Teddy Roosevelt, Dandyism, and Masculinities:

A Nominalist History of Fitness Centers in the United States

by

Timothy Wells

A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Approved November 2012 by the
Graduate Supervisory Committee:

David Carlson, Chair
Jennifer Sandlin
Eric Margolis

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY

December 2012

ABSTRACT

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, colleges and universities transformed their thinking of the body as they institutionalized physical education, recreational activities, and especially physical exercise. In this study, I examine the historical discourse on physical exercise and training during this period. I employ the theoretical and methodological practices of Michel Foucault's archeological and genealogical work to write a "history of the present." I challenge the essential narrative of physical fitness on college and university campuses. I also discuss nineteenth century notions of ethics and masculinity as a way of understanding twenty-first century ethics and masculinity. Ultimately, I use the historical discourse to argue that institutionalization of recreation and fitness centers and activities have less to do with health and well-being and more to do with disciplining bodies and controlling individuals.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I need to acknowledge and thank my Chair, Dr. David Carlson. Your support and attention to this research was always more that I could have asked for and greatly appreciated. Additionally, I want to acknowledge and thank Dr. Jennifer Sandlin and Dr. Eric Margolis for being phenomenal, challenging, and inspiring professors. My graduate school experience was amazing because of you all. Lastly, I need to think my mom for being my go-to editor and for her endless love and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

My interested in physical fitness stretches back to my high school years as I trained and participated in high school sports. My goal was to play college baseball and physical training was essential to achieving that goal. As I moved from high school to college my interest in physical exercise continued. For the four years of my undergraduate college I play baseball on scholarship and practice intensive physical training. After graduating, my participation in physical exercise continued, though never quite as intense as I was in college. It was then when I first questioned my role and intensions in the gym, taking observations and mental notes of a practice and culture that had previously been assumed. Unbeknownst at the time, I was practicing ethnography.

A few years later, I enrolled in graduate school and my interest in physical exercise and training was minimal and sporadically practiced at best. It was in my second semester, though, that I took a class on education and consumption with Dr. Jennifer Sandlin where I again encountered the world of fitness. For the class I wrote a paper on consumer practices, physical fitness, gender and sexuality. I confronted the space of the fitness center through the eyes of an observer: my prior interest in the gym, renewed, albeit through the avenues of academia. As it turned out, this paper was the inception of this larger thesis project.

Though the nature and work of this project differs in many ways, this initial paper sparked a renewed interest in the subject of physical fitness.

Upon completing my course work requirements, Dr. Eric Margolis recommended that I continue as my thesis project this work in the culture of physical fitness. I heeded the advice, making the initial preparations for the thesis work. My organizing and planning was premature as I quickly realized the need for greater context and understanding in the fields of physical fitness and recreation. This led to many investigations into historical writings and discourse on fitness, recreation, and also masculinity—of which was essential to my interest in fitness culture.

In researching these topics, I repeatedly confronted references to Michel Foucault, whom I knew little about. I had not taken serious consideration to his work, let alone attempt to use it as a theoretical basis for this project, until Dr. Sandlin suggested it, almost in passing. This proved to be a pivotal transition for the entirety of this project. She recommended I contact Dr. Carlson as someone who might of interest and available to introduce me to the work of Foucault. Less than a month later, with the thesis project on hold, I began weekly meetings with Dr. Carlson to discuss and guide my readings of Foucault. I started with the *History of Sexuality* volumes 1, though 3 and went on from there. Each reading was a step further down into Foucauldian rabbit hole, unraveling the thesis project, as I knew it.

The work of Foucault struck me as fundamentally different, though not always could I put my finger on it. My biggest struggle proved to be incorporating Foucault without allowing the perspective to overrun the project. This struggle I lost, though not regrettably. My initial intentions were to use Foucault conveniently to support my thesis and reading of fitness culture, but the project soon took a life of its own. I increasingly struggled to separate Foucault's theorizing of power from his methodology as the project turned away from cultural ethnography and towards historical genealogy. My focus shifted from the relation of masculinity to the construction of masculinity. Within this shift, I realized the fields of fitness and recreational culture had research to be done and things to be said while bearing the name of Foucault.

Though my initial concern was that of context, Foucault and my readings redirected that concern. I understood now with greater clarity the political nature and implication of historical writing, and research more broadly. I took to Foucault's challenges of rationality and historical progress and sought to write instead a political history on university fitness culture and its evolving restraints and representations of masculinity. I sought to display the workings of Power/Knowledge within the fields of fitness exercise and recreation.

A few questions guided my research. I sought to know at what moment did the university and the fitness center intersect? And from this moment, what discourses existed for the advocation or refusal of this

arrangement? I sought to study the fitness center and the practice of exercise as a site of subjugation, but specifically for that of masculinity. The last guiding question was, how did the formation and intersection of the gym contribute to the formation of masculinity?

The remainder of this chapter is a brief "grand narrative"—precisely what Foucault's historical studies intended to critique—of fitness training on college and university campuses. The purpose of this narrative is to show, if you did not already know, the progressive discourse I intended to critique. I composed this narrative from a variety of histories of physical education, fitness, recreation, and intramural sports. Following the narrative, in chapter two, I discuss the academic uses of history and my theoretical understanding of Foucault. In chapter three I disclose the methodological practices and guidelines that informed this research. I also introduce and briefly discuss three historical articles from the latter nineteenth century that center this research and my analysis. In chapter four I analyze these three articles from a Foucaltian lens. I demonstrate the workings of Power/Knowledge and discuss alternative and subversive ethical and masculine practices. I conclude with chapter five in discussing the implications of Foucault, fitness culture, and this research on the university, its curriculum, and masculinity. But I start with the brief history.

Fitness Narrative

In America, fitness training on college and university campuses has an extensive history; though, few historians have solely dedicated their

work to the study of this. This is primarily due to the complicated nature of fitness history and its relatively short history. The history interconnects with and often disappears within practices of recreation—primarily intramural and intercollegiate sports—and physical education. As an academic historian who studied intramural sports and administration, Hyatt (1977) stated, “The history of intramural sports is closely interwoven with the histories of physical education, recreation, and varsity sports, and purely intramural history becomes much clearer after the 1850s” (p. 3). Historical writing on recreational culture, such as that of Milton (2008), begins with intramural sports because early practices of physical recreation were simply intramural sports with a different name. Equally important in understanding the history of fitness and recreation is the emergence of physical education. It further legitimized the practice of sports and physical training. So to understand the history of fitness and recreation, I start with the early conceptions physical education and arguments of sport participation.

During the colonial period, formal curriculum functioned for the mind, and not the body. University administrations harshly condemned attempts at physical recreation, while a formal physical education curriculum was far from possible. Historian L.E. Means captured this sentiment as he cites early attempts to play sports from Princeton University archives:

> As early as 1761 the trustees of Princeton University established a severe penalty for any students caught playing ball in certain areas of the campus. The same body again joined with the faculty in 1787 in objecting to “a game played with sticks and balls in the back common of the college.” The faculty further stated: “...that this play is in itself low and unbecoming to gentleman students and inasmuch as it is an exercising attended with great danger to health by sudden and alternate heats and colds, and as it tends to accidents, almost unavoidable in that play, to disfiguring and maiming those who engaged in it...the faculty thinks it incumbent on them to prohibit both the students and Grammar Scholars from using the play aforesaid.” (p. 2-3)

Administrators showed little regard for sports participation. According to Rice et al. (1969), Puritan ideology dominated early educational though, though valuing rigor and discipline of the body, they fell short of accepting physical education, and by all means leisurely play, as one of the chief aims of education. Few educational leaders saw a need or advocated for physical education curriculum.

The first arguments for physical education came in the late colonial period, most notably, by Benjamin Franklin. Franklin, a “Founding Father” and prominent educational leader, urged recognition of the importance in physical activity and its necessity for children. He theorized the interdependence of the body and mind, claiming without proper

development of each neither will function to its ideal capacity. By the nineteenth century little progress had been made, though more accepted the idea, few actually implemented or allowed for its implementation. His argument proved influential, though, as the trend towards education of the body and physical activity slowly but continuously gained ground, and Franklin's theories served as its base.

As much as anything, industrialization turned the tide for educational reform, bringing with it physical education and recreation. The growing economy and expanding production lines created a new need and purpose for education, one centered less on religious practice and God and more on practical social and economic needs (Spring, 1990). The growth sparked an influx in migration to cities and the country, extending to that of European immigrants who were quick to incorporate their cultural values and traditions. The Puritan hold on leisure and play loosened as European immigrants eagerly popularized sporting games and activity from their home countries. As a result, the late 1820s saw the emergence of gymnastics across much of the country.

Immigrants like Charles Follen, Francis Lieber, and Charles Beck started a formal gymnastics system call the Turnverein Movement. Its popularity grew and eventually found its place in schools and colleges across the country, turning out to be the early forms of physical education (Hyatt, 1977, p. 4-5). Aside from gymnastics, European immigrants brought with them ball and stick games, which eventually popularized into

the sports of baseball, basketball and football. Sports as a prominent cultural practice intensified the pressure on institutions resisting social and educational reform. Though institutions of higher education were slow in coming, the larger U.S. culture shifted towards greater acceptance and participation in leisure and sporting activities.

By the 1850s, physical education and exercise gained greater recognition in its importance as education curriculum. Increasingly schools adopted a belief that held them responsible for the physical as well as intellectual education of students (Rice et al., 1969, p. 161). Early forms of physical education consisted primarily of gymnastic training, essentially mirroring that of the Turnverein gymnastic movement decades earlier. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, experts of the once Turnverein Movement found themselves occupying the first departmental positions for physical education in colleges and universities across the country, and these programs quickly grew.

After the civil war colleges put forth large sums of money towards physical education departments and facilities, mostly gymnasiums. Harvard University, for example, hired Dudley A. Sargent as director of the newly founded physical education program over which he orchestrated the construction of the Hemenway Gymnasium, costing over $100,000 (Rice et al., 1969, p. 209). Other colleges followed suit through the building and organizing of similar departments and facilities, and they invested large sums of money to ensure their success. The growth of physical education

made way for greater participation and acceptance on college campuses in recreational activities and sports, most notably intramural sports.

Intramural sport participation took off in the middle part of the nineteenth century. The first intramural club—a competitive boating club—established itself at Yale University in the late 1850s (Means, 1973, p. 3). The first intramural competition was likely in 1857 at Princeton College after the freshman challenged the sophomores to a baseball game (Hyatt, 1977, p. 5). At Princeton in 1865, intramural baseball quickly popularized and spread to other colleges across the country (Ibid., p. 3). By the time of the Civil War, extra curricular activities like debating and literary societies were in decline and replaced with the physical activities of intramural sports (Hyatt, 1977, p. 5-6). As restrictions eased, intramural sports, more anything else, occupied students' leisure time.

The success of intramural sports proved to be an administrative concern. Where at once, institutions strictly prohibited the practice of sporting activities, now universities took active measures to monitor and regulate the athletic programs. They began by distinguishing between sporting activities. On the one hand, colleges identified intercollegiate sports, which consisted of athletic competitions *between* colleges. These attracted administrators' attention most as teams directly represented their institutions and often drew large levels of public attention and, thus, benefiting the institution. On the other hand, they identified intramural sports. Intramurals were recreational in nature and not directly affiliated

with the school but a function of student leisure time. The practice of intercollegiate sports early on received institutional support, though, often leaving intramural sports and the vast majority of students out of the picture.

The exclusion of the majority of students to participate in sports led to the "sports for all" movement, beginning in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Students, often upset with the limited offerings and overly competitive nature of intercollegiate sports, pressured administrations for fewer restrictions on sports participation for all students. Administrations initially resisted school-wide acceptance of sporting activities, even as a recreational and student-organized activity. They eventually reversed their stance as students

> …proceeded to organize summer tournaments in these sports [tennis, softball, and horseshoes], conducting various activities and declaring champions in each. The city newspaper carried pictures and stories of the new events and champions. This procedure must have been an eye opener for the college officials, because the college bulletin of the following term gave colorful descriptions and illustrations of the new "sports for all" program that had been inaugurated on the campus. (Means, 1973, p.4)

Their reversal in opinion shifted thinking towards the recognition of all students' right to participate in sporting activities. Few institutions, though, provided athletic programs; intramural sport organization and participation

primarily lay in the hands of the students. This often put institutions in the peculiar position as they supported intramural sports though it was not directly part of or outside the university. On the one hand, universities housed the games and tournaments solely participated in by students. On the other hand, students drove the organization and management, remaining completely outside the administrative purview. As support for and participation in intramural activities grew administrations moved from tolerating and monitoring from the outside to a more active involvement in their organization and management.

By the turn of the twentieth century, school leaders had taken control of the management and organization of most intramural programs. According to Colgate (1978), “university administrators began to examine the situation on their campuses and worked toward faculty control of both interschool and intramural programs” (p. 4). This move was much to the chagrin of student organizations, specifically fraternities, who resisted and protested the decision (Hyatt, 1977). Though the move remained highly unpopular among students, Means (1963) reported that administrations felt students were unable to effectively manage and implement the programs on their own. This was the first of many moves to institutionalize student recreation, which paved the way for and propelled intramural sports, and recreational activities more broadly, into and through the twentieth century.

Recreational activities, encompassing intramural sports and physical training of various sorts, experienced extensive growth up to and through the Great Depression. In part, this growth can be attributed to social and political developments of both World War I and II. In both wars, American people experienced anxiety around what they believed to be the poor physical condition (i.e. inferiority) of American soldiers in comparison to their European counterparts (Milton, 2008). This resulted in greater attention to physical training and recreation on the societal level, but also on the educational level in both school and universities.

