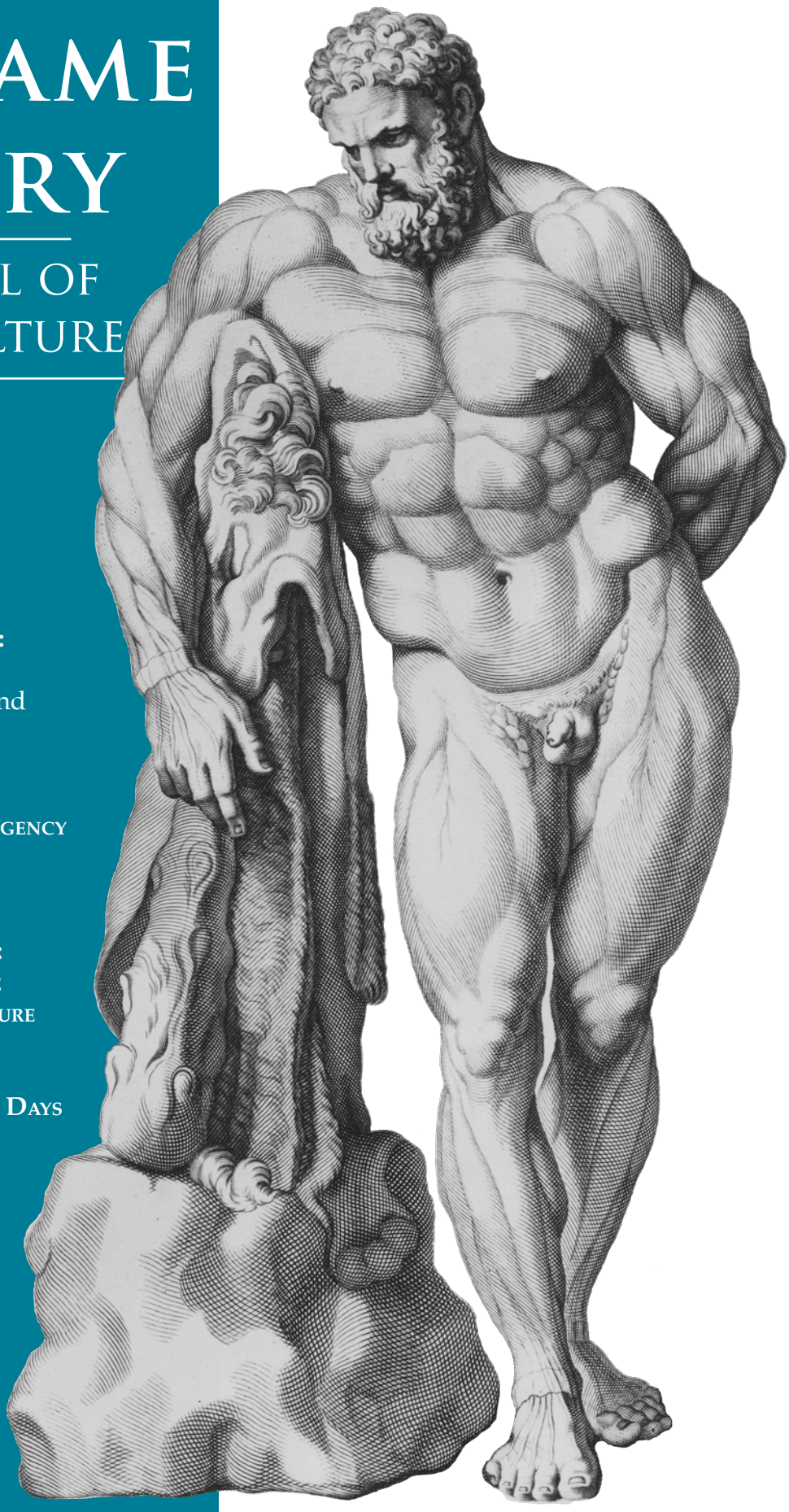
Iron Game History

The Journal of Physical Culture



Thirty Years of Iron Game History: Ushering in a New Era
by Jason Shurley, Tolga Ozyurtcu, and Kim Beckwith

"It Is Now Within Your Reach": Annette Kellerman and Feminine Agency in Physical Culture
by Lauren Osmer and Jan Todd

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Iron Game History: The Journal of Physical Culture...

was founded in 1990 by Terry and Jan Todd who wanted to promote academic scholarship related to the history of the strength sports, exercise, nutrition, training for sport, and other aspects of physical culture. Like the Stark Center itself, *Iron Game History* defines physical culture as "the various activities people have employed over the centuries to strengthen their bodies, enhance their physiques, increase their endurance, enhance their health, fight against aging, and become better athletes." The journal has published a wide variety of articles over the past thirty years exploring physical culture from historical, sociological, anthropological, and gender and race-based approaches.

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Submissions

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Thirty Years of Iron Game History: Ushering in a New Era

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Thirty years ago, in February of 1990 to be exact, this journal made its debut. *Iron Game History* (*IGH*) was founded because Terry and Jan Todd realized that a gap existed in the academic literature.[1] Journals that concerned themselves with sport history occasionally included articles related to the history of physical culture but, as their titles implied, their primary focus was on the history of competitive sports. Popular magazines, like *Strength & Health* and *Iron Man*, had previously included articles on strongmen, trainers, and others who sought health and achievement through exercise regimens. By the last decade of the twentieth century, however, those magazines had either ceased publication or moved away from historical pieces. Nonetheless, there was an interest among many in reading about feats of strength from bygone eras, or regimens that have been used to promote health and longevity. So, the Todds founded this journal "to provide accurate information about the fascinating world of physical culture."[2] Further, Terry and Jan expressed hope that *IGH* would be a journal that endured longer than its initial readership.

As long-time readers are no doubt aware, this publication has been a labor of love – which made it susceptible to fits and starts. Even with a committed and diligent editorial board, and the help of graduate students and others affiliated with the University of Texas, the brunt of producing *IGH* fell to the Todds. When stacked on top of their other teaching, administrative, researching, fundraising, coaching, and sport promotion duties, however, *IGH* at times fell by the wayside. Still, the gap the Todds identified three decades ago persists – there are no other peer-reviewed publications dedicated to the history of physical culture despite several publications with "physical culture" in the title. Moreover, there is as much public interest in physical culture now as there has ever been. As an example, the live stream from the deadlift event at the professional strongman contest at the 2019 Arnold Sports Festival has been viewed nearly three million times on YouTube. Another event, the "Wheel of Pain" has more than four-and-a-half million views. Microbreweries from Texas to Idaho and Michigan produce ales with some variant on "caber toss" in the name. *Food & Wine* magazine has featured a drink called the "Coney Island Strongman." Eugen Sandow and caricatures of other strongmen have appeared on spirits ranging from whiskey to wine. Sandow has even appeared on the label of a brand of toilet bowl freshener. Depictions of strength or strength performers, then, can be found everywhere from the gym, to the bar, to the pantry, and even the bathroom. It is noteworthy, however, that one brand of wine that features Sandow's image prominently on the label is a cabernet called "Freakshow."

Indeed, while there is significant interest in physical strength, strength performers (both contemporary and departed), and the modern and early implements used to develop that strength, there is a certain risk that this interest is tied to a sort of car-

toon-like depiction of strength. It is here that *IGH* plays a valuable role. As it has since its inception, *IGH* will publish peer-reviewed academic work related to physical culture and provide context and depth to the lives and feats of physical culturists of the past. At first glance, a reader might assume that this is a journal limited to the history of strength (ie. the "Iron Game"). Since October 1998, however, *IGH* has carried the sub-title "The Journal of Physical Culture." When Terry and Jan Todd opened the Stark Center in 2009 they wrote a definition of physical culture for their website that they refined over the years to also reflect the growth of the academic area known as Physical Culture Studies. They wrote:

> We define Physical Culture as the various activities people have employed over the centuries to strengthen their bodies, enhance their physiques, increase their endurance, enhance their health, fight against aging, and become better athletes.
>
> The academic discipline known as Physical Culture (or Physical Culture Studies) explores physical, nutritional, and therapeutic regimens and their relationships to the body, human movement and elite performance. It does this through historical, sociological, anthropological, and gender and race-based approaches.[3]

Historian John Fair similarly defined physical culture as any "philosophy, regimen, or lifestyle seeking maximum physical development through such means as weight (resistance) training, diet, aerobic activity, athletic competition, and mental discipline." Further, according to Fair, "specific benefits [of physical culture practices] include improvements in health, strength, endurance, flexibility, speed, and general fitness as well as greater proficiency in sport-related activities."[4] *Iron Game History*, then, is concerned with the history of *all* affects of physical culture, as evidenced by the articles in this issue that discuss the intersections of sports, fitness, nationalism, and gender. Beyond continuing to provide an academic outlet for the history of physical culture, the new editors have a second, more personal, goal in mind. As noted in the statement of purpose in the first issue, it was both Terry and Jan's hope that *IGH* would endure longer than its original readership. Our aim is to make that hope a reality as we re-establish this journal in the wake of Terry's passing.

