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Mind and Body in Early American Thought

JOHN R. BETTS

AMERICAN interest in physical fitness was largely the culmination of the educational movement and the urban-industrial development of the latter half of the nineteenth century. But the origins of American thought about the relationship of mind and body can be traced to the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, the romantic spirit of the early republic, and the recurring appeals of educators, physicians, health advocates, journalists, and sports enthusiasts of the Middle Period. The wisdom of ancient as well as modern philosophers who saw the fulfillment of man only in the unity of body, mind, and spirit was long confined to an intellectual elite and only began to win a wider audience in an era of democratic upsurge and mounting concern over health in an urbanizing society.

Ministers, doctors, and planters in colonial times had access to Greek and Roman classics, the works of some medieval scholars, and the literature of the Renaissance, Reformation, Elizabethan age, and Enlightenment. Among modern writers who had published scattered fragments and discourses on physical training were Martin Luther, Girolamo Mercuriale, John Comenius, Richard Mulcaster, Michel de Montaigne, John Milton, John Locke, Francis Fuller, and Jean Jacques Rousseau.[1] Before the end of the colonial era the Encyclopedists were investigating man's knowledge of

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[1] The Renaissance broadened the concept of education, and scholars like Sir Thomas Elyot and Roger Asham endorsed gymnastics, sports, and games as antidotes to mental weariness. Pope Pius II recommended games of ball and skill; Luther, the vigorous life and wrestling. Mercuriale wrote the *Celebrated Gymnastic Art of the Ancients* (1569). In *Of Education* John Milton declared that young men must be ". . . practised in all the locks and grips of wrestling, wherein Englishmen were wont to excel, as need may often be in fight to tug, or grapple, and to close." As sensory experience was more widely acknowledged as the basis of education, John Locke opened *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* with the assertion, "A sound mind in a sound body, is a short but full description of a happy state in this world." In 1704 Francis Fuller published *Medicina Gymnastica*; and other eighteenth-century writers on physical education included Friedrich Hoffmann, Johann Peter Frank, Gerhard Vieth, Simon Tissot, C. J. Tissot (*Gymnastique Medicale*, 1781), and Pierre Cabanis. From Vesalius and Harvey onward, physiological writing spread the new knowl-

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hygiene and exercise, and Scottish physicians were publishing works on physic and health.[2]

New England Calvinists, however, remained cool toward all the appetites of the flesh, except for an occasional Harvard student who went skating, hunting, or fishing. The gospel of work was rooted in the Protestant ethic; it was believed that innocent play was too easily turned to frivolous amusement, and rural sports and youthful games were discarded in manhood according to the Biblical injunction. Dutch Calvinists in New Netherland were somewhat different; they smoked their pipes, played at bowls, and skated on the wintry ice. Southern gentlemen mastered the arts of horsemanship and fencing or collected books on hunting and fishing in good Cavalier tradition. When Sir Francis Nicholson, governor of Virginia in 1691, proclaimed an annual field day for contests of strength and skill among "the better sort of Virginians only, who are bachelors," he established a precedent for similar festivals in the region. Physical training was a necessary attribute of the gentleman,[3] and planters who engaged in fox hunting and the wild sports of the woods set an example later imitated in the middle colonies.

By the middle decades of the eighteenth century, signs of interest in sport and exercise were the cricket matches in Georgia, Maryland, and New York and Benjamin Franklin's references to running, leaping, wrestling, and swimming for boys in his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania* (1749).[4] Among the anglers following in the foot-

edge of the skeleton and the muscular system; and in eighteenth-century Virginia, Kenneth McKenzie, Alexander Reade, John Sutherland, and William Fleming owned extensive medical libraries.

[2] In 1751 Jean D'Alembert declared that hygiene dealt with the health, beauty, or strength of the body and that "*athletics* will produce *gymnastics*, or the art of *exercising*. . . ." Richard N. Schwab and Walter E. Rex, eds., *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia of Diderot and Jean D'Alembert (1751)* (Indianapolis, 1963), 155-62. As the Encyclopedists' model, Francis Bacon had visualized the science of the human body as constituting medicine, cosmetics, athletics, and the pleasures of the senses. Hallé discussed Greek gymnastics from Homer and the early Greeks to Herodicus and his pupil Hippocrates. He also noted the contemporary French *collège* enthusiasm for handball, football, and tennis, while French physicians were acquainted with the exercising interests of Sydenham, Baglivi, Stahl, and Boerhaave. N. F. J. Eloy, ed., *Dictionnaire Historique de la Médecine Ancienne et Moderne* (3 vols., Paris, 1778), II, 420-22. Jean J. Rousseau contended, "Nature wills that they should be children before they are men." Cliff climbing, swimming, and carefree sports and games helped develop the child: "A debilitated body enfeebles the soul. . . . If you would cultivate the intelligence of your pupil, cultivate the power which it is to govern." *Émile, ou Traité de l'Éducation* (1762).

[3] Louis B. Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class* (San Marino, 1940), 87, 153.

[4] Examples of children's manuals published in the colonies were Edward Blackwell, *A Compleat System on Fencing* (Williamsburg, 1734) and Hugh Gaine, *A Little Pretty*

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steps of Isaak Walton were the Philadelphia sportsmen who formed the Schuylkill Fishing Company in 1732. Samuel Moody of the Dummer School at Byfield, Massachusetts, championed swimming as a release from the rigors of the classroom, while Bostonian readers of the *Chronicle* were alerted to the values of exercise expounded in Dr. George MacKenzie's *Art of Preserving Health.* At least a decade before the American Revolution James Rivington of New York advertised the "best racquets for tennis and fives"—indicative of the increasing popularity of ball games. Even during the winter of Valley Forge, Revolutionary troops drilled and exercised or played the ball game called "base."[5] After the war Americans returned to their normal pursuits and recreations, among which were horse racing, target shooting, and quoits.