Government programs sparked growth in recreational exercise and sports. The 1930s produced, in direct result of the depression, increases in the number of recreational facilities constructed. As Milton (2008) wrote, “The Workers Project Administration and other governmental agencies built many new gymnasiums and other sport facilities. Such construction was certainly a windfall for institutions of higher education and for their intramural programs in particular” (p. 79). Additionally post-war programs like the GI Bill of Rights increased access and enrollment to college education for veterans who were eager to continue the training regiments they learned in service. Furthermore, the federal government designated funding for the development of “memorial gyms” to the service of soldier of World War II, all of which continued growth and development in recreational sports and physical exercise (Ibid., p. 79).

Another important factor in the growth of intramural and recreation programs were the educational reforms of the 1960s and 1970s. Most notable of these reforms was Title IX and the Education Amendment Act of 1972. These reforms allowed for increases in access and enrollment of students from a variety of ethnic, social, and gendered backgrounds. As with the other factors that led to increases in college enrollment, students who now had access to college education brought with them desires for recreational participation. This time, though, programs like Title IX created a federal mandate that schools provide access to sporting activities for all students. In turn, recreational program continued to grow through the 70s with enrollment on the rise and access to sports expanding. Well-established recreation programs quickly became the norm rather than exception.

As colleges took control of intramural and recreational programs in the early 1900s, they housed the programs under physical education departments. This seemed like the natural fit. But over the course of the century, intramural and recreational programs outgrew its parental field—physical education—and took on a life of its own. By the mid-60s, governing bodies called for the reorganization of intramural and recreation programs to be moved to student affairs and report directly to administration, thus, becoming an independent entity, separate from that of athletics or physical education (Milton et al., 2011, p. 290). The call for realignment came with the desire to grow the recreational programs to

their full potential: self-sustainable and profitable departments. By the 80s and 90s, recreational programs were a department of its own. This institutional movement allowed for departmental growth and expansion, resulting in the large-scale recreational centers and departments seen today.

As can be seen, recreational, intramural, and physical education histories overlap and intertwine. It influences and is influenced by outside social forces and factors. Recreational activities, specifically physical exercise, on university campuses are hardly a new thing.

In the next chapter, I outline my theoretical orientation for the rest of this paper, discussing the influence of both New Historicism and Michel Foucault.

Chapter 2

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND FOUCAULT

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical background informing this research. I start by explaining historical developments in the field of historiography as a way to understand various intentions and uses for historical writing. These uses of history help to contextualize my intentions and use of Foucault's methodologies. The latter part of this chapter, I examine Foucauldian theory and his work in archaeologies and genealogies. This chapter provides the theoretical foundation and justification the use of historical archives.

Uses of History

Historiographers study the philosophy and writing of history. The discipline popularized over the latter half of the twentieth century, largely ignored prior to that. Georg G. Iggers in *Historiography in the Twentieth Century* identifies three major orientations to the writing of modern history. He calls them the Professional History, the Social Science approach, and the New Historicism. For Iggers, each of these three approaches shifted the direction of historical writing but the latter of the three, New Historicism, distinguishes itself from the initial two in important ways that involve this research. Below I briefly outline the three orientations, demonstrating their relevance to this project.

The first orientation, which Iggers calls Professional history, emerged in the early nineteenth century along with the institutionalization

of history as an academic discipline. In contrast to earlier literary histories, the Professional history sought the methodologies of science, creating greater objectivity and validity. Historians thought that with scientific methodologies they could observe, record, and make meaning of the past in an objective and reliable way. They assumed that, like the "hard" sciences, historians presented concrete historical facts (i.e. events and people) and construct them in ways that represent the past "as it has actually occurred" (Iggers, 1997, p. 2). Professional history is often caricatured as the history of wars and treaties for its focus on prominent political figures and events. Throughout the twentieth century Professional history still remained influential.

The second orientation, the Social Science approach, emerged around the turn of the twentieth century in response to older forms of history, primarily the Professional history. The Social Science approach objected to the older forms of history (i.e. Professional history), which narrowly defined historical interest and made limited use of scientific practice. As Iggers (1997) states,

> The new science approaches criticized the older historiography on several counts: They argued that it too narrowly focused on individuals, especially "great men," and events as making up the subject matter of history and that it neglected the broader context in which these operated. (p. 4)

The emerging social science disciplines, such as sociology and anthropology, influenced the new historians who sought more expansive histories, which accounted for social and economic factors, not simply events or leading individuals. Throughout the twentieth century the Social Science approach predominated, though not without its factions. The *Annales* school and the Marxist historical sciences were particularly important within the new social science approach, and continue to remain relevant. Below I investigate each.

Annales School

The *Annales* school of history, established in France at the turn of the twentieth century, centered itself around the *Annales* academic journal. They distinguished their histories with their use of the social sciences and their insistence on multiple historical temporalities. Though they recognize its limitations, their commitment to scientific processes underlined their work and facilitated their growth.

The *Annales* school is both connected to and set apart from the Professional historians through their commitment to scientific processes. They prioritized diverse sets of methodological approaches, including geography, economics, and anthropology. Cultural artifacts, such as art, literature, and symbols, were emphasized while paying specific attention to experience and historical meaning. They criticized the Professional historians for privileging “high culture”—states and administrations—while

focusing too narrowly on events and people. Instead, the *Annales* school sought to understand the culture of everyday life though the experience of the masses, a sort of social and cultural history. They expanded the scientific practices of the Professional historians before them, though retaining commitment to everyday experiences.

One of the more important and challenging outcomes of the *Annales* school was their reconception of historical time. Traditionally historians perceived historical time and development diachronically, meaning that history has a traceable evolution from past to present. The *Annales* school with social science influences, specifically that of geography, contested the idea of *one*, single history. Instead they concentrated more so on "...viewing a culture or an age apart from the stream of history than with relating a process of change through the ages" (Iggers, 1997, p. 56). They challenged linear notions of historical time, complicating "grand narratives" and Western superiority in history.

Fernand Braudel was a leader of the *Annales* school and exemplified their approach. Among many things, Braudel is famous for his studies on the Mediterranean. His key texts, *The Mediterranean*, "proposed a new model of historical time, and broke from the objective empirical methods of his historical contemporaries" (Green and Troup, 1999, p. 88). He conceptualized historical time in three parts—*longue duree*, *conjontures*, and *histoire evenementielle.* The *longue duree* is the monumentally slow shifting of time involving centuries or more. The

conjontures, or medium *duree,* is the steady rise and fall of economic cycles, populations, and prices. The *histoire evenementielle* is the formation and dissolution of political and diplomatic movements, often short lived and not easily perceived in relation to the larger rhythm or movement of time. Departing from his contemporaries, Braudel's work resembles the work of anthropology, non-linear and apart from larger "grand narratives" of historical time. Though ultimately privileging the *longue duree*, he complicated history while cultural experience and multiple conceptions of time.

The *Annales* school's major contributions lie in their expanded use of social sciences to write history. They diversified previous histories through expanded methods, which incorporated disciplines such as economics and anthropology. Their commitment to objective histories and historians was ardent and Marxist historians often criticized their perceived apolitical approach. Regardless, they remain influential and innovative through their many approaches and assertions.

Marxist Historical Science

The other major social science faction was the Marxist Historical Science. Like the *Annales* school, the Marxist approach gained notoriety throughout the 20th century. Unlike the *Annales* school, the Marxist approach reconceptulaized key components of its theory over the course of the century. The earlier, more dogmatic, approach was based out of

the journal *Past and Present* while the later, more flexible, approach worked out of the journal *History Workshop.* Despite often being housed amongst authoritarian and intellectually repressive governing regimes, the Marxist historians produced valuable and important work throughout the twentieth century.

They rooted their ideology in the basic beliefs of Karl Marx. Put simply, Marx concerned himself with social relations in capitalist societies. He believed in dialectical social and historical progress. As social problems, Marx called them contradictions, arise they demand a resolution. This process of contradiction and resolution is the process of historical development, which Marx called the dialectic. Development, thus, hinged upon the resolution of contradictions. For Marx, within the laws of capital lie the primary social contradictions, of which valued the accumulation of profit over human life and dignity. Resolutions to these contradictions relied upon workers recognizing and resisting economic injustices in their lives. The difficulty was that, for Marx, the material world—institutions, living conditions, employment, resources, etc.—determined social thought and social relations (Anyon, 2011, p. 9). In other words, capitalist institutions, like that of education, reproduce capitalistic thinking which abide by the contradictory laws of capital. So workers were stuck in a contradictory systems without an easy exit. To escape the trap of capital, workers need critical consciousness, what Marx called dialectical conceptualization (Allman, 2007, p. 4). Dialectical

conceptualization is the process of identifying contradictory relationships with systems: for Marx, it was the unstable, exploitative, and alienating functions of capitalism. The Marxist historians carried this essential critique and used history in a variety of ways to counteract systemic contradictions.

Marxist historians are far from unified but remained connected to Marx's central ideas of historical development. Iggers (1997) identifies two concepts that were basic to the Marxist outlook: "(1) that objective scientific knowledge is possible, and (2) that scientific knowledge expresses itself in general statements about the lawful behavior of phenomena" (p. 79). For historians this meant formulating laws and principles that dictate historical development and social change. This meant adhering to principles of positivism, which privileged the scientific world over that of human beings—for some, this was contradictory and problematic since it privileged science of the person, much like that of profit over people. Many Marxists critiqued the irrationalities of capitalism while actively developing law-governing principles of historical development.

The early years of the Marxist approach retained dogmatic interpretations of Marx, while the latter years complicated many of his founding assumptions. The early historians wrote largely from above exploring changes in consciousness through events like the Industrial Revolution. In the latter years historians wrote with more concern for the

masses by focusing on grand lines of development that shape the modern world and emphasizing the roles of popular culture (Iggers, 1997, p. 87). E. P. Thompson's landmark *The Making of the English Working Class* exemplifies this turn away from dogmatic interpretations of Marx to the study of popular, working-class culture. In his study, Thompson reconceptualized class away from a structured and determined category towards a relational understanding. Class was something that influenced but did not determine your experience (Iggers, 1997, p. 88). The shift was towards cultural histories much like that of the *Annales* school. They employed not only economics but also anthropology and sociology, reestablishing the role and experience of people in their histories.

The cultural Marxists and *Annales* school are similar but have key differences. The Marxists remained political at heart. Through their histories, they confronted and worked against systems of exploitation and domination. They challenged non-Marxist historiography for remaining event- and person-oriented without attending to larger social context and social change. For the Marxist, the historian operated within daily political struggles and took responsibility to enact political change, while *Annales* school typically shied away from political work. Despite their differences, both Marxist historical science and *Annales* school retained belief in the essence of historical narrative.

The two leading orientations of the twentieth century, the Professional history and the Social Science approach, differed considerably yet they still share important assumptions. The first assumption is their "affirmation that history dealt with a real subject matter to which the accounts formulated by historians must correspond" (Iggers, 1997, p.3). This meant that history not only dealt with real people and events but that the consequences of the people and events matched their intentions and, therefore, with the right methods historians can objectively record these events and intentions. They assumed a degree of order and coherence to historical events that cannot be guaranteed. Secondly, both approaches "operate with a notion of unilinear time, with the conception that there was continuity and direction in history, that in fact there was such a thing as *history* in contrast to a multiplicity of histories" (Ibid., p. 4). This privileges a singular, cohesive history, which has an essence that continues and is traceable. These orientations come to represent and privilege the history of Western civilization.

In response to the first two orientations a third approach, New Historicism, emerges. New Historicism surfaced in the second half of the twentieth century and is often attributed to scholars such as Michel Foucault. The orientation contested key assumptions of the two prior science-based orientations. New historicists first contested the idea of a "grand narrative," meaning that one history existed rather than a multiple. Their challenge emerged along with transformations in social

consciousness in the 1960s and 1970s. Groups left out of the larger historical narratives—specifically women and ethnic groups—raised their voice and centered their stories. They critiqued the very idea of comprehensive, "grand" narratives, and questioned whether a narrative could, or should, be truly inclusive and complete.

Furthering the challenge to "grand narratives" as incomplete, new historicists contested singular conceptions of time in which historical events happen sequentially, in a supposed rational and coherent manner. Stemming from the works of the *Annales* school, they questioned the primacy of temporal histories, believing it invoked theories of historical development in which they had little interest. In response, many new historicists followed lead of the *Annales* school and did historical work without connecting their work to the larger historical through-lines.

Secondly, New Historicists contested prior historians' claim to objectivity. They objected, on the one hand, because any attempt at historical observation and empirical data is always subjective. Even if traditional forms of observation do not apply, at the very least, there are still interpretive and constructive processes in the practice of writing history that cannot maintain objectivity. Referencing Hayden White, Iggers (1997) states, "The problem with historical narrative...is that, while it proceeds from empirically validated facts or events, it necessarily requires imaginative steps to place them in a coherent story" (p. 2). At the very least, historians' claim to objectivity is dubious. On the other hand, they

challenged objectivity through their objection to historical object, because "there is no object of history" (Ibid., p. 9). Historians write histories in the worlds in which they live, there is no guarantee that their thoughts, languages, and ways of making meaning mirror those of the worlds they write about. The very reflection on historical past guarantees nothing more than a representation of the present. In essence, the new historicists rejected the notion of historical reality—the very idea that history has a real and attainable essence that can be written about. As you can imagine, this challenged to academic histories and their claims to scientific practice.

The various uses and deployments of history help in contextualizing this project and the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault worked in relation to other disciplines, specifically those claiming to authority and aligning themselves with institutional power. Most of Foucault's work can be understood in relation to institutional and social science histories. The archeology and genealogy, Foucault's early work, function to disrupt those histories. For this paper I make use of Foucault's archaeologies and genealogies as a theoretical framework. Below I discuss each: archeology and genealogy.

Working with Foucault

Michel Foucault was a French historian and philosopher, primarily associated with post-structuralist movements. His influence spreads

beyond that of history and philosophy to a variety of social science disciplines. He critiqued historical reasoning, which aligned itself with that of the enlightenment tradition; instead of asking what was necessary, he asked what was contingent (Gutting, 2012). He challenged disciplines which contributed truths about human nature, claiming instead that this knowledge emerged more so as part of political expression. He became particularly interested in power relations and wrote what he called genealogies and archaeologies to challenge these relations.