As it has been since its inception, *IGH* will continue to be a labor of love, albeit with a new editorial team. Jan will still be involved with the journal in the capacity of "Executive Editor," but in order to make the journal appear in a more timely manner, she is turning over editorial duties to three Co-Editors in Chief: Kim Beckwith, Tolga Ozyurtcu, and Jason Shurley. All three have published in *IGH* previously, and Kim Beckwith has been involved with *IGH* as business and subscriptions manager since nearly its inception. Beckwith, Ozyurtcu, and Shurley all took their doctoral degrees under Jan's supervision, and have been closely involved with the Todds and the Stark Center for more than a decade. Both Beckwith and Ozyurtcu, like Jan, are faculty members in the Department of Kinesiology and Health Education at the University of Texas at Austin. Shurley is an Associate Professor in the Department of Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Coaching at the University of Wisconsin – Whitewater.

Our plan is to move to two journals a year. This first issue under our new editorial team will be followed by a second issue in late summer. However, to make the journal thrive and continue to have an impact, we need submissions sent to us for consideration. As is the case with other academic journals, articles submitted to *IGH* will undergo peer review, and the journal itself remains a non-profit enterprise. However, unlike many journals, articles published in *IGH* experience high readership and are frequently cited because our back issues are freely available on the Stark Center's website and are now fully searchable. We hope that those interested in reading and writing about anything related to the history of physical culture will contribute to this journal. By so doing, they will help us continue to do the work started by Terry and Jan in providing the world with reliable, interesting, and significant work on the history of strength and physical culture.

In closing, the new editorial staff would like to thank Terry and Jan for their enormous contribution to the field of sport studies. Further, it is our hope that scholars will consider contributing to this journal and help us fulfill our mission of sharing the history of exercise and physical culture with the wider world.

Notes

1. Terry Todd and Jan Todd, "Editorial – A Statement of Purpose," *Iron Game History* 1, no. 1 (February 1990): 1-2.
2. Ibid., 2.
3. Terry Todd and Jan Todd, "Our Mission: The H.J. Lutcher Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports," viewed at: www.starkcenter.org/our-mission/.
4. John Fair, "Physical Culture," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, viewed at: www.britannica.com/topic/physical-culture.

"It Is Now Within Your Reach": Annette Kellerman and Feminine Agency in Physical Culture

by Lauren Osmer and Jan Todd
Miami University - Ohio and The University of Texas at Austin

Summer, 1907. Boston, Massachusetts had miles of coastline and beaches, filled with swimmers, sunbathers, and sightseers of all ages. Fresh from Chicago where she had been performing aquatic stunts on the vaudeville circuit, Australian Annette Kellerman, one of the newest entertainers at Wonderland Amusement Park on Revere Beach, set out for a swim that she hoped would attract publicity for her new swimming and diving act. Upon her arrival, Kellerman, a professional swimmer whose fame arose from her attempted three crossings of the English Channel, was shocked by the state of dress of the many women on the beach: "How could these women swim with shoes-stockings, bloomers, skirts, overdresses with puffed sleeves, sailor collars, in some cases even tightly fitted corsets?"[1] Kellerman appeared on Revere Beach wearing the bathing costume she usually wore on stage: a modified, Australian man's swimsuit, with sleeves and stockings sewn onto it to partially cover her limbs for modesty. Despite these nods to decorum, "the minute she put her foot on the beach and revealed her bare legs she elicited immediate 'ooos' and 'ahhs' and even some shrieks of terror."[2] Kellerman never made it into the water; a gathering crowd alerted a policeman to the commotion and she was promptly arrested for public indecency.[3] Despite her protests, Kellerman was brought before a judge, where she made an impassioned speech on her own behalf, and argued for the right of all female swimmers to wear less restrictive bathing attire. She told the judge that swimming had helped her recover from a childhood illness, and argued for the many benefits of health and happiness it could bring to others. Speaking up in defense of her own swimwear, she derided the current swimming fashions for women, denouncing them as unsafe and impractical.[4] Kellerman won him over. The judge ruled that her one-piece suit was legal as long as she covered it with a robe until she was in the water.[5]

The Revere Beach confrontation was a total success for Kellerman. Not only had she been given a platform to espouse her views on swimming, fashion, and women's athleticism, but she also gained free advertising for her new show at the amusement park, which had in all likelihood supported the publicity stunt. Following the incident, advertisements for her shows depicted Kellerman at the beach with the quote, "When the robe came off the police moved in."[6] The Revere Beach event was only a single representation of the duality Kellerman faced throughout her lifetime; the warring desires of promoting health, ability, and agency for women, contrasted with the societal ideals of women as gentle "feminine" archetypes.

Annette Kellerman was a woman of many talents. Not only was she one of the finest professional female swimmer of her day, she was also a vaudeville and film star, lecturer, and writer on topics of fashion, health, beauty, and physical culture. Throughout her time in these many roles, she argued vehemently for the agency of women over their own health and bodies, using a variety of mediums to do so.

Historian Susan Cahn argues that in the 1910s and 1920s the female athletic image changed; Kellerman was one of that era's sporting women who "helped fashion a new ideal of womanhood by modeling an athletic, energetic femininity."[7] While

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Kellerman pushed for women's agency and responsibility, she was also subject to the changing social motivators of her era, including the rise of consumerism and visual media, particularly the notable rise of advertising. She was, on the one hand, used to promote the benefits of physical activity for beauty, femininity, and comeliness; however, on the other hand she used these same techniques to market herself as well. In appealing to these forces, Kellerman had to negotiate the changing terrain of sport and femininity by assuring consumers that being athletically active would not make a woman too "manly"; rather, it would enhance her inherent femininity, charms, and good looks. Her detractors were threatened by the idea of the "erosion of men's physical supremacy and the loss of distinct male and female preserves."[8]

Annette Kellerman was blessed with a classically beautiful face that added to her allure as a performer. Her large, expressive eyes and flawless skin were much admired. (*Physical Culture*, July 1910)

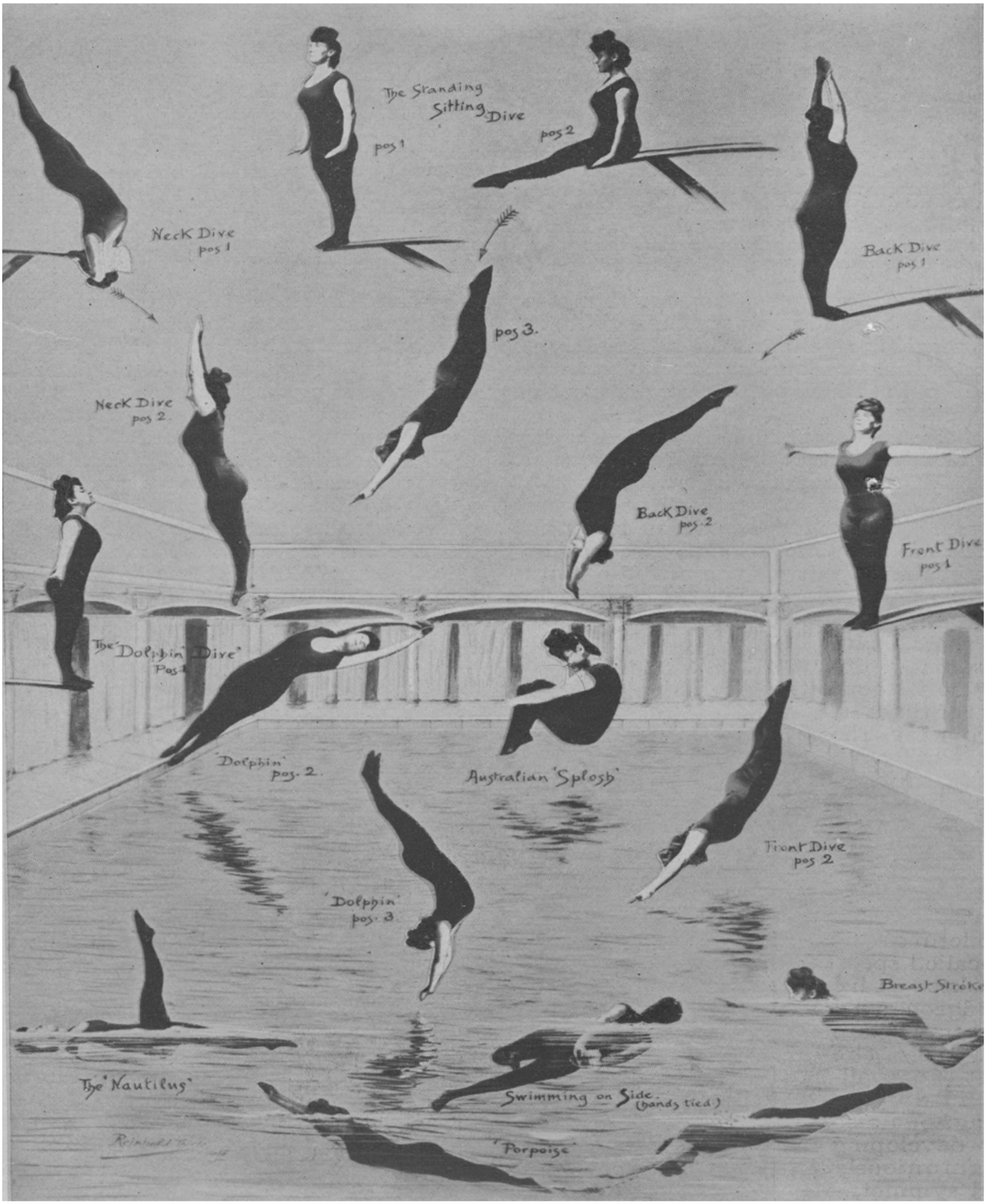
Educators, promoters, performers, and others, therefore, had to carve out "a separate realm of play in which women could gain the traditional benefits of sport—health, fun, 'sportsmanship', and a cooperative ethos—without fear of sexual harm or the taint of masculinity."[9] Kellerman managed to navigate her way through these obstacles while still promoting women's athletic agency and their inherent right to be strong and beautiful. Although she was influenced by the social forces of her day, she herself was also an influential figure who pushed to rewrite many of the existing narratives about women, health, and physical culture.