There was a continuing flow of writings on recreation. Thomas Jefferson in 1785 recommended two hours of daily exercise, including gunning, walking, and horseback riding. The *Virginia Almanack* of 1787 favored outdoor exercise in the months of November and December. In an address to the young men of Hartford in 1790 on the virtues of athletics, Noah Webster claimed "a fencing skool is, perhaps, as necessary an institution in a college as a professorship of mathematics." Dr. Benjamin Rush approved all exercises "calculated to import health, strength and elegance to the human body" in his proposals for a federal university. The prize-winning essay of the American Philosophical Society in 1797 was written by Samuel Harrison Smith, Jeffersonian editor of the *National Intelligencer*, who believed military drills and exercises would cultivate a "national spirit." At the end of the century, Samuel Knox of the Frederick Academy in Maryland encouraged dancing, fencing, and spontaneous activity: "Exercise and temperance are necessary both for the vigor of body and mind. . . ."[6]

After 1800 the tempo of publication on educational theory, health, and

Book ([Philadelphia] 1762). Benjamin Rush in his "Sermon on Exercise" encouraged mountain climbing, swimming, skating, bowling, quoits, jumping, and such games as golf and tennis. Dagobert D. Runes, ed., *The Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush* (New York, 1947), 360-63.

[5] *The Military Journal of George Ewing: 1754-1824* (Yonkers, 1938), 31; Robert W. Henderson, *Ball, Bat and Bishop: The Origin of Ball Games* (New York, 1947), 102.

[6] Edward M. Hartwell, *On Physical Training* (Washington, 1904), 746; Runes, *Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush*, 101-05. See also Mathew Carey's *American Museum: or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces etc. Prose and Poetical*, IV (Dec. 1788), VI (July 1789), XI (April 1792); Frederick Rudolph, ed., *Essays on Education in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, 1965), 222; Samuel Knox, *An Essay on the Best System of Liberal Education, Adapted to the Genius of the Government of the United States* (Baltimore, 1799), 134; Allen Oscar Hansen, *Liberalism and American Education in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1965), 110, 125.

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physical training quickened. Dr. Shadrach Ricketson cited various "authorities" on exercise in his *Means of Preserving Health and Preventing Diseases* (1806). Philadelphia printers published English children's manuals. From Edinburgh came *The Code of Health and Longevity* (1807), in which Sir John Sinclair cited ancient critics of athletics like Euripides and Galen as well as such expositors as Herodicus and Hippocrates. Sinclair referred to Locke, Rousseau, Fuller, and Strutt (author of *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, 1808); he recorded an interview with the celebrated pugilist James Jackson; and he sanctioned French, English, and Scottish games and sports, such as fives, tennis, cricket, shinty, golf, rowing, angling, and hunting. Games were espoused as remedies for defects in respiration, digestion, posture, and complexion. All the mental faculties were brightened and preserved: "The mind also becomes more courageous. . . ." Every sport seemed to win approval—sailing, riding, bowling, dumbbells, and billiards.[7] In the second decade of the century, less literature on the subject appeared. Exceptions were the reprinting of Franklin's thoughts on swimming, John Frost's *Art of Swimming* (1818), and Emma Willard's comments on dancing in her proposals for a female seminary. And after the War of 1812 farmers raced their trotters, pedestrians appeared at race courses, and the prize fighter made his bow before a disapproving public.

Politics in the 1820s mirrored the energy, turbulence, and aspiration of a generation conditioned by Jeffersonian ideals and the westward movement. Education became the watchword of National Republicans and Jacksonian Democrats, and concern for the interdependence of mind and body grew out of the fusing of ideas from several intellectual sources. Rousseau's *Emile* and Pestalozzi's pedagogical insights played a vital role in forming American romantic ideals for the education that would liberate and elevate the masses. Perfectible man, free of original sin, was almost divine—his impulses and desires were true to Nature. Self-improvement and self-fulfillment were imperatives popularized by educators influenced by European ideas on child training and by reformers on the lyceum platform, or by philanthropists helping to establish libraries for school children and apprentices. An intellectual prejudice against the exaltation of muscle prevailed among most academicians, and fashion dictated that the lady of breeding be sleek and delicate; but national pride was wounded when foreign critics re-

[7] Robert W. Henderson, comp., *Early American Sport: A Chronological Check-List of Books Published Prior to 1860, Based on an Exhibition Held at the Grolier Club* (New York, 1937); Shadrach Ricketson, *Means of Preserving Health and Preventing Diseases* (New York, 1806), 152-71; John Sinclair, *The Code of Health and Longevity* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1807), I, 575-611, 707-10, II, 83-93

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ferred to the underdeveloped physiques, wan complexions, and premature aging of Americans. Classicists and romanticists alike were inspired by the Greek Revolution; and ancient history was featured in the curriculum, which reminded the young of the gymnasiums of Athens and the vigor of Sparta.

The Enlightenment only gradually broke through the confines of an intellectual aristocracy, but the rationalist emphasis on sensory experience tied the brain even more firmly to bodily functions. Environmentalism and materialism, with a strong Christian bent, crept into American thought through Deism, the American Philosophical Society, and the writings of Joseph Priestley and Thomas Cooper. A scientific approach to hygiene appeared in the medical works of Benjamin Rush and others, following the lead of Edinburgh. The Enlightenment had accented the power of knowledge but had also assumed man's essential goodness and potential improvement. Man, if not the center of the cosmos, was ascending and gaining mastery over Nature. The secularization of society encouraged the state to move into the area of popular education. While orthodox and evangelical Christianity thrived in an era of democratic aspirations, the old Calvinist assumption of man's sinful nature was eroded with the diffusion of knowledge, a spreading individualistic philosophy, and a utilitarian acceptance of society's responsibility for controlling disease and disseminating education according to the Benthamite dictum of the greatest good for the greatest number. By the 1820s the European educational developments of the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were becoming known to a core of American scholars and pedagogues.[8]

One innovation of the late-eighteenth century was the development of gymnastic systems by J. K. F. Guts Muths, Christian Salzmann, Franz Nachtegall, and Henrik Ling.[9] Salzmann's work, in particular, had been

[8] The romantic spirit in American culture and education has been treated by many writers, including Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States, A Study and Interpretation of American Educational History* (Boston, 1934), 344-66, and Stuart G. Noble, *A History of American Education* (New York, 1938), 197-211.

