adressées. Il s'agit du sport de volley-ball, du tir à l'arc, du patin à roulettes et du judo. Ces demandes nous ont déjà été présentées depuis plusieurs années, elles ont toujours été rejetées du fait que nous étions en train de discuter la réduction du Programme Olympique. Il eut été donc illogique de réduire d'une part et d'accepter de nouveaux sports d'autre part. En outre, nous avons une demande de l'URSS demandant l'introduction dans le Programme des Jeux d'une équipe féminine de volley-ball, de basket-ball, de patinage de vitesse et d'aviron » (« Recognition of new optional sports. The President declares: Various requests to add new sports to the list of optional sports of the Olympic Games Program have already been addressed. They are volleyball, archery, roller skating and judo. These requests have been presented for several years, but they are always denied because of the fact that we have been discussing the reduction of the Olympic Program. It is then illogical to reduce one side and to add new sports on the other side. We also have a request from the USSR to introduce women's volleyball, basketball, speed skating and rowing in the Games").

After such introduction there was a long presentation of reasons and a long debate. It is important to notice here that the USSR wanted to have more women's sports on the Games. The reason for that was the fact that as their women athletes were supposed to be better prepared for the competitions, they would win more medals (as they really did) that would sum to the total and would make the USSR a winner in front of the other nations. That was important for them due to the political regime that the USSR had adopted in 1917 and which became consolidated after World War II.

« En conséquence, Mr. Le Président demande le vote au bulletin secret et dit : Nous avons, Messieurs, 8 demandes, soit 4 demandes d'admission dans les sports facultatifs, et de la part de l'URSS, 4 demandes d'introduction d'équipes féminines dans certaines épreuves. J'ajoute que comme il s'agit de changement aux statuts, une majorité des 2/3 des voix est requise. 50 bulletin sont délivrés. La majorité est donc de 34. Vote 1. Candidature des nouveaux sports:

volley-ball 26 voix; tir à l'arc, 19 voix, rollerskating 7 voix, judo, 3 voix. Aucune de ces candidatures n'ayant obtenu les quorum, ces 4 demandes sont repoussées. 2. Admission des femmes dans les sports de : volley-ball 5 voix ; basket-ball 10 voix ; aviron 4 voix patinage vitesse (sports d'hiver) 4 voix Là également la majorité n'a pas été acquise, et ces 4 demandes sont repoussées » (« As a result, the President asks for secret voting session and says: we have gentlemen 8 requests, 4 requests of admission for optional sports and from the part of the USSR 4 requests to introduce women's teams in certain events. I add that as it deals with a change of status, a majority of 2/3 of votes is required. 50 ballots are delivered. The majority is then 34 votes. Voting 1. Candidature of new sports: volleyball 26 votes; archery, 19 votes, roller skating 7 votes, judo, 3 votes. As none of these candidatures obtained the minimum, these 4 requests are rejected. 2. Admission of women to the sports of: volleyball 5 votes; basketball 10 votes; rowing 4 votes ; speed skating (winter sports) 4 votes. The same way the majority was not reached and these 4 requests are rejected").

During this Session all the candidatures for women in volleyball, basketball, speed skating and rowing were rejected. However, it is curious that once again a vote is taken on speed skating which had already been accepted in 1939.

52nd IOC Session – Cortina d'Ampezzo, 1956

The subject of women was not mentioned.

53rd IOC Session – Melbourne, 1956

“Courses de vitesse pour dames et danse sur glace - le Président annonce que l'Union Internationale de Patinage demande que des courses de vitesse pour femmes et des concours de danse sur glace soient ajoutés au Programme des Jeux d'Hiver. L'UIF demande également que les membres du CIO appartenant à des pays où les sports d'hiver ne sont pas pratiqués s'abstiennent de voter sur des questions touchant les sports d'hiver. Le Comité passe au vote et décide d'inclure au Programme les courses de vitesse pour femmes, mais de ne pas y inclure les concours de danse sur glace. Il décide que la requête touchant le vote est hors de question » (Speed racing for women and dance on ice – the President announces that the Union Internationale de Patinage (International Union of Skating) requests that speed racing for women and events of dance on ice be added to the Winter Games Program. The UIF equally requests that the IOC members that belong to these countries where winter sports are not practiced should not vote on the questions that touch winter sports. The Committee passes the

voting and decides to include in the Program speed racing for women, but it would not include dancing on ice. It decides that the request touching the vote is out of the question”).

54th IOC Session – Sofia, 1957

“Article 29 Mr. Andrianov propose de remplacer le texte actuel pour le suivant: ‘les femmes sont admises à participer aux épreuves des sports inclus dans le Programme, conformément aux règles des Fédérations Internationales qui prévoient des épreuves féminines, ainsi qu’aux manifestations d’art’. Cette suggestion est renvoyée à la Commission Executive pour étude. Décision à la Session de 1958 » (Article 29. Mr. Andrianov proposes to replace the current text for the following: ‘women are admitted to participate in the events of the sports included in the Program according to the rules of the International Federations that include women’s events the same way in the art manifestations’. This suggestion was sent to the Executive Board for study. Decision for the 1958 Session »).

« Article 30 : Il est décidé par un vote final à l’unanimité de ne pas exclure les sports d’équipe du Programme des Jeux. M. Albert Mayer demande un vote en faveur de la proposition de la C.E. qui tend à supprimer la distinction entre les sports ‘obligatoires’ et ‘facultatifs’. La suppression de ces distinctions est acceptée par 26 voix. Les sports seront classés en une seule liste par ordre alphabétique » (Article 30 It was decided by a unanimous final vote not to exclude team sports from the Games Program. Mr. Albert Mayer asks for a vote in favor of the proposition of the Executive Board which tends to lift the distinction between ‘obligatory’ and ‘optional’ sports. The suppression of these distinctions was accepted by 26 votes. The sports will be classified in one only list in alphabetical order »).

« Epreuves féminines - Mr. Andrianov demande l’introduction de 4 épreuves de patinage de vitesse pour dames, ainsi que cela est prévu dans les règles de l’I.S.U. – Il est décidé que le Comité de Squaw Valley prendra contact avec l’I.S.U. afin de connaître son point de vue » (Feminine events - Mr. Andrianov requests the introduction of 4 events of speed skating for women as it was anticipated in the rules of ISU – It was decided that the Squaw Valley Committee will get in touch with the ISU to get to know its viewpoint »).

« Athlétisme – le Marquis d’Exeter déclare que si la I.A.A.F. parvient à réduire le nombre des participants aux Jeux, elle désirait par contre y introduire l’épreuve de course 800m dames. Une décision sera prise après le Congrès de la I.A.A.F. qui doit se tenir à Stockholm en 1958 » (Athletics - Marquis d’Exeter declares that if the IAAF succeeds in reducing the number of participants in the Games, it will desire as a compensation to introduce the 800m for ladies. A decision will be made after the IAAF Congress in Stockholm in 1958 »).

« Sports équestres – Mr. Brundage propose la suppression de l'épreuve de dressage et le classement par équipes. Après discussion et intervention du Général Stoïtcheff, le statute est maintenu » (Equestrian sports - Mr. Brundage proposes the suppression of dressage and the change by teams. After discussion and intervention of General Stoïtcheff, the statute is maintained »).

In terms of IF matters, archery and volleyball were accepted as Olympic sports and, 800m for women would be back on the program again for the Olympic Games in Rome, 1960. The new resolution to have sports practiced in 25 (earlier 20) nations to be admitted in the Program became again a problem for the acceptance of women's sports. President Brundage suggested that dressage be deleted, but lost the voting.

Two very important facts that would affect women's participation in the Olympic Games took place in this Session: (i) in the new IOC-rules, Article 29, Andrianov (USSR) suggested that women could start in all sports where they could participate in World Championships, which would open a lot of room for women; however, the decision was postponed to 1958; and (ii) although there was a desire to reduce the Olympic program, the criteria seemed to have changed starting at this Session, as the President reminded the IOC members that there were two reasons to delete a sport from the Olympic Program: 1) if it is badly managed; 2) if it is not popular enough. This meant that the fact that an event or a sport contested by women would be no longer dropped only because it was contested by women. The talk about excluding women seemed to have been finally abandoned.

55th IOC Session – Tokyo, 1958

“Escrime: la Fédération Internationale d'Escrime voudrait une épreuve par équipe de fleuret pour dames, sans augmenter le nombre des participants. Le CIO en discutera et renseignera le Comité d'Organisation » (Fencing: the International Federation of Fencing would like a team event of foil for ladies, without increasing the number of participants. The IOC will discuss about that and will advise the Organizing Committee”). On the next meeting, a few hours later,

« L'épreuve de fleuret pour dames, par équipes, est acceptée, puisque le nombre de compétiteurs n'est pas plus élevé » (The event of foil for ladies, in teams, is accepted once the number of competitors is no longer higher »).

« Proposition de M. Romanov, concernant la règle N. 29. M. Romanov (URSS) parle en faveur de la proposition présentée à Sofia par M. Andrianov et remise pour étude à la Commission Executive, tendant à admettre les femmes dans toutes les épreuves des sports inclus dans le Programme, conformément aux règles des Fédérations Internationales, ainsi qu'aux

manifestations d'art. MM. Comte de Beaumont (France), Douglas F. Roby (USA), A. Sidney Dawes (Canada), Jean Ketseas (Grèce), Armand Massard (France) soulèvent des objections contre ce principe, qui aurait l'inconvénient d'alourdir sérieusement le Programme des Jeux alors que l'on cherche «à l'alléger. MM. Mezö (Hongrie), Sondhi (Inde) et Stoïtcheff (Bulgarie) estiment au contraire que le Mouvement Olympique ayant pour objectif d'améliorer la condition de tous les êtres humains et pas seulement des hommes, cette question doit être soigneusement examinée. M. Le Président propose d'attendre les expériences faites aux Jeux de Rome, et de charger la CE de faire rapport en 1961. – Il en est décidé ainsi « (Mr. Romanov's proposal, concerning rule N. 29. Mr. Romanov (USSR) speaks in favor of the proposition presented in Sofia by Mr. Andrianov and sent to the Executive Board for study, tending to admit women in all the events of sports included in the Program, according to the rules of the International Federations, and also in art manifestations. Comte de Beaumont (France), Mr. Douglas F. Roby (USA), Mr. A. Sidney Dawes (Canada), Mr. Jean Ketseas (Greece), and Mr. Armand Massard (France) raised objections against this principle, which would have the inconvenient of seriously overloading the Games Program now that one tries to make it lighter. Mr. Mezö (Hungary), Mr. Sondhi (India) and Mr. Stoïtcheff (Bulgaria) estimate on the contrary that the Olympic Movement having as objective to improve the condition of all human beings and not only the males, that question should be examined carefully. The President proposes to wait for the experiences in the Rome Games and to ask the Executive Board to make a report in 1961. – It is thus decided ».)

Summing up, there was discussion on the proposal put forward in Sofia (1957), where it had been passed on to the Executive Board to study, to admit women to all events in sports included in the Program, with accordance with the IF's rules, as well as to the art exhibitions. Certain members raised objections to this principle on the grounds that it would seriously inflate the Games Program at a time when attempts are being made to lighten it. Others felt, in contrast, that since one of the Olympic Movement's objectives was to improve the condition of all humanity, not just of men, the question should be examined carefully. The President proposed waiting to see what happened at the 1960 Games, and commissioned the Executive Board to report in 1961. This it was decided to do.

In this Session, after 64 years of IOC continuing existence, the representatives of Hungary, India and Bulgaria, preceded by Andrianov, observed very well that women were being discriminated against: "improve the condition of all human beings and not only the males". As a result of the pressure, the issue was to be studied after Rome.

56th IOC Session - Munich, 1959 (from this Session onwards the Minutes had an English version)

“Annex: proposition of the International Archery Federation

- 1) Archery will be recognized as Olympic sport for ladies and gentlemen”.
- 2) It would be better to stipulate that at most 3 archers and 3 archeresses of each nation affiliated to the IAF will be entitled to participate”.

Also, in this Session, Romanov suggested that speed skating for ladies should be admitted (art.33). Exeter reported that the IAAF-congress 1958 had suggested that 800m for ladies be placed on the program and Garland referred to the shocking experience of the exhausted women in Amsterdam 1928. The final decision was for acceptance.

57th IOC Session – San Francisco, 1960

The subject of women was not mentioned.

58th IOC Session – Rome, 1960

“Proposal to amend Article 29 of the Olympic Rules concerning the Program of the Summer Games: “Women are admitted to the following events in accordance with the regulations of the IFs concerned: athletics, archery, basketball, canoeing, cycling, equestrian sports, fencing, gymnastics, handball, rowing, shooting, swimming and diving, volleyball, and yacht racing, as well as to the art exhibition. Decision: rejected”.

59th IOC Session – Athens, 1961

“New Members: The chairman suggests that the IOC adopt a more ductile method of recruiting and electing new members. The reason why some countries have no members is because it is often difficult to find men possessing the qualities required to be members. Would it be possible to recruit regular members, for life, not as chosen members representatives of a country but representatives of a sport? This would present the advantage of establishing a closer contact with the International Federations. This means would however have a disadvantage, that we may not always find suitable persons within all the IFs and this would incur the risk of wounding the pride of some of them. The same difficulty arises when dealing with a country. President Brundage requests the members to give due reflection to this problem which occurred to him in the course of the present session”.

IOC members do not even think of the possibility of women becoming members as the word they refer to is men. This confirms the thesis of women's lack of visibility in the IOC's exercise of power. During this meeting it is important to notice that there was a big change in terms of subject of discussion. During most of the IOC Sessions, discussions related to reducing the number of events would imply directly either elimination of women's participation or reduction of women's events. In this Session members discussed the elimination of sports and not women.

“Annex N° 4 propositions from Mr. K. Andrianov and Mr. A. Romanov, IOC members for the USSR, presented at the 58th Session of the IOC in Athens 1961:

I. On modifications in the Charter of the Olympic Games

Rule 29.- To give in the following wording: “Women are allowed to compete in all the sports recognized by the IOC in which it is provided by the rules of the International Federation concerned, i.e.: in Athletics – Archery – Basketball – Canoeing – Cycling – Equestrian sports – Fencing – Gymnastics – Handball – Rowing – Shooting – Swimming and Diving – Volleyball – Figure and Speed Skating – Skiing – Yachting, and to participate in the Fine Arts Program”. Their proposals were rejected.

“Annex N° 8 Olympic Meetings Athens 1961

Proposal of the International Federations

2.- F.I.V.B. (Volley-Ball)

c) Women volleyball events in the Games – Rejected

8.- I.A.A.F. (Athletics) Addition to the athletic program of: 400meters women and pentathlon: women (both accepted)

9. F.I.N.A. (swimming)

c) To agree with additional events: Individual Medley 400m men & ladies (accepted)

Freestyle, 200m, for men & ladies (rejected)

4 x 100m Freestyle relay for men only (the teams to be restricted to swimmers already entered in other events)
(accepted)

12. F.I.L. (Luge)

c) For Men's events: 4 entries to each participating country (without substitutes)

2 teams for each country (without substitutes) a team consisting in 2 competitors

For Ladies events: 3 competitors for each country

(These proposals are approved by the Innsbruck Organizing Committee)

As it can be noticed here, the 4 x 100m freestyle relay swimming competition only includes men and luge includes only 3 women competitors while men's events include 4 entries for each participating country plus 2 teams for each country.

60th IOC Session – Moscow, 1962

h. “Women’s volleyball will figure in the Program of the Tokyo Games. This decision is voted by a large majority with 2 votes against. It is to be noted that a total of 16 teams (men and women) may be entered”.

i. “The introduction of a cycling event for women proposed by the UCI is rejected”.

“Equestrian sports: It is proposed to divide the equestrian sports into two sections of events, one for men and one for women competitors. Decision: The ultimate decision will rest with the Executive Board. In the dressage event, it is requested that the number of contestants per nation be fixed at three instead of two. Decision: Rejected by a large majority with only 8 votes in favor”.

The International Skiing Federation also proposes the addition of an event in the program consisting of a 5km cross-country event for women. This proposal is also accepted on the condition that the number of women competitors is not increased. The Austrian delegation makes a few reservations concerning this last event and it is left a free-hand to add this event to the program if it deems it possible (Decision adopted by 16 votes to 14). The report for the Olympiad in Tokyo 1964 points out that volleyball for women was accepted for 1964 by 38-2. This is very important as this decision places women in the team sports as well, opening the door to the other team sports. A total of 16 teams were to take part (men/women). This decision changed from 1961. The UCI’s request for a cycling competition for women was rejected.

61st IOC Session – Baden-Baden, 1963

“Annex N°6

Mr. Alexandru Siperco proposes

2. I propose that art.29 of the Olympic Rules be added with the following sports which are widely practiced by women: volleyball, handball, basketball and rowing. This proposal was rejected.

62nd IOC Session – Innsbruck, 1964

“It was decided on the proposal of Mr. Von Frenckell to adjourn the question of women’s participation in the volleyball events until after the Tokyo Games”.

“IF-matter: Volleyball would be included in the Program 1968 and water polo should in the future be considered as included into swimming/diving. At the Tokyo Games there would come to start 10 men and 6 women teams. The President thought that it was a common wish to continue with women’s participation and that an addition to rule 29 should be made. For this change a 2/3-majority was needed. The result of the vote: for30 vote and against14

Decision: to adjourn the matter until after Tokyo

It is relevant to notice that the number of male teams was greater than of women’s teams.

63rd IOC Session – Tokyo, 1964

“Proposals by General Stoitchev (Annex N° 7)

a) To study the question of the participation of women in the Olympic Games. The proposal was accepted.

b) To add basketball to rule 29.

It was proposed to authorize the same arrangement as for volleyball, namely to allow 10 male teams and 6 female teams to participate. The IOC would see the result of the Tokyo Games and would take a decision at Madrid.

Annex N° 7

Proposal by General Vladimir Stoychev

I. The participation of women in the Olympic Games does not reflect the spread and development among women everywhere in the world. This is a shortcoming at the present stage of development of the Olympic movement.

In our modern times sports are a necessity to every woman because they promote physical fitness, working capacity and longevity, whereas the Olympic Games are a powerful stimulus, encouraging sports to form part of the everyday life of women in society.

In view of the above, a proposal is made hereby:

a) The IOC to appoint a Commission to examine carefully and revise the Olympic Program, so that it can be made to establish a realistic balance between the share of women and men in modern sports. The proposal of this Commission is to be submitted for discussion at the next IOC Session in 1965.

b) In order to give a realistic expression of its correct attitude with regard to women's sports and their development, we suggest that the Tokyo IOC Session should decide to include women's basketball on the list of women's sports so that it might afford an official opportunity of choice in the elaboration of future Olympic programs.

The following argumentation is given in support of the above proposal:

Today basketball is just as popular with women as it is with men and yet only women have been left out. This is not the case with other sports enjoying equal popularity and recognition, like athletics, gymnastics, swimming, fencing and others. This exception has no justification.

It is of interest here to observe the arguments used by General Vladimir Stoychev in favor of women and their place in society at that time. Actually, social approaches to decision-making processes of the IOC were not usual and still are not.

64th IOC Session – Madrid, 1965

“23. Women's volleyball

In Tokyo, as an experiment, women volleyball had been accepted on condition that the men and women teams together do not exceed the permissible 16 teams. Forty members are in favor of the same proportion of men and women teams within the total limit of sixteen teams. Accepted.

24. Women's basketball

President Brundage proposed the same arrangement as for the volleyball, which is that women teams take the places of men teams and that the total does not exceed 16. This new women participation was a change in rule 29 and only received sixteen votes. Motion rejected.”

65th IOC Session – Rome, 1966

“Archery

This sport will be part of the program of the 1972 Games. President Brundage noted that the events in this sport are mixed, that is to say, men and women compete together. It was therefore necessary to authorize women to participate in the Games, in this sport.

Adopted. Consequently, Rule N° 29 will be changed”.

66th Session- Teheran, 1967

« 7. Rapport réunion Commission Exécutive avec C.N.O. et proposition de M. Andrianov (Report of the Meeting of the Executive Board with the NOCs and Mr. Andrianov's proposition)

Mr. Andrianov (U.R.S.A.) développe les points I, II, III, IV de sa proposition (Annexe II) et constate, d'accord avec le président, que la situation est quelque peu critique» (Mr. Andrianov develops points I, II, III, and IV of his proposition (Annex II) and realizes that, agreeing with the president, that the situation was a little critical”).

ANNEX II

Proposal from Mr. Andrianov

Vice-President of the I.O.C.,

ON THE IMPROVEMENTS OF THE I.O.C. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

The Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games as the most concrete manifestation of this social phenomenon got over greater popularity; new and new countries join the movement...

However, during recent years, the International Olympic Committee is more and more often subjected to strong criticism from national and international sports organizations and world press for its activities and in consequence in its decisions. It cannot help causing serious anxiety. The I.O.C. (original form of the acronym found in the document) should discuss the existing situation and make up a program the realization of which will allow to enhance its authority in the World Sports Movement.

I. I.O.C. and the Modern Sports Movement – International sport is not a solitary phenomenon, but it reflects general tendencies in the development of human society, its progress and present contradictions. Unfortunately, the I.O.C. evades itself from solving the most important problems of the modern International Sports Movement, seeking to maintain in force those rules and regulations, which were formulated at the very beginning of the formation of the International Olympic Committee. The fact that the I.O.C. shuts itself up in the frame of the Olympic Games organization, results in a loss of its position as a real governing body that the world sports public would like it to be...

II. Inconsequence in the I.O.C. decisions

The I.O.C. has its own charter which prohibits political and racial discrimination, but the I.O.C. does not carry on the real successive struggle against discrimination...

III. I.O.C. and the strengthening of peace

IV. I.O.C. and National Olympic Committees

V. I.O.C. members

VI Recognition of New Olympic Committees

VII I.O.C. and Racial Discrimination

VIII Amateurism

IX. Women's participation in the Games – Declaring the principle of equality for men and women in sport, the I.O.C., at the same time, restricts the women's participation in the Olympic Games. It is one more example of inconsequence of the I.O.C. actions. Indeed, it is difficult to explain and understand by what reasons the World and Continental Championships, in some events, are organized for women, and it must be said with great success, but in the Olympic contests they have no such a possibility. By the way, up till now, there is no woman among the I.O.C. members. All this does not correspond to the high level which women's sport occupies in the International Sportive Movement. It is proposed that the I.O.C. accept the propositions to include women's competitions of basketball, cycling and rowing in to the Games events.

X. I.O.C. International Federations and Press

XI. The I.O.C. Secretariat

In conclusion, I should like to ensure honorable I.O.C. members that appeal to them is dictated by real and sincere desire to assist in realizing in practice those aims which, according to the Olympic Charter, stand before the Olympic Movement as a whole”.

It is extremely relevant to notice here that Mr. Andrianov is the very first IOC member to acknowledge the absence of female members in the IOC in his vehement criticism. The IOC did not make any comments (at least they are not in the minutes) in relation to Mr. Andrianov's observations and other propositions. Undoubtedly this intervention should be considered a turning point in the Olympic Movement's history by the impact of gender's equity and its consequences.