The Australian Mermaid

Annette Kellerman was born in 1886 in Darlinghurst, an eastern suburb of Sydney, Australia, to an Australian father and Alsatian-French mother.[10] Both her parents had musical backgrounds; her mother was a concert pianist and her father a violinist. They met when her mother, Alice, was sent by the French government for piano demonstrations at Australia's International Exhibition.[11] Kellerman, the second of four siblings, was raised in a home that often hosted influential artists, actors, musicians, and writers. This exposure to many of the well-known entertainers of the day may have influenced Kellerman's desires growing up to become either a famous actress or ballerina, and her later transition to vaudeville and film star.[12]

As Kellerman grew, she suffered from weakness in her legs, which one doctor blamed on allowing her to walk too soon as an infant and another diagnosed bone weakness, claiming she was stricken with "chalk in [her] bones."[13] Scholars have speculated that she may have suffered from either rickets or polio, but she herself never confirmed a diagnosis. She was, however, quite bowlegged and as a child wore iron braces on both of her legs in order to walk until the age of seven.[14] She was prescribed a number of strengthening exercises in order to increase movement in her legs, but it wasn't until the braces were removed that a doctor recommended swimming lessons as a continuing treatment option. While Kellerman was initially resistant, she soon grew to love her time in the water and quickly outpaced her siblings, her leg strength and function steadily improving. This was the first example of Kellerman's sport and fitness participation raising feelings of empowerment within her: "Only a cripple can understand the intense joy that I experienced when little by little I found that my legs were growing stronger and taking on the normal shape and the normal powers with which the legs of other youngsters were endowed."[15] She claimed because of her swimming that by the age of thirteen "my legs were practically normal," although she still required supportive shoes and other minor support modifications until the age of eighteen.[16]

Kellerman began competing in swimming races and competitions at the age of fifteen. Her father, her most enthusiastic supporter, coach, and chaperone, was well-known in the local community and began organizing exhibitions in both swimming and diving for young Annette. Undoubtedly, he used the additional income this provided the family as a main motivation. The highlight of these exhibitions came in a two-show-a-day contract at the Melbourne Exhibition Aquarium in 1902, when she was 16.[17] Over the next two years she continued to swim competitively and set many Australian swim-



Kellerman was one of the first advocates for swimming and diving as a form of exercise for women. This instructional montage appeared in the July 1910 issue of *Physical Culture* in Kellerman's article "How to Master Swimming."

ming records.[18] As she became more well-known and money continued to be a concern for the family, Kellerman and her father decided to travel to England in an effort to gain exposure in a different country with more plentiful opportunities. She wrote, "In Australia swimming is so much a sport for every one…that the very abundance of the sport makes it commonplace."[19] In heading for England, Kellerman and her father hoped to make their mark as a novelty in a place where swimming was not yet a leisure activity for the masses, as it was in Australia. Furthermore, Kellerman's beauty and charm, as well as her proven ability to attract a crowd and headline a show, clearly gave her father the confidence that their fortunes could only improve (both figuratively and literally) by taking their act abroad.

Annette Kellerman's decision to wear a full-length, one-piece bathing suit hardly seems scandalous in our modern era. But in 1907 when she appeared on Revere Beach, it caused a great scandal that helped make her an important celebrity. Kellerman would also break new ground in her film career as she was the first actress to appear nude on screen.

Kellerman arrived in England in early 1905 with little money and even less publicity. In order to increase her visibility, Kellerman and her father decided she should swim down the Thames River. This caught the attention of a reporter from the British newspaper the *Daily Mirror*, who offered to sponsor Kellerman for eight pounds a week during her training if she agreed to attempt to swim the English Channel.[20] On her first attempt to cross the Channel on 24 August 1905, she competed with six men.[21] Although she lasted for "six and three-quarter hours," she battled seasickness and chafing from her swimsuit (her original attempt at a modified version of a men's suit, with extended stockings and added sleeves) and eventually dropped out.[22] None of the other swimmers successfully crossed the Channel either.[23] She would attempt the swim twice more in 1906 but would not succeed either time, facing similar challenges and blaming her lack of strength (though not of endurance). The first woman to successfully accomplish the Channel crossing would be the American swimmer Gertrude Ederle, who completed the feat in 1926.[24]

Following her attempted Channel crossings, Kellerman continued to swim in distance exhibitions in Europe, travelling to France to swim a portion of the Seine River and to Vienna to swim the Danube.[25] After competing in these long-distance swims, she returned to London and turned her focus to Vaudeville and a new diving act, which she performed in a variety of venues, including the famous Hippodrome Theater.[26] By the age of twenty, her diving stunts had become her currency. She and her father travelled to the United States in 1906 after receiving an invitation to perform at the White City Amusement Park in Chicago.[27] Kellerman became a mainstay of the park, at times performing up to fifty-five shows in a week.[28] At the close of her Chicago run, she journeyed to Boston with a new manager (and, unbeknownst to either of them at the time, her future husband) James R. Sullivan. Her father joined the rest of her family in Paris, where he died a few months later.[29]

Following the excitement of her arrest at the public beach, Kellerman continued her diving performances at the Wonderland Amusement Park in Revere, Massachusetts, enjoying the publicity gained from the incident. Most notably, the commotion brought her to the attention of Benjamin Franklin (B.F.) Keith, a theater owner who was an influential personality in the founding of Vaudeville.[30] Keith began his career as a circus worker but soon moved into production and management, founding a series of theaters in the northeastern United States which helped institute the continuous variety show, in which one act performed after another with no downtime. He eventually owned more than one hundred theaters across the country and became one of the most powerful men in the entertainment industry.[31] Keith prided himself on providing a high level of entertainment, even in a continuously

running setting, recognizing that "both quantity and quality were desired on the part of vaudeville audiences."[32] Kellerman promised to provide both. After watching one of her performances, Keith signed her to a two-show-a-day contract for $300 a week (in today's figures around $1700), and Kellerman moved to New York and began performing in vaudeville shows on Broadway.[33]

Despite a lawsuit filed against her by Keith (which began when she signed concurrently with another manager), Kellerman's time on the vaudeville circuit in New York was a rousing success.[34] She attracted large crowds for her diving performance shows and at times made as much as $3000 a week.[35] Well-known theater manager and writer Robert Grau called her "The Queen of Modern Vaudeville."[36] Her life proceeded apace until 1912, when Keith proposed drastically lowering Kellerman's salary.[37] Her refusal led to the end of their partnership and her venture into the rapidly developing film business.

