In the late Eighteenth Century, a widespread revival of interest in the games and training methods of Ancient Greece resulted in a “gymnastics” or exercise revolution. Competitions in stone tossing, high jumping, and throwing the quoits or discus became commonplace and contributed to an increased interest in strength training. This scene shows the yearly contest held in Appenzell, in which extra heavy disci or quoits were thrown for distance.

THE CLASSICAL IDEAL AND ITS IMPACT ON THE SEARCH FOR SUITABLE EXERCISE: 1774-1830

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Most readers of Iron Game History are aware that there was a tremendous explosion of interest in physical training for both men and women in the late Nineteenth Century. This fitness boom, which helped make the careers of Eugen Sandow and Bernarr Macfadden, was brought on by a variety of influences: the birth of vaudeville and such physical culture performers as professional strongmen, club swingers and acrobats; the expanding use of photography which made it possible for men and women to compare themselves to those featured in the many new, popular magazines; and, finally, by a widespread philosophical concern that American men and women weren’t measuring up to the demands of modernization. What has heretofore received very little attention, however, is the physical training explosion which occurred in the early decades of the Nineteenth Century. In the United States, this fitness campaign reached its high-water mark in the late 1820s, but then faded in popularity following a cholera epidemic in the early 1830s which shifted America’s hygienic focus to matters of nutrition, sanitation and public health. However, the accomplishments and recommendations of these early physical training pioneers bear examination, particularly as they pertain to the question of suitable exercise for women. As we shall see, some of these early systems advocated a very advanced attitude towards women’s physical capabilities. In any case, these pioneering systems laid the foundation for all the physical culturists which followed.

Throughout the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, word of the benefits of exercise became increasingly well known in Europe and in America. Those with an entrepreneurial bent soon put their pens to the task of developing exercise programs for women as well as men, realizing as they did so that the preeminence of the “woman as mother” in contemporary social thought created a high demand for strong, healthy women. Helping to pave the way for these new systems was a largely forgotten aesthetic for the body: the muscular, symmetrical example of Ancient Greece.

Classicism or Greek Revivalism became a late eighteenth-century rage and became linked with the rise of physiology as a recognizable scientific discipline. In Great Britain, the history of Greek Revivalism can be traced to approximately 1753, when two English architect-explorers, James Stuart and Nicholas Revatt, returned from Athens following a two year trip to study Greek architecture and art. Upon their return, they published a folio which had a significant cultural impact on the British and Continental mind. It generated what architecture historian Richard Jenkyns described as a “mania for Greek architecture,” and set off an architectural revolution that resulted in the death of the baroque and rococo styles.

The public’s fascination with Greece increased following the 1807 display, in London, of the Elgin Marbles, the first classical statues to be exhibited in Great Britain. Named after the English Minister to Turkey who arranged their transport to the British Museum, this group of statues, with their elegant, symmetrical bodies, “excited in their admirers a spirit of agitated romanticism” and caused such prominent literati as Keats, Hazlitt, Shelley and Macauley to sing their praises. As Greece’s sculptural treasures were plundered over the next century and transported to the new museums being founded in Europe, many of the creative arts began to emulate these older...
forms. More significantly, those citizens who filled the new museums and galleries to view the statues could not help but take stock of their own physical condition and compare their bodies with those the Greeks portrayed in cool, magisterial marble. Not surprisingly, the comparison was hardly favorable to early nineteenth-century men—or women. Since many of the statues were believed to represent actual athletic victors, some early teachers urged that the statues be viewed as “living examples of the perfection which the human form is capable of attaining.”

The German physical training pioneer, Johann Friedrich Guts Muths, also adhered to the Greek ideal of physical beauty:

It is universally acknowledged, that the Greeks were eminent for beauty, and symmetry of form. In my opinion, this is ascribed to their happy climate, excellent works of art, dress and way of life; though their gymnastic exercises had a particular influence on it. . . Not only were they all exercised, but those more especially which most required exercise, to keep them in due equilibrium with the others, with regard to their strength and bulk. Thus they grew to their natural proportion; thus the muscles swelled up to a beautiful and manly firmness. . . Nay they even understood the art of supplying flesh where it was wanting; fat people were rendered lean; and those who were too lean, fleshy; . .

Adding to the cultural impact of Greek revivalism was a pedagogical shift to “classical” education. As the dual nature of the Greek educational system became more widely appreciated, it provided an acceptable historical antecedent for introducing physical training and athletic competitions into the educational process.

The first efforts at systematizing exercise in Europe can be traced to Germany in the late Eighteenth Century. Following the publication of Jean Jacques Rousseau’s Emile, a series of educational experiments were begun in Germany based on Rousseau’s vision of the “Natural Man” in whom the mind and body acted synergistically. These early, experimental schools profoundly influenced the history of physical education for both men and women. Johann Berhard Basedow (1723-1790) was one of many individuals personally moved by Rousseau’s call for a simpler life. Trained in theology, Basedow, the son of a Hamburg wigmaker, worked as both a private tutor and schoolmaster until he gave up teaching in 1768 to devote himself wholly to educational reform. In 1774 he published Das Elementarwerk, a four-volume treatise on how to improve young minds by bringing them into contact with real life. Basing his ideas on the earlier ideas of Bacon and Comenius as well as Rousseau, Basedow argued that learning was best if it imitated nature. With the sponsorship of the Duke of Anhalt, he opened a school at Dessau, which he called the Philanthropinum. According to the prospectus for 1774, five hours in each day were to be allotted to study, three to recreation (riding, fencing, and dancing were favored) and two to manual labor.