“32. Proposal Mr. Andrianov (V,VI, IX, X, XI)

Mr. Andrianov (U.S.S.R.) explained his proposal (Annex II) after which a discussion followed, the following members taking part: Mr. Touny (U.A.R.), the Marquess of Exeter (Great Britain), president Brundage, Mr. Alexander (Kenya) and Mr. Daume (Germany).

The following decisions were taken: (in relation to women)

Par. IX. It was agreed that the International Shooting Federation could include women in their Olympic teams. The International Volley-Ball Federation can have 8 of 6 women teams, but the number of entries for each team will be reduced so that the total number of participants will not increase”.

Annex X pg 5 Report from Commission for Press and Public Relations

VIII. Films

Two projects were presented:

1) Mme Monique Berlioux, from Paris, presented a proposal for a series of 26 films for television featuring each sport on the Olympic programme for which she will have to use footage of Olympic newsreels and Olympic films available in the archives of the Secretariat in Lausanne.

This is the very first time Monique Berlioux is mentioned. She became longtime Director of the IOC from 1969 until 1985, after she had been offered a job at the IOC in 1967 (Davenport, 1997). This fact is also a turning point just because it broke the tradition of the all-male IOC administration.

67th IOC Session – Grenoble, 1968

“8. Elimination of demonstration sports during the Games

Some members felt that, in view of the tremendous development of sport, demonstrations were no longer necessary. Others thought that the possibility of holding demonstration should be maintained as the present IOC rules do not make them obligatory. A vote was taken and, by 28 votes to 20, it was decided to keep demonstration sports in the program”.

It is important to notice here that if demonstration sports were eliminated that would be less for women to participate in.

“Annex XII (Mr. Von Frenckell - Finland)

Athletics having developed and changed since the revival of the Olympic Games was suggested at the turn of the century, the I.O.C. has followed the development of different kinds of sport without becoming set in a fixed mould. New classes of athletics have been included in the program. Women have taken part in the Games since 1920, the cooperation with the National Olympic Committees was commenced, and, fortunately enough, the influence of the International Sports Federations has increased. The I.O.C., however, has not deserted its fundamental principle. The rule: 'No discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of race, religion or political affiliations' still holds good”.

Noticeable here is the fact that Mr. Von Frenckell did not think about discrimination on the grounds of sex/gender. In addition he did not notice that women had officially started on the Olympic Games in 1900 and not 1920.

68th IOC Session – Mexico City, 1968

“9. Proposals from the Count de Beaumont

The Count de Beaumont referred to the nine propositions he had made and gave a general review of his ideas in which he proposed:

c) That there should be at least one female member of the IOC.

The Count de Beaumont was therefore requested to act accordingly and to present his proposals later on during the session”.

A very essential piece of information here is the fact that Count de Beaumont proposed the inclusion of female members in the IOC a year after Andrianov had criticized the IOC for not having women as members. One may wonder whether Count de Beaumont took advantage of Andrianov’s idea and made his proposal. However, no comments, if really made, were recorded in print. Some authors, such as Lyberg (1989), do not acknowledge that Andrianov was the very first IOC member to formalize the comment about the absence of women in the IOC as members as it features in his Proposal (Annex II) presented to the Session a year before. As a result, some misunderstanding would appear in the specialized literature.

“President Brundage ran through the reports of the twelve commissions and the main points which engendered lengthy discussions were:

d) Racial discrimination in connection with the South African Olympic Committee”.

There had been initiatives to discuss and deal with racial discrimination to reinforce the claims on sex/gender equal rights.

“12. Report from the Finance Commission

Lord Luke, as Chairman of the Finance Commission, gave his report.

4. Suggestions for raising money for the IOC were discussed:

a) An Olympic Film ‘The life of the Sportswoman’

b) An Olympic travel agency

c) Sponsors of the Olympic movement”

Essentially to notice here that for the first time in the Minutes the word ‘sportswoman’ was used.

“24. Requests for additional events

President Brundage informed the meeting that the Executive Board, in general, was against adding too many events in the Games, as everybody wanted to reduce the size and the cost. In

connection with the team sports, he insisted on bringing them back from sixteen teams to eight teams because the arrangements to have the sixteen teams play with each other necessitated too many games. He explained that in football for example there were 34 matches scattered all over Mexico and this number should be reduced.

a) In connection with the request of the International Handball Federation to have a woman's tournament, it was decided to postpone the decision until it was agreed definitely to reduce the Olympic teams from sixteen to eight.

The request from the International Shooting Federation was dealt with and after ample discussions in which participated Mr. Vind, Mr. Von Opel, Mr. Hodler, Mr. Von Frenckell and the Marquis of Exeter, it was decided after a remark from Mr. Von Opel that men and women could compete together, that no extra event for women could be accepted, but that the event of shooting at moving targets (running boar) was acceptable as this event could be held without too many extra arrangements for installations.

c) Basketball for women could only be accepted if the sixteen final teams could be reduced to eight. Mr. Stoychev, Mr. Samaranch and Lord Killanin spoke during the discussion"

50. Award for the most attractive teams

The Executive Board agreed that this was an impractical proposal. The members agreed.

Olympic Games

c) Additional events

Requests made:

1) IHF wanted a tournament in handball for women. Decision postponed until definitely agreed to reduce number of teams.

5) Basketball for women only accepted if team number reduced from 16 to 8 in the sport.

6) ISU's request for 'rhythmic skating' (now called 'ice dancing') referred to the commission for winter sports. Decision for 1969.

A ruling was given on the international Shooting Union's request. It was decided that men and women could compete together, and that no extra, women-only events should be allowed.

69th IOC Session – Warsaw, 1969

"Report from the Executive Board

Decisions

2. A Director would not be appointed for the moment. Madame Berlioux (Director for the Press and Public Relations) would also be in charge of the administration; (postn°1). Mr. Artur Takac had been appointed Technical Director.

11. Requests for new sports and events

Points discussed and/or points raised

2. The Executive Board's recommendation that no new sports be added to the program. The rise and fall in the popularity of different sports must be taken into account. (In this respect the NOCs should be consulted rather than the International Federations who are naturally biased).

4. General Stoychev proposed that Modern Gymnastics be included in the gymnastics program for women in the Olympic Games.

IOC/NOC JOINT COMMISSION III

AN/XVI/3

Discrimination

1. In article I. the IOC forbids discrimination in sport 'on grounds of race, religion and political affiliation'.

This Session shows Monique Berlioux's appointment as IOC Director. This is the very first time a woman occupies a position of power in the IOC, especially because the President does not reside in Lausanne and needs somebody there all the time. Another important point that arose again was the fact that discrimination was only related to men on account of religion, race and political affiliation. Discrimination against women was not explicitly considered.

"TECHNICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

a) Nordic Events

It was agreed that the program for the cross country for men was very tight, and the idea was considered of asking the International Ski Federations (FIS) whether it would not be possible to leave out the 30km event, inasmuch as this distance has proved to be not quite so specialized as originally contemplated, while it was only recently included in the Olympic program. We were also inclined to suggest that the FIS be asked to look into the possibility of eliminating one of the cross country events for ladies (for instance the 5 km) for similar reasons"

It is interesting to notice here how careful they are when asking for the elimination of the ladies' event. First they explain the reasons and suggest deleting a men's event first, then they ask about the possibility of dropping the women's event. There is no straight demand in the reduction of such an event.

This was the very first Session whose Minutes were made by Monique Berlioux. Minutes are 21 pages long, but there are 35 annexes covering 112 pages. Note: Those minutes are

extremely ‘dull’ as they follow the decision from Mexico 1968 only to note decisions. All reports made are ‘in extenso’ in the annexes.

Report from the meetings of the Executive with the IFs in June 1969

2) Women allowed to participate in team sports of handball, basketball and volleyball, but only with 8 teams.

5) Ice dancing not accepted for the OWG-program.

Report Munich 1972

- No more events to be added.

Proposal to include modern (rhythmic) gymnastics in the women’s gymnastics Program.

Decision: the request was referred to the 4th Joint Commission, which would present its report at the 1970 Session.

70th IOC Session – Amsterdam, 1970

“6) Rule 30:

Mr. Brundage brought to the attention of the audience the new Rule submitted to the Executive Board by Joint Commission IV, which the Executive Board has approved. On a question raised by Mr. von Frenckell, Mr. Brundage stated that this would apply to sports to be included in the program as well as to the ones already in the program.

Mr. Benjelloun objected that, should the number of countries be increased, it would close the doors of the IOC to numerous sports. He thought this would not be advisable.

Mr. Brundage stressed the fact that this amendment had been submitted to the Executive board by a Joint Commission and that it had been approved.

Decisions:

6) Approved: The amendment reads as follows:

‘Only sports widely practiced by men in at least 40 countries and 3 continents may be included in the Olympic Games program.

Only sports widely practiced in at least 25 countries and 2 continents may be included in Winter Games program.

Only sports widely practiced by women in at least 20 countries and 2 continents may be included in the program of the Olympic Games and the Winter Games.’

It is worthy noticing here that there is a distinction in the number of countries for men and for women. It is also important to mention that there are still many countries in the world where women are not allowed to practice sports. Nevertheless, the decision-making process of the IOC was progressively becoming more rational.

Decisions:

I – Sports Program

a) Team Sports

The final tournaments will consist of:

Basketball - 16 teams

Football - 16 teams

Handball - 16 teams

Hockey - 16 teams

Volleyball - 12 men's teams, 8 women's teams

Water polo - 16 teams

The observation here is related to the absence of women's teams in team sports and how unequal the distribution is for volleyball.

71st IOC Session – Luxembourg, 1971

“19. REQUESTS FROM INTERNATIONAL FEDERATIONS

19.a/Concerning participation of women

Rowing: Proposal: to include rowing for women in the program

A vote was taken, requiring a two third majority, since it meant a change of rule 29, which does not mention rowing.

Decision: Rejected

Cycling: Proposal: to include cycling for women in the Olympic programme

Decision: Rejected

Shooting: Proposal: to have a special event for women in the Programme

Decision: Rejected, since women can be entered in the competition as for equestrian and yachting

b/ New events to be added to the Olympic Program

Ice Dancing

Decision: Proposal not accepted

1000m Speed skating:

Decision: Proposal not accepted

Rowing – quadruple scull without coxswain:

Decision: Proposal accepted. To be added to the Olympic program of the Games of the XXIst Olympiad at Montreal.

All several proposals for women were rejected. Only the one men's event was accepted.

“ANNEX 9

Lux./S/AN/9/2

RULE 30

Team Sports

There shall be 12 teams for sports in which only men participate. There shall be 18 teams for sports in which men and women compete, provided that the number of women's teams is not less than 6.

It is the duty of the International Federation concerned to determine the number of men's and women's teams within the prescribed limits”.

Among guests present, Colette Flesch, female Mayor of Luxemburg, Olympic participant in fencing 1960, 1964 and 1968.

72nd IOC Session – Sapporo, 1972

“TABLE 3” PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE OLYMPIC GAMES

Sport

Basketball

Comments: The Joint Commission recommends the adoption of basketball for women on the Olympic Program as this sport is widely practiced and corresponds to the required admission standards.

Attitude of IF on the concrete proposal: The FIBA supports the recommendation of the Commission.

Cycling

Comments: The Joint Commission is not at present in favor of introducing cycling for women because the admission standards are not complied with (11 countries from 2 continents)

Attitude of the IF on the concrete proposal: The FIAC maintains its proposal.

Handball	<p>Comments: The Joint Commission recommends the adoption of handball for women on the Olympic Program because the admission standards are complied with.</p> <p>Attitude of the IF on the concrete proposal: The IHF supports the recommendation of the Commission.</p>
Modern Gymnastics	<p>Comments: The Joint Commission recommends modern gymnastics to be included on the Olympic Program because the admission standards are complied with.</p> <p>Attitude of the IF on the concrete proposal: The FIG has applied for admission.</p>
Rowing	<p>Comments: The Joint Commission recommends the adoption of rowing events for women on the Olympic program because the admission standards are complied with.</p> <p>Attitude of the IF on the concrete proposal: The FISA has applied for admission.</p>
Shooting	<p>Comments: The Joint Commission recommends the adoption of shooting for women in separate events, because the request complies with the admission standards.</p> <p>Attitude of the IF on the concrete proposal: The UIT has applied for admission.</p>

CONCLUSION

The task of the Joint Commission for the Olympic Program has so far not been an easy one. There can be no doubt that the International Sport Federations are best qualified to deal with their own particular interests, which was rather strongly emphasized during the discussions which took place between the President of the Commission, Dr. A. Csanadi, the IOC Technical Director Mr. A. Takac and the representatives of the International Federations. Whereas some showed an encouraging willingness to reduce the number of their events, none of those representing individual sports seemed to be in agreement to reduce the number of their participants per event.

On the other hand, all of those Federations dealing with women's sports support the proposals advanced by the Commission..."

It seems that women have become stronger within the federations as they are now supporting them.

73rd IOC Session – Munich, 1972

“b/ Joint Commission for the Olympic Program

Mr. Daume stressed the necessity of limiting the size and scope of the Games. He felt that the limit, practically speaking, of gigantism had been reached in Munich. He knew that women’s participation had to be furthered, in keeping with the times, but felt the program could be reduced in other areas, such as swimming.

Decision: The report from the IOC/NOC Joint Commission for the Olympic program including the introduction of women’s rowing, basketball and handball was accepted with the following provisions:

a/ The IOC does not approve of a separate shooting event for women, and rhythmic gymnastics appearing on the Olympic program. It does not agree with the reduction of entries in the individual competitions in the equestrian three day event and had decided to maintain the present number of competitors.

Rule 29

Following the approval of the Program Commission report, Rule 29 was amended as follows: ‘Women are allowed to compete in archery, athletics, basketball, canoeing, diving, equestrian sports, fencing, gymnastics, handball, luge, rowing, shooting, figure and speed skating, skiing, swimming, volleyball, and yachting, according to the rules of the International Federation concerned, and to participate in the Fine Arts Exhibition. Female athletes may be subjected to medical proof.’

Although it is possible to notice that at least one IOC member is concerned with women’s participation in the Games, women are still ‘allowed’, they still need ‘permission’ to compete.

“16. REQUESTS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATIONS

a/ Shooting

Dr. Kurt Hasler, from the International Shooting Federation, was welcomed to the meeting, and explained that the International Shooting Federation (UIT) asked for three ladies’ competitions to be added to the Olympic Program, namely:

- English match (50m prone) with light standard rifle
- three position match with standard rifle
- standard pistol match (35m)

In the UIT's world championships there were 8 such events for ladies. The reason for having separate women's competitions was that they could not successfully compete with men in conventional programs with traditional arms. No additional ranges would have to be built for these events, no extra time was necessary, and the organization of the competitions would be the same as before. The only change was that there would be more competitors, but each country would have a maximum of 4 women participants over the three competitions.

President Brundage pointed out that the IOC was attempting to reduce the Olympic Program rather than enlarge it, but promised that the proposal would be considered.

Decision: the proposal was rejected.

b/Rowing

Decision: Rowing for women accepted in the following six events: coxed four, coxless pair, skiff-single sculls, coxed quadruplet, double sculls and coxed eight.

c/ Handball

Decision: handball competitions for women had been accepted in Dr. Csanadi's Commission's report.

It is possible to notice how unwilling the IOC members, especially the President, were to listen to the arguments from the International Shooting Federation. In this case it would be necessary to include more competitors as women were not able to compete with men in traditional terms. There was no respect for the differences. The Minutes reveal that the dominant problem was the large size of the Games. In other words, in the first place the participation of women was rejected because it was rendered as inappropriate; the second stage showed that their participation enlarged the size of the Games. Therefore, it seems at this point that women were outsiders to the IOC for several reasons until the 1970s.

20. NEXT MEETINGS

Mr. Havelange followed Major Padilha on behalf of all sportsmen in Brazil to present President Brundage with a gold medal celebrating 150 years of independence in Brazil.

The above paragraph shows that the expression 'sportsmen' is still used in spite of the fact that there were already sportswomen in Brazil. This demonstrates that sportswomen could be invisible, which represents some type of prejudice. While the

prejudice against women during the first phase of the participation of women in the Olympic Games was related to submission, during this second phase it is invisibility.

74th IOC Session – Varna, 1973

“Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur

The President then asked Dr. Henning, President of the FINA, to be introduced into the meeting. Dr. Henning presented his appeal on behalf of the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur, concerning the Executive Board’s decision to reduce the total number of competitors from 38 to 33 in men’s events and from 35 to 30 for women’s events, and to limit the number of competitors per event per nation to 3. The three events which his federation proposed could be deleted from the program were: 200m individual medley for men, 200m individual medley for women and 4x100m men’s freestyle relay.

Decision:

Total number of competitors will be reduced from 38 to 33 for men and from 35 to 30 for women. Maximum of 3 competitors in each individual event for men and women to be entered per nation with strict qualifying standards. Deletion of the following three events from the Olympic Program: 200m individual medley for men, 200m individual medley for women and 4x100m men’s freestyle relay”.

It is noteworthy that the number of men and women competitors is different. There were more men than women. Therefore, the rational reduction of the Program still reflected the prejudices of the past.

“Dr. Hasler, President of the Union Internationale de Tir” was then introduced to the meeting and requested to make any further points he thought necessary concerning the Executive Board’s recommendation.

Decision: To delete the 300 meters shooting competition from the Montreal Games’ program and to reconsider the inclusion of women’s competitions at a later date.

The President made the point that there was nothing to stop women from competing in the competitions together with the men, but as far as separate competitions were concerned they would have to be discussed at a later date”.

It is relevant to notice here that although the President is ‘aware’ of women’s rights, he still wants to include women with men even though knowing that men are at an

advantage in the competitions. The approach of the UIT raises the limits of women's participation as dependent on the operational conditions of sport disciplines

ANNEX 10

Decisions and recommendations made by the Executive Board concerning the progress report of the Joint Program Commission

2. Hockey

After hearing the appeal from the Fédération Internationale de Hockey, the Executive Board decided to maintain the decision of the IOC Session in Munich, i.e., twelve teams instead of sixteen for the Games of the XXIst Olympiad. Regarding women's hockey, the request for the inclusion of this sport at the request of the International Hockey Federation is being considered for 1980.

Olympic Congress

The statement of the Tripartite Commission was discussed. 23 members took part.

Item 5

Women as IOC members

Many were in favor of women as members but pointed out that IFs and NOCs ought to have more women on their boards, too.

Decision: when pro-formas for election completed women's name could be recommended.

It could not go without noticing that women were in for some nominations not only in their IFs but also in NOCs and finally in the IOC.

75th IOC Session – Vienna, 1974

“Rule Changes

Rule 29 – Inclusion of women's hockey, deletion of paragraph 2 on medical proof of female athletes (also rule 26a), deletion of last part of paragraph 1 concerning Fine Arts Exhibition

Decision: the following amendments approved:

- a) addition of hockey to the sports appearing on the women's program;
- b) deletion of paragraph 2 concerning medical proof of female athletes;
- c) deletion of the last paragraph 1 concerning the Fine Arts Exhibition

The Commission for the Olympic Program and the Executive Board asked the IOC Session to approve the Executive Board's proposal to include women's hockey in the Program, but not for the 1976 Games. Further participation should be the subject of a special study.

76th IOC Session – Lausanne, 1975

“5. Report on the meeting of the Executive Board with the NOCs at Rome in May

Women's sports: The NOCs had suggested a tripartite commission to be set up to control women's sport, but the Executive Board had felt this would be a form of discrimination”.

Curiously enough after 81 years (1894-1975) somebody thought of discrimination against women. This is one more piece of evidence of the invisibility of women within the Olympic Movement.

“G. Program

The President called upon Dr. Csanadi to report on the meeting of the Program Commission held in Rome the previous week. Dr. Csanadi read extracts from his report concerning the criteria for Olympic sports which had been circulated to the members of the IOC, and asked the IOC for its approval on this report. The President then opened the floor for discussion.

Mr. Reczek felt it was important to review the criteria of sports every 12 years. It was necessary to maintain equality in sports, especially where women's participation was concerned. He considered that sports such as modern gymnastics should be included in the program and that certain standards should be adopted so that all sports would have the same qualifications. This, he felt, would avoid one sportsman winning several medals.

In reply to Mr. Reczek, Dr. Csanadi stated that the Commission was taking steps to establish a long term program in which both the proposed criteria and statistical data (from the IFs and NOCs) would be included. A study would also be made not only of recognized Olympic sports, but also of those applying for inclusion on the Olympic Program and also for those applying for IOC recognition. As far as women's sports were concerned, Mr. Reczek recognized the need to adopt more of these on the program as he felt that their inclusion would reflect the development of sport in general. He mentioned the close study made by the Commission on the Varna speeches and hoped that the Commission could soon submit a long term policy for approval. Dr. Csanadi stated that contacts with the IFs had been very good, but those with the NOCs had not been close enough, but it was now the Commission's policy to work much more closely with the NOCs and keep both them and the IFs more informed of the Commission's work.”

It is not clear when Mr. Reczek first mentioned equality for women. Is it in relation to men or is it in relation to other women within the same sport? Later on it is interesting to notice that he is concerned with the participation of women and how the Games reflect the fact that more women had been practicing sports.

“ANNEX 13

Report of the Commission for the Olympic Program concerning ‘criteria for Olympic sports’ presented by Dr. Arpad Csanadi

Activity of the Commission until now

8. The adoption of more and more combined events is recommended referring to the views of Baron de Coubertin (Lt. Col. Russell).

Proposal

2) Any sport within the Olympic Program or applying for admission should have an educational effect, serve the harmonious development of physical and moral abilities of men and women as well as involve a strong movement activity.

3) The performance of the athlete should include and reflect his/her physical and moral abilities, while a number of other factors promoting artificially the performance, which would be to the advantage of some and to the detriment of others should not be encouraged”.

It is interesting to notice here (i) reference to Coubertin probably to obtain legitimacy to the proposal suggesting a process of change in the IOC internal relationships and (ii) the inclusion of the word ‘women’ (when most of the times it is men or sportsmen) and the pronouns ‘his/her’.

77th IOC Session – Innsbruck, 1976

“2. Team sports

1. A. Csanadi – IOC Member from Hungary – theme 111 – ‘Why should team sports be deleted from the Olympic Program? Because they were not on the Program in 1896? Because Coubertin was against them? Or because rule 8 stipulates that the Games are composed of competitions for individuals? Let us face facts! The first teams sport was adopted in 1904. Now there are 7 ball games on the Program. What does this fact show? It indicates that team sports have developed very rapidly in the last decades. Soccer is played in 136 countries, basketball in 130, volleyball in 107 and handball in 60 countries. More than 60 per cent of all active sportsmen of the world are engaged in team sports. Won’t we come into antagonism with the development of world

sports if we exclude team sports from the Olympic Games? Do we not commit an act of discrimination against certain countries or even continents where for the time being other sports have not as yet reached the level of team games, above all, that of soccer?’