Foucault's archeological work analyzed discourses in their archival form; archeology stems from the word archive, hence its use. The archive serves as the raw data of a historical period that, upon close analysis, is used to challenge and contest dominant and institutionalized narratives, of which Foucault calls "totalitarian narratives". The point of the archeology is to display the formation of these "totalitarian narratives." For Foucault, truths (be it about human nature or something else) are never formed objectively and outside political interest, the archeology illustrates this. What becomes important in the archeology is not the sociology or the ethicality of a narrative but the historical struggle of the narrative. For within the struggle we see the irrationalities of development and notions of progress.

Foucault's archaeologies examined the discourse of medicine and psychiatry. His interest lay not in what effects the discourses had towards human health but in what constituted the conditions for their existence—

not what the discourses had to say, but how the discourse came into existence. The moment of emergence, the very event, the struggle, demonstrates most clearly, for Foucault, the workings of power and its co-option of discourse.

Foucault's archaeologies critiqued more than discourse, they critiqued an entire westernized mode of thinking, namely progressive dialectics. The dialectic, as we saw from the historical Marxists, maintains the notion of progress. The archaeology, on the other hand, reveals relationships of power and domination within progressive thought, bringing the transcendent notion of the dialectic down to the realm of politics and the body. For example, the history of ideas and individual consciousness *center* the individual and his/her relationship to institutions, ideology, and discourse, ultimately assuming the preexistence of the individual identity and a belief in the dialectic. Instead, the archeology *decenters* the individual to display the work of power in the formation of the individual.

Archeologies shift attention from the individual to the concrete practices and rules within a discourse. These are the mechanics which "establish and apply norms, controls, and exclusions," as well as, render "true and false discourse possible" (Flynn, 2005, p. 31). These are the practices and operations of power, which set division and exclusions, legitimations and normalization, and create distinctions between good and bad. The archeology reveals the individual as a product of discourse; thus, complicating humanistic projects and notions of individual liberation.

An example of Foucault's early work in archeology is his *History of Madness*. In it Foucault argues that classical perceptions of madness (which are largely considered unethical and inhumane) still reside in modern psychiatric thought. To make this argument he analyzed the discourse of psychiatry around the period when institutionalization and confinement of the "mad" became modern practice. Foucault demonstrates how this particular period exemplified a shift in discourse and epistemological thinking which allowed for the removal or exclusion of a particular group of people from society, i.e. the "mad," who, at the time, were thought of as "unreasoning" (Gutting, 2005, p. 60). These periods of transition or shifts, often written off in history as periods of progress, are important in demonstrating the transformation and mutation of power in discourses and knowledge. Instead of writing a traditional history and asking "what had actually occurred," Foucault asked what rationality, or thought process, was at play? As opposed to *supporting* an interpretation, Foucault analyzed archives and deployed facts to *illustrate* his argument: the conditions deemed unethical and inhumane in classic Europe which allowed for the confinement of the "mad" remain in the present in modern psychiatry, though, not often recognized or admitted (Gutting, 2005, p. 65).

Archaeologies critique most the idea of progressive development. They assemble the nonunified, tattered, and missing pieces of history, working against traditionally linear, clean, and ordered histories. For this

reason, the archeology is often considered discontinuous; it disrupts and leaves holes in traditional narratives and solidified truths, yet it also presents possibility. This positions Foucault and the archeology as an easy predecessor to the school of New Historicism mentioned above.

Later in his career, Foucault shifted to the work of genealogies, his major works being *Discipline and Punishment* and *History of Sexuality: Volume 1*. The genealogy continued the work of archeology but moves beyond the earlier methods with its explicit focus on power and the body (Flynn, 2005, p. 35). The genealogy emphasized the disciplinary operations of power on the body. It specifically attended to the strategies and tactics that are employed within knowledges and discourses. In his article *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History,* Foucault discusses genealogy and its relationship to traditional history. In it he distinguishes histories of origin and histories of descent and emergence. The genealogy attempts the latter of the two. An understanding of the two concepts—descent and emergence—is essential for understanding the genealogy.

Herkunft und Entstehung

Nietzsche's use of the word *Herkunft,* which Foucault translates to the English word *descent*, is the first characteristic of genealogy. Descent, not origin, says Foucault, should be the goal of the historian. For Foucault, traditional histories seek origins and, regardless of whether it is viewed as an interpretation or not, they claim to objectivity: interpretations

create and understanding, it implies externality and objectivity. The history of origin requires objectivity and clarity in the piecing together of historical narrative, which implies linear direction and singularity in history. Descent, on the other hand, functions differently. The word often invokes notions of ethnic race or a social group but should be understood as more than unifying characteristics such as nationality. Instead, descent complicates unifying structures like race and nationality by displaying, as Foucault says, "the subtle, singular, and subindividual marks that might possibly intersect in them [nationalities] to form a network that is difficult to unravel" (Foucault, 1977, p. 145). History as descent is not about resemblance or continuity, it is about contradiction and discontinuity—blurring through the meticulous recording of detail.

The genealogist employs descent to both dissociate from the self and to trace dispersion. As we saw of the archeology, the self/individual is decentered as the historian immerses him/herself into the historical practices that form the subject. The subject as an essential being is no longer of interest. Instead the interest is that of mapping dispersion. For without an origin or an essential self, all that is left is dispersion and discontinuity. In this sense, descent documents the "numberless beginnings" as opposed to the traditional historian's origin. It tracks the movement of ideas and discourses from space to space with specific attention not to order and coherence—which implies transcendence and objectivity—but to accidents and chance events. As Foucault states, "The

search for descent is not the erecting of foundations: on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was imagined consistent with itself" (Foucault, 1977, p. 147). The claim of the genealogy and archeology is that the formation of the self is more a product of political will and chance events, than rational thought and progress. The genealogist displays this.

Lastly, the analysis of descent attached itself to the body (Ibid., p. 147). Instead of transcended ideals and abstract notions of the subject, descent looks to the material world and the material effect that ideas and discourses have on the body. The task of descent "is to expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history's destruction of the body" (Ibid., p. 148). Descent determines not how the self is constrained and repressed but how the very idea of a self is produced on and through the destruction of the body.

The second characteristic of genealogy is Nietzsche's use of the word *Entstehung,* which Foucault translates to *emergence*. Emergence is the moment of coming forth, the arising, not in the sense of an origin but, rather, a product of domination. Plays of power and domination, not reason and rationality, lead to emergence. The history of origin relates to the individual, the consciousness, objectivity, and external world; history of emergence relates to the material, bodily world and the production of

forces that create fissures and divisions. Emergence comes not from the metaphysical world but from divisive forces in the material world.

Important in understanding emergence is its turn away from the temporal to the spatial. The analysis of emergence strategically looks to space as something physical and contextual in order to delineate the workings of power. Where time implies continuation, which the genealogy is not interested in, space implies movement and division. Movement and division are products of struggle and power. Emergence is the moment when two concepts or practices are suddenly deemed incompatible. Foucault (1977) states:

> …emergence designates a place of confrontation but not as a closed field offering the spectacle of a struggle among equals. Rather, as Nietzsche demonstrates in his analysis of good and evil, it is a “non-place,” a pure distance, which indicates that the adversaries do not belong in a common space. (p. 150)

Emergence displays the divisive formations of subjects: the moment of division between the mad and the sane, the heterosexual and the homosexual. The power of genealogy is in displaying the artificial nature of emergence, the artificiality of the divided subject.

The genealogy can, then, be thought of as a history of the present. It historicizes the present. It shows how ideas and people that are perceived of as natural are actually historical creations. Instead of showing how we got here, it displays the formation of discourses and

ways of knowing. It surfaces ways of knowing that were lost or forgotten, historicizing what was thought as ahistorical.

The Subject and Power

Lastly, in an attempt to anchor my theoretical understanding, I will outline Foucault's essay *The Subject and Power*, which provides explanation and context to his intellectual work. He breaks down his conceptions of the subject and the workings of power in asking important questions which position his work, and mine as well. His questions—why study power? and how is power exercised?—are discussed below based off a close reading of Foucault's *The Subject and Power.*

Why study power? This question followed Foucault throughout his intellectual and academic career; interestingly, though, the question is a bit misleading. Foucault's interest was not power but the subject, or subjectification: the process by which "human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982, p. 777). This process, subjectification, also implies its corollary opposite objectification. Naturally Foucault's research engulfed both subjectification and objectification. Foucault directed his studies to three different modes of objectification: (1) modes which claim the status of science, for example, the objectivizing of the speaking subject through, say, linguistics; (2) modes which divide the subject from others or within himself, for example, the distinction between the mad and the sane; and (3) modes in which the individual turns himself into subject, for example,

how individuals recognize and fulfill themselves as sexual subjects. The question of his research, Foucault claims, is more about the subject and less about power itself, yet the formation of the subject is a process of power and to understand subjectification there needs to be an understanding of power as well.

Foucault raises the question “Do we need a theory of power?” (Ibid., p. 778). A theory is not quite appropriate for it assumes a prior objectification. This objectification divides the subject and the object. Instead of theory, Foucault uses conceptualization, which is more open and flexible, less structured. Conceptualization allows for work with, around, and about power without forming a theory of the object, and contributing to the process of subjectification. The researcher is, thus, better positioned to observe the workings of power and the formation of the subject. As power is never final, neither is the conceptualization. It involves the continuous and critical work of reflection, checking and questioning.

With the need for a conceptual framework of power, Foucault proposes investigating the linkage between rationalization and power. Rationalization has been the driving force behind subjectification, and likewise objectification. This linkage is dangerous, as Foucault states, rationalization in conjunction with power has repeatedly led to undesirable ends: “we should not need to wait for bureaucracy or concentration camps to recognize the existence of such relations” (Ibid., p. 779). The question

then arises, how can we proceed with the investigation of such relationship—rationalization and power? Foucault proposes not to study rationalization as a whole of society but to analyze it in specific fields or disciplines, for instance, madness, illness, health or sexuality. The idea is to analysis specific rationalities (i.e. masculinity) rather than invoking a more general progress of rationality (i.e. the human race). In this way, the investigation adverts the assumption of the human subject and reveals, instead, its formation. Foucault's work emerged out of and functions along with forms of resistance to power. He identifies three forms of resistance that are specific to his work. The first form of resistance is characterized by the questioning of the status of the individual. It both asserts the right to be different and rejects the separation of the individual from others and his/her community. These are struggles against the "government of the individual" (Ibid., p. 781). The second is the opposition against the privileging of knowledge: "what is questioned is the way in which knowledge circulates and functions, its relations to power" (Ibid., p. 781). The third is the refusal of ideological and economic abstractions of who we are. It is a "refusal of scientific or administrative inquisition which determines who one is" (Ibid., p. 781). These foundational struggles are grounds through which Foucault works. In short, they resist not institutions or groups but a form or technique of power, that of subjectification/objectification.

In general, struggles against power appear in three forms: struggles against forms of dominations, struggles against forms of exploitation, and struggles against subjection. Foucault's work aligns with that of struggles against subjection. Nowadays, the struggles against forms of domination and exploitation tend to prevail or actualize more so than struggles against subjection. Foucault attributes this to the formation of the modern state, which is viewed as having interest in the totality or class grouping over that of the individual. This makes the struggles against exploitation and domination more visual and practical, but hides to some degree struggles against subjection. Foucault rejects and cautions against attributing subjection to that of exploitation and domination. Instead, the relationship of exploitation, domination, and subjection should be seen as circular with each informing the other. Social class does not merely produce the subject but evolves in relation to the subject. In this way, power is more complex and insidious. The underlining function of state's power is its ability to both individualize and totalize, both are forms of subjugation stemming from the proliferation of pastoral power.

Foucault discusses pastoral power and its importance. The emergence of pastoral power is specific to that of Christianity and is oriented around salvation, but modern pastoral power is secular and not with the next world but ensuring this world. Foucault emphasizes the non-neutrality of salvation, always involving an undergoing or subjection. This is the function of the pastor, salvation but at what cost? Salvation is

ensured but only through specific avenues: health, well-being, security, protection, etc. The state may advocate collective or individual health, but the concept itself—health—is not detached and neutral but imposed and political. As Foucault notes, with the rise of state power, we also see the proliferation of pastoral power, hence the importance of inquiry into subjectification: “Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are” (Ibid., p. 785).

The second major question of the texts is that of how is power exercised? By this Foucault meant not “how does power manifest itself?” but instead, “by what means is it exercised?” Foucault is not interested in questions pertaining to the “what” (What is power?) or “where” of power (Where does power come from?). Instead his interest lay in the workings of power: “what happens?” The question of “what happens” or the “how” of power avoids essential assumptions and metaphysical conceptions of power and begins investigations through flat empiricism. What this leads to is power relations, not power itself.

Foucault defines power relations quite simply: “A set of actions upon other actions” (Ibid., p. 789). The term conduct, which has two meanings, is an apt description. On the one hand, conduct means to guide or lead someone. On the other hand, it is a way of behaving. Both meanings are important in understanding the notion of power relations, which are more complex rather than simply repressive. Power relations as action upon other actions moves beyond essentialized issues of

privilege or oppression to the field of possibilities in which one acts. Without possibility there is no power relation. Once action is not longer possible on either side of the relationship it is no longer a power relationship, but a relationship of domination or violence: “where the determining factors saturate the whole, there is no relationship of power; slavery is not a power relationship when man is in chains” (p. 790).

In this sense, freedom is naturally embedded within relations of power, yet it is redefined. Foucault conceives of freedom as “the condition for the exercise of power” (p. 790). This exercise of power occurs only through power relations, which, of course, are not free but power laden. One might think that freedom, then, disappears within power relations but the ability to act is an essential component of Foucault’s power relation. Freedom might be better understood as a tension, or a “permanent provocation” (p. 790). For As Foucault states, “At the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, are the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom” (p. 790). Embedded within power, freedom both resists and incites the workings of power.