From the first, physical activity was of primary importance in Basedow’s curriculum. The first physical training instructor at Basedow’s school, Johann Friedrich Simon, included in the curriculum he called “Greek Gymnastics” (running, leaping, wrestling, and throwing). Simon’s successor, Johann Jacob Du Toit, who ran the classes from 1788 to 1793, introduced further innovations: swimming, skating, marches, ladder climbing and sand-bag carrying to strengthen the arms and shoulders. As physical education historian Fred Eugene Leonard notes, through the early years of the Philanthropinum, “we find in embryo most of the varied forms [of physical training] which have been advocated at one time or another since that day, i.e., simple games and athletic sports, gymnastics, military drill, manual labor and manual training and school excursions. It will be observed further that these exercises had been incorporated into the plan of education as an essential factor.”

Das Elementarwerk was quickly translated into French, at that time a more accessible language for educated people of all nations. This translation helped spread Basedow’s ideas throughout Europe, and reform-minded visitors became common at the Philanthropinum. Several of these visitors established similar schools in other parts of Europe and a “movement” developed known as “Philanthropic Education.”

The most influential of the early Philanthropic schools was founded by Christian Gottlif Salzmann (1744-1811) at Schneppenthal, near Gandra, where the physical training was led for over 50 years by Johann Friedrich GutsMuths (1759-1839). GutsMuths came to his position in 1786, and as was done at Basedow’s school, his students participated in both manual labor and “gymnastics.” By 1794, these recreational activities had been expanded to include rope climbing, throwing the discus or quoits, climbing poles, jumping over a rope, and “lifting a weight hung on a rod and moved toward or from the hands according to the strength of the individual.” Furthermore, GutsMuths kept records of individual progress and best performances.

In 1793, GutsMuths published his two volume Gymnastik für die Jugend. Enthaltend eine Praktische Anweisung zu Leibesübungen. Ein Beiträ zur nothigsten Verbesserung der körperlichen Erziehung, a 700 page paean to patriotism and “manliness,” characteristics GutsMuths viewed as lacking in his homeland. Volume One raises the philosophical questions surrounding man’s need for exercise. Chapter titles include, “We are weak because it does not occur to us that we could be strong if we would,” as well as “Consequences of the common method of education, and especially the neglect of bodily training.” “All the means hitherto employed against lack of hardihood are insufficient” and “Gymnastics proposed, and objections answered.” The second, and longer, volume gives spe-
pecific exercise information in chapters dealing with organizing an open air gymnasium, running, leaping, wrestling, climbing, balancing, lifting, carrying, pulling, dancing, walking, military exercises, bathing, swimming, manual labor, declamation, and fasting.

An English version, entitled, Gymnastis for Youth or a Practical Guide to Healthful and Amusing Exercises for the Use of Schools. An Essay Toward the Necessary Improvement of Education; Chiefly as it Relates to the Body, appeared in London in 1800. An American edition, printed in Philadelphia in 1802, appears to be identical in content to the English version. Both versions are inaccurately attributed to Salzmann. Though the book is aimed at men and boys, the English version contains several important references to exercise for women.

GutsMuths begins his work with a passionate Rousseauian bow to those ancient Germans who lived as one with Nature. “The hardy, active wife of the ancient German, from whom we are descended, was frequently delivered in the open field, in the midst of her toil. She bathed her loved offspring in the nearest brook, and wrapped him in cool leaves.” GutsMuths argues that these early women were “hardened” as were men, “...early accustomed to the fresh air, half naked bodies, the bath, manual labor, and agriculture, which was entirely left to them. These were the most natural means of fortifying them against the pains and perils of childbirth.” GutsMuths’ is clearly concerned about the lack of health he sees in the women as well as the men of his generation. Rather than be concerned for the health and happiness of the women themselves, however, GutsMuths quotes Rousseau as observing that “When the women become robust, the men will become still more so.” GutsMuths also believed that as men exercise and become more “manly,” a service to those ancient Germans who lived as one with Nature. “The hardy, active wife of the ancient German, from whom we are descended, was frequently delivered in the open field, in the midst of her toil. She bathed her loved offspring in the nearest brook, and wrapped him in cool leaves.” GutsMuths argues that these early women were “hardened” as were men, “...early accustomed to the fresh air, half naked bodies, the bath, manual labor, and agriculture, which was entirely left to them. These were the most natural means of fortifying them against the pains and perils of childbirth.” GutsMuths’ is clearly concerned about the lack of health he sees in the women as well as the men of his generation. Rather than be concerned for the health and happiness of the women themselves, however, GutsMuths quotes Rousseau as observing that “When the women become robust, the men will become still more so.” GutsMuths also believed that as men exercise and become more “manly,” a service will be done for the female sex as well.

In 1796, GutsMuths second work, Spiele zur Vebung und Erholung des Korpers und Geistes, fur die Jugend, ihre Etzieher und alle Freundeunschuldiger Jugenfreunden, appeared. Both books went into numerous editions. The games GutsMuths describes in this second book were not traditional children’s games which encourage spontaneity and fantasy; they were, rather, systematic activities in which ranking and order were important. As historian Richard Mandell put it. “The games could be seen as models, perhaps mirror images, of the order, sobriety, and constructiveness that were the bases of the success of the bourgeois class from which almost all the pupils and the teachers came.”