[9] Johann Basedow had opened his "Philanthropinum" at Dessau in 1776, the first modern educational institution to give prominence to physical education. Christian Salzmann established his institute at Schnepfenthal in Saxony in 1786, where Johann K. F. Guts Muths pioneered in the pedagogy of gymnastics and wrote *Gymnastik für die Jugend* (1793) as well as *Spiel zur Uebung und Erholung des Korpers und Giestes für die Jugend* (1796). A Philadelphia imprint of *Gymnastics for Youth* (1802-1803) was attributed to Salzmann. In 1803 Immanuel Kant published his *Pedagogy*, in which he claimed, "Playing ball is one of the best sports for children, since it involves running, which is very healthful." Edward Franklin Buchner, trans. and ed., *The Educational Theory of Immanuel Kant* (Philadelphia, 1904), 160. After the War of Liberation, Friedrich Jahn wrote *Die Deutche Turnkunst*, the guide of the Turner movement.

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printed in this country; but it would be the authoritative name of Pestalozzi that would persuade American educational reformers of the goodness of childish instincts and of the need to allow the child a freedom of action and expression heretofore impossible in schools dedicated to memory work and discipline by the rod. A disciple of Rousseau, Pestalozzi went beyond the master. As early as 1804 he opened a gymnasium in his school at Statz, Switzerland. Like a number of his contemporaries, he emphasized the natural development of the child but also included the improvement of society as an educational objective. During the German nationalistic reaction to Napoleonic conquest, patriotic feeling in the era of Fichte and Stein spilled over into educational theory. Pestalozzi wrote a tract on physical education in 1807, and Fichte encouraged him to reorganize Berlin's schools toward German regeneration. John Griscom's *A Year in Europe* (1819) noted the Pestalozzian influence and was considered an educational classic by Jefferson. Educators traveling abroad visited Pestalozzi's Yverdun and Emmanuel Fellenberg's Hofwyl, where gymnastics and outdoor exercise were featured. The gymnastic movement gradually penetrated American school circles in the twenties as knowledge of Prussian educational reforms spread.

The single most influential figure in the German revival was Friedrich Jahn, who had organized Turnplatz schools, fought in the War of Liberation, and emerged the "father" of the Turner movement. Throughout western Europe experiments with gymnastics continued. Ling reformed Swedish national education with a system of free movements; Francisco Amoros and Charles Junod in Paris, Captain P. H. Clias in Berne and London, Carl Voelker in London, and J. A. Beajeu in Dublin became active proponents.[10] Captain Alden Partridge of West Point was introducing exercises as part of American military training. Thus in many countries Jahn became the symbol of physical training as an instrument in national educational reform.

Medical and educational leaders were alerted. In 1826-1827 William Russell's *American Journal of Education* discussed the work of Salzmann,

[10] Francisco Amoros, *Gymnase Normal, Militaire et Civil* (Paris, 1821); Charles Junod, *Considerations sur la Gymnastique* (Paris, 1825); P. H. Clias, *An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises, or Calisthenics* (Dublin, 1828). Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi had published a tract on physical education in 1807 and had set off a Swiss movement about 1815 at the Academy of Berne. A French journal referred to the decline of gymnastics in past ages with the spiritual emphasis of early Christianity and with the expulsion of the Moors, who had brought exercises to Spain, France, and Italy. *Journal de Médecine, Chirurgie, Pharmacie, &c.*, LXXXVI (Jan. 1791), 457. Later popularizers included Adolph Spiess and Ernst Eiselen. Sandhurst introduced athletic games in 1812, and the Grenelle gymnasium opened in Paris in 1818.

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Jahn, Clias, Voelker, and their American adherents. The *Journal* pointed out the need for city playgrounds and gymnasiums, as well as the benefits of hunting, cricket, handball, and golf. Boston's *North American Review* cited James G. Carter's *Essays upon Popular Education*, while the Boston *Medical Intelligencer* described the decline of gymnastics during the Middle Ages and its revival by Guts Muths, Jahn, and company. Robert Dale Owen had been a student at Fellenberg's Hofwyl, where he joined in the public games, annual walking tours, and daily gymnasium exercises, which he considered so conducive to vigor, health, good temper, morality, and intellectual vitality. Francis Neefe, the Pestalozzian, was attracted to New Harmony, Indiana, whose *Gazette* discussed the values of gymnastics. For those enslaved by the dictates of fashion, the *Ladies Magazine* prophesied: "Strengthen their physical powers, and you may then give energy to their intellects, brilliant links of beauty to their persons, animation to their spirits, and grace to their manners."[11]

Gymnastics were introduced in Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia almost simultaneously. Jefferson and the organizing trustees provided for gymnastic exercises at the University of Virginia in 1824; William Bentley Fowle of the Boston Monitorial School declared, "I hope the day is not far distant when gymnasiums for women will be as common as churches in Boston"; John Griscom, who had visited the schools of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg, introduced gymnastics into his New York high school; and George Bancroft, acquainted with the influence of Pestalozzi and Fichte in Berlin's schools, joined with Joseph Cogswell in organizing the Round Hill School in Northampton, Massachusetts. Round Hill played an historic role. Though they would provide a liberal education, Cogswell and Bancroft announced, "We would also encourage activity of body, as the means of promoting firmness of constitution and vigor of mind, and shall appropriate a regular portion of each day to healthy sports and gymnastic exercises." In the *Prospectus* of 1823, they said they were "deeply impressed with the necessity of uniting physical with moral education" and claimed they were "the first in the new continent to connect gymnastics with a purely literary establishment." Calisthenics, the mile run on the school's own track, archery, tumbling, games, and long walking trips were part of the daily schedule.[12] To Round Hill came a disciple of Jahn, Charles Beck, who con-

[11] Richard G. Boone, *A History of Education in Indiana* (New York, 1892), 80-81; *Ladies Magazine*, I (Jan. 1828), 26. Boston *Medical Intelligencer*, IV (Oct. 24, 1826), 195-99, (Dec. 12, 1826), 314-15, (Feb. 13, 1827), 459-61. *North American Review*, XXIV (Jan. 1827), 159-63; *American Journal of Education*, I (Jan. 1826), 19-23, (July 1826), 430-32, (Nov. 1826), 698-701, II (May 1827), 289-92, (Aug. 1827), 466-67.

[12] Thomas Woody, *A History of Woman's Education in the United States* (2 vols., New

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structed a gymnasium and translated his master's *Treatise on Gymnasticks*, saying that play and enthusiasm could counteract pecuniary ambitions absorbed early in life.