This intervention may stand as an explicit confrontation of IOC traditions beginning with Coubertin in 1896. However, the proposed innovations did not favor the participation of women. The fact that Dr. Csanadi referred to ‘discrimination’ without mentioning women may represent another piece of evidence of the prejudice of invisibility. After all, there is the use of the word ‘sportsmen’, but the word ‘sportswomen’ had already been used.

78th IOC Session – Montreal, 1976

“Lord Killanin reported that the Executive was anxious to elect women to the IOC but there might be eligible candidates in countries where there were no IOC vacancies. He asked the Session’s opinion on the proposal of amending the rules to enable a woman to be elected even if there was already a member in her country.

Decision: Proposal rejected”

This is the first official concrete proposal with a positive reaction from the IOC members. Moreover, here lies another sign of the growing reactions against IOC traditions.

“Decisions:

1. Women’s hockey included in the program of the Games of the XXIInd Olympiad.”

“Women’s hockey: This was recommended for inclusion on the 1980 Olympic Games program. Mr. Staubo was concerned that events were being added to the program when the intention was its reduction. There was also the question of increasing the number of participants, like women’s hockey and ice dancing. Figures should be presented showing the number of continents and national federations involved in each event. The whole program should be ready for discussion and approval at the Prague Session”.

79th IOC Session – Prague, 1977

“Mr. Ericsson was opposed to Mr. Herzog’s proposal for a new structure of the IOC as this would lead to a burdensome bureaucracy and create more political problems. He felt the IOC should remain a club, which had already been democratized through the Congress and Tripartite Commission”.

“In reply to Mr. Herzog the President (Lord Killanin) stated that there were no objections to any woman being elected a member of the IOC, and there were in fact possible candidates on the list in due course”.

It is crucial to point out the fact that there was no explicit or written rule that prohibited the appointment or election of women for the IOC. The rules were implicit in tradition and in the background of the IOC members. But the reaction against IOC traditions seemed to have gained momentum with this Session’s discussion.

“Decisions

Athletics: 1 1. The Session agreed to have the 50 km walk reinstated.
 2. The Session agreed not to accept the 3000m event for women in the program”

Very significant decision: on the one hand they accepted a male event (50km) after saying that there was no objection against women becoming members of the IOC, on the other hand, they rejected a simple event for women (3000m = 3km). In other words, the rejection of traditions was still an imbalanced issue with many oscillations of opinion.

“Dr. Csanadi explained that with regard to gymnastics, two requests had been made, the first to change the system of selection of teams and individual competitors in artistic gymnastics for the Moscow Games, and the other to introduce rhythmic gymnastics. The Executive Board had invited the President of the Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique, who was in Prague, to give details of his request.

The President stated that the majority of the Executive Board had felt that the recommendation of the Program Commission regarding two rhythmic gymnastics events should be rejected.

Mr. Andrianov pointed out that the sport was very popular throughout the world and was in favor of its inclusion especially as the IOC wanted to increase the participation of women in the Olympic Games.

The Marquess of Exeter felt as it was a new event to the program that they should think very carefully about it.

Mr. Touny felt that rhythmic gymnastics should be included to increase the participation of women.

Mr. Cross stated that it was very close to introducing a new sport to the program through the back door as it was as different from gymnastics as water-ballet was from swimming.

Mr. Smirnov pointed out that the Moscow Organizing Committee also requested the inclusion of this event and added that as it was very popular, it could help to make the Games very successful.

Mr. Siperco expressed his support of Mr. Andrianov's and Mr. Touny's comments.

Mr. Daume felt that as women's sports must be developed in the Games, it should be included and pointed out that rhythmic gymnastics was not eligible as an Olympic sport, but was even better than other types of gymnastics.

Mr. Benjelloun said that rhythmic gymnastics had both the qualities of artistic and physical culture and was in favor of accepting it.

Mr. Kroutil supported Mr. Benjelloun's comments.

General Stoytchev said he was in favor of the proposal to introduce rhythmic gymnastics, but added that the IOC should advise the International Gymnastics Federation to establish an age limit, as he did not approve of the entry of twelve-year olds in the Games.

Mr. Kiyokawa felt that synchronized swimming came into the same category.

Lord Luke expressed his agreement of Mr. Cross's comments and said that rhythmic gymnastics was very close to ballet which was not an Olympic sport.

Mr. Smirnov proposed that a film made by the Federation of their World Championships, which lasted 10 minutes, could be shown that evening after the Montreal film.

Mr. Zerguini was in favor of encouraging the practice of the ladies' sport and supported the proposal to include rhythmic gymnastics.

The President said that its inclusion would result in an additional 120 competitors in the events, and pointed out that as they were discussing the inclusion of these events for the Moscow Games, he felt that it would be better if the Program Commission discussed it with the Federation with future Games in mind.

Decisions

- Gymnastics 1. The Session did not agree to the addition of two rhythmic gymnastics events in the Games.

2. These events to be considered by the Program Commission with the Gymnastics Federation for the future
3. The Session accepted the recommendation of the Programme Commission not to accept any changes in artistic gymnastics for the Moscow Games.

It is interesting to notice how arguments were developed for the inclusion of rhythmic gymnastics as a sport for women only. Femininity and grace were values pursued by the IOC members in the early 20th century, when the so-called feminine features were desired. At that time, worried with what would be appropriate for women, the IOC did not include any event for women only because they saw that male sport was the only one available.

“SKIING

Dr Csanadi stated that as the event requested for inclusion, i.e. 20km ladies’ cross-country, would be organized for the first time only next year in the World Championships, the Commission could not recommend it. Mr. Hodler expressed his support of the proposal.

Decision:

Skiing: The Session accepted the Programme Commission’s recommendation not to accept the Fédération Internationale de Ski’s request”.

“SWIMMING

The Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur had proposed to reinstate three events deleted after the Munich Games (200m individual medley for men and women, 4 x 100m freestyle relay for men, and also to include synchronized swimming in the Olympic Program.

Mr. Roby said that he knew the Swimming Federation had problems when it came to their program, as people did not want to come and see only one or two events at a session.

The President stated that the Program Commission’s recommendation to reject both requests was supported by the Executive Board

Decision:

Swimming: It was agreed to accept the Program Commission’s recommendation to reject the two requests from the Fédération Internationale de Natation Amateur”.

“Mr. Siperco asked if the Union Internationale de Tir had asked for an increase in women’s events. Dr. Csanadi replied that they had received applications from both the former president of

the Union Internationale de Tir and the present one. Their applications had been different, so the Commission had invited the President to get in touch with the Commission and make definite applications as far as the program was concerned. The President said that with regard to the general recommendations all decisions made today would be applicable to the 1980 Program, which would now be final”

“General Stoytchev presented his proposals regarding the too frequent changes of rules and the organization of the Olympic Congress, which he felt should take place every four years, in the first year after the Games. In addition, the Bulgarian Olympic Committee had made a proposal concerning the election of women members.

In reply to these proposals, the President stated that the IOC was in full agreement with the representation of women, but at the moment, in countries where there were candidates, there were no vacancies, and in new countries there were no candidates. In fact, there were relatively few women altogether involved in sports administration. However, the Executive Board was aware of this question”.

It is worthwhile to notice here that as women were very rarely ‘allowed’ in the administrative ranks of the federations, of course there would be few women to become IOC members. In addition, women had always been dependent on permission to become part of sports and of management. The IOC rejection of discrimination with its step-by-step progress had apparently entered other area of power: the one defined by sport in itself.

“c) Rule 32 – Participation of women

The President suggested that Rule 32 be amended by deleting the names of the sports, as it would ensure that if there were any discrimination against women’s participation, it would be on the part of the International Federations and not the IOC. He also recommended that an overall rule dealing with the problem of discrimination in the Olympic Games be considered at a later stage. Dr. Csanadi proposed that the decision on this rule be postponed as its acceptance could result in serious consequences such as the inclusion of women in football, etc., which he felt was not desirable. The President stated that the amendment proposed was less discriminatory in its wording had suggested the rule at this stage.

Decision: Rule 32 to read: ‘Women are allowed to compete according to the rules of the International Federation concerned, with the approval of the IOC.’”

Only now after 83 years (1894-1977) of IOC Minutes the expression ‘discrimination against women’s participation’ appears in the Minutes. Why did it happen only now? It could be due to the women’s movement along the years. The International Federations might not have done any pressure not to include women. In this very document the IAAF discriminates as they do not allow one sport for women and accept events for men, as in athletics (50km for men and not 3000m for women). They still insist on treating women like children, choosing what they think it is good for them. Women would have to struggle through the International Federations, most of which led by men, and the IOC itself (only men). Arguably, these critiques might be seen as relative as far as the IOC discussion on the issue of women’s discrimination has reached the bottom line where the prejudice against women shows itself not only as a broad social phenomenon but also as a sport phenomenon.

“On the basis of thorough examination the Program Commission submits the following recommendations:

(f) Athletics

Request: To have a 3000m event for women and a 50km walk

Recommendation: Not to accept the 3000m event for women nor the 50km walk as events at the Moscow Games

(i) Gymnastics

Request:

(a) To change the system of selection of teams and individual competitors

(b) To introduce rhythmic gymnastics in the Olympic Programme.

Recommendation:

(a) Not to accept any changes in the case of artistic gymnastics in Moscow.

(b) With one exception the Commission voted in favor of including two rhythmic gymnastics events (all-round individual and team) on the Olympic programme for Moscow and also for the future Olympic Games.

(l) Ski

Request:

To include the 20km ladies’ cross country event on the programme for Lake Placid.

Recommendation: To reject this request as the Olympic Games are not an experimental field for new events.

A long discussion took place on IOC policy for the future. Herzog made detailed suggestions for voting procedures and women to be introduced as quickly as possible. This proposal seems to represent a maturity status for women's issue after decades of stop-and-go procedures.

Women's sport: Decisions: not allowed to become part of the Program: athletics – 3000 meters event; gymnastics – two rhythmic gymnastic events – these events were to be examined by the Commission for the Program and the FIG for the future; swimming – 4 x 200 meters individual medley and synchronized swimming. The President declared that all these decisions should apply to the 1980 Games.

80th IOC Session – Athens, 1978

The subject of women was not mentioned.

81st IOC Session – Montevideo, 1979

“Volleyball and swimming

FINA was asking for the reinstatement of the 3 deleted events, and synchronized swimming, which he considered as a separate question. The Program Commission recommended that these two sports be referred back to it for further discussion.

Decision:

Requests from the volleyball and swimming federations to be referred back to the Program Commission for further discussions.

Shooting

The IOC had deleted the 300m event in Munich, as it had been very expensive. The IF now requested a new event to replace it, which would be less expensive and also requested five separate women's events. As there had been no women's event for skeet and trap at the last Olympic Games, Mr. Staubo wondered if this meant that women would not be allowed to compete. Mr. Csanadi answered that he had discussed this with the IF, and had recommended that it decide which 3 events should be open to women, as this was a purely technical matter.

Decision: One men's and three separate women's events in shooting accepted. The IF to decide the selection.

Cycling

It wanted separate women's events, but additional data was required for this.

Decision: Separate women's participation to be studied by the Programme Commission.

Archery

The Program Commission recommended that the request of the IF for additional entries both for men and women be accepted as there were only 2 events, one men's and one women's, and the archery program was in fact short.

Decision: Archery request accepted

f) Program

Csanadi's report resulted in the following decisions:

2. One men's and three separate women's events in shooting accepted. IF to decide selection.
3. A new indoor cycling event accepted for men. Separate women's participation to be further studied.
4. Archery request for additional athletes both for men and women accepted.
5. Handball's request of one additional player (15 instead of 14) for both men and women accepted.

Summing up for women's sport: Decisions: cycling – separate participation by women was to be studied by the Program Commission; shooting – it was agreed to hold three separate events for women; the UIT should decide which ones; athletics – 3000 meters; the final recommendation was to be presented at the next Session; gymnastics – the Program Commission was to make a clear recommendation for or against rhythmic gymnastics in Moscow; swimming – the FINA's request that a 4 x 200 meters individual medley be established and synchronized swimming be added was referred to the Program Commission for wider discussion. In short, women's topic in the IOC agenda seemed to be mostly a technical discussion despite many evidences of a residual discrimination against women.

82nd Session – Lake Placid, 1980

“Annex 15

2. Pending matters for 1984

a) Shooting

The IOC accepted three separate women's events of the IF's choice. This choice is due to be considered by the UIT General Assembly to be held this month.

b) Gymnastics

Rhythmic gymnastics was accepted in principle, but the final event's program will be submitted in Moscow.

c) Cycling

One road event for women was accepted in principle, but a final recommendation will be made in Moscow.

d) Athletics

Request: 3000m, 400m hurdles and marathon for women

e) Judo

Request: women's participation

h) Swimming

Requests: three deleted events to be reinstated and synchronized swimming to be included".

Summing up for women's sport: pending questions for 1984: gymnastics – although rhythmic gymnastics had been accepted in principle, the definitive Program of events would only be presented at the next Session; cycling – a road event had been accepted in principle; however, a definitive recommendation would only be presented at the next Session; athletics – request to add 3000 meters, 400 meters hurdles and marathon for women; judo – request for women to take part; yachting - a further mixed event; swimming – request for re-admission of the dropped 4 x 200 meters medley, and for the addition of synchronized swimming.

83rd IOC Session – Moscow, 1980

"Tennis

Decision: Executive Board to study the application for the inclusion of tennis in the Olympic Program".

"3. Women's judo

The President stated that the Executive Board did not agree with the Program Commission that women's judo was a new sport, considering it a new event, in accordance with the rule on women's participation. Mr. Csanadi referred to Rule 46 - events - stressing that women's judo did not comply with this, which was why the Commission did not recommend its inclusion for the time being.

Decision: women's judo not accepted at this stage.

5. Women's cycling

Mr. Csanadi recalled that women's cycling had been accepted in principle by the Montevideo Session. Its inclusion as a new sport for women, with one event, was recommended for 1988, although the Executive Board considered it a new event, and recommended inclusion in 1984.

Decision: women's cycling, with one road event, and a maximum of 3 competitors per NOC, to be included in the 1984 program.

B. Pending matters for 1984

1. Athletics

Mr. Csanadi reported that the IOC Medical Commission had no medical objection to women's marathon. However, the Program Commission recommended that a decision be postponed until certain details, particularly the number of countries in which the event was practiced and how many federations organized national championships, was available. The experience of the first world championships in 1983, and some other major competitions, would be invaluable.

The President informed the meeting that the Executive Board in Moscow had seen the IAAF representatives. It had been thought previously that the IF was requesting a separate race for women, which would involve organization difficulties, but now it appeared that there would only be one race but with separate classification for men and women. It had further transpired that some women's performances equaled and even bettered those of some men. He was inclined to think that the new Executive Board could take a decision if the required information was produced.

Mr. Gosper agreed with the proposal to postpone the decision, but wanted to point out that once the IOC permitted men and women to compete together for practical reasons, the Olympic Games would enter a new phase.

The President reminded him that men and women already competed together as in the equestrian sports, although here the classification was not separate but on an equal footing.

Mr. Staubo noticed that the Program Commission referred to experience from the European and World Championships to be held in 1982 and 1983 respectively. The Executive Board could not wait until then to make a decision in respect of 1984, and the OCOG required due warning of an additional event. He therefore suggested that a decision be reached before Baden-Baden.

Mr. Pound agreed to the inclusion of women's marathon. If a decision was deferred for any reason, it should be made clear that all medical and scientific data were available, otherwise the postponement would be criticized.

Mr. Csanadi confirmed that the medical studies were positive, but from a popularity point of view, the event needed further study.

Decisions:

1. Women's 3000 meters and women's 400 meter hurdles accepted as new events for 1984.
2. The Executive Board to take a decision on women's marathon

3. Gymnastics

Mr. Staubo was in favor of increasing women's participation in the Olympic Games. However, neither rhythmic gymnastics nor synchronized swimming complied with the criteria concerning objective judgment. The same problems would arise as already did in diving and skating. In addition, by allowing even one event, the door would be open to requests for additions.

Mr. Andrianov pointed out that rhythmic gymnastics was practiced only by women, and thus its inclusion in the program would boost women's participation. Furthermore, the Program Commission was suggesting acceptance of only one event from the requested five.

Decisions:

1. Rhythmic gymnastics, with one event (combined individual, with one medal), and not more than two competitors per NOC, accepted.
2. Total number of gymnasts, as well as the total number of technical officials, judges to be approved by the Executive Board.

c) Synchronized swimming

The President remarked that there was a similarity between rhythmic gymnastics and synchronized swimming.

Dr. Hay was against including this new event, due to the increase in competitors and judges.

Mr. Gosper was also not in favor due to the element of human error in the judging.

Mr. Kiyokawa pointed out that synchronized swimming was practiced worldwide and had featured for a number of years in the world championships. As far as judging was concerned, the rules were well-established, and no problems had ever arisen from the system.

Mr. Pound stated that just as valid an event as rhythmic gymnastics. If the IOC took a different decision to that taken on rhythmic gymnastics, it would show itself to be inconsistent.

Decision: Synchronized swimming, with one event (duet) and with two competitors and one reserve per NOC accepted. The selection of the swimmers, their total number as well as technical officials, to be agreed with the IF and approved by the IOC.

7. Shooting

Decisions:

1. Air rifle, standard smallbore rifle (3 positions, 3 x 20 shots), and pistol accepted as separate women's events.
2. Mixed participation in the trap and skeet events to be maintained.

10. Skiing

Mr. Hodler apologized for the late application, since the FIS technical committees had thought the request for women's 20km cross-country was already under study by the Program Commission. He confirmed that this event would not involve additional competitors and officials. As far as the combined Alpine combined event was concerned, he accepted the Commission's recommendation although this event was proposed to prevent specialization of skiers. Experience would be obtained from the 1982 world championships.

Decisions:

1. Women's 20 km cross country event accepted, without increasing the total number of participants and technical officials.
2. Alpine event to be studied".

B) Future concept of the Olympic Program

Recommendations and studies on future program to be discussed at the Baden-Baden Session, and submitted to the IOC Executive Board.

Program:

In his report, Csanadi presented a proposal for demonstration sport as amended by the executive. LAOOC wished to have baseball as demonstration. An embarrassing situation happened when one of the members asked how many women-teams were to take part and he was told baseball was played by women. Anyhow the problem of demonstration sport to be reviewed.

Women's sport: Decisions: women's judo – not accepted at this stage; cycling – a road event would be incorporated into the 1980 Program; athletics – 3000 meters and 400 meters hurdles were accepted as new events for 1984; gymnastics – one rhythmic gymnastics event (individual and combined, for a single medal) was accepted; swimming – the 4 x 200 meters medley was re-instated, and one synchronized swimming event (duo) was accepted; sailing – windsurfing, for men and women together, was accepted, with one entry per NOC; shooting – 1) separate events for women were accepted in the compressed air rifle, the small bore rifle (3 positions, 3 x

20 shots) and the pistol; 2) mixed participation in the trap and skeet events was to be maintained.

This 83rd Session consolidated a predominantly technical view in relation to the discussion about the participation of women in the Games. It is relevant to observe that this view had been progressively constructed since the early 1970s.

84th IOC Session – Baden-Baden, 1981

“Events

An event is a competition included in a sport or in one of its disciplines, resulting in ranking and medal awards.

Olympic events must have an established international standing, numerically and geographically to be included at least twice in world continental and/or Regional Games to be admitted to the Olympic Program.

Only events practiced in at least twenty-five countries and three continents both by men and/or women may be included in the program of the Games of the Olympiad and Olympic Winter Games.

Events are adopted four years before the next Olympic Games. No change is permitted thereafter.

2. Amendments to Rule 47 approved as follows:

Olympic Program

“The program of the Olympic Games shall include at least 15 of the total number of Olympic sports.

There is no minimum number of sports required for the Olympic Winter Games.

Entries

The number of entries is fixed by the IOC in consultation with the IFs concerned. The number of entries in individual events is not to exceed that of world championships. The number of teams is not to exceed 20 in those team sports in which men and women participate – not less than 8 and not more than 12 for each of the sexes. The number of teams is not to exceed 12 for team sports in which only men or only women participate, except for football where there shall be 16 teams.

3. Amendments to Rule 48 approved as follows:

Revision of the Olympic program

“The IOC reviews the Olympic Program every eight years in order to ensure the stability of the program and introduce changes if necessary. It has the right to update its standards for admission of sports, disciplines and events, to eliminate sports, disciplines and/or events in which there is insufficient international interest, according to the standards for their admission, or which are not properly controlled according to the Olympic rules’.

17. MEMBERS

Those who took part in the debate were: the President, Mr. Samaranch, and the following IOC members, Mr. Tessema, Lord Exeter, the Comte de Beaumont, Mr. Kroutil, Mr. Beracasa, Prince Takeda. The President informed the meeting that five IOC members were retiring, two because of the age limit: Prince Takeda and Mr. Beracasa. The other retiring members were: Lord Exeter, Mr. Frantisek Kroutil, and Mr. Paavo Honkajuuri. The President then read to the members the list presented by the Executive Board of proposed new members and replacements to the Session, as follows:

Mr. Vladimir Cernusak (Czechoslovakia)

Mr. Nikos Filaretos (Greece)

Mrs. Pirjo Haggman (Finland)

Mr. Zhenlinag He (China)

Mr. Günther Heinze (German Democratic Republic)

Mrs. Flor Isava Fonseca (Venezuela)

Sheikh Fahid Al-Ahmad Al-Sabah (Kuwait)

Decision: Proposed new members co-opted.

Mr. Honkajuuri wished to state his pleasure at having two women members of the IOC. He noted that it was 75 years since women in Finland had the right to vote in parliamentary elections – only the second nation after New Zealand to do so. He felt it a fitting way to commemorate this event by having a woman from Finland as the first women IOC member.

Mr. Beracasa was also sad to take his leave of the IOC, but felt that he had a most able successor in Mrs. Fonseca, who had spent 55 years in the service of sport.

ANNEX 20

1. Pending matters for 1984

a) Women’s marathon

After the IOC Session in Moscow, the Executive Board was authorized to make a final decision based on the proposal of the IAAF, on the inclusion of the women’s marathon in the Olympic program. At Los Angeles meeting in February 1981, the Executive Board accepted that the

women's marathon be included in the program of the 1984 Olympic Games provided it did not take place at the same time as the men's.

d) Kayak-canoe

The IF has requested acceptance for 1984 of the K4 event for women. The Commission did not recommend this because of the late application and the Executive Board has agreed to the recommendation.

