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Caged manhood : office culture and how Walter Camp's Daily Dozen revitalized the workforce, 1903-1940

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CAGED MANHOOD: OFFICE CULTURE AND HOW WALTER CAMP'S
DAILY DOZEN REVITALIZED THE WORKFORCE, 1903-1940

An Abstract of a Thesis
Submitted
In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts

Nick Sly
University of Northern Iowa
July 2015

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines how culture became a means to deal with the problems of over-civilization in the early twentieth century. The realities of a salaried position and corporate work spaces had dramatically changed how the middle class felt about work. Looking at the writings of Walter Camp, the human relations movement, and the exercise culture of the period one can see how the office space was not simply a place of work but a new context for constructing masculinity and a sense of worth.

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Entitled: Caged Manhood: Office Culture and How Walter Camp's Daily Dozen
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has been approved as meeting the thesis requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts

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This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Cheryl and Greg.

I could not ask for more supportive parents
during the long and arduous process of its completion.

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INTRODUCTION

The Daily Dozen

- 1 HANDS: Stand erect, arms hanging at sides, heels slightly separated, feet pointing straight ahead.
- 2 HIPS: As before, but with hands on hips.
- 3 HEAD: Arms up, hands meet with fingers just touching each other at back of head.
- 4 GRIND: Arms outstretched straight from shoulders—called the “cross” position. Turn palms upward; make six-inch circles with hands, five times forward, five backward; keep arms stiff.
- 5 GRATE: Arms at “cross” position; palms down. Lift arms very slowly to angle of about forty-five degrees, inhaling; bring them down slowly to shoulder position, exhaling. Repeat ten times.
- 6 GRASP: Let fingers of both hands meet at back of neck. Bend neck back. Bend body forward very slowly from waist, keeping head up, neck bent back; eyes fixed on object height of man’s eyes. Come back slowly to first position; then bend backward. Repeat ten times.
- 7 CRAWL: Stand at “cross” position. Raise right arm; let left drop at side. Then let left crawl slowly down toward the knee, at same time curving right arm over head until fingers touch left side of neck. Return to “cross” position and let right hand crawl and left curl over head. Five times with each hand.
- 8 CURL: Stand at “cross” position. Clench fists. Begin to inhale deeply while lowering arms and bringing them slowly forward, bent at elbow; curl arms around until fists come under armpits. Bend head and shoulders backward as inhalation is completed. Loosen hands and push straight forward, beginning to exhale. Bend forward from waist, exhaling, and letting hands come back across hips; continue movement until, as you remain bent, the arms are raised behind you. Begin to inhale again as you return to “cross” position, ready to repeat. Ten times.
- 9 CROUCH: “Cross” position, feet 18 inches apart. Raise on toes; keep arms out. Squat slowly down as far as you can, inhaling. Come up slowly, exhaling, and letting heels touch floor as you rise. Five times.
- 10 WAVE: “Cross” position. Raise arms, bending wrists until fingers touch above head. Bring both arms against head with snap movement. Moving *only from waist*, bend forward slightly, then to right, then backward, then to left, and continue until you are making a circle with your clasped hands extended above head. Repeat five times in each direction, reversing circle after first five.
- 11 WEAVE: “Cross” position, feet apart. Raise right arm, keeping eyes on it as it goes up; bend left knee and lower left arm until fingers touch floor between feet. Back slowly to “cross” position and reverse. Five times for each hand.
- 12 WING: “Cross” position. Exhale, bringing arms straight out before you. Continuing exhalation, swing arms down and back, bending forward slowly from waist. Continue bending forward, pushing arms back and letting breath out as movement is completed. Keep head up and eyes forward. Now, inhale as you go back slowly to “cross” position. Repeat ten times.

Figure 1. Walter Camp’s “Daily Dozen.”

In 1920, Walter Camp, a writer and former Yale University football coach, wrote in the sporting magazine *Collier's Weekly* about the effects of the strain of daily life and the lack of adequate exercise on the modern businessman. His solution was "The Daily Dozen," a series of callisthenic exercises based on the movements of lions in cages at Bronx Zoo designed for male office workers to get physically and mentally healthier. Considering the complexity of a move like the "Curl," many may have had trouble even knowing where to start performing these movements, and so he initially prescribed the "Hands," "Hips," and "Head" exercises. "Hips," arguably the easiest exercise of the three, required one to stand with good posture, the feet pointed straight ahead, and hands on the hips. Camp argued "simple games" such as golf that made up businessmen and office workers' exercise for the week were insufficient for maintaining a healthy body, which in effect would cause the brain to work sluggishly.¹ His solution was a "rigorous" regimen of daily exercise and he was among a number of late nineteenth and early twentieth century social commentators, health professionals, and early fitness figures that prescribed callisthenic exercises and other paths for men to revitalization. One path that Camp wrote at length about was the wilderness vacation, the act of leaving the city to spend a few days in the "wilderness."

Before the first publishing of the regimen in 1919 with the book *Keeping Fit All the Way*, Camp wrote on the healthful benefits of the wilderness vacation for outdoor publications, such as *Worlds Work*. In 1903 Camp wrote a story for *World's Work* on his experiences around Long Island and Nantucket. Places like Nantucket had become what

¹ See "Figure 1" in Walter Camp, "Keeping Young at 40," *Collier's Weekly* 65, June 5, 1920, 11.

Camp termed “civilized.” Hotels and other man-made attractions removed the true experience of being in nature by civilizing and homogenizing it through hotel construction and travel packaging. As a corrective he advocated achieving true experience by “roughing it,” which consisted of venturing into the wooded and exclusively natural areas of New York State. Camp found traversing the wilderness on foot and participating in outdoor sports like fishing and hunting made him feel healthier and better suited to go back to the city, to clean clothing and warm baths. Camp stated, “The average American has strain in his blood coming down to him through rugged ancestors that gives him an unquenchable lust for un-civilized places.”² He also argued office workers and other urbanites had a longing and a need for “roughing it” that could be satisfied by a long vacation in the wild. What makes Camp an important subject for this study is not his persona as the father of American football but his pursuits in solving the middle class dilemma.

Camp told another story in *World's Work* in 1903 of artist Frederic Remington, famous for his depictions of cowboys and Indians, stopping him on the streets of New York and telling him, “Camp, you’re not going to civilize the only real thing left, are you?” Remington in this story marked Camp’s movement to fix office workers so they could become authentic. In the 1910s Camp had observed that a tiger did not pick up dumbbells, nor did a dog use chest weights, but found that the tiger was in better shape.³

² Walter Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way: how to obtain and maintain health, strength and efficiency* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1919); Walter Camp, “A Summer’s ‘Roughing It’: The Story of a Single Long Vacation,” *World's Work*, 6, June, 1903, 3588-3589.

³ Camp, “Keeping Young at 40,” 11; James Ballinger, *Frederic Remington* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989.)

The emphasis on animals in his writings was in looking at how flexible their bodies were and how they used repetitive motions to shape their bodies, utilizing every muscle. Camp made an analogy between office men and tigers as both existing in cages and through his Daily Dozen these men could be more like the tiger. Camp preached this sentiment in 1920 when he heralded, “Mr. Civilized Man, you are a caged animal too. Take a tip from this tiger and stay young.”⁴

When historians talk about Camp they put him in a football context. In Thomas Bergin's book on the Harvard-Yale football rivalry he dedicates it “To the enduring presence of Walter Camp...” Roberta J. Park connects Camp’s aggressive style of football to manhood building in the Progressive Era. E. Anthony Rotundo and Christina Regelski place Camp’s style of football within a war context. What these historians miss, however, are the essays Camp wrote on the office man and the regimen he created.⁵ This study attempts to establish that Camp attempted to cure the middle class dilemma in the early twentieth century within civilized spaces and established an influential viewpoint within the exercise culture of the period.

Camp’s Daily Dozen reveals office workers were a ridiculed and admired group in the early twentieth century. The manager and middle class brain worker were

⁴ Camp, “Keeping Young,” 11.

⁵ For references to Walter Camp see Roberta J. Park, “Biological Thought, Athletics, and the Formation of a ‘Man of Character,’ 1830-1900,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 12 (December, 2007): 1543-1569; Thomas G. Bergin, *The Game: The Harvard-Yale Football Rivalry, 1875-1983* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 8; E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basicbooks, 1993), 240; The most recent mention of Walter Camp as a historical subject comes from Christina Regelski, who argues football became a training ground for manhood, especially for war. See Christina Regelski, “Rescuing the Dude from his Namby-Pambyism: The Origins of College Football and the Brain Injury Debate,” *U.S. History Scene*, <http://www.ushistoryscene.com/uncategorized/collegefootball>.

associated with power and respectability in the system of efficiency, but they had lost an element of authenticity by doing brain work. Brain work was a source of movement up the social hierarchy and Camp established two ways of achieving that authentic masculinity and physicality lost with a middle class identity: through the wilderness vacation and the Daily Dozen. Camp assured his readers that being physically on par with animals or what he considered more primitive races, such as Indians, was a part of being a successful and white, middle class American. It was the Daily Dozen that distinguished him from other advocates of the virtues of physical labor.⁶

Manliness in the Gilded Age had been defined by brute strength and possession of an individual will. When that individual will felt threatened in the early twentieth century brute strength took on greater meaning. As management hierarchies became more sophisticated, farm boys moving to the city found it harder to fulfill that dream of pulling themselves up by their bootstraps. The establishment of permanent salaried positions threatened the ideal of entrepreneurship Gilded Age authors had celebrated. The word “success” appeared for the first time in terms of wealth in 1885 in the *Oxford English Dictionary* and in 1891 in the *New Century Dictionary*. This refinement of the word had a profound effect on what George Beard identified as an American nervousness.

⁶ My approach to cultural studies is influenced by Pierre Bourdieu's concept of “cultural capital” and Michel Foucault's idea that history is a series of “discursive formations” of power. See Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), 315-316; Also see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, vol. 1: An Introduction, part four* (New York: Vintage Books, 1980), 92-102. For a discussion of Bourdieu and Foucault see Stanley Aronowitz, *How Class Works: Power and Social Movement* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), 49-50, 158-159, 162.

An American culture of nervousness developed after 1880, where psychological and sociological pressures bred a desire for “objective” analysis and social stigmas were attached to business failure. By the 1920s success through individual initiative was replaced by the reality of salaried positions and the desire for job security.⁷ One particularly important work hazard cited among businessmen was neurasthenia. A Greek word meaning “lack of nerve energy,” it could be interchanged amongst the medical community with “nervous prostration” and “nervous exhaustion.” Developed by Edwin H. Van Deusen and George M. Beard in 1869, Beard became neurasthenia’s champion, for Van Deusen was associated with the less respectable asylums and “alienated” peoples for the theory to become popular. Beard was the first to publish the theory in 1879 with *Neurasthenia (nerve exhaustion): with remarks on treatment*. S. Weir Mitchell gave the theory emotional impact for urbanites seeking an explanation of their fears of modernity. He also gave them their exclusivity and access to it through the medical community with *The Hill of Stones and Other Short Poems* (1910). Beard's books *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion* (1880) and *American Nervousness: Its Causes and Consequences* (1881) became defining source material for the field of neurasthenia and other biological associations with modern nervousness. Beard developed a general theory that the vitals of the body (heart, lungs) were connected by electricity. Neurasthenia occurred when that nerve energy was low. One shocking cure was to use electrotherapy, which he developed

⁷ Kevin J. Mamford identifies this ambivalence in literature on male impotence. Where in the 1830s impotence was determined the fault of the man’s lack of self-control, late nineteenth and early twentieth century literature argued that over-civilization caused impotence. See Kevin J. Mumford, “‘Lost Manhood’ Found: Male Sexual Impotence and Victorian Culture in the United States,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 3, no. 1, (1992): 33-57; Micki McGee, *Self-Help, Inc.: Makeover Culture in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 30-40.

with his colleague Alphonso D. Rockwell. “Nervous diseases” served the patient and the medical communities desires. Those seeking leisure and relaxation could call themselves sick, and doctors had found a new source of income in the upset urbanite.⁸ Beard’s discovery of this “disease” ushered in a period of associations between brain work and bodily health that would be used to explain what the middle class was doing wrong when they became modern and urban.

Using the middle class as a subject of study begins with C. Wright Mills’s and his book *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (1956). With this book Mills tried to establish a history of the middle classes and in the process turned the book into a subject of its own study, for it reveals Mills's own ambivalences towards the formation of the middle class: that men were emasculated by corporate work structures and lost access to personal sovereignty. A film that tackled this issue of success and identity was King Vidor's *The Crowd* (1928). In the story the protagonist John Sims dreams of success in an advertising agency but gets fired for daydreaming at his clerkship. In an office building lined with black windows, identical rows of desks, and identical men behind them seated in the same position, reading the same ledgers, with elbows at the same angles, our protagonist, our hero, is doodling. After trying and failing to commit suicide he lands a job in advertising: happy ending.⁹ *The Crowd* was a dystopian film referencing the office

⁸ For a look at how neurasthenia was used to pass unpleasant aspects of life off as byproducts of the country's evolution that seemed to be accelerating faster than the population could keep up with in David G. Schuster, *Neurasthenic Nation: America's Search for Health, Happiness, and Comfort, 1869-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 2-8, 17-24; Beard was also a strong advocate for the wilderness experience according to Schuster.

⁹ C. Wright Mills, *White Collar: The American Middle Classes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951 [2002]), 229-237; Tom Lutz, *Doing Nothing: A History of Loafers, Loungers, Slackers, and Bums in America* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006), 176-214. Lutz argues that by the 1920s work

worker's reality. Camp's Daily Dozen was one of many cures to the diseases of city life John Sims experienced.

Before Camp's time "roughing it" and the wilderness experience were the ideal methods for restoring masculine authenticity while ridding the male self of urban diseases, but as the inflexibility and reality of salaried positions took hold in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries other solutions arose to combat these intrusions. One such intrusion many contemporaries wrote about was the integration of women into offices. In 1870 just 2.46% of clerks (in the office and in the service industry) were women. By 1930, 52.54% of clerks were women and nearly 96% of stenographers and typists were women. The most definitive work to highlight this gender shift in offices is historian Angel Kwolek-Folland's *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930*. Kwolek-Folland argues that the burgeoning financial institutions such as Metro Life and Equitable Life exhibited a new masculine identity for male employees based on position relative to women and at the same time established a feminine public identity in order to sell financial products. Her narrative on the large corporation's founding and growth reveal gendered conflicts between managers and employees with regard to the managerial revolution, a bifurcation of men and women by clerical work's redefinition in the twentieth century as feminine, and a conscious feminization by the life insurance industry of their image and their products.

satisfaction had shifted to the middle classes and leisure to the working classes. Camp and the wealth of cultural indicators suggest otherwise, that leisure had become work for the middle classes.

The reinforcement of middle class family ideals was nothing new. John Humphrey Noyes created his Oneida community in 1848 in order to counter what he saw as negative effects of capitalism, such as the breakup of the family unit, a decline in the white race, and sexual degradation. Like the life insurance companies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Noyes, however, was using a family identity to impose the same patriarchy and loss of personal sovereignty he was opposing.¹⁰

Kwolek-Folland misses in her study the important connection the middle class office man had to the wilderness experience, exercise culture, and what I identify in this study as *the body spectacle*. Men as a response to women's inclusion in traditionally male spaces like the artisan office had turned to the very negative elements of their character civilized men were supposed to abandon. But, they did not descend into barbarism and immorality. What they did instead was participate in visceral activity to offset their perceived lack of power. The body spectacle refers to the healthy, muscular bodies office men tried to imitate and the pursuit of such bodies. Office men in the twentieth century distinguished themselves from their predecessors by embracing consumption, barbarism, and simplicity as markers of a real man.¹¹ Walter Camp was part of a backlash against consumerism in terms of excessive eating and the build-up of excess flesh in exercise culture. Historian Peter N. Stearns indicates that character was depicted through the body

¹⁰ Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 7, 41-43; Jason Vickers, "That Deep Kind of Discipline of Spirit: Freedom, Power, Family, Marriage, and Sexuality in the Story of John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community," *American Nineteenth Century History* 14, no. 1, (2003): 1-26.

¹¹ Rotundo, 250, 253-255.

in this period of rapid expansion of offices and consumption.¹² This study attempts to add to Kwolek-Folland and Stearns's work by incorporating Walter Camp into these two histories of the formation of modern office culture and the exercise culture. Looking at Camp's early works heralding the wilderness as an authentic space can help bridge that gap in Kwolek-Folland's study and help historians better understand this middle class dilemma of finding self-fulfillment through the primitive but remaining respectable.

¹² Peter N. Stearns, *Fat History: Bodies and Beauty in the Modern West* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 67.

CHAPTER 1
VACATE THE PREMISES: WALTER CAMP AND HIS WILDERNESS SOLUTION
FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS

As the nineteenth century came to a close the concept of manhood changed. In nineteenth century artisan culture, manhood was achieved through economic independence and patriarchal control (either over families, women, and/or slaves). By the turn of the century, many men were being forced to find other avenues for self-fulfillment and achievement of manhood.¹ What emerged as the new avenue for self-fulfillment was consumerism. As work lost its connection to older middle class values, consumerism became the ideal way of giving oneself personal meaning. One of those consumer pursuits was taking a few days off for a vacation in the wilderness.²

For the nineteenth century middle class “roughing it” meant leaving the city for nature and that tradition continued into the twentieth century. The wilderness experience was not important in and of itself, however. It was important as the city’s antithesis. What wilderness vacation advocates like Camp did was promote a healthy middle class office worker that could increase production and maintain a cost-effective work ethic. Because vacations were at the discretion of employers, taking a vacation could be construed as a work necessity. By the end of the nineteenth century there was a sizable shift from artisanal labor and home production to industrial and clerical work. This shift brought

¹ This study attempts to bridge the gap Stanley Aronowitz identifies in class studies. Aronowitz argues there is a lack of emphasis on new productive forces, new cultural patterns, and political formations affecting class formation in historical studies prior to 2003. See Aronowitz, 53-54.

² Kwolek-Folland, 44-46.

about the “boss,” and the formation of classes based around differing levels of income and power that culminated with cultural dichotomies. At the end of the Gilded Age jobs were being created through standardized machine maintenance, business schools were enlarged in universities, and there was a greater shift of laborers to brainwork. These became the defining characteristics of the middle class.³ Attempts at workplace motivation like bonus incentives had a double effect of motivating workers to increase their output but at the same time foster a “surrender of the worker’s will,” which was largely replaced by consumption and leisure.⁴ Living for work was greatly reduced in this period and replaced by living for play in spaces like the wilderness.

Work gained new meaning for manhood around the turn of the century when it was no longer tied to success. Where success in the nineteenth century had largely been defined by self-reliance, independence, owning the tools of production, and producing something from beginning to end, production at the end of the century was increasingly

³ These authors highlight the adoption of efficient management practices in the industrial workplace and the establishment of the managerial class. Dan Clawson particularly emphasizes scientific management’s induction into the Rock Island Arsenal workplaces in Dan Clawson, *Bureaucracy and the Labor Process: The Transformation of U.S. Industry, 1860-1920* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), 167, 169-170, 179-182, 193-194, 205-207, 250-253; Ronald L. Filippelli, *Labor in the USA: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 61-62, 142-145; Daniel Nelson, *Shifting Fortunes: The Rise and Decline of American Labor, from the 1820s to the Present* (Chicago, IL: Ivan R. Dee Inc., 1997), 91-97; Phillip Yale Nicholson, *Labor’s Story in the United States* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2004), 164-203; The phrase “surrender of the worker’s will” was used in Daniel Jacoby, *Laboring for Freedom: A New Look at the History of Labor in America* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 82; Richard Donkin, *Blood, Sweat, and Tears: The Evolution of Work* (New York: Texere, 2001), 166-169.

⁴ Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer’s Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2003), 21, 28; T.J. Jackson Lears and David Steigerwald challenge the idea of consumer agency in corporate America and rather argue choice and desires have been dictated to consumers, reducing the ability for, using Cohen’s term, “citizen consumers” to use their consumption politically. See T. J. Jackson Lears, “From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of the Consumer Culture, 1880-1920,” *Advertising and Society Review* 1, no. 1 (2000): 1-38; David Steigerwald, “All Hail the Republic of Choice: Consumer History as Contemporary Thought,” *Journal of American History* 93, no. 2 (September, 2006): 385-403.

derived through wage labor. Products for consumption were being touched by not one or two people working in a shop but by several hundred people on a factory floor. It also became more profitable to direct or provide services surrounding things than actually creating things, which prompted the growth of a white-collar workforce and corporate work landscape. Success in a corporate structure was defined by movement up the social hierarchy, and as the prospect for owning a small business or shop dwindled, having a job at a firm was framed as the more desirable avenue for success. Historian Micki McGee calls this the emergence of the “belabored self,” adding that middle class males were also encouraged to constantly reinvent themselves in the face of work uncertainty. The country was also becoming much more modern and composed of city-dwellers.⁵ Modern work relationships, therefore, became sources of tension, or nervousness, for men seeking personal sovereignty and manhood.

Four men were largely responsible for shaping the way modern work would function: Frederick Winslow Taylor, Henry Ford, Elton Mayo, and Hugo Münsterberg. Their management styles came to characterize the modernity of work spaces in the twentieth century and, consequently, caused the neurasthenic workforce to emerge. Frederick Winslow Taylor was credited upon his death by the *New York Times* (NYT) and by recent historians as a key figure in the efficiency movement. In his monograph

⁵ For a look at the modern middle class success man and its association with corporatism see McGee, 30-40; Cindy Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 4-9; Clark Davis, “The Corporate Reconstruction of Middle-Class Manhood,” in *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle Class*, ed. Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston (New York: Routledge, 2001): 201-216; Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazine and Consumer Culture, 1900-1950* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2000): 118-123, 148-149, 165.

The Principles of Scientific Management (1911) Taylor argued managers could watch laborer's working habits and weed-out inefficiency and laziness, which in effect would bring the manager and laborer together through increased output and increased wages.⁶ Manager control was one aspect of the modern workplace laborers considered to be highly corruptive. Taylorism was associated with a separation of labor into discreet tasks. Each task in the production of a product was reduced into simple, repetitive motions that were timed. What resulted was a de-skilling of labor and the ability of managers to easily replace workers not up to snuff. The implementation of Taylor's principles of scientific management into the industrial and white-collar workplace in the 1910s and 1920s represented that shift in workplace knowledge to the manager and the breakup of camaraderie among skilled laborers.⁷

Henry Ford's system of production was associated with not only producing consumer goods on a scale greater than before but also incorporating an assembly line into specialized work. Fordism promised the passing on of profits to the consumer and the worker but in the process made groundbreaking profits for the ownership class by using mass production and mass marketing techniques. Ford's Motor Company would become the most successful venture in mass production and specialization of his age. His

⁶ These four men were not the first to come up with assembly lines, time studies, or human relations studies but they are more often cited as the most important figures in these subjects. *NYT*, "Topics of the Times," March 23, 1915, 10; For a look at the book *The Red Badge of Courage* and the Taylor system of management as ideals of progressive realism see Terry Mulcaire, "Progressive Visions of War in 'The Red Badge of Courage' and 'The Principles of Scientific Management'," *American Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (March, 1991): 46-72; Clawson argues Taylorism was more profitable but not more efficient, where it rather reduced the class consciousness among workers and increased individuality and competition among workers in Clawson, 250-253; Filippelli, 61-62.

⁷ Nelson, 91-97.

most significant growth came when his associate Clarence Avery helped propel Model T production by installing a conveyer that brought the new Model T of 1912 to different stations, each with a specific task to building the car. By the end of the process it would only take an hour and three minutes to produce one car where previously it had taken twelve and a half hours. Like Taylor, Ford promised greater pay and a car for each of his employees but in the process made each job incredibly menial and dictated by the assembly-line conveyer. For those that said modern man was a slave to the machine, at Ford Motor Company it was most evident.⁸

Elton Mayo was an Australian industrial psychologist who made waves in the industrial community through his application of psychology into the working day and the philosophy of management. He founded the human relations movement by going beyond Taylor and Ford and pushing for a personal approach to work relationships. Rather than being fueled by the desire for increased pay or increased consumption, Mayo argued worker motivations were better achieved at work than outside of work. The movement began with his book *The Human Problems of an Industrialized Civilization* (1933). Based on his team's work done at Western Electric's Hawthorne Works factory in Chicago from 1924 to 1933, Mayo argued that work output was based on a combination of productivity and social relationships within the workplace.