Émigré scholars followed Beck in extending the movement. Charles Follen, newly appointed at Harvard, opened a school gymnasium and then founded the Boston (Tremont) Gymnasium in 1826.[13] When he resigned his position, he expressed the hope that the gymnasium would "spread over all this free and happy land." In his *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, the young German scholar claimed that "this methodical exercise of every part of the human frame, is the only way to make the body a sure and well-trained servant of the mind, always ready to obey its master's call." German idealism had influenced a number of intellectuals, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, and Margaret Fuller; and Follen was one of the links to idealist literature.[14]

Francis Lieber, who was familiar with the idea of the gymnasium and the Turner movement, accepted an invitation extended by a group in Boston to come to that American city from London in 1827. The German scholar wrote, "Believe me, Sir, I only want benevolent and sincere intention from those citizens, who declared to patronize the Gymnastics, this important branch of education." In a visit with Lieber at Boston, the sixty-one-year-old President John Quincy Adams plunged into Lieber's swimming pool from a six-foot springboard. Adams remarked that he hoped

York, 1929), II, 111; *American Journal of Education*, X (June 1861), 608, XV (June 1865), 232; George Bancroft to Caleb Cushing, June 5, 1823, Cushing Family Papers #1 (Massachusetts Historical Society); Joseph G. Cogswell and George Bancroft, *Prospectus of a School to be Established at Round Hill, Northampton, Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1823), 17; M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (2 vols., New York, 1908), I, 167-73; Russel B. Nye, *George Bancroft, Brahmin Rebel* (New York, 1944), 67-70.

When Thomas Jefferson wrote George Ticknor for a set of Harvard's rules of government, the Boston scholar sent the Round Hill School *Prospectus* as a preferable model for the University of Virginia. Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America, Philosophical and Literary Influences 1600-1900* (Madison, 1957), 67.

[13] Daniel Webster expressed his approval: "I am highly pleased with the idea of a Gymnasium. It is a subject which has occupied my thoughts. . . . Those who have charge of education seem sometimes to forget that the body is part of the man. The number of young men who leave our colleges, emulous indeed, and learned, but with pale faces and narrow chests, is truly alarming. The common rustic amusements hung about our literary institutions for a long time, but they at length seem to have been entirely abandoned, and nothing, at least nothing useful, has succeeded them. If it be desirable that there should be cultivated intellect, it is equally so, as far as this world is concerned, that there should be a sound body to hold it in." See Paton Stewart, Jr., *Warren's Recommendation of Gymnastics* (Boston, 1856), 4.

[14] *The Works of Charles Follen* (5 vols., Boston, 1841), III, 243; E. L. Follen, *The Life of Charles Follen* (Boston, 1844), 107-19.

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there would be many similar establishments to improve public health. The President thought that swimming was superior to gymnastic exercise, after hard intellectual exertion.[15]

New Englanders were adopting gymnastics. Henry and Sereno Dwight opened a New Haven gymnasium. Apparatus was secured by the Mount Pleasant Classical Institute in Amherst, the Berkshire Gymnasium at Pittsfield, and the Woodbridge School at South Hadley. Amherst, Brown, Williams, Bowdoin, and Andover Seminary students participated in the sport. School journals deplored the endless hours of rigid posture in tiny, overheated classrooms. Philip Lindsley from Princeton, the new president of the University of Nashville, advised: "Attach to each school house a lot of ten acres of land, for the purpose of healthful exercise, gardening, farming, and the mechanical arts." The true university would teach a broad spectrum of literary and scientific subjects and would include fencing, riding, swimming, and gymnastics.[16] Frontiersmen had their rail splitting, ploughing, turkey shoots, and brawls on county-court day; but physical education was moving into the West and South on the coattail of the educator.

College enthusiasm waned as manual-labor experiments were introduced, and apparatus on some school and academy greens rusted with age. Even so, Richard Henry Dana found Harvard students exercising at cricket, football, boxing, fencing, and swimming. Academies, well-established by 1820, entered their golden age in the next two decades, years marked by a rising middle class as well as more education-oriented rural communities. Typical of the most progressive academies, in terms of physical education, were the Dummer School, Phillips Andover, Exeter, Chauncy Hall, and Salem Latin in New England; in New Jersey there was the Lawrenceville School; and more than two thousand academies, many military in nature, appeared in the South. Football (soccer style) was popular at Exeter by 1800, and after-school games proved a diversion to boarding students everywhere. Both Emma Willard at Middlebury, Vermont, and Zilpah Grant at Derry, New Hampshire, sprained ligaments during calisthenics.[17]

[15] Francis Lieber to Dr. John C. Warren, April 3, 1827, John C. Warren Paper (Massachusetts Historical Society); Boston *Medical Intelligencer*, V (July 10, 1827), 134; Thomas Sergeant Perry, ed., *The Life and Letters of Francis Lieber* (Boston, 1882), 78.

[16] Philip Lindsley, *The Cause of Education in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1833), 12; *North American Review*, XXIV (Jan. 1827), 219-24; George P. Schmidt, "Intellectual Cross-currents in American Colleges, 1825-1855," *American Historical Review*, XLII (Oct. 1936), 58-59.

[17] Emmet A. Rice, *Physical Education* (New York, 1939), 152; Russel Blaine Nye, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830* (New York, 1960), 187; Harriett Webster Marr, *The Old New England Academies Founded Before 1826* (New York, 1959), 155-63. Manual-labor programs, usually stressing Fellenberg's ideas on industrial education

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Educators and physicians were increasingly cognizant of the dependence of mental health upon physical well-being. Even the decline in the mortality rate was ascribed, in part, to physical education. Dr. William P. Dewees of the University of Pennsylvania Medical School urged imitating European educators in promoting exercise: "The play of a child is a sort of intellectual occupation. The mind at this age prompts to perpetual exercise and noisy motion." Gymnastic exercise, he concluded, gives "tone and vigour to all parts of the body," and improve morality as well.[18] Though public concern for health had been limited in the past,[19] reformers were now aroused by George Combe's *Constitution of Man* (1828) and by Dr. Andrew Combe's *Principles of Physiology* (1834). The latter recalled Sinclair's *Code of Health* and declared that social play and sports were more meaningful than aimless walking. One scholar has observed, "American health reformers cited the Combes [book] as theologians cited the Bible."[20]