Not surprisingly, fellow Philanthropists in Germany as well as in other countries soon emulated Salzmann’s school and GutsMuths’ gymnastic program. In 1798, for instance, Franz Nachtegall opened in Copenhagen what is believed to be the first private gymnasium devoted exclusively to physical training. And during the years 1799 to 1804, a Swedish student in Copenhagen, Pehr Ling, who was studying Norse mythology and linguistics, came under Nachtegall’s influence. It was at Nachtegall’s gym in the fall of 1799 that Ling was introduced to GutsMuths’ system of gymnastics, an introduction which was to have a profound impact on physical education in his own country. Upon his return to Sweden, Ling took a job as fencing instructor at the University of Lund, and soon he was teaching the gymnastic technique he had learned in Denmark. In 1806, he began a systematic study of physiology and anatomy, gradually developing his own system of exercise in the process. Well supported by the government, for whom he also supervised military training, Ling helped spread the use of “free movement” (without apparatus) gymnastics throughout the schools of Sweden. He also worked on his theories of “medical gymnastics,” as he believed that certain exercises had curative powers. This idea of exercise as “medicine” was not original to Ling, however, for Francis Fuller’s Medicina Gymnastica; 1 Simon Tissot’s An Essay on Diseases Incidental to Literacy and Sedentary Persons; 2 Clement Tissot’s Medical and Surgical Gymnastics; 3 and Friedrich Hoffman’s On Motion, the Best Medicine for the Body were well known in eighteenth century Europe. What Ling did, however, was to systematize exercise and apply to it the laws of physiology and anatomy. It has been said that his “greatest service to gymnastics (exercise) was the attempt to give it a scientific basis.”

Perhaps the best example of the growing influence of the classical ideal can be found in the work and body of Captain Pekkon Heinrich Clías (1782-1854), who arrived in London in 1822. Clías, an American by birth, was living in Bern and training Swiss military troops when he was invited to come to England by members of the British military who were impressed with the physical condition of Clías and his students. He was given the rank of Captain in the British Army and made superintendent of physical training at the royal military and naval academies. During his time in England, he also gave lectures and taught several courses of physical training to anyone who could afford to pay. One of these courses was concerned with gymnastics for women.

Clías stayed in England only three years, returning to Switzerland after suffering a severe injury when one of his students fell on him during a training session. Although his tenure in London was short, Clías created a great deal of public interest in gymnastics. Leonard reports, “...everywhere he seems to have given satisfaction. He was asked to apply his knowledge of medical gymnastics to cases of spinal curvature and others of similar nature; noblemen sent him their sons to train; and even the ladies requested, and received, a course of lessons designed to meet their special needs.” In 1823, he reportedly had no less than 1400 pupils in London.
Clias’ own, unusually muscular physique contributed to his ability to “sell” gymnastics to the British. Already a published author by the time he arrived in England, he brought out, in 1823, an English version of *An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises; Intended to Improve The Physical Powers of Man*. In its review of the book, the *Literary Gazette* reported, “The form of Captain Clias [sic] by far the most perfect of any man who has ever been exhibited in England. In him we discovered all those markings which we see in the antique, and which do not appear on the living models, from their body not being sufficiently developed by a regular system of Scientific Exercises, such as Captain Clias’ [sic].”

Clias’ exercise manual appears to have been heavily influenced by GutsMuths’ *Gymnastics for Youth*. Writing in 1828, Franz Lieber notes that Clias’ book, “contains little that had not already been laid down in Jahn’s treatise, and omits much already taught there.” Lieber goes on to note, “It is, however, much the best of the numerous works on the subject, that have appeared since Jahn.” Clias’ system, a combination of remedial and hygienic exercises, is described in four lengthy chapters. Chapter One describes exercises for the lower extremities as in walking, running, jumping and dancing. Chapter Two contains arm or “superior extremity” exercises. Chapter Three contains more complicated exercises such as parallel bar work, vaulting, wrestling, running and skipping with a hoop, and the use of an apparatus called The Flying Course. The Flying Course [see page 8] consisted of a tall pole, ropes and a series of trapeze-like handles. Those using the apparatus would grasp the handles as they ran or took “giant steps” around the pole. It was an exercise method especially popular with the teachers of women students because the handles allowed the runners to catch themselves if they began to fall. The fourth chapter discussed different methods of swimming.

Clias’ work appeared originally in German (1816) and then in French (1819). Though the 1823 version of his book lists him as, “Professor of Gymnastics at the Academy of Berne, “ the fourth edition, published in 1825, describes him as “Superintendent of Gymnastics in the Royal Military College, Sandhurst; the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich; Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea; Royal Naval Asylum, Greenwich; and in the Public School of the Charter House.”

Clias published his second book on exercise, *Calisthenics or Exercises for Beauty and Strength for Young Women*, from Berne in 1829. Leonard suggests that this book was inspired by Clias’ years in Britain. No copy of this latter book could be found by the author in the United States. As to what Clias’ views on women and exercise may have been, the best clue we have is a comment included in the fourth edition of his more comprehensive work. ‘We feel convinced,’” he wrote in the introduction to *An Elementary Course*, “that, in order to render this instruction practicable to the youth of both sexes, it is essential to present only the most simple movements; yet sufficient to develop their physical faculties, without occasioning any additional expense to parents, and even without depriving the children of one moment of time destined to their intellectual studies.’

Information is scanty on Clias’ years in Switzerland, but in 1841 he was invited to France to assist in the training of the French troops. He worked there with the schools, as well as the military, and served for several years as Superintendent of Gymnastic Instruction in the elementary schools of Paris.