While still touring independently in the vaudeville scene, Kellerman began to appear in some small roles for the Vitagraph Company, both as herself and in fictional parts.[38] The first of these is thought to have been around 1907, however the loss of these early films makes it difficult to pinpoint an exact date for the advent of her film career. After leaving Keith, she proposed an idea for a full-length feature film about mermaids to Captain Leslie T. Peacock, a well-known Hollywood screenwriter.[39] Carl Laemmle at Universal Studios agreed to finance the picture, and her first major film, *Neptune's Daughter*, was released in 1914. Kellerman had a creative voice on the project and insisted on doing all of her own swimming and diving stunts.[40] The film cost $35,000 to produce and upon release it made Universal Studios over one million dollars in returns.[41] Kellerman made a name for herself as a major film presence alongside other early actresses like Florence Lawrence (also at Universal) and Mary Pickford. She continued acting in major motion pictures with her fifth and final full-length film, *Venus of the South Seas*, filmed in 1924.[42]

Kellerman continued to perform in theaters and vaudeville venues, as well as participating in the filming of some of her swimming and diving stunts. Following the decline of Vaudeville in the 1930s, Kellerman and husband Sullivan spent more time in Australia and the United States.[43] She performed for charity on occasion, raising over £25,000 for the Australian Red Cross during the course of World War II, for example.[44] She also consulted on the filming of her biography, *Million Dollar Mermaid*, starring Esther Williams. In the early 1950s, Kellerman, a lifelong vegetarian, opened a health food store in Long Beach, California, before retiring with Sullivan to the Gold Coast in Queensland, Australia. The pair remained there until Sullivan's death in 1970 of Asian Flu.[45]

Women's Agency and Physical Culture

Popular ideas about womanhood and femininity were undergoing many changes in the 1910s and 1920s. The number of athletic women was on the rise, which challenged the traditional roles allowed to women and men both in the home and in the public domain. As the image of the ideal woman was evolving from the voluptuous to the Gibson Girl to the "natural" girl, active female competitors and athletes "cast suspicion on the femininity of women in sport," according to historian Susan Cahn, yet their presence "also contributed to the dynamic image of the 'athletic girl' who refused to be excluded from a domain of masculine privilege and pleasure."[46] Physical culturists of the time were taking note. The athletic girl had rewritten the narrative to include previously 'unwomanly' features such as strength and muscular development. An article in *Physical Culture* magazine recognized this changing landscape: "Strength should always be an attribute of womanhood; in fact, it is a most important part of real womanhood….it not only makes one a better human being, but a more forceful woman as well."[47] Not only was the image of the ideal woman evolving, ideas about her personality, interests, and intelligence were changing as well. Cahn explains, "Earlier associations between beauty and female purity, spirituality, and inner character faded before modern notions that linked beauty to the active, ornamented, external body. Where the Victorian female body was frail, pale, fully-covered, and staid, [the new] much worshipped body was tan, lithe, and in constant motion."[48]

The linkage between health and physical beauty was a popular one at this time, with much of the American public viewing a beautiful figure, face, or other physical aspect as a sign of the health of the inner body. Marion Malcom wrote in an article for *Physical Culture* magazine, "true objective beauty expresses a normal and healthy condition, vitality, and all-around vigor. It is, therefore, largely a matter of cultivation through the same methods that one adopts in building health, strength, and all around bodily energy."[49] Physical educators of the time also lived this dichotomy, balancing their promotion of women's health with a desire to "preserve gender differences, and to protect a female sexual sensibil-

ity believed to be more delicate and vulnerable than men's."[50] Adding to this narrative was Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent's article proclaiming Kellerman "The Perfect Woman," and comparing her to strongman Eugen Sandow who was considered the perfect man.[51] Sargent, a physical educator, director of the gymnasium at Harvard University, and the founder of a school for women's education, was seen at the time as an expert on physical education and development, with Kellerman calling him "the leading American Authority on Physical Culture."[52] Among his other notable contributions to the development of physical education programs and the promotion of gymnastics, Sargent was a proponent of anthropometry—the study of physical proportions. He devised a graded series of charts to measure body proportion and symmetry, and as scholar Roberta J. Park explains, "arranged to have sculptor H.H. Kitson fashion nude statues of the 'typical' American male and female student from several thousand measurements he had collected at Harvard and obtained from other colleges." [53] The statues were later displayed at the 1893 World's Fair. With Kellerman's physical frame gaining national notoriety, Sargent turned his attentions to her proportions. After "displaying her perfections," and submitting to measurement, Sargent declared Kellerman "the most perfectly formed beautiful woman I have ever seen," and stated that she "embodies all of the physical qualities that most of us demand in the 'perfect woman.'"[54] He compared her measurements to those of the Venus de Milo, leading many to declare her as setting the physical standard for the body of the ideal woman.[55] While Sargent complimented Kellerman's strength and muscular development, he also made sure to note that she "succeeded in 'getting by'…in regard to comeliness" and that she possessed features which "unite[s] the elements of womanly charm and physical strength."[56] Even the leading physical educators, it appears, could not let an opportunity pass to comment on Kellerman's maintenance of her femininity and beauty while praising her strength and athletic development.

While many scholars have written on Kellerman's roles in fashion, vaudeville, and film, few have looked specifically at her contributions to the field of physical culture, and the message she sent to women about their bodies and inherent abilities. She believed in the idea of "healthful beauty, beauty as a manifestation of health rather than virtue."[57] Kellerman was a popular lecturer as well, giving talks on health, fitness, beauty, and swimwear. In these lectures she would speak directly to women, addressing them as her partners in physical culture. "These lectures were attended by thousands," Kellerman claimed, "in fact, I do not believe I have ever lectured but that hundreds were turned away from the doors."[58] Articles in popular magazines of the time, such as *Physical Culture*, also gave Kellerman a platform to promote her views on women and their participation in sport and exercise.

In her film and live shows, although Kellerman was able to incorporate certain messages about physical culture, she was limited by the involvement and direction of others. A site where she had complete control over her own message was in her series of mail order courses, which aimed at providing women with exercises and healthy living advice to increase beauty, health, and happiness. To advertise her course, Kellerman released two promotional books, *The Body Beautiful* and *Health, Beauty, Happiness*. Kellerman used these advertising booklets for her mail order course to highlight both desirable and undesirable physical features for women, as well as to publicize her writings, which provided solutions for many general health problems.[59] Contrary to those who believed women should not exercise and viewed them to be "naturally prone to stress and nervous illness," Kellerman promoted exercise as a way for women to treat many of their nervous problems, as well as a whole host of other physical and mental issues.[60]

While the booklets repeatedly mention the health benefits of a regular, directed exercise program, they are in many ways aimed at women concerned with beauty and the state of their outward appearance. One booklet, after all, is titled *The Body Beautiful* and the header of one subsection is "A Beautiful Figure."[61] While Kellerman's focus in her own life was on the athletic feats she could accomplish through control over and improvement of her physical body, her courses are clearly aimed at women who are less concerned with performing physical feats and more concerned with adhering to popular societal standards of beauty. As she states in the conclusion of *The Body Beautiful*, "This booklet was prepared for two reasons; the first being to tell you how and why an intelligent system of living would not only make you a healthy, happy woman, but a perfectly formed one as well."[62] Her references to exercise throughout the books are often deliberately phrased in relation to appearance, at one point saying of herself, "I was growing into the ungainly proportions of a fat woman," and "no one can have pretty features if they are distorted and submerged in fat."[63] Exercise, for the readers of these pamphlets, is in many

ways "the one thing which will enable them to retain their good looks under any and all conditions," and vitality (which comes from proper exercise) is "necessary not only in rendering the body immune from disease, but is a necessity to a good personal appearance."[64] Even some of the descriptions of the physical exercises are couched in terms of looks: "a good carriage with grace of movement, almost more than anything else, contributes to beautiful, attractive womanhood," and developing the bust is foremost described as "to give femininity to the appearance."[65]

While the contents of *The Body Beautiful* are aimed at women of all ages, so are the references to physical beauty. For older women, Kellerman recommends exercises by saying "The freshness and bloom may be restored at least in part to every woman who has begun to fade," while "mothers who would see their daughters become…beautiful in face and form, can realize their desires only by having them live properly and by employing intelligent methods of body building."[66]

This is not to say that the physical benefits of exercise are ignored by Kellerman; on the contrary, much of the pamphlets focus almost exclusively on the health benefits of exercise and diet, as opposed to the beauty benefits. She constantly intertwines the concepts of beauty and health: "When this body-machine is inefficient, it is not beautiful. When it reaches the acme of efficiency as in the case of the superior athlete, it is invariably and inevitably beautiful."[67] She also incorporates the positive results of exercise directly into her focus on beauty, saying "To look well, one must feel well, and the woman who feels truly well has traversed three-quarters of the distance in attaining beauty."[68] Therefore, while the health benefits may be of secondary concern to the readers of the pamphlet, Kellerman insisted on the two being interrelated. "Health and happiness," she says, "go hand in hand. Without health, none can be happy, so when all is summed up, health represents about everything there is in life."[69] Kellerman clearly views good health as the entryway to all good things in life. She writes, "The very highest standard of human health not only insures the happiness of the individual but it enables her to get the most out of life in a serious way, enables her to accomplish that which would be impossible without the boundless energy that comes with a perfect bodily condition."[70]