This lack of essential freedom removes the work of the historian from that of abstracted objectivity to the ground level, amongst the workings of power. The benefit, then, of an analysis of power arises not so much from the counter to power but from exposing its instability. Power relations, though always present, are always instable. Foucault’s

historical work displays instability and, thus, presents possibility, disrupting even the most solidified power relationships.

My intentions mirror those of Foucault's: the disruption and destabilization of power, but specifically within notions of masculinity, health and fitness. The Foucauldian lens theoretically underlines this research. The forthcoming chapters are guided and influenced by this perspective. In the next chapter, chapter two, I reveal my methodological practices, intentions, and guidelines that directed this research. I also discuss and summarize three articles which I analyze in further detail in chapter three.

Chapter 3

READING AND WRITING AS A GENEALOGIST

A genealogist, states Foucault, continues the work of the archeologist in the unearthing of historical struggles, yet he/she takes one additional step to destabilize relations of power (Flynn, 2005). This can be tiresome and tedious, involving careful inquiry, reading, and writing. In this chapter I build from both the theoretical framework of the previous chapter and the historical narrative laid out at the outset of the paper to discuss methodological concerns and practices that informed my reading for and writing of this paper. I start with my early investigations into recreational and physical education.

My work started in the library, attending to post-Civil War America in the time of "reconstruction." University reform was in effect, physical education was popularizing, and tolerance towards "non-academic" recreation was taking hold (Spring, 1990). For instance, shortly after the war's ending, *The American Physical Education Review* held its first ever national conference, calling for physical education in school curriculum. By the latter half of the century, physical education was standard curriculum in colleges as well as primary schools (Rice et al., 1969). At this same time we saw the emergence of recreational sports and heightened participation in physical exercise, all of which were strictly prohibited only decades prior. Not only were these new activities tolerated but by the turn of the century university officials institutionalized

recreational practices, creating faculty positions for their development and management. Historians most characterize this period in a sense of progressive liberalism in terms of the individual and his/her recreational freedom of choice: the individual's interest in recreational activity was rationally liberated from arbitrarily repressive ideology—whatever that may be. In short, these were transitional times, and of particular interest to the genealogist.

Foucault utilized transitional events to display the workings of power and challenge notions of progress. For the genealogist, the event, or period, is important. Unlike the traditional historian's event that centers on wars, treaties, and people, the genealogist's event concerns the emergence of new practices, guidelines, and expressions not possible prior to this, i.e. that of physical exercise and recreation. Foucault's events were that of the sudden incarceration of the "mad" and the problematization of sexuality of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which demonstrate most clearly not rational progress but the workings of power, and epistemological change. The value of the event for the genealogy lies in its potential to unveil the power-laden notions of rational progress as instable, random, and historical. Flynn (2005) states, "It is precisely 'the singular randomness of events' that enables [the genealogist] to reintroduce the central role of chance into historical discourse" (p. 41). The emergence and institutionalization of physical exercise and recreation is thus a ripe moment for subversive usage.

Through my investigations, I sought first hand accounts of and discourses on fitness training and physical exercise. I departed from dominant historical narratives to investigate primary documents on physical training at this time. This lead me to three articles: *The New Gymnatics* by Dio Lewis (1862)*, The system of physical Training at the Hemenway Gymnasium* by Dudley Sargent (1889)*,* and *The Place for Physical Training in the School and College Curriculum* by Dudley Sargent (1900). Historians occasionally mention the authors—not specifically the articles, usually in passing, in the prevailing narratives on physical education and recreation. It was through these histories that I encountered the articles. The two articles by Dudley Sargent emerged from *The American Physical Education Review* conference proceedings in the latter decades of the century. Dio Lewis' article appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* amidst the Civil War. Each article, different in important ways, surfaced with the emergence of physical exercise and recreation on university and college campuses. Below I briefly discuss and summarize each article.

In 1862, Dio Lewis proposed a new system of physical training in an article for The Atlantic Monthly titled *The New Gymnastics.* At the time Dio Lewis was a prominent advocate of physical education and training. He lectured across the country and wrote numerous articles on the subject. In his article, *The New Gymnastics,* he outlined a new approach that called for uniform training and greater social inclusion, specifically

among women. His new approach influenced many and received endorsement from many across the country.

In the opening paragraphs Dio Lewis (1862) called attention to the problems of physical deterioration, and particularly among the youth. The situation was so bad, as Lewis stated, “Fathers and mothers regard their children with painful solicitude…decaying teeth, distorted forms, pallid faces, and an unseemly gait” (p. 129). Physical deterioration was immense and if nothing is done, states Lewis, the situation will lead to “thousands [of boys and girls] daring not venture upon marriage, for they see in it only protracted invalidism” (p. 129). What remained was only “sad forebodings,” despair, and immanent “death” (p. 129). With both intensity and anxiety, he asked, “*What can be done?”* (p. 129).

Among such conditions, Lewis offered, as the intended purpose of the article, “a new system of physical training, adapted to both sexes, and to persons of all ages and degrees of strength,” in which, “many will find an answer to the important question [“*What can be done?*”]” (p. 129). Lewis’ new system intended to mend the deficiencies of the old, which catered to young males and grand feats of strength. He states, “the ordinary gymnasium offers little chance for *girls*, none for *old* people, but little for *fat* people of any age, and very little for small children of either sex” (p. 130). He argued for a gymnasium which promotes inclusive and beneficial exercises for both males and females. Instead of tumbling amongst mats, climbing ladder and bars, walking on hands, and daring

feats of strength, the new system was one in which “women need not fall behind men in those exercises which require grace, flexibility, and skill” (p. 131). The new system, based on “grace, flexibility, and skill,” fosters community among men and women, children and adults, fit and unfit who come together and exercise under one roof.

Before proceeding to the specifics of his exercise training, Lewis responded to assertions that “scientific gymnasiums” can be dispensed with if we just allowed for physical activity to naturally manifest itself through daily work and play. Lewis asserts, “An education left to chance and the street would be but a disjointed product...We require that the growth shall be of a peculiar kind—what we call scientific and symmetrical...The education of chance would prove unbalanced, morbid, profitless” (p. 131). The new system is one in which the body is made to be “symmetrical, flexible, vigorous, and enduring” (p. 131). Dio Lewis believed in the necessity of an inclusive physical training for everyone, no longer isolated to the margins of society and merely defined by muscular mass.

In the second half of the article Lewis detailed the practice of his new system, specifically the equipment and exercises. He divided his system into four types of exercises: dumb-bell exercises, ring exercises, wand exercises, and bean-bag exercises. These exercises are opposed to to what he called “the mischievous consequences of ‘heavy weights’...and the deformities of muscular-culture” (p. 132). Instead,

Lewis asserts, “Men, women, and children should be strong, but it should be the strength of grace, flexibility, agility, and endurance” (p. 134). For Lewis’ dumbbells were made not of iron but of wood; the rings are used with a partner in constant motions, as a “performance” or “dance” (p. 143); the wand “is employed to cultivate flexibility” (p. 145); and bean-bags are used in games by throwing and catching, “requiring skill and presence of mind” (p. 146). Each exercise supported new goals and fitness ideals, away from muscular mass and towards “grace, flexibility, and skill.” The article concludes with Lewis stating, “Physiologists and teachers believe that the new system of gymnastics is destined to establish a new era in physical education. It is ardently hoped that events may justify their confidence.”

As it turns out, Lewis’ article was an early argument for a formal system of physical education and training, one intended for all ages and genders. As we will see below, Lewis’ system has both differences and similarities to the articles below. Next, I preview Dudley Sargent’s early article.

In one of the earliest American conferences on physical training Dudley Sargent (1889) presented a paper titled *The System of Physical Training at the Hemenway Gymnasium*. At the time Dudley Sargent was a leading figure in the world of physical training. He gained influence primarily through the rethinking of previous training approaches while calling for new individualized and practical methods. In his paper he

distinguished his approach from prior approaches and provides a rationale for a new system.

Sargent began the paper with an autobiographical account of his experiences as director of college gymnasiums. He states, early on I felt the need to "make measurements of students, and observe differences in size, strength, and development" in which he observed marked differences in size and strength among individuals (p. 62). These individual differences provoked in him skepticism of singular and standardized forms of physical training which did not accommodate the individual needs of students, as he states, "to expect that a class of individuals...could be grouped together and given the same kind of exercise with any hope of benefiting all seemed to me little less than absurd" (p. 63). These early observation sparked his interest in recording data and his skepticism of prior monolithic approaches. As he continued collecting data on students, he determined that men accustomed to doing manual labor "generally showed a superior physique" (p. 63). Sargent wondered, if actual labor could produce good physical strength, "why will not a system of exercises in the gymnasium, resembling actual labor, accomplish the same result...?" (p. 63). This became the basis for his approach; he wanted an exercise system that supplemented "the deficiencies of one's occupation, and to develop him where he is weak" (p. 63).

In the article Sargent stated his desire for a new, individualized training system. This new system landed him the opportunity to create the

Cambridge system at Harvard University. The Cambridge system built on his earlier principles of observation and data collection while entitling every student the opportunity of an extensive physical examination: “he [the student] is given a history blank, which he fills out, giving his birthplace, nativity of parents, occupation of father, resemblance to parents, national heritage, general state of health, and a list of diseases he has had,” then he is asked “to make certain tests of the muscular strength” (p. 65). This information provided the examiner with “the relative standing of this individual as compared with others...also [indicating] his deviation from symmetry and the parts which are special need of development,” from which, Sargent states, can ultimately procure “a special order of appropriate exercises” (p. 65-66). The Cambridge system personalized exercises to remedy physical deficiencies.

Sargent concluded the paper with his thoughts on the benefits and limitations of the modern gymnasium and his approach to training. He states, “the great aim of the gymnasium is to improve the physical condition of the mass of our students, and to give them as much health, strength, and stamina as possible, to enable them to perform the duties that await them after leaving college” (p. 68). As evidence of successful training, Sargent states, “We have to-day on our record books at Harvard the names of two hundred and forty-five students whose test of general strength...surpasses the test of the strongest man in 1880s” (p. 68). For Sargent, this was progress and to maximize this progress he calls for

research on ‘what constitutes the normal man for different races, ages, and conditions of life,” as he restates, “the highest development of strength, activity, and grace is not compatible in the same individual” (p. 76). The Cambridge system popularized in the latter decades of the nineteenth century while retaining many tenants of the prior Lewis system, like that of physical development intended for everyone. It also broke from the Lewis system in important ways, like with individualized workout and muscle development, which I discuss further in chapter 4. Lastly, I review Sargent’s later article on physical training as school curriculum.

The third, and final, article is *The Place for Physical Training in the School and College Curriculum* for the *American Physical Education Review* written by Dudley Sargent in 1900. In the article, Sargent argued for vigorous physical training to be incorporated into school curriculum for both public schools and universities.

Sargent begins by affirming what he called a common belief in the interdependence of the brain and the body and asks “the practical question...as to the relative amount of care and attention to be given to the development of each [brain and body] in a scheme of education” (p. 1). He answered his query by stressing the need for greater physical activity and training, as he states, “there never was a time in the history of the world when the great mass of mankind could meet the simple exigencies of life with so little expenditure of time as today” (p. 4). It is clear to

Sargent that the body has been deprived of needed attention and development.

Sargent went further, as he states, "...the nations that have given the most attention to the care of the body have not only been of superior quality physically, but have invariably attained the greatest mental pre-eminence..." (p. 1-2). He cited research showing the benefits of physical training not just to the body but to the mental and moral mind as well, correlating physical size with social deviance: "We also know that criminals and lunatics average less in height and weight than the general community, and that there is an ever widening gulf between the physical and mental stamina of the highest and lowest stratas of society" (p. 5). Sargent tied moral degeneration with physical development, intensifying the need for physical training.

With urgency, Sargent turned his attention in the article to the schools, stating, "We must make the improvement of the body an essential requirement of our school system...It is difficult to see how the stability and integrity of the race can be maintained in any other way" (p. 5). He complains that currently schools requires "not a single exercise," nor even the lifting of ones "arms above their heads or to use their hands and fingers except to thumb the leaves of a book or handle a piece of chalk" (p. 6). Sargent lamented the rising dropout rate which he attributes to illness and the lack of physical training. For Sargent, the issue is

largely met with indifference from both parents and teachers and needs to be changed.

In the close of the article, Sargent expanded his argument beyond that of physical training to athletics, as he states, “Athletics have advanced the tone of youthful morals by setting higher ideals of manhood for the weak, giving a legitimate outlet for the superfluous energy of the strong and furnishing a fair field of activity for the courageous and daring” (p. 9). He rejected the critics who state athletics will devalue education, instead saying “The very existence of such places as gymnasiums [and athletic fields]...in connection with schools and colleges implies that they are expected in some way to further the main objects of these institutions” (p. 13). The purpose of education, training, and athletics function similarly as preparation for life, as he states,

> The demands of the times are not so much for a few brilliant or deeply learned men, as for a large number of highly intelligent men. Men who not only have the courage of their convictions, but the physical hardihood and mental tenacity to enable them to stay in their places and work at their post of duty after their more brilliant associates had wearied of well doing and dropped out of the struggle. (p. 14)

He closes in asking, “Would it not be wise therefore to recognize the value of physical training as an essential perquisite to the attainment of the highest intellectual results in a school, a college, a community, or a race”

(p.17). Sargent's article proved influential as the development of both physical education and gymnastics multiplied in the coming decades of the twentieth century.

Reading and Writing

The work of the genealogy less so resembles a theory of power and more so resembles, what Foucault calls, an analytics of power. This meant I paid specific attention and concern to the formation of local physical exercise discourse. Instead of relating that discourse to the/a larger filed or discourse, I used that very local discourse to carefully observe the workings of power on an individualized and isolated level, while also attending to resistances embedded within this relationship. Just as power uses the past in political tactics, so too does the genealogist.