Clias included in his 1825 text several quotations which give some idea of the reception his system found in England. *The London Medical and Surgical Journal* is quoted, for instance, as saying: “Captain Clias has long been known on the Continent as the active promoter of all those exercises tending to develop and increase the physical powers of man. The regular and systematic method, thus taught in England, by Captain Clias, is not only well calculated to give the body its full degree of strength and activity, but, by the mode of teaching, precludes every possibility of the occurrence of any accident.” The *Dictionary of Medical Science* is also cited by Clias: “The Gymnastics of Captain Clias unite every advantage; and if considered minutely, will be seen to possess everything that is essentially useful in correcting numerous deformities, and in eradicating obstinate diseases. They are perfectly adapted to the exigencies of life, and to the rules of living economy.”

Though Clias did not add any original material of significance to the growing body of gymnastic theory, his physical appearance and ability as a master teacher did much to help create a climate of enthusiasm in Great Britain. He ignited a physical training revolution which would reach across the Atlantic and spread like a firestorm throughout New England and the Eastern Seaboard. Over the next decade, in fact, truly significant developments would bring the idea of physical training to the front and center of America’s educational prosenium.

Following Clias’ departure from London, two new “professors” entered into the print wars. One of these was “Professor” Gustavus Hamilton, who authored *The Elements of Gymnastics for Boys and Calisthenics for Young Ladies*, in 1827. Heavily influenced by Clias’ efforts in England, and the Rousseauian appeal for the separation of male and female exercise experiences, Hamilton argues that women’s exercise should be substantially different from that of men.

Of more lasting significance, however, was Signor G. P. Voarino, who published, in 1827, the first book in English this author has been able to identify dealing solely with exercise for women. *A Treatise on Calisthenic Exercises, Arranged for the Private Tuition of Young Ladies*, contains 67 pages of text and nine plates, illustrating 64 exercises Voarino defined as appropriate for women. Voarino’s text is aimed at the sedentary upper classes who have paid “total inattention to this important part of the animal economy.” He argues that this system is able to “restore to health persons who have long suffered under bodily infirmities, to check incipient deformity in others, and to lay the foundations of health and vigor in those who are yet in the earlier stages of life.” He argues that this method has already been successfully practiced in many of the most respectable seminaries in Great Britain and, as his final selling point, he recommends his system for its ability to modify the female form: “They are strongly recommended as the most efficacious system hitherto invented for counteracting every tendency to deformity, and for obviating such defects of figure as are occasioned by confinement within doors, too close an application to sedentary employment, or by those constrained positions which young ladies habitually assume during their hours of study, and which are, in most cases, unrelieved by proportionate and judicious relaxation.” An 1831 American review of the work argued that Voarino’s exercises, “are very well calculated to give strength, not only to the arms and shoulders, but also to the back—and they may be regarded as among the most efficient means of correcting that weakness of the muscles of one side, which leads to a lateral curvature of the spine.”

The next year Voarino published *A Second Course of Calisthentic Exercises; With A Course of Private Gymnastics for Gentlemen; Accompanied with a Few Observations on The Utility of
Exercise, and dedicated it to the Duchess of Clarence.\(^{48}\) In that dedication Voarino, who apparently taught with Clias at several of the Royal military schools,\(^ {49}\) again hammers home his message that exercise will “impart that elasticity and grace which give an indescribable charm to the female form and carriage.”\(^ {50}\)

Voarino’s calisthenic exercises were undoubtedly influenced by Clias’ work in England, although a comment made by Leonard regarding the publication of a French text based on Clias’ prescriptions indicates Clias had a more vigorous approach to training than Voarino recommends.\(^ {51}\) The 64 exercises in Voarino’s first book are for the most part non-strenuous. He begins with 13 arm and shoulder exercises which primarily involve simple extensions and arm circles without apparatus. The 11 “simple” exercises described for the lower body are similar in that they require little effort. Women are advised to walk in place, raising their knees as high as possible: to extend their legs to the front and side; and so on. Balance is an important consideration in these beginning exercises which he describes as necessary for suppleness and flexibility. The next series of “complicated” exercises calls for simultaneous movement of the arms and legs. He first describes 13 “complicated” exercises to be done in place, such as Exercise One:

The pupil, placed in the first position, is to execute the movement of the arms and legs together, in the manner about to be described: she must bring the right arm stretched forward on a line with the shoulders, bending the right knee in raising the heel; the same movement is to be made backward, bringing the heel to the ground; the right hand to be placed on the chest, and the left arm is to perform the same exercise as the right; then the right and left alternately, and afterwards both at once.\(^ {52}\)

He next describes 13 “complicated” exercises to be done while walking. Voarino recommends only two pieces of apparatus for the use of females in this first book the bamboo cane and “the balance,” an indoor version of the Flying Course or triangle advocated by Clias.\(^ {53}\) He includes a total of 21 cane exercises: seven simple exercises, seven “complicated in place” and seven “complicated while walking.” On the balance, Voarino allows his pupils to perform eight slightly more vigorous exercises. Holding on to the trapeze-like handle, they squat down, they lean forward, they run in circles and perform modified chins in which their feet never leave the ground.