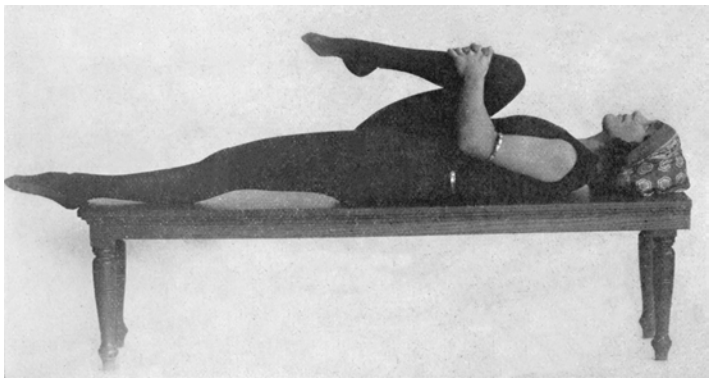
As is often found in Kellerman's writings, she places the burden of responsibility on the shoulders of the suffering women: "They [women] are learning, too, that it is an indication of gross negligence on their part to be burdened with these troubles."[71] She equates a developed body and healthful figure with "self-respect," saying, "it is as significant of carelessness and slothfulness to be lacking in these respects as it is to go about with one's gown unfastened."[72] When discussing health issues, specifically "women's troubles" (a euphemism for any reproductive or pelvic issue), she says these disorders are "entirely unnecessary, unnatural, and almost inexcusable."[73] While she places accountability for health and wellness on women, she also uses this to reassure them that change is possible, saying "I make it possible for every woman to keep herself in perfect health. Do not therefore feel your own trouble is hopeless."[74] Using herself as an example, she claims her own success in attaining the "perfect" body has all been due "solely to my knowledge of the laws and requirements of health, and to my studies and understanding of all subjects associated with body culture and the building of health and vitality."[75] Kellerman encourages the women in the course that they themselves are capable of remaking and improving their own bodies; she gives them agency over their physical forms. Returning to her belief in the inherent virtues and strengths of women, her goal in creating these courses is to "help all women to become as perfect in every way, as healthy, as vigorous, as beautiful and as happy as Nature meant them to be."[76]

Like many celebrities, Kellerman was known for her sense of style. Although of small stature, standing only 5' 3 3/4" tall and weighing 137 pounds, she shows great presence in one of her signature headscarves and fur coat in this photo from Bain News Service taken in April 1912. *Courtesy of the Library of Congress*

Kellerman's courses could be said to be promoting the same ideas as much of the advertising of the time; for a certain sum one's body could (and should) be reworked to fit certain standards. Vaudeville scholar Andrew L. Erdman referenced Kellerman's courses by saying, "the Kellerman school paradoxically sold women 'Nature' and a return to the natural via a commercial product subscribed to from afar."[77] However, this seems to take a cynical, surface view of the products without actually reading the material to determine the true intent. Within them, along with beauty, Kellerman promotes agency, responsibility, and the myriad benefits of health, while assuring women that they too have a place in the rapidly changing times of the early twentieth century: "It seems self-evident that woman's place in the world is just where she is fitted to be and just where she chooses to be."[78]

Physical Beauty

Perhaps nowhere does Kellerman walk the line between health and beauty as finely as she does in her 1918 book *Physical Beauty-How To Keep It*. The first two chapters of the book are a frank discussion on the benefits of possessing and cultivating beauty and health; as the book continues, it devotes chapters to various methods Kellerman endorses to improve both "function and form," including diet, dancing, swimming, posture, and even breathing. The final chapters are divided by body part (legs, arms, shoulders and neck, etc.) and detail and describe various exercises which women can perform in order to strengthen these areas. As in her booklets, in describing these exercises she focuses on both the beauty benefits as well as the health benefits of regular, systemic exercise. She continues to explain the two concepts as inherently interconnected: "Behind this beauty of face and beauty of form is an even more fundamental fact that a woman must be beautiful of body to the very core of her being; she must have health-beauty, vital radiant health that keeps the bloom upon her cheek."[79]



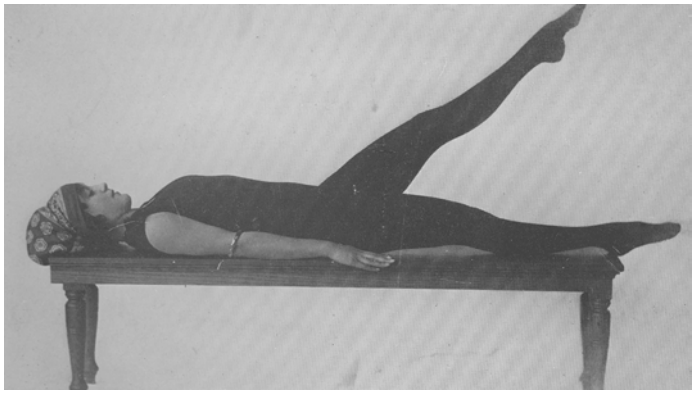
Kellerman's ideal proportions helped sell her mail-order training courses and movie tickets. Here she demonstrates a stretch movement in *My Own Methods*, a pamphlet of photographs that correlated with a training manual.

The chapter "The Muscular Corset" showcases her strong anti-corset beliefs for which she was well known. She states that "physicians and scientists say—and rightly—that corsets have been a prime cause of the majority of woman's ills…corsets have caused endless harm and misery in the world."[80] She believed that discipline regarding health and exercise would allow women to achieve beauty without the aid of cosmetics or beauty devices. Kellerman's definition of the muscular corset involved the muscles around the waist; she believed that strengthening and developing these muscles would give women the strength and appearance that would eliminate the need for corsets. Kellerman considered the development of the muscular corset to have many benefits: "Beauty is its first but not its only reward. The internal organs benefit from the firmer support and greater strength of the region...She is more efficient as an animal, as a human being, and as a woman."[81]

Although the book, as can be assumed from the title, focuses on the beauty benefits of health and wellness, by no means does Kellerman neglect to discuss women's health. She reminds women, "particular bodily defects may worry you more than the general principles of health, yet to remedy them you need the basis of perfect health, lest you mend one part of your physical machinery only to find it breaking elsewhere. Remember that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and you must, therefore, cultivate bodily health and beauty in its entirety."[82] This book is also a delightful showcase of Kellerman's natural wit, which comes through in much of the writing. When discussing her measurements and comparison to the Venus de Milo, she states, "Now let us consider the Venus—and please do not idealise her with any silly notion of absolute and final perfection. She is only a graven image of one man's ideas of feminine beauty and the fact that that man died two thousand years ago does not make her perfect."[83] She also communicates her disdain for men's patriarchal ideas that prevented many women from participating in exercise and physical activity, mentioning that they have been tainted "with that stupid custom of enslaving woman to physical inactivity that arose out of man's sense of property in woman."[84] In encouraging women to strengthen their abdominal muscles by danc-

ing, she encourages them to "Get up a kicking competition with your best chum or your husband, if you are lucky enough to have one who doesn't think that the duties of womanhood are so sacred that he would condemn you to make the bricks of humanity without the straw of health."[85]

Kellerman's instructional tome *How to Swim* also appeared in 1918 and contains an abridged biography covering the events of Kellerman's life up to publication, a discussion of the benefits of swimming, and instructional exercises and explanations teaching the basics of swimming for health. In all of these Kellerman "address[es] myself particularly to the woman reader."[86] These include dry-land exercises, swimming instructions from beginner to advanced levels, lifesaving techniques, an explanation of water sports and games, and lessons in diving. Kellerman continues to associate beauty directly with health: "Every one knows that sparkling beauty must emanate from a healthy condition of the body. Fresh air, full play for the muscles and complete enjoyment of necessary exercise-all these aid in the establishment of health. And all these are to be found in swimming."[87] She continues her tradition of encouraging women to participate in physical activity through a discussion of the health and beauty benefits of swimming, and again shows her wit when addressing societal norms she finds frustrating: "the young woman is corseted and gowned and thoroughly imbued with the idea that it is most unlady-like to be possessed of legs or to know how to use them. All of this pseudo-moral restriction discourages physical activity in woman."[88] Kellerman is able to make her ideas about women's agency known, acknowledging how women's participation is affected by social mores and arguing for a different future for these women.



Kellerman should probably be regarded as the first celebrity women's fitness expert. In *My Own Methods*, she demonstrates leg lifts just as Jane Fonda will do decades later.

The Civil War Over Swimwear

Another area where Kellerman ran against the norm was in her public push for safer (but also considered more revealing) swimming attire for women. Her arrest on the beach in Massachusetts for indecent exposure was not to be the only time she came up against both government and societal regulations presiding over women's dress on the beach and in the water. Kellerman penned at least two articles on the subject for *Phsyical Culture Magazine*: "Prudery as an Obstacle to Swimming" and "What to Wear in the Water." The topic was also said to be a favorite of hers in lectures and interviews.