The notion of *using* history is distinctively different from that of the traditional historian who typically concerns him/herself with *describing* the past. This project is not an attempt at forming a historical picture of the part. Nor is it an attempt in revealing the hidden interests served through the formation of physical exercise discourse. The genealogist works in a different way. Instead, I conceded my objective status for a full recognition and acknowledgement of my political immersion. This recognition frees me to push back and challenge the workings of power. As a genealogist, I *use* the past to disrupt essentialistic narratives of fitness and recreational progress, but also, and importantly, disrupting

dominant narrative of masculinity. For its ability to disrupt and challenge contemporary institutions, the genealogy is a history of the present; it historicizes in the present the ahistorical—health, desire, masculinity, etc. In essence, this was my work as a genealogist.

This meant, as a genealogist, I looked for events or moments in which new statements, knowledges and practices could suddenly be uttered and made sense of: the moment when new practices like that of physical exercise could be undertaken. These three articles occurred as universities institutionalized the practice of physical exercise. As a genealogist, I sought to use this event to display instabilities, contradictions and randomness to push back against narratives that depict this moment as rational and progressive.

This meant, in reading the articles, I was nominalistic. As Foucault (1990) states, “One needs to be nominalistic, no doubt: power is not an institution, and not a structure…it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society” (p. 92). I attempted to complicate rather than unify. Like new historicists, I read not to capture the truth or essential essence in history, which excludes, marginalizes, and ultimately, “threaten individual freedom and creativity” (Flynn, 2005, p. 40), but to push back against totalizing narratives, those of health, recreation, and masculinity. Nominalism allows for the active use of history, without assuming the dominant or violent nature of power and its inevitability. I read away from understanding power as above in abstract,

essentialized notions, and towards power as below, in the everyday practices and relations—the exercises and apparatuses used, the routines, the claims to the body and health.

In doing all this, I paid specific attention to the nature of power and its various manifestations. This work involved attending to the formation of the subject. I was not concerned with how the discourses related to or affected the individual, or their masculinity. That would imply some sort of transcendent, essential subject. Instead, I looked for the ways in which the discourse constructed the subject and his masculinity. I paid specific attention to how the body was conceptualized, how masculinity was conceptualized, and, more broadly, how fitness was conceptualized. I turned away from the tendency to view the subject, or individual, as separate or outside the discourse, instead reading for ways in which his identify was invented and then performed. In effect, I "decentered" the subject from my historical inquiry, allowing for me to see the formation and workings of power on the body.

In my reading and analysis of the text, I maintained the essential understanding of power's continuous desire for knowledge as power/knowledge. This comes from Foucault who reworked the popular adage "knowledge is power," which perceives knowledge and power independently, to simply power/knowledge, knowing the goal of power and the goal of knowledge cannot be separated (Gutting, 2012). In other words, any attempt in understanding inevitably intertwines with and incites

power. The examination is a prime example of power/knowledge, for "it both elicits the truth about those who undergo the examination (tells what they know or what is the state of their health) and controls their behavior (by forcing them to study or directing them to a course of treatment)" (Gutting, 2012). Knowledge is used to regulate and control individuals and their behavior through the formation of social norms. Normal behavior distinguishes itself from deviant, abnormal, and different behavior. Therefore, pursuits of knowledge, such as the examination, solidifies the "other," yet also provides the direction of treatment. Power knowledge are closer to one and the same.

This essential function of power I maintained in the reading and writing of the tests. For the examination plays an important role within each of these articles. It is repeatedly used as a way to identify unhealthy bodies and physical deficiencies, and then is used to create an individual plan of action—workout program—to remedy these defects.

Foucault calls this disciplinary power for its ability to control and regulate. Ideally, or in its most efficient form, disciplinary power is internalized on the individual level. For example, Foucault uses Jeremy Bentham's concept of the Panopticon as a metaphor for how power is internalized. The Panopticon is an architectural structure for a prison, which essentially provides the capability of constant prisoner surveillance. Always unsure if they are actually being monitored, the prisoners begin monitoring their own actions, forming social norms and regulations.

Eventually the guards are no longer needed as the prisoners have internalized all the rules. The structure thus turns the prisoner himself into an object of analysis and study, and effectively working on the level of individual conscious. The final stage in this process is that of the adjustment, or remedy, of abnormal behavior. This basic outline of outline of the nature of power informed boy my reading and writing for this paper; it positioned me the reader, the subject, and the discourse in the middle of power relations.

Additionally, as Foucault did, I read not temporally but spatially. The use of spatial configurations directly counters traditional historical approaches that center on time. Temporal histories inevitably lead back to the individual's consciousness, which is a product of discursive power relations. Instead, I collapse temporal distinctions to compare and differentiate historical practices. This focus away from time allows me to more effectively use history while having less concern for a historically complete narrative. Flynn (2005) describes Foucault and his use of spatial, as opposed to temporal, reasoning:

> …[Spatialized reasoning] not only frees him from historical "realism" that seeks to ascertain the truth "as it actually happened," but also liberates him from the confines of dialectical thinking. His shift from time to space as the paradigm guiding his approach to historical topics counters the totalizing, teleological method favored by standard histories of ideas, with their appeal to individual and

collective consciousness and to a “tangled network of influences.” (p. 42)

Lastly, I read in terms of problematizations. The emphasis on problematization shifts away from the question/answer dialectic to the formulation of problems. For example, when the “mad” became a problem, or when physical fitness became a problem. His writings of histories of problems, the event of problematization, are what absolves him of accusations of incomplete histories (Flynn, 2005, p. 43). He was not interested writing histories of things or complete narratives but in the surfacing of problems. Thinking problematically allows for the context and positioning of current epistemological structures.

All of this meant centering, in contemporary discourse, the historically marginalized knowledges of fitness and embedded notions of masculinity. Foucault calls this the desubjugation of knowledge (Foucault, 1997, p. 7). Foucault distinguishes between subjugated knowledges. On the one hand, there are buried knowledges. These are the fragments of historical content that get lost and/or ‘masked’ in the in process of functional concision and coherence: it is the content that is over looked or covered up, determined unfit and unimportant in the ordering of historical narratives. On the other hand, there are delegitimated knowledges. These are the knowledges of the people, of individuals, that have been deemed insufficient, nonconceptual, and naive: it is the

individualized and diverse ways of knowing that are institutionally marginalized through normalizing processes.

In reading these articles, I attempted to surface buried knowledges and reveal the struggles and processes of subjugation. I looked for pieces of discontinuity and disruption to larger narratives on fitness, but also masculinity. This meant lifting up the multiple ways of knowing that stand outside the institutionalized discourse and processes of normalization. Foucault states on the work of "returns of knowledge," "We have both a meticulous rediscovery of struggles [buried knowledges] and the raw memory of fights [delegitimated knowledges] (Foucault, 1997, p. 8). In essence, my intention was an analysis of epistemological shifts within fitness and masculinity while tactically bringing into play desubjugated knowledges. I sought to critique established and institutionalized ways of knowing while actively subverting their privileged status.

As much as anything, maintaining a Foucauldian lens involves me reading beyond the subject. This means I read the articles not to understand the discourse in relation to individual identity and masculinity, but for the ways it attempts to construct individuality and masculinity. I paid specific attention to how the body was conceptualized, how masculinity was conceptualized, and, more broadly, how fitness exercise was conceptualized. I turned away from the tendency to view the subject, or individual, as separate or outside of what was being said, and instead read for ways in which the articles, or discourses, themselves construct

the individual. Foucault terms this the "decentering" of the subject in an effort to observe the workings of power/knowledge.

Guidelines

I followed a series of guidelines that Foucault outlined in the 1st volume of his *History of Sexuality*. These guidelines are intended to assist in the investigation of power. I identified four that were especially important and structured this research.

Foucault's first guideline, *rule of immanence*, states that inquiry cannot presuppose an external or essential subject. This applies to the subjective body as well as the identity. Foucault demonstrates this in *History of Sexuality* where he studied how power produced sexuality, and not the relation of sexuality to an institution or discourse. For this project, I started from "local centers of power knowledge" which centered practices and relations and not abstract universals (Foucault, 1990, p. 98). The rule of immanence means power is always present, thus discouraging claims to objectivity and methods of oppression for greater attention on historical practices and routines. The historical practices and routines are what we call the "local centers" of power/knowledge.

Foucault's second precaution, *rule of continual variation*, states that power is not something one obtains, collects, produces, or shares but something that is always in movement and in relation. This means it is not a theory. Through inquiry I sought the patterns of movement, variation,

and appropriation of power—the operating structure called power-knowledge. It is not about the instances of power and oppression or power's distribution but continual power-laden relationships, Foucault understood it as a "matrices" of force (Ibid., p. 99). The "matrices" are the spaces of transformation, continual shifts and modifications that power functions through, and which the genealogist records.

Foucault's third precaution, *rule of double conditioning*, states that all power relationships function on a local level but also are part of an overall strategy of discipline and control. Foucault states, "No 'local center,' no 'pattern of transformation' could function if, through a series of sequences, it did not eventually enter into an over-all strategy" (Ibid., p. 99). We trace the continuity between specific and local tactics of power-knowledge and their strategic employment on a larger scale. It is not a mirrored relationship but a complicated grand operation with tentacles reaching to the most infinitesimal of spaces.

Foucault's forth precaution, *rule of tactical polyvalence of discourses*, which states that discourses need to be understood not as dominating or dominated or as included or excluded but as always available and ready for appropriation through a diversity of strategies. The specific function of discourses is not inside or outside of power but a tool in its operation, though, this power is never complete or totalitarian in effect. This mean understanding the ways discourses function in both a subjugating and subversive fashion. "Discourse transmits and produces

power; it reinforces it, but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it" (Ibid., p. 101). To sum up these four guidelines, Foucault (1990) states:

> ...it is a question of orienting ourselves to a conception of power which replaces the privilege of the law with the viewpoint of the objective, the privilege of prohibition with the viewpoint of tactical efficacy, the privilege of sovereignty with the analysis of multiple and mobile field of force relations, wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable, effects of domination are produced. (p. 102)

As a genealogist, I intend to reveal the workings of power and domination, while not expecting this research to be outside the effects of power and domination. My work is intended to be a close reading of a historical period in order to reveal discontinuities and disruptions to modern narratives and thinking. In the next chapter, I retain the theoretical lens mentioned in chapter two and the methodological guidelines discussed in this chapter, chapter three, in a close reading and analysis of the three articles discussed above. Chapter four demonstrates both the workings of power and the subjugated ways of knowing and being that seem to elude traditional histories.

Chapter 4

DISCOURSE OF ADJUSTMENT, MASCULINITY, AND ETHICS

In the prior chapters I outlined both my theoretical and methodological positions for this research. I discussed Michel Foucault's work in archeology and genealogy and brought challenges to traditional histories by New Historicists. I also discussed methodological practices and guidelines that underwrote my work in this paper. In this chapter I investigate, using the work of Foucault, three articles on physical exercise and training [*The New Gymnastics* (1862), *The System of Physical Training at Hemingway Gymnasium* (1889), and *The Place for Physical Training in the School and College Curriculum* (1900)] from the latter half of the nineteenth century. In this investigation I discuss discourses produced through these articles, conceptions of the body, health and masculinity. This chapter includes three sections. The first, Discourse of Adjustment, discusses the language, practice, and effect of exercise training in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. The second, Conceptions of Masculinity, discusses masculine representations within exercise discourse. The third section, Puritan Ethics, historically challenges of the Puritan hold on cultural practice and lifts up subjugated knowledges. I start by outlining the effect and function of exercise discourse in what I call the discourse of adjustment.

Discourse of Adjustment

These 3 articles demonstrate most clearly a discourse of adjustment. The word adjustment derives from word *ajusten*, which means, “to correct, or remedy” (Weekly, 1967). A*justen then* depicts quite clearly the essential function of physical exercise and training (correction and repair) of the late nineteenth century. This remedy—correction, repair—occurs on the level of the individual body, and as we'll see below, the mind and moral spirit. The use of the word adjustment is both a more accurate description of exercise and strategic in that it avoids contaminated and cooped notions like health and fitness. Adjustment, also raises questions as to the nature and need of the adjustment: For instance what specifically is adjusted—the individual, the body? Where does it occur? How does it occur? Who is involved? And, why adjustment? Understanding exercise as adjustment brings forth these questions and this notion of adjustment only resonates, within context, there has to be a need. Thus the articles discourse perceives the individual and body as in need of repair, out of order, ailing, or sick. Adjustment is thus conceptualized within a need for it. Working from Foucault we know that adjustments, or alterations, are crucial components to what Foucault calls Power/Knowledge.

Power/knowledge is an essential function of power, which operates through a continuous desire for more knowledge. Foucault reworked the popular adage “knowledge is power,” which perceives knowledge and

power independently, to simply power/knowledge, knowing the goal of power and the goal of knowledge cannot be separated (Gutting, 2012). This implies that any attempt to gain understanding of knowledge is embedded within relations of power. The most pronounced example of this is the examination, which claims to collect objective observations and data, but cannot be understood outside of power relations. The use of the examination, Gutting (2012) states, “both elicits the truth about those who undergo the examination (tells what they know or what is the state of their health) and controls their behavior (by forcing them to study or directing them to a course of treatment)" (n.p.). The examination is prominent within nineteenth century physical exercise discourse and should be understood not as disinterested but as immersed in relations of force.