2. Program of Sports for 1988

a) Table tennis

The IOC Commission for the Program at the IOC Session in Moscow recommended the acceptance of table tennis as an Olympic sport. The reaction of the Session was positive and table tennis was accepted as an Olympic sport, should the IOC agree to having more than 21 sports in the future Olympic program.

b) Tennis

The International Tennis Federation has put forward a proposal to reinstate tennis as an Olympic sport (Tennis was last included in the Olympic program in 1924). The Commission has carefully investigated the case of tennis, has had several meetings with the delegates of the ITF and has made several proposals regarding a change in the structure of the international Tennis Federation and also a modification of its eligibility rules to comply with those of the IOC. Since the relevant rules of the ITF (eligibility and structure) now comply with the IOC regulations, the Commission for the Program recommends:

- acceptance of tennis as an Olympic sport. In which case, only individual events for men and women would be organized at the 1988 Games with a maximum of 16 competitors each.
- entries of competitors should be made according to regulations accepted by the IOC.

g) Women's judo

The IF has requested that women be permitted to participate in judo. The Commission is of the opinion that when accepting women's judo, consideration should be given to the preconditions of adopting a new women's event. Taking into consideration the little experience gained as the first World Championships of women's judo only took place in the autumn of 1980, and that the Commission also requires the opinion of the Medical Commission, postponement of the decision is recommended. To make a recommendation more data would be required on its popularity at national and international level, medical aspects, etc.

4. Demonstration

b) To approve tennis and baseball as demonstration sports for Los Angeles 1984 under the following conditions:

Tennis: 16 men and 16 women, who are eligible in accordance with IOC Rule 26, can compete in the demonstration. Only individual competitions can be organized. No doubles are permitted”.

This Baden-Baden Session is historical. The most relevant decision of the IOC since women were recruited and invited to participate in the Games was made at this Session: the election of two women as IOC members, after 87 years since the foundation of the IOC in 1894.

85th IOC Session – Rome, 1982

“(C) Athletes’ Commission

Report by the Chairman, Mr. Peter Tallberg

Mr. Tallberg stated that this was the first meeting of the Athletes’ Commission which had been formed immediately after the Congress in Baden-Baden and proceeded with his report (annex 9), which included proposals from the Athletes’ Commission.

The Comte de Beaumont requested that all NOCs receive a copy of the recommendations of the Commission, as he felt that this was a very important document.

The President stated that the report would be sent to all IFs and NOCs and the proposals would in addition be studied by the Executive Board and put forward to the next IOC Session.

Decisions:

1. Report of the Athletes’ Commission approved by the Session.
2. Recommendations of the Athletes’ Commission to be sent to all NOCs and IFs
3. Executive Board to study all recommendations of the Athletes’ Commission and to submit them to the next IOC Session.

Mrs. Mary Glen Haig was co-opted replacing Lord Exeter. She was the third woman IOC member.

Decisions:

3. K4 for women included

7. Demonstration sports

Tennis: only 16 men and 16 women players, no doubles.

c) Athlete's: This was the first time the Athlete's Commission reported through Tallberg. Recommendations to be sent to all NOCs.

It is extremely relevant to point out that the process that had started in 1981 of co-opting women to become IOC members continued in 1982, with the addition of Mrs. Mary Glen Haig, from Great Britain.

Conclusions

After 25 years since the very first women were co-opted by the IOC as members, at the beginning of 2006, the numbers still do not reflect any equality in the administrative ranks of the IOC as illustrated in Table 12. However, it became clear in this long process of adjustment of the IOC to women's rights that the IOC's general strategy to deal with sensitive claims and problems is to postpone final decisions. Apart from good results extracted from this diplomatic style of strategy, it should be improper to include human rights among the issues considered for this decision-making process. Women's rights were not reflected by the IOC when mixed with several other issues in its regular administrative Sessions. Table 13 shows the different types of approach used by the IOC when dealing with the issue of women's participation in the IOC.

Table 12: Participation of women in the IOC

2006	Women	Men	Total	% of women
Executive Board	1	14	15	6.6
IOC members - Session	14	101	115	12.0
Commissions	35	199	234	14.9

Source: IOC, 2006

Table 13: Frequency and type of approach of the theme participation of women in the Minutes of the IOC Sessions (1946-1982)

Approach	Number of registers	%
Discussion of the program in technical terms	26	52
Inclusion per discipline	6	12
Deletion of women's events	6	12
Women as members of the IOC	4	8
Inclusion via IFs	2	4
Repetition of similar decisions	2	4
Elimination of women from the Games program	2	4
Inclusion due to external pressures (social changes)	1	2
Inclusion vs. enlargement of the Programs	1	2
Total	50	100

Table 13 demonstrates that: (i) technical discussions about the Women's Program of the Games continue to prevail, with 52 % of the registers; (ii) the discussion of inclusion through the characterization of disciplines was expanded in relation to the previous period of the IOC Sessions (1920-1938) while the approaches via IFs (4%) and about the enlargement of the Program of the Games (2%); (iii) the number of discussions in relation to external pressures seemed to have diminished (2%) as well as the repetition of similar decisions made by the IOC identified in the Minutes (2%); (iv) the theme connected with the co-option of women as members of the IOC came up in the expansion phase (8%); and (v) the deletion of women's events (12%) seemed to have been balanced with the deletion of men's events while the total exclusion of women from the Olympic Games (4%) appeared to have decreased as the Olympic Games entered the 1960s.

Finally, while the discussions about women's participation in the Games Program became more technical, there were still vestiges of discrimination.

Analysis of the Inclusion of the Women as Athletes through the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings

Paris October 1949

“Nombre de Participants aux Jeux

La question de la réduction du nombre d'athlètes aux Jeux a fait l'objet d'une longue discussion. Le problème est très complexe et délicat. Il ne peut être discuté qu'avec les Fédérations Internationales qui sont les premières intéressées. Il est donc décidé de porter cette question à l'ordre du jour de la séance que la C.E. tiendra avec les délégués de F.I. à Copenhague ».

It is significant to notice that after the war, the IOC's approach in relation to the reduction of sports became different. In the 1930s, before World War II, the approach would be to reduce the number of women's events and sports. Now the IOC declares it is something very complex. Of course the number of IFs had increased and they knew that they could only count on the IFs for the events.

Lausanne August 1950

« 1. Requête de la F.I. Equestre : Sur la demande de cette fédération, la C.E. recommandera au C.I.O. d'autoriser les dames à prendre part aux Jeux Olympiques dans le concours de dressage seulement. Cette admission ne change rien les règles du concours. Elle autorise simplement chaque pays à inscrire le cas échéant une ou plusieurs cavalières parmi les trois concurrents réglementaires des épreuves individuelles. Il n'est pas question bien entendu de faire une épreuve spéciale pour dames ».

Mexico City April 1953

« 20. La C.E. se range à l'avis du Président en ce qui concerne la participation des femmes aux Jeux. Elle pense qu'il ne faut pas les éliminer, mais les limiter aux sports qui leur sont appropriés ».

There are two observations to be made at this point :

- (1) This was the most crucial point in relation to the participation of women in the Olympic Games. Women had already conquered several positions and won many battles. President Brundage had proposed the elimination of women's participation from the Games: it was either everything or nothing. Confronted with an alternative that might not offer a return, members of the IOC voted against that proposition and the participation of women was maintained. Never again would a proposal of this nature be offered again;
- (2) Starting at Lausanne 1954, some Minutes also had an English version.

Lausanne May 1954

« 12. Additional events at the Games: The application for introducing the 800m in athletic events for women as well as the butterfly stroke (men and women) in swimming are rejected.

13. Admission of new sports: The application for admission of new sports such as volleyball, archery, judo and roller skating are rejected ».

It is significant to notice that even though there was some evolution in relation to the inclusion of new sports, there seemed to be a constant refusal for the updating and adjustment of the whole Olympic system to the new times. This confirms the final remark of the previous section.

Paris June 1955

“Nouveaux sports: Il est décidé de proposer à la Session de ne pas accepter les candidatures des sports suivants à titre facultatif : volley-ball, tir à l'arc, roller skating, judo ».

Lausanne March 1962

« Amateurisme

M. Brundage proposera à la Session de Moscou que le programme des Jeux Olympiques soit limité à un maximum de 18 sports. Cela permettra au CIO d'éliminer les sports les plus 'professionnalisés' et qui sont la cause de nos plus grands soucis. Il cite le football, le cyclisme, le basket-ball et le hockey sur glace. »

Tokyo October 1964

« 25. Proposals by General Stoichev

- a) To study the participation of women in the Olympic Games: Proposal accepted”.

Lausanne April 1965

“10. Future of the Olympic Games

President Brundage referred to Rule 30 according to which three sports were left out of the Mexico Games program. This is certainly unfair to certain sports such as judo which is in constant development since the Tokyo Games. If all sports are to be on the Olympic program it is necessary to reduce the number of athletes. Yet the Games are meant for the youth of the world. The problem is difficult to solve and will receive full attention at Madrid.”

It is relevant to observe here that the Executive Board (EB) was not thinking about eliminating or reducing women’s sports as the IOC had done or tried to do in the past. There seemed to be a complete change of perspectives.

Paris July 1965

“The Mexican Olympic Games

A decision will also be made about women’s volleyball”.

Madrid October 1965

“23. Women’s volleyball

An experiment was made in Tokyo which could be repeated in Mexico, under the condition that the total number of teams, men and women, do not exceed 16. If volleyball is to be added to the number of women’s sports, a 2/3 vote of the members is necessary”.

Lausanne December 1967

“Tennis demonstration

After much discussion, an official proposal was made on behalf of the Mexican Organizing Committee suggesting that a tournament be held at Guadalajara, Jalisco State, and that the winners be invited to give a demonstration during the Olympic Games. The Executive Board was of the opinion that provided no tournament was held, four male players and four female players could come to Mexico City and give a demonstration of singles, doubles and mixed doubles”.

It is noteworthy that there was some sort of ‘automatic’ inclusion of women in the same number as men.

Mexico City October, 1968

“24. Requests for additional events

- a) The inclusion of a Women’s Tournament for Handball would be agreed upon if the final 16 teams could be divided into 8 men’s and 8 women’s competitions. With regard to the request from the International Shooting Federation it was advised by the Executive Board that women shooters could compete with men in the same competitions. There was no particular objection regarding running-boar competition.
- c) Women’s basketball could only be accepted if the 16 teams were divided into 8 women’s teams and 8 men’s teams. Mr. Gemayel asked whether contact could be made with the International Federation as to the time limit for each game”.

It is significant that already in 1968, there was a proposal of dividing the initial 16 teams into 8 men’s and 8 women’s teams proportionately and not 12 men’s (always favoring men) and 8 women’s, as it happened in the past. There was also a discussion about the election of new members but the word ‘women’ was never mentioned.

Lausanne March 1969

“Plan of the Progress Report

- 1. Suggestions advanced by the members of Commission N° IV
 - b) How to reduce the size and volume of the Olympic program
 - c) The participation of women in the Olympic Games

Curiously enough, as it had happened a number of times in the past, the issue of women’s participation tended to be the last one.

“The Board of Commission N° IV is of the opinion that this subject should be given most serious consideration. The moment is more than ripe to pass from a theoretical acknowledgement of the necessity to encourage the participation of women in sports and in the Olympic Games in particular – to the realization of this urgent matter”.

“Suggestions of the Board of Commission N° IV referring to Chapter I, point I – (a) (b) & (c)

The items most frequently referred to by members of Commission N°IV can be resumed in the following thirteen points:

- 3. Admission of sports as compared with their rate of popularity

The Board of Commission N°IV proposes a further amendment of Rule N° 30 as follows:

‘Only sports widely practiced by men in at least 40 countries and 3 continents may be included in the program for the Olympic Games. Only sports widely practiced by men in 30 countries and 2 continents may be included in the program of the Winter Olympic Games’.

‘Only sports widely practiced by women in 25 countries and 2 continents may be included in the program of both the Olympic and Olympic Winter Games’.

13. Participation of women in the Olympic Games

The Board of Commission N° IV proposes that the women be allowed to compete in all sports widely practiced by them throughout the world and in conformity with the set conditions of popularity under point 2”.

“Proposal of the NOC of Bulgaria

Admission of women in the Olympic basketball competitions (separately) and the introduction of Modern Gymnastics in the Olympic Program.’

The Board of Commission N° IV is in agreement with this proposal. It is covered by the general statement and suggestion that all sports widely practiced by women throughout the world should be included in the Olympic program for women”.

“Annex N° 1

A brief survey on the Olympic program (N. Lákarska – Board Member and Secretary of Commission N° IV)

8. Participation of women in comparison to that of men

As the problem of participation of women in the Olympic Games has been the subject of an independent study, adopted by the IOC and referred to as Commission N° IV for further examination, I take the liberty of enclosing the paragraph pertaining to the Olympic Program, I propose in addition that this matter be given due consideration with the aim of strongly encouraging the participation of women in sports as a whole and in the Games particularly. This would mean, to start with, that no severe rules should limit the admission of sports for women and that any plan for reducing the size and volume of the present program should not be initiated by further limiting women’s sports and events. The disproportion between the participation of women and men in the Olympic Games is unjustifiably great as it is!”

It is noteworthy that one member of the IOC had realized that after 76 years there was some imbalance between the number of male and female athletes. Whenever there was a complaint in relation to the number of sports and events that were enlarging the Program and the consequent need to reduce it, women's sports were the first ones to be deleted.

Lausanne June 1969

“The success of the Olympic Games depends on two basic principles and no deviation from them can be permitted if the Games are to be preserved. The Olympic Games (1) must be confined to amateurs, and (a) no discrimination can be permitted against any country or person on the grounds of race, religion or political affiliation. These principles are essential and there will be no excuse for the Games if they are not enforced...”

“Rule N.1 states that in the Olympic Games ‘No discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of race, religion or political affiliation.’ This means that contestants of all religious faiths, political affiliations”.

It seems to be controversial that although the IOC said there should be no discrimination; they had been practicing discrimination against women since the very beginning in spite of the Declaration of Human Rights signed in 1948. This contradiction seems to be primarily a lack of sensibility from sport leaders in general in relation to social problem connected to sporting practices.

“Conclusion (by President Brundage)

The Olympic movement of modern times as conceived by the Baron de Coubertin is an idealistic enterprise and the Olympic Games are not an ordinary sport meeting. They were not created to entertain the public, to make money, or to indicate the national prestige of the participating countries. (Obs. Once women were not included, did they think that the inclusion of women would be public entertainment?) The Olympic Movement is something quite unique with a double objective: first, to encourage the development of the complete man in the sense of the Golden Age of Ancient Greece and second, to promote international respect and friendship (Obs. Another observation concerns then use of the noun man, as it had been used by Coubertin a century before)”.

Dubrovnik October 1969

“6.g) Number of teams

Points raised:

1. The decision was reached in Warsaw to reduce the number of all teams to eight and to include teams of eight for women in basketball, handball and volleyball”.

“Decisions

2. Mme Berlioux will receive a special letter from the President concerning her extra duties of Administration »

“14. c) Report on Administration

Madame Berlioux presented her report (Annex 25)”

This meeting reports a very special moment: the first time that a woman speaks during an IOC Executive Board Session, after 75 years.

“Opening the meeting at 6:45 p.m., President Brundage welcomed the leading representatives of 6 International Federations and pointed out the reasons and principles by which the IOC had guided in its discussion limiting the final Olympic tournaments in team sports to 8 teams:

-The volume of the Games has been continuously increasing and presents considerable organizational and financial difficulties.

-The number of cities ready to undertake such an expensive and complex organization has been continuously decreasing. (Immediately after the war, there had been 17 candidate cities, for the last Games there were four, whereas for the next Games only 2 cities have submitted their candidatures).

-For the team sports, a competitive system is being used which involves a very great number of matches, rendering the organization very complicated and expensive.

-The admission of women’s teams results in a further increase of the number of participants”.

It is remarkable that at this time the IOC did not decide to eliminate women’s teams, events or sports. They just acknowledged the increase in the number of participants. However, they did not mention the option of balancing the number of male and female participants.

“Annex 9

Press Release

The Executive Board meeting in Dubrovnik will confirm to the IOC at the Session in Amsterdam in May 1970 that the competitions for teams in the next Olympic Games in Munich are maintained as they were held in Mexico, and that any changes will take place in 1976.

The teams are as follows:

Basketball: 16 Football: 16 Handball: 16 Hockey: 16

Ice Hockey: 16 Volleyball: 12 men's and 8 women's Water polo: 16

In the event of requests for inclusion of women, the total teams shall not exceed these totals”.

It is important to notice that only volleyball so far has featured as women's teams and the sum of men's and women's is 20 teams. The EB did not at this time want to equally balance men's and women's participation although there had been a proposal by Mr.Gemayel in 1968 during the Mexico City Session. Men's teams always appear in greater number. All the other team sports had 16 teams.

« Annex 13

General Statement by Dr. Henri Corenthin (Member of the NOC of Mali)

On the Principle of Discrimination

Chapter II Original text:

‘One of the basic principles of the Olympic Movement is that the Olympic Games are competitions between individuals and teams and not between countries. It therefore follows that all individuals should be entitled to a fair and equal opportunity to prepare and qualify for participation in the Olympic Games, and to compete in them. For the attainment of these purposes, the IOC, all National Olympic Committees, International Sports Federations and affiliated sports organizations should accept in full the doctrine of non-discrimination based on respect for human rights, and commit themselves to the maintenance of these principles and to their full implementation in the field of sport. »

New Text and Notes

‘One of the basic principles of the Olympic Movement is that the Olympic Games are competitions between individuals and teams, representing countries...’

Chapter II.1 Original text:

‘NOCs shall do everything they can to ensure that ‘Discrimination’ in sport does not exist in their countries. Those NOCs which control sports competitions in their countries are bound by these fundamental principles for these competitions’.

New text and notes:

“NOCs shall not admit any discrimination in their country in the field of sport’.

The fact that women had been discriminated against was so normal or unconsciously rooted in most cultures that it seemed to be very difficult for the IOC to realize it. Otherwise, it is noteworthy to admit that the IOC finally took a position against any kind of discrimination facing racial and political conflicts when they became more visible.

Lausanne February 1970

“7. Program of Summer Games

a) Munich 1972 - sports

Points raised:

2. Mr. Brundage pointed out that according to Mr. Takac’s report the inclusion of this event would boost the number of medals granted for canoeing only to 99. For men – 30 medals. For women – 9 medals. For slalom men – 12 medals. For slalom women – 3 medals”.

It is interesting to compare in 1970 the number of events for men and the number of events for women. Men would have more than 3 times the number of medals of women in canoeing and 4 times more in slalom, which shows the imbalance of the Program in 1972.

“14. Reports from Directors

a) Administration (Madame Berlioux)

Points raised:

1. Madame de Surmont to help with Administration at Amsterdam if Madame Berlioux agrees.
2. It is stated in Madame Berlioux’s report that Amsterdam cannot provide personnel at the Session when in fact it has already been decided that the IOC should provide the personnel.

Decisions: No decisions taken due to the absence of Madame Berlioux”.

It is noteworthy the importance of Madame Berlioux in administrative terms. She was not a member or an athlete (she had been an athlete), but a needed employee. So far, this concentration of power on one single person might have meant of weakness of the IOC in terms of administrative matters. This may also explain the IOC strategy here admitted that existed before in terms of postponement of decisions related to sensitive issues.

“Annex 8

Chapter II - Discrimination

The question of discrimination was first studied in principle by the Sub-Commission in Warsaw. The commission meeting in Leipzig advanced some proposals, while the commission members present at the meeting in Dubrovnik, October 1969, submitted further suggestions. It was therefore decided by the Executive Board of the IOC, that Commission III should convene a new meeting for the final drafting of the report.

These proposals after consideration by the NOCs and approval by the IOC should then be incorporated into the Rules and Regulations of the IOC as part of a general revision previously referred to. It was considered that the subject of ‘Discrimination’ is of such great importance in the Olympic Movement that a more clear and detailed statement should be contained in the Rules of the IOC.

The following statement was agreed upon as a principle on the subject of ‘Discrimination’:

‘One of the basic principles of the Olympic Movement is that the Olympic Games are competitions between individuals and teams representing their own countries, but not competitions between nations. It therefore allows that all individuals should be entitled to a fair and equal opportunity to prepare and qualify for participation in the Olympic Games, and to compete in them. For the attainment of these purposes, the IOC, all NOCs, Ifs and affiliated sports organizations should accept in full the doctrine of non-discrimination based on the respect for human rights, and commit themselves to the maintenance of these principles and to their full implementation in the field of sport. This principle is compulsory for the Olympic Games and other competitions under the patronage of the IOC.’

The Commission further agreed with the recommendation of the Sub-Commission that the principles contained in Article I should be elaborated by the inclusion of the IOC Rules of the aforementioned general principle and the following paragraphs.

The Commission recommends that Article I should read as follows:

‘No discrimination is allowed against any country or person on grounds of race, color, religion or politics. The human rights of all sportsmen must be respected’.

The Commission further recommends that these principles should be elaborated in the IOC Rules...”

It is remarkable that all the IOC was really worried about discrimination. The members inserted a tighter regulation even referring to ‘respect for human rights’. They wanted to make it clear that the IOC did not discriminate against anyone, but they forgot women. This is shown as the word ‘sportsmen’ is mentioned in the text of Article I. Overall, this official declaration confirms the prejudice of invisibility of women’s participation in the Olympic Games.

“Annex 9

The items most frequently referred to by the members of Commission IV reflecting their concept on the Olympic program can be resumed in the following twelve points:

4. Team sports

Commission IV proposes that the final Olympic rounds shall be limited to the participation of:

12 teams for sports in which men only compete in the Olympic Games

18 teams for sports in which men and women compete in the Olympic Games, provided that the number of women’s teams is not below 6

It is the responsibility of the International Federations to decide the proportion between men’s and women’s teams, within the above-mentioned limits.

Remarkably enough, not all (team) sports have women’s teams and that the IOC established a minimum and held the IFs responsible for that minimum number. Apparently, this way the IOC did not assume the responsibility for a small number of women’s teams in the sports they allowed women to compete.

“12. Participation of women in the Olympic Games

Commission IV proposes that women be allowed to compete in all sports practiced by them throughout the world and in conformity with the set conditions for the admission of sports to the Olympic Games, explained under Point 2, page 4.”

Again here it is clear that the subject ‘women’ is always the last to be referred to. In addition, women were refused in sports they practiced throughout the world other

times. When women's sports were admitted, they often participated in smaller numbers than men.

Amsterdam May 1970

“Meeting between the IOC Executive Board and individual International Federations

3. International Cycling Federation (Mr. Rodoni)

Request for women:

- a) Two categories for road events
- b) One category for track

Total of six women's participants

7. International Shooting Federation (Mr. Hasler)

Request that a competition for women be introduced in the Olympic program:

- a) English match – light standard rifle
- b) Three positions match – light standard rifle
- c) Standard pistol match

Decisions:

3. Cycling: the question will be studied for the 1976 Games

7. International Shooting Federation: The proposals will be studied along with other questions for the program for the 1976 Games”.

“6. Olympic Program

A representative of the Softball Federation was introduced.

Mr. Don Porter, Secretary General, explained that softball is a sport in constant development, its rules are international, it is an inexpensive sport and competitive, developing in many schools. The Softball Federation would consider it a great honor to be part of the Olympic program. Comte de Beaumont raised the question of how many people are playing softball in the world. The answer was 23 million participants, both boys and girls, 9 players in each team. Lord Exeter asked how many countries this sport was played. It was answered that 37 countries are affiliated. In reply, Mr. Brundage reminded the fact, the IOC's main problem is that the Games are becoming too large and too expensive. He reminded also that the IOC is at the present time considering its rules on eligibility, making a survey on sports to find out in how many countries they are played. Mr. Brundage stressed the fact that in any case the program for the 1972 Games

is already established, but as far as the 1976 Games are concerned the IOC is not yet in a position to decide finally”.