The *Journal of Health*, published by an association of Philadelphia physicians, proposed following the example of Sheffield, England, and providing public gymnasiums and baths open to the laboring classes at a minimal fee. An advocate of *mens sana in corpore sano*, the *Journal* printed articles on calesthenics, riding, and sports, paid court to the goddess of health, cited Strutt's *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England*, and apparently approved John Frost's lecture to Middlebury students on the benefits of sparring. Mind and body were indissolubly linked in human development. The young woman was urged to dance in moderation and to ride horseback without corset and buckles (which prevented "the free expansion of her chest") as a cure for nervousness, tremors, palpitation, paleness, headache, indigestion, and poor appetite. Such riding often did "more good than all the art medicinal." The *Journal* saw a variety of benefits of exercise: gymnastics were an antidote for hypochondria, and golfers in Scotland had frequently lived an extra decade. It also ranked the lack of exercise with such "poisons of modern invention" as rum, tobacco, and tea as a cause of the physical decline of modern man.[21]

rather than his concern for exercise, are described in Charles Alpheus Bennett, *History of Manual and Industrial Education Up to 1870* (Peoria, 1926), 128-209.

[18] Review of William P. Dewees, *A Treatise on the Physical and Medical Treatment of Children*, in the *New England Journal of Medicine and Surgery*, XV (April 1826), 173-79.

[19] On early public health measures in Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, see Ralph Chester Williams, *The United States Public Health Service 1798-1950* (Washington, 1951), 162-64.

[20] Robert Samuel Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College From Its Foundation Through the Civil War* (2 vols., Oberlin, 1943), I, 317.

[21] *Journal of Health*, I (Sept. 9, 1829), 4, 14-15, (Oct. 7, 1829), 58, (Nov. 11, 1829), 78, 92-93, (Dec. 23, 1829), 118-21, (Jan. 13, 1830), 132-34, (May 12, 1830), 262-67, (Aug. 24, 1830), 372-74, II (Jan. 11, 1832), 145-46.

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Physical strength of Americans in an urban society was inferior to that of their ancestors of the colonial era and to that of frontiersmen, according to many reformers. The New York *Mirror* became concerned over health and physical degeneration, claimed "a healthy man in New York would be a curiosity," regretted the early fading of women's beauty, deplored the routine of schools, colleges, and seminaries, noted the total neglect of exercise in all social classes, and appealed for more writing on the subject of health. Businessmen foolishly excused their inactivity as the result of lacking time, and thousands were going to unnecessarily early graves.[22]

Health faddists were on the march. Sylvester Graham, a temperance lecturer, concerned himself with vegetarianism, overindulgence, adequate sunlight, bathing, dress reform, sex hygiene, and exercise. The *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* appeared in 1837 and related physical fitness to great achievement. Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Caesar had appreciated the dependence of a sound mind on a healthy body, it was argued, and so had Shakespeare, Gibbon, Byron, Scott, and Davy. The *Boston Health Journal and Advocate of Physiological Reform* carried Graham's appeal. He found exercise a tonic, thought horseback riding a preventive of pulmonary consumption, and warned, "Aged people, after they have retired from the active employments of life, must keep up their regular exercise, or they will soon become feeble and infirm."[23]

Medical men rivaled health cultists in discussing physical fitness. Dr. William A. Alcott edited the *Moral Reformer* and *Teacher on the Human Constitution*. His *Library of Health* encouraged swimming and gymnastics and praised exercise as a means of avoiding consumption.[24] The profession was especially concerned with the war on cholera, yellow fever, influenza, and other epidemics, but the well-being of individuals was

[22] *New York Mirror*, X (April 6, 1833), 317-18, 343, 375, 392.

[23] Richard H. Shryock, "Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement, 1830-1870," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (Sept. 1931), 172-83; *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity*, I (June 20, 1837), 92-93, III (July 20, 1839), 298-99; Sylvester Graham, *Lectures on the Science of Human Life* (2 vols., Boston, 1839), II, 658-59. Temperance advocates stressed the drinking of water, abstinence from or moderate use of liquor, wine, and tobacco, and the moral obligations of the pledge as keys to good health. Only a few linked exercise to temperance, although anatomy professor Reuben Mussey of Dartmouth listed exercise as a substitute for "ardent spirits" in the cure of dyspepsia. Mussey noted J. B. Buckingham's story of Himalayan "athletae" in Calcutta who far surpassed British grenadiers and sailors in wrestling, boxing, and lifting of weights. Reuben J. Mussey, *Prize Essay on Ardent Spirits* (Washington, 1837), 44; G. J. Grosvenor, *An Address on the Importance of Female Influence to the Temperance Reformation* (Geneva, N.Y., 1842), 20.

[24] William A. Alcott, *The Library of Health* (5 vols., Boston, 1837-1841), I, 250-53, II, 346; see also *Health Tract No. 2* (n.p., n.d.), 19 (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester)

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thought to hinge in good part on exercise. Dr. John Collins Warren spoke to the American Institute of Instruction on the importance of physical education and lectured annually thereafter on the value of exercise in the development of the organic structure of the body. A study of muscular action was presented in *Human Physiology* by Dr. Robley Dunglison of the University of Virginia, while Dr. John Jeffries discussed "Physical Culture The Result of Moral Obligations" in the *American Quarterly Observer.*

The plight of the American woman's physical development and health was emphasized in the medical and physiological writings of such physicians as William Alcott, E. W. Duffin, J. M. Keagy, Charles Caldwell, John Bell, Caleb Ticknor, and Abel L. Peirson. Alcott cited the English girl's vigor in his *Young Woman's Guide to Excellence* as a curative for deformity of the spine and noted Pestalozzi's influence. Caldwell, a student of Benjamin Rush, had toured Europe and held the chair of medical and clinical practice at Transylvania University when he published *Lectures on Physical Education* in 1834 and *Thoughts on Physical Education* in 1836. The doctor noted the increase of insanity and dyspepsia, which he blamed on political and religious agitation and the pursuit of wealth. Observing Dr. William Beaumont's discovery of the role of gastric juices in digestion, Caldwell recommended abandonment of excessive mental exertion, regulation of passion, and the practice of muscular exercise. Physical education, he contended, was vital to the destiny of the republic: "Its aim should be loftier and more in accordance with the destiny and character of its subject —to raise man to the summit of his nature. And such will be its scope in future and more enlightened ages."[25] John Bell related exercise to femininity and grace in *Health and Beauty: An Explanation of the Laws of Growth and Exercise.* Caleb Ticknor discussed walking and riding in his *Philosophy of Life.*