The calisthenic exercises in Voarino’s second work are amazingly similar to those in the first, with the exception of the introduction of a new piece of apparatus, the hoop. Like the bamboo wand, the hoop is used in simple extension movements while standing still and walking. The far more interesting aspect of this second work is Voarino’s attempt to link certain physical illnesses to specific exercises. Voarino argues that exercise fulfills a threefold function in the cure of disease:

1st, By labour, or abundant exercise, promoted a regular and complete circulation of their blood; 2ndly, By great exertion, freed their bodies from impurities; and 3rdly, By constant exposure to the open air, were hardened against the change of the seasons, and suffered no inconveniences from them.\(^ {54}\)

Voarino believes that women have more need of physical training than do men because they get much less daily activity in the carrying out of their normal responsibilities. Calisthenics, he argues, “are better adapted to the natural delicacy of their frame and constitution,” noting that it would be impossible “for the offspring of an unhealthy mother to enjoy strength and vigor of constitution.”\(^ {55}\)

The next English-language book to appear before the public, J. A. Beaujeu’s A Treatise on Gymnastic Exercises, Or Calisthenics For the Use of Young Ladies. Introduced at the Royal Hibernian Military School, Also at The Seminary for the Education of Young Ladies Under the Direction of Miss Hincks in 1824, presents a strikingly different exercise regimen to help young women enhance their strength and beauty.\(^ {56}\) Beaujeu’s illustrated, 120 page guidebook has a lengthy section of difficult gymnastics and is significantly different in tone from Voarino’s two works. Beaujeu claims to be the first to adapt the art of gymnastics to the capacities of the female sex, and his claim appears to be well grounded. In his Dedication to the Governors of the Royal Hibernian Academy, actually a school run by the Hibernian Society for the care of soldier’s children, we learn that Beaujeu introduced gymnastics to Dublin in approximately 1824, or roughly the same time Clias was at work in London. Beaujeu likens his efforts to those of Clias and further reports
that his teaching methods have been greeted with approbation by the College of Surgeons and Physicians and various other scientific bodies in the city. He finishes his self-aggrandizing dedication with the claim that he has received “distinguished” patronage from a variety of “lords and gentlemen.”

At the time of publication, Beaujeu was running a “female gymnasion” in Dublin in addition to his work at the Hibernian Military School. His wife, Madame Beaujeu, “has opened a school and gentlemen.”

Madame Beaujeu was to become an important link in the introduction of women’s gymnastics and calisthenics to America. In 1841, she opened a school for the teaching of calisthenic exercises in Boston.

Monsieur Beaujeu, on the other hand, might not have found such approval in 1840s America, a period of retrenchment in feminine exercise. In the introduction to his book, Beaujeu demonstrates a rare command of both the history and the present state of gymnastics. He gives credit to Clais, GutsMuths, Salzmann, Colonel Amoros of France and “John of Berlin,” discusses the various types of medical gymnastics, pays homage to the Apollo Belvedere and the Greek ideal, and then launches into his philosophic rationale for recommending gymnastics for women.

Beaujeu explains that through his classes at the Royal Hibernian Military School, he was presently instructing 400 boys and 200 girls. His stated goals are to increase the bodily strength and suppleness of young men, and to give “strength, activity, and at the same time gracefulness to young ladies who, from the sedentary life they lead, are most subject to trifling afflictions, which afterward assume the character of serious maladies.”

Conscious of the concerns of parents who feared his exercise system was too strenuous, Beaujeu reassures his readers that he has chosen exercises for their ability to promote health, amuse the practitioner, and which are “incapable of wounding the most delicate affections.”

Beaujeu discounts the value of dance, arguing that it employs only a limited number of muscles and that its continued repetition, “renders it dull and monotonous. . . exercises, on the contrary,” he contends, “founded on system, directed to a useful end, varied from ordinary pursuits, and conferring agility on the limbs, grace on the general movements, and strength on the animal economy at large, are therefore valuable, desirable, and do not require the language of praise.”

Beaujeu’s system contained several important innovations where women were concerned. He appears to be the first to recommend in writing that women wear appropriate gymnastic dress for their exercise sessions. These costumes should consist of:

...a pair of muslin or cotton trousers, a little close above the ankle; they should take care to tighten their garters but slightly, in order that the bending of the foot or knee may not be impeded, and that in running, &c. these parts may acquire, without impediment, all the strength and elasticity of which they are susceptible.

In contrast, in the illustrations accompanying Voarino’s exercise advice, the women figures are dressed in shortened skirts and ankle length pantaloons (as shown on page 10 in illustrations from his first manual). Whether this attire signifies a legitimate gymnastic innovation is questionable, however, for women of fashion in the period 1825-1835 frequently wore above-ankle skirts, especially for their daytime “walking costumes.”

For the record, Voarino makes no mention in either of his books of the need for a specific gymnastic costume.

Beaujeu’s system is novel and innovative in matters other than dress, however. Absent from his instructions and introductory material are the usual admonitions regarding the inherent weakness of women, woman’s need to improve her health in order to more ably fulfill her maternal functions, or discussions of the danger of overdoing. In relatively straightforward language, Beaujeu instructs his would-be gymnasts to alternate upper body and lower body exercises so as to more completely work the body and avoid overfatiguing one area. He lists 20 “preparatory exercises,” 10 exercises using either upright, parallel or chinning bars, and seven “triangle” or Flying Course exercises. Beaujeu argues that the bodies of his “gymnasts” should be gradually adapted to increasingly complicated exercises “to increase the firmness of the muscular fibre; for, if the bones of the human body acquire strength by exercise and motion, the muscular powers are still more benefitted.”

What seems entirely uncharacteristic based on our traditional notions of nineteenth-century female propriety is that Beaujeu then goes into an extended discussion of how to deal with dislocations, joint problems, sprains, strains, overheating and profuse perspiration. He is very evenhanded as he advises his lady gymnasts, in no-nonsense language, to perform each movement, “with a determined firmness and presence of mind. Hesitation in the performance of any one, is always liable to
expose the performer to danger, which determination and courage will in every instance totally prevent." 67

Throughout his exercise descriptions, Beaujeu lists the muscles involved in the movement and provides a physiological rationale for the performance of each. Executing a series of circles with the extended foot, he maintains, works the psoas magnus and iliacus internus, and is "calculated to give a graceful power of balancing the body, on which good walking and dancing principally depend." 68 Included in the early preparatory exercises are movements which, again, belie a world view of female inferiority. For example, the fourteenth preparatory exercise is, essentially, shadow-boxing. With closed fists, women are urged to, "aim a blow forwards, entirely extending the arm... with full force." 69 In the second section of "bar exercises," Beaujeu includes a number of exercises which require levels of strength and fitness which would be unusual in an athletic twentieth-century female. 70 The twenty-third exercise is a palms-facing-away pull-up, or chin; 71 and the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth exercises describe how to do "dips" between parallel bars.