It is important to point out that softball is a version of baseball in which women could participate. Even so, it was not even considered when the problem of the large size of the Games came into discussion. Again the invisibility of women prevails.

“Meeting of the Executive Board

Mr. Csanadi’s proposal:

The question of electing women to the IOC was raised, following the proposal of Commission IV.

It was pointed out that the matter had already been discussed some time ago, and taken into consideration. There is no rule against women”.

It is crucial that the answer to the question is that there is no rule against women; however, it is easy to see that there is discrimination as sports are not so easily accepted and the fact that there is always an excuse ready for not accepting women when the question is brought up again and again. There has never been an explicit rule against women, but tradition reigns that women are not allowed. In other words, there is an implicit rule, which had probably been imposed by the IOC founder and followed by the presidents and members who succeeded. In terms of the characterization of prejudice, the invisibility of women in IOC discussions is worse than explicit discrimination. The prejudice against women is implicit.

“Annex 9

Amendments to the Report of Joint Commission IV

Page 3, N° 3: ‘Admission of sports to the Olympic Program as compared with the rate of popularity’. The amendment to Rule 30 should read as follows:

‘Only sports widely (widely practiced means: national championships or cups permanently organized by the respective National Sports Federations) practiced by men in at least 40 countries and 3 continents may be included in the program for the Olympic Games. Only sports practiced by men in at least 25 countries and 2 continents may be included in the program for the Winter Olympic Games.

Only sports widely practiced by women in 25 countries and 2 continents may be included in the program for the Olympic Games and sports widely practiced 20 countries and 2 continents may be included for the Winter Olympic Games.’

It is clear that there is a difference in terms of acceptance of sports practiced by men in relation to the sports practiced by women. Women have been doing sports in a shorter and more recent history than men have. And that needs to be respected if the Olympic Games want to have women. This seems to be the most correct attitude of the IOC in relation to women so far. If women were required to play sports in 40 countries then the probability of having women’s sports in the Games would be very small. This discussion had step-by-step advances up to reach a balance between different opinions.

“Annex 12

Letter addressed to President Brundage and to the Members of the Executive Committee of the IOC

Lausanne, April 14th, 1970

Dear Mr. President,

The General Assembly of GAIF (General Association of International Federations) was held in Munich from 20th to 22nd March 1970.

With the exception of Athletics, Equestrianism, Yachting, Archery and Ice Hockey, all the Olympic sports disciplines were present. We chose this advanced date in order to be able to submit the wishes and requests of the majority of the Olympic Federations some weeks before the IOC Executive Committee meeting in Amsterdam.

These requests have already been submitted to you, in part, during the combined IOC-IFs meeting on the 3rd June, 1969, in Lausanne, but up to the present, they have not all received replies.

In the enumeration of the points below, we shall refer to the minutes of the said meeting – IOC Executive Committee and International Sports Federations – and shall refer you to them.

I. (IOC minutes, page 1, second half of the page)

All disciplines recognized by the IOC must figure in the program of the Olympic Games. This is valid at present above all for Softball, Roller Skating and Water Skiing. There should equally be provision for an increase in feminine competitions in the program of the Games.

**This letter shows there seemed to be some conflict between the IOC and the IFs.
The request for the participation of women was very clear.**

Lausanne October 1970

“XXI Other Business

Article 29

Prince Takeda pointed out that luge for women was not listed in the program of the Winter Games. President Brundage answered that an amendment to the rule had been made on that matter after the printing of the book”.

“X. Report of the Organization Committee of the Games in Sapporo

2. Program of the Winter Games

Mr. Sato remarked that after an agreement made with the FIS, the date of the following two events would be changed and sought its approval.

- Women five kilometers cross-country

-Men giant slalom”

“Annex 20

memorandum concerning the revision and interpretation

Rule 26 on eligibility

Article 26

To be eligible for participation in the Olympic Games, a competitor must respect the Olympic spirit and ethics and must always have participated in sport as an avocation without material gain of any kind.

He can avail himself of this qualification:

- a) if he engaged in a basic occupation designed to ensure his present and future livelihood;
- b) if he does not receive or has never received any remuneration for participation in sport;
- c) if he complies with the rules of the International Federation concerned and with the official interpretation of this Article 26

Official Interpretation of the Eligibility Rule 26

I. In order to be eligible for participation in the Olympic Games:

1. A competitor must comply with, observe, and respect the rules of fair play during all sports activities. He must not under any circumstances adopt discriminatory attitudes of a racial, political, social or religious nature...

It is important to notice the use of the pronouns referring to he and not he-she or even in the plural (it would bring the subject to neuter gender). Again the effect of discrimination is present despite a growing concern about the rejection of discriminatory attitudes.

Lausanne March 1971

“ANNEX 20

Joint Commission IV on the Olympic Program

Chapter II

Present and future activity of this Commission until the IOC Session in Luxembourg

Points discussed:

1. Reduction of events
2. Reduction of the number of entries
3. Reduction of the number of substitutes
4. Reduction of teams in the team-sports' final during the Olympic Games
5. Participation of women in the Olympic Games”

Remarkably enough, women continue to be last on any list.

“Joint Commission IV is furthermore of the opinion that the report of the Olympic Program ought to be received by the members of the IOC at least two months previous to the Luxembourg Session. Considering that this could be done only after approval of the Executive Board, I take the liberty to submit to your attention the following two alternative suggestions:

IV. Reduction of Teams in the Teams-sports:

1. Basketball -should be reduced – 18 teams/12 men and 6 women/ acceptable
5. Volleyball – should be reduced – 12 men and 8 women teams
6. Handball - should be reduced – 12 teams for men and 8 teams for women is the best solution”

The tendency to keep larger number for men's teams continues.

“V. Participation of Women in the Olympic Games

1. Cycling -yes- the events are not as yet defined.

2. Gymnastics - yes- to include Rhythmical Gymnastics
3. Basketball - yes- 6 or 8 teams
4. Handball -yes- 8 or 6 teams
5. Rowing -yes- the standards for admission in the Olympic program will be attained for 1976. At present women are rowing in 24 countries and 5 continents. The program should contain 5 events.
6. Shooting -yes- at present women are shooting in 14 countries and 4 continents. The events proposed are 3.
7. Hockey – no”

Although women had been participating in sports all over the world, it is only at this time (1971) that they acknowledged that and admit women in these sports. This fact is another confirmation of the systematic postponement of sensitive issues present in the IOC decision-making process.

“ANNEX 21

Proposal by Mr. Konstantin Andrianov

In connection with your Circular letter of the 6th of November of 1970 to the International Sports Federations I would like to submit some suggestions and remarks on one of the problems, touched by you concerning the Olympic Program.

For a long time this subject has been given much attention by the international and national sports organizations, press and all sportive authority.

This problem is far from being easy at all as while considering it the interests of the International Sports Federations and Organizing Committees do clash. As a rule the International Sports Federations stand for a maximum increase of the number of events in their sports without taking into account the Olympic Program as a whole. The organizing committees would readily support the reduction of the Olympic program, as they have to spend much money on the construction of new modern sports centers, renewal of transport communications and to pay living expenses of a great number of athletes, etc.

Bearing in mind these factors the International Olympic Committee should act as an objective Arbiter, who has to do his best in order to keep a really representative character of the World Olympic Festival where no discrimination is allowed not only on political and racial grounds but there should be no ‘sports’ discrimination either.

It is necessary that women should have equal rights for participation in the Olympic Games. At the same time the International Olympic Committee must observe that all sports are equally represented in the Olympic program and no preference should be given to one or another sport at the Olympic Games...

Taking into account the social importance of participation of women in sports generally and the great influence of their participation in the Olympic Games on the development of the women's sports all over the world it is high time that women should be given equal rights to participate in the Olympics.

Therefore, I suggest that women should participate in those events in the Olympic Games, in which they compete at the official international Championships. According to the present program such events are basketball, cycling, shooting, handball and rowing.

As for basketball and handball, the question on their introduction into the women's competitions was in principle decided at the IOC Session in Warsaw of 1969, and as for the rest three events the program could include:

Cycling/track/ scratch sprint race 2 participants, individual pursuit – 2 participants. Total of 4 participants per nation.

Analysis of the cycling competitions in Mexico proves that a maximum number of the men competitors per nation may be reduced from 18 to 16.

The changes mentioned would result in the general increase of the number of participants in the cycling competitions at the Olympic Games by about 80 competitors proceeding from the number of women, participated in the past World Championships.

Rowing – single sculls 1 participant, double sculls – 2 participants, quadruple sculls with cox – 5 participants, four oars with cox – 5 participants, eight oars with cox – 5 participants, 2 reserves. Maximum of 24 participants per nation.

Shooting – to introduce for women three events: small bore rifle/prone position/-2 participants, small bore rifle / 3 positions/-2 participants, air pistol – 2 participants. Total of 6 participants per nation.

In view of popularity of shooting among women and taking into account their participation in the recent Championships it is possible to suppose that in the Olympic Games 140-150 competitors may take part.

For basketball, volleyball and handball where the participation of men and women is expected, the number of 16 teams may be determined and the International Federations concerned should be entitled to establish the proportion of men's and women's teams /8 men's teams, 8 women's teams or 10 men's teams and 6 women's teams/.

The approval of the suggestions mentioned above would allow to reduce the number of participants in the teams events by 472 competitors / water polo – 88 competitors (only men), volleyball 48, handball 32, football 152 (only men), field hockey 152 (only men)/ and to expand the program for the women's competitions as well.”.

Although it seems that Mr. Andrianov speaks for women, he did not suggest that women had equal rights to enter football and boxing. He mentioned about discrimination, but did not seem to fully undersign it as he did not show any inclination towards adding sports other than those already mentioned in the IOC Sessions. In relation to the sports already approved by the IOC, he proposed the reduction in the number of men's sports so that women's sports could occupy more space. It is also relevant to observe that although Mr. Andrianov was clearing up space, cutting down on the number of male athletes, he only proposed the inclusion of women in the sports the IOC had already proposed. He did not suggest new sports for women. In relation to the number of teams, he suggested 8 for men and 8 for women, but if that did not work out there would not be any problem. Six teams for women would do the same. The important fact here is that there was someone talking about the inclusion of women and the opening up of more space for them. That was very courageous of Andrianov; however, it is important to remember that he wanted to win more medals for the USSR as more women would be competing and earning these medals. Another point is that Andrianov knew how unfair it was for women to compete against men in shooting. It was completely different from equestrian, where horses are the athletes. But still, there would be more women from the USSR.

Munich September 1971

“Modifications of Events in various sports

(d) Shooting

Recommendation

The 300m rifle event should be deleted from the Olympic Program. NOCs could enter women among the participants, but no special event should be added. The International Shooting Union will be contacted.

(c)Swimming

Recommendation

Dr. Csanadi's suggestion of reducing the swimming program was agreed in principle. Following President Brundage's proposal, FINA should eliminate 10 individual events and two relays from the men's and women's programs. FINA should be contacted and the IOC take the final decision. The result of this recommendation would take effect in Montreal in 1976".

It is interesting to notice here that events for both men and women are being eliminated and not only women's events.

"Participation of Women in the Olympic Games

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| (a) Basketball | Recommendation: approved |
| (b) Cycling | Recommendation: not accepted |
| (c) Handball | Recommendation: approved |
| (d) Modern gymnastics | Recommendation: No |
| (e) Rowing | Recommendation : approved |
| (f) Shooting | Recommendation: The majority opinion of the Executive Board was that women should be allowed to compete in mixed shooting events (i.e. against men) under the same rules. The International Shooting Federation should be contacted. |

"19. Requests of International Federations

a/ Participation of women:

President Brundage remarked that this question had already been discussed with Dr. Csanadi. He pointed out it had been approved for shooting and rowing and refused for cycling.

Decisions:

Rowing: agreed

Cycling: refused

Shooting: women can be entered in men's teams as in yachting and equestrian events".

It is important to notice that if women participate in mixed teams they are entered in men's teams.

"Annex 3"

Team Sports

There shall be 12 teams for sports in which only men participate. There shall be 18 teams for sports in which men and women compete, provided that the number of women's teams is not less than 6. It is the duty of the International Federation concerned to determine the number of men's and women's teams within the prescribed limits".

It is noteworthy that it was the IOC that established the number of women's teams and not the Federations.

Lausanne May 1972

“Meeting with the Fédération Internationale de Gymnastique

Mr. Max Bangerter, Secretary General and Mrs. Berthe Villancher, President of the Women's Committee, were shown into the meeting and welcomed by the members. Mrs. Villancher put forward the points for the Federation.

She explained that the Federation wished to present a request to have a new event added to their Olympic program – modern rhythmic gymnastics. If adopted, it would be the first specifically feminine event in the Olympics.

This sport had already been proved successful – 32 Federations practiced it and the amount of members had been spectacular. Although the sport had been popular for some time, the Federation had decided not to make such a request until it reached a high enough level and all the necessary precautionary measures had been taken.

Modern rhythmic gymnastics was made of two events, either individual or in groups of six. It appealed to women of all ages and all social backgrounds and was practiced in four continents, Africa being the only exception.

A completely different kind of technique was used than in other forms of gymnastics, although the governing regulations were the same as for rhythmic gymnastics.

Mrs. Villancher emphasizes that the word rhythmic had nothing to do with dancing. It was done to music and entailed difficult manipulations which were integrated into the program.

In answer to Mr. Samaranch, Mrs. Villancher said the event would not replace those already existing. It was a completely different discipline.

Mr. Samaranch wondered if a demonstration could be given in Munich or in 1973 in Varna. Mrs. Villancher agreed but Lord Killanin pointed out that there would not be enough time in Varna.

It was pointed out by the Comte de Beaumont that it was the present IOC policy to try and cut down the Games and he hoped that Mrs. Villancher knew the requirements for new sports”.

It is pertinent to observe how remarkable the inclusion of rhythmic gymnastics is. For so many years, 78 years, men had their own events. Now women were requesting the permission to have one event for women only. Equally important was the fact that the President of the Women's Committee was the one presenting modern rhythmic

gymnastics and the way she introduced it. It could have been a man, but Mrs. Villancher proved to be a very good presenter.

“Meeting with the Fédération Internationale de Tir

Dr. Kurt Hasler, President, was shown into the room and welcomed by President Brundage.

He explained that his federation was anxious to have three women’s events included on the Olympic Program. The Program Commission agreed with this and Dr. Hasler wanted the support of the Executive Board as well.

President Brundage wondered how many women had participated in previous Games, to which Dr. Hasler replied three in Mexico and there would be three in Munich. However, it was unfair to have women shooting against men and this had discouraged a lot of women. He also pointed out that this request had been granted to the Archery Federation and many shooters felt that they should have the same concession.

Lord Killanin wondered what sorts of arms would be used. Dr. Hasler explained standard rifles and standard pistols.

Answer: President Brundage stated that the Executive Board could not make any decision until they had received the Program Commission report and recommendations”.

It is remarkable that it is only now, in 1972, that women’s complaints about competing against men in shooting were expressed.

“g/ Commission for the Olympic Program

iii. Women participants

Most IFs were in favor of this when the standard of performance was high”.

The observation that fits at this point is the fact that if women were supposed to enter the Olympic Games, they would be expected to act in a similar way to men.

« Meeting with the Fédération Internationale de Tir à l’Arc

Mrs. Inger K. Frith, President, was shown into the meeting and welcomed by President Brundage”.

It is important to notice that the Archery Federation had a woman President in 1972.

“Meeting with the Fédération Internationale de Handball

Mr. Paul Högberg, President, and Mr. Max Rinkenburger were shown into the meeting and welcomed by the President.

1. Mr. Högberg was interested in placing women’s handball on the Olympic program. This was practiced in 26 countries and four continents, thus conforming to rule 30. He wondered if he would have to make an application to the Session in Munich. Mr. Samaranch thought it would be better for Mr. Högberg to make his application before Munich, so that it could be discussed there.
2. Mr. Högberg told the Executive Board that his Federation would be prepared to accept 18 teams in the Olympic Games – 12 men’s and 6 women’s teams and they were also willing to discuss the question of reducing the number of players in each team. This, however, would be harder in the men’s teams as handball was a hard game and a reduction to 14 players would mean great exertion on the remaining players”.

The observation here is related to the imbalance between the number of women’s and men’s teams. Men’s teams represent double the number of women’s teams.

Lausanne February 1973

“Paragraph 7. Organization and Administration of the Games

Women competitors at the Olympic Games

Noted. IFs should equally note increase in number of women competitors already for the Games of the XXist Olympiad in Montreal”.

It was officially acknowledged that the participation of women had been increasing in numbers.

Lausanne June 1973

“vi. Fédération Internationale Amateur de Cyclisme

As far as women’s cycling events were concerned, the FIAC had made an official request to the IOC to have this sport included in the program. Dr. Csanadi reported that his Commission had found that the tandem was the least popular of the cycling events.

With regard to women’s cycling, the Program Commission had been asked to study this request but taking into account the new standards laid down in rule 30, they could see no reason why women’s cycling should be included at the moment.

vii. Fédération Internationale de Hockey

It was stated that the Federation had two problems: the number of teams to take part in the Olympic competitions and the participation of women. With regard to the first, the Federation wondered whether the decision to limit the number of teams from 16 to 12 was final, to which Lord Killanin replied that this was in the IOC rules and would need a two-thirds majority approval of the Session before it could be changed. However, if women participated, eighteen teams could participate, twelve men's and six women's.

The Federation agreed, but it had thought that as their men's teams had been limited to twelve, women would automatically be able to take part, bringing the total number up to 18. They had thought this would be so to Montreal, but they had then been told that it would be at least 1980 before this could happen.

The two questions were whether women would automatically be admitted when the men's teams were reduced to 12 in 1976, and would this also be so for 1980 onwards.

Lord Killanin pointed out that rule 30 also contained a list of the women's events on the Olympic Program which again required a two-thirds majority decision.

Dr. Csanadi reported that no application had been received before Munich requesting the participation of women. An application had then been received but with insufficient data. Mr. Banks had since written to the FHI. This would make the FHI's case for women's participation all the stronger".

It is interesting to notice the transition phase for the participation of the women once there is a rule that cuts down on the number of existing teams: from 16 to 12, so that if the federations of the different countries want to have more representatives they would have to send women at a minimum of 6 teams. On the one hand, that is a great incentive for women's participation. At this point it is difficult to tell if they played with the possibility of cutting down on men's participation expecting that the countries would not send women's teams, this way reducing the size of the Games or if their desire to have women participating was so great that they promoted this one rule. On the other hand, what if the countries decide not to send women? The conclusion was that the IOC did the change but not announced the way it was going to be.

"The Executive Board, having received the necessary powers from the Munich Session, and after having examined the appeals of the Ifs, published the following release:

ii. Hockey

Regarding women's hockey, the request for the inclusion of this sport at the request of the International Hockey Federation is being considered for 1980.

vii. Swimming

The IOC Executive Board, after hearing the appeal of the Fédération Internationale de notation Amateur, decided to reduce the number of competitors from 38 to 33 for men and from 35 to 30 for women in all events. (Observation: It is interesting to notice here in swimming that although the number of participating women is smaller than that of participating men, the reduction was equal: minus 5 for both).

x. Gymnastics

The Executive Board recommends to the Varna Session to accept the proposals put forward by the FIG and the Program Commission, namely:

- i) 12 teams for men and 12 teams for women in the team competition, each with 6 gymnasts and 1 reserve.
- ii) 3 entries per country in the combined individual events for men and women.
- iii) 2 entries per country in the apparatus individual event for men and women.

Lord Killanin stated that there were many applications for new sports on the Olympic program, and the Program Commission should analyze these based on the existing guidelines, and ascertain just exactly what is an Olympic sport, if it be judged by clock, time or score, and whether it is a suitable sport for the Olympic Games.

It is salient here that the gymnastics program seems to be fair enough for both sexes. Lord Killanin was probably referring to the inclusion of rhythmic gymnastics, which was the first event ever proposed only to women.

Rome and Lausanne May 1975

“Women's sports

It was agreed that both men and women athletes should be treated equally, and there was no need for a special commission consisting of women only”.

One of the members probably put forward a proposal of a special commission for women only due to the treatment women had been having in the IOC.

Montreal July 1976

“j. Program

Hockey : The Program Commission proposed the addition of women’s hockey to the program for Moscow.

Winter Sports: Ice dance and 1000m speed skating had been added to the Innsbruck program and had proved to be most popular. The ISU requested their retention, but it was noted that they had already been included on the lake Placid program.

Decision: The above proposals of the Program Commission agreed.

Prague June 1977

“Olympic Program Commission

Gymnastics

Dr. Csanadi continued to say that the other request for the inclusion of rhythmic gymnastics for women was recommended for acceptance by the Commission as it was an opportunity to encourage the participation of women in the Olympic Games. This would involve two events, one all-round individual event and one team event. He reminded the members that in the Olympic Games there were only 40 events for women as compared with 140 for men. He added that unlike 3000m athletic event, rhythmic gymnastics was a well established sport and organized in many championships including both world and European. Some members were of the opinion that the judging of this event was very subjective.

Recommendation: The Executive board to meet Mr. Titov to hear details of his federation’s requests.

Skiing

To include a 20km ladies’ cross-country event for Lake Placid.

Recommendation: 20km ladies’ cross-country event not to be included on the Lake Placid Program.

Swimming

1. To reinstate three events deleted after Munich (200m individual medley for men and for women, and the 4 x 100m freestyle relay for men).
2. To include synchronized swimming in the Olympic program.

Dr. Csanadi recommended rejecting both requests from the FINA, as many swimming events were similar and synchronized swimming was not sufficiently developed. Recommendation: To reject both requests.

(i) Gymnastics

Mr. Titov gave a report about rhythmic gymnastics... A world championship had been organized in 1975 and the second one would be held in 1977. Mr. Titov further stated that the IOC should consider this event as it was concerned with the development of sport among women, and this was particularly adapted to them.

The President inquired about the world championships and the judging. Mr. Titov answered that 9 countries took part in the 1975 world championship and 16 had already registered for the next one to be held in October 1977 in Switzerland. They used different judges than for other gymnastics events, but there was no subjective judging as they had video-tape available. The President raised the question of the general value of gymnastics for the young performers and mentioned criticisms in this respect. Mr. Titov pointed out that these criticisms came from journalists and were unfounded as technical requirements were very strict, and participants could refuse to perform any exercise. It was an excellent sport for women. Mr. Kiyokawa thought rhythmic gymnastics should not be included if synchronized swimming was rejected, as both events were similar. Mr. Worrall agreed with Mr. Kiyokawa's remark. He added that this event raised the problem of subjective judging and tended to become a show. Recommendation: Rhythmic gymnastics not to be included on the program.

There are two observations to be made at this point: (1) there seemed to be a contradiction between the effort that was being made by the IFs in order to include more women's events and the IOC's rejecting them in spite of their policy to increase women's participation, and (2) some IOC members, such as Dr. Csanadi, wanted to include events for women in order to encourage the participation of women in the Olympic Games.