In "Prudery," Kellerman excoriates the "evil minded prudery" which prevents women from safely enjoying the beach and endangers her when swimming. [89] She describes the heavy costumes which weigh down female swimmers in the water, and how these outfits preclude swimmers from safely venturing into open water due to "the handicap of their garments."[90] She is perplexed and disappointed by these limitations because of the limits it places on women being able to enjoy swimming. She references women's natural ability as swimmers (which she had done constantly in interviews going back to her youth), but also speaks of the benefits women miss out on when they are prevented from swimming. "Anything which discourages swimming among women, encourages danger to life, to say nothing about the incidental loss to health. Just how many girls and young women have been sacrificed to prudery from this cause, there are no statistics which tell this."[91] At the same time, while saying "I call on every reader of *Physical Culture* to emphatically protest," she places the burden of responsibility for changing these standards on women: "Just why women allow themselves to be harassed and hindered is more than I can understand…A reform is clearly necessary in this respect and it should be inaugurated by the sex that will be chiefly benefitted by it."[92] Once again, Kellerman believes not only in the power of women to effect change on an issue, but also in the necessity of them doing so.

In "What to Wear," Kellerman surveys the current trends in women's bathing fashions and suggests her own ideal modifications, from design to materials used to make swimsuits. She takes on a larger societal view of the problem in her opening, drawing a direct comparison between swimming outfits and social mores: "Not only in matters of swimming but in all forms of activity, women's natural development is seriously restricted and impaired

by social customs and costumes and all sorts of prudish and Puritanical ideas. The girl child long before she is conscious of her sex is continuously reminded that she is a girl and therefore must not partake in the joys of womanhood."[93] Much of the article is focused on specific swimwear designs that allow women to attend public beaches "without shocking those folks who are always on the alert for shocks."[94] Kellerman's good humor comes through in this piece, but also her frustration with society's restrictions on young women. She also discusses basic safety measures to take while swimming, and the health benefits of being in the water, a familiar theme in most of her interviews and writings.

Her insistence on safe, functional swimwear downplays her opposition to the standards of women's swimwear at the time. Richard Martin and Harold Koda, fashion historians, say swimwear "has served throughout the century to establish and represent standards of beauty and morality."[95] As swimming became increasingly popular, society worried about not only the safety of female swimmers, but their modesty and virtue as well. "No particular fashion aroused more anxiety and strife than did swimwear, nor did any other fashion more concisely signify the widespread cultural dissonance about the display of the female body."[96] In this context, Kellerman's stand on safe (but more revealing) bathing suits for women takes on a greater context. In a culture in which women's safety took a backseat to their perceived modesty, Kellerman's suits enabled women to take control of their own athletic lives while simultaneously granting them agency over their bodies in public spaces. Here on the beaches, as in the other spaces and sites of physical culture, Kellerman was challenging the belief that safe physical activity didn't have to conform to cultural expectations and standards of femininity and womanhood, but instead, could rework those concepts in a way that gave women more independence and influence. The fact that Kellerman herself had to modify a men's suit for her own swimming competitions is an interesting statement on her own enactment of femininity—to be successful in swimming with and competing against men, she had to take on aspects of their identity, including the tools they used to perform their sport, since a suitable option for women was not available to her at the time.

This photo of Annette Kellerman taken by George Grantham Bain (c. 1915-1920) is indicative of many of her movie roles in which she appeared in body-revealing costumes.

Of course, this strong stance by Kellerman did not accomplish sweeping societal change; many traditional mores still held sway, and the modification of swimwear was often seen as a "decorative" effect, in which women didn't gain any measurable political power but instead conformed (albeit in a different way) to the beauty standards of the day. The rise of swimming acts in vaudeville, as well as beauty contests, is considered by some examples of men taking advantage of the efforts to reform swimwear for their own material benefit.[97] A well-known anecdote tells of Edward Franklin Albee, one of the managers of Kellerman's career, placing mirrors around the outside of her diving tank on the stage, saying to stagehands, "Don't you know that what we are selling here is backsides, and that a hundred backsides are better than one?"[98] However, Kellerman's repeated insistence on a more fitted suit for reasons of safety and practicality seems in line with her stance on other issues of women's advocacy.

Conclusion

Throughout her life, but especially in her early career, Kellerman was symbolic of the ongoing tension between sport and femininity, a debate which is not unique to the early 1900s but continues into modern sport. She happily played the role of the early

twentieth century "athletic girl," described by Susan Cahn as having "exuberant physicality, disregard for Victorian notions of female restraint, and her intrepid incursion into a male cultural domain…captur[ing] the spirit of modern womanhood."[99] Feminist scholar Lois Banner believed Kellerman "established the precedent of linking beauty with physical ability."[100] Knowing the popular views on women, beauty, and modernity at the time, it is easy to see how Kellerman in many ways flouted those stereotypical views. Her ideas about education, bodily autonomy, and the inherent physical abilities of women ran counter to many of the main ideas and ideals of the time. She prioritized health and safety of women over societal standards on modesty when speaking about swimsuits; she encouraged women to take control of their own beauty and happiness in her mail-order courses and writings on physical culture; and she provided a stellar example of the athletic ideal in her roles both on stage and on the screen. "Kellerman was not only inventorying techniques of the body, but was 'constructing' the modern feminine body as a technique in itself."[101]

By doing this, she was "endorsing a definition of the female body that emphasized fitness and active pleasure, rather than slenderness and leisure."[102] There were certainly contradictions inherent in Kellerman's positions. However, feminism and thoughts on women's agency in the 1910s and 1920s were complex and ever-changing philosophies. As Mary Beard stated, "women can't avoid being women whatever they do."[103] This means women were being acted on and acting within the existing societal framework; they "inhabit the same worlds as men, not in the same way."[104] Physical educators at the time "struggled to preserve existing class relations and gender differences," so it was important to all involved to maintain a relationship with femininity within the growing world of women's athletics.[105] Therefore, "athletic enthusiasts argued that competitive sport would enhance, not sacrifice, womanhood," Kellerman included.[106] "How can there be anything unfeminine about robust health, and that perfect control in all parts of the body that is required in all out-of-door pastimes? Certainly, one may be athletic and womanly at the same time."[107] Yet within this setting, and while facing many of these pressures, Kellerman still took a stand on many women's issues. Kellerman was not the only woman in her area to advocate for women's agency; physical culturist Maude Odell wrote physical culture articles "in the belief that…I could show women just what they could do for themselves by practicing physical culture."[108] Kellerman and other physical culturists viewed beauty as symbiotic with and dependent on health, and this led them to encourage women to lead healthy lives in order to achieve the beauty they desired.

While in some ways Kellerman endorsed common ideas about women's beauty and femininity, it is clear from her own physical culture writings that she genuinely viewed women as capable and intelligent, and suggested modifications in clothing, lifestyle, and exercise practices in order to allow women to experience the most that they could out of swimming, physical activity, and life in general. Kellerman was a perfect example of the way, "female athletes captivated an intrigued but ambivalent American public struggling to make sense out of contemporary gender arrangements."[109] Sport and physical culture in Kellerman's time "became an important site, symbolic as well as actual, for reflecting on and negotiating contemporary gender relations."[110] In this area, Kellerman was truly a pioneer, and her message to women that they were valued people with agency for and responsibility to their own health is perhaps her most enduring legacy. As she put it best, "As you stride along with long free swings, throwing away a year with each step, you begin forgetting…for a while you're not a mother, nor a housekeeper, nor a wife. You're just you."[111]

Notes

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23. Kellerman, *How to Swim*, 15.
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35. Gibson and Firth, *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid*, 81.
36. Ibid., 84.
37. Kellerman, *How to Swim*, 31.
38. Gibson and Firth, *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid*, 82.
39. Kellerman, *How to Swim,* 32.
40. Ibid., 119.
41. Gibson and Firth, *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid*, 122.
42. "Annette Kellerman Profile," Women Film Pioneers Project at Columbia University, viewed at: wfpp.cdrs.columbia.edu/pioneer/ccp-annette-kellerman/.
43. Gibson and Firth, *The Original Million Dollar Mermaid*, 187.
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Walter Camp and The Daily Dozen: A Largely Forgotten Episode in the History of American Physical Culture