The "triangle" or Flying Course exercises also require high levels of strength and fitness. Chins are again included, as are several difficult balancing exercises. According to Beaujeu, the most beneficial exercise is "The Flying Course," in which the pupil will step forward with increasing speed until he or she is running around the pole. Beaujeu notes that these giant steps allow one to "skim the earth," and argues that this exercise, which can be performed indoors as well as out, "has produced the most salutary and useful effects," "There is no exercise," he maintains in a footnote, "the human body can undergo, more likely to contribute to health and strength than this." 72 Finally, Beaujeu argues that the use of the Course is a way to prepare young men and women to meet life's emergencies:

Sometimes the most dreadful maladies, the grief of seeing fail an undertaking on which our happiness depends; or what is still more cruel, of seeing perish under our eyes, persons who were dear to us, and whom we might have saved, had we arrived some seconds sooner. Without fear of hazarding too much, we may safely affirm, that if we see few persons who run with grace and lightness, we see still fewer who can run swiftly over a length of time. Many persons can scarcely run for the space of some hundred steps, without experiencing a loss of breath, and an impossibility of proceeding further ... 73

Beaujeu’s book and his extraordinarily difficult gymnastic system raise a number of interesting questions for scholars of exercise. The first is: Was the book simply an anomaly, especially in regards to exercise for women? Were there other exercise advocates who took a similarly progressive view of women’s physical capabilities in this era? Available evidence suggests that Beaujeu was not alone. For instance, William B. Fowle of Massachusetts operated from a similar perspective when he attempted, at the Monitorial School for Girls, to establish a gymnastics program. Other evidence can be found in an anonymously published 1828 Parisian imprint, Calisthénie ou Gymnastique des Jeunes Filles, Traité Élémentaire Des Différents Exer-

aces, Propres A Fortifier Le Corp, A Entreînîr La Sante., Et A Préparer Un Bon Tem-

pérament. 75 This 163 page text had gone through ten editions by 1830, and was based almost entirely on Chas’ gymnastic exercises for young men. When the Philadelphia-based Journal of Health reviewed this French text in 1830, it sanctioned the book’s theme of vigorous exercise, reminding its readers that although women were smaller and weaker in most ways than men, “we ought not to grant them [women] the privilege which some of their own number, and certain mawkish, male sentimentalists would claim for them, of being such frail and tender beings, as to be little better than interesting invalids.” 76

In this French text, the degree of strength required to perform some of the exercises is, again, exceedingly high. Opposite the title page we find a fold-out engraving of the Flying Course in use. Here the women’s postures and garments indicate that they are, indeed, running around this exercise maypole, rather than sedately walking. Inside, the author suggests as 'indispensable apparatus,” the parallel bars, a horizontal bar or chinning bar and a high jumping device. As to the exercises themselves, he includes among others, full deep knee-bends to strengthen the buttocks and legs; jumping from the ground and raising the knees as high as possible; the high jump at measured increments; parallel bar dips to open the chest and strengthen the arms; the difficult one-legged squat; and climbing a slanted ladder while using only the hands and arms. Although the exercises are not identical to Beaujeu’s and differ, for instance, in the author’s seeming preference for outdoor training, their philosophical underpinnings and physiological requirements are amazingly similar.

These early experts gave much more than lip-service to “fitness.” These systems, if followed as described, would produce physically competent young women. They would also produce young women who would actually be, in many instances, superior to untrained men in strength and agility. 77 It seems clear that in the early 1800s, in both Europe and America, there were conflicting attitudes toward exercise, particularly exercise for women. Pioneers such as Beaujeu, his anonymous French cohort, and the “association of physicians” producing the Journal of Health seem to be arguing that the physical potential of men, and of women, is virtually limitless, provided he or she has the will to train with real effort.

A second question concerns the effectiveness of these “modern” systems. Were they able to actually help men and women live more healthy, physically active lives? According to Beaujeu, it seems we can answer the latter with a qualified “yes.” In Beaujeu’s book there is a letter dated October 27, 1827, written by Royal Hibernian School physician James William Macauley. The letter claims...
that the introduction of gymnastics has made a dramatic difference in the number of young women he sees in the school infirmary. Prior to Beaujeu’s arrival, Macauley saw a majority of the 200 females of the school at one time or another in the infirmary. He attributed this to their lack of exercise and reports that having begun an exercise program, they are now, “much improved in carriage, health and appearance, although but a little time is devoted to the pursuit. I have no doubt the above change is, in a great measure, owing to its influence.”

Except for Fowle’s brief experiment in Massachusetts, there is little evidence to suggest that many American women were introduced to these more vigorous exercises that enjoyed such widespread popularity in Great Britain and Europe. Though America, the cradle of liberty and personal freedom, was far more permissive than most European countries about matters of manners and correct behavior for men, American women appear to have been more restricted, especially in matters related to the body and exercise. Though these rigorous gymnastics systems were widely known in the United States, they did not attract the attention or the imprimatur of approval that Calisthenics received as it quickly dominated physical training for women in the 1830s. One cannot help but wonder how much more healthy and physically competent American women would have been had Beaujeu’s Gymnastics won the day, rather than Voiarino’s Calisthenics.