Abel Peirson, who had studied in Paris, edited the *Medical Magazine.* The prejudice against girls exercising in the open air, he declared, was aggravated by the passing of the spinning wheel with its muscular demands and by the imposition of a social code which permitted only sledding and battledore as feminine sport. Poor girls! "There is no amusement which could be contrived, better suited to improve the shape of females, by calling into action all the muscles of the back, than the game of billiards. But this game has unfortunately come into bad repute, from being the game resorted to by profligate men of pleasure, to destroy each other's

[25] Charles Caldwell, *Thoughts on Physical Education and the True Mode of Improving the Condition of Man* (Edinburgh, 1836), 77-91.

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health, and pick each other's pockets." According to the learned doctor, French women surpassed other Europeans in lightness of step, symmetry of form, and retention of agility and vivacity into old age. From duchess and leader of *ton* to chambermaid and peasant girl, this vitality was due to the French love of dancing.[26] Feminist leaders also championed physical education for women. Catherine Beecher pioneered with *Suggestions respecting Improvements in Education* (1829) and *Course of Calisthenics for Young Ladies* (1831); Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke inaugurated a calisthenic quadrille; and Margaret Coxe featured exercise in her *Young Lady's Companion* as an antidote to the ravages inflicted by a half century of increasing luxury.

The wakening spirit caught hold of the educational movement. Professor Edward Hitchcock of Amherst cited the case of President Timothy Dwight of Yale as an example of the restorative powers of walking. He claimed that three or four hours daily were not too much to devote to moderate outdoor activity. Statistically, he found that 186 great men of ancient, medieval, and modern times had lived to the average age of seventy-eight, possibly due to physical culture as well as constitutional endowments. Andover seminarians heard Dr. Edward Reynolds of Boston deplore "the measured ministerial walk." "Look at Germany," he advised, and imitate the ancients: "The same necessity which sent Plato and Aristotle to the gymnasium after severe mental labor, still exists with the hard students of our day." Princeton's *Biblical Repertory* lauded the intellectual benefits of rational gymnastics:

> They not only minister present health, but look forward prospectively to firmness of constitution in subsequent life.
>
> Most of the Gymnastic games, also, are of a social kind, and awaken an intense interest in the competitors; absorbing the attention, sharpening the perception, and communicating alertness to the motions of the mind as well as the body. Thus they become invaluable auxiliaries to the more direct methods of promoting intellectual culture.[27]

Theodore Weld's Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions encouraged active sports: "Their effects upon the economy are universal—are felt everywhere. A glow of pleasure, as indescribable as it is exquisite, diffuses itself over all the organs. . . . The vigor of the intellect is revived, and study once more becomes easy and successful." Publisher Mathew Carey acknowledged the importance of Weld's work.

[26] Abel L. Peirson, *On Physical Education* (Boston, 1840), 18-23.

[27] Edward Hitchcock, *Dyspepsy Forestalled and Resisted* (Amherst, 1831), 203; *American Annals of Education*, II (Sept. 1832), 449-59.

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Other testimonials to exercise were given by numerous professors, ministers, and leading citizens. Thomas Grimké of Charleston declared the habit of exercise "creates a greater capacity for mental labor, a more enduring energy, a loftier enthusiasm, a more perfect harmony in the whole system of intellectual powers." Francis Wayland, president of Brown University, recommended three hours of exercise per day: "No man can have either high intellectual action, or definite control over his mental faculties, *without regular physical exercise.* The want of it produces also a feebleness of will, which is as fatal to moral attainment as it is to intellectual progress." In his inaugural address, Mark Hopkins of Williams claimed many students spent too much time in drinking, smoking, and eating rather than in exercises such as sawing wood, walking, or gardening. "It is now agreed," he observed, "that the health of the body is to be one great object of attention, not only for its own sake, but from its connection with a sound state and vigorous action of the mind."[28] The editor of the *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, William Channing Woodbridge, duly recorded the views of the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* and discussed the sports of children. Samuel R. Hall recognized play as the only source of pleasure for some school children, because "brilliancy and force of thought are the natural fruits of activity." And Orestes Brownson commented on the "Necessity and Means of Physical Education" at the American Institute of Instruction.[29]

Thought on exercise in the age of Jackson focused upon the common schools. The *New York Mirror* in 1833 warned:

> The seeds of many diseases, which sweep hundreds and thousands of our most estimable men into premature graves, are planted at school by the injudicious ambition of teachers, who entirely overlook the body in their efforts to overcultivate the mind. Parents forget, in their zeal to clothe the brows of their children with the early laurel for the triumphs of learning that learning itself is valueless without health. . . .

Pedagogues became aware of the refreshment of the mind provided by exercise. Victor Cousin's widely discussed *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* revealed that all Prussian primary schools supported gymnastic exercises, for graceful carriage strengthened "the good qualities of the soul." Jacob Abbott's *The Teacher* recommended battledore and

[28] *Promotion of Health in Literary Institutions* (New Haven, 1833), 20-21; Mathew Carey, *Societies for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions* (Philadelphia, 1834); Mark Hopkins, *An Inaugural Discourse* (Troy, 1836), 13-19.

[29] *American Annals of Education and Instruction*, III (Jan. 1833), 32-36, VI (Feb. 1836), 84-86, (Nov. 1836). 496; S. R. Hall, *Lectures to Female Teachers on School-Keeping* (Boston, 1832), 110.