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In June of 1914, the fifty-five-year-old football patriarch of Yale University found himself at the Palais de la Sorbonne attending the Sixth Olympic Congress in Paris, France.[1] While Walter Chauncey Camp, who had served as coach, administrator, and as the undisputed *eminence grise* of Yale football since the 1870s, was no doubt engaged by the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) discussions on amateurism and the recognition of national governing bodies for sport, his Olympic enthusiasm waned in the weeks following the meeting amid growing concerns about the volatile political situation in Europe.[2] Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, was assassinated just five days after the close of the Olympic meeting on 28 June 1914 and his death quickly plunged Europe into war. Whether Camp was still on French soil, or was shipboard sailing for home when "the war to end all wars" actually began, is not clear. However, like most thoughtful people in 1914, he understood that the Archduke's assassination could only mean a major war in Europe would follow, and that it was highly likely America would become involved.[3]

Camp, who often wrote articles for magazines and newspapers in addition to his football activities and his "real job" at the New Haven Clock Factory, publicly expressed his concerns about the coming war for the first time in a *New York American* article in September of 1914. In it, he warned that America needed to begin planning to aid its allies by sending American troops overseas, and he also urged the government to think seriously about what would be required of the nation. He included a poem he had written entitled "Americans Awake" that specifically addressed the need to begin preparing men to be fit enough for the coming fight: "Train a field force, rule the wave … Build the ships…train to arms," he wrote, America, the poem warned, must "make your millions fighting strength."[4]

Camp's concerns about how to make American civilians into fighting men would occupy much of the last decade of his life. However, most sport historians and even Camp's several biographers have paid little attention to Camp's involvement with physical training or physical culture.[5] Nearly every undergraduate textbook in sport history recounts Camp's role in the evolution of college football, especially his prominent role in defining the rules of the college game.[6] Almost no scholarly attention, however, has been paid to Camp's work on physical training, even by scholars of World War I.[7] This essay attempts to fill this void by focusing on Camp's involvement with the Senior Service Corp and the *Daily Dozen* exercise routine that grew from this work. Camp's contributions to fitness *were* significant. He created a system of exercises used by civilians preparing for World War I; he led Navy physical training during the war; and he encouraged thousands of middle-aged and older adults to do daily exercise through articles, books, and the new technology of the Victrola after the war. While Camp never wished to be known as a physical culturist and spoke disparagingly of "ex-trainers of prizefighters and wooly-headed physical culture 'professors,'" he was, nonetheless, a physical culturist, and thousands

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Founded in 1914, The National Security League was a citizen-founded group created to help America prepare for World War I. At that time, America had no "standing army," and this group aimed to help prepare young men for what might be coming if America decided to join its allies and fight the Germans. At the end of 1915, more than 30,000 Americans belonged to the League, which made physical fitness a central tenet of military preparedness.

of Americans who would never have thought to buy a fitness or muscle magazine followed his Daily Dozen exercise system.[8]

Preparing for World War I

Despite Camp's article in the *New York American*, most Americans paid little attention to the political climate in Europe in the fall of 1914. Solomon Stanwood Menken, however, like Camp, was similarly concerned since the New York lawyer and his wife were in England when hostilities broke out and he saw firsthand how slow and difficult it was for Britain to raise an army and prepare for battle. Getting back to New York in late August—after being delayed for weeks waiting for passage on a boat brave enough to cross the Atlantic—Menken began talking with his well-connected friends about America's "condition of unpreparedness."[9] Menken found an ally in U.S. Representative Augustus P. Gardner of Massachusetts, a close friend of the fitness-minded former-president Theodore Roosevelt, who had already given several speeches to Congress about the matter.[10] Together, Menken and Gardner decided to form an organization to educate the public on the need for wartime preparation.[11] Menken invited the respected military leader, General Leonard Wood, to join them, and so, in December 1914, the National Security League (NSL) was officially launched.[12] The group's initial mission was to "promote patriotic education and national sentiment and service among the people of the United States, and to promote recognition of the fact that the obligation of universal military service requires universal military training."[13] Famous for fighting beside Roosevelt in the Battle of San Juan Hill, General Wood's engagement proved a significant factor in the League's rapid growth in the months ahead. As a medical doctor and a military leader his involvement helped the League's stature immensely.[14]

By the end of 1915, the NSL had 70 branches and thirty thousand members across the United States. At the end of 1918, membership stood at eighty-five thousand.[15] During its first year, the League primarily concentrated on raising public awareness but, over the next several years, it organized camps and began running physical training programs for boys and men who would later become soldiers. Using a quote from George Washington to

market themselves, the League reminded Americans that the best way to ensure peace was to let it be known that at all times "we are ready for war."[16] Because America had no standing army at this time, the League played an important role in preparing at least a few young men for the physical demands of combat they would face once American fighting men finally stood beside their allies on the battle lines in Europe in October 1917.[17]

The Internal Defense League

According to historian Richard Borkowski, after returning from Paris in the summer of 1914, Camp began to distance himself from Yale's athletic department as it was becoming clear that the university planned to join the newly formed National Collegiate Athletic Association, which required placing the athletics program (including Camp's beloved football team) under the control of Yale's faculty. Camp was not a supporter of the plan.[18] And so, following his article in the *New York American* that fall, Camp resigned his official position with the team and began to think more about what he might personally do to help his country.[19] As president of the New Haven Clock Company, a large manufacturing firm along the coast of Connecticut, one of his worries was the safety of the many mills and factories located in New England, and the fact that there were no military or police forces capable of defending these essential industries if America was attacked from the sea. When exactly Camp joined the National Security League is not known. However, he clearly sympathized with the group's goals and it is highly likely that the League's civilian training camps—where hundreds of young men were voluntarily doing physical training exercises to prepare themselves for the military—inspired Camp to begin thinking about what role he could play in preparing for World War I.[20] And so, in 1917, while the NSL continued to focus on getting America's *young* men fit enough to be soldiers and sailors, Camp decided that another group of Americans—middle-aged and older men—should also begin physical training to help defend the home front.[21]

Camp announced his new idea at the prestigious Yale Club where he had set up a special dinner for some of the most important men in New Haven, Connecticut, his hometown. At the dinner, Camp called upon his distinguished, middle-aged, business and political guests to reject the idea that they were too old to defend their homeland. He told them he was starting an exercise program for men above age 45 since he believed there was much these men could do if war came to America's shores. Camp invited them to join him in morning workouts at the Yale Gymnasium for the next several months and he encouraged them to invite other men. They became members of what he initially called the "Internal Defense League," a clear nod to the National Security League.[22]

According to *The New York Sun* reporter who interviewed Camp shortly after the new group began their workouts, Camp believed that men aged from 45 to 60 should begin working on their physical fitness so they could "devote themselves to national service." Camp viewed his New Haven cohort as an experiment and believed—rightly as it turned out—that once others saw what was possible, the Internal Defense League (soon renamed The Senior Service Corps) could spread across America, just as the National Security League had done. Camp's physical training program, he argued, would mean

With cigarette in hand, Walter Camp stands in his Navy uniform during World War I. Photograph by Bain News Service, undated. *Courtesy of Library of Congress*

the United States not only had men ready to bear arms and defend the country if it were invaded, but that it would also have fit, vigorous leaders able to make better decisions in wartime. His plan, he told the reporter, was to train his first group of recruits in New Haven for 60 days and at the end of that time, he explained, they should be able to "guard bridges, tunnels, railroads, docks, and factories and be prepared for emergency duty of a more dangerous nature."[23]

Walter Camp's Physical Education

Born on 7 April 1859 in New Britain, Connecticut, Walter Camp was the only child of Leverett and Ellen Camp.[24] Leverett moved his small family to New Haven when he became principal of a New Haven school and he used his spare income to invest in real estate. Although not wealthy, the Camp family was more than comfortable, and by the time Walter's father died in 1905, they owned several properties in New Haven and a summer home at Martha's Vineyard in Massachusetts.[25] They were also able to send Walter to the renowned Hopkins Grammar School, one of the country's best preparatory schools, where he was known as a good student and excellent athlete.[26] According to multiple biographies, Camp played football and baseball in high school and also worked out on his own to build up his slender body.[27] The specifics of what he did in training, however, are not clear. His friend and contemporary biographer, Harford Powel, once asked Camp about his boyhood exercise routine and reported that Camp "admitted smilingly, that he was an under muscled, gawky boy. He said he had planned a few body-building exercises for himself, but he did not describe them definitely." Powel, however, went on to claim that while Camp had been vague, he as his biographer, had a "very clear picture" of how he trained. According to Powel, "Walter Camp must have had his own private gymnasium in his parent's home. He must have bent forward and back and sideways, patient, half a hundred times each morning. He must have risen dozens of times a day on his toes, before the steel-like tendons in his legs gave him superb power and balance that marked his football running later on. He must have inhaled regularly, before that thin chest of his became deep. He took long runs on the roads around New Haven."[28]

Whether this description of Camp's training experiences is at all accurate, is impossible to say. However, Powel's description of his early training has been repeated by Camp's later biographers who tell similar tales of Camp's jogging through the streets of New Haven in the evening and of him us-