As stated above, the recognition of adjustment only comes within the context of a need. In terms of the articles, the exercise programs only function of these is a need for it. Each article creates a need quite clearly, often personalized through tapping into societal emotions and fears. For example, Dudley Sargent demonstrates the need for physical training as he correlates physical size with deviant behavior, not addressing the problem means societal decline. He states:

> We already know that there is a difference of five inches existing between the average statures and twenty pounds between the average weight of the best and the worst nurtured classes. We also know that criminals and lunatics average less in height and

> weight than the general community, and that there is an ever widening gulf between the physical and mental stamina of the highest and lowest stratas of society. (Sargent, 1900, p. 5)

Dio Lewis speaks likewise in the opening paragraphs of his Atlantic Monthly article, stating:

> Evidences of physical deterioration crowd upon us. Fathers and mothers regard their children with painful solicitude. Not even parental partiality can close the eye to decaying teeth, distorted forms, pallid faces, and the unseemly gait. The husband would gladly give his fortune to purchase roses for the checks of the loved one, while thousands dare not venture upon marriage for they see in it only protracted invalidism. Brothers look into the languishing eyes of sister with sad forebodings, and sisters tenderly watch for the return of brothers, once the strength and hope of the fatherless group now waiting for death. The evil is immense. *What can be done?* [Original emphasis] (Lewis, 1862, p. 129)

Playing off individual fears and anxieties surrounding inferiority, recognition and desire, power mobilizes the discourse of physical training and exercise, without the intervention, the remedy, decline and deterioration is imminent.

The discourse is also conceptualized on a societal level. The concern is not simply you the individual but also the society at large: for there is an “ever widening gulf” and an “immense evil” that has infiltrated,

or contaminated, society. The article's position exercise and physical training as not merely an individual decision but as a social decision, with nearly apocalyptic implications (i.e. social depravity, deterioration, depression, and pervasive evil).

Furthering and solidifying this problem that needs the remedy of physical training, the authors employ nationalistic anxieties about the decline of national strength, the concern of overthrow, and racial degeneration. Sargent (1900) in his later article, lifts up the Greek culture as the acme of individual and, thereby, national strength, stating, the Greeks “devoted more time to the physical training of her youth than all other branches of education combined,” which made “the Greeks as superior to us in intellectual ability as we are superior to the African negroes” (p. 2). Aside from correlating physical capability with intellectual capability, of which we see more below, the discourse positions physical exercise and training as a boost—or better, a crutch—to national strength (as if physically adjusted bodies improves national strength) while subtly intertwining anxieties around racial superiority. In essence, the formation of the problem (due to social deterioration, decline, illness) turns the individual body into a public concern provoking social gaze, attention, and strategic examination.

The effectiveness of Power/Knowledge, begins after the formation of the problem. The physical examination is only the first step in a long process of individual and societal adjustment. As Foucault found in other

fields like that of the judicial system, power functions through a drive, or will, for knowledge, exploration, and understanding of the body. It is a desire for knowledge and order, yet it borders irrationality and psychosis. We see this at Harvard University with Dudley Sargent and newly implemented programs for physical training:

> Every student who enters the University is entitled to an examination…he is given a history blank, which he fills out, giving his birth place, nativity of parents, occupation of father, resemblance to parents, natural heritage, general state of health, and a list of the diseases he has had…The student is then asked to make certain tests of the muscular strength of the different parts of his body, and to try the capacity of his lungs. He then passes into the measuring room, and has his weight, height, chest-girth, and fifty other items taken…All the items taken are then plotted on a chart, made from *several thousand measurements*… [my emphasis] (Sargent, 1889, p. 65)

The investigative workings of power explore the body to the tune of "several thousand measurements." The result of this is knowledge, the generation of data, and on a level bordering psychosis. From the exam we know countless bits of information about the individual's size, strength, body parts, upbringing, parental history, disease history, etc. Eventually we can make generalizations and determinations about individuals. As Sargent (1889) states, clearly the essential purpose and value of the

examination is that “the examiner is then able to know the relative standing of the individual as compared with others for every dimension taken…” (p. 64). This brings about two essential things. On the one hand, it develops a normalized body. It accumulates data determining appropriate strength, body size, proportionality, upbringing, disease history, and so on. All of such is strategically aligned in the formation of the normal body. On the other hand, it invites the notion of adjustment. The examination identifies conformities but also, and importantly, abnormalities. To finish Sargent’s quote from above, we see that the exam records “…deviation from symmetry and the parts which are in special need for development” (Ibid., p. 64-65). The examination, thus, makes visible and knowledgeable the individual and the body while provoking his/her body into attention and action.

It is interesting to see how Sargent, who most explicitly describes and documents the his work in physical examinations, progressed from casual observation of participants at the gymnasium to intensive examinations as he obtained his institutional position as university director of physical training. Is there any wonder why the examination and physical training became so intensive and serious as institutions adopted (coopted) the practice? The workings of Power/Knowledge examination solidifies the distinction between the subjective individual and objective body. This occurs on both a societal level with institutions monitoring and maintaining the populations health and fitness, and on an individual or

personal level. The examination functions to turn the individual's gaze inward towards the body. The body and its experience is related to that of the normally constructed body and experience. This is a process of individual reflection and concern, along with attention to larger social norms. the individual turns his/her body into a site of observation, analysis, and work. It becomes an object of adjustment and formation. Power/Knowledge and its normalizing functions propel the body into this form of objectification, turning it into a site of work and adjustment. As we see, the internalization of the discourse and incitement into action, via physical training is the goal: "One-half of the struggle for physical training has been won when he [the student] can be induced to take a genuine interest in his bodily condition" (Sargent, 1889, p. 66). We could say, then, that Sargent reproduces, through the exam, the effect of the Panopticon, constant surveillance: for the individual directs his/her attention inwards to the self, developing a genuine and constant interest in the body.

Aside from contextualizing the problem and internalizing the need for exercise, the discourse of adjustment functions quite straightforwardly. Dio Lewis raises the question—*what can be done?*—in which the answer is implied, physical exercise, but the specific remedy is quite revealing. The entire discourse of adjustment hinges upon the ideal balance. The purpose of the adjustment is to regulate extremes and promote balance.

This conception of balance reveals ideals of healthy bodies and individuals, masculinities and ethics. Balance was practiced on both the mind and body, and between the mind and body. Within the body this was referred to as symmetry. Fitness practitioners sought symmetrical bodies. Sargent states the purpose of the examination is to identify "deviation from symmetry" (Sargent, 1889, p. 66). Most in need of symmetrical development was that of the upper half of the body. The general sense seemed to be that cultural practices over developed the legs while leaving the upper half, specifically the chest, out of proportion:

> Nearly all our exercise is of the lower half of the body: we walk, we run up and down stairs, and thus cultivate hips and legs, which, as compared with the upper half of the body, are muscular…whatever artificial muscular training is employed should be specially adapted to the development of the upper half of the body. (p. 132)

The notions of an underdeveloped, concaved chest and slouching shoulders prevailed, reflecting the drag of a deficient culture.

In addition to symmetry, plasticity represented an ideal. The body needed many capabilities and functions: flexibility, skill, grace, strength, agility, to name a few. Over-development, under-development, imbalance were all hindrances to the body. For the body to function most effectively and efficiently, it needed to perform a diversity of tasks. Sargent and Lewis additionally conceived of balance more broadly in terms of lifestyle choices and mental and physical attainments. Too much intellectual work

was just as problematic as too much physical work, Sargent valued intellectual work as long as it balanced physical work. The lack of balance caused illness, not simply physical illness but also mental illness.

Most characteristic of this period is the reflexive mantra, healthy bodies make healthy mind and vice versa. The authors of the articles attribute primal importance to the nervous system, stating, “The nervous system is the fundamental fact of our earthly life. All other parts of the organism exist and work for it” (Lewis, 1862, p. 135). The underlining issue was anxiety around losing nervous control, a kind of insanity to be adverted. Most characteristic of nervous control is emotional balance:

> The exercise of the young should be of such a composite nature as to bring about the co-operation and co-ordination of the muscles. This involves principally the training of the central nerve system. All gymnastic sports and athletic games that require skill, dexterity, coolness, courage, and presence of mind, are included in this list, and are exceedingly valuable to any system of physical training, as in the development of character. (Sargent, 1889, p. 75)

Emotional balance meant stability and consistency, maintaining your “cool” and predictability. So we can assume that rash decisions and aggressivity are the converse to the presence of mind and coolness that physical culture desired. This mentality of nervous control, emotional balance, and physical symmetry characterized the entire discourse of adjustment, it seemed to fear excess and indulgence, even muscular

indulgence as Lewis deemed muscular development "mischievous." The work of adjustment was to balance the individual body, mental self, and social population. In effect though it turned and intensified individual and social surveillance to that of the body and the mind. It was the intensification of surveillance.

And as we will see in the next section, adjustment was not merely that of physical health or well-being or any other essentialized and objective notion, but that of political and institutional influence.

Conceptions of Masculinity

In his cultural history of manhood in America, Michael Kimmel (2012) points to several co-existing occurrences around the latter decade of the nineteenth century that lead to the disruption of traditional masculine identity, which Kimmel calls a “crisis.” These factors include (1) industrialization, (2) the Emancipation of black slaves, (3) massive influx of immigrations from European countries, (4) women’s suffrage movements and the resulting increase of women in the public sphere, and (5) the “closure” of the western frontier (Kimmel, 2012, p. 61-65). For Kimmel, each of these factors effectively challenged white masculinity to the point of “crisis,” requiring the serious reconsideration and rejuvenation of masculine ideals. The soon to be president, Theodore Roosevelt, both embodied this sense of crisis and epitomized the reconstructed, rejuvenated, and intensified masculinity of the era.

Roosevelt deplored, what he called, the limitations of modern society. For him, social conditions were too easy and sedentary and lacked rigorous development of important manly traits, resulting in what he called an "overcivilized" society. His sentiment was widely shared and most clearly outlined in one of Roosevelt's speeches titled, *A Strenuous Life*, in which Kimmel (2012) states, Roosevelt expressed fears that "overcivilization was sapping the strength of the civilized few, who therefore needed remedial training in barbarism, violence, and appropriation" (p. 133). Not only did Roosevelt politicize masculinity in his rise to presidency, but, as Kimmel (2012) states, he also militarized masculinity by equating individual identity with national strength and power. Embedded in his militarized conceptions were deep-seated beliefs in racial exclusion, national superiority and imperial domination.

Roosevelt, in his *Strenuous Life* speech, calls for the development of manly traits and values. As Joel Spring (2003), who also identified Theodore Roosevelt and his notion of "strenuous life" as characteristic of male identity in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, states, the strenuous life advocated manly principles including hardiness, sternness, bravery, courage, and strength, all of which had to be developed in men (p. 67-69). He called for a return to the outdoors and competitive sports, like that of camping, hiking, fishing, bodybuilding, wrestling and boxing. Though not quite "violent" and "barbarian" training, Roosevelt's understanding of masculinity was development through competition and

struggle, albeit Roosevelt did see war as an essential developing characteristic in manhood.

Kimmel and Spring both present Theodore Roosevelt as the dominant and underlining essence of masculinity during this period. They largely attribute the development of physical culture and exercise to his masculine influence. The discourse of physical exercise, though, conveys a different, more complicated picture. In it we see reflections but also contradictions and subversions to the Roosevelt masculinity. Sargent and Lewis, authors of the three articles, conceive of masculinity in interesting ways that do not merely reflect the Roosevelt narrative.

Both Roosevelt and the exercise discourse viewed modern culture as enabling to the ideal development of man, though, each responded differently. Roosevelt advocated a return to the struggles of nature and survivalist hierarchies. The exercise discourse responded with the opposite approach. They sought greater physical and mental refinement. For them, man was not civilized enough.

The notion of refinement resided in the claim that modern culture developed individuals disproportionately. The belief was that natural conditions, whatever those might be, do not suffice for the optimal development, physically or mentally. Exercise functioned as a refinement, or adjustment, to the disproportionate, unbalanced culture. Discourses on exercise and training called for structured development and refinement in man's physical body and moral character. What Lewis and Sargent most

principally refined was that of savage, instinctual, or raw behaviors. Physical training, thus, was not merely a return to the realm of the body for the “primitive” pleasure and physical development; it required careful attention, refinement, and balance.

The development of the body avoided extremes, specifically that of the overly muscular. Brute strength and muscle were unbalanced and unrefined. Dio Lewis calls it “mischievous,” and argues against the “lifting mania,” which privileges big muscles and the lifting of heavy weight as it “seemed to think you can determine every man’s constitution and health by the tape-line” (Lewis, 1862, p. 132). Instead, Lewis employed dumbbell exercises to avoid the “mischievous consequences of heavy weights” to develop physical symmetry and muscular balance. Lewis strove for the development of bodily ideals like grace, flexibility, agility, and endurance; not bulkiness or rigidity, the masculine ideal was one of balance. The analogy of the circus performer most evidences this. Lewis identifies three types of circus performers: the canon-lifter, the general performer, and the Indian-rubber man. The canon-lifer and the Indian-rubber man constitute “mischievous extremes,” while the general performer, though unable to lift heavy weights or tie himself into knots, occupies a position between the two extremes and the ideal, capable of performing a variety of tasks.

Furthering the notion of refinement, nineteenth century exercise sought to develop composure and precision. Effective exercise systems

teach one to “pride himself on the purity of his skin, the firmness of his muscles, and the uprightness of his figure” (Sargent, 1889, p. 66). The attention to the body and its figure, its tone, and its cleanliness, reveals underlining anxiety about unclean, tainted, and untreated bodies, anxieties of the savage or uncivilized. These same anxieties are found in the self.

Lewis and Sargent used exercise as an avenue to develop important masculine characteristic traits. Sargent states, “all gymnastic sports and athletic games that require skill, dexterity, coolness, courage, and presence of mind…are exceedingly valuable to any system of physical training, as adjuncts to the development of character” (Sargent, 1889, p. 75). He furthers that comment in stating the need for a system of training that addresses the “central nerve system.” As with what you saw above, this was a continuing concern both for the body and for the mind. On the one hand, these concerns reveal anxiety around emotional control and stability, a fear of loosing one’s mind. On the other hand, they reveal a different ethos of masculinity, one which privileges calm, cool, and stable emotional states.