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softball at recess. The Essex County Teachers' Association in Massachusetts called for a quarter-acre area for play and exercise at each schoolhouse. Alexander Dallas Bache asserted, "A system of education, to be complete, must combine moral, intellectual, and physical education." Commissioned by Nicholas Biddle and the trustees of Girard College to study European schools, Bache noted the presence of commons or playgrounds for every school on the Rugby model. Central High School in Philadelphia and Houston Public School in New York featured the playground.[30] Entering upon his historic superintendency of Massachusetts schools and aware of the new conditions of urban life, Horace Mann read the *Constitution of Man* in 1837. Thus he commenced a long friendship and correspondence with George Combe, whom he considered the greatest living man. The first issue of Mann's *Common School Journal* appeared in 1838, asserting the involvement of mind and body and expressing dismay over the deterioration of the health of people:

> Mental power is so dependent for its manifestations on physical power, that we deem it not extravagant to say, that if, amongst those who lead sedentary lives, physical power could be doubled, their mental powers would be doubled also. The health and constitutional vigor of a people is a blessing not to be lost—certainly not to be regained—in a day. . . . Gradually and imperceptibly a race may physically deteriorate, until their bodies shall degenerate into places, which without being wholly untenantable, are still wholly unfit to keep a soul in.[31]

During the 1830s sports gained a foothold in the press because of the rising interest in horse racing, prize fights, and walking matches. Popular publications were the *American Turf Register*, the *Spirit of the Times*, Horatio Smith's *Festivals, Games and Amusements*, Robin Carver's *Book of Sports*, and a few manuals on archery and games, treasured by lucky youngsters.

The rise of sports coincided with the social changes of the times—for example with the growth of an affluent middle class in the North and a

[30] *New York Mirror,* X (May 25, 1833), 375; M. Victor Cousin, *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* (New York, 1835), 194-98; Jacob Abbott, *The Teacher* (Boston, 1833), 205-06; supplement to the *Report of the Board of Education on the Subject of School Houses* (Boston, 1838), 35; J. Orville Taylor, *The District School* (New York, 1834), 213, 230; *Common School Journal*, I (June 1836), 45, II (Feb. 1837), 16; Franklin Spencer Edmonds, *History of the Central High School of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1902), 248; Alexander Dallas Bache, *Report on Education in Europe* (Philadelphia, 1839), 402; review of and extracts from George Combe, *Notes on the United States of North America, during a Phrenological Tour in 1838-39-40* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1841) in *Connecticut Common School Journal*, III (June 1, 1841), 173.

[31] Mary Peabody Mann, *Life of Horace Mann* (Boston, 1865), 59; *Common School Journal for the Year 1839*, I (Nov. 1838), 11.

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leisured aristocracy in the South. It coincided with the emergence of a spirit of reform: interest in Utopian experiments, women's rights, penal legislation, capital punishment, a peace crusade, care of the insane, temperance, public education, and the abolition of slavery. Greater attention to outdoor recreation may also have been related to unemployment and the depression of the late thirties and early forties. At any rate, labor editors concerned themselves with health and with the shorter work day. Men puzzled over the flaws in an urbanizing society. Albert Brisbane, a popularizer of Fourierism, charged American schools with hostility to both Nature and health; corporal dexterity and health, he thought, "were sources of Internal riches."[32] Only a few reformers, however, seriously advocated increased attention to public health and better conditions for the working classes and the poor. Such was recommended by William Ellery Channing in 1840, by Dr. Lemuel Shattuck in his study of the overcrowding and the tenement life of Boston, and by the first report of the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor (1845).

Sporting and athletic interest increased in the early forties as reports of English activities became more common.[33] Pierce Egan's *Book of Sports* and Donald Walker's *British Manly Exercises* capitalized on the acquaintance of many with *Bell's Life in London*, the *Sporting Magazine*, and James Gordon Bennett's *Herald*, which pioneered in sports news. The transcendentalist *Dial* even published Henry David Thoreau's translation of Pindar's *Olympic Odes*. Walt Whitman used the columns of the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* in the mid-forties as a forum for discussing school playgrounds. In a pre-Freudian speculation on a young boy's drive for power, Emerson observed: "In playing with bat-balls, perhaps he is charmed with some recognition of the movement of the heavenly bodies, and a game of base or cricket is a course of experimental astronomy, and my young master tingles with a faint sense of being a tyrannical Jupiter driving spheres madly from their orbit."[34] In the early forties, too, Caldwell's *Thoughts on Physical Education* (1836) and Dr. J. Lee Comstock's *Outlines of Physiol-*

[32] Albert Brisbane, *Social Destiny of Man, or, Association and Reorganization of Industry* (Philadelphia, 1840), 427-29.

[33] The writings on sport for this period are extensive. Among the best general, yet critical, treatments are John Allen Krout, *Annals of American Sport* (New Haven, 1929); Jennie Holliman, *American Sports 1785-1835* (Durham, N.C., 1931); and Foster Rhea Dulles, *America Learns to Play, A History of Popular Recreation, 1607-1940* (New York, 1940). See also John R. Betts, "Organized Sport in Industrial America" (doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1951)

[34] Herman Melville, *White-Jacket: The World in a Man-of-War* (New York, 1860), 322-25; *Dial*, IV (Jan. 1844), 379-82; Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, eds., *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson with Annotations* (10 vols., Boston, 1909-1914), V, 410.

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ogy (1837) were reissued and remained popular. Shortly before his historic surgical experiment with Dr. William Morton's ether at Massachusetts General Hospital, Dr. Warren published his lecture in expanded book form and urged open-air exercise for factory workers.

Though specialization had begun to crowd discussion of personal hygiene and exercise out of professional medical journals, popular interest seemed to persist and grow.[35] The water-cure system of Vincent Priessnitz of Silesia, who came to the United States in 1831, stressed walking, skipping, jumping, and running, "but what lady dare do these things in these days of refinement?" The perils of urban comfort brought a revival of the gymnasium. Sheridan's gymnasium in New York catered to clergymen, lawyers, physicians, merchants, artists, artisans, and schoolboys. Harvard scholars in 1842 worked out under T. Belcher Kay, instructor in "the art of self-defense" to Francis Parkman, who prided himself on "a rapid development of frame and sinews."[36] In New Haven, however, activity lagged badly. A student commented on the contrast with Cambridge in England:

> There is one great point in which the English have the advantage over us: they understand how to take care of their health . . . every Cantab takes his two hours' exercise *per diem*, by walking, riding, rowing, fencing, gymnastics, &c. How many Yalensians take *one* hour's regular exercise? . . . The gymnasium has vanished, wicket has been voted ungenteel, scarce even a *freshman* dares put on a pair of skates, and there have never been rideable horses in New Haven within the memory of "the oldest inhabitant."[37]

Taking note, men of Yale and Harvard formed sculling crews in 1843 and 1844.