In the summer of 1917, after America entered World War I, Walter Camp led an exercise class for a group of high ranking government officials behind the Treasury Building in Washington, D.C. Among the group were Cabinet members, State Department staff members, and other middle-aged officials. They called themselves unofficially—"The Walter Scamps." *Courtesy of Library of Congress*

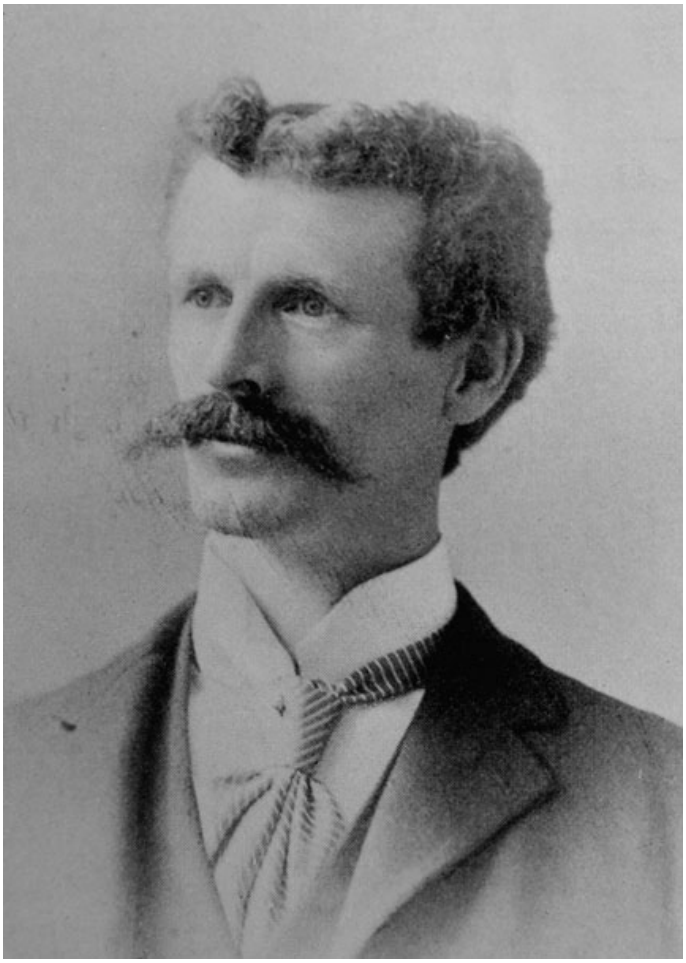
ing some sort of daily exercise regimen to gain agility, speed and endurance.[29]

Whatever he did, it worked. The gawky boy was gone by the time Camp entered Yale University in the fall of 1876.[30] By then, Camp stood 5'10" tall and was an "outstanding pitcher" who also played shortstop and left field in baseball.[31] He competed on the track team where he ran the hurdles, reportedly coming up with a more efficient technique for clearing the hurdles than seen before in the Ivy Leagues. He rowed on the crew team, won swimming races from "short distances to five miles," was a "fine golfer," and played tennis.[32] However, football was his favorite sport. He played half-back, punted, dropkicked, and served as team captain for three years. He also became Yale's representative to the fledgling Intercollegiate Football Association on which he served in various capacities for the next several decades.[33] Although sport dominated his collegiate experiences, Camp's ability as a writer also became apparent at Yale as he won both the Ivy Ode and class poem competitions as an undergraduate. His "big man on campus" status was certified in his senior year with his induction into the secretive and highly prestigious Skull and Bones Society.[34]

Following graduation in 1880, Camp entered Yale's medical school but left after two years and took a job selling watches in New York City. Liking the world of business better than surgery (he reportedly could not deal with the sight of blood), he soon moved to the New York branch of the New Haven Clock Company. Camp stayed with the company and soon moved back to New Haven. He rose through its management ranks and ultimately became president in 1903. He served in that post for 20 years and was then made chairman of the Board of Directors.[35]

Training the National Security League

While Camp's personal transformation no doubt allowed him to understand, as Powel asserted, that "Physical development is not a gift. It comes because a man has worked for it, somehow." Camp did not consider himself an authority on physical fitness when he began the Internal Defense League in the spring of 1917.[36] Although he had trained to be a football player and later advised athletes on conditioning for the game, Camp turned to Dr. William G. Anderson, head of the Yale Gymnasium, for advice on how to organize the workouts for this older group. Surprisingly, although the archives at Yale demonstrate that the two men worked together to launch the League, Camp makes no mention of Anderson or his ideas on how to progressively bring men into better condition in his later books.[37] However, Anderson made significant contributions to the evolution of the system as can be seen in his letter to Camp on 30 March 1917. In it, Anderson outlined the kinds of exercises he felt would be appropriate, writing that he did not want the men "to become sore muscularly," yet it was "essential that we 'set-up' the body by posture drills that will widen and deepen the chest, strengthen the action of the heart and lungs, and wash out the somewhat sluggish organs with fresh arterial blood, and in this manner renew their youth."[38] Anderson then assured Camp that this "can be done at the Gymnasium, and I will supervise the work, and at times will give personal instruction."[39] Anderson's letter went on to discuss the need to also include outdoor work and explained that he concurred with Camp's "views on walking and the carrying of weights."[40]



Dr. William G. Anderson of Yale worked with Walter Camp in developing the National Security League. Although he played a role in developing the earliest versions of The Daily Dozen, he is rarely given appropriate credit for his contributions.

A surviving typed page (with a few additional handwritten notes) enclosed with that letter

was titled, "A Preliminary and Tentative Schedule of Bodily Exercises for Business Men over Forty Years of Age."[41] Signed by Anderson, it listed ten essential exercises and included several suggestions for Camp to consider at the bottom:

> 1. A drill in the correct standing position with special attention *[Ed note: This originally said "weight" but that was struck through and "attention" hand-written in its place.]* on the position of the head, neck, shoulders and arms, chest, abdomen, hips, legs and feet.
> 2. A series of movements for widening and deepening the thorax.
> 3. Movements for mildly *[Ed note: "mildly" hand-written in here.]* stimulating the action of the heart.
> 4. Movements for increasing the capacity and endurance of the lungs.
> 5. Balancing exercises which have their object the performing of work with the least expenditure of effort. Conservation of neuro-muscular energy.
> 6. A series of exercises for the abdominal muscles and for washing out the vegetative machinery. (Liver, kidneys, spleen, intestinal tract etc.)
> 7. A series of movements for the muscles of the back.
> 8. Exercises that give increased stimulation to the heart and lungs.
> 9. Slow leg work to normalize the action of the heart and lungs.
> 10. Breathing exercises.
>
> The work is progressive in force, duration and extent of movement.
>
> Can be safely taken by adults. Is attractive and will in an unexpected manner renew a man's youth.
>
> Some of the training includes a few simple marches which call for prompt reaction to command and volition.[42]

On 9 April 1917, the first day of training for Camp's new recruits, 75 men showed up to work out at the Yale Gymnasium. They began their exercises under the watchful eye of Dr. Anderson and then went outdoors for a march led by Camp himself. Later that day, in a letter to a politician in Washington, Camp reported that the first day's workout was a great success, and "all are very enthusiastic."[43] Throughout March and April in 1917, Camp worked tirelessly to build the league and wrote dozens of letters to governors, mayors, Congressmen, US Cabinet members, and even President Woodrow Wilson telling them about the new group that he began to call the Senior Service Corps.[44] On 7 April 1917, for example, Camp wrote to H. B. Moss, President of the Sporting Writers Association apologizing for not "being with you tonight but this Senior Service Corps matter has grown so big that I cannot get away." He then told Moss that he had received letters from three Governors that morning, "approving, and wishing to get the detail of the plan."[45] On that same day, Camp wrote Mr. Rolph Duff, Secretary to Governor Sleeper of Michigan that he was sending details on how to start the organization in their state. Camp claimed, "We should be able to get one hundred thousand men of this age in your state, which would release just so many younger men from more active service."[46] He wrote Cleveland H. Dodge on 7 April as well, making reference to earlier letters he had written to Princeton officials "about matters of preparedness," and then congratulating the university on being "well to the fore, as always, in the country's service."[47]

By May, Camp and Anderson were inviting other physical educators to become members of an advisory board for the Senior Service Corps. Anderson used his professional connections to sign up Professor Frederick Marvel (Brown University), Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent (Harvard University), Dr. Joseph Raycroft (Princeton University), Dr. James Huff McCurdy (Springfield College), Dr. Thomas Storey (City College of New York), and Dr. Paul Phillips (Amherst College). This distinguished group, Anderson wrote to Camp, gave the Corps more academic credibility with the public and, "a strong backing among the college physical directors."[48]

With the New Haven group off and running, Camp turned his eyes toward Washington where he hoped he could directly