“3. Members

A) New Members

Mr. Smirnov stated that, in addition to replacing retired or deceased members, the IOC should consider enlarging its representation geographically especially in Africa and Asia. The President replied that the nominations were divided into two categories – replacements and members for new countries. However, the IOC could not co-opt new members if it did not receive nominations.

When considering nominations, Mr. Mzali felt the Board should take the advice of the Executive Board member who knew the continent concerned best, and if the President had interviewed the applicant the Board should follow his recommendation.

Comte de Beaumont stated that the IOC had never followed any rule for the election of its members, unlike most clubs or associations which had selection boards. He felt the IOC should determine which countries needed representation, obtain names of candidates, and then the President or Vice-Presidents should interview them.

Dr. Csanadi enquired about the IOC's decision to include women in its membership. The President replied that one very qualified woman had been approached but had declined due to professional and personal commitments, and in the countries of the other eligible women there were at present no vacancies...

In Dr. Csanadi's opinion, women should also be elected to IOC membership for their merit and Olympic activities, independently from any other member in the same country. Women's election should be considered at the next Session of the IOC.

The President emphasized that the Executive Board should state unanimously that it was in favor of an increase in the number of IOC members".

It is interesting to observe that Dr. Csanadi insisted on the subject of electing women for the IOC. The inclusion of women in the IOC was not part of the recommendations this time. The decision was again postponed as part of the strategies adopted by the IOC.

"2.1 (c) Events Program of Sports

The IOC Program Commission set up guidelines concerning events and studied the answers of the IFs to questionnaires sent to them. It was found that changes carried out in 1972 had contributed considerably to the re-establishment of the balance of competition program. Promotion of women's participation did have an especially positive effect (rowing, basketball, handball, etc).

From the study on the Olympic status of events, elaborated on the basis of the adopted guidelines and answers by IFs to the respective questionnaire the following can be stated:

1. The Olympic events under study are, with the exception of a very few, in conformity with the guidelines concerning their Olympic status. In some cases (summer sports) we find artificial placing, but stability and popularity to counterbalance this drawback; in others high cost of equipment, but a good traditional standing.

2. The number of events as compared to the total number of sports and individual sports in particular is very high.

Summer Sports

Total number of sports 22

Total number of individual sports 17 Total number of events: 191

In 1896 the number of sports on the Olympic program was 9 with 42 events. In 1977 the number of sports is 22 and the events 191, i.e., five times as many for twice as many individual sports.

Winter Sports

Total number of sports: 6

Total number of individual sports: 5

Total number of events: 37

In 1924 the number of sports on the Olympic program was 4 with 17 events. Only skeleton has been on the program and since deleted.

3. Summer sports: events for men are 137. Women's events account for 44 only. The number of purely men's sports is 6 with a total of 63 events.

Winter sports: events for men are 23, for women 12, with two events mixed. The number of purely men's sports is 3 with a total of 5 events.

4. We have artificial placing in two sports (only summer sports). Considering the above information we suggest to the IOC to adopt the following recommendations:

Recommendations of the IOC Program Commission

1. The IOC to discuss with the IFs the danger of a constant increase of their respective sports programs which lead to
 - a. Un healthy blow-up of the global Olympic program
 - b. A lack of balance between the Olympic sports
2. To set up a quota of events in each sport. The IFs should then be free to introduce new events or to delete others within the established quota, provided they are in conformity with the criteria.
3. To adopt a firm positive policy in favor of the increase of sports and events for women wherever possible.

4. Provided that the IOC accepts these recommendations, they will be discussed with the IFs and the final events program will be submitted with full study at latest to the next IOC Session to be held in Athens, 1978.

On the basis of thorough examination the Program Commission submits the following recommendations

(f) Athletics

Request: To have 3000m event for women and a 50km walk.

Recommendation: Not to accept the 3000m event for women nor the 50km walk as events at the Moscow Games.

(i) Gymnastics

Request: (b) To introduce rhythmic gymnastics events in the Olympic program.

Recommendation: With one exception the Commission voted in favor of including two rhythmic gymnastics events (all-round individual and team) on the Olympic program for Moscow and also for the future Olympic Games.

(l) Ski

Request: To include the 20km ladies' cross country event on the program for Lake Placid

Recommendation: To reject this request as the Olympic Games are not an experimental field for new events.

(m) Swimming

Request: (a) to reinstate three events that had been deleted after Munich (200m individual medley both for men and women, 4 x 100m freestyle relay for men); (b) to include synchronized swimming in the Olympic program.

Recommendations: To reject both requests and to ask the FINA to explain the unique situation concerning the number of competitors in the Olympic Games and World Championships".

After this inventory and the recommendations, it is still possible to see that the IOC is not following them at least in relation to women's sports and events. They just rejected 3000m event for ladies, 20km ladies' cross country event, the 200m individual medley for women and synchronized swimming. It is important to notice that women did not have 4 x 100m freestyle relay. In the next meetings women will have their admission denied in several sports. It seems that there were difficulties to make the Program compatible with many claims made by the IFs and by the members themselves.

“Annex 1 –

Dr. Csanadi’s draft on the future policy of the Games

General concept of the future Olympic Games and their program

General principles

For whom are the Games intended?

The Games are intended for the best athletes throughout the world who comply with the IOC Rules, prepared and selected by the NOCs. Selection of the best individual athletes, and of the best teams, should be controlled by the IFs by appropriate methods, such as qualification standards, etc.

The Olympic Program

The Olympic program has to reflect the development and popularity of sport throughout the world. All sports in conformity with the criteria for admission of sports to the program are duly eligible.

It is important to notice that in this annex Dr. Csanadi mentions the word ‘athletes’, but does not define it in terms of either men or women. He also says that the program has to reflect the development and popularity of sports throughout the world, which should mean that the problem of participation was replaced in importance by the problem of popularity in sports grounds.

Lausanne October 1977

“Report of the Commission for the Olympic program

presented by Dr. Arpad Csanadi

Annex – Quota for Olympic events

1. Events which are not to be affected by the quota

C. Women’s events

Following our basic policy to further the development of women’s participation in the Olympic Games, women’s events should not only not be affected by the numerical cut, but within the established limit of the program of each respective IF, the number of women’s events should be even increased. Some women’s events might be dropped if corresponding men’s events are deleted by their respective IFs for not complying with the guidelines on the Olympic status of events”.

The intention to increase the number of women's events is remarkable in this report. Although there had been proposals by different IFs, these proposals were rejected. However, if men's events (which had women's corresponding events) were deleted from the program, these women's events would also be dropped from the program, making the already small number of events (small in comparison to men's events) women were taking part even smaller.

Tunis January 1978

“9. Commissions

D) Olympic Program

1. Quota System

Dr. Csanadi explained that the Prague Session had decided to fix a stable program upon not only the recommendation of the Program Commission, but also the NOCs. The proposals were drawn up to give stability to the program, but this limitation did not mean that the IFs could not change their events within the quota. The Commission would use the report as guidelines for individual discussions with the Federations. It was not the Commission's aim to increase the program, but there were some weak points in the program. In shooting, for example, it might propose separate competitions by women... The President mentioned a threat by Mr. Ostos, President of the FINA, to withdraw swimming from the Moscow Games if the three events that had been taken off the program were not restored. FINA would be holding a special meeting in March and it would be necessary to await a decision from that meeting.

The Executive Board deplored the threat of withdrawal”.

It is important to notice here how the IFs negotiate with the IOC some of the times: threats were necessary to negotiate what they wanted to happen. In this case there was one event for women, 200 individual medley, which had been rejected by the Program Commission, after their own recommendation to enlarge the participation of women.

“Annex 20

Report of the Inner Commission for the Olympic Program

Presented by Dr. Arpad Csanadi

1. Quota System

Our proposal is:

1. Shooting – to add one event for men to replace the deleted 300m rifle, a costly and deadly weapon, by air weapons, which are very popular, harmless and cheap. We propose one of the two suggested air weapons at the choice of the IF, and the separation

of women's events according to our basic policy to further encourage the participation of women in the Olympic Games. The number of events is to be decided later. The arguments for the necessity to separate the women's events in shooting were explained by the international Federation.

It is very relevant to notice the change in the IOC's position in relation to women. After so many years trying to exclude women from participating in the Olympic Games, the IOC policies were changing to encourage the participation of women as athletes, only. In the above case, the IOC does not cite the arguments used by the IF. It could have been the same one used by the FINA once women did not want to compete against men.

Athens May 1978

“Quota system for events

Dr. Csanadi explained that the Program Commission had expressed some reservations about the rigidity of the quota system and thus had made the recommendation featured in the report. During a general discussion on the desirability of having more than the present 203 events on the program and the possibility of IFs using a quota on the number of participants rather than events the President felt that problems might arise with the FINA and the IAAF. However, if any IF wished to have new events the IOC would have to study the criteria. He enquired about the Program Commission's recommendation that Organizing Committees would add two sports to their programs, and felt that the situation was therefore contradictory. Dr. Csanadi replied that the Commission proposed that the affiliated sports be invited to compete provided that all 21 sports were staged, the Organizing Committees agreed, and after consultation with the IOC. The Director (Berlioux) added that problems might arise if, for example, it was decided to add a women's 3000m event to the athletics program. It would then be necessary to delete a men's event. Dr. Csanadi stated that if this were the case the federation would be obliged to propose which event would have to be deleted. The judo and cycling federations both wanted to introduce women's events and therefore would probably have to delete men's events. Members were invited to give their comments about the system.

Mr. Mzali agreed with the President that the present system should be maintained and that the IFs should be contacted separately. Mr. Samaranch, Mr. Worrall and Mr. Kiyokawa agreed that there should be some flexibility and that women's program should perhaps be enlarged. The Director suggested that a quota system should be introduced on the number of participants,

otherwise the Games could end up having at least 30,000 athletes if all NOCs entered all the athletes they were allowed in each event.

At this point there are three significant observations: (1) the role played by Mrs. Berlioux as director was almost equal to the men there present, although she did not have the same power because she was not a member of the IOC; therefore, she could do very little to add women's events to the Olympic Games or speak in favor of that once she was an employee; (2) ironically, the quota system favors women's events and the deletion of men's events; (3) as enlarging women's participation was not part of the recommendation that followed the discussion, it is noted that it was not important to include women, contrary to what had been stated in June 1977.

Lausanne March 1979

"10. Commission's Reports

A) Olympic Program

3. Requests from the International Federations for 1984

Recommendations

1. Athletics: Not to accept inclusion of 3000m women's event on the athletics program at this stage.
2. Shooting: To accept one men's event (air weapon) with a maximum of two participants per event in shooting.
- to accept the principle of three separate women's events (air weapon) with a maximum of two participants per event, provided no additional technical officials were required, and following further clarification from the ISU on the general participation of women in shooting events.
3. Cycling: To accept the men's individual points track race. – to postpone decision on women's road event, pending the receipt of requested information.
5. Archery: To accept three entries for men and women, provided that qualifying standards were reached by all participants when there was more than one entry".

"Annex 25

Report of the Commission for the Olympic Program

Presented by Dr. Csanadi

3. Requests from the International Federations for 1984

- a) Athletics: women's 3000m event

The Program Commission does not recommend accepting this event at this stage, since it requires more information (participation in continental championships).

b) Shooting: 2 men's and 5 separate women's events

The Program Commission recommends:

- to accept one men's event (air weapon) instead of the deleted 300m event with a maximum of 2 participants per event.
- to accept three separate women's events (air weapons) with a maximum of 2 participants per event, provided no additional technical officials are required.

c) Cycling: men's individual points track race and women's road event

The Program Commission recommends;

- to accept the new men's indoor event instead of the deleted tandem event. Reasons are no additional costs; poor indoor program in an expensive facility.
- generally supports women's participation, but needs additional information (number of countries and continents).

d) Judo: women's events

The Program Commission recommends postponing a decision owing to lack of some important data (number of countries and continents, popularity – first world championships will be held in 1979).

f) Swimming: reinstatement of the three deleted events and inclusion of synchronized swimming events

The Program Commission is in favor of the reinstatement of the three deleted events, provided the FINA reduces the number of entries per event to two as in its own world championships. In addition, the Commission recommends the FINA to limit the total participation of each swimmer to avoid the possibility of winning too many medals. At this stage the Commission is not in favor of introducing synchronized swimming.

g) Archery: an additional entry for both men and women (3 – 3)

The Program Commission recommends to accept the request, provided that qualifying standards are reached by all participants when there is more than one entry".

It is relevant to mention that after the inclusion of rhythmic gymnastics, synchronized swimming, another event for women only, was added, which reinforces and at the same time revives the old principles of femininity of the 19th century. It is important to notice that although the IOC does not accept the women's events, it accounts for not accepting them.

Montevideo April 1979

“With regard to shooting, Mr. Csanadi reported that he had met representatives of the UIT in Los Angeles. The federation fully understood that if the three separate events for women were accepted, then combined events would no longer be allowed”.

Negotiations have already started in order to have women in the Games with a balance in the total number of participants per IF.

Lausanne June 1980

“Recommendations

3. Women’s K4 event in canoeing not to be accepted for 1984 but to be reviewed again for 1988.

4. To accept tennis as a new sport for the Olympic Games in 1988. Technical details to be discussed after consultation with the IF at a later date.

8. To postpone decision on the inclusion of women’s judo in the program for 1988”.

The acceptance of tennis will imply in having women participants although the other ones will still be reviewed for 1988.

Moscow July 1980

“A) New Sports for 1988

The President pointed out that the 1988 sports program would have to be decided in 1981 and not in 1982. In addition, the IOC Rules specified that sports could comprise men and women, and thus women’s judo and women’s cycling were not new sports. Mr. Csanadi remarked that different standards and criteria were applied to men and women. The President pointed out that the Rules mentioned nothing about popularity, to which Mr. Csanadi commented that admission criteria were set out later on in the Rules. The President noted that there was definite discrimination in favor of men at the present time. The Rules ought to refer to ‘sports widely practiced by men or women in 25 countries’. Mr. Csanadi stressed that if the same standards were applied to both men and women, women would never compete in the Olympic Games. It was true that currently, less women took part than men, but the situation had greatly improved. The President maintained that women’s judo and cycling could be admitted as new events, under the present rules.

It is relevant to mention that there is a clear difference in the treatment between men and women athletes. They do not seem to have equal standards, which shows that women had been discriminated against. That is very clearly recognized by the President (Lord Killanin) when he says that there is ‘definite discrimination in favor of men at the present time’. However, originally, there had always been discrimination against women in the Olympic Movement. Historically speaking, it is important to analyze the duration of the discrimination in terms of continuity. Thus far, Killanin’s declaration proved that discrimination had been a long-time constraint for women in IOC grounds.

“3. Women’s Judo

Mr. Csanadi stressed that the experience of the first world championships was required in conformity with the criteria.

The Director thought it would be fairer to refer to Rule 46 (old Rule30), in respect of the number of countries in which this sport was practiced. She did not understand why the world championships were used for assessment purposes. Mr. Csanadi stressed that the Commission was not against women’s judo. The Director wondered if he knew in how many countries all Olympic sports and events were practiced. The President remarked that there were no world championships in athletics, and felt women’s judo should be accepted. Mr. Csanadi repeated it was preferable to check participation in the world championships. If this proved sufficient, the Commission would propose acceptance, but at the present time it was too risky. Mr. Guirandou N’Diaye confirmed that women’s judo was developing a great deal, and the Director added that it was more widely practiced than women’s hockey. Mr. Csanadi suggested a compromise by accepting women’s judo after the first world championships had been held, as for the time being the necessary data was not available. To date, women’s judo had only been staged in regional games. The Director felt that on the basis of the Commission’s policy athletics ought to be deleted. If women’s judo complied with the rule on admission for women’s sports, it should be accepted. A sport could be widely practiced without a national federation necessarily sending competitors to world championships. The President really thought the matter should be discussed with the IF, whose officials would not be available until 18th July.

4. Women’s cycling

Mr. Csanadi declared that the IOC Session in Montevideo had accepted the inclusion of women’s cycling in principle. The President considered it to be a new event.

B) Pending Matters for 1984

1. Athletics

With regard to women's marathon, Mr. Csanadi had now received some research studies which were positive. However, the Commission still required experience of the European and world championships. The President of the IAAF had requested coming before the Executive Board in this connection.

3) Gymnastics

The President was personally not in favor of rhythmic gymnastics. Mr. Cross commented that judging was by assessment, which was against the criteria. Answering the President, Mr. Csanadi declared that the IF had supplied the number of countries in which rhythmic gymnastics was practiced.

5) Swimming

Mr. Csanadi reported that Mr. Ostos had been seen by the Commission, and had written to state his satisfaction with the recommendations. However, it was expected that the FINA Congress would change its rules on entries for the world championships, increasing them from two to three.

The Director saw no reason for the IOC to base its policy on IF world championships, and wondered why there was discrimination between athletics and swimming on entries. Mr. Csanadi recalled that the Commission had recommended in 1972 the reduction of entries in athletics and swimming from three to two, but this had been rejected in respect of athletics. Furthermore, the FINA had world championships, but for the time being, the IAAF had not. The President felt the same way about synchronized swimming as about rhythmic gymnastics. Mr. Csanadi stated that the Commission's favorable recommendation was the outcome of long negotiations. The FINA was, however, quite happy to have just one event. The President remarked that once one event was admitted, the door was open to requests for more. Judging was subjective. His personal view was to accept the three deleted events, but not synchronized swimming. Mr. Kiyokawa supported the Commission's recommendations, though considered that the text regarding the number of entries needed to be clearer. Mr. Csanadi agreed to revise it. The President noted that the Session would decide. He further remarked that women's rowing had been accepted following the IF's appeal before the Session. This right should be available to all IFs. Mr. Cross had not observed specialization of swimmers who continued to participate in the medley and individual events, contrary to the arguments of the Program Commission. Mr. Csanadi explained that in the past some swimmers had won as many as six or seven medals with the same training. The trend was now for swimmers to specialize as testified by the list of

results. Mr. Cross remarked that the situation still existed where medley race competitors took part in the four individual events, thus with the possibility of winning several medals.

7. Shooting

Mr. Csanadi stated that the Program Commission had not been able to discuss the UIT's new proposal to maintain mixed participation in the trap and skeet events. Mr. Kiyokawa was under the impression that the IF had selected small bore for the ladies' pistol match, and suggested this be added in brackets. Mr. Siperco was in favor of accepting the three proposed separate events, as well as mixed participation in trap and skeet. The President wondered why separate events had been requested when in most events men and women would compete in equal footing. The Montevideo Session had perhaps been misinformed. Mr. Csanadi explained that the separation of events had been requested by the IF itself.

10. Skiing

Mr. Csanadi reported that he has recently received a letter from the FIS, submitting a late request for the inclusion of women's 20km, without increasing the total number of competitors. Mr. Csanadi informed the meeting that this event had already been rejected by the IOC six years previously, as at that time this event had not features in the world championships. The request had not been discussed by the Commission, but he personally recommended acceptance.

There are four points to observe here: (1) In this dialogue it is clear that the Commission (headed by Mr. Csanadi) was not in favor of adding women's judo in spite of the arguments offered by the President (Lord Killanin) and the Director (Mrs. Berlioux). It seemed that Dr. Csanadi did not want to lose an argument to the evidence offered by the other participants in the discussion. It is also interesting to notice the Director's (Mrs. Berlioux) argumentation in favor of women's judo: how strong her position is especially when she brings athletics in; (2) The director also pointed out another kind of discrimination of the IOC between sports, in other words, rules that were applied to a particular sport were not applied to another (athletics and swimming); (3) as time goes by more and more IFs apply to have women's events. When women's events are rejected, IFs apply again; (4) The reports that include discussions about inclusion of women seem to be longer and to contain many more details, which contrast against reports of IOC Sessions and EB Meetings up to the end of the 1960s, which was a very essential period for the emancipation of women.

“10. Commissions’ Reports

D) Program

Mr. Paulen and Mr. Holder, respectively President and Treasurer of the IAAF, were shown into the room and welcomed by the President.

Mr. Paulen thanked the Executive Board for allowing the IAAF to present its case for the inclusion of the women’s marathon in the 1984 Games. Interest in the events had started in the late ’60s and had developed enormously since then to the extent that in 1980 it was practiced in 50 countries on all continents. It was felt that development could only be handled if the event was fully accepted, or control might be lost. Unofficial world championships had been held the previous year in Germany, and an official competition in Tokyo with 85 runners and half a million spectators. Another race in New York had attracted 2,000 competitors. The event therefore complied with the Program Commission’s guidelines. Mr. Paulen had received an extract of the Minutes of the last Commission meeting, before which he had appeared. He noted Mr. Andrianov’s suggestion that medical reports be obtained to ascertain that long distance running was not harmful to women. This of course was perfectly acceptable, and he had in his possession favorable studies by Professor Prokop and Dr. Strauzenberg... Mr. Holder added that one member of the Program Commission had expressed his reticence about accepting the event due to the large jump in distance from 3,000 meters. It had to be stressed that marathon runners were a different type of athlete, both physically and in temperament, to the short and middle distance runners. The marathon was also run on roads and could be compared with track races. Long distance runners even belonged to different clubs and organizations. At the moment, some of the best women athletes could not compete in the Olympic Games. The Norwegian marathon ran the distance in under 2½ hours, which was better than some men. Women should therefore be given the chance by this expansion of the program. If concern was expressed by the size of the Games, another solution had to be found, but development should not be stopped. If the IOC wanted to encourage women’s sports, then this was the most suitable event to adopt. In addition, it was quite inexpensive. Mr. Paulen remarked that there would be no organizational difficulties, as the women would run at the same time as the men, though would have their own classification. If qualifying standards were required, then these could be applied. The President commented that the AAU had been wrong to write to the LAOOC about the matter. The program was the responsibility of the IOC and the IAAF. The LAOOC would be reminded of this fact. Mr. Csanadi felt that there was no need to emphasize that the IOC had a women’s policy, as witnessed by the recommendation to include women’s 3,000 meters and 400 meters hurdles. It was true that to date the Olympic Games were the athletics world championships, and

that the event would be included in the IAAF's first world championships to be held in 1983. However, he recalled that in principle the program of the Olympic Games did not have to be identical to that of world championships. There were of course divergent opinions on the event within the Commission, but most members had felt its inclusion in 1984 too soon. Mr. Paulen commented that women's marathon had previously not been included in continental championships as the IAAF was also cautious. However, the IOC should be able to trust the IAAF in that the event was ready for the Olympic Games. It would be staged in the 1982 European championships and the first world championships. A five-year wait would be too long, and the impact could be lost. There would be 60 extra competitors. Mr. Paulen noted that the Program Commission considered the distance increase too great, but felt that he should have been asked. The distances of 1,500 meters and 3,000 meters could not be compared to the marathon. He pleaded acceptance of the event for 1984. The IAAF Medical Committee approved the event, and he hoped the IOC's commission would too. The President thought the most important point was that the race would be run concurrently with the men's marathon. This had not been made clear previously.