Elton Mayo began a teaching career in philosophy at the University of Queensland in Australia and went on to teach philosophy and industrial research at Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania. The Swiss psychologist Pierre

⁸ Carol Gelderman, *Henry Ford: The Wayward Capitalist* (New York: The Dial Press, 1981), 59.

Janet proved a major influence on Mayo, one of the first psychologists to write a detailed and clinical description of the unconscious mind. Mayo applied Janet's theories to his Hawthorne studies by arguing that industrial workers suffered from depression and they needed something to look forward to. Mayo said, "We have done a great deal in the past hundred years to control mankind's external environment. It is possible that we are on the verge of discoveries which will enable men to control their internal environment – that is, their thinking." He told his industrial-psychology colleagues at the Taylor Society presentation in December 1924, "You can not treat men in the mass. You must consider them as individuals, each with his personal peculiarities. There is no such thing as a typical employee or a typical employer. Once employees and employers realize that, industrial problems will not be so difficult of solution."⁹ Mayo's work formed the basis for pseudo-personal relationships between manager and subordinate and put forth the idea that the efficient workplace needed mentally healthy workers.

Mayo initially went into industrial studies seeking cures for fatigue of the body and ended up focusing on the psyche at Hawthorne. Having discussions about levels of light, hours of work, and maladjustment was moot because productivity, efficiency, and contentment were far more important considerations regarding worker satisfaction. He began his tests at Hawthorne under the direction of the Committee on the Relation of Quality and Quantity of Illumination to Efficiency in the Industries and came out the

⁹ Elton Mayo quoted in R.L. Duffus, "Satisfactory Rest Periods Solve Labor Turnover," *New York Times*, November 16, 1924, X8; Elton Mayo, "Psychology and Sociology in Relation to Social Disorganization," *The American Journal of Sociology* 4, no. 6 (May, 1937): 825-831; Lutz, 174-175; Yeh Hseueh, "The Hawthorne Experiments and the Introduction of Jean Piaget in American Industrial Psychology, 1929-1932," *History of Psychology* 5, no. 2 (2002): 163-189.

other end focusing on the psyche to better understand the productivity and content of Hawthorne's employees. He found that under paternalistic management workers were not going to improve so instead he prescribed better manager-to-employee connections through company magazines, social clubs, and benefit systems. The whole of the system of personnel management was meant to reduce what he called "revery," or the period of daily daydreaming and inaction that he observed workers were engaged in. His work spoke to industrialists and managers and put work satisfaction and productivity assessments into an academic framework.¹⁰

In 1913 Hugo Münsterberg, a German-American psychologist, wrote *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency* as a counter-weight to Taylorism and its proponents. Using applied psychology he discovered a personal cost when applying Taylorism in the workplace and argued the most pressing issue in worker-employer relations was matching employees to the job they were fit for. Whether it be a worker's specific strengths, their social skills, or their ability to persuade people it was clear to Münsterberg that personality assessments were missing in the job application process.¹¹

¹⁰ *Revery* referred more broadly in his study to a state of passive attention to external events. Ellen S. O'Connor, "The Politics of Management Thought: A Case Study of the Harvard Business School and the Human Relations School," *The Academy of Management Review* 24, no. 1 (January, 1999): 117-131; Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (New York: Routledge, 1990), 70; Richard Gillespie argues the popular management books of the 1980s that heralded Japanese industrial growth and management success missed the effect the human relations movement and Mayo had on their workplace construction post-World War II. See Richard Gillespie, *Manufacturing Knowledge: A History of the Hawthorne Experiments* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 38-43, 264-271; Mark A. Griffin, Frank J. Landy, and Lisa Mayocchi, "Australian Influences on Elton Mayo," *Journal of the History of Psychology* 5, no. 4 (2002): 356-375.

¹¹ J.A. Hobson, *Work and Wealth: A Human Valuation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), 212-215; Contemporaries can thank Munsterberg and Mayo for giving us in the internet age a wealth of websites and forms to fill out as we try to apply for jobs that ask us how we would deal with a disagreement at work or what we think our biggest flaw is. See Hugo Munsterberg, *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913).

Münsterberg was abrasive and often got in academic fights with the likes of John Dewey and G. Stanley Hall, but this did not stifle his influence on human relations. His success in applied psychology in Germany led him to international recognition and a teaching position at Harvard. His books *Vocation and Learning* (1912) and *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency* (1914) formed the basis for industrial psychology. He attempted to make the process of hiring based on personality a scientific process through testing and analysis rather than interviews. A worker's psyche was divided into three emotions: thinking, feeling, and willing. The best way of assigning people and reducing redundancies because of inappropriate placement was by the degrees to which an applicant exhibited these three characteristics. For Münsterberg this process was best begun before the application process and he upset many vocational counselors by suggesting psychologists should take over the job of career assignment.¹² Mayo and Münsterberg were the key figures in pushing beyond a simple, pay-based theory of work satisfaction put forth by Taylor and Ford. Taylor and Ford were very much focused on efficiency and output before concerning themselves with the individual worker. Mayo and Münsterberg looked at the individual before pragmatic considerations, and matching a person to a vocation was an important first step before placing an employee in front of a machine or behind a desk. If employees could not find that perfect match or satisfaction at work there was the prospect of the wilderness vacation. Henry Thoreau and Nathaniel Hawthorne in the nineteenth century advocated living in, not just temporarily visiting, the

¹² Eric J. Porfeli, "Hugo Munsterberg and the Origins of Vocational Guidance," *The Career Development Quarterly* 57 (March, 2009): 225-236; William J. Cromie, "Eight Minutes' Common-Sense Play for the Growing Child," *Outlook*, September 23, 1914, 188-195.

wilderness to compensate a loss of physical virtue, but most Americans did not move to the wilderness.¹³

One example of the nation's fascination with the primitive came in the form of Aruthur Knowles. A heavy set, part-time illustrator, Knowles disrobed amid reporters for the *Boston Post* at a lake in northeastern Maine and embarked on a two month journey into the wilderness, alone. While living in the wilds of Maine he wrote about his experience with charcoal onto birchbark that was dispatched back to Boston. He wrote about making clothing of bark, surviving mostly on berries he found, and killing a bear for its coat. When he emerged from the woods on October 4, 1913 he stopped in Augusta, Lewiston, and Portland on his way to Boston and met thousands of admirers that turned up to hear him speak about his experiences as a modern primitive man. Accounts people gave described him leaping onto the stage at these appearances like a tiger. He was given a book deal by the Boston publisher Small, Maynard and Co. and the book, titled *Alone in the Wilderness* (1913), went on to sell 300,000 copies. Rival newspapers were not sure of the validity in Knowles story but he remained a sensation for New Englanders. Knowles became a part of the modern cultural fascination with the primitive in man and nature at the turn of the century. Camp assured middle aged men that Mother Nature remained resourceful for successful manhood building in his book *Keeping Fit All the Way: how to obtain and maintain health, strength and efficiency* when he stated, "When a

¹³ Mayo and Munsterberg did not specifically focus on office relationships in their studies but were often referenced in personnel management theories as an influence; Get an analysis of writers Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry Thoreau as promoters of physicality and manual labor for the middle class to become virtuous in Michael Newbury, "Healthful Employment: Hawthorne, Thoreau and middle class Fitness," *American Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (December, 1995): 681-714.

man earns his bread by the sweat of his brow she [Mother Nature] maintains him in good physical condition.”¹⁴

The important aspects of a romanticized wilderness, its use as a source of relief, and its use for a lifestyle were all based on this separation between the wilderness as a place where one could get relief to the fullest and the city as a place where one could not get relief to the fullest. They were also based on claiming the virtues of physical labor lost in brainwork and authorship. Not only did office workers have to achieve a thin and healthy body but they had to participate in a proper visceral experience in order for that body to work in the physical and the metaphysical. For much of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century the wilderness experience was that source of virtue. As historian Cindy Aron illustrates, vacations revealed the contradictions of the middle class. Industriousness and discipline defined them but the vacations they took embodied the opposite of what the middle class valued. They were left then with a dilemma: How to enjoy leisure without losing their commitment to work and social status? Aron argues that by the late nineteenth century consumerism was the answer.¹⁵ By consuming the experiences of the wild and the untamed wilderness, an individual could remain middle class and respected.

The wilderness became an important place for modern Americans. As a social construct it was comprised of several different meanings at one time and across different historical contexts. One important development was the vacation retreat. The growth of

¹⁴ Roderick Nash, “The American Cult of the Primitive,” *American Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (Autumn, 1966): 517-518; Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way*, 4.

¹⁵ Aron, 7-8.

hotels and boarding houses in Eastern “wilderness” locales like the Adirondacks and Catskills Mountains of New York and the White Mountains of New Hampshire made the experience of visiting the “wilderness” more modern. Also in this period the summer camp developed in the nineteenth century as a removal of children from the evil, adult sphere of the city to the natural wilderness that could preserve childhood and masculinity. It was an important way for urbanites to restore their humanity and enjoy oneself in a natural and authentic space. John Muir, John Burroughs, and Theodore Roosevelt have been credited as the leading advocates in the preservation movement that brought about these spaces; Wilderness reserves like the Adirondack Forest Preserve, Sequoia National Park, Yosemite National Park, and Grand Canyon National Monument developed between 1885 and 1908. These areas became important for young boys according to psychologist G. Stanley Hall and author Edward Everett Hale to experience the rugged lifestyles of the men who built America. The intent of entering the wilderness for middle class men, however, was to engage in therapy to specifically fix work-induced neurasthenia so they could return to their city life rejuvenated. For advocates like Camp, men on such a trip had to experience what historian Abigail A. Van Slyck terms a “rustic gentility” for the visit to have worked.¹⁶

The difference between male and female consumption of the wilderness and nature can be exhibited by Helen Keller’s testimony. When the prominent suffragist and activist spoke to *Good Housekeeping* about being blind she called it a blessing because

¹⁶ David Strauss, “Toward a Consumer Culture: ‘Adirondack Murray’ and the Wilderness Vacation,” *American Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (Summer, 1987): 270-286; Abigail A. Van Slyck, *A Manufactured Wilderness: Summer Camps and the Shaping of American Youth, 1890-1900* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), xix-xxvii, xxxi-xxxiv, 4, 8-11.

she could enjoy nature; “When I ride horseback, it is not merely as a sport, but also as a sort of communion with nature.”¹⁷ Her advantage was the ability to imagine nature while she was in it. Nature could be a man-made park in the city or a wild area, a garden or a wood. The wilderness, by definition, had to be untamed and primal, or at least appear to be. Keller reveals how women sought out a communion with nature. Men, however, were expected to enter the untamed and potentially dangerous wilderness in order to get fulfillment, for the wilderness experience was meant to challenge the male self.

In 1916 the New York Ontario and Western Railways transported vacationers to the Sullivan, Vista, Orange, and Delaware counties of New York. There they were promised waters full of fish, woodlands, “healthful hills,” and “Nights of golden moonlight, days of high, blue skies.” They could experience “swimming, boating, canoeing, fishing, tennis, dancing, and motoring.” These urbanites were encouraged to “throw off restraint and care.” Books like *Real Life*, a free guide to hotel rooms and boarding cottages, *Summer Homes* by G.L. Robinson, a 125-page collection of illustrations and descriptions, and Long Island were written just for the traveler seeking that authentic experience and cheap accommodations.¹⁸ The Delaware and Hudson trains promoted 3.5 million acres of wilderness encompassing Saratoga Springs, Lake George, Schroon Lake, Lake Champlain, The Adirondacks, Ausable Chasm, and Plattsburg where vacationers had the choice of a cottage like the Star Lake Inn or Grand View Hotel in the

¹⁷ Helen Keller, “Nature’s Storehouse of Health: Pays a Yearly Bonus of Happiness Says Helen Keller,” *Good Housekeeping*, 96, January, 1933, 38-39, 140-141.

¹⁸ *NYT*, June 18, 1916, 8 –11.

Adirondacks or they could just go camping out. Trains could be boarded at Grand Central Station or Hudson River boat connection at Albany for their convenience.

Urbanites that had the money and social means to leave the city often jumped on the chance. They turned the park and the wilderness into middle class spaces for themselves alongside other train destinations like Coney Island and shopping centers. Historian John Henry Hepp indicates that “Going from one carefully classified, perceived middle class space to another within the safety and comfort of the region's trains and cars, late Victorian bourgeois Philadelphians felt confident in the continued progress of their city by the dawn of the twentieth century.”¹⁹

Henry Van Dyke's *Days Off and Other Digressions* (1907) consisted of a series of stories the conflicted middle classes could use to guide them to the wilderness. He used characters like Uncle Peter to show readers they needed to get outdoors or fear losing their identity. Uncle Peter's philosophy was, “a day off is a day that a man takes to himself” and it must be shared. It gives men a “steadier hand and a braver heart.” Peter and his nephew's summer trips to the mountain resort were a way to liberate them from the routine of daily life. Uncle Peter found it more fulfilling to walk and traverse the wilderness without the train, as well as experience freedom and fishing in Lake Nicasus

¹⁹ Hepp challenges here the idea that science was the solution to a chaotic world in the early twentieth century however this interpretation leaves out the cultural transformations occurring at the time that challenged what motivated the middle class to find order. See John Henry Hepp, IV, *The Middle-Class City: Transforming Space and Time in Philadelphia, 1876-1926* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 39, 47.

of South-East Maine.²⁰ The wilderness provided an ideal space to create manly identities that could be taken back to the city.

Still, the creation of a masculine identity was not so simple. Middle class males had a number of personalities and identities to negotiate through in order to remain successful and manly. Historian John Pettigrew through his look at post-Darwinian justifications for dispossession of Indians and women from political frameworks suggests a de-evolutionary masculinity developed in the late nineteenth century, most famously depicted through historian Frederick Jackson Turner in his 1893 frontier thesis. In it Turner argued that “the West” was a wild and virgin place, untouched by civilization and open to the advancement of democracy and rugged individualism lost in the civilized Eastern part of the nation. This philosophy would form the basis for the wilderness experience because the wilderness had become authentic and the city had become artificial. Turner promoted the myth of the vanished Indian and valorized the wilderness as an empty space where manhood and growth of the individual could be tested.²¹ The persistent praise of Camp’s regimen in the 1920s and 1930s reveals a separation from the

²⁰ Henry Van Dyke, *Days Off and Other Digressions* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1907), 1-10, 18, 25-27.

²¹ Rotundo, 223-250; See an association with westward expansion and rejections of respectability in the business world in John Pettigrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male, Sensibility in America, 1890-1920* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); These historians have focused on how the “invisible Indian” and the “virgin wilderness” were social constructions. The mythicized wilderness and the creation of the “Old West,” or the area west of the Allegheny Mountains, are tied here to authentic masculinity, “redface,” ambivalence towards market capitalism, westward expansion, and revulsions of respectability and the feminization of men. For a look at how the violence against Indians in national westward expansion during the nineteenth century was justified by an association with women and their virtue see Barbara Cutter, “The Female Indian Killer Memorialized: Hannah Duston and the Nineteenth-Century Feminization of American Violence,” *Journal of Women’s History* 20, no. 2 (Summer, 2008): 10-33; See an argument that Benton MacKaye’s effort to create an Appalachian Trail involved several constructed uses and longings for the wilderness in the 1920s and 1930s in Paul Sutter, “‘A Retreat from Profit’: Colonization, the Appalachian Trail, and the Social Roots of Benton MacKaye’s Wilderness Advocacy,” *Environmental History* 4, no. 4 (1999): 553-577.

middle class identity and commercialized place had been challenged and that progress had become a strong authentic equivalent to the valorized wilderness, working class laborer, immigrant, Indian, and African-American. Middle class men had proven to their peers they were real men too without abandoning that identity or having fun in the shadows.

Historians argue the idea of the wilderness as a place of virtue and authenticity was adopted in part through Thomas Cole and the Hudson River Valley School, an artistic group that painted natural American landscapes and depicted Indians as a part of that landscape. As “The West” became populated the wild and untamed places for the middle class to seek out on their vacations had to be preserved. Uninhabited landscapes had to be created. National Parks like Yosemite in eastern California. The first designated national park in America in 1872, its residency had to be limited but at the same time the park was a tourist attraction for the middle class. The National Park Service (NPS), developed in 1916, constructed an identity for Yosemite as natural and un-touched through events like the Indian Field Days, where native Indian populations posed in buckskin clothing and headdresses, conducted basket weaving contests, and sat in crude teepee displays for visitors to see.²² The “pristine wilderness” many middle class

²² Several historians present the American wilderness as beautiful and real for Americans in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. For an analysis of Henry Ward Beecher as a crusader against the loss of virtue and community in the corrupt city through romantic Christianity see Clifford E. Clark Jr., *Henry Ward Beecher: Spokesman for a Middle-Class America* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1-5, 76-78, 240, 273; A look at nature for improvement of the individual through the Hudson River School is in Barbara Babcock Lassiter, *American Wilderness: The Hudson River School of Painting* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company Incorporated, 1978), ix-xi; For a look at tours of the West promising scenes of “real wilderness” see Orvar Lofgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), 38-39; An assessment of aesthetic value and romance in the wild for city dwellers sickened by urbanity and industrialization is in Raymond J. O’Brien, *American Sublime: Landscape and Scenery of the Lower Hudson Valley* (New York: Columbia University, 1981), 261-263; For an argument

members sought out on their vacation was actually consuming a cultural construct promoted by the NPS and painters like Thomas Cole. Without a native population to conquer, the Indian Field Days was one way white Easterners consumed their own Indian constructs for their own self-fulfillment.

In the 1930s sociologists and cultural commentators were still trying to figure out what the middle class was and how it would look in the future. Alfred M. Bingham in the book *Insurgent America: Revolt of the middle-classes* (1935) argued that the class lied somewhere between labor and capital. They were composed at this time of lawyers, teachers, farmers, shop-keepers, salesman, agents, and brokers and he argued when capitalism faced a crisis, fascists would step up to the plate and try to save it, heralding the middle classes and making them their proponents.²³

Lewis Corey in 1935 saw a crisis for the middle class developing. The second industrial revolution had created salaried positions, a decline in entrepreneurship, and a sharp drop in the number of American farmers. By 1930, 25.6 percent of the population (12.5 million) was in the middle class and their identity became synonymous with having a salary. That same year he equated 95% of the middle class were in salaried jobs.

Though salaries provided that sense of job security, the problem for Corey was that the

the source of the American landscape's romanticism was from European travelers and poets in the mid-eighteenth century see Mary E. Woolley, "The Development of the Love of Romantic Scenery in America" *The American Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (October, 1987) 56-66; For a popular history of the Hudson River School see Bert D. Yeager, *The Hudson River School: American Landscape Artists* (New York: TODTRI, 1999), 5, 6, 15-21, 29-34, 37, 42; Mark David Spence argues the "virgin" and "untamed" wilderness of America was a cultural construct in Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 5-7, 112-115.

²³ Alfred M. Bingham, *Insurgent America: Revolt of the middle-classes* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1935), 47-56, 158-161.

new corporate industries removed solidarity among workers. As a result two personalities were forming among the middle classes: old independent entrepreneurs and salaried individuals. Corey worried about a consolidation of power among the corporate-monopolists could produce a fascist state and a rallying of the petty bourgeoisie against the workers.²⁴

By 1935 Frank Bohn and Richard T. Ely were warning Americans that this corporate work relationship was immortal. Poor characters could be replaced on a whim through specialization and impersonal relationships at the office. Directors could cut wages or fire employees across the board if they wanted to, for a wealth of college students and specialized workers were ready to take their place at places like Ford Motor Company. In their book *The Great Change: Work and Wealth in the New Age* (1935) they argued laissez-faire economics removed the responsibility (or liability) of employers for the families of the company. To them, wages had become incidental where before they were a means for inspiration.²⁵

For many the most pressing problem of the middle class at the turn of the century was how to accommodate technological modernity and republican values. Those who wrote about dystopia and utopia in the 1880s and 1890s were not abandoning a future filled with technology but rather negotiating for their readers and themselves a way to

²⁴ Lewis Corey, *The Crisis of the Middle Class* (New York: J.J. Little and Ives Company, 1935), 155-170, 312.

²⁵ Frank Bohn and Richard T. Ely, *The Great Change: Work and Wealth in the New Age* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1935), 133-134, 265. Richard T. Ely helped form the American Economic Association in 1885. Joshua David Hawley, *Theodore Roosevelt: Preacher of Righteousness* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 129.

hang on to those republican values of restraint, independence, and benevolence.²⁶ The popularity of musclemen like Eugene Sandow and Camp's relevance to tigers in his regimen suggest muscular bodies were also ideal.²⁷ What complicated the picture of this body spectacle were the impositions or corruptions the middle class found the city had on their minds.

“Corruptions” of the city historians often refer to were illnesses of the office worker those like C. Ward Crampton wrote about. Crampton wrote in his article “Easy Chairs, Asses, and Athletes,” that the ease of the city was unhealthy. He recalled a man that came to him said, “Crampton, what’s all this about exercise? I do not believe in it at all. Look at me! I have never exercised, and, what is more, I am never going to.” Crampton described the man as having “a wonderful head, pallid face, thin shoulders,” and “superb intellect upon a mean physical base.” He was one of New York City’s most useful men. He created a system of education for thousands of immigrants, gave them art, gave them literature, gave them music and infused in them an American spirit, yet he “committed a crime,” he did not exercise and was headed towards the long vacation of death. A man could not be efficient without muscular work and toil. The muscled men of the past got exercise through survival but middle class men in 1920 did not depend on physical prowess to survive. Crampton concluded this story saying, “It is not until he becomes physically fit that he can enjoy the various refined products of civilization to the

²⁶ John F. Kasson, *Civilizing the Machine: Technology and Republican Values in America, 1776-1900* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1976), 230-233.

²⁷ For a study of character found in body shape see Peter N. Stearns, *Fat History: Bodies and Beauty in the Modern West* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 67.

full with impurity.”²⁸ What distinguished commentators on the wilderness experience in the twentieth century from those in the nineteenth century was their credibility as professionals and their emphasis on the science of the cure.

Heading to the wilderness for health reasons was heavily influenced by the science industry. In the 1920s the industry boomed thanks to fletcherizing (the idea that thorough chewing would be beneficial to digestion), public works programs like sewer systems and parks, and the expansion of preventative medicine. The 1920s period of scientific discovery distinguished itself by being based in mechanical models that emphasized behavioral changes were the key to healthy bodies, ideas that were popularized in 1923 when the American Medical Association launched the magazine *Hygeia*, which published Walter Camp and C. Ward Crampton. In the 1920s Camp and the regimen creators, and faddists like Horace Fletcher, were part of a larger shift in health culture from an emphasis on hygiene and physiology to an emphasis on behavior.²⁹

Health professionals like Crampton tried to emphasize for the middle class that city life was bad for their mental and physical health. The masculine and corrupt city was a sinful place where it was hard to be righteous, a credo that dated back to the first industrial revolution in the 1820s. That was where the “pristine” wilderness came in to play. The Daily Dozen reflected the movement of the health club, or the wild, into the city and allowed for the coexistence of lower-class physical characteristics and the city to achieve that authentic male body type. Doing physical exercise was described as hard

²⁸ C. Ward Crampton, “Easy Chairs, Asses, and Athletes” *Outlook*, 126, December 29, 1920, 761-762.

²⁹ John C. Burnham, *How Superstition Won and Science Lost: Popularizing Science and Health in the United States* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1987), 56-67.

work that brought their bodies and themselves down to their roots as animal-like men. By connecting brain work to bodily health, medical professionals were part of the process of depicting character through the body. The ease of these exercises suggest they were outside the means of actual muscle building or fat elimination and more important as a consumptive element. Performing an exercise like the Daily Dozen was more than just a way to get healthy. It was a means to manhood and Dudley A. Sargent was arguably the leading figure in giving credibility to those exercises of the early twentieth century.