Notes:


For women the Greek ideal of womanhood was personified by statues of the Venus di Medici and Venus di Milo which became the standard against which all definitions of beauty were compared. Shadrach Ricketson observes, for instance: “Lacer stays are, among the better ranks of society, at present out of fashion; since the Grecian form is justly preferred to all artificial shapes.” Shadrach Ricketson, Means of Preserving Health and Preventing Diseases: Founded Principally On Attention to Air and Climate, Drink, Food, Sleep, Exercise, Clothing, Passions of the Mind, and Retentions and Excretions (New York: 1806), 181. Catharine Beecher includes illustrations of the Venus di Medici in her early text, Letters to the People on Health and Happiness (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1856), 177.


7 The Calvinist doctrines of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries denigrated the body in favor of the soul, making physical activity seem frivolous and even un-Godly. Because of John Locke and Greek Revivalism, however, physical educators had a new philosophical base on which to mount their argument for exercise.


9 Gerber, Innovators, 83-84.
10 Leonard, Guide, 68.
12 Leonard, Guide, 70.

16 Regarding the question of authorship, a bibliographical reference at Springfield College made by Luther Halsey Gulick in 1900 reads: “The author of this book is Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths, who was a teacher of gymnastics under Salzmann at Schnepfenthal. American translators, knowing of Salzmann, never having heard of GutsMuths, and recognizing the high character of the book, concluded it was by Salzmann, and that GutsMuths (good courage) was a nom de plume. The translation is very free.

“The same book was published in French, in 1803, under the names of M. A. Amar Durivier and L. F. Jauffret. In this case, it was clearly a theft. However, the book appears to have aroused much interest. Dr. Gulick, April 1900.” Leonard also attributes the book to GutsMuths. not Salzmann. Leonard, Guide, 76.
17 Ibid., 2.
18 Ibid., 4.
21 The *Games* book contained detailed instructions for more than 150 games and ranked them according to their abilities to improve such faculties as judgment, memory, and attention. It also went into many editions. GutsMuths also published *Manual of the Art of Swimming* (1792); two later books on gymnastics: *Book of Gymnastics for the Sons of the Fatherland* (1817) and *Catechism of Gymnastics: A Manual for Teachers and Pupils* (1818); and *Mechanical Avocations for Youth and Men* (1801). See Leonard, “The Beginnings,” 190-191 for a description of the various editions of these works.

22 Mandell, *Sport*, 159-160. Mandell notes that the Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin was regarded as “One of the near-sacred texts of the Philanthropist educational philosophers,” who were taken by Franklin’s industriousness and “rational direction of all his energies so as to maximize profit and other conventional measures of success.” (160) These notions of practicality, industriousness, and order, were to become firmly entrenched in German educational theory as well as in German ideas on physical training. Mandell argues, in fact, that from GutsMuths’ time onward, the various German systems of physical education primarily emphasized “training” rather than spontaneous play, and encouraged the systematizing and record-keeping of physical activity.

23 Fred E. Leonard, *Pioneers*, 24-25. Nachtegall’s gym was an outdoor facility, consisting of various ropes, “horses” and other gymnastic apparatus in an open field. He began with only five pupils, had 25 at the end of his first year and by 1803-1804 had 150 members, both adults and children. So successful was Nachtegall that the king appointed him a “professor” of gymnastics at the university and put him in charge of training the Danish military. In 1814, Danish law decreed that all schools must provide grounds and apparatus for gymnastics. Nachtegall’s biography is also included in: Gerber, *Innovators*, 177-181.

24 Francis Fuller, *Medicina Gymnastica: Or a Treatise Concerning the Power of Exercise with Respect to the Animal Economy and the Great Necessity of it in the Cure of Several Distempers* (London: printed by John Matthews, 1705). Fuller’s work went through nine editions, the last in 1777.

25 Simon André Tissot, M.D. *An Essay on Diseases Incident to Literary and Sedentary Persons. With Roper Rules for Preventing their Fatal Consequences and Instructions for Their Cure* (Dublin: printed for James Williams, 1772). Tissot’s work originally appeared in French (1767); then in German (1768) and in an earlier English edition (1769).

26 Clement Joseph Tissot, *Gymnastique Medicinale et Chirurgicale, ou essai sur L'utilite du mouvement, on des differens exercises du corps, et du repos dans la cure de maladies* (Paris: Bastien, Libraire 1780). Translations also appeared in German (1782) and Swedish (1797).


29 Ibid., 15.

30 Ibid.

FRENCH GYMNASTICS IN 1830
ing in London in 1850. Georgii was at the Swedish Academy from 1829 to 1850 and had been head teacher there since 1840. Though Georgii was preceded in London by other Swedes—Govert Indebetou and C. Frenenoff—trained in Ling’s methods, Georgii’s arrival truly launched the system in England as he was well connected with other English physicians.


31 Peter Henry Clías, An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises; Intended to Improve The Physical Powers of Man (London: Sherwood Jones and Co., 1823). A fourth edition of this work appeared in 1825 entitled: An Elementary Course of Gymnastic Exercises; Intended to Improve The Physical Powers of Man; With the Report Made to the Medical Faculty of Paris On the Subject; And a New and Complete Treatise on the Art of Swimming. (London: Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1825). All references in this text are to the fourth edition. For the English edition, Clías adopted the more Anglo-Saxon “Peter” rather than “Philipson,” his real name. The Literary Gazette quotation appeared on February 15, 1823 and is included on page xix of the fourth edition.