The President thought there was a good case for women's marathon in 1984, and wondered if anyone opposed the idea. Mr. Kiyokawa still thought it preferable to await the medical results. It would also be advisable to study the overall future program. If accepted he felt sure that the FINA would request the women's 1,500 meters, which was in its world championships and far more popular than women's marathon. The President declared that the Medical Commission's opinion would be heard, so that the Session could decide with all facts. Mr. Siperco fully supported the inclusion of the marathon. Mr. Guirandou N'Diaye wondered whether the Medical Commission was better qualified to judge than athletes' doctors. A simple medical certificate should suffice. The President agreed that the IOC Medical Commission was mainly concerned with femininity and doping controls, but its opinion was valid. He noted that the Executive Board had divergent views on women's marathon. Mr. Csanadi acknowledged a strong argument in favor of the event, as it was held on the same site at the same time, but asked the members not to forget that it would involve a conservatively estimated extra 60 competitors not including officials. There were also arguments against the rapid acceptance of the event. He cited the example of the canoe slalom which was accepted for Munich and then deleted immediately afterwards. He thus recommended that no decision be taken at that time, pending receipt of the medical opinion and experience of the championships in 1982 and 1983. The president stressed that the Olympic Games were the IAAF world championships, and athletics was the most important sport in the Games.

Decision: Session to decide for or against women's marathon, without a recommendation from the Executive Board".

It is crucial to mention that although Mr. Paulen (from IAAF) presented the case for the inclusion of the women's marathon in the 1984 Games with all the arguments, IOC members did not seem to be convinced of the medical factors. It is significant then that the inclusion of men's sports or events did not require any opinion from the medical commission as did women's, at least after what was reported in the Minutes. There is no text in the Minutes stating that medical examinations were required by men's sports or events. The irony in that is the fact that women had been participating in marathons for a long time and not only close to the date of this Meeting (1980). In 1896, Stamata Revithi and other supposed American women wanted to participate in the event in the first Olympic Games and did not have a medical examination or opinion (the doctors who would attest the physical capacity of women for the inclusion of the new event were probably of the male sex). The other fact is that as details were missing from the total amount of information presented, women's marathon could and should have been already included. One may wonder whether the marathon was supposed to be the capital event of the Olympics as far as track and field is concerned.

"Annex 18

Report by Mr. Arpad Csanadi, Chairman of the Program Commission, to the 83rd IOC Session A/ New Sports for 1988

At this stage there are four applications under consideration: the request of the tennis federation (ITF) and the table tennis federation (ITTF), women's judo (IJF) and women's cycling (FIAC).

The Program Commission recommends:

1. Table tennis – to be accepted provided the IF amends its eligibility rule...
2. Tennis – to postpone a decision
3. Women's judo – not to be accepted at this stage. The first world championship will be held later this year.
4. Women's cycling – to be accepted as a new sport for women in 1988 with one road event and with a maximum of 3 competitors per NOC.

B/ Pending matters for 1984

The Program Commission has studied the following requests:

1. Athletics: women's 3000m, women's 400m hurdles, women's marathon

The Program Commission recommends: women's 3000m and women's 400m hurdles to be accepted. Both events comply fully with the IOC criteria and guidelines for events. As far as women's marathon is concerned, the Program Commission needs more medical-scientific research studies and experience from the first European championships and world championships to be held respectively in 1982 and 1983. The Program Commission recommends postponing the decision on women's marathon until the necessary data and experience are available.

3. Gymnastics

The FIG requests five rhythmic gymnastics events to be included in its program. The Commission recommends: one event (combined individual with one medal) to be accepted with no more than two competitors per NOC. The total number of gymnasts as well as the total number of technical officials, referees, etc must be fixed with the IF.

5. Swimming

a) Request: the three events which were deleted in 1972 to be reinstated. The Program Commission recommends 200m medley for women and men and the 4 x 100m relay for men to be reinstated. Reason: because of the specialization of swimmers in the events, the so-called similarity of events no longer exists as in the past.

c) Synchronized swimming – the FINA requests three synchronized swimming events (solo, duet and team) to be included in the 1984 program as an integral part of swimming. The Program Commission recommends including only one event (duet) with two competitors and one reserve per NOC. The selection of the swimmers, their total number as well as the technical officials, must be fixed with the IF.

6. Yachting

The IYRU asks the IOC to add an additional mixed event (board sailing) to the present program with one competitor per NOC. The Program Commission has studied this request and invited the IF representatives. A film was also shown. After thorough study the Program Commission recommends board sailing with mixed participation (one entry per NOC) to be accepted. Arguments: very popular event, less expensive facilities and equipment, easy to organize, needs strong physical and moral abilities, this event can be organized in nearly every country.

7. Shooting

The IOC Montevideo Session approved three separate women's events, with a total number of six women per NOC (two participants per event), provided that no extra facilities or additional technical officials were required. The IF was asked to select the three events. The UIT held its Congress early this year and made the following decision: a) air rifle, b) standard smallbore rifle (3 positions 3 x 20 shots), and c) pistol match.

The Program Commission recommends accepting these events selected by the IF. No more mixed events (women-men) to be allowed.

Note: after the last Program Commission meeting, the UIT Secretary General sent a letter requesting the IOC to maintain mixed participation in the trap and skeet events without increasing the total number of competitors or officials. This is against the IOC Montevideo decision. I suggest we study this new request before presenting recommendations".

There are three relevant points to bring up for this last Meeting: (1) as more sports are included in the Olympic Games, more women will be able to take part either when the sport starts up (only with male athletes) or later on when women athletes are 'allowed to participate' in their own event; (2) as time goes by there are more requests for women than for men; (3) the irony in the arguments between women's marathon and yachting mixed event: wouldn't women's marathon event have the same conditions of the yachting event? According to the IOC words, the yachting event was a 'very popular event, less expensive facilities and equipment, easy to organize, needs strong physical and moral abilities, this event can be organized in nearly every country'. These conditions seem to be similar to the conditions offered by the marathon event according to the previous report.

Lausanne October 1980

"E) Future Concept of the Olympic Program

Mr. Csanadi, chairman of the Program Commission, informed the members that the Program Commission had started work on a new concept of the Olympic program and had held some discussion on this in Moscow.

Participation of women

Mr. Csanadi felt that it was universally agreed within the IOC that there should be greater women's participation, not only because the standards were sufficiently high, but also because of the popularity of women's sport. The President agreed that women's participation should be

increased as much as possible. At present, only 30% of the Olympic sports included women, which was too small a proportion.

Decisions:

1.C) greater women's participation

F) Women's marathon

The Director felt the minutes of the Moscow Session concerning this. The President felt that a decision should be taken on this point at the following meeting. Mr. Csanadi felt that additional data was still required and this had been promised by the IAAF. He had contacted Los Angeles, who was prepared to accept this event, even if a decision were taken at a time later than the limit".

The observation here concerns how careful they were to accept women's marathon: the heart of athletics ('greatest human effort', without scientific differentiation between men and women).

"11. Olympic Solidarity

The Director remarked that as the courses were financed by Olympic Solidarity, there should be a short talk on the Olympic Movement at the beginning of each course the IOC needed more Public Relations and this would be one opportunity for this. It would be advisable to have an IOC member present for the beginning of each of the courses and she suggested drawing up a list of IOC members to carry out this task. The Director also stressed that there should be greater female participation in all courses".

Decision:

5. Olympic Solidarity should ensure that courses lead to a greater knowledge of the IOC and the Olympic Movement. Members of the IOC to attend the opening of the courses. A list of IOC members able to do so to be drawn up. Greater emphasis should be placed on the participation of women".

Director Monique Berlioux, in spite of the fact that she was not an IOC member, was supposedly concerned about women's participation in the courses in order to avoid discrimination against women in that area, too.

"Size of the IOC

As far as the size of the IOC was concerned, the President (Samaranch) remarked that most members thought that membership should not exceed 85-90, with only one member per country and that they should be independent from national influence. No new members had been selected during 1979-80, but the situation would be revised in Baden-Baden. The President added that replacements would have to be found for deceased members. Furthermore, he would encourage the election of women to the IOC.

Decision

Question of IOC membership to be discussed prior to presenting a proposal at the Session.

Election of new members to take place on 22nd September 1981, i.e., the first meeting of the IOC Session in Baden-Baden.

The new IOC policy is crucial as new members will be co-opted including women. This was a decision of President Samaranch.

Los Angeles February 1981

“10. Commissions

f) Program – Meeting of 18th and 19th December 1980 in Lausanne

(see report of the Commission for the Program in annex 4)

a) Women’s marathon

The Sports Adviser informed the meeting that the Program Commission were not against women’s marathon but were awaiting additional data regarding the popularity of the sport on not only an international but also a national level. For it to be included on the Program women’s marathon had to be practiced ‘widely’, and as yet it did not feature in the Pan-American Games, or in European or World Cup competitions. Thus, the Program Commission was not ready to take a definite decision. The President stated that Mr. Adrian Paulen, President of the International Amateur Athletic Federation, was in favor of women’s marathon, and that furthermore the LAOOC were anxious for the IOC to approve this event in view of its popularity in California. The President asked for the Executive Board members’ opinions. Mr. Kiyokawa, Mr. Siperco, and Mr. Kumar were all in favor of women’s marathon in order to promote the participation of women in sport. The Prince de Merode stated that medically there was no objection to this event and so he personally supported its inclusion on the program. Mr. Cross and Mr. De Leon were also in favor of women’s marathon. However, Mr. Smirnov, as a former member of the Program Commission, felt that they should not rush this decision before

receiving additional information. The President stated that he supported women's marathon. Although agreeing to respect the Executive Board decision, the Sports Adviser stated that accepting women's marathon would be contrary to the rules and criteria laid down by the Program Commission as the event would be experimental in the Games of the XXIIIrd Olympiad.

c) Volleyball

The Sports Adviser explained that the International Volleyball Federation had requested the number of teams, presently set at 18, be raised to 20 whilst offering to reduce the number of players (12) to 10. The Program Commission had studied the request and was recommending the Executive Board to maintain status quo. If not a change of rule would be called for, Mr. Smirnov supported the Program Commission's recommendation feeling that the Board should adhere to the Rules in order to avoid possible problems with other federations in the future. Messrs. de Leon, Cross and Merode were all in favor of accepting the Program Commission's recommendation. The President explained that he had met with Mr. Libaud, President of the International Volleyball Federation, who had warned that should his request not be accepted he would be obliged to delete 2 women's teams and add 2 men's teams in order to facilitate the elimination rounds.

Decisions

a) Women's marathon to be included on the Olympic Program for the Games in 1984 and decision to be conveyed to the LAOCC. Women's marathon not to be held on any account at the same time as men's marathon.

c) International Volleyball Federation's request refused".

It is significant to notice that women's marathon was accepted after all counter-arguments and held as a separate event. On the other hand, the IF had its warning/threat fall flat as the Executive Board refused its request.

"Decisions

2. The following amendments were made to the minutes:

Item 4) Minutes of the 83rd IOC Session held in Moscow

E) Future concept of the Olympic Program – page 5

Participation of women

‘At present, only 30% of the Olympic sports included women, which was too small a proportion’.

To read:

‘At present, only 30% of athletes are women, which was too small a proportion’.”

On the one hand, this correction shows that women are athletes in the first place. On the other hand, the new wording stresses the fact that only 30% of the total are women, which in reality by not stating participating sports, it is not possible to say where women athletes are concentrated in or ‘had been allowed’ to participate. One might wonder whether the IOC would now be worried with the number of female Olympians after so many years of attempts to reduce the number of women’s events or even dropping all of women’s participation in the Olympic Games.

“Annex 4

Report of the Commission for the Program presented by Mr. Arpad Csanadi, Chairmen

B) Future concept of the Olympic program

I. Clarification of expressions and concepts

-A ‘balanced Olympic program’

Guiding ideas

A balanced Olympic program is to reflect a fair proportion between:

1. The number of participating women and men
2. The number of events in individual sports
3. The number of entries (individual, overall and teams)
4. The number of reserves

Concrete suggestions

1. The number of participating women and men

To further encourage the participation of women in sports, disciplines and events.

II. Standards and criteria

Guiding ideas

Standards and criteria should be regarded as compulsory not only for sports but also for disciplines and events.

Concrete suggestions:

New standards for admission of sports:

- Only sports widely practiced by men in at least 50 countries and three continents may be included in the Olympic program.
- Only sports widely practiced by women in at least 35 countries and three continents may be included in the Olympic Program.
- Only sports widely practiced by women or b y men in at least 25 countries and three continents may be included in the program of the Winter Olympic Games.

Standards for admission of disciplines

Guiding ideas

A discipline is a branch of a given sport with one or more events. A discipline must have sufficient potential entries, numerically and geographically, to justify its inclusion in the Olympic program.

Concrete suggestions:

- A discipline is to be practiced in at least 30 countries and three continents by men, and in 25 countries and three continents by women, in order to be included in the program of the Olympic Games.
- A discipline is to be practiced in 25 countries and three continents for both women and men to be included in the program of the Winter Olympic Games.
- A discipline is to be admitted at least six years before the next Olympic Games or the Winter Olympic Games.

Standards for admission of events

Guiding ideas

Events should have an established international standing (having been held at least twice at world, continental or regional games) in order to be included in the Olympic program. Olympic Games are not to be considered an experimental field for new events which increase the size of the program while the number of sports remains practically unchanged.

Concrete suggestions:

- Events are to be practiced in at least 25 countries and three continents, both by men and women in order to be included in the program of the Olympic and Winter Olympic Games.
- Events are adopted at the last Olympiad preceding the Games. No change is possible thereafter”.

“C) Pending matters for 1984

1) Women’s marathon

Still pending since no additional data have been received from the IF on the popularity of this event at national level, experiences from continental or world championships or world cup.

Recommendation: to postpone the decision

3) Canoeing

In a late application the IF requested the inclusion of K4 for women into the Los Angeles canoeing program.

Recommendation: to reject in accordance with the IOC Rule 48 (1980 edition).

4) Volleyball

A new appeal was received from the IF requesting 20 teams instead of 18 for 1984. The IF is willing to compromise by reducing each team by one player (ten instead of eleven)

Recommendation: the Program Commission recommends that the present IOC Rule 46 should apply in 1984”.

“E) Pending problems of new sports for 1988

There are three sports under consideration which applied for inclusion: tennis, women’s judo and roller skating”

It is worth mentioning that these three ‘sports’ would imply more women athletes in the Olympic Games.

Baden-Baden September 1981

“E) Program

The Sports Adviser presented his report.

The President, referring to draft Rule 47, agreed that the number of teams in a sport where men and women compete should not exceed 20. He felt, however, that due to its popularity, football, where currently only men compete, should remain with 16 teams. He added that volleyball and basketball were willing to reduce the number of players in teams”.

“Annex 13

Report of the Commission for the Program presented by Mr. Arpad Csanadi, Chairman

1. Pending matters for 1984

a) Women’s marathon

After the IOC Session in Moscow, the Executive Board was authorized to make a final decision based on the proposal of the IAAF, on the inclusion of the women's marathon in the Olympic program. At the Los Angeles meeting in February 1981, the Executive Board accepted that the women's marathon be included in the program of the 1984 Olympic Games provided it did not take place at the same time as the men's.

2. Program of Sports for 1988

b) Tennis

The International Tennis Federation has put forward a proposal to reinstate tennis as an Olympic sport (tennis was last included in the Olympic program in 1924.)

Since the relevant rules of the ITF (eligibility, structure) now comply with the IOC regulations, the Commission for the Program recommends:

- acceptance of tennis as an Olympic sport. In which case, only individual events for men and women would be organized at the 1988 Games with a maximum of 16 competitors each.

g) Women's judo

The IF has requested that women be permitted to participate in judo. The Commission is of the opinion that when accepting women's judo, consideration should be given to the preconditions of adopting a new women's event. Taking into consideration the little experience gained as the first World Championships of women's judo only took place in the autumn of 1980, and that the Commission also requires the opinion of the Medical Commission, postponement of the decision is recommended. To make a recommendation more data would be required on its popularity at national and international level, medical aspects, etc.

There are two relevant points to be made here: (1) the inclusion of tennis meant more opportunities for women to participate in the Games; (2) the medical requirements for the inclusion of women's judo after world and regional championships demonstrates that the IOC had been evolving but still in a conservative manner.

Sarajevo December 1981

Creation of the

"Athletes' Commission

president – Chairman: Mr. Peter Tallberg

members: Mr. Thomas Bach (FRG), Mr. Sebatsina Coe (GBR), Mr. Ivar Formo (NOR), Mr. Kipchoge Keino (KEN), Mrs. Svetla Otzetova (BUL), Mr. Vladislav Tretyak (USR).

Conclusions

After an analysis of the Minutes, it is possible to observe that several important events in the IOC took place during this period, among which the following: (i) in 1953 President Brundage had his idea of deleting all of women's events from the Olympic Games rejected by the EB; (ii) in 1969 the inclusion of a woman to occupy a crucial position, Director of the IOC; and (iii) the creation of the Athletes' Commission (athletes had not had a voice until then (1981).

Table 14: Frequency and type of approach of the theme participation of women in the Minutes of Executive Board Meetings (1949-1981)

Approach	Number of registers
Advances in relation to the inclusion of women	13
Discussion about discrimination and its forms	6
Discussion about the women's Program	5
Discussion about the IFs	5
Discussion about disciplines	5
Repetition of similar decisions	4
Invisibility of women in the IOC	3
Inclusion of women as members of the IOC	2
Elimination of women from the Games Program	1
Total	50

Based on the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings, it is then possible to draw several conclusions which include eight central categories of discussion which have been identified through analysis done from the comments and syntheses of the Minutes. Points by

frequency of register were attributed to these entries. After that, it was established an order of importance which demonstrates the main tendencies of the EB in its meetings between 1949 and 1981. This survey produced 50 registers of identified tendencies, exposed in Table 14.

In general these results present an extension of the conclusions from the Minutes of the EB during the period 1921-1935. They repeat the tendencies already identified in the analysis of the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC but this time with different frequency.

Analysis of the participation of women as athletes across provisions of the Olympic Charter (Olympic Rules) concerning the Summer Games

The Olympic Charters indicate the year and the sports which were added to the women's program. In the evolution of the inclusion of women's sports through the Olympic Charters below, the new sports on the women's program are underlined for better examination. Women started to participate in the fine arts program in 1949 and, also, starting in 1967, according to the Olympic Charter, female athletes would have to go through medical control to determine their sex because there had been circumstances in which men were competing as women.

1949 Olympic Charter

« Règles générales applicables à la célébration des Jeux Olympiques...41. Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes : athlétisme, escrime, gymnastique, natation, canoë...yachting et aux expositions d'art ». **6 sports**

1949 – Rule 41: “Women are allowed to compete in athletics, fencing, gymnastics, swimming, canoeing, (...) yachting and art exhibitions.” (6 sports)

1955 Olympic Charter

“Règles générales applicables à la célébration des Jeux Olympiques...40. Participation des femmes : Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes: athlétisme, escrime, gymnastique, natation, canoë...yachting, sports équestres et au program des arts ». **7 sports**

1956 Olympic Charter

« Règles générales des Jeux Olympiques...29. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, escrime, gymnastique, natation, canoë...yachting, sports équestres et participaer à lamanifestaion d'art ».

7 sports

Rule 29: “Women are allowed to compete in Athletics, Fencing, Gymnastics, Swimming, canoeing, Yachting, and Equestrian Sports and to participate in the Fine Arts Program, according to the rules of the International Federation concerned.” (7 sports)

1962 Olympic Charter

“Règles générales des Jeux Olympiques...29. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, escrime, gymnastique, natation, canoë...yachting, sports équestres ainsi qu’à participer à la manifestation d’art ». **7 sports**

1966 Olympic Charter

« IV. Règles générales des Jeux Olympiques...29. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, escrime, gymnastique, natation, ..., sports équestres, tir à l’arc, volley-ball, yachting ainsi qu’à participer à la manifestation d’art ». **9 sports**

1966 - Rule 29: “Women are allowed to compete in Archery, Athletics, Canoeing, Equestrian Sports, Fencing, Gymnastics, Swimming, Volleyball and Yachting and to participate in the Fine Arts Program, according to the rules of the International Federation concerned.” **9 sports**

1967 Olympic Charter

« IV. Règles générales des Jeux Olympiques...29. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, canoë, escrime, gymnastique, natation, ..., sports équestres, tir, tir à l’arc, volley-ball, yachting ainsi qu’à participer à la manifestation d’art ». « Conditions d’admission...Participation des femmes: Les athlètes féminines peuvent être soumises à un contrôle médical. » **10 sports**

1971 Olympic Charter

« IV. Les Jeux Olympiques...29. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, canoë, escrime, gymnastique ...natation, ..., sport équestre, tir, tir à l’arc, volley-ball, yachting ainsi qu’à participer à la manifestation d’art ». **10 sports**

1971 - Rule 29: "Women are allowed to compete in Archery, Athletics, Canoeing, Diving, Equestrian Sports, Fencing, Gymnastics, Luge, Shooting, Swimming, Volleyball and Yachting, according to the rules of the International Federation concerned and to participate in the fine Arts Exhibition." (10 sports)

1972 Olympic Charter

« IV. Les Jeux Olympiques...29. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, canoë, escrime, gymnastique ...natation, ..., sport équestre, tir, tir à l'arc, volley-ball, yachting ainsi qu'à participer à la manifestation d'art ». (10 sports)

1973 Olympic Charter

« IV. Les Jeux Olympiques...29. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, aviron, basket-ball, canoë, escrime, gymnastique, handball ...natation, ..., sport équestre, tir, tir à l'arc, volley-ball, yachting ainsi qu'à participer à la manifestation d'art. Les athlètes féminines peuvent être soumises à un contrôle médical ». **13 sports**

1973 – Rule 29: Women are admitted to the following events, according to the regulations of the IFs concerned: athletics, fencing, gymnastics, swimming, canoeing, yacht racing, equestrian sports, archery, volleyball, shooting, rowing, basketball and handball and could take part in the art exhibition. (13 sports)

1974 Olympic Charter

« IV. Les Jeux Olympiques...29. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises aux épreuves suivantes selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, aviron, basket-ball, canoë, escrime, gymnastique, handball ...natation, ..., sport équestre, tir, tir à l'arc, volley-ball, yachting ainsi qu'à participer à la manifestation d'art. Les athlètes féminines peuvent être soumises à un contrôle médical ». **13 sports**

1975 Olympic Charter

« IV. Les Jeux Olympiques...32. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises à concourir dans les sports suivants selon les règlements des FI intéressées : athlétisme, aviron, basket-ball, canoë, escrime, gymnastique, handball, hockey ...natation, ..., sport équestre, tir, tir

à l'arc, volley-ball, yachting ainsi qu'à participer à la manifestation d'art. Les athlètes féminines peuvent être soumises à un contrôle médical ». **14 sports**

1975 – Rule 32: Women are admitted to the following events, according to the regulations of the IFs concerned: athletics, fencing, gymnastics, swimming, canoeing, yacht racing, equestrian sports, archery, volleyball, shooting, rowing, basketball, handball and hockey, as well as the art exhibition. (14 sports)

1976 Olympic Charter

The same as 1975.