Dudley A. Sargent M.D., head of the Sargent School for Physical Education in Cambridge, Massachusetts, described the blood stream as a working of supply and demand with different parts. Sluggish blood occurred from a lack of blood to the lungs, slowing down oxygen that carried polluted blood to the brain, which becomes unable to rid of the waste. The work day of the brain worker consisted of sitting and hunching over a desk and it was suggested he/she get more exercise during the day to counteract the idleness of brain work, for instance walking to a neighbor's office instead of calling because it took no more time.³⁰ Dr. John Madison Taylor of Temple University also announced the need brain workers had for muscular exercise. No matter how gifted a man was he needed to adapt to his surroundings. Stress on the blood vessels, the heart, the kidney, and brain were the cause of a bad balance of food, work, and play.³¹

Dudley Sargent was a major figure in the exercise culture of the early twentieth century. He was director of the Hemenway Gymnasium at Harvard University from 1879

³⁰ Dudley A. Sargent, "Keep Moving: Your Brain Will Work Better and Longer if you Take Care of It," *American Magazine*, 90, August, 1920, 31-33, 192.

³¹ *Review of Reviews*, "Physical Exercise for Brain Workers," 57, June, 1918, 659.

to 1919 and a professor at Harvard on physical training, he was president of the American Association for the Promotion of Physical Education and the Health Education League for 1905, and he started the Sargent School for Physical Education in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1916. Out of that school he taught a number of what might have seemed odd, exercises at the time, for they involved everyday activities. He told his constituents, both men and women, to walk up and down stairs, scrub floors, sweep with a corn broom, use a lawn-mower, knead bread, spend an hour a day on the washboard, and swim, but swim with caution because it put the most stress of these exercises on the heart and lungs. He therefore prescribed swimming in cold water to ease the tension. He also prescribed sport for his students, including archery, bicycling, bowling, canoeing, croquet, golf, rowing, fishing, and sailing. To help reduce their waists they were told to eliminate morning or mid-day meals. In order for them to lose weight they had to burn or oxidize said fat from their bodies. "Life in the open air, carriage-riding or automobiling [sic], a steamer trip, etc., all tend to reduce flesh when not followed by excessive eating. So do Turkish baths, or hot-water bathing at home followed by a cold sponge bath and vigorous friction with a Turkish towel." "Eternal vigilance," he added, "is the price of anti-fat."³² Both Sargent and Camp were advocates for healthy living for both sexes, but it was particularly Sargent's concern to work with women and promote their increased vigorousness and physical activity. His main reasoning was that he wanted strong women

³² Dudley A. Sargent, "After a Woman is 40: What Form of Exercise is Wise for Her to Take?" *Ladies' Home Journal*, 29, no. 4, April, 1912, 13, 86-87.

to produce strong Americans, a motive that became more important to him during World War I.

As a consequence of work and stress, men were succumbing to what C. Ward Crampton, Director of Physical Education, Health Instruction, and Athletics for the New York City public schools, termed “ease diseases,” or substitutes for exercise like alcohol and cigars that caused health issues like high-blood pressure and hardened arteries.³³ Doctors and experts on the body routinely emphasized healthy activity for office workers. In order for them to maintain their status as brainworkers, professionals argued regular exercise maintained the efficiency of the body as a machine and conversely the efficiency of office workers in production. In 1893 Dr. W. T. Porter looked at St. Louis school children and found they exhibited more effective brainwork if they had a sound body. Porter applied this discovery to office workers as a way to increase their efficiency in the adult workplace.³⁴

On top of consuming and looking at the wilderness as a work of art or reading about it, uses were developed for the wilderness out of emerging social and cultural ideologies in the early part of the twentieth century that became important aspects of American progress. One use was a source of relief, from work and from the city. Through the vacation, whether it comprised sleeping at night under a roof in a hotel or under the stars, people of all classes, ages, and ethnic groups that resided in the city were encouraged to vacate the city for a short period of time to rejuvenate themselves and take

³³ Crampton, “Easy Chairs, Asses, and Athletes,” 761-762.

³⁴ Sargent, “Keep Moving!” 31-33, 192.

some leisure. Greater travel was also being recognized as a beneficiary for commerce in and for the citizen consumer, yet for Camp it was specifically a middle class businessman's priority considering he had been separated the most from the comforts of the idealized home and a moral type of work.³⁵

Though businessmen were the most talked about sedentary demographic in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, children, women, and even ministers were encouraged to vacate the city and do The Daily Dozen as well. The New York City Conference of Baptist Ministers in September 1885 discussed its members stress as pastors. Reverend G. W. Samson read at the conference his essay "Causes, Prevention, and Cure of Professional and Ministerial Overstrain." He found three ministers had succumbed to "malady" at the conference. The group argued for physical exercise on "sedentary habited men" and if boys took two years off after grammar school for physical activities they would be able to take the mental strain of the workplace later on as adults.³⁶

By the 1880s the Adirondack area of New York State had been the most talked about wilderness of the U.S. territory. As more people moved to the city the Adirondacks became more popular and the man who did the most to publicize the region and its benefits was William. H.H. Murray, or "Adirondack Murray." Also a Yale man and pastor at Park Street Congregational Church in Boston, MA, Murray's book *Adventures*

³⁵ McGee, 13-17, 36-40; Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 271-275; Davis, 201-216; Howard P Chudakoff, "Success and Family: The Meaning of Social Mobility in America," *Reviews in American History* 10, no. 4 (December, 1982): 101-112.

³⁶ *NYT*, "More Exercise for Ministers: The Baptist pastors, after vacation, talking about overstrain exercise for brain workers," September 8, 1885, 8.

in the Wilderness: or, Camp-Life in the Adirondacks (1869) pushed people to find that relaxation in it that the neurasthenic nation needed.³⁷

The Minister's Social Helper when asked, "What is a real vacation?" said the perfect vacation was physical, mental, and spiritual. Its writers argued industrial and office workers were tired of the monotonous days. If the middle class could diagnose themselves, they would describe their condition as mental and physical illness, and they should move away from the "old ruts" as thousands of young people who go to the beach or mountains do. On their vacations people could put time into recreation like ocean bathing, sports, and other outdoor activities. Cooking classes, lectures, and concerts were provided. At summer conferences in Northfield, Massachusetts vacationers could hear great preachers and deep thinkers that provided that new outlook on life to take back to work with them.³⁸

Children were encouraged to vacate the city during the summer months to attend vacation schools and summer camps. In New York in 1901 Marion Wilcox of *Harper's Weekly* estimated 25,000 to 50,000 students attended in New York in July and August. Summer education was gendered. Boy's lessons included weaving, sawing, toy making, cabinet making, and leather embossing. Girl's learned sewing, cooking, housekeeping, nursing, dressmaking, embroidering, and knitting. Kids could learn games like checkers and dominoes on top of school subjects like geography, literature, and "nations." At night older kids attended debate clubs and youth centers. In the meant time kids could use the

³⁷ Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967), 116; Strauss, 270-286.

³⁸ *Ladies' Home Journal*, "What is a Real Vacation?" 34, June, 1917, 35.

parks in the city to rebuild. In 1901 there were 42 playgrounds in New York City, many of which contained outdoor gymnasiums, root kindergartens, and public baths. It was important that kids learn in play before in books, learn to want better living conditions, and learn the personality traits necessary for success: hygiene, courtesy, patience, organization, cooperation, moderation, and a “spirit of tolerance and good will.”³⁹

The popularity of Camp’s regimen and philosophy on the businessman suggest authentic pursuits and the burgeoning modernity did not have to be separate. Historians Peter N. Stearns, Melissa Dubakis, and Roberta J. Park emphasize character in the modern age was depicted through the body. Football players and outdoorsmen both comprised men of character. This emphasis on individual identity allowed the middle class office worker to become men of character through exercise and consumption in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Stearns indicates, a slim, healthy body became associated with a backlash against the negative effects of a market economy and neurasthenia, but trying to obtain a thin physique also became a source of nervousness. When cities became more populated and filled with individuals, the body became a visual representation of character. Controlling one’s own weight became analogous to controlling the seemingly untamed marketplace and retaining some sort of morality. Consumption and neurasthenia became moral hazards and dieting fads like fletcherizing capitalized on those hazards.⁴⁰

³⁹ Marion Wilcox, “New York’s Vacation Schools,” *Harper’s Weekly* 45, August 24, 1901, 842-843.

⁴⁰ Stearns, 67, 114; For a look at authentic masculinity consumed through sculptures depicting working class and Native Americans erected in the late nineteenth century in San Francisco’s City Beautiful Movement see Melissa Dubakis, “Mechanic’s Fountain: Labor and the ‘Crisis of Masculinity’ in the 1890s,” *American Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (June, 1995): 204-235; Park, “Biological Thought,” 1543-1569.

The summer camp and the wilderness vacation both embodied an ideal of place. By physically removing oneself from the stresses associated with work and the city, a minister or office worker could regain a bodily health. Walter Camp took the idea of adequate exercise achieved by “roughing it” further by suggesting it could be done in the city or even the office. A closer look at the modern office development and the incorporation of women into it can help establish a basis for the desire to vacate the city at the turn of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 2

WOMEN'S INCLUSION AND PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

The American Management Association (AMA) published a study of office working conditions in 1928 and illustrated what kind of losses were incurred by sick days and the opportunity cost of vacation days. In this study of 304 companies, 174,000 employees, 3/5 of which were male, the AMA came up with several commonalities and some large discrepancies. On the average having 7 hour and 40 minute days, 65 companies reported having between ten and twenty minute breaks. The number of businesses including breaks in the working day was on the rise, for tests showed they increased output, especially in typist, comptometer operation, and other tedious jobs. Some breaks were even devoted to light exercise. Two weeks of vacation was most common, 269 companies providing 12 days of pay and 57 adding vacation time for longer lengths of service starting at 6 months. One-fifth of the companies gave pay increases at six months and 44% every 12 months of service; 276 allowed time off for funerals or the like; half allowed for holidays. Cooperative buying, loans, stock purchase plans, benefits, group life insurance, libraries, evening schools, employee publications, school tuition grants, musical training, pay-roll reduction insurance, group saving plans, recreation, medical services, and social gathering services were provided by these businesses for their employees. By 1928, not only were executives recognizing the need for fun and leisure outside of work, but also at work. If vacation times could be kept at two weeks, other types of breaks from the monotony that typists experienced were

essential for work morale and reducing employee turnover. Keeping workers happy kept them at work.¹

A closer look at the efficiency movement that promoted these ideals suggests Camp had a significant impact on how bodily health fit into the workplace and vacation time. While Americans increasingly accepted and established institutions of progress, they were ambivalent towards those constructions at the same time. An important aspect of progress in the 1910s and 1920s became the association between efficiency, the body, and, consequently, masculinity. Looking at testimonials from managers and the incorporation of personnel management in the 1920s it becomes apparent that access to and control over efficient business practices was a means to manhood.

The *NYT* heralded in 1924 that “Personnel departments spring up overnight.” The biggest deal at the time relating to these departments was putting investment power into the hands of industrial employees. The Russell Sage Foundation was a leading organization in allowing employees to be involved in investing in the company and putting forth such a personnel motivator. National City Bank in 1923 had 8,000 employees on payroll, generating \$6,150,000 worth of stock. As a result of their program the company’s stock went from \$275 per share to \$410 per share and 20% dividends were being paid out. Thirty-five railways had included group life insurance and accident relief programs into their companies within the two previous years, with policies ranging from \$1,000 to \$4,000 across 200,000 employees in the industry. In Britain 238 firms

¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, “Industrial Relations and Labor Conditions: Office Worker Conditions and Extra Compensation Plans,” 27, August, 1928, 242-244.

spanning 160,000 employees had included profit sharing programs. In France, 75 companies had included 102,000 employees in such programs. The labor leaders of the 1910s and 1920s, however, did not support these programs. Samuel Gompers argued profit sharing depressed wages as a counter to the projected increase from dividends. Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief of the International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and former President of Harvard, Charles W. Eliot, were also opposed.²

Personnel management became a means to control workers that were disillusioned with work. When Nellie Halliday talked about its application to the institution kitchen in 1925 she not only acknowledged that men would feel threatened by working for a woman but she also established what the modern work culture became. She advocated efficient stereotyping in the hiring process in order to fit individuals within the company. A good modern job consisted of satisfying work experiences, job security, reduced anxiety, good salaries, adequate leisure time, pleasant co-workers, and welcoming work environments.³ Though Halliday claimed worker advocacy in personnel management, she also established that personnel management was interested in control, masked by a veil of interest in employee well-being. Like Taylorism and Fordism, human relations and personnel management were methods of control and business efficiency.

When the Principal of Joseph A. Mabin's School of Graduates in New Orleans, Ray Abrams, had to consider the curriculum for his students in the 1930s he put forth considerable lesson time into understanding how to get hired. Abrams tried to provide

² Harold Callender, "Sharing the Profits, Responsibilities Too," *NYT*, December 28, 1924, XX9.

³ Nellie Halliday, "Principles of Personnel Management Applied in an Institution Kitchen," *Journal of Home Economics* 17, no. 2 (February, 1925): 65-71.

just such lessons in his book *Business Behavior* (1941), a book which Abrams described as, “A series of lessons planned for commercial students, dealing with problems of human relationships that will be met in initial clerical and selling positions...” and “Studies that have been made to learn causes for dismissal from jobs or for failure to be promoted to higher jobs reveal the fact that unacceptable personality traits figure higher than does [sic] lack of the specific skills that business requires of employees.” Abrams told the story in the book of a young man who upon receiving a position at a large insurance firm made the mistake of calling a veteran sales agent by his nickname “Slim” and was subsequently fired. He came up with six lessons that would eventually make for movement up the hierarchy and a career above the stenographer: finding an initial position with legs, fitting your personality to your position, get feedback on your personality, change your personality to conform to the job, find a proper code of ethics, and develop traits that make you an enthusiastic employee.⁴

Abrams was pushing for young graduates to not only become “confidence men” but recognize in the business world that personality trumped character. “You listen with appreciation to the playing of a musician. You view with satisfaction the paintings of an artist. You enjoy poetry that seems to sing words that convey a mood or paint a scene. A motion picture that is faultlessly and lavishly produced wins from you words of praise... You cheer the athlete whose rhythm and form earn for him distinction in competition. You are lifted from your seat in the grandstand when the man who carries the ball

⁴ Ray Abrams and Mary L. Bell, *Business Behavior* (Cincinnati, OH: South-Western Publishing Co., 1941 [1956]), 1-17.

exhibits his speed and dexterity. You follow the golfer who shoots like Lawson Little. You ‘root’ for the batter who hits like Lou Gehrig; for the pitcher who ‘throws them in’ like Bob Feller.” Abrams wanted young men to search for that inherent skill within them. He wrote templates for answering phones in the office and codes of conduct, a list of offensive noises and attitudes that would undoubtedly keep these men from becoming successful: tapping fingers, toes, or a pencil, humming or whistling, sniffing, breathing heavy, blowing your nose with a blast, clearing your throat with a rasp, sucking your teeth, coughing loudly, not covering your mouth when sneezing, fiddling, picking your face or your nose, chewing gum, doodling, wrinkling your eyebrows, slamming doors, slamming down phones, and dashing into rooms.⁵

Finally, Abrams also warned, “Sex has no place in business.” Men and women were to abandon their social binaries and treat each other as cogs in the machine. He stated, “A woman is expected to do a man’s work in what is still a man’s world and yet be judged a lady by the ancient and honorable code... A young man does not rise from his desk to help the young woman who works at the next desk to carry a heavy ledge, nor does he open and close doors for her.”⁶ A believer in fatigue as a disease of the body, he was also a proponent of attendance at the YMCA or YWCA and use of daily regimens. Perhaps remembering Camp’s instruction he advised, “Let the ‘daily dozen’ give you rhythm and the energy that stimulates mental processes.”⁷

⁵ Ibid, 134-135; “Confidence men” was a name given to urban male dwellers that new residents were unable to determine were friend or foe. “The Confidence-man: His Masquerade” was the name of Herman Melville’s 1857 book. See Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986).

⁶ Ibid 146-148.

⁷ Ibid 161-179.

The first convention in personnel management in the U.S. occurred at the University of Rochester. By the time the second annual convention for the National Employment Managers Association came around it had 800 attendees. What personnel management theory did for the managerial profession was make it a science. When the magazine *New Republic* reported on the second convention in 1918 it stated, “The handling of human beings, the adjustment of subtle human relationships, is fundamentally a problem where the interests seemed by the personnel executive and the ulterior motives animating his handling of men inevitably determine his point of view and procedure,” and that management was no longer just about hiring and firing for attendees but about “the development of sources of competent labor, the improvement of working conditions and the determination of equitable standards of output in relation to pay.”⁸ Personnel management had established a democratic psychology that could exist above Taylorism, or at least that was the idea. What researchers and laborers found was that personnel management theory instead helped create a false sense of incorporation and community. What was an attempt to instill in the workforce a sense of purpose made work even less desirable and impersonal, much like Taylorism and Fordism had done for industrial workers.

Taylor and Ford were not without their influence on the creation of the corporate office. Modern offices were designed using gender constructs, middle class décor, and efficiency in mind. The model office by 1905 included adding machines, computation machines, typewriters, count-map cabinets, office telephones, phonographs, check

⁸ *New Republic*, “The Rise of a New Profession,” 15, May 25, 1918, 102-103.

protectors, duplicating machines, address machines, stamp and send devices, the “Peek-a-boo” envelope, autographic registers for sales clerks, pencil sharpeners, and vertical file systems. Vertical file systems used, particularly in sales businesses, carbon copies of answers to letters, attaching them to the back, and placing the two on edge in a cabinet, not flat. A Denver house manager found by integrating a vertical file system what took two or three clerks full time to organize correspondences now took 10 to 15 minutes. The ten-cent advertisements before the systems integration were being sent to “dead names;” residents that had moved or been deceased. The 4”x5” vertical cards and files only cost \$125, and he figured he saved \$2000 per year by reducing the number of advertisements sent to dead names.⁹

While the new corporate hubs were being built up in the 1920s and 1930s in cities like New York and Chicago, ideas about health and middle class comforts were infused. By the 1930s the upper manager’s corner office had developed its own style that was masculine and comfortable. One author put it, “Why should he live in something that looked like the unloved child of a railway station and the reception room at the local jail?” Wood paneling was a must with “deep masculine tones” of ruby red, forest green, deep old blue, and mustard yellow. It also had to be clean, possibly using glazed chintz or venetian blinds to help in dusty rooms. Oriental rugs and large leather sofas were popular and some offices would require their own showers and sinks.¹⁰

⁹ Charles A. Sweetland, “The New Science of Business: Arranging the Model Office,” *World’s Work*, 10, August, 1905, 6566-6588; *World’s Work*, “The Better Way to Conduct an Office,” 10, September, 1905, 6677-6679.

¹⁰ *World’s Work*, “Home Comforts from Nine to Five,” 60, June, 1931, 37-41.

The body spectacle was evident in conversations about workplace efficiency and even in conversations about modern architecture. When Alfred C. Bossom talked about the new skyscrapers on the East coast in his book *Building to the Skies: The Romance of the Skyscraper* in 1934 he talked about them in physiological terms. Steel frames were the bones of the building, while the plumbing pipes, soil pipes, circulating pipes, telephone wires, steam pipes, and electric conduits were the arteries veins, and nerves. The heating system provided the blood, the ventilation system gave the building its lungs and the engine room was its heart.¹¹ Characterizing more modern developments in the physiological was part of the larger attempt to make the lives of the middle class more visceral, but also a reflection of the medical community's connecting of body to brain work.

The ease of access to middle class status during this period has been up for debate among historians. While many argue clerkship was considered working class, especially for temporary workers like young female stenographers, other historians like Kwolek-Folland argue that the complicated gender constructs of the office made it easier for female typists to achieve that status than men because the tenets of middle class manhood relied on an element of control over women and more economic independence than a stenographic position at a large firm provided. A large part of this destabilization of the clerk came through new technologies in the late nineteenth century that until the age of the computer came to dominate office spaces. E. Remington and Sons brought about the

¹¹ Alfred C. Bosom, *Building to the Skies: The Romance of the Skyscraper* (New York: The Studio Publications Inc., 1934), 87-89.

modern typewriter with a QWERTY keyboard layout in 1873 and the Holerith tabulating machine and early Dictaphone recording machines came about in the 1880s. These inventions made the job of male clerkship less about brainwork and more about consistency and repetition. However, unlike nineteenth century male clerk culture, female clerk culture (or feminized clerk culture) became more specialized. The temporary and inferior status of new clerks was not a result of the mechanization but instead its association with women. The intentions of a female clerk were, however, ambiguous. A number of training schools popped up in the early part of the century to eke out more output from clerks. Schools like Montreal's Institut Stenographique Perrault and Chicago's Metropolitan Business College gave some men and women that slight edge over their competitors.¹² The feminization associated with the new corporate office culture was more specifically specialization.

Kwolek-Folland indicates that within offices like Metro Life, males still held on to their masculine personas with respect to the space, the industry, and the salary. It was specialization that specifically threatened one's manhood, not the space. Metro Life and other life insurance companies moved from Broadway to Madison Square in New York City to build the new skyscrapers that would house the modern office. When Metro Life started in 1867 it had six male employees in two small rooms on 243 Broadway Ave. New York City buildings did not go past five stories before the 1870s. In 1875 the tallest buildings were nine or ten stories. Most offices had low ceilings, between one and four

¹² Kate Boyd and Kim England, "Women's Work: The Feminization and Shifting Meanings of Clerical Work," *The Journal of Social History* 43, no. 2 (Winter, 2009): 307-340; Kwolek-Folland, 11-13.

rooms, lots of natural light, the office was rented, and most only had six employees. Nineteenth century offices were artisan spaces and very much resembled the scale of other artisan types of businesses. The first skyscraper was constructed in 1883 in Chicago and housed Home Insurance Company.¹³ In 1900, Metro Life had twenty-one agents in the field, more typewriters than any other company, male and female employees, held athletic events, ran a newsletter, housed choral societies, housed a gymnasium, and housed a co-op. Manhattan Life of New York had fourteen managers supporting 450 agents and brokers in 1900. Part of the growth phenomena of the financial and insurance industries was a result of the sales revolution. Early nineteenth century companies lacked salesman, customers, and a readership. These early salesman were poorly paid, often part-time, and often worked for more than one company. Most insurance salesmen were underwriters as well. The introduction of specialized machines, more widespread literacy rates, and the formation of scientific management journals like *System* and *World's Work* helped facilitate the growth of salesmanship and the growth of offices. When Metro Life moved to Madison Square in 1929 it resided in the largest habitable building in the world: fifty floors, 700 feet tall, managed 40,000 employees, a gymnasium, an auditorium, a radio station, and seven lunch rooms.¹⁴

The Alexander Hamilton Institute published a series on modern office construction and work flow in the 1910s called *Modern Business*. Books like *Modern Business* (1919) helped Taylorize offices and make them resemble industrial workflows.

¹³ Kwolek-Folland, 84-90.

¹⁴ Ibid, 15-29.