32 [Lieber], “A Review,” 140.

33 The Flying Course may have been developed by Don Francisco Amoros Et Ondeano, a Spaniard, who opened a gymnasium in Paris in 1817. He began working with the French military shortly thereafter and opened an enormous open-air gymnasium for military and civilian pupils in 1820. Van Dalen, Mitchell and Bennett, World History, 278. More complete biographical information on Amoros may be found in Leonard, “The Beginnings” (November): 237-239. Signor Voarino, A Second Course of Calisthenic Exercises; With a Course of Private Gymnastics for Gentlemen Accompanied With a Few Observations on the Utility of Exercise (London: published by James Ridgeway, 1828), 93, gives credit for the invention of the Flying Course or “triangle” to Clías.

34 Clías, Gymnastic Exercises (1823 and 1825), title pages.


37 Clías, Elementary Course, v.

38 Van Dalen, Mitchell and Bennett, World History, 278.

39 Ibid., xix.


43 Ibid., 65.

44 Ibid., 2-3.


46 Signor Voarino, Second Course, ii. Voarino notes that he has dedicated it to the Duchess by her permission.

47 Ibid., 80.

48 Ibid., vi.

51 Leonard, “Chapters from the Early History,” 292. If, as shall be seen, Beaujeu’s exercises are also based on Clías’ thought, then we can speculate that Clías favored vigorous exercise for women and girls.

52 Voarino, Treatise on Calisthenics, 25.

53 Voarino, Treatise on Calisthenics, 59: “The balance is a moveable instrument, supported by means of a hook, strongly fixed in the center of a mom, from which two cords are suspended; and at the extremities of which is fixed a stick, made of a very dry piece of ash wood, four feet in length, and an inch and a half in diameter. The middle of the stick should be wrapped with any sort of soft substance, such as cotton, velvet, &c. to prevent it from hardening the hands. In order to prevent the cords from twisting, a swivel must be used, so that the balance may turn in any direction.”

54 Voarino, Second Course, 13.

55 Ibid., 19.

56 J.A. Beaujeu, A Treatise on Gymnastic Exercises, Or Calisthenics For the Use of Young Ladies. Introduced at the Royal Hibernian Military School, Also at The Seminary for the Education of Young Ladies Under the Direction of Miss Hincks in 1824 (Dublin: R. Milliken and Son, 1828). The author was unable to find any biographical information on Beaujeu in any standard work on the history of physical education. Perhaps the fact that his efforts were directed at women, and that his primary efforts were undertaken in Dublin, not London, has heretofore kept his contributions out of mainstream historical scholarship. The fact that he recommended a vigorous, “unfeminine” approach no doubt also served to make his views unacceptable to early physical educators. No information could be found on the role of Miss Hincks.

57 Ibid., vi-vii. Beaujeu notes on page 24 that he had originally intended to open a school in Edinburgh. However, he found the level of scientific interest greater in Dublin and so established his school there.

58 Ibid., ix. Beaujeu’s Academy was at Number 39, Dawson-Street in Dublin. The ladies classes were held on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays from 11:30 to 1:30.

59 Madame Beaujeu is discussed in Mary S. Gove, Lectures to Women on Anatomy and Physiology With an Appendix on Water Cure (New York: Harper and Bros., 1846): 217-219 According to Nichols, “this admirable establishment is well patronized, having at this time one hundred and seventy pupils from the most intelligent families in the city.” A report in the well-respected Boston Medical and Surgical Journal gave Madame Beaujeu, now Mrs. Hawley, their vote of approval: “Very recently, Mrs. Hawley, formerly Madame Beaujeu, of England, has commenced a series of calisthenic exercises for young misses in this city, which are recognized by very distinguished physicians of Philadelphia, New York and Boston as worthy of the patronage of parents. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the value of exercise for young ladies in a crowded city. Those who will take the pains to inspect Mrs. Hawley’s hall, corner of Bromfield and Tremont Streets, will be satisfied of the utility of her system.” Quoted in Nichols. Nichols also notes that by 1846, Mrs. Hawley had moved her operation to Eight Street, near Broadway in New York City.

60 Beaujeu, Treatise on Gymnastic Exercises, 7-19. “John of Berlin” was undoubtedly Jahn.


67 Ibid., 40-41.

68 Ibid., 60.

69 Ibid., 71.

70 During her eight years of teaching weight training at The University of Texas in Austin, the author estimates that less than 50 women from her classes would have been capable of performing palms away chins and parallel bar dips as described in Beaujeu’s text, even after a 12 week course of weight training. During those eight years, the author taught an estimated 960 female students.

71 Beaujeu, *Treatise on Gymnastic Exercises*, 90. “The pupil will take her position under the bar, raised a foot or more above her head. Having placed her hands thereon, will raise the body gradually by strength of the arms from the ground, the palms of the hands turned from the body, and the toes pointed to the ground, that the knees may be properly extended. The body to be raised until the chest be on a level with the bar, and the exercise to be repeated several times without putting the foot to the ground, and descending gradually by the exertion of the arms alone.” Placing the palms away from the body makes the chin a more difficult movement as it decreases the biceps ability to help in carrying the load.

72 Ibid., 94-96.

73 Ibid., 108.

74 Ibid., 114.


77 *Calisthenie*, 80.

78 Relying again upon the author’s experiences in teaching weight training at the University of Texas in Austin, there are many non-athletic, college-aged men who would find it impossible to perform dips and chins.


An early nineteenth century outdoor gymnasium.