Sargent goes on, in a later article, about the potential harmful effects of competitive sports. With concern, he states, development of the “athletic frame of mind, or a combative spirit,” brings “a disposition to carry things by storm, and to resort to rush line tactics, in business, in politics and in war, instead of the calmer and more deliberate methods which characterize the intellectual classes” (Sargent, 1900, p. 11). Masculinity is

calm (“coolness”) and alert (“presence of mind”), yet it also embodies a cultured ideal. It is effete and refined. Absent are the “rush line tactics,” instinctual or natured behaviors, the “return to the woods,” and the “strenuous life.” This is a man of the arts, a man of culture. As Roosevelt feared the overcivilization of men, for he thought it developed feminine traits and threatened the strength of the nation. Exercise discourse often blurred the distinction between men and women. Lewis, in opening his article, critiqued prior gymnastic approaches protesting the lack of attention to female participants, stating, “the ordinary gymnasium offers little chance for *girls*” and “No gymnasium, however well managed, with either sex excluded, has ever achieved a large and enduring success” (Lewis, 1862, p. 130). Lewis writes of the gymnasium as a space of social inclusion but also one with opaque gender distinctions. In his gymnastics system, “women need not fall behind men,” for the system values and “requires grace, flexibility, and skill” (Ibid., p. 131). Daring feats of strength and competitive lifting of heavy weights are nullified in a system that values neither. Further complicating historical narratives of gendered spheres, Lewis calls on women to participate with and compete against men at the gymnasium for their strength and skills are often found advantageous in his system. Even in his visual cuts of exercise postures (shown below) we see the intermixing of gender and androgynous representatives of people. Lewis troubled gender distinctions, seeking a physical development not always reducible to that of gendered categories.

As gender distinctions remain unclear, masculinity, and exercise more broadly, resembles performance. Traits of performance and display are distringuishing characteristics of the exercise system. For Lewis, it is less a metaphor than reality:

> It will be understood that in none of these exercises are the performers to maintain the illustrated positions for a single moment. As in dancing, there is constant motion and change, while the music secures concert. When, by marks on the floor, the performers are kept in linear rank and file, the scene is most exhilarating to participants and spectators. (Ibid., p 143)

Exercise participants are themselves called performers and on display, as an audience is often present. The gymnasium turned ballroom for dancing, except in this case the female is replaced with another male. The visual cuts shown below display homoerotic poses and postures. The performers thrust bodies against each other: face to face, crotch to crotch, back to back, butt to butt. The movement was fluid and constant, choreographed and often to music. How could this be a dance, a performance? We can only imagine what this scene looked like in its entirety.

Conceiving masculinity as performance goes even further than the simple dance. The embodiment of masculinity, in exercise discourse, is performative in nature. Sargent states of an ideal exercise system as, “strength-giving…active and energetic;” it should cultivate “grace and

suppleness…beautiful poise and mechanical precision" (Sargent, 1889, p. 76). The very conception of the body, as well masculinity, provoked an awareness of presentation. Sargent's notions of poise, precision, grace, and beauty are repeated in Lewis's article and reflect a general awareness about and presentation of the self. It harks back to the Power/Knowledge and the intensified surveillance of the self. Ultimately, masculinity is a presentation.

These conceptions—strength, active, poise, precision, grace, and suppleness—work on the level of the body and individual in interesting ways. On the one hand, the discourse spotlights the body and masculinity with more intensive observations as I have shown. These notions—poise, grace, precision—are observable behaviors, forging space for the monitor and control of the body, while furthering the distinction, and surveillance, between the subject and the body. On the other hand, the discourse incites the body through performance and display. Those same notions—poise, grace, precision—are also bodily productions, which involve investment, engagement, and pleasure. The individual is less a passive recipient of a discourse than produced through the discourse. But this production or performance was of a specific nature—effete, cultured—and abhorred by the likes of Theodore Roosevelt. Latter-nineteenth-century discourse on exercise conceptualized masculinity as social refinement. Roosevelt's concern for overcivilization does not resonate within the discourse. The refinement of the body, through the gymnastic exercise,

maximized physical and intellectual development, but also harbored what I call a performative masculinity, one resembling a dancer. For Lewis and Sargent, modern technology (appliances) and civilization in fact most fully produces the man instead of enabling him. So on the one hand, we have Theodore Roosevelt's masculinity that emerged in the latter part of the nineteenth century, a militaristic masculinity, returning to nature and savage development and competition. On the other hand, we have masculinity as performance, one that more closely resembles a dancer rather than a warrior. The latter of the two, the dancer, fits Foucault notion of *subjugated knowledge* (Foucault, 1997). It is a masculine representation that is often left out, buried, smoothed over, or forgotten in the grand, cohesive historical narrative.

Roosevelt on first sight represents the opposite, conflicting narrative of masculine development and civilizing discourse, but the distinctions themselves collapse, or queer, upon closer analysis. As I demonstrated, Roosevelt feared the overcivilization of men, for modern living turned men on deleterious habits, bearing the effete, the lazy, the weak, the dull, the distrusted, and the timid. To counter this he called on men to return to the strain of nature through the activities of hiking, hunting, and fishing. Men remade themselves into brave, courageous, hardy, and strong men. These notions of bravery, courage, endurance, and strength, for Roosevelt, were characteristics left out of, or repressed from, the modern, 'overcivilized" culture. The complaints of and

justification for exercise discourse, though, mirrored that of Roosevelt's. They as well called for bravery, courage, boldness, and strength, but to be developed, not through war, but through dance. They sought social, cultural, and physical refinement to infinitesimal levels through exercise and training. So in one sense, Roosevelt's version of masculinity and versions of Lewis and Sargent are antithetical: one is savage and the other is effete. In another sense, they are one and the same with mirroring characteristics, raising the question as to who is the effete and who is the savage. For how can a dancer perform without courage, strength, and bravery? The distinguishing masculinities collapse in on themselves and become illusions, or performances, not like that of the historical narrative. Roosevelt is effectively queered, reducing his ideals—more broadly, masculine ideals—to the realm performance. The gym is thus a performance ground of, say, queer masculinity.

A close analysis of these historical archives disrupts historical narratives of masculinity and the body. It demonstrates the narrative as fiction and invented and thus problematizing modern thinking. Through this problematization, possibility and the potential for change is revealed. In the next section, I move to discuss more specifically what I see as "subjugated knowledges", the pieces of history left out of the grand narratives. I specifically discuss ethical practices and the ways in which these articles subvert modern ethical practices in what can be called "care of the self".

Puritan Ethics and the Care of Self

Critical readings of history often attribute Puritan influence to daily living in U.S. culture. As Spring (2003) states, on consumer culture, "Puritanism is a continuing influence on U.S. culture" (p. 14). Smith-Maguire (2008), in her social and historical analysis of contemporary fitness culture, roots of American fitness training to early Puritan ideology and practices. From its earliest formation, fitness training has retained many of the ideological assumptions (asceticism) and justifications (bodily perfection, godliness) of Puritan thought. Less critical, more mainstream, histories view the evolution of fitness and recreation progressively with Puritan ideology absent from the field entirely (Rice et al., 1969). The mainstream position taken of the latter half of the nineteenth century affirms the repressive influence of Puritanism on exercise and recreation practice stating the absence of exercise and recreation implies the presence of Puritanism and vice versa.

In Lewis's article we specifically see remnants of a historical experience that counters prior historians claim to Puritan influence. In fact, I argue, Lewis undermines the entire narrative of a Puritan hold in fitness culture, and more broadly U.S. culture.

I divide Lewis's system of gymnastics in two parts—part physical exercise and part social experience. Lewis clearly viewed physical exercise as an important, maybe primary, aspect of his system.

Interestingly, though, in describing his system he rarely uses the word training as Sargent does, usually just exercise and gymnastics. Physical training implies the formation, shaping, and even manipulation of the body. Instead, Lewis describes the system as physical exercise or gymnastics, which more broadly implies activity, or physical activity, not toil and labor. The distinction between the two—exercise and training—is the distinction we see between contemporary notions of fitness and that of Lewis's article: one views exercise as the *means* for which to shape and transform the body; the other views exercise as an *end* in itself, a primary experience. This means that though Lewis's emphasis on exercise and the practice of gymnastics is equally driven by the experience it creates, specifically the social experience it creates.

Lewis's bent on social experience provides a glimpse into an ascetic and disciplinary ideal different from that of Puritan ideology. The values and routines of the system reflect more so the social and performative practices, like pleasure and recreation, and less so religious restraint. It is a system that might be called a bodily hedonism as opposed to bodily discipline. The exercise system as a whole is not a perfect expression of "anti-Puritanism". Lewis often holds two conflicting ideas at once: valuing of both bodily perfection (Puritanism) and an appreciation of the living present (bodily hedonism): one requires rigorous training, the other enriched experience. Though he maintains conflicting values, the latter value (bodily hedonism) I see as anti-Puritanism or a residual mark

of an alternative discourse. Regardless whether Lewis privileges one over the other, the latter is subversive to and subjugated within historical grand narratives. Lewis's emphasis on experience is displayed in numerous ways—starting with his notion of performance.

Performance is the most striking theme in the article and, more generally, Lewis's system of exercise. Lewis repeatedly deploys the terms to describe his gymnastics, the participants, and the scene it creates. Reviewing the quote from above, we see Lewis state:

> It will be understood that in none of these exercises are the performers to maintain the illustrated positions for a single moment. As in dance, there is constant motion and change, while the music secures concert. When, by marks on the floor, the performers are kept in linear rank and file, the scene is most exhilarating to participants and spectators. (p. 143)

Aside from being a carefully choreographed, orchestrated public display, the performance itself is an "exhilarating" experience for both participants as well as spectators. The event is sensualistic—dance for the sake of dance. Further notions of training, health, and well-being are not associated with this. The immediacy provided through the dance, and thus the workout, is only part of his subversive disposition.

In addition this performance within the new system of gymnastics the individual enacts self-absorbed flamboyancy. Lewis asks how better could we become bold, brilliant, dashing, and vigorous? He answers, of

course, by *being* bold, brilliant, dashing, and vigorous. He states, "…is it not true that we find in vigorous, bold, dashing, brilliant efforts the only source of vigorous, bold, dashing, and brilliant powers?" (p. 137). The moral characteristics of brilliance, boldness, and to be dashing are obtained though playing the part, something like that of a dancer. Modesty and asceticism are short changed within the new system.

Lewis, in discussing the benefits of his dumb-bell exercises, furthers this self-involved disposition by stating, "I say with confidence, that in neither nor both [boxing or fencing] is there such a field for fine posturing, wide, graceful action, and studied accuracy, as is to be found in the new series of dumb-bell exercises" (p. 135). The benefits of dumb-bells are more than the exercise, they make space and harbor for performative behavior—posturing, wide, graceful action, and studied accuracy. The system is self-indulgent and openly recognizes its performativity, its artificiality, as it constructs the individual's presence within the space of the gym. Boldness and brilliance are both the practice and objective, posturing is the front, and performance underlies it all.

As we saw above, dance is not merely a repeated metaphor but a reality. Lewis's exercises more than resemble dance, he often compares it to or calls it dance. "As in dance," he states, "there is constant motion and change, while the music secures concert" (p. 143). Likewise, music is used to "coax out" participation and effort, as it "secures more perfect concert" (p. 132). Lewis's desired physical characteristics include those

most beneficial for dancing: grace, flexibility, symmetry, agility, and endurance. Dance furthers the notion of performance while adding what can be perceived as a subversive degree of corporeal recreation and social pleasure. In the article Lewis details four exercises of the system all of which make use of the dancing metaphor, most notably, though, are the rings.

The exercise with rings is, as Lewis states, "the best ever devised" (p. 142). They consist of three pieces of wood glued together in such a way as to make a sturdy, durable circular ring. Their value lies in their social potential. To make use of it one needs a partner of equal size and strength. Lewis states, "If a man were as strong as Samson, he would find in the use of these rings, with another man of equal muscle, the fullest opportunity to exert his utmost strength" (p. 142). Both resistance and movement come from and are guided by the partner. For each participant, or performer, grabs hold of the ring and follow a series of resistive movements—twists, bends, pulls and pushes—which hold pose for only a moment and then move on. As in all of Lewis's exercises, movement is constant but the rings, more than any other, emulate dance (as seen in the cuts below).

Yet, the value is its social potential, as Lewis states, "*In most exercises there must be some resistance. How much better that this should be another human being, rather than a pole, ladder, or bar! It is social, and constantly changing*" [italics original] (p. 144). Physical

competition is minimized as size and strength are matched to harmonize performance. Lewis states, "…few scenes are so brilliant and exhilarating" (p. 144). Holding poses and postures, experiencing brilliance and exhilaration, Lewis saw exercise a performative and social experience, leaving ascetic and disciplinary ideal of Puritanism to some degree behind..

(Un)authentic Self-Fashioning

"he must live and sleep before a mirror" – Charles Baudelare

Foucault, in the latter years of his intellectual career, shifted his focus from archeological and genealogical studies to study ethics in what he called the "care of the self" (Foucault, 1986). Foucault hardly provided a formula for authentic "care of the self," but equated it as "achieving a certain piercing truthfulness, conveyed with exemplary beauty and wit, and combined with a sense of *unashamed pleasure in the living of one's life*" [my emphasis] (Miller, 1998, p. 867). Foucault turned to *pleasure* and the nineteenth-century dandyism, which elevated individual aesthetics, style, and the maintenance of outwards appearance, as potential avenues of self-care. Miller (1998) in describing Foucault's ethics states,

> [the dandy is] Searching for "something eternal that is not beyond the present instant, nor behind it, but within it," he lays he heart bare, making manifest (in Foucault's words) "the essential, permanent, obsessive relation that our age entertains with death."