Employers were encouraged to not only think about labor issues but also how their offices would be constructed. The section in the book on “Office Management” prescribed a flow of departments from mail rooms adjacent to the credit department, to the sales department, to the clerks who recorded transactions, and ending up at the desks accountancy and shipping departments. Modern offices were pushed to reduce the chaos so much talked about in journalism offices and focus on a productive work flow. Large open workspaces were supposed to be between 100 and 125 square feet, with three feet between aisles, four feet between desk chairs, and five feet of space in front of filing cabinets. New offices were encouraged to build wind deflectors that sent cold air from the windows up into exhaust fans. They were also advised to constantly pump fresh air through office floors. All of the new New York State office complexes were monitored by the New York State Commission on Ventilation. The city of Chicago also had the Chicago Commission on Ventilation and they agreed that 68 degrees Fahrenheit was a healthy and comfortable temperature for an office. Their studies showed productivity was 37 percent better than at a temperature of 86 degrees Fahrenheit. With fresh air flowing through a space, productivity was ten percent better. Office boys (which at the time could still be girls) had the job of opening and closing windows and managing air flow in these modern offices.¹⁵

Furnishings companies like Reed and Barton helped fuzz the boundary between public and private aesthetic. As historian Marina Moskowitz indicates, “Though the

¹⁵ Alexander Hamilton Institute, *Modern Business* 19 (New York: Alexander Hamilton Institute, 1919), 58-93.

tenets of Victorian domesticity and business culture were often posed as rivals of the attention of the American family, the two were bridged by the ways in which the home and public institutions such as hotels, department stores, clubs, and railroad cars echoed one another in organization and décor.” Those who did not have the financial means to middle class décor were given lessons in respectability and consumption by these public spaces. Ownership of items like silver-plated flatware indicated membership of the group. Kohler's 1915 catalogue of enamel cast-iron plumbing fixtures and advertisements for Viceroy baths at hotels like The Commodore and The Pennsylvania in New York assured the middle class that hygiene and privacy were important. The growth in the mail-order home industry in the 1910s and 1920s through firms like Aladdin Co. made home ownership cheaper and consequently home furnishing more sought after. Moskowitz reveals a “fluidity” between manifestations of public and private accommodations: “This fluidity was particularly a hallmark of the expanding middle class, which had both greater ability to maintain its own domestic spheres than in earlier eras and access to a wider variety of clubs, sores, hotels, and offices, as well as to transportation mechanisms between these sites, to augment the settings of their daily lives.”¹⁶ This attention to public, middle class space construction was happening in the 1870s. When the Pennsylvania, Wilmington, and Baltimore lines rebuilt their stations in 1876 they built them with more complex and ornate interior designs. These reconstructions were not based in a projected increase of passenger traffic, for the

¹⁶ Maria Moskowitz, “Public Exposure: Middle-Class Material Culture at the Turn of the Century,” in *The Middling Sorts: Explanations in the History of the American Middle Class*. ed. by Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston (New York: Routledge, 2001), 170-184.

remodeled stations were about the same size. They were an acknowledgement of the clientele the lines had harvested and a part of the trend in new stations in the late nineteenth century of separating passenger cars from freight cars.¹⁷

In productivity studies the Alexander Hamilton Institute found that on average two weeks were lost during the year and a resulting four percent loss of work output. In the volume on office management they put the blame on poor hearts, poor lungs, enlarged glands, varicose veins, deafness, bad vision, and poor teeth. Certain companies were doing their own types of testing on the matter. Guaranty Trust Company required its employees go through a health grading from the Life Extension Institute, where “A” and “B” grade applicants were accepted and “C” grade applicants were not. The American Tobacco Company ran aptitude and psychology tests on applicants. Questions on arithmetic were asked and memory and speed tests were conducted. A graphology test measured mental determination and possible drug use (which on the tail end of the great binge was always a possibility). They ran a physiognomy test that examined facial expressions, character, and applicants’ “mode of life,” as well as character tests. Workplace encouragement was advised as an addition to salaries. In order to produce happy workers employers needed to be sincere (or at least appear sincere) in making personal connections at work and overcoming indifference. Memoranda that assessed attendance, desk tidiness, and output records would show employees how important they were to the company. Birthday cards would be a nice touch in establishing employees

¹⁷ Hepp, 59-62.

had a life outside of work. Bulletin boards could denote special achievements and foster competition among peers.¹⁸

Labor turnover was an important concern for managers. W.T. Middlebrook, comptroller for the University of Minnesota in 1929 talked about how staff and management methods were the most important considerations for a successful office, specifically an office of girls. After qualifications were assessed, that last thing to consider with new employees was discerning whether their personalities would clash with other employees. He argued personal interest in the girls fostered loyalty and “...size has brought with it the curse of impersonality.” Middlebrook felt a good part of a manager’s job was to reassure office workers they were important. In order to reduce turnover, managers should establish thus:

...pleasant and agreeable associations, an attitude of appreciation on the part of the management, reasonable compensation for the task performed, prospect of some promotion, a feeling of participation in the success of the enterprise, a full knowledge of the other jobs and the relationship between them, good quarters, adequate equipment, and, finally, a general sense of fair play and pride in the accomplishment of the task... These things summed up spell happiness and content.¹⁹

In terms of the proper office, Middlebrook also stated it should be “a livable place, not a recreational room, nor a lounge, nor a prison without bars on the windows” and “The keystone of a workable office is a satisfied and contented staff, inspired with

¹⁸ Alexander Hamilton Institute, 4, 14-31, 93-118, 130-147.

¹⁹ W.T. Middlebrook, “The Workable Office,” *The Journal of Home Economics* 21, (1929): 13-17.

the realness and need of the work they are doing,” a space that mimicked the “comforts and conveniences of the home.”²⁰

Studying sickness and leave days was common in the 1920s and 1930s. Organizations like the American Management Association, the Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, the International Labor Office, the International Labor Conference in Geneva in 1930, the Congress of the International Socialist Federation for Physical Culture and Worker’s Athletics in Prague in 1930, the U.S. Bureau of Education, and the Merchants Association of New York could be summoned by private companies for such studies. What the studies indicated was that women held the majority of office positions. Massachusetts found in 1926 out of 1,075 firms, 37 percent of the office was male. Sales and departmental offices, with the largest ratio of women to men, had three to seven times more women employed. More women held stenographic, bookkeeping, and operator positions. Though women dominated these offices, 19.4% received under \$16 per week and only .7% over \$50.²¹ Female employee’s “temporary nature” was shown in practical day-to-day separations between men and women. Up until the 1930s female restrooms in office buildings only existed on every other floor.²²

²⁰ Ibid, 13-17.

²¹ *Monthly Labor Review*, “Wages and Hours of Labor: Salaries of Office Employees in Massachusetts,” 24, January, 1927, 141-143; *Monthly Labor Review*, “Utilization of Worker’s Leisure Time – Report of Director of International Labor Office,” 31, September, 1930, 593-598; *Monthly Labor Review*, “Sick Leave Among New York Office Workers,” 21, September, 1925, 598-599; *Monthly Labor Review*, “Study of Sickness Among Office Workers,” 14, June, 1922, 1244-1245; *Monthly Labor Review*, “Physical Impairment in Clerical Occupations,” 29, December, 1929, 1269-1270; *Monthly Labor Review*, “Earnings of Office Workers in New York State Factories,” 28, January, 1929, 136-137.

²² Kwolek-Folland, 119-120.

State agencies, federal agencies, and private organizations in the 1920s recognized the importance educational services and the improvement of public health could be for commerce. At the International Labor Conference in 1930 collective European and American studies found greater exercise time was a good compensator for reduced work hours. The question of accessibility to “sports grounds” was an extension of each representatives continued emphasis on extending public leisure to office workers. Dresden had a sports field and public baths, 12 of 75 medical offices in Berlin provided sports grounds, the congress in Prague in October of 1930 had 1.7 million members, the Worker’s Sports Union of Finland established state houses as holiday centers, and L.R. Alderman of the U.S. Bureau of Education reported 30 states had initiatives for higher education legislation. In 1927, 505 cities added community recreation at a cost of approximately \$30 million to their budget. Since 1926, 6,301 playgrounds had been added, 2,156 indoor recreational centers, and 349 community centers, “partly provided for color residents.” In terms of sickness, most studies concluded office workers were much less healthy and incurred more sick days than any other type of job, in particular due to the internal issues Camp was so concerned about. Office workers were then characterized as weak and feminine, always suffering from something. In that respect, they needed health benefits because they were so much impaired. In 1921 among Midwestern corporations, with a majority of female workers, averaged 8.5 hours of lost work per person per year. That number was exacerbated by the influenza epidemic. The majority of sick days were taken for colds, headaches, and sore throat. Dr. Corey P. McCord of the Retail Credit Company in Atlanta, Georgia looked at 15 Cincinnati, Ohio

establishments and 1,000 male subjects. Where the majority of office workers were between 25 and 55 years of age, 26.4% were within insurance standards of healthy weight by 10 pounds, 27.5% in 20 pounds excess and 17.4% were 20 pounds short. Of 58.2 % with visual impairment of 20/30 or more, 28.1% had no corrective lenses. Brundage also observed an increased trend in bad hearing after 33 years, more flat feet among young people, 60% had two or more unfilled cavities, and 36.1% had cardiovascular disease. He concluded 381 of the males had major handicaps, 724 were unknown to any impairments they had.²³ Metro Life found 9,200 clerks in 1926 had a day or more a year absences for influenza, common cold, bronchitis, and tonsillitis and 45,254 had 4.9 days a year absence for respiratory conditions, accounting for half of all absences. This level of ailment may have been typical for other types of city workers but life insurance companies, perhaps as a reflection of the industry, took it upon themselves to document the health of their employees and find the best way to balance labor efficiency and healthy brain work activity.

Edward D. Page, a senior partner in Faulkner, Page and Company, a dry goods manufacturer in New York, found it out of place to order his employee Kennedy's personal life around, but it was getting in the way of his work. Page sought out Kennedy's doctor, who prescribed Kennedy beef, wine, and iron tonic before breakfast. His breath was really bad, but now his health was good thanks to the regimen. Page sought to reduce inefficiency by reducing laxity at work. His new employees were judged on grammar, composition, address, dress, department, and quickness. Examinations on

²³ *Monthly Labor Review*, "Physical Impairment," 1269-1270.

arithmetic, geography (to assess how well they knew cities of business), and handwriting (to test spelling, accuracy, and pace) were conducted.²⁴ He made sure his employees were healthy by providing supper during overtime work. He provided a lunchroom with a caterer at a \$3000 a year expense that reduced time wasted in poolrooms and bucket shops outside of the office building. Time was precious, and he also noted the company used a time-register for ten years. Another aspect of these changes was turning all workers chairs towards the manager and making them easily seen.²⁵

Page was continually looking to improve efficiency in conjunction with good health. By incorporating carbon duplicates, vertical filing, and a loose-leaf system at the customs house in Venice, New York, Page indicated his workers spent less time calling off orders and passing copies around, reducing the noise in the office and eliminating the wasted time of error checking by sending order copies from invoice clerk, to bill clerk, shipping clerk, the sample department, the order-book clerk, the copier, and finally the clerk who issued the order. Adding a loose-leaf system had the drawback of possibly offending the cashier who had worked for the house awhile. Page also complained about the fun and laxity in some workers, commenting “Kennedy’s taking too many nips, and gets too excited to do good work.”²⁶

Part of the impersonality of the modern office was in the use of the pink slip. In 1925 Pacific Mail Steamship Company started mailing pink slips to some of its employees citing a lack of government contracts to generate revenue. Eugene C. Walsh

²⁴ Edward D. Page, “Handling Office Employees,” *World’s Work*, 12, July, 1906, 7795-7796.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 7796-7797.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 7795-7797; Edward D. Page, “The New Science of Business: Making an Office Efficient,” *World’s Work*, 12, June, 1906, 7682-7684.

was one of those employees. After working for Pacific Mail seven years and having been promoted twice he received a letter stating “...we very much regret the necessity of severing your connection with the company... during the long period that you have worked for the company your service has been most satisfactory and it is with the utmost regret that it must be terminated.” Pacific Electric, Union Oil, and Farmers and Merchants National Bank promoted their corporate ladders as masculine pursuits.²⁷ Not only could someone Walsh had never met hire him at Pacific Mail but that same anonymous manager or even someone completely different could fire him.

One *American Magazine* writer referred to a self-made man called “Alfalfa Joe” Whig when he said, “We humans are all about as lazy as we dare to be.” The modern day office worker was doing “too much loafing,” especially on the half-work day of Saturday. This writer noticed during a luncheon of department heads the group tended to “drift along” and one left to make a call and never returned. Many “big fellows” left early on Friday. He cited one New York business house had two employees work every third Saturday and resulted in “laxity” and “a little chummier atmosphere.” A couple of solutions were presented. Executives could make Saturday a planning and correspondence day, or perhaps add the Saturday’s hours to the weekdays.²⁸

²⁷ Davis misses an opportunity here to emphasize the anonymity and non-confrontational nature of the professional classes. A distinct distancing from employee occurred in the incorporation of the professional classes. Not only was this development logistically carved out by the rise of the number of employees for one company but it came through as a distinctly middle class trait. The concern to not make enemies of managers and coworkers was a daily one. See Davis, 205.

²⁸ “Alfalfa Joe” Whig apparently lived at Woodland Farm in Mechanicsburg, Ohio and his fame was being the first to successfully grow alfalfa east of the Mississippi River. See *American Magazine*, “How Hard Do You Work on Saturday Mornings,” 92, July, 1921, 41, 118.

The word slacker took on a national tone when it was directed at draft dodgers during World War I. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and American Protective League arrested more than 50,000 male citizens and made them register through the use of "Slacker Raids." Public trials were held and became public relations ploys to encourage registration and patriotism. The largest trial involved 100 members of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1917 in Chicago. By the 1920s the term evolved into lounge and loafer and an association with a lack of work effort.²⁹ Virgil W. Nestruck's 1939 book *Constructional Activities of Adult Males* looked at just such reservations businessmen might have had about their position in society and their future in a cage. Other books that talked about leisure like H.A. Overstreet's *A Guide to Civilized Loafing* (1934), Walter B. Pitkin's *The Psychology of Achievement* (1930), Theodore A. Meyer and Charles W. Taussig's *The Book of Hobbies or a Guide to Happiness* (1924), Arthur N. Pack's *The Challenge of Leisure* (1934) and Gave Hambridge's *Time to Live* (1933) gave the middle-finger to the career establishment and heralded the virtues of leisure. Enjoyment at work was no longer an option for these authors. Nestruck postulated that work had become too stratified. It could no longer be a pursuit outside of the office or the factory and so he advised office men to seek a sense of worth in leisure activities. Modern work had no visible achievements and turned the worker into a consumer.³⁰

When Walter G. Holmes wrote about time studies in 1938 he wrote about it in gendered terms. Holmes had worked as a time-study engineer at Timken Detroit Axle

²⁹ Lutz, 176-180.

³⁰ Virgil W. Nestruck, *Constructional Activities of Adult Males* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teacher's College, Columbia University 1939).

Company. While there he came to the conclusion that women were better workers. They were adaptable, more patient, survived monotony, and were more responsible than men. Men he found were reckless, aggressive, and obstinate.³¹ Why did employers and progressives in this period valorize women's work ethic but limit them to stenographic and other seemingly working class types of work? These testimonials suggest that female subordination was still important and more so in the age of the large corporate office and growing middle class.

As historians contend with how far the concept of True Womanhood spread geographically and historically this period of women's inclusion into the corporate office space reveals the concepts ambiguity. As historian Angel Kwolek-Folland illustrates in several financial firms women were discouraged and encouraged to enter the office space at the same time. She argues there was not a managerial revolution, but a continuation of pre-corporate work relationships. Historian T. J. Jackson Lears, however, argues there was. He places organizational techniques at the forefront of new strategies of taming unregulated markets and overcoming their element of chance. Lears, like Kwolek-Folland, identifies recreation as a means for personal fulfillment and better performance at work. What Lears misses here is how gender was used to mold work relationships. The threat to female clerk's femininity, or True Womanhood, depended on whether the industry was masculine and whether the male employees had found a masculine pursuit, such as watching fishing or football. Modern offices did not form based on rationalization

³¹ Walter G. Holmes, *Applied Time and Motion Studies* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1938), 265.

and a belief in neutral markets. They formed by re-imagining family partnerships, leisure, and gender constructs. “True Women” in the early nineteenth century participated in movements for suffrage, temperance, and abolition, and they volunteered, taught children, wrote literature, and practiced medicine. There was not a separation between male spheres and female spheres but rather a separation between masculine and feminine pursuits. The goal for men in the early nineteenth century was to achieve economic independence and patriarchal control while female goals were economic and class dependence. Many young women that entered the modern office of the late nineteenth century still lived with their parents and gave their earnings to the family household. As the nineteenth century came to a close, the realities of modern work created a crisis within masculine spaces like the office and not necessarily between public and private.³²

Among the insurance companies, retail and wholesale markets, financial establishments, financing firms, real estate firms, and manufacturing and railroad companies in Chicago between 1839 and 1880 female labor among clerks hit eight percent in the aggregate at most. The 1890 census of Chicago listed stenographic work as 22.6% of female clerical work and in the 1890s *The Chicago Tribune* began listing separate categories for “Bookkeepers and Clerks” and “Stenographers” in their help-wanted sections. Five stenographic schools were available for men and women in 1880. That number rose to forty in 1910. When women's involvement in the new office spaces were questioned in publications like *The Phonographic World* and *Gregg Writer* there were two justifications provided. One argument was that hard work did not unsex women

³² Kwolek-Folland, 7, 44-45; Lears, *Something for Nothing*, 187-190, 227.

and that clerical training aided family duties, considering most female clerks were under the age of thirty. *The Phonographic World* published a series of short stories from 1887 to 1907, a twenty-year commitment, to highlight stories of “Americans in skirts:” hard working young women that received awards of office romance or a Horatio Alger type of success.³³

Whether or not a woman lost her True Womanhood at a job depended largely on whether the job or the company had an identity as feminine. When Margaret Sangster wrote about the condition of women editors in *Forum* she argued women were destined for the position as housewives. Doing housework, sewing, and teaching their children gave them broader skills available as writers, such as “attention to details, tireless self-sacrifice, an intuitive vicarious consciousness, power of synthesis, power of analysis, tranquil impartiality, keen discrimination, a habit of surveying both sides of a question...” Perhaps alluding to the case of Nellie Bly, the first and most well-known of the “girl stunt reporters” of the 1890s, women ran the risk of being destroyed as a sex by venturing into the world of journalism, even though she thought it a risk to their piety and well-being.³⁴ Holden Pike echoed Sangster's sentiments in *Review of Reviews* when he said the profession was already overcrowded. It just did not fit well with “feminine graces.”³⁵ W.T. Stead cautioned women, “Don't demand a chaperone” and “The woman who is

³³ Lisa Fine argues that deskilling clerical work was de-masculinizing it in Lisa M. Fine, *The Souls of the Skyscraper: Female Clerical Workers in Chicago, 1870-1930* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1990), 3-16, 17-26.

³⁴ Margaret E. Sangster, “Editorship as a Profession for Women” *Forum* 20, December, 1895, 445-455; For a look at how Nellie Bly used her femininity as a journalistic asset to investigate insane asylums see Jean Marie Lutes, “Into the Madhouse with Nellie Bly: Girl Stunt Reporting in Late Nineteenth Century America,” *American Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (June, 2002): 217-253.

³⁵ Holden Pike, “Young Women as Journalists,” *Review of Reviews*, May 3, 1891, 390-391.

mannish and forward and generally aggressive simply throws away her chances and competes voluntarily at a disadvantage.” For Stead and other critics of women's entry, there was a severe risk of losing dignity upon becoming too businesslike, i.e. mannish; at the same time they were expected to not submit to conventions, whatever they might be.³⁶

Movement up the corporate hierarchy in journalism or any other type of office work seemed to have ambivalent results. Women were shown to exist at the top, the middle, and the bottom of the ladder. For Olga Stanley of *Outlook*, dressing “up-to-date,” looking glowing, and appearing dainty were not only important in-roads to success as a journalist but also a means to acceptance from “co-workers” and “fellow beings.”³⁷ Haryot Hott Cahoon called it “gutter journalism.” Perhaps also referencing female stunt reporters, Cahoon argued women journalists could survive only four years in the profession. Editors wanted “the little country girl” that could “mantle her womanhood.” Real journalists had to go into the opium dens, witness Chinese vice, see brothels at work, sneak into the Salvation Army, do missionary work in Chinese Sunday School teaching, make love with a Chinaman, and faint illness to get into a charity hospital. The muckraking female journalist could only become a moral reformer through her abandonment of female honor and self-respect. Women, therefore, were losing their identity to the industry.³⁸

³⁶ W.T. Stead, “Young Women in Journalism,” *Review of Reviews*, 6, November, 1892, 451-452.

³⁷ Olga Stanley, “Personalities of Literacy and Journalistic Women,” *Outlook*, 57, October 6, 1897, 426-427.

³⁸ Haryot Hott Cahoon, “Women in Gutter Journalism,” *The Arena*, 17, March, 1897, 568-574. Consumption could be liberating for those without a sense of agency. Eva Illouz has elaborated on these cultural contradictions by highlighting the marriage crisis in this period. The independence of women allowed them to pursue romantic relationships over economic relationships. See Eva Illouz, *Consuming the*

New multi-class Philadelphia newspapers like *The Evening Bulletin* and *The Evening Public* in the 1920s used scientific layouts from bourgeois papers, such as large headlines, news sections, and the addition of advertisements that would appeal to the mass market.³⁹ Historian John Henry Hepp IV argues, “This use of gender was largely a reflection of the developing taxonomy of news, but its rise can also be linked to two broader social trends: the decline of the early Victorian notion of separate spheres and the development of the general circulation newspaper as part of the mass consumer culture.”⁴⁰ Hepp calls this change in newspaper layout, “the reordering of the middle class city along rational lines.”⁴¹

The cheap magazine that developed in 1885 became the most important medium for a mass market readership and, consequently, topical magazines like *Hygeia* and *American Magazine* that would contain the rhetoric of the health and exercise advocates.⁴² After the death of *American Magazine's* editor John Siddall in 1923, Merle Crowell took over for him and moved the focus of the magazine's articles from lauding the tenets of Victorian masculinity to lauding the new modern masculinity steeped in the body spectacle and flexibility in identity formation.⁴³ Part of the success of modern masculinity was in the increase of readership of these magazines.

Romantic Utopia: Love and the Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), 49-54.

³⁹ Hepp 131-132.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 140.

⁴¹ Ibid, 169.

⁴² Christopher P. Wilson, “The Rhetoric of Consumption: Mass-Market Magazines and the Demise of the Gentle Reader,” in *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 41-64.

⁴³ Pendergast, 148-149.

In the 1870s the workplace and the newspaper itself were undergoing major design changes. Late nineteenth century editors started separating their papers into men's and women's sections and journalism was increasingly considered a masculine pursuit. The Philadelphia press broke their periodicals down into four sections in 1870: political, business, sports, and crime. As more young women became earners and the consumer culture took over, female sections became more prominent. The first female section appeared in *The Public Ledger* in 1880 (a middle class paper). In 1890 *The Philadelphia Inquirer* established a "Gossip for Women" column. By 1900 five of the eleven Philadelphia newspapers had women's columns. In 1920 all seven newspapers at the time had women's columns and the majority of readership shifted from the largely bourgeois *Public Ledger* to the mass market *Evening Bulletin*.⁴⁴ Women not only became a part of the newspaper landscape but also the office landscape.

In 1934 half of all clerical workers were women. Grace Hutchins of in *Women Who Work* thought that was where they would stay. For her the clerical position had no in-roads and office machinery was deskilling the labor force. She estimated bookkeeping machines replaced between five and fifteen clerks, mailing machines that sealed and stamped between seven and fifteen thousand envelopes in an hour replaced between eight and ten clerks, and railroad check processors replaced six workers.⁴⁵ Secretary duties at large firms involved mailing duties, dictation, transcriptions, writing, filing, managing

⁴⁴ Hepp, 139-143. For a look at how magazines became more mass market and structured around gender constructs see Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880-1910* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1994).

⁴⁵ Grace Hutchins, *Women Who Work* (New York: International Publishers, 1934), 83-85.

phones, editorial duties, meeting with customers and other employees, bookkeeping, and personal services. Good traits of a secretary included things like accuracy, adaptability, alertness, ambition, good grooming, good health, honesty, being able to take a joke, being intelligent, loyalty, neatness, resourceful, patient, thorough, and having a pleasant voice.⁴⁶ Those women seeking more satisfying and salaried work, as men were doing, turned to journalism and realty in the 1890s. Books like Genevieve Jackson Boughner's *Women in Journalism: A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Technique of Women's Work for Newspapers and Magazines* (1926) sought to provide a framework for the ambitious.⁴⁷

Of 303 different occupations listed in the 1900 U.S. Census eight did not have women in them. Still, the census revealed a variety of occupations in women's possession, albeit a small number compared to men. There were 153 women working as "boatmen," 879 doing general police work, 22,556 working as operators, 126 plumbers, 45 plasterers, 545 carpenters, 193 blacksmiths, 571 machinists, 113 woodchippers, and 440 bartenders.⁴⁸ A type of work that was steeped in on-the-job training and getting to know the business had become by 1930 a babysitting job to critics of female work. Clerical work had merely shifted the patriarchy between husband and wife into the office space.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ W.W. Charters and Isadore B. Whitley, *Summary of Report on Analysis of Secretarial Duties and Traits* (Baltimore, MD: Williams and Wilkins Co., 1924), 45-48.

⁴⁷ Genevieve Jackson Boughner, *Women in Journalism: A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Technique of Women's Work for Newspapers and Magazines* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1926).

⁴⁸ The word "Queer" here is used in the context of an anomaly and not the sexual connotation. *Current Literature*, "Unusual Methods of Livelihood: Queer Feminine Vocations," 34, March, 1903, 291-294.

⁴⁹ Grace R. Hazard, "A Feather Duster: A Working Girl Looks at her Employers," *Scribner's Magazine*, 85, February, 1929, 188-194.

Fears of the “loose” female typist or stenographer seducing male office workers were exacerbated in films of the 1930s like *Wife v. Secretary* (1936) and *Baby Face* (1932). These movies established a classic office three-way drama between manager, secretary, and manager's wife.⁵⁰ Though success was limited in the 1920s and 1930s, there were successful female role models, like Eleanor “Cissy” Patterson. One of the first women to run a major newspaper, *The Washington Times-Herald* out of Washington D.C., she was heralded for being a strong woman. When Beverly Smith wrote about her in 1940 she said, “She has never been challenged to a duel, but that isn’t her fault.” She was also apparently very fit, taking half-mile swims or ten-mile walks each day, even after staying up all night with editors, and she could curse with the most vulgar males. As a stunt reporter for *The Herald* she had disguised herself as “Maude Mantil” and stayed in mission houses. She was also very wealthy, having married Count Josef Gizycki of Poland.⁵¹

The newspaper office was a particularly masculinized space women writers were uncomfortable in. In 1901, *Ladies’ Home Journal* sent a letter to 50 newspaperwomen and 50 newsmen asking their position on women entering the newspaper business. A prominent writer said a woman had to have a “feminine,” nervous breakdown to be in the office, though it is unclear what this writer meant by “feminine.” A successful writer commented girls would be subject to despicable male language threatening their character. One argued it was possible a woman could get “too close to the Tree of

⁵⁰ Julie Berebitsky, “The Joy of Work: Helen Gurley Brown, Gender, and Sexuality in the White-Collar Office,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 15, no. 1 (January, 2006): 89-127.

⁵¹ Beverly Smith, “Herald Angel,” *American Magazine*, 130, August, 1940, 28-29, 110-111.

Knowledge” and women should not be around the “votaries of sin.” A “pretty and smart college girl” went so far to say “it gives her opportunities of freedom that are not uplifting,” for women became “too independent, too free, too brood.” Most women felt the newspaper office was where “social restraints” were absent and, to use Slyck’s term, the “new masculinity” was rampant. Other writers made more optimistic dispositions on the office. Another writer said, “A bright woman with good health and uncompromising self-respect can find a splendid field of work in journalism.” One commented that “a lady, governed by the same inbred laws which govern a lady under all circumstances, one who holds her pen in a womanly, that is to say, in a reverent fashion, and who remembers that truth and kindness are not alien to clever writing” could survive the job. Of the 42 that responded to the letter, 20 were married; three of which approved of women writing newspapers, 39 disapproving. Of the 50 newsmen, who were all editors, 30 responded. The majority of writers were fathers that disapproved. One newsman commented, “Yet they lose something – what, I cannot say in words.” The job was so detrimental to women’s health that six were said to have had mental breakdowns and two were sent to sanitariums.⁵²

Anne Eliot in her study of Chicago reporters found it impossible for women to sustain any self-respect. News was gathered through persuasion, a masculine characteristic. The female reporter must be “aggressive,” “rude,” “impertinent,” and “In short, she must forget that she is a woman.” Women became tools of the industry and it

⁵² Edward Bok, “Is the Newspaper Office the Place for a Girl,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, February 18, 1901, 18.

was not possible for women to be feminine and persuasive. The demands of a high-stress office like a newspaper also put women at risk of nervous breakdowns, rushing to get stories written and being submitted to the noise of the space.⁵³ Women became a means to project male ambivalence about the office and their lack of independence in it.

Mary Bulzarik tried to characterize power in the home and the workplace in the same way in 1978. She argued harassment at the workplace was a result of female intrusion, not sexual deviance. She described violence as a means of social control that functioned on two levels: men to women and boss to subordinate. Coercion reasserted power structures in the home between sexual powers in the family to economic power in the workplace. In her look at testimonials in *Life and Labor*, a periodical distributed by the National Women's Trade Union League urban, working women in the North, she found among the mostly single women that had worked in the early twentieth century that in workplace disputes women were usually to blame, not only because they were women but because they were mostly young and temporary workers. She also found that although many workplace complaints were made by working class women they were recorded by middle class women who were less likely to report their own claims of harassment, for they were above sexuality and in control of their own.⁵⁴

Another field besides journalism women contested for a career in was in realty. The word "realtor" first appeared in *Webster's International Dictionary* in 1917, a term adopted by the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) in 1916. The

⁵³ Anne Eliot, "Experiences of a Woman Reporter," *Collier's Weekly* 43, August 21, 1909, 9-11, 22.

⁵⁴ Mary Bulzarik, "Sexual Harassment at the Workplace: Historical Notes," *Radical America Magazine* July-August 1978, 1-19.

NAREB promoted itself as the cure for the ills of the emasculated middle classes through their “Own Your Own Home” campaigns during the housing boom from 1922 to 1928. Realtors themselves were also battling feminization, for they were seeking masculine professionalization in the 1920s and 1930s. The housing bust in 1929 and the surge of women brokers and licensing threatened not only the male brokers themselves but, according to them, the profession's legitimacy. From 1910 to 1930 the number of women realtors rose from just two percent to thirteen percent. Though lauded by the industry as good temporary workers, most female brokers were over the age of 40 and established their own business, though they had to form their own women's boards being left out of local and national boards like the NERB. They not only promoted home ownership as a male prerogative but exploited the myth of the frontier and American exceptionalism as indicators of housing's legitimacy through publications like *The National Real Estate Journal*. Brokers professionalized themselves by establishing a code of ethics, a state-licensing system, schooling programs, and a professional managerial association. They wanted to get away from the myth of the “curbstone” broker out to take your money and revamp the industry under the guise of patriotism and masculinity.⁵⁵

Dr. Wade Wright of the Metro Life Insurance Company added to the fears of women in offices by stating that young women were prone to respiratory conditions, and

⁵⁵ Hornstein indicates the incorporation of women into brokership occurred on the West coast in the 1920s and not till the 1940s in significant numbers for the Midwest and East coast. The first women's board of realtors was the Women's Council of the National Association. It was established in 1938 and had nearly 1,500 members by 1944. See Jeffrey M. Hornstein, “The Rise of the Realtor®”: Professionalization, Gender, and Middle-Class Identity, 1908-1950,” in *The Middling Sorts: Explorations in the History of the American Middle Class*, ed. Burton J. Bledstein and Robert D. Johnston (New York: Routledge, 2001), 201-216.

added gastrointestinal issues, “writer’s cramp” or a palsy, and headaches were common throughout the office. He observed the 15 to 24 year old office workers that comprised half of the 1920 census had the highest mortality rate than all other occupations combined, most commonly a result of higher rates of tuberculosis and typhoid fever. The only other occupations that exceeded these rates were soldiers, coal miners, pottery makers, and sailors. He attributed the upwards of 90% attendance rate to the company clinic was due to poor ventilation, poor lighting, bad seating, bad habits, bad fashions, and a lack of exercise. College women were found to have far superior health than factory women according to a U.K. study published in the *Monthly Labor Review* in 1928, for half the students moved from the country, but once they became sedentary in the city, their health diminished.⁵⁶

One executive specifically sought the weeding out of young women from his office. He found a prejudice against middle class women in office workplaces and rather argued young women were less productive and too ensconced in personal conversations while on the job. They were also distracting. “If no customer tells me ‘Joe, I kinda like to come into your office, those girls you got are certainly not hard on the eyes,’ no one will ask again for missing info. This executive recalled a Mrs. Campbell at a previous firm paid no attention to gentlemanly courtesy like opening the door for her, picking up her dropped pens, or letting her off early in the hot afternoons and she turned out to be more useful by resisting flirtation with other employees. “Her manner was as matter of fact as

⁵⁶ *Monthly Labor Review*, “Health of Office Workers,” 27, August, 1928, 266-268; *Monthly Labor Review*, “Community Recreation in the United States,” 27, August, 1928, 268-269; *Monthly Labor Review*, “Physique of Women in Industry,” 27, August, 1928, 269-271.

though we had been two men together. No element of personal attraction existed between us.” Older women he said made his firm \$22,000 more by staying on longer and keeping a high work ethic. He observed the difference was young girls got bored while older women saw pride in their work, even keeping it “neat as a kitchen.” This executive assured older women he did not want to compete with the home for their work, but was adamant they were the better workers.⁵⁷ These women of the office also needed to stay healthy and efficient in order to work properly.

Betty Kyle gave advice to women in *Collier's Weekly* on getting blood to the head and helping boost the work ethic. Using the language of the office she explained the blood delivery system of the body as the “Up Elevator” system and the “Down Elevator” system. Ladies that looked unwell in the face were described as “...suffering from a partial and perpetual anemia from the collar line up! Like a wrestler.” Ladies were encouraged to mimic the movements of getting a facial at a Fifth Avenue shop. Beauticians used padded tilting chairs and tilted ladies’ heads down a lot, so at home ladies were encouraged to do the same with their davenport or sofa. She told them to place the cushions under their legs on the edge of the sofa and lay their head on the carpet.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *American Magazine*, “Why I Never Hire Women Under Thirty,” 90, August, 1926, 24-25, 145-148; Note that this executive distinguished between middle class and young women, not older women and younger women. This piece reveals the ambiguity an office position provided for class formation; for him a young girl temporarily working was the anti-thesis to a perhaps married and perhaps wiser middle class woman of age.

⁵⁸ Betty Kyle, “Put Up Your Feet: What a rush of blood to the head can do,” *Collier's Weekly*, 102, July 23, 1938, 11, 55.

Germaine Green Marcus assured women that their legs could starve and he urged them to follow these guidelines: “Seek out your muscles with your finger tips. You’ll probably find longer clumps of them in the fleshy parts of your legs and tiny ones around your ankles. Pat the little ones gently. But the longer ones need more heroic treatment. Therefore, remember you’re a kneader, not a pincher, grasp the muscles between your finger tips, roll them – pressing down as you roll – and let go.” This exercise was prescribed for ten minutes and followed by a five minute massage.⁵⁹

Managers and health professionals alike emphasized the need for routine exercise for the modern middle class worker but exercise that did not take away from the established efficiency associated with a specialized work regimen. The wilderness vacation became a hot issue for executives who had to decide how long an efficient vacation was. Not only did taking a trip to more natural area reserves like the Adirondacks of Northern New York state or Yellowstone National Park remove workers from the stressful aspects of city life, but also by roughing it vacationers could even participate in some visceral bodily activity. Several corporate businessmen (bankers, presidents, etc.) were asked in 1910, “How long should a vacation be?” “How long” was highly debatable to contemporaries, depending on the type of work one did and how detrimental an extended vacation would be on output and efficiency of American workers. President William H. Taft supposedly said three months was adequate rest for men of the workplace. Oliver Herriman, a banker, agreed two to three months was plenty

⁵⁹ Germaine Green Marcus, “Leg Work,” *Collier’s Weekly*, 99, March 27, 1937, 11, 43.

to “get out of the rut” and clerks and others doing “thinking” work required at least two weeks.⁶⁰

Health writers were certain that muscle eliminated fat in some way, as one put it “flesh piles on like a parasitic growth just where the least exercised muscular development fails to eliminate it.”⁶¹ Milton Berry of Los Angeles, California was one of those regimen creators. “For over twenty-five years Milton H. Berry, of Hollywood, California, has been studying the muscles of the body. He is not a physician nor a physical culturist. He terms himself a physical reeducator [sic]. Nearly seven hundred former cripples, victims of paralysis or withered muscles, have exercised their way back to health under his direction. People go to Mr. Berry for treatment from all over the world and his waiting list is already filled up for two years ahead.”⁶²

Middle class brainwork was considered unhealthy to health professionals like Dudley A. Sargent and C. Ward Crampton because it involved sitting at a desk, and so they put considerable emphasis on the need for physical activity in the summer vacation. Camp’s focus on sport and daily exercise suggests he was looking to fix the issues of the inclusion of standardization practices and mass consumption of the wilderness. Dr. Luther Gulick added to the conversation in 1898 by splitting the brain into sections based on motor skills. Gulick, a YMCA organizer and founder of the Campfire Girls, characterized a good life as an efficient life. For Gulick and Camp, a healthy body was synonymous with an efficient work ethic. Gulick argued the hind brain was associated

⁶⁰ *NYT*, “How Long Should a Man’s Vacation Be?” July 31, 1910.

⁶¹ Edward Lee, “The Physically Perfect Man,” *Current Literature*, 32, no. 4 (April, 1902): 483.

⁶² Magner White, “You Can Keep A Youthful Figure if You Treat Your Muscles Right: An Interview with Milton H. Berry,” *American Magazine*, 104, August, 1927, 42-43.

with coordination, the middle part was used for motor skills, and the front of the brain was used in inhibitory motions. What he called the “hygiene of the brain,” supply of blood flow was essential to keeping it healthy and this was achieved through proper exercise of the heart and nervous system (aka the vaso-motor system). Gulick also emphasized the benefits of play with respect to the vaso-muscular system. A healthy body consisted of muscular contraction and feeling, working together. He stated, “A richness of feeling’ occurred in those races with fine neuro-muscular and vaso-motor systems.” “It is the child’s self-activity; it is the free operation of his own will or fancy;” “As soon as activities are done for profit they are no longer play, although they may be enjoyable.”⁶³ White Americans had that richness but could learn about play from their own children. Camp assured businessmen on the contrary; that the play-instinct could be accessed anywhere and everywhere through the Daily Dozen.

⁶³ Dr. Luther Gulick, “Some Psychical Aspects of Muscular Exercise,” *Popular Science Monthly*, 53, October, 1898, 793-805; Lears, *Salvation to Self-realization*, 14-15.

CHAPTER 3
EXERCISE CULTURE AND
WALTER CAMP MAKING MEN WHOLE AGAIN

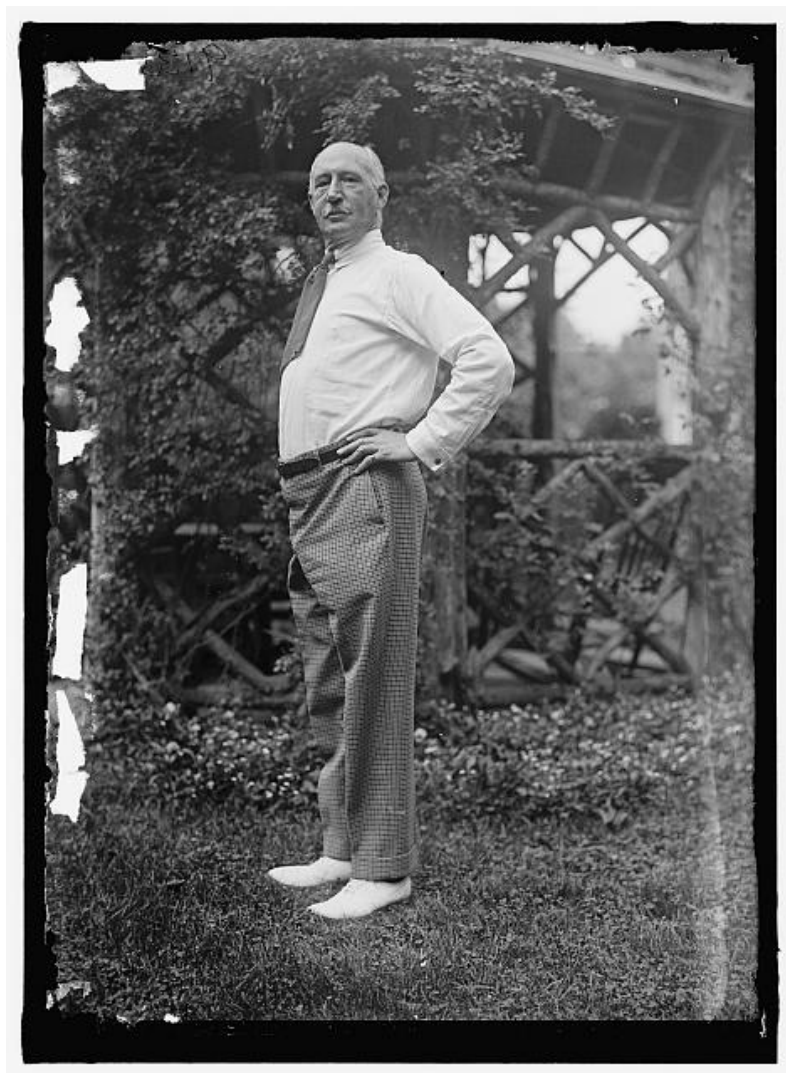


Figure 2. Walter Camp at the Presidential cabinet exercise session in 1917.

Henry Christian called exercise an “American fetish” in 1939. “Excessive exercise is detrimental to health... When past 40, beware of vigorous exertion, ‘daily dozens’ and the like, especially you who up to then have led sedentary lives... All too often people collapse or die as the result of unwanted exertion or precipitate an attack of serious heart disturbance, which then necessitates weeks of enforced rest.” The 1920s began what historian James C. Wharton has termed a “modern preoccupation” with hygiene. Advertisements for colonics, calisthenics, diets, and drugs promised that clean and healthy insides were the key to happiness and a successful life.¹

For many Americans in 1919 following the footsteps of “the Greeks and the Knights of the Round Table” was more important than trying to mimic the football or boxing hero. Camp was also an advocate of the ancients. He encouraged athletic men to look to Thor’s battles against Loki in Norse mythology.² Others advised against emulating figures of the body spectacle like Eugene Sandow or Yale athletes, favoring instead body health and exercise that prevented cardiac diseases, kidney diseases, pneumonia, consumption, lack of adequate blood flow, typhoid, falling asleep at work, and nervousness. Though many heralded the “lesser” (African-Americans, immigrants, or working class citizens) for a perceived athletic ability, others cautioned against such celebrations. Dr. Woods Hutchinson in *Harper’s Monthly* argued “As a matter of fact, civilized man is a far superior animal to any known tribe of savages,” for they feared

¹ “Figure 2” depicts Camp on a glass negative at the cabinet exercise meeting. See *Camp, Walter, I.E., Exercise School, Cabinet Officials Exercising with Other Govt. Officials* [1917] Harris and Ewing, photographer collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2008006378/>; Henry A. Christian, “Exercise an American Fetish,” *Hygeia*, 17, November, 1939, 968-969.

² *Walter Camp Papers-Writings*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 39.

demons and other evils of the night that they stayed in their huts for too long.³ Cricket player William Hemmingway in 1911 argued sport and athletic ability were essential for businessmen, in that “No men in the world work harder with their brains than the members of the New York Stock Exchange. The broker who dissipates his energies, whether in riotous living or by over-exercise, is rushing straight to failure. Yet where do the broker athletes go directly after office hours? To exercise, as regularly as can be. The Racquet and Tennis Club; the Fencers’ Club, the New York and the Crescent Athletic Clubs are maintained by business men and professional men who keep alive and fit to live by taking exercise after office hours.”⁴ Walter Camp complicated this assumption by suggesting exercise could be done at work and even in the middle class uniform, the suit. Looking into Walter Camp’s story reveals his importance to the historical narrative on modern consumption.

Walter Camp graduated from Yale University in 1880. By the end of his career with Yale athletics he was called the “Father of American Football.” More specifically, he was the Father of Yale football. He began his career with Yale as a kicker in the 1870s and graduated in 1880. In his last year he was captain of the football team and their representative for the forthcoming rule changes. From 1889 to 1920 he was Yale’s football coach and also served as a referee for a brief period in the 1880s, all while working for New Haven Clock Company in their New York and New Haven offices. Camp attended the Yale School of Medicine from 1880 to 1883. He joined the sales staff

³ Dr. Woods Hutchinson, “Exercise and its Dangers,” *Harper’s Monthly*, 114, January, 1907, 601-607.

⁴ William Hemmingway, “The Doctor Doctored,” *Harper’s Weekly*, 55, May 13, 1911, 8.

at the company in 1883 and worked his way up to the position of Board of Directors Chairman. While working for the company and Yale athletics he developed his Daily Dozen. In 1928 the Walter Camp Memorial Gateway was constructed in his honor.⁵ Why? It was because he was a pivotal figure in the creation of modern football.

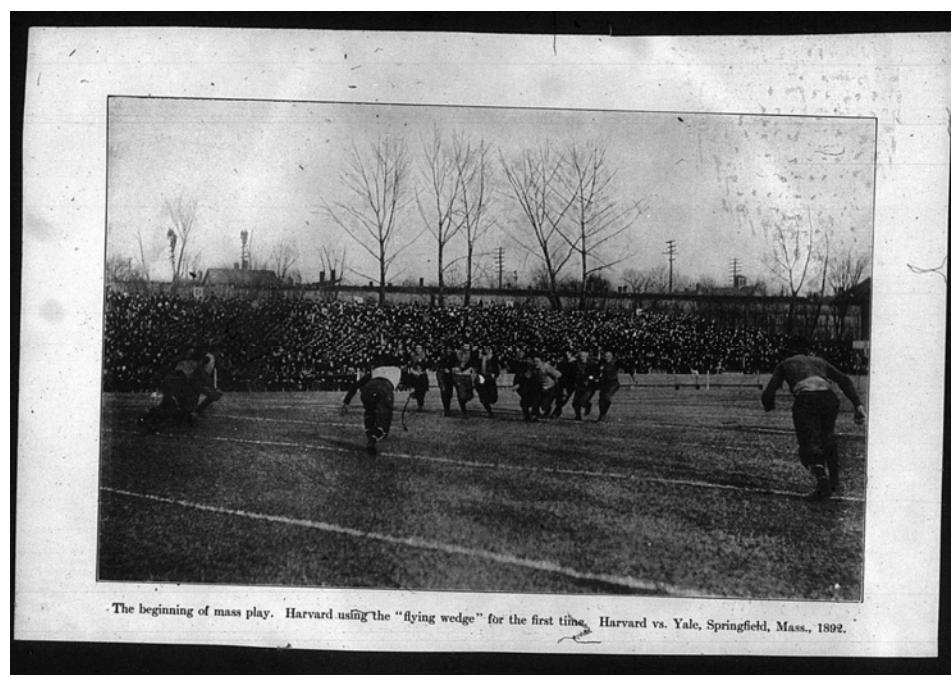


Figure 3. The epitome of the modern and brutalized version of American football was the rush play, or "flying wedge."

Camp was a member of the Intercollegiate Football Association (IFA). Formed in 1876, the IFA by Princeton University, Yale University, Harvard University, and Columbia University, it set-out to define what American collegiate football's rules would be. Of the original 61 rules put forth, only two were concerned with safety: rule number

⁵ "Figure 3" found in Yale University, *Camp Photos*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, microfilm MS125); Bergin, 8-11; *Obituary Record of Yale Graduates*, Yale University, (1925): 1348.

“57” ruled out hacking and tripping and rule number “58” banned protruding nails or plates in shoes. In 1888 two new significant guidelines were introduced by the IFA. Firstly, defenders were allowed to block the ball carrier, and secondly, defenders were allowed to tackle below the waist.⁶

Though initial guidelines for the sport were taken from the Rugby Union Code from 1872, the IFA and Walter Camp were integral in turning football into an American sport. The organization established provisions such as limiting the number of players allowed on the field to eleven and reducing the field size from 163 yards to 110 yards. Most importantly Camp and the committee separated American football from its English rugby roots in the 1880s and 1890s by establishing that the team with possession could put the ball back in play without a scrum, implementing the downs system of possession, implementing the scrimmage line, and making tackling below the waist legal. This dramatically changed how the game was played, for it went from being largely based on plays involving wide-open rushes to being based on short rushes and passing plays. This high-contact revolution made football much more dangerous for players and more exciting to watch.⁷

Football was known for its brutality after Camp's period. Rushing plays, blocking formations, and raw power ruled the day. In 1894 he published *Football Facts and Figures*, a public defense of the new style of football and its safety, for according to his

⁶ Regelski. “Rescuing the Dude from his Namby-pambyism.”

⁷ Bergin, 8-11, 35-40.

data gathered from nearly 200 former players there were no deaths, only multiple injuries.

In 1905, however, there were nineteen deaths on the football field. In 1906, there were eighteen deaths and 159 serious injuries. The brutalization of the game continued all the way up to the 1960s, where it was common practice during that fifty year period to try and injure the halfback. Historian Joel Dinerstein describes the sport during this time as such: “Professional football is war in the form of play, a game of military maneuvers. It can be seen as the public display of coveting ground and then conquering it through power, grit, intelligent planning, and hard, grinding work.”⁸ Known as the 1905 crisis, it was the year more deaths had occurred on the field than any other and prompted the formation of the Intercollegiate Athletic Association and for Theodore Roosevelt to call Camp and six other football figures to the White House to discuss making the game more “gentlemanly.” The University of California and Leland Stanford Jr., two leading Pacific coast institutions, even reverted back to rugby and dropped American football at their schools in 1905. University of California-Berkeley's Academic Council on November 29, 1905 had issued a statement saying they were unwilling to follow the statutes put forth by

⁸ Regelski, “Rescuing the Dude from his Namby-pambyism”; For a look at the African-American influence on football in the 1960s and the individualization of the running back see Joel Dinerstein, “Backfield in Motion: The Transformation of the NFL by Black Culture,” in *In the Game: Race, Identity, and Sports in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 169-189; For a discussion of the debates over gender and sport see Sarah K. Fields, *Female Gladiators: Gender, Law and Contact Sport in America* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2008).

the Football Rules Committee following the death of Union College halfback William Moore.⁹

What Walter Camp did for modern football he had also done for the modern office. The office would no longer be feminized thanks to the office male's adoption of a more virile and rugged identity. Camp was among the writers who helped make the transition to modernity for American middle class men easier to handle. If young male office workers feared long term corporate subordination and association with temporary workers (i.e. women), Camp had the cure; adopt a rugged masculinity. It is unclear whether the football spectators coming from the world of phonographs and duplicating machines were thinking about the sport as a counter to their work drudgery, but what is clear is that Camp wrote about such drudgery. The office man's health within and outside of the office could only be saved by virility and business success. If middle class men thought the two characteristics were mutually exclusive, Camp assured them that they were not. For historian Thomas Bergin, Camp had solidified his place in history through football. What has been missing from narratives on Camp is his importance not only to changing conceptions of masculinity at Yale, and other football schools, but also his place in exercise culture. Camp found office worker bodies were bulky, sluggish, and unhealthy due to the nature of brainwork. He expanded on previous works by William B.

⁹ Roberta J. Park, "From Football to Rugby – and Back, 1906-1919: The University of California – Stanford University Response to the 'Football Crisis of 1905,'" in *The Journal of Sport History* 11, no. 3, (Winter, 1984): 5-40.

Carpenter that the brain was the instrument of a person's will and by Edward Clark that the brain needed exercise just like the body.¹⁰

Camp added to the conversation by suggesting the masculinity created in the rough play of modern football was the answer. He therefore became the father of American football and arguably the father of rugged masculinity found in the modern office. What came to define masculine pursuits in the early twentieth century were not results from his Daily Dozen, or his naval exercises during World War I, or being physically muscular, however. What did was visualizing one's muscular growth or seeing muscular men perform masculine activities. Exploring Camp and the Daily Dozen, in relation to boxing culture and exploring the musclemen entertainment of the period allows for a better understanding of their popularity.

Camp's success went beyond the football field and Yale athletics. He served on a number of civic committees, trained the military, trained government officials, was a successful businessman, and became a successful writer. His writing career took off in the 1880s. By the end of the decade he was one of the highest-paid non-fiction writers in the nation. He wrote over 250 articles for twenty different magazines and more than thirty books on football, exercise, and athletics over the course of his career. *Keeping Fit All the Way* (1919) was his first book to put out his thoughts on work and the Daily Dozen.¹¹

¹⁰ Roberta J. Park, "Physiologists, Physicians, and Physical Educators: Nineteenth Century Biology and Exercise, Hygienic, and Education," *The International Journal of Sport History* 14, no. 1 (Spring, 1987): 1637-1673; Bergin, 8-11; See Figure 3 in *Camp Photos* Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, MS125).

¹¹ Guide to the Walter Chauncey Camp Papers, MS125-Overview, *Walter Chauncey Camp papers*, Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library-Yale University,

In the book Camp argued nervousness was still an issue for the American executive. Making specific references to S. Weir Mitchell's work on American nervousness and Dudley A. Sargent's argument that more than half of men were ineligible for selective service, Camp argued that the stress of office work built fat around the heart and created troubled minds. A trip to the untamed wilderness could restore ninety percent of a man but to regain that other ten percent lost in brainwork, Camp assured readers regular exercise, just a few hours a week of the Daily Dozen, would restore an executive to his fullest potential and fullest character. Camp put himself in the realm of other exercise faddists of the 1920s by suggesting character and morality could be depicted through the body, more specifically a slimmer and stronger body was masculine. Unlike the faddists, however, Camp was more concerned with producing efficient citizens. Camp had seen too many men rejected by the military for being unfit during World War I. The Daily Dozen was an effort to create more able bodied men.¹²

Camp's personal writings contain a number of his own aphorisms related to health, exercise, and football, and they were often of an abusive nature; "Sins against health bear interest charges. You pay heavily to fatten that stomach but there will be a still bigger bill coming from the doctors if you go on;" "Your belt line is a liability, not an asset;" "Nature is a great mender if she has a fair chance;" "The three graces of health are Fresh Air, Sunshine and Water;" "CRUEL COACHES ARE OFTEN BETTER TUTORS FOR BOYS THAN DOTING MOTHERS;" "IF YOUR BOY DOES NOT

<http://drs.library.yale.edu/HLTransformer/HLTransServlet?stylenam=yul.ead2002.xhtml.xsl&pid=mssa:m s.0125&clear-stylesheet-cache=yes>

¹² Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way*, 11-18, 22-25, 48.

FEEL BADLY WHEN BEATEN HE WILL NEVER IN SPORT OR LIFE WORK HARD ENOUGH TO BECOME A WINNER;” “IF NATURE THOUGHT A REAL PASSION FOR WISDOM WAS GOOD FOR YOUR BOY SHE WOULD HAVE PUT IT IN HIM IN PLACE OF HIS ADMIRATION FOR PHYSICAL STRENGTH AND COURAGE;” “Dissension is like a horrible disease that actually eats away the healthy tissue of a team.”¹³ One can get a sense of how Camp may have run his football team if he was heralding “CRUEL COACHES” in his writings.

Although women were described in Camp's writings as middle class, in reality it was not so clear. Camp would provide a solution to inefficiency of women's work in his regimen but he could not solve the issue of female office worker's class ambiguity.

Among Walter Camp's personal writings is an article destined for *The Women's Home Companion* but not published. Camp assured women they had a place at work and needed to consider their health as well. He said, “The business woman, like the business man, has to make up for the fact that civilization has deprived us all of what was Nature's normal life – work and play out of doors.” The guidelines for women were very much the same as for men; good carriage, exercise, diet, fresh air, proper breathing, recreation, sport, and the Daily Dozen. He also stated, “Civilization and a feverish city life take their toll of those who neglect their bodies.” If readers had a dog, he encouraged them to notice how it stretched and stayed fit. Modern businessmen and businesswomen had neglected the essential manual labor. “Nature has cast them aside because they disobeyed her.”

¹³ *Walter Camp Papers-Writings*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 37,) Plates 360, 410, 696, 959.

Sport would cure the agony of toil and beat Bolshevism. Camp held up World War I veterans as superior to businessmen back home. The kids sent to war had come back men and what better way to maintain that peak physicality than through sport. As historian Roberta J. Parker illustrates, football became a way to toughen up men for war and other nervous pursuits.¹⁴

President Roosevelt was arguably the father of modern American manhood. His speech to the Iowa State Teachers Association on “the strenuous life” is often quoted to describe a modern type of masculinity linked with the primitive. Roosevelt was a staunch advocate of both the wilderness vacation and football, though he was hesitant about its modern brutality. As a boy Roosevelt had severe asthma problems and he found on family vacations to hiking in Europe and the Adirondacks that those problems were alleviated. He was an avid reader of Greek civilization, though more for their conquests than their ideal physiques. His greatest influence regarding the body came from the magazine series *Our Young Folks* he read as a child. The magazine was filled with pages were tips on farming and dress and boy’s adventure stories set in the Revolutionary War and the Wild West. The lessons in the stories were about honesty, integrity, a healthy body, and a healthy heart. Roosevelt took from the book that good intellect and morality derived from a healthy and efficient body.¹⁵

¹⁴ There is no date for this article. Considering Camp did not publish articles on women and exercise till after World War I, it is highly likely this article was written after 1917, when Camp began creating callisthenic exercises for the Navy and writing about them. See *Walter Camp Papers-Writings*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 39); Roberta J. Park, “Soldiers may Fall but Athletes Never!': Sport as an Antidote to Nervous Diseases and National Decline in America, 1865-1905,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 29, no. 6, 792-812.

¹⁵ Rotundo, 228-229; Hawley, 6-8.

Roosevelt wrote to Camp in 1895 upon receiving notes Camp had written on football and its recent controversy. Roosevelt favored Camp's approach to football. He recalled a son of a colleague in the Civil Service Commission was in the navy. On the Annapolis sports team the boy injured his knee and broke his arm trying out for the team. In both injuries he was more worried about not being able to play than the state of his legs. Roosevelt found that the leisured and sedentary were becoming no better equipped than the "Bengal baboo." He believed rough play in football was beneficial and injury was part of the game. Having been near-sighted Roosevelt could not play football in college and so he boxed and wrestled instead, even though he preferred the rough and noxious game of football. Roosevelt was not alien to injury himself. He recalled having been knocked-out playing polo and having broken an arm and a nose riding to hounds. While these occurrences were inconvenient, and his left arm was left a little weaker after breaking it, he felt the fun far outweighed the risk of play. He thought college men should not take physical risk into consideration because they had no other risk besides pain. Though he found Harvard President Charles William Eliot's disgust for injury in football ridiculous, Roosevelt did favor the more gentlemanly period of football prior to the 1890s modernization. Though Roosevelt thought toughness necessary for all men he had asked Camp to reduce the rough play being exhibited in football in the 1890s while he was President. Roosevelt stated in this letter, "The Latin I learned in college has helped me a little in after life in various ways, but boxing has helped me more."¹⁶

¹⁶ It is unclear whether Camp implemented calisthenics at the company just in 1919 or previously. See *Obituary Record of Yale Graduates*, Yale University, (1925): 1348; *Walter Camp Papers-Correspondence*, Letter to Walter Camp from Teddy Roosevelt, dated March 11, 1895. Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 15.)

He reported successful results with implementation in New Haven manufacturing houses in 1919, including the New Haven Clock Company, a company he worked for from 1883 till his death in 1925 and the Senior Service Corps. Started by Camp as an effort to make for more able-bodied men in a time of war, the Corps was composed of middle class men, aged past 40, who Camp said needed to be strong representatives of the nation and better at their jobs. Camp attempted to restore these middle aged professionals to their youthful vigor by marching them outside, having them carry weights, and leading them in the extended version of the Daily Dozen. The Daily Dozen was a culmination of Swedish exercises Camp had used in Yale athletics, movements of the animals he saw at Bronx Zoo, and the setting up exercises he did with the Senior Service Corps. As a result of these two implementations of his exercises he was invited to direct men in training for the government. On March 11, 1917, as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) asked Camp to visit his executive office to discuss the physical condition of the higher-ups in President Woodrow Wilson's cabinet, which Wilson thought inadequate and difficult to maintain considering the irregular work hours. Camp proceeded that summer to run Wilsons's cabinet exercise club, referred to as "the Walter Scamps" around in the PT style and direct them in calisthenics. He assured middle class men that President Wilson flexed at his office just like the animal kingdom stretches in the wild or in the cage at the zoo. According to President Wilson's physician Corey T. Grayson "flexing" (or stretching) it was his favorite exercise to do while writing messages for Congress.¹⁷

¹⁷ Ibid; Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way*, 44-48, 160-161.

In the summer of 1917, after training Wilson's cabinet, Camp was named General Commissioner of Athletics for the United States Navy. He stated upon appointment "Our problem is to provide athletics for the men in order to duplicate as nearly as possible the home environment, produce physical fitness with high vitality, and in this we feel that we shall have the most generous and whole-souled co-operation from the Y.M.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, the War Camp Community Service, and all the agencies that are established in and about the camps." The National Security League was developed in 1914 as part of a national preparedness movement for war. It sought to mold Americans into future soldiers and turn immigrants into patriots. One of the ways they prepared their citizens was by making them fit. Camp brought other Yale academics into the commission, including Professor William G. Anderson, Dr. Joseph E. Raycroft, the army commissioner of athletics, and Professor Irving Fisher. Letters were sent to the mayors of over 800 cities across the country urging them to establish a committee for their citizens devoted to increasing physical awareness and better health habits. The North American's own Anna B. Scott was a driving force for the magazine's effort to spread such physical awareness prior to the declaration of war. In the summer of 1918 Camp's exercises were installed in primary and secondary schools across the country. Figures like C. Ward Crampton and President of the National Security League, Solomon Stanwood Menken, helped integrate them in New York. Camp estimated about 65,000 Navy men were using the Daily Dozen in August 1918 and listed thirteen Navy districts in use spanning Pelham Bay, League Island, Norfolk, Charleston, Pensacola, the Great Lakes, Puget Sound, and

Seattle.¹⁸ For Camp, poor health was of national concern. He stated in his book *Keeping Fit All the Way*, “Since the Civil War we have grown rich and fat, flaccid and spineless.”¹⁹

“Youth will be served' has been proven true for so many generations that it is as old as the everlasting hills. And for all that, we go over and over again the same old cycle of work only forgetting that the play instinct is an impressible trait.” Camp put considerably more emphasis on calisthenics for adults than for children. The focus of childhood exercise for Camp was in extracurricular activities and experiencing fresh air. Once a child became a teenager they were to begin adding strength training to their exercise regimen. In order for young men to develop a proper “carriage,” to “open... the thoracic cavity,” “put muscles over the shoulder blades,” and “strengthen the neck” they needed to go beyond play. Young men were also to learn about proper diet but in keeping with Camp's love for the wilderness, eating anything wild because nature was a “plain, wholesome nature.” For Camp, the mid-twenties up to age forty was considered the prime of a man's life. It was past the age of forty that men began that downward slope to death, but Camp assured potential readers that this concern for the veracity of men was economic, not philanthropic. He estimated that out of 25 million young boys and girls that fifty percent would develop to physical impairment in adult life without correction.

¹⁸ Information taken from Lawrence Perry, *Our Navy in the Air* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1919), 246-259; *Walter Camp Papers-Writings*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 37.); “A Daily Dozen...” *Outing*, 7; Robert D. Ward, “The Origin and Activities of the National Security League, 1914-1919,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47, no. 1 (June, 1960): 51-65; “A Daily Dozen Set-Up: Walter Camp's New Shorthand System of Morning Exercises,” *Outing*, November, 1918, 98,100.

¹⁹ Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way*, 33.

That made their health of patriotic importance. Camp pointed to discrepancies in age difference of a population as critical concerns for health advocates. The population with more men of age and a healthy voracity would fair better than that with more frail children.²⁰

Other men of sport were recruited as athletic directors and assigned specific districts, sometimes numbering more than 100,000 office men. These included George V. Brown, athletic organizer for the Boston Athletic Association, Dr. William T. Bull, former Yale football coach and medical examiner, Frank S. Bergin, a Princeton football player, Franklin T. McCracken, an athletic organizer in Philadelphia, Harry T. McGrath, an athlete from Philadelphia, Dr. Charles M. Wharton, a neurologist and University of Pennsylvania football coach, Louis A. Young, a University of Pennsylvania athlete, Walter D. Powell, a University of Wisconsin football player and Western Reserve University athletic director, Herman P. Olcott, a Yale football coach and University of Kansas athletic director, Arthur C. Woodward, an interscholastic athletic organizer from Washington, Elmer C. Henderson, an athletic director from Seattle, and David J Yates, described as an “all-around athlete and athletic supervisor.” Exercise programs were even led by former football stars like “Cupid” Black of Yale and Eddie Mahan of Harvard. These sporting events were participatory but also a critical source of entertainment. Boxing, wrestling, swimming, hockey, and basketball competitions were welcomed relief from the intense army training enlisted men had to face. Camp led boxing lessons and bouts, promoting the sport’s effect in the field of battle as well as the auditorium.

²⁰ *Walter Camp Papers-Writings*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 37.)

Swimming and rowing lessons were introduced in the Spring of 1918. On April 19, 1918, in commemoration of the battle of Lexington during the Revolutionary War, Camp organized relay races to be held at each navy station. At the annual National Collegiate Association conference in December of 1917, Camp argued aviators needed peak physical condition to function properly in war just as much as football men needed it in sport. Reports were coming from the European front that English and French airmen were dying not because of faulty planes but because of poor physical condition.²¹

The Naval Training Exercises and the Commission of Training Camp Activities (CTCA) were both progressive measures of World War I. Established in 1917, the CTCA, under Secretary of War Newton D. Baker's direction sought to keep men going to war healthy but also moral. Between 1890 and 1930 progressivism began to make waves in politics and institutions like the YMCA. The movement was composed of three motives: moralism, to restore a nineteenth century sense of morality espousing the ills of plutocracy and industrial toil; social justice, to alleviate the suffering of the poor; and efficiency, to espouse the benefits of modern machines and celebrate science and rationalism. The CTCA was also concerned about men seeking "unfit woman" overseas and feared the spread of venereal disease. President Woodrow Wilson called for a new cultural nationalism that emphasized sexual purity and good health for men and women. Through the distribution of "Fit to Fight" pamphlets the federal government sought to make good health not just a personal concern but a patriotic concern. In 1919 the CTCA

²¹ *Walter Camp Papers-Writings*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 37,) Plates 106-114.

cited Section 13 of the Draft Act in order to remove prostitution from neighboring cities to training camps. In October of 1917 they closed 19 red light districts.²²

The Educational Bulletin reprinted Camp's Daily Dozen in not only as a response to the CTCA's plan but also the need for stronger men in the army. The article stated, "One-third of the young men who answered this call were rejected for physical reasons." For how dire the situation Camp made it in his writings, he assured prospective readers that only a short amount of time and effort was needed to revitalize the young man or older man, citing a medical authority's statement that "one to six months under proper medical, surgical, dietetic and disciplinarian instruction will make nine-tenths of these rejects fit - and in most cases eager - for military service." His solution was a so called "hour of daylight" for most people. Camp said, "Our business and professional men are old at 30, fat at 40, and at 50 refusing to walk a mile and insisting on riding in motors or trolleys. Our average factory man is anemic, thin, hollow-chested, poorly muscled and full of physical defects; Our athletes and trainers have failed to give us anything permanent in condition or fitness. They have struggled to build up systems, but in each instance these have not proved attractive and have not been followed by those who studied them. Such systems, as a rule, have required a large amount of time and have proved uninteresting, despite their high aim."²³

²² Nancy K. Bristow, *Making Men Moral: Social Engineering During the Great War* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 33-36.

²³ *NYT*, "To Remold Nation's Youth: Security Moves for Physical Training in Schools," June 16, 1918, 7; The Daily Dozen was also published by the Reynolds Publishing Company. See *Walter Camp Papers*, HM137, Reel 37.

When Herbert E. Naylor, Metropolitan Physical Director for the Y.M.C.A., in Great Britain in the 1930s, put out his guide *Leaders' Handbook of Physical Exercises and Games* in 1935 he stressed how important play and Swedish calisthenics together produced the best bodies. Play included folk dancing, games, marching, working parallel bars, vaulting, boxing, skipping rope, basketball, gymnastics, badminton, and tennis.²⁴

Some regimen creators even looked to babies as another primitive being for inspiration. Charlotte Wells in 1935 said, “Animal mothers begin very early to train their young. In some ways they seem to have an innate wisdom beyond that of the human mother’s. Through play they prepare their young to care for themselves, to seek their pretty and to hide from danger. They push their babies over, muscles begin to coordinate, and wobbly legs grow stronger through effort to stand again.”²⁵ George Kent made the same analogy when he lauded Camp in *Ladies' Home Journal*: “Why is [a] six-months-old baby like a tiger in the zoo? The answer is easy. Both dwell in cages. More: both, despite their limited freedom manage to keep muscular and healthy – for [sic] more than most grown-up human beings. How do they do it?” Kent asked his lady readers to wake up and become a baby for a few minutes: “Start with a good stretch – which means, of course, you will twist and curl and yawn. Then, lying flat on your back, bring up your knees and begin kicking – short, sharp kicks, the way a baby kicks, the way you do when you ride a bicycle – and keep on doing it until the blanket and sheet are crushed in a shapeless heap at the foot of the bed.”²⁶

²⁴ Herbert E. Naylor, *Leaders' Handbook of Physical Exercises and Games* (London: Butler and Tanner LTD. 1935), 10-15.

²⁵ Charlotte Wells, “Baby’s Daily Exercises,” *Hygeia*, 0, August, 1931, 715-716.

²⁶ George Kent, “Setting Up in Bed,” *Ladies' Home Journal*, 52, no. 4, April, 1935, 20-21.

Louis Schwartz advised doing indoor calisthenics in temperatures between 65 and 70 degrees Fahrenheit. After exercise he advised one should take a hot shower and then a cold shower. Schwartz was particularly concerned with overstrain, advocating more pleasurable exercise and sports like tennis, golf, and fencing. “Horseback riding is a good form of exercise and is especially beneficial for gastro-intestinal disorders, such as constipation. The rhythmic vibration that the gait of the horse imparts to the rider’s body seems to be of benefit to the muscles and internal organs.”²⁷

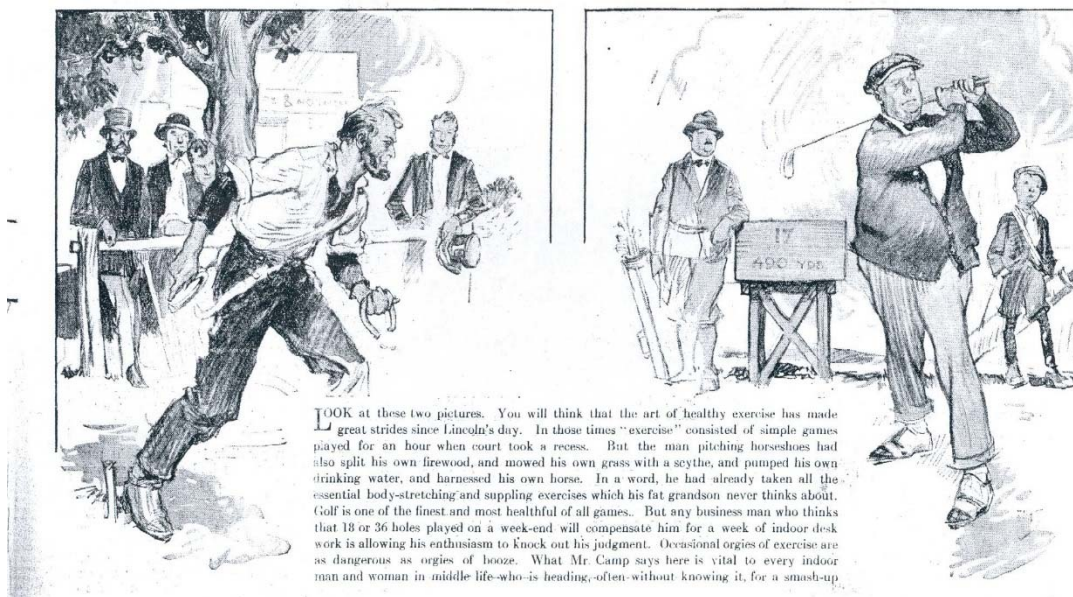


Figure 4. Depicted here is Abraham Lincoln as the rugged American ancestor and the early twentieth century office worker in contrast.

²⁷ Louis Schwartz, “Common Sense in Exercise,” *Hygeia*, 9, July, 1931, 642-645.

Camp found office worker bodies were bulky, sluggish, and unhealthy due to the nature of brainwork, expanding specifically on previous assumptions by William B. Carpenter, the English physician who wrote extensively on the nervous system of invertebrates in the mid-nineteenth century, that the brain was the instrument of a person's will in 1839.²⁸ William Oberhardt, Camp's illustrator, depicted Camp's office worker in office attire doing the Daily Dozen movements; dress shoes, pants, tie and button-down shirt.²⁹ Camp argued "little ailments" like headaches and poor digestion plagued office workers. Office workers were also depicted as large-waisted, stiff, and ill-suited in bow ties and cardigans for proper exercise. Compared to Abraham Lincoln, the office worker was less athletic. Lincoln was depicted in one article in roughed-up clothing, a crouched stance, and tossing a horseshoe. The office worker was shown in contrast playing golf in an upright position, clean-shaven, and in the same respectable clothes he could wear to the office.³⁰ These illustrations suggest connotations for authentic body types, but also suggest where work and leisure were separated from each other was complicated by Camp.

An old petty officer claimed he lost an inch off his waist after just two weeks on the Daily Dozen and Camp promised his program could cure lots of other ailments. One could have a strong abdomen, larger thoracic cavity, deeper breaths, strong shoulders and chest, help headaches and finally help women fit into that low-cut gown. He also said 35 year olds knew these general rules of health: "don't eat too much, drink seven to eight

²⁸ "Figure 4" found in Camp, "Live Faster," 11; Park, "From Football," 39.

²⁹ Camp, "Live Faster," 11.

³⁰ Ibid, 9-11; See William B. Carpenter, *The Physiological Inferences to be Deduced from the Structure of Nervous System of Invertebrate Animals* (Edinburgh: The University of Edinburgh, 1839.)

glasses of water daily, ice water is bad especially with meals, don't eat too much meat, eat plenty of greens."³¹

He also argued that the 29% of draftees rejected from joining the army would have been exacerbated had the war continued. Middle-aged for Camp was really between 31 and 35 years, not past 40, and he suggested 18 to 70 year olds should be "supple and enduring, quick and easy of movement, with strong heart, strong lungs and swift coordination." Camp found the demands of war production caused nervous tension and a threat of lost work hours. His solution was the Daily Dozen and 30 minutes of exercise a day. This included 10 minutes of stretching, a walk, and a rubdown early in the morning. The correct exercise would then act like a "lubricant" to the body and the brain, allowing them both to work effectively. "It is what lies under the ribs, rather than what lies over them, that is of value."³²

Camp argued executives, manufacturers, salesmen, organizers, artists and state employees were feeling the strain of competition, which George Beard had declared thirty-nine years earlier in his book *American nervousness*. They had stiff muscles, creaky joints, hollow chests, and bulging stomachs, and they swelled the death list when pneumonia and influenza hit. Countrymen were considered tough fibered. They hardened themselves for things like fried foods and other unhealthy or bad habits. Their bodies were then formed to meet the demands a good life of smoking, drinking, and indulging played on their health. Everyone knew Lincoln's hard beginnings and that Ulysses S.

³¹ Camp, "Keeping Young", 13.

³² Walter Camp, "You Pass Your Physical Zenith Between 31 and 35," *American Magazine*, 87, March, 1919, 31-33.

Grant cut, corded, and delivered firewood. City men's mind on the contrary was working before they had digested breakfast in the effort to make money.³³ "The primitive man can eat anything."³⁴ Camp found in Lincoln and Grant that authenticity of the thinking man through good, hard work that office workers should have looked up to.³⁵

Health Builders, a publisher in Garden City, New York published and distributed the Daily Dozen after World War I. In writing a colleague President Robert B. Wheelan of Health Builders encouraged him to set the dozen daily to music. Wheeler testified that entire families could gather together and enjoy exercising. Camp went so far as to prescribe specific benefits from each exercise: "Hands" would deepen the chest and improve circulation; "Hips" for relieve constipation and headache; "Head" would cure flat feet; "Grind" would help with constipation and torpid-liver; "Grate" would cure colds, catarrh, and reducing waist lines; "Grasp" was another fix for constipation and strengthening back muscles; "Crawl" would fix round and uneven shoulders; "Curl" would give better circulation and deepening of the chest; "Crouch" would fix stiff necks and eye strain; "Wave" would help the billowy kind and a sluggish liver; "Weave" would reduce large abdomens and "Wing" was an aid in improving circulation and developing the chest muscles. The course cost \$15 and consisted of five, 10" records with music and exercise instruction on both sides, a booklet containing a forward by Camp and sixty instructional photographs, and a black and gold album (or jacket) to hold the records and

³³ Camp, "Live Faster," 9-11; Beard, *American nervousness*, 115-117, 122-123.

³⁴ Camp, "You Pass," 33.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 11.

the booklet.³⁶ In 1919 Camp was invited by the General Press Representative of the Hudson Theatre, a Mr. Solano, to see the play “Three Wise Fools,” for its inspiration came from Camp’s articles on being middle-aged and un-athletic.³⁷

Those who failed to achieve what adequate exercise promised were bound for suicide. For Camp, men aged between forty-five and sixty were no less patriotic. An adequate amount of exercise to make them efficient members of society was not only beneficial to the cause and to the person but also a civic duty.³⁸ Walter Camp’s claims regarding his regimen were broadly accepted. Perhaps seeking greater marketing opportunities with Camp, one representative from Health Builder asked Camp prior to a publication of the Daily Dozen in 1923, “Can we authenticate the statement that golfers have committed suicide through depression over their performance?”³⁹

When Neil M. Clark wrote about exercise for the middle-aged man in 1929 he equated them to stray dogs taken in by Dr. Arthur A. Steinhaus of the YMCA college in Chicago. He would train the dogs and run tests on their physical output, x-ray their hearts for changes and test changes in their blood acidity. Clark recalled an exposition from Steinhaus: “One bounded on the scales to have his weight taken returned to his cage without orders, clawed the smooth steel door open, climbed in, and shut the door after

³⁶ Letter from Robert M. Wheeler to anonymous recipient. *Walter Camp Papers-Writings*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 9,) Plates 770, 771.

³⁷ *Walter Camp Papers-Correspondence*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 9.) Plate 776.

³⁸ *Walter Camp Papers-Correspondence*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 11.) Plate 937; Walter Camp, “Come Out of the Cave: Don’t Den Up: It’s All Right for Bears, but Bad for Men!” *Collier’s Weekly*, 67, January 1, 1921, 7, 21.

³⁹ Letter to Walter Camp from The Health Builder, anonymous author. *Walter Camp Papers-Writings*, Yale University Library, (Manuscripts and Archives, HM137 Reel 9.)

him. Another jumped on a piece of apparatus and ‘begged’ for the electricity to be turned on so that he might have his daily run.” Steinhaus put his dogs on a twenty-two percent grade treadmill for runs and expected them to run a mile in twelve minutes. They were also given a pool to swim in. Steinhaus stated, “One conclusion we feel sure of... is that exercise is one of the poorest possible ways for a fat person to reduce.” He estimated, with help from his dog trials that in order for a human to lose a pound of fat they needed to burn 4,000 calorie per day. He prescribed fat men to begin exercising by burning at a pace of 100 calories per day through his own regimen: writing at a desk for two hours and fifty minutes, walking 1.5 miles in under a half-hour, standing at rest for at least 3.5 hours, trotting four-fifths of a mile in seven minutes, laying 341 bricks, and weighing 1,732 pounds, possibly using the bricks. “Our dog that has had virtually no exercise for three years is as healthy physically and as bright mentally as any of the exercised dogs.”⁴⁰

The tenets of the Daily Dozen were recognizable enough that Donald Ogden Stewart wrote a satire on the subject in *Outlook* in 1928 dubbed “My Own Ten-Minute Exercises.” Stewart argued 72 percent of apartment dwellers had “the apartment-house bulge,” starting around age thirty. If caught early, it could be fixed by “cutting out potatoes,” and “limiting one’s [alcohol intake] to six highballs a day.” Stewart heralded the home as the haven for exercise. He had tried swimming in the East River but got arrested and tried running around the neighborhood but children kept making fun and running circles round him. Long walks kept ending up at the pub. Friends suggested

⁴⁰ Neil M. Clark, “Dogs Which Pinch-hit for Me,” *American Magazine*, 108, October, 1929, 74, 132.

gardening, hunting, or mountain climbing. He was not interested and instead produced his own regimen, three ten-minute exercises to revitalize the weak. In the shaving exercise one put their shaving mirror on their ankle and groomed their face bent over. In the exercise “Discharging the Cook,” when the wife came into the kitchen to cook, the man should place his hands on his hips and bend at the knees. On the one count inhale and rise on their tiptoes. On the two count exhale and say to the wife, “you are discharged.” On the three count raise the right leg “smartly”. On the fourth count resume the bending position. In the “tomato soup” exercise one would fill a spoon with soup in a crouched position on the first count and on the second count inhale.⁴¹

When Marguerite Agniel, author of *The Art of the Body: Rhythmic Exercises for Health and Beauty* (1931), advised mothers and daughters to dance in the health magazine *Hygiea* she looked to the Greeks for inspiration. She wrote how they used stretching and strengthening exercises to achieve maximum activity. They often stepped with their heels and toes in unison, giving them better balance. “As a pattern for this type of walking we get a good example in the American Indian.” Like Camp she advised mothers have their children observe tigers and panthers. If they were not available at the local zoo, cats would have sufficed. Also, carrying water on the head could help with coordination, what she described as a Spanish exercise. She also found sitting habits in dire straits, arguing “one should sit easily erect with the hips far enough back on the seat of the chair to comfortably fill the right angle of the back and seat without straining to do

⁴¹ Donald Ogden Stewart, “My Own Ten-Minute Exercises,” *Outlook*, May 30, 1928, 172-173.

so.,” for large guts were created by slouching.⁴² Abigail Norton made a similar provocation in *Harper's Bazaar* in 1909 when she advocated the home as a haven for exercise and she encouraged women to use the billiard cue, or the dust-cloth, or the broom as tools in their pursuits for physical fitness. Time magazine ran a report in 1937 that showed Kaiser Wilhelm II had seen his ladies-in waiting getting a bit pudgy, so he hired on a Dr. Bess M. Mensendieck. Hailing from the University of Zurich, she had set-up exercise schools in Potsdam and other parts of Europe to use her Mensendieck System of Functional Exercises. She was an American and returned to the US begin work at Yale.⁴³

In 1921 in *Collier's Weekly* Camp professed, “Come Out of the Cave: Don't Den Up: It's All Right for Bears, but Bad for Men!” and that men aged past forty “are only committing suicide more slowly than the poor devils who shoot themselves or slip into the water to drown.” Men do not hibernate and yet continue eating like the Brown Bear.⁴⁴ The *Century* magazine writer Arthur Ruhl declared in *Outing* “the country... is the only place to live.” For him dumb-bells were respectable because they bespoke veracity essential to a man's identity.⁴⁵

Several men gave their success stories after using Camp's Daily Dozen and other methods of exercise that could loosen the body up and make it healthier. These regimens argued for technology as a means to achieving a healthy body and kept ideologies of

⁴² Margaret Agniel, “Dancing Mothers and Dancing Daughters: Cooperative Exercises for Parent and Child,” *Hygeia*, 9, April, 1931, 344-348.

⁴³ Abigail Norton, “Athletics in the Home,” *Harper's Bazaar*, 43, November, 1909, 1150-1152; *Time*, “Posture Lady,” 29, April 5, 1937, 56-58.

⁴⁴ Camp, “Come Out of the Cave...” 7, 21.

⁴⁵ Arthur Ruhl, “The Eminently Respectable Dumb-bell,” *Outing*, 43, no. 6, March, 1904, 676 680.

advancement and efficiency acceptable in the pursuit of the authentic, animal body. One man learned that combating old age consisted of swaying his arms, stretching legs, and picking things up with his toes. He advocated these moves for anyone over the age of fifty.⁴⁶ Winifred Stuart Gibbs, author of the guide *The Minimum Cost of Living* (1917), advocated exercising the organs. In a tense moment, she suggested one sit in a comfy chair, close their eyes and relax the head forward and release troubling thoughts. Gibbs found modern equipment could ease the stress, where dishwashers exercised what he termed “normal play of muscles” and a sewing machine permitted rest and work.⁴⁷ Supposedly after George H. McClellan proved to the editor of *American Magazine* he was 61 he was asked to write an article. Thanks to his personal exercise regimen, his skin was pinker, he could eat anything he wanted, he kept his teeth in good condition, and he slept like a boy. McClellan described his body as “a worn-out piece of machinery” that was fixed by a regimen of dropping and moving the jaw, flexing the abdomen, turning the head, rubbing oneself in cold water three inches deep, and shaking the leg like a cat.⁴⁸

C. Ward Crampton described another man as a “pioneer in Americanization.” This young man ran a multi-million dollar business and exercised for one hour three times a week.⁴⁹ It was his physical exercise that made him an ideal American in the Progressive Era. Success in the business world required more than money and intellect. It

⁴⁶ *Outing*, “What One Man Learned: He Finds a Simple Way to Combat the Effects of Advancing Years,” 69, December, 1916, 350-352.

⁴⁷ Winifred Stuart Gibbs, “Keeping Young While Keeping House,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, 36, October, 1919, 105.

⁴⁸ George H. McClellan, “Mistaken for My Wife’s Son: How I Keep Myself Looking and Feeling Twenty Years Younger than I Am,” *American Magazine*, 85, February, 1918, 104-105.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 761-762.

required slumming it, by engaging in physical exertion below one's status that could strengthen the body and make it authentic. Real, successful men were constituted through a complete package: body, mind, and wealth.

Camp had declared by 1920 that there was no longer a need to go to the wilderness to become a real man. This man could have played football or done the Daily Dozen and gotten the same satisfaction. However, his regimen not only valorized manual labor in the city, it valorized manual labor in the workplace. Camp removed the issue of place that plagued American men searching for an authentic form of the male self. In addition, he put the achievement within the workplace. Looking at his regimen as a workplace activity and reassessing the establishment of sport and other "leisured" activities in the early part of the century, the office does not seem simply a place of work and the football field not simply a place of leisure. The evidence behind callisthenic exercise regimens and other valorizations of manual labor in the city reveals a new work culture had come about in conjunction with the accepted systems of progress and the introduction of modern middle class work spaces. By making growth and efficiency an aspect of leisure, leisure was no longer a relief activity. It had become work. This suggests this new culture formed out of a well-established ideology of progress following the strikes in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the growing necessity for increased amounts of consumption, and the emphasis on American exceptionalism.

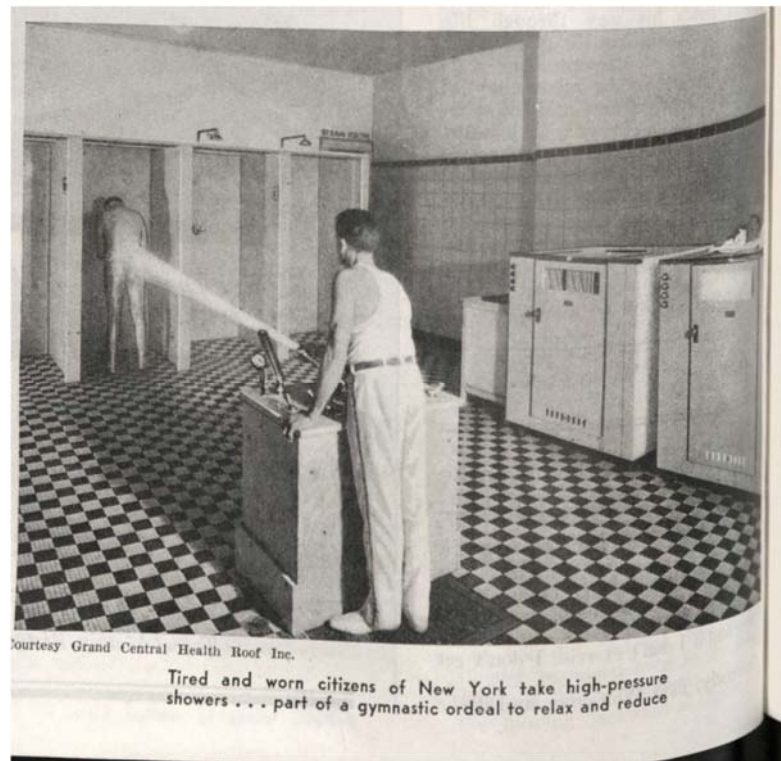


Figure 5. Shower scene taken at the Grand Central Palace’s Health Roof Inc., operated by William D. Bender, a Tennessean, and William B. Uden, a Swede, where at a price of \$150 for fifty treatments an urbanite could be sprayed with high-pressure hot and cold water, get a salt rub, and get a massage.

“I’ve always prided myself on the fact that I could bend over, with my knees straight, and touch the floor with my hands; that made me feel that I was much more of an athlete than most of the men I know.” William Alman Wolff here found in Camp’s Daily Dozen he could achieve that flexibility the tiger had and found himself manlier than his colleagues who could not move their bodies with the same capacity. Camp asked, ‘Why did nature give us joints in our knees?’ Wolff responded saying, “Poor slave

of an office that I am.”⁵⁰ Becoming a fit individual, like an athlete, for office workers alike meant getting down to their roots as animals. Though the middle class office worker needed that mental sharpness to do his job according to professionals like Camp, there was considerable emphasis at this time on an athletic body required to do brain work. One article in the *Literary Digest* went so far as to suggest driving and maintaining a car was enough exercise for a man. The changing of a tire was the equivalent to lifting dumbbells for an hour; pumping air into a tire fills it and your lungs; driving puts the muscles in continuous strain (which considering no cars had power steering and that roads had more gradients in 1919 probably was true). This piece cited Camp’s article in a previous edition called “Motor Life,” in which he argued every aspect of motoring, from operation on rough roads to getting in-and-out of a car was considered exercise.⁵¹ Motoring was simply another form of exercise that Camp said his readers needed to weave into their day among sports, his Daily Dozen, and the wilderness experience. He also likened the overweight body to a car. Excess weight reduced the horsepower of middle aged men.⁵² Without proper Camp’s persona was that of a consumer advocate. He may have known there were not enough hours in a day for urbanites to engage in every type of exercise and that is why he was adamant every day activities could be turned into such.

From the time Camp started publishing his findings on the wilderness experience to the period he wrote on exercise, middle class urbanites had to negotiate between

⁵⁰ See “Figure 5” in *Literary Digest*, “Bodybuilding: Exercise Gets Away From Physical Jerks – Sauce for Gander Not for Goos,” May, 1937, 23-25; William Alman Wolff, “What the Dozen Did for Me?” *Collier’s Weekly*, 65, June 5, 1920, 55.

⁵¹ Article adapted from Walter Camp called “Motor Life,” undated. See *Literary Digest*, November 19, 1919, 66-68.

⁵² Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way*, 9.

nostalgia and modernity, the wild and the tamed. These sentiments were echoed in the 1928 poem “The Angler's Reveille:”

Then come my friend, forget your foes, and leave your fears behind,
And Wonder forth to try your luck, with cheerful, quiet mind...⁵³

An important part of understanding the new work culture involves looking at aspects of nostalgia associated with the Daily Dozen and other forms of middle class physical activity. Camp specifically portrayed the ideal male body through Abraham Lincoln and placed him in the company of their ancestors as those who used physical exertion and sport to achieve authenticity. Ancestors of the Stone Age used their bodies more than people of 1920 according to Camp. “Under forced captivity” urbanites changed their habits and it had come to a point where physical prowess was first page news. Urbanites had stopped using the muscles of Stone Age ancestors and yet could do things that would seem like black magic to them. He argued people were so weak they had to use more muscles to do simple tasks like getting out of an armchair, which required using the arms and hands. Just to pick something up required a changing of positions instead of twisting.⁵⁴ The body had become slow and inflexible from the nature of middle class work and the lack of exercise for Camp meant the loss of efficiency. Camp expressed a progressive ideology by promoting physical exercise as necessary for

⁵³ *Ladies' Home Journal*, “Portrait: Can You Name These Modern Poets?” 45, March, 1928, 22, 131.

⁵⁴ Camp, “Keeping Young,” 11-13; This article is not a reference to body sculpting (ala Sandow) but body health. See *Literary Digest*, “Body Building,” May 1, 1937) 24.

office workers to do their tasks effectively and he did it by advertising his regimen as a cure.

Historian T.J. Jackson Lears cites the advertising revolutionary Claude Hopkins on this subject. Hopkins worked for advertising firms like Bissell Carpet Company, Swift & Company, and Lord & Thomas in the early 1900s. He was a proponent that advertisements should not be fact based and instead should focus on how a product made someone feel. This eventually became known as “reason-why” advertising. Hopkins, like Mayo with the manufacturing industry and office spaces, helped push psychology into the advertising industry. Scott Tissue starting advertising that harsh toilet paper caused infection in the 1920s. Pre-1920s Listerine ads hallowed their mouthwash as a cure for halitosis, which previously was being advertised as a wound cleanser.⁵⁵ This movement culminated into a self-realization through products much in the same way Camp promised it through the Daily Dozen. In Douglas Fairbank’s film *The Picture in the Papers* (1916) the young son of a businessman gains his strength from “Pringle Products.” The most famous case of this movement was in Bruce Barton’s book *A Young Man’s Jesus* (1914) when Barton argued Jesus had had a strong physical physique, joy in living, and perfect teeth. *Good Housekeeping* went a step further in 1928 by characterizing the Devil as a disease expelled by Jesus 200 years prior. This refashioning of Jesus was part of the secularization of religion in this period and old-America

⁵⁵ Lears, “From Salvation...” 18-20.

nostalgia. Barton idealized Jesus further in the seminal work *The Man Nobody Knows* (1925) when he told the story of Jesus being the Father of the modern corporation.⁵⁶

Not only was the separation of authentic and corrupt forms of place for men being merged together by the Daily Dozen and other regimens, women in the idealized middle class home were also bridging these cultural gaps. Camp illustrated in an occurrence on the boardwalk in Atlantic City that men and women put fat in odd places on their bodies. A man said to his wife who was eyeing a gown in a store window, “My dear, you don’t suppose, do you, that you’d look like that if you wore that gown?” Camp found the husband’s comment cruel but true and described her as “ungainly.” She could not wear a low-cut gown like the one she was gawking at with her size and her chest out “gauntly.” Camp found it men and women’s prerogative to get rid of excess flesh. The most damage from disuse of trunk muscles was on the bowels. He argued everyone used laxatives as a result of this malfunctioning part of the engine that kept it running. Likening the body to a car, he said one would not put new tires on a car that broke down.⁵⁷ To achieve that ideal body Camp prescribed mimicking the caged lion through his Daily Dozen. Camp’s regimen was celebrated for both sexes. “What Mr. Camp says here is vital to every indoor man and woman in middle life who is heading, often without knowing it, for a smash-up.” By making these authentic and fun forms of expression through sport, exercise, outdoor activity, and artisan labor into necessary functions for efficient brainwork in order to weed out in-efficiency, Camp and other exercise creators removed

⁵⁶ Ibid, 18-38.