1978 Olympic Charter

« IV. Les Jeux Olympiques...31. Participation des femmes – Les femmes sont admises à concourir conformément aux règlements des FI intéressés, après accord du CIO.

1978 – From this date the following text was adopted:

Rule 31: “Women are allowed to compete according to the rules of the IFs concerned and after the approval of the IOC.”

This text will be repeated in the editions of the Olympic Charter until 1987. It will disappear from the edition of 1989 and the following Charters.

1987 Olympic Charter

The above-mentioned text was inserted under Rule 28.

Out of the 23 sports on the 1988 Olympic Program:

- 1) women were eligible to compete in the following sports: athletics, rowing, basketball, fencing, canoeing/kayaking, cycling, equestrian sports, fencing, gymnastics (rhythmic gymnastics), handball, hockey, swimming (diving – synchronized swimming), tennis, table tennis, shooting, archery, volleyball and sailing - a total of 17 sports;
- 2) women were excluded from the following sports: boxing, football, judo, wrestling, modern pentathlon, and weightlifting – a total of 6 sports (reserved exclusively for men);
- 3) a women's judo demonstration event was organized at the 1988 Games;
- 4) in 1992, women cross the threshold of another sport: badminton;

- 5) in 1996, two new women's sports: football and softball.
- 6) in 2000, two other sports were included: taekwondo and triathlon.
- 7) in 2004, women's wrestling was part of the program of the Athens Games.

It is relevant to mention that for the men, the Games of the very first Olympic Games 1896 included 9 sports and those of the 28th Olympiad, Athens 2004, 27 sports: three times what it had before, a three-fold increase. For the women, in spite of their very difficult beginning, the progression was spectacular (although it took more than a century). From 4 Olympic sports in the International Games in Paris 1900, they managed to have 26 sports in the 28th Olympiad in Athens, Greece: a thirteen-fold increase. Then in what concerns the sports in the Program of the Olympic Games in 2004, the women's program (26 sports) covers 96.29% of the men's program (27 sports).

As regards events, on the other hand, the figures are as follows:

- 1) the 43 events for men in 1896 have risen to 163 in 1996, and 166 in 2004**
- 2) the 3 events for women in 1900 have risen to 97 in 1996, and 125 in 2004**
- 3) the 2004 Olympic Games Program included 10 mixed events.**

The primary conclusion to be drawn from these hard facts is that the women's Program has made some progress (see Tables 15, 16 and 17), but in a reduced pace in comparison to society as a whole.

Analysis of the participation of women as athletes across provisions of the Olympic Charter (Olympic Rules) concerning the Winter Games

- 1928 Women were admitted to certain events in the Olympic Games. The Program had to mention the events in which they might compete.
- 1949 Article 49 – Women are admitted to the following events: ... (summer sports), figure skating, and skiing, and art exhibitions.
- 1956 Article 29 - Women are admitted to the following events: ... (summer sports), figure skating, and skiing, and may take part in the art exhibition.

Table 15: Number of sports women contested in the Summer Olympic Games as shown in the Olympic Charters

Olympic Charters	Number of sports women contested	New sports
1949	6	Athletics and fencing
1955	7	Equestrian
1956	7	
1962	7	
1966	9	Archery and volleyball
1967	10	Shooting
1971	10	
1972	10	
1973	13	Basketball, rowing and handball
1974	13	
1975	14	hockey
1976	14	
1978	14	

Table 16: Women's participation in the Summer Olympic Games

Year	Sports	Events	NOCs	Participants	%
1896	—	—	—	—	—
1900	2 (4)	3 (4)	5	19 (22)	1.6

1904	1	2	1	6	0.9
1908	2	3	4	36	1.8
1912	2	6	11	57	2.2
1920	2	6	13	77	2.9
1924	3	11	20	136	4.4
1928	4	14	25	290	9.6
1932	3	14	18	127	9.0
1936	4	15	26	328	8.1
1948	5	19	33	385	9.4
1952	6	25	41	518	10.5
1956	6	26	39	384	16.1
1960	6	26	45	384	16.1
1964	7	33	53	683	13.3
1968	7	39	54	781	14.2
1972	8	43	65	1058	14.8
1976	11	49	66	1247	20.7
1980	12	50	54	1125	21.5
1984	14	62	94	1567	23.0
1988	17	86	117	2186	25.8
1992	19	98	136	2708	28.8
1996	21	108	169	3626	34.2

2000	25	132	199	4063	38.2
2004	26	135	201	4306	40.7

Source: IOC, 2006

1962 Article 29 - Women are admitted to the following events: ... (summer sports), figure and speed skating, and skiing, and may take part in the art exhibition.

1971 Article 29 - Women are admitted to the following events: ... (summer sports), luge, figure and speed skating, and skiing, and may take part in the art exhibition.

1972 – 1976 - Article 29 - Women are admitted to the following events: ... (summer sports), luge, figure and speed skating, and skiing, in accordance with the rules of the relevant IFs, upon agreement with the IOC and may take part in the fine arts exhibition.

1978-1979 – Article 31 (Article 28 from 1980 onward) – Women are eligible to compete in accordance with the Rules of the relevant IFs, upon agreement with the IOC. (Note that the sports are no longer specified).

Conclusions

At its 93rd Session, held in Calgary in February 1988, the IOC unanimously decided to delete Rule 28, which made women's participation subject to the approval of the IFs and of the IOC itself, from the Olympic Charter. Since the Olympic Charter contained no such provision regarding men, Rule 28, already an anachronism, might be resented as discriminatory. As a result, after women had gone through so much in 94 years since the foundation of the IOC in 1894, when no rules existed for the participation of women, the situation became in a way very similar to that that existed in 1894: no explicit rules. As a matter of fact, in 1894 there were implicit rules for the non-participation of women, while after 1988 there were implicit rules for the participation of women. Ninety-four years of invitation, recruitment, inclusion, participation and admission, battles and fights, for women to finally start another page in their lives: the struggle to become part of administrative ranks in sports institutions such as the IOC.

From another perspective, it is possible to perceive the legacy in the sense used by DaCosta (2002) versus the innovation in the situation above. On the one hand, at the same time that

Coubertin's legacy was maintained during 94 years through a variety of forms, it was not excluded in the end. On the contrary, it was kept inside, disguised in the sense of innovation. On the other hand, the legacy of keeping power away from women had been kept and it is exactly at this point that it is possible to establish both legacy and innovation on a continuum as both concepts will be reserved and established for future research (DaCosta, 2002).

Table 17: Women's participation in the Winter Olympic Games

Year	Sports	Events	NOCs	Participants	%
1924	1	2	7	13	5
1928	1	2	10	26	5.6
1932	1	2	7	21	8.3
1936	2	5	15	80	12
1948	2	5	12	77	11.5
1952	2	6	17	109	15.7
1956	2	7	18	132	17.0
1960	2	11	22	143	21.5
1964	3	13	28	200	18.3
1968	3	13	29	211	18.2
1972	3	13	27	206	20.5
1976	3	14	30	231	20.6
1980	3	14	31	233	21.7
1984	3	15	35	274	21.5
1988	3	18	39	313	22.0

1992	4	25	44	488	27.1
1994	4	27	44	523	30.0
1998	6	31	54	788	36.2
2002	7	37	77	886	36.9

Source: IOC (2006)

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The process of inclusion of women in the Olympic Games is long, extremely complex, strewn with obstacles and has not been completed yet either for women as athletes or for women as sports administrators. It also involves the process of inclusion of women in the societies to which they belong.

From an initial non-inclusion in the Ancient Olympic Games until 40.7% of participation in the Modern Olympic Games in 2004, women have written a long and colorful story of various forms of participation in sport and physical activities. The Ancient Olympic Games represent an invaluable source of information as they constituted a creation of the Greeks at attempting to solve problems related to war and power. Around 776 B.C. physical strength meant life or death, which means that those who were small and weak had serious problems to survive. Women have always belonged to this group. Physical strength was closely associated to power and wealth and still is. Because the Olympic Games of Antiquity were the very first of its kind and because of the glamour and glory that had been constructed around them, they became models not only for other Games of major or minor importance that occurred during the same era but also for the Games which were modified and adapted through the years by other cultures, and survived through the centuries that followed. The role played by the Ancient Olympic Games and their heroes (no heroines) on center-stage, the victory, the glory, prestige and fame of the winners, the strength and power of the participants, the discipline and training for men to become athletes and possibly lead the main roles have attracted the admiration and emulation of thousands, including one individual in particular: Pierre de Coubertin. The ideas that emanated from the Games of antiquity, the preservation of their rituals and habits were preserved as much as possible during the process of conception of the modern Olympic Games, even the non-inclusion of women as athletes (women could attend the Games), as said by the Baron himself. However, even at that time, women did have their own physical activities and women did participate in the Olympic Games according to their own possibilities, which included riches and power. The wealthy women who bred expensive horses became winners. The same happened in the Modern Olympic Games as the women who first participated in the 1900 Games in tennis, golf, equestrian, yachting and croquet were the ones who were affluent and had free time to engage in leisure activities.

Although, according to the specialized literature, there are no documents that prohibited women from participating in the Ancient Olympic Games, there were no official documents

excluding women's participation from the modern Olympic Games. As the codes of conduct of both Ancient and Modern times were implicit, women's biology and their consequent lack of physical strength and power in all senses did not allow them to enter as athletes. Ancient Greek women had no rights. Women who were beginning to participate in the Olympic Games of the modern era did not have rights either, but were in the process of fighting for them.

Along the centuries as the Olympic Games were developing other versions adapted to other cultures, women did participate in them as did the whole community. The Games had survived under various forms. However, after Ancient Greece and the Olympic Games of antiquity had been remembered as a fountain of glory and pride by the poet Soutsos, who had the idea of reviving them to make up for Greece's absence in the European Renaissance and Enlightenment movements, and also after the process of excavations at various sites had started at Olympia, the wealthy Greek businessman Zappas heard Soutsos' appeal and decided to reinstate the Games the way they had been, following the procedures of the original ancient Greek Games, which did not include women. The idea was then passed on to British entrepreneur and doctor William Penny Brookes, who had kept contact with Zappas and who been conducting his Olympian Games in Much Wenlock, England. As a result of the influence, Brookes made changes in the ways the Much Wenlock Games were being staged so that they would become more Olympic than Olympian. Brookes then influenced Pierre de Coubertin with his ideas of making the Games international as Brookes answered a research letter Coubertin had sent to many societies when he conducted a survey about games and physical activities in 1890. The idea of restoring the Olympic Games with an international flavor represented great appeal to Coubertin, who had had part of his education turned to British culture and values. Aristocratic and wealthy Pierre de Coubertin had been born and brought up in France but visited England several times as a young adult. He had become acquainted with the life and customs of British educational system for boys as he read books such as "Tom Brown's Schooldays" or "Notes sur l'Angleterre" and became an aficionado for sports and physical activities which had been thought of to become part of some rite of passage to transform boys into men and which were in a way similar to those created by the ancient Greeks. He was also influenced by beliefs and principles taken from English sport such as the ones based on social behaviors, fair play, manliness, bravery, pluck (stiff upper lip), initiative and physical strength. As he had been brought up in an environment where French people resented their defeat in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and blamed the weak French soldiers for that, a new educational system, which emphasized sport codes would be ideal for the French people, particularly if combined with the procedures of the Ancient Games. To Baron Pierre de Coubertin, the cult of these activities

would help achieve his ambitious objectives at the end of the 19th century. At that time the accelerated development of technology, education and communication systems pushed forward the development of European and North-American societies causing enormous changes in the job market, social values and societal roles. It was the time when women more vehemently fought for their emancipation as they demanded not only to share men's positions in the various areas but also, and above all, the right to become citizens and to have access to power. The speed social events were taking place and the new direction they were heading may have caused uneasiness to some people, particularly concerning new codes and beliefs. Individuals seemed then to have only two choices: (i) to start adapting to the new order and new events that were taking place every day, accepting the new trends and trying to adjust to them or (ii) to remain loyal to their own system and refuse therefore to change the status quo as such a change could imply the loss of traditions and positions, especially power positions. The latter possibility seems to have been the choice of Baron Pierre de Coubertin as he kept himself tight with his 19th century code system, his educational background and his own set of principles which he had constructed during the first 37 years of his life. Coubertin had founded the International Olympic Committee in 1894 and the first Olympic Games of the modern era were staged in Athens in 1896, but he never formally prohibited women from participating in the Olympic Games as such documents do not exist. It seemed to have been an implicit prohibition of the 19th century code of sport principles, which had origins in the British Puritan movement of the 1640s. However, because societies were changing their values, because international competitions at that time lacked common rules and regulations and especially because Coubertin and the IOC did not have any control over the Olympic Games of 1900, which ironically took place in Paris, the wealthy ladies who had been taking part in similar competitions in England and in France were invited or recruited (as stated by the official report written by the organizer of the competitions) to contest the "Jeux Internationaux de L'Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris". As a result, 25 women participated in the 1900 Olympic Games in lawn tennis, golf, equestrian, yachting, croquet and ballooning. As ballooning has not been considered an Olympic sport by the IOC, even though the Brazilian Santos Dumont (the inventor of the airplane) earned an Olympic diploma in 1905 for his merit in the sport of aeronautics, which included ballooning, Mrs. Maison and Mrs. Lemaire can not be counted as Olympic athletes. The number of female Olympians of the 1900 is then 23. The IOC did not have again the control of the Saint Louis Games in 1904, which allowed for the inclusion of the National Championships of archery, which happened to occur during the period of the Olympic Games. The powerful and conservative American James Sullivan, the director of

the Olympic Games in Saint Louis, had not planned any events for women; however, he had to add the results of the traditional National Championships of archery, which included women, and had been taking place for the past 25 years to his official report. Notwithstanding the fact that the 1906 Athens Games are still not officially recognized by the IOC, they were essential for the survival of the Olympic Movement as they promoted the Olympic Games all over Europe and had athletes coming from several countries. Seven women who were not famous athletes at the time contested lawn tennis and, exceptionally, 12 Danish female gymnasts were invited by the Greek king to give a demonstration of the sport, which greatly pleased the audience. They were so successful that got invited to give demonstrations again in 1908 and 1912 with increased number of gymnasts. The 1908 London Games, organized by the British Olympic Association, were the first Games to have rules and regulations, according to the official report. Women athletes were then admitted for the sports which they had already contested in previous Games and invited to give displays of swimming, diving and gymnastics, which opened doors for the participation of women in future events. With the establishment of rules, it would then become possible for the conservative and aristocratic members of the IOC to continue their traditions restricting the access of women to sport, which represented preservation of manliness and power. As the number of IFs and NOCs started to increase, they were few at the turn of the century, more control over women's sporting activities was exercised as these institutions were controlled by men. Women started in the IFs a little later, but did not initially occupy leadership positions. Since the last quarter of the 19th century, female athletes had been observing that it would be almost impossible for men to share their most well-preserved idea of manliness, constructed throughout the centuries. The positions of power and male hegemony in sport were not to be appropriated by women, who had been regarded as weak, unintelligent and abnormal beings. As women would not be permitted to participate in their male preserve of sport and power, they began forming their own athletic and sporting associations and federations. The culmination of this process took place in 1921 when Alice Milliat put together the FSFI in order to start the Women's Olympic Games. The FSFI lasted until 1938. It was the greatest example and source of inspiration for many women who also wanted to have their dream come true. Through their own federations and associations women athletes and administrators started struggling their way up to be included in the IOC, an institution which had started and behaved as a private aristocratic male club, which 'belonged' to one man, but which became more successful than it had been planned for. The IOC preached amateurism as the participating athletes could not compete for money. Athletes were supposed to do it for pleasure. Women, however, who would then have the free time and financial

conditions necessary to be ‘amateur athletes’ as the upper class women did not work, had not been thought of. After its beginning in 1894, the Olympic movement in less than two decades already belonged to the whole humankind due to the involvement of a great number of nations and people. Women, who make up 52% of all human beings on the planet, are still under-represented in the Olympic Games and in the administrative positions of the IOC and of its bodies.

The objectives of this dissertation were reached as the status of women who participated as athletes in the early Olympic Games were determined, the different degrees of women’s exclusion have been identified, the ways in which women athletes came to participating in the Games were traced and pinpointed, the circumstances women came to become elected IOC members were pointed out, the barriers women had and still have to overcome in order to fully participate in the Olympic Movement were examined and identified.

The research questions which had been set out at the beginning have been elucidated throughout this research work. Questions related to the participation of the women in the Ancient Games and Modern Olympic Games, their initial exclusion or non-inclusion, the barriers they had to overcome, other Games women athletes participated in, their status of participation in the Ancient Olympic Games and in the Modern Olympic Games, their mode of participation in the Modern Olympic Games, the gradual inclusion of women as athletes in the first Olympic Games of the modern era, the absence of women from administrative bodies of sport including the IOC, the role played by the IFs in the inclusion of women as athletes in the Olympic Games, and the relevance of primary sources such as the Minutes of the Annual IOC Sessions, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings, the Olympic Charters, the official reports of the Olympic Games, other official documents and the role played by secondary sources in the historical process of women’s participation and inclusion in the Olympic Games and in the IOC Movement.

It is relevant to point out that the use of primary sources such as the Minutes of the Annual IOC Sessions, the minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters were essential for the study but the use of other primary sources such as the official reports of the Olympic Games, newspapers of the period, personal and institutional letters available at the Olympic Museum were vital instruments that have helped in the reconstruction of data that seemed to be missing as no other research work had already established the circumstances of women’s participation in the Olympic Games in a clear manner.

As a result of missing data, misinterpretations may occur which will change the face of the future. Secondary sources such as books and scientific articles also represented an

invaluable source as they contributed for the establishment of the circumstances of the different time periods. Information about the participation of women in the Olympic Games is invaluable as it represents information about 52% of humankind. It can not continue to be incomplete, misinterpreted and misrepresented. It is essential to break this vicious circle and organize the information available for future generations of men and women.

Some authors have relied on the Minutes of the IOC Sessions as a work to be done describing the position of women and their status of participation. The status of the participation of women was found in the official reports of the early Games as they had been written by the organizers at a time when there was not a lot of involvement of the press, lack of experience and organization of the IOC for such matters. The reason why the official reports of the early Games had been neglected or ignored by researchers was probably due to three reasons: (i) the 1900 and the 1906 official reports were written in French and in Greek, respectively, and do not have an English version, which makes access to the information difficult for most researchers, who use English as the language of science; (ii) the Olympic Games of 1900 and 1904 were considered disasters by the IOC; therefore, little attention is drawn to them, and (iii) the 1906 Athens Games are not officially considered by the IOC.

From all the evidence compiled in this dissertation, it is possible to infer that initially, women were not included in the Ancient Olympic Games because sport had been developed for war purposes and women did not go to wars for their own, already described, very biological nature and conditions. Wars have been related to power and control, so sport was closely associated with physical strength, domination and subjugation of one to another. The same concept seemed to have been preserved and carried through the centuries, associated to other social constructs and finally applied to the Modern Olympic Games. The subject of manliness or 'how to be a man' seemed to be connected with physical strength, which excluded women because of their size, strength and reproductive biology. Women were seen as the opposite of men ('the opposite' sex, 'the weaker sex'). As a matter of fact, man and woman were binary and exclusionary features. As sport identified with power, it appeared that once women, who belonged to an indoor private sphere, started practicing sports and therefore 'invading' men's outdoor public sphere, men thought they would not only 'lose' their manliness' but also lose their power to women. That would be an outrageous loss. Furthermore, the concepts of physical strength, sport and power were also related to wealth. The women who entered both ancient and modern Olympic Games belonged to the upper classes and had the financial means to do so. Women who belonged to the working classes only managed to enter the Olympic Games as athletes when track and field was accepted in 1928. Power was also maintained through wealth.

Even Coubertin lost most of his power when all his investments failed because of the Great War. His former position of domination and authority gave way to more NOCs and IFs, which started having the control of the purse strings. The IFs could then pressure the IOC to include women in the Olympic Games.

As women had always been dependent on men to survive (they very rarely could have an education or a job), when they entered the job market, the relationship between the above interwoven concepts had to be revised. Society had been dramatically changing after the Industrial Revolution, allowing for more economical and educational feminine independence, which greatly challenged the distribution of roles in society. However, it was not an easy task for patriarchal societies to break the circle and start accepting new models. Women had to take the initiative and lead the way imposing a new order which would, make them more active and participating. They were leaving a position of inferiority in terms of physical strength, biological destiny, education, qualifications and power to become more self-confident and to share the same positions of command men had had for centuries.

Both World Wars represented great advancement in the conquest of women's rights as they required that men leave their jobs in order to fight, which caused a labor shortage for industries. Women took the opportunity to contribute to the war effort by working in industry, transportation, and education. As a result, fashion changed to suit the more practical women. One of the results of social emancipation through labor was a movement for participation in other social activities, including traditional male sports. Even though the return of masculine authority after the war meant that women were relegated back to the home, many younger women stayed in school longer and were playing sports more frequently.

Pierre de Coubertin did not exclude women, but he did not include them. Women did not belong to his world as they were invisible due to their condition of being physically inferior due to their biology and their poverty. Physical weakness, powerlessness, and poverty were not the necessary pre-requisites for participation in 'public' sport or in the Olympic Games. However, although societies evolved and modified their values adapting to the new times, Coubertin and some of his followers opted for preserving 19th century values and beliefs. It appeared that Coubertin refused to adapt to the new social roles, which contributed for a long delay in the participation of women in competitive sport. It is possible then to speculate whether Coubertin thought that if he changed his views, he would be corrupt and therefore would betray himself since any alteration could mean weakness from his part. After all, he was a man.

This dissertation is unique as it traces back the origins of the absence of women from the original Olympic Games (from 776 B.C. until 1982 A.D.) and offers an explanation for the

non-inclusion of female Olympians in the Modern Olympic Games based on analysis of primary sources found at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne, Switzerland, and complemented by the support of secondary auxiliary sources.

As the Minutes of the Annual Sessions of the IOC, the Minutes of the Executive Board Meetings and the Olympic Charters were examined, the portions of these documents that contained any item referring to the direct or indirect participation of women in the Olympic Games were carefully selected, transcribed and analyzed. From this examination it was demonstrated how discrimination against women prevailed through implicit and explicit forms as well as how the IOC developed strategies either to include or exclude women from the Olympic Games program. In short, the real issue of this dissertation is how discrimination has worked in the internal affairs of the IOC. And the conclusions presented in each defined portion of documents critically scrutinize those discrimination mechanisms in terms of historical periods.

Suggestions for further studies

As “women in sport” is a relatively recent area of study, there is still a lot to investigate and discover, particularly through the use of primary sources such as newspapers, letters, minutes of clubs and sports associations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, written in various languages. Consequently, more research is necessary to examine the roles women have played not only as athletes but also as administrators in national and international sports federations, and other sports governing bodies, related not only to the Olympic Movement but also to the culturally-rich national associations of sports worldwide.

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