Despite obstacles and even some religious objections, progress in physical culture continued. Playgrounds were adopted in Cincinnati and received the support of Henry Barnard. New York state schools recognized the need of muscular exercise, and teachers "in almost every school district" were said to have access to Andrew Combe's *Principles of Physiology*. Illustrative of professional activity were the work of the American Physiological Society by 1837 and the publication of *Human Physiology for the use of Elementary Schools* by Dr. Charles A. Lee. Charles Dickens, though noting the American deficiency in exercise and being shocked by the emaciated prisoners of New York's Tombs, visited the Perkins Institute in Boston

[35] Among these were *Guardian of Health*; *Health, a Home Magazine devoted to Physical Culture*; *Boston Health Journal and Advocate of Physiological Reform*; *Monthly Miscellany and Journal of Health*; *Water-Cure Journal*; and *Journal of Health and Practical Educator.*

[36] Mason Wade, *Francis Parkman, Heroic Historian* (New York, 1942), 20

[37] *Yale Literary Magazine*, VII (Nov. 1841), 36-37

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and found blind boys engaged in active sports, games, and gymnastics.[38] George B. Emerson lent the prestige of his name to the encouragement of walking, riding, gardening, sleighing, and general exercise in the open air and sunlight.[39] In the *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Education* Mann expounded on the oxygenizing of the blood through "the athletic exertions of manual labor or of gymnastic sports," far superior to passive activities like sailing. Lack of space in cities led to physical degeneration, Mann thought, but he was pleased with recreational improvements in the schools during the decade up to 1845. Dr. David Thayer's gymnasium, he observed, was a boon to Boston clerks, students, lawyers, and clergymen; and he similarly praised Mrs. Hawley's gymnastic school for young misses.[40] The Michigan superintendent of education, O. C. Comstock, declared exercise was "essential to physical health, mental vigor and delightful study."[41]

Urban people, grappling with the need for schools and sound pedagogy, also faced mounting sanitation, housing, and health problems in a society marked by its high mortality rate. The labor of immigrant workers on canals and railroads and in factories and the vigorous life of farmers and frontiersmen more than met their requirements of physical activity. But there were impediments for others, such as old myths about night air and fashionable prejudices against athletic women. Early Victorian society in England, having reached a more advanced stage of industrialism, might hunt the fox, attend Ascot, encourage schoolboy games, introduce athletics and rifle shooting into the army and the military academies, and become disciples of Isaak Walton; but their contemporaries in America required an extra generation or two before the leisure provided by a maturing industrial system would become general enough to extend the health and sporting interests of the privileged classes to the populace at large. Religious hostility to amusement and recreation proved to be a continuing deterrent, and social acceptance of the machine raised doubts about the value of bodily strength and muscle. Still, the development of a nationwide system of

[38] *Common School Journal of the State of Pennsylvania*, I (Nov. 15, 1844), 340; *Eleventh Annual Report of the Condition of the Common Schools, to the City Council of Cincinnati* (Cincinnati, 1840), 6; Henry Barnard, *School-Houses* (Providence, 1844), 31, 45; *District School Journal*, II (Sept. 1, 1841), 21-22; Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (London, 1842), 15, 33-34.

[39] George B. Emerson, *The Schoolmaster* (New York, 1842), 290

[40] *Common School Journal*, V (Nov. 1, 1843), 323, VII (June 16, 1845), 177-80. Mann was said to appreciate "the great value of institutions for developing the muscular system in cities." *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, XXXII (June 25, 1845), 844.

[41] Comstock's 1845 report is quoted in Francis W. Shearman, ed., *System of Public Instruction and Primary School Law of Michigan* (Lansing, 1852), 457.

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education, the encouragement of child-centered educational programs, the immigrant's fondness for his active games, and the fear of physical degeneration made a breakthrough in attitudes toward recreation and sport by the late thirties and early forties. Rowing clubs in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Savannah, and Detroit; throngs attending thoroughbred racing and trotting; matches between runners, pedestrians, and prize fighters; formation of numerous hunting and fishing clubs; sailing and yachting clubs in Atlantic coastal communities and on the Great Lakes; adoption of mass football, gymnastics, cricket, or crew at eastern colleges—all bore witness to the sporting fever.[42]

Mind and body were more intimately related to one another by the development of a native literature of pedagogues and physicians, by an awareness of English concern for exercise and German educational reforms, and by a mounting public recognition that the Puritan gospel of work lost some of its validity in a highly commercial, urban environment. Outdoor life took on greater appeal in the romantic call back to the solitude or to the primitive challenge of Nature; the woodland haunts of "Frank Forester" (Henry William Herbert) lured the angler and the hunter. Emulation of the frontiersman's vigor contributed to the mounting concern over the debility of college students, the fair sex, office workers, and children in the crowded tenement. Soon the voices of Edward Everett, Thoreau, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and others would aid the cause.

Events of the mid-forties were prophetic of things to come. As the nation looked to the threat of war with Mexico, the New York Yacht Club organized, and the Knickerbocker Club established the rules of baseball. In the near future German forty-eighters would establish Turner societies, Scottish Caledonians would introduce their native games, and Irish crewmen would race in city regattas. Only in the generation after the Civil War would expectations be realized; but in the quarter century between 1820 and 1845 educators, physicians, and reformers had begun to develop a philosophical rationale concerning the relationship of physical to mental and spiritual benefits derived from exercise, games, and sports. From the diffusion of ideas developed by the medical profession under the influence of the Enlightenment and by educators and reformers affected by the romantic spirit, Americans were alerted to the threat against their physical and mental powers that came with the confinements of the home and school and the more sedentary habits of the city.

[42] The athletic movement was still in a formative stage. College men, in general, were not yet persuaded of the necessity of exercises and games; and many were guilty of "intense physical indolence." Francis Wayland, *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States* (Boston, 1842), 118.

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