⁵⁷ Camp, “Live Faster,” 9-11.

the spontaneous elements of movement in everyday life. This made modern middle class and working class work undesirable and warranted a separation between leisure and work. Walter Camp not only democratized authentic body forms and participation in American efficiency by arguing no one could be idle, he transformed leisure into work, rather than it being an escape from work to something more fun and visceral. By focusing on the need for a rugged masculinity among businessmen, he also established a fine line women would have to cross in order to be healthy and feminine. If they became too muscular or too “Sandow,” they were no longer virtuous and innocent, but just as threatening to a degree as the greedy businessmen.⁵⁸

Eugene Sandow was born in Konigsberg, Germany on April 2, 1867 to a jeweler and precious metal dealer. Sandow recalled in his biography of being in awe of Gracian heroes he saw in Italy as a young boy. His muscle building career began in 1885 in the “Turnhalle” or gymnasium, a result of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's German exercise movement, begun as a response to the losses of the Napoleonic Wars. By 1870 there were 1,500 gym societies in Germany alone. Much like the exercise movement of the Americas at the turn of the century, building up the body became not only patriotic but a youthful endeavor. Sandow met manager Professor Attila while in Brussels performing as a strongman and through Attila would become the muscleman he was most famous for. Attila added the use of weights into Sandow's stage show. Although Sandow would

⁵⁸ Camp establishes he was concerned with the health of the internal organs over muscle building by not only denouncing bodybuilders like Sandow but by making the Daily Dozen easy to use. The efficiency a proper man exhibited was achieved through good digestion, adequate oxygen supply for the lungs (i.e. fresh air), and good regulation of body temperature by the skin. See Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way*, 131-132.

challenge a many strongmen on stage in Europe and the Americas it was his chiseled physique that sparked interest from men and women of the middling sorts. In the late Victorian period when many believed the body was meant to be concealed and bluenoses like Anthony Comstock were promoting prudishness among the middle classes, photographs of Sandow's semi-nude body were acceptable on the walls of many a sitting room and often in the bedrooms of wealthy Victorian daughters. A large part of Sandow's audience for his shows were young female admirers. The appearance of Sandow's semi-nude men in spaces like girl's bedrooms, opulent sitting rooms, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and the pages of middle class magazines challenges histories of Victorian prudishness. Photographer Napoleon Sarony in New York in 1893 published the photos that would epitomize Sandow's character, such as the fig leaf photo, and draw people into Sandow's stage shows of the body spectacle.⁵⁹

Sandow used his equipment to get more people into the exercise culture but also to suggest non-strongmen were inadequate in the bedroom. In 1894 he appeared in one of Thomas Edison's Kinetoscope shows. The kinetoscope could run a loop of photographs using a new celluloid film developed by George Eastman that no longer required glass plates. Kinetoscope parlors were created for such loops. They were dark and narrow boxes lined up next to each other. The viewer would look into a peephole where a weak image of Sandow showed him flexing, lifting two dumbbells, and then doing a somersault

⁵⁹ David L. Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent: Eugene Sandow and the Beginnings of Bodybuilding* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 4-5, 64, 72-87.

Sandow became very much the showman of his age and an integral part of the body spectacle. When a 650 lb. Lion named Parnell was scheduled to fight an 850 lb. Grizzly bear, both owned by Colonel Daniel Boone, in San Francisco in 1894 the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) put a stop to it. Parnell previously had mauled a trainer and killed Boone's Great Dane, Nero. Boone contacted Sandow's American manager Florenz Ziegfeld Jr. and persuaded him to put Sandow in the Grizzly's place. At the last minute, however, at Ziegfeld's request and perhaps fearing for the life of his muscleman, Sandow's opponent was changed to a more docile lion named Commodore. Staged in a cage within a large tent in Golden Gate Park the lion was put in leather mittens and a muzzle under orders of the SPCA. Sandow pulled him around by his tail, grabbed his whiskers, and pulled on his mane. After nothing really happened on the lion's side, Sandow was declared the winner, given a medal, and earned \$3,000 for his efforts. Just going into a cage with a massive lion was not enough for some people. After the fight Boone had to deny rumors the lion had been chloroformed.⁶⁰ Those coming from the corporate world could either cheer for their muscled hero's success through manhood or sit in despair at having apparently been swindled by Ziegfeld and Boone.

Sandow opened his first gymnasium the Institute of Physical Culture in 1897 in London. Though initially intended for the working classes of the South and Eastern areas of metropolitan London, the weight training and muscle-building exercises taught there were instead presented to the middle and upper classes of the Piccadilly area. The institute garnered a lot of popularity by 1902, the same time Mark Berry's Milo Barbell

⁶⁰ Ibid, 84-87.

Company was established. A later editor for *Strength Magazine*, Berry and Milo's became the first advocates for heavy strength training of the middle classes. "Both Berry and Sandow understood that to be successful they needed to tap into the great mainstream of the Anglo-Saxon public, and this meant making weightlifting more palatable to genteel society." Though Milo's had students and workers as patrons, over half of its strength trainees were of the middling sort. Sandow's gym for the genteel had wood paneling, potted palm trees, well-furnished bathrooms, oak smoking rooms, consulting rooms, a music parlor, and oriental carpets to mark each training station. Teachers were ex-soldiers and each had to pass a competency examination. At its peak, Sandow's institute had twenty locations in England alone.⁶¹

Body sculpting, much like the wilderness experience, became something to consume in the late nineteenth century, most notably with Eugene Sandow. Office men could establish their own masculinity by trying to become him. One seeking authentic body forms merely needed to read Sandow's books or check out his films. Sandow would go on in his career as a muscled-man to produce exercise literature such as *Strength and How to Obtain It* (1897) and the first magazine devoted to physique *Physical Culture*, sell strengthening products like the "Spring-Grip Dumbbell," and open strengthening schools like the Institute of Physical Culture in London, but his most remembered cultural contribution was arguably his feats-of-strength shows (such as wrestling a Tiger in a cage) and pictorials of his ripped physique, most notably taken by Napoleon Sarony in 1893 and Thomas Edison in 1894. As historian Maria Wyke illustrates, his shows were

⁶¹ Ibid, 100-108.

promoting his physique, not his strength. A classicizing of male bodies and Greek ideals became popular in the late nineteenth century theater, circus, and magazine culture.

These types of male physique would become promulgated in boxing and football in the



Figure 6. Eugene Sandow posing for photographer Napoleon Sarony, 1894.

early twentieth century. Historian Theresa Runstedtler in her biography of Joe Louis argues the New Negro movement of the 1930s, in its attempt to re-create African-American men as capable of masculine social uplift, looked towards black athletes like

Joe Louis to construct a masculine identity for themselves. She states "... the New Negro movement also signaled a nascent shift toward a modern sense of masculinity grounded less in middle class notions of gentility, and expressed through recreational pursuits, the conspicuous consumption of mass-market commodities, and the open display of bodily might and sexual virility." Boxing was popular for White and Black American men. These athletes went beyond being entertainment or a break from Victorian prudishness and became important representations of virility meant to be watched, admired, and recreated for personal fulfillment.⁶²

What historians might recognize as Victorian gender separation, women were separated from men in their exercise at the Institute and given their own room. For the upper classes, before the flapper movement of the 1920s made body type a concern for the lower classes, in the early twentieth century it was fashionable to be thin. Genteel women were expected to wear a corset in public and it was popular activity to take up Sandow's courses. With Sandow's second book *Strength and How to Obtain It* (1897) he encouraged the charts it provided to be placed next to captures of his ripped body on the bedroom walls of admirers.⁶³

⁶² For "Figure 6" see *Eugene Sandow, 1867-1925, full length, standing, facing right, wearing fig leaf and holding pillar in Samsonesque posture* [1894] B.J. Falk, N.Y., Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2005686777/>. Maria Wyke, "Herculean Muscle!: The Classicizing Rhetoric of Bodybuilding," *Arion* 4, no. 3 (1997): 51-79. Theresa Runstedtler provides an important connection between the boxing world and Black politics. She illustrates how Joe Louis, Booker T. Washington, World War I participation, and the Great Migration fueled a movement that became more militant and masculinized in the 1930s. See Theresa Runstedtler, "In Sports the Best Man Wins: How Joe Louis Whipped Jim Crow," in *In the Game: Race, Identity, and Sports in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 47-92; Theresa Runstedtler, *Jack Johnson, Rebel Sojourner: Boxing in the Shadow of the Global Color Line* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012.)

⁶³ Chapman, 103-108.

Dr. Dudley A. Sargent measured Sandow in Boston and made a plaster cast out of his body. That cast was later displayed in the British Museum in 1901 in the natural history exhibit. Sargent was as amazed by his body as the young women. He measured Sandow's right bicep at 16.9 inches in diameter, his waist at 37 inches. For how perfect Sandow's body seemed to spectators, his cast was however a little lopsided and a poor tribute to the muscleman. Sargent later lectured on Sandow's body at the Harvard Union and Sandow gave Harvard the only copy of his cast, which ended up at the Hemenway Gymnasium.⁶⁴

Theresa Runstedlter provides some important insight into popular culture of the 1930s: “In an era when images of bumbling Sambos, feminized male minstrels, and confused primitives still held currency, Louis's public personifications of forcefulness and fairness, virility and respectability, stylishness and responsibility, resonated with popular understandings of manhood, civilization, and modernity. Thus, from the footnotes of the well-known narrative of Louis as American hero emerges not only the buried history of a block-diasporic icon, but also a longer story about the intersections of gender and resistance in America's race wars.”⁶⁵ According to Runstedtler, Joe Louis had two public identities: Race Man and conqueror of Fascism. The latter identity he acquired after beating the German champion Max Schmeling in 1938, but the identity as Race Man made him all the more important for Americans. As a black boxer he became a figure for the New Negro movement seeking power in a white and male dominated

⁶⁴ Ibid, 129-164.

⁶⁵ A connection between boxing culture and exercise culture is missing here in Runstedtler, “In Sports...” 51.

society but Runstedtler misses in her findings how Louis was meant to be consumed by white audiences, not identified with.⁶⁶ Sporting men like Joe Louis became important for white-male identity because they could be consumed through spectator sport. Pitting white against black in the ring became an important activity in the early twentieth century as consumption became the new norm for identity building. The act of seeing Joe Louis fit into the narrative of muscled men and the body spectacle so important to the exercise craze.

Sandow's first magazine devoted to physical culture was aptly named *Physical Culture*. Started in 1898 in Britain, it was renamed *Sandow's Magazine of Physical Culture* in 1899. *Physical Culture* followed in the footsteps of Edmond Desbonnet's *L'Athlete* (1896) published in France and Bernarr Macfadden's *Physical Development* (1898) published in the United States. Sandow also started a "Half-Crown Postal Course." Marketed in *Physical Culture*, the month long program cost two shillings and six pence. Chapman argues Sandow and *Physical Culture's* popularity in England was partly a result of physical assessments of men entering the Boer War, the result of the health craze of late Victoriana, and the rise of muscular Christianity. *Physical Culture* published articles celebrating that pious basis for muscle. Reverend R. L. Bellamy heralded Sandow's importance to muscular Christianity in his book *Hints from Sandow* (1899). In 1894 he started selling his strengthening machines, first with an inner-thigh device. In 1897 he sold "the Whitley" exerciser, a chest expander consisting of rubber strands and pulleys. Originally sold under the Whitley Exercise Co., Sandow left the

⁶⁶ Ibid, 1-51

company and sold his own version in France as “Sandow's Own Combined Developer.” He dropped the pulley system and favored lighter dumbbells that could be removed to perform chest exercises, which made his device more versatile. It could be attached to any door knob and the entire family could use it. Its last incarnation sold through the Sandow Appliance Company sold over a million units. Sandow became so synonymous in France that any rubber cable was referred to as “un Sandow.” These lighter gym machines had already been established in the United States before Sandow by Peck and Snyder Company. They had been selling “Parlor Gymnasiums,” pulley machines, Indian clubs, dumbbells, and other strength training devices.⁶⁷

Musclemen and strongmen of the late nineteenth century derived their names from the classics of Greek and Roman mythology: names like Hercules, Apollo, Romulus, Remus, and Cyclops. They carried animal hides and were put in front of Roman stage spectacles, complete with lions, pachyderms, and gladiators. They posed amid classical or pseudo-classical statues, sometimes on horseback, in poses like “Ajax Defying the Lightning” and “The Fighting and Dying Gladiator.” Though Sandow performed fantastic strongman feats, his manager Florenz Ziegfeld Jr. promoted Sandow mainly for his physique, not his strength. Sandow's appeal was his beauty and perfect muscular symmetry for audiences. The classicization of male body ideals made muscular shape rather than strength a high art and something ordinary men should achieve, either for their own self-fulfillment or to mimic the musclemen the girls put on their bedroom

⁶⁷ Chapman, 108-115.

walls.⁶⁸ Both Camp and Sandow were unique figures in the history of social constructions of masculinity because their work was more about looking the part of a strong man than actually being one. Sure, Sandow could lift more than most men of his age, but that was not what was important to his persona. Camp was important because he provided a means and philosophy of manhood business men could achieve. Sandow was important because his body was a source of consumption. Masculinity was steeped in means to an end and visual stimuli; Results were less important, however many testimonials people gave after using the Daily Dozen or how many people swear they saw Sandow wrestle a lion into submission.

The other key figure in the body sculpting movement was Charles Atlas, who made a name for himself in Bernar Macfadden's contest "World's Most Beautiful Man" at Madison Square Garden in 1921. Atlas showed the just how marketable the body spectacle could be with the "Mac" character. This fictional teenager (apparently based on one of Atlas's own experiences at Coney Island) got sand kicked in his face by a tough guy while walking along the beach with a date. Atlas claimed by using the Dynamic Tension System Mac built up his muscles and was able to return to the beach and beat up the bully. Atlas claimed he was inspired by the Greek and Roman statues at the Brooklyn Museum, the YMCA gymnasiums, and the lions at Prospect Park Zoo. It is unclear whether Camp or Atlas was first inspired by the lions in zoos but what is clear is that they both were thinking about human applications when they saw them. Atlas geared his

⁶⁸ Wyke, 52-55.

system towards a different audience of skinny teenagers, although his exercise was popular among adults as well: adults like boxer Joe Louis.⁶⁹

By the 1980s Atlas had sold 1.5 million copies of his *System of Health, Strength, and Physical Building*, which contained twelve lessons and a final perpetual lesson. His exercises differed from Camp's because they used isometrics, which involved putting weight on tensioned muscles in an effort to build-up the bodies of the skinny. Camp's regimen, in contrast, was aimed at the pot-bellied middle class men that had lost their virility.⁷⁰

Part of the exercise narrative was urbanites looking to the Ancient Greeks for inspiration; a form of nostalgia. Another part of the narrative was urbanites looking to the Far East for inspiration, in particular Jiu-Jitsu. Jiu-Jitsu was among the most talked about Far Eastern martial arts, not as a means for self-defense but rather for exercise. As one anonymous author put it, it was like a spectator trying to find a good seat at a football game; a callisthenic exercise, even similar to wrestling as people bump up against each other. This author even called sitting for three hours at a game a workout, for sitting in cheap and uncomfortable seats put pressure on the muscles above the femur, the "intercostal" muscles, and the spinal muscles. "The waving of small flags besides, develops the arms in much the same way as the use of wands, dumb-bells, in calisthenics, but care should always be taken to have a flag for each hand, so the arms may be symmetrically strengthened... of much greater benefit than any of these is the practice of

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Toon and Janet Golden, "Live Clean, Think Clean, and Don't Go to Burlesque Shows': Charles Atlas as Health Advisor," *Journal of the History of Medicine* 57, (January, 2002): 39-54.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 44-54.

inhaling deep breathes of the fresh air and its expulsion in forcible and rhythmical utterances under the direction of a collegiate chorus.”⁷¹

Another author stated, “It has remained for those clever Japs, however, in this as in other fields, to astonish us with a system remarkable for its ingenuity.” In H. Irving Hancock’s book *Japanese Physical Training* (1903) he claimed that not only did Jiu-jitsu improve gymnastics muscles for athletes but that it could also aid in digestion and circulation. He heralded the system as originating with the Japanese samurai, who would supposedly train by squeezing their finger muscles and striking bamboo. He also favored the Japanese diet, which consisted of lots of vegetables and rice. It was through exercises like “the Struggle,” “the come-along,” and the “final attack” adopted from Jiu-jitsu that American readers could build themselves up. In “the Struggle,” one pressed their body against an opponent, attempting to push each other over. In “the come-along” one threw their opponent over their back by pulling on the opponents arm. In the “final attack,” a deadly move, trainees would grab an opponent’s waist, push up under their chin and bring a knee up into their abdomen. “The man so attacked is likely to have his neck broken if the attack is made savagely enough.”⁷²

Dr. Bess M. Mensendieck, also known as “Posture Lady” according to Time, brought over from Germany her exercise system in the 1930s. After being summoned by Kaiser Wilhelm II to fix the bodies of pot-bellied ladies-in-waiting and setting up a school in Potsdam she came to America to work at Yale and opened another school in

⁷¹ *The Independent*, “Football as a Sedentary Exercise,” 57, 2923 (1904) 1397-1398.

⁷² *Current Literature*, “Jiu-jitsu, the Japanese System of Exercise and Diet,” 36, no. 4, April, 1904, 427-432.

Manhattan. There she brought in a few businessmen and about twenty-five women to learn the Mensendieck System of Functional Exercises. Her system was, like Camp's, based in Swedish calisthenics. She was also very concerned with posture and developed her own regimen like Camp's for women to straighten their backs and become beautiful. One exercise could be done ironing clothes, where women stiffened their right knee and put their weight on it while bending the left knee and raising the heel to keep the hips level.⁷³ If women and men were failing to achieve that healthy physique, they could turn to look at Sandow for inspiration.

When Elizabeth Dryden wrote about exercise for women in 1903 she argued even large women could be "symmetrical." Army exercises, walking, and calisthenics were the preferred modes of revitalization. "Follow with a moderately cold bath. It quickens the effect of the walking and diet." It was also important for Dryden that the back be straight in order to fit into the current dress styles.⁷⁴

Ladies' Home Journal made taking care of oneself and hiding bad parts of the body a concern for women in the 1920s. Cures would be found in increasing blood flow, echoing Dudley Sargent and C. Ward Crampton's health concerns, and looking again to the Eastern cultures. "In the East, where the intolerable heat matures and ages women quickly, wrinkles are warded off by the daily use of oils and no matter what your skin may be, the generous use of a groomy cream for massage is the most beneficial thing I know toward preserving youthful contours." To fix flab in the face women were told by

⁷³ *Time*, "Posture Lady," 58.

⁷⁴ Elizabeth Dryden, "How Athletics May Develop Style in Women," *Outing*, 42, no. 4, July, 1903, 413-418.

one author to “Bend the head back as far as possible, with the mouth open. Then, without moving the head, shut and open the mouth many times.” Apparently jerking the head down and clasping the hands had become a popular remedy in France and Germany.⁷⁵ Martha Cutter was saying exercise should be done right around bed time indoors and outdoors at mid-morning or mid-afternoon; “If the exercise is taken indoors the windows should be wide open, and one should stand in front of them and breathe deeply after every set of exercises.”⁷⁶

When posture became a concern it made Camp’s regimen all the more appealing. Posture concerns and stiffening the back dated back to the eighteenth century but took on new meanings in the early twentieth century. The topic was first printed on by John Adams and Lord Chesterfield in the 1770s as a way to differentiate oneself from the old aristocracy of England or frontiersman till the idea of standing and sitting up straight became associated with success in the early twentieth century. Slouching was a sign of a failed businessman. Stiff bodies signified success and good health. In 1914 Jessie Bancroft formed the American Posture League, composed of orthopedic physicians, physical education instructors, and efficiency engineers. Corsets became popular in women's fashion in the 1910s with flapper dress and Amelia Bloomer styles. Mirrors in homes and public bathrooms went full-length thanks to revolutionary methods in glass manufacturing in 1897 and 1902. The posture movement did not have much of an influence to early twentieth century Americans but it provides of source for reflection. It

⁷⁵ Mme. Laurka, “Stretch and Grow Slim,” *Ladies’ Home Journal*, 45, 4, April, 1928, 191.

⁷⁶ Martha Cutter, “Daily Exercise for the Normal Woman,” *Harper’s Bazaar*, 42, September, 1908, 894-898.

illustrates that the middle class established an importance for personality formation and presentation as modes for advancement.⁷⁷

Slouching became a no-no. Regular exercise could alleviate poor posture in office types. As a result, office workers with straight spines could perform better at work. When Ray Abrams and Mary L. Bell wrote about staying energized at work in 1941 he also wrote about looking the part of the middle class worker. He advised readers “stand erect” and “sit erect.” “An imaginary line from the middle of the ear to the heel should pass through the center of the body... In bending forward at your desk, hold the body and the head in a straight line. Let your posture be such as to permit the lungs to expand to capacity, thus clearing the blood stream and allowing free heart action. When seated at a desk for an interview, hold yourself upright with your chest high, your back straight, AND your hands in your lap. Keep both feet on the floor, parallel and close together.” Good workers should hold there stomachs in and be in a static and quiet manner. He discouraged exercise at work, however. He also advised the white-collar workforce to wear deodorant, as a “social security,” avoid sweater and sport shoe combinations, avoid “gay hues,” keep a spot remover at work, see the dentist twice a year, take care of any case of halitosis, wear Cuban or closed heal shoes, and encouraged avoidance of caffeine.⁷⁸

The lack of effort required of Daily Dozen users was arguably most prevalent when Miriam T. Sweeney pushed for pregnant women to use it. Miriam T. Sweeney went

⁷⁷ Peter N. Stearns and David Yosifon, “The Rise and Fall of American Posture,” *American Historical Review* 103, no. 4 (October, 1998): 1057-1095.

⁷⁸ Abrams and Bell, 59-93.

so far as to advise Daily Dozen exercises during pregnancy. It could be beneficial to baby and mother. Swimming outdoors was treacherous because waves could hit the abdomen and disrupt development. Calisthenics, according to Sweeney, was safer. She advised it be done indoors with fresh air and sunshine for the stimulation of muscular growth. Her regimen for pregnant woman was based in two sets of exercises: one aggressive and one mild (often done in bed when belly girth got to be too much). "In general, there should be no tension or great effort exerted while doing these exercises. If desired and convenient, slow music on the radio or phonograph may be used. No excessive increase in pulse rate or shortness of breath should be allowed to occur."⁷⁹ Though callisthenic exercises were not all simple to perform, the simplicity of the Daily Dozen exercises Camp talked about reveals the possibility he believed his own regimen was in fact a fad, used to make the nervous middle classes merely feel good and not necessarily build-up.

⁷⁹ Miriam T. Sweeny, "Your 'Daily Dozen' During Pregnancy," *Hygeia*, 17, 795-799.

CONCLUSION

Walter Camp's writings and the Daily Dozen provide significant source material for further discussions on the middle class dilemma and the reasoning behind the exercise craze. Walter Camp is a subject but his story goes beyond that by giving historians a means to better understand why modern offices exist and are ridiculed at the same time. The character David Brent in the BBC television show *The Office* was echoing Camp and Mayo's sentiments when he told his boss regarding redundancies at Wernham-Hogg Paper Company:

David Brent: The thing is though no-one's dispensable in my book, because we're like one big organism, one big animal. The guys upstairs on the phones, they're like the mouth; the guys down here, the hands.

Jennifer Taylor-Clark: And what part are you

David Brent: Good question... probably the humor.¹

The language and prescriptions of Camp and his colleagues in the early twentieth century are still relevant in the culture of the millennial as we try to weave authenticity and career fulfillment into our personal realities. Exercise was not just a way to stay fit in the early twentieth century. It was a means to personal sovereignty and a new activity to be consumed.

¹ "Work Experience." *The Office* (UK) Episode 1.2 BBC2, London. (16 July 2001.) Television.

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