> Revolting…against this fascination with death, he imposes on himself “a discipline more despotic than the most terrible religions, making “of his body, his behavior, his feelings and his passions, his very existence a work of art.” (p. 878)

Lewis, far from being as expressive and articulate as Foucault, shares important features of Foucault’s ethics and the notion of dandyism, namely the presentist orientation and attention to aesthetics. For Lewis not only are the exercise performances aesthetically appealing to the audience, but so too are the performers. Central to a “brilliant” performance are performers who embody bold and dashing poses and postures. They demonstrate “progress, success, and glory” through their performance in the gymnasium (Lewis, 1862, p. 136). As we saw Lewis state above, how better can we be bold and dashing than by being bold and dashing. Lewis’s aesthetic ideals implant themselves on the body and compel the self to work towards a “brilliance” and fabulousness that resemble Foucault’s “care of the self.”

To make note of specific examples that have been quoted, Lewis (1862) states,

> I have had experience in boxing and fencing, and I say with confidence, that in neither nor both is there such a field for fine posturing, wide, graceful action, and studied accuracy, as is to be found in the new series of dumb-bell exercises. (p. 135)

These notions of fine posturing and wide, graceful action all embody the care and attention to the self that Foucault envisaged. Lewis's language reflects an admiration of the self bordering egotism, yet that is his goal. The self is a work of art.

Another notable instance is Lewis's insistence on bodily symmetry, which, for Lewis, directly correlates with beauty. He asks of those who advocate the use of heavy weights,

> Does any intelligent physiologist doubt that…[heavy weights] will have secured the most equable and complete circulation of the fluids, which is essentially what we mean by health, and have added most to the beauty and effectiveness of his physical action? (Lewis, 1862, p. 134)

Physical health, as well as moral health, directly correlates to beauty and physical presentation. Exercise equates health but a specific kind of health, one conceived as of beauty and presentation. The individual lives with the style and ethics of a performer, or royalty. In the 3rd of the 4 exercises, Lewis presents the gymnastic crown. the purpose of the crown is to be worn on the head for the purpose of "erecting of spines and balancing of gait" (Lewis, 1862, p. 134). So not only is the body worked on and confronted to the level of one's gait, but also they actually wear the crown. Lewis's systems is more than social experience and performance, it is an aesthetic presentation and a Foucauldian "care of the self."

Below are illustrative cutouts from Dio Lewis's article depicting various exercises with different appliances: beanbags, rings, and dumb-bells.

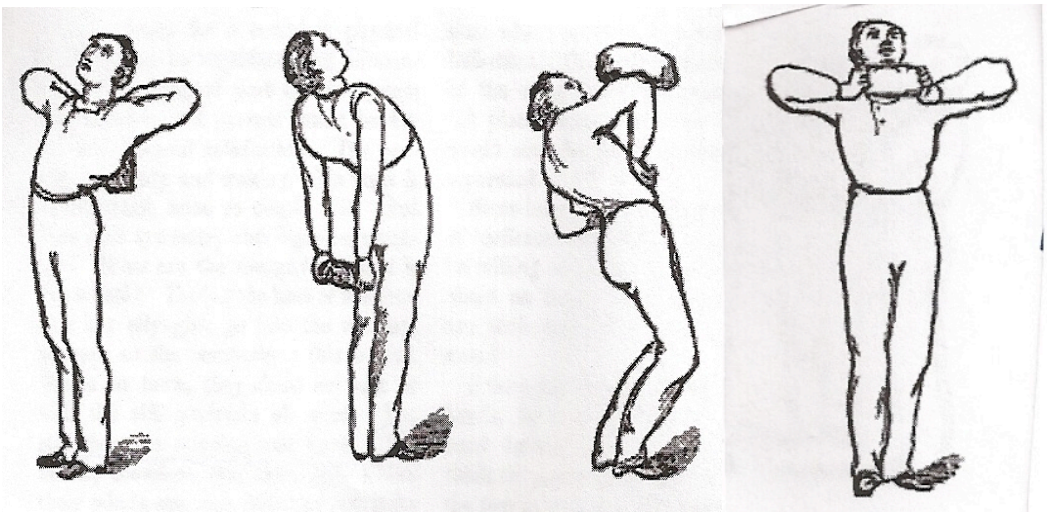

Figure 1. Exercise with Bean-Bags

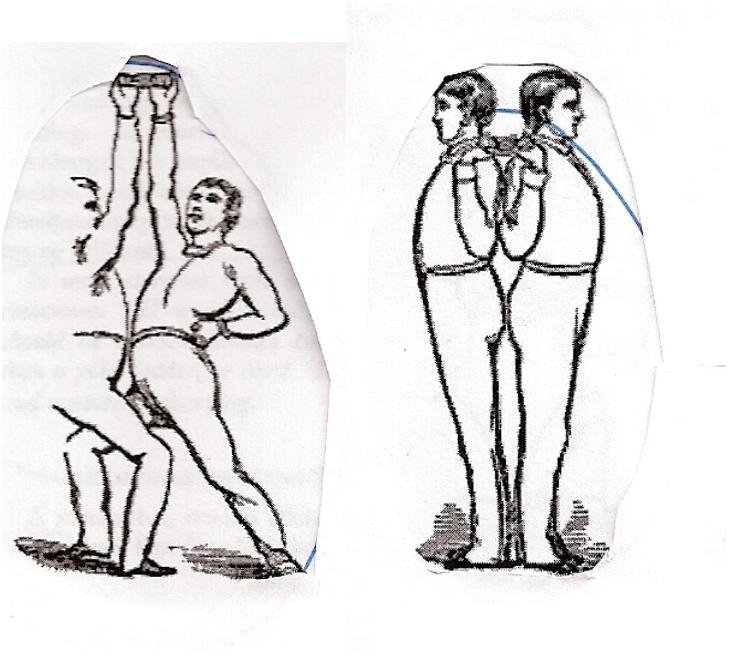

Figure 2. Exercise with Rings

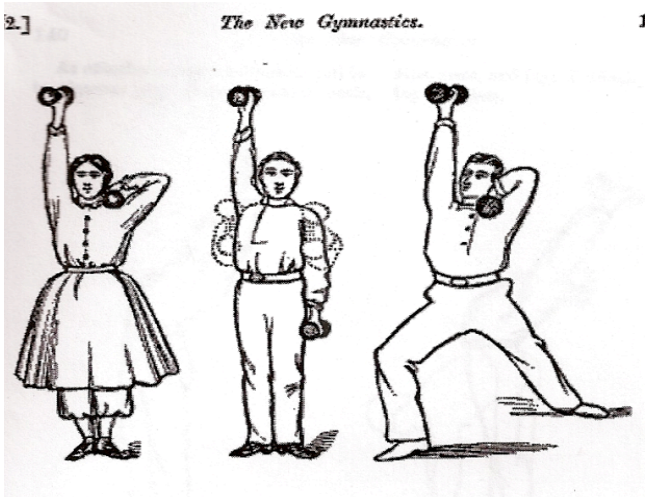

Figure 3. Exercise with Dumb-bells, no. 1

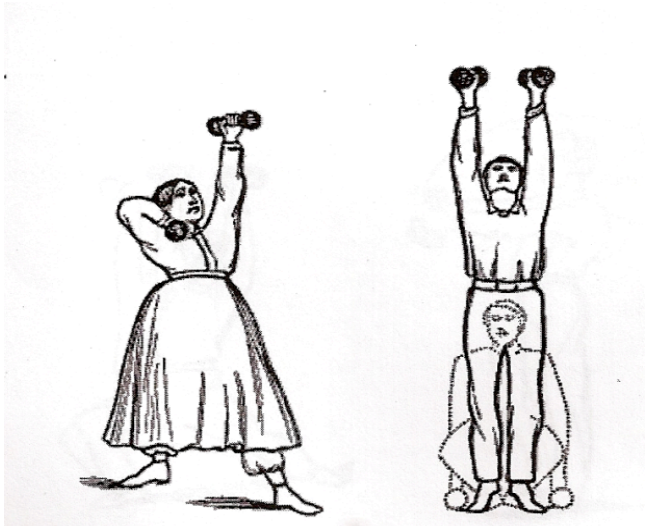

Figure 4. Exercise with Dumb-bells, no. 2

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Roughly one hundred and fifty years ago colleges and universities transformed their thinking of the body and its place in education. Suddenly, they chose to tolerate, and shortly after, wholeheartedly endorse physical education and recreation. By the turn of the twentieth century, campus recreational activities had shifted from literary societies and debate clubs to intramural sports and physical exercise (Colgate, 1978). Prominent historians (Milton, 2008; Rice et al., 1969) overwhelmingly regard this turn towards physical activity as progressive and a liberal victory against repression of the body. This research sought to complicate those histories.

I sought to display the complicated nature of discourse through the examining historical archives and discourse. Instead of progressive and liberal progress, I maintained, implicitly, that the development of fitness and exercise was every bit as much a product of discipline and control of the body as it is a product of health and well-being. The choice towards fitness and recreation is less a free choice and more a political incitement and a form of subjugation.

I employed the historical work of Michel Foucault and New Historicists to disrupt, or “undo” as Hacking (2002) says, historical narratives and present conceptions. I used history as a way to connect the past with the present, less through historical continuity and more

through juxtaposition. This meant revealing historical practices of exercise and representations of masculinity that lie outside the larger sequential and temporal histories, what Foucault calls “subjugated knowledges” (Foucault, 1997). It meant displaying these representations in conjunction with modern conceptions of masculinity and fitness exercise to expand the possible conditions for what it means to exercise and be a male. To do this, I let the “subjugated” representations and practices to stand on their own apart from historical narratives.

Rather than understanding or describing history, I used history, and specifically three articles: *The New Gymnatics* by Dio Lewis (1862)*, The system of physical Training at the Hemenway Gymnasium* by Dudley Sargent (1889)*,* and *The Place for physical Training in the School and College Curriculum* by Dudley Sargent (1900). I intended for the articles not to be historical pictures or representations of the epoch, but simply to be local and discontinuous. I employed both Sargent and Lewis to disrupt competitive and militaristic notions of masculinity by displaying practices of performance and dance in the discourse. I used Lewis’s article, specifically, to challenge the predominance of ascetic values and religious restraint, and to display an alternative ethic and aesthetic appreciation of the body. In all of the articles and discourse, I attended to the workings of Power/Knowledge as recreational exercise turned into an institutional discipline, inciting observation, examination, and research.

This involved decentering the subject from historical analysis and focusing instead on practices, routines, and the body. As Hacking (2002) states, it is a kind of "undoing" of the status of modern conceptions of fitness and masculinity. The "undoing" comes through historical investigations of epistemological structure but with the intention to incite consideration of contemporary ontology: it becomes a question of who we are and who we want to be. Broadly speaking, I hoped to expand the space of possibility, transformation, and experience, as is the goal of good curriculum.

REFERENCES

Allman, P. (2007). *On marx: An introduction to the revolutionary intellect of karl marx*. Nottingham, U.K.: Sense Publishers.

Anyon, J. (2011). *Marx and education*. New York, N.Y.: Rouledge.

Bederman, G. (1995). *Manliness and civilization: A cultural history of gender and race in the united states 1880-1917*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Colgate, J. A. (1978). *Administration of intramural and recreational activities: Everyone can participate*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.

Flynn, T. (2005) Foucault's mapping of history. In G. Gutting (Eds.), *The cambridge companion to Foucault* (2nd ed.) (pp. 29-48). New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Foucault, M. (1977). Nietzsche, genealogy, history. In D. Bouchard (Eds.) *Language, counter-memory, practice: Selected essays and interviews* (pp. 139-164) . Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Foucault, M. (1982). The subject and power. *Critical Inquiry*, 8, 777-795

Foucault, M. (1986). *The history of sexuality, vol. 3: The care of the self.* New York: Vintage

Foucault, M. (1997). *Society must be defended*. New York, N.Y.: Picador.

Foucault, M. (1990). *The history of sexuality, vol. 1: An introduction*. New York, N.Y.: Vintage Books.

Franklin, B. (1931). *Proposals relating to the education of youth in pensilvania*. United States: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Green, A., & Troup, K. (1999). *The house of history: A critical reader in twentieth-century history and theory*. Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press.

Gutting, G. (2005). Foucault and the history of madness. In G. Gutting (Eds.), *The cambridge companion to Foucault* (2nd ed.) (pp. 49-73). New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Gutting, G. (2012). Michel foucault. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Retrieved from http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2012/entries/foucault/

Hacking, I. (2002). *Historical ontology*. Cambridge, MS: Harvard University Press

Hyatt, R. W. (1977). *Intramural sports: Organization and administration*. Saint Lewis, MO: The C.V. Mosby Company.

Iggers, G. (1997). *Historiography in the twentieth century: From scientific objectivity tot he postmodern challenge*. Middleton, C.T.: Wesleyan University Press.

Kimmel, M. (2012). *Manhood in america: A cultural history* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, D. (1862). The new gymnastics. *The Atlantic Monthly, 10*(58), 129-148.

Means, L. E. (1973). *Intramurals: Their organization and administration* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, INC.

Milton, P. R. (2008). Collegiate recreational sports: A historical perspective. *The ICHPER.SD Journal of Research, 3(1)*, 78-83.

Milton, P. R., Roth, L., Fisher, W. (2011). The future of campus recreation: Time for a different administrative home. *Quest, 63*, 289-299.

Rice, E. A., Hutchinson, J. L., Lee, M. (1969). *A brief history of physical education* (5th ed.). New York, NY: The Ronald Press Company.

Sargent, D. A. (1889). The system of physical training at the hemeway gymnasium. In E. Mussey et al. (Eds.), *Physical Training* (pp. 62-86). Boston, MA: George H. Ellis.

Sargent, D. A. (1900). The place for physical training in the school and college curriculum. *American Physical Education Review, 5*(1), 1-17.

Smith Maguire, J. (2008). *Fit for consumption: Sociology and the business of fitness*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Spring, J. (1990). *The american school 1642-1990: Varieties of historical interpretation of the foundations and development of american education*. New York, NY: Longman.

Spring, J. (2003). *Educating the consumer-citizen: A history of the marriage of schools, advertising, and media*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Weekly, E. (1967). *An etymological dictionary of modern english*. New York, NY: Dover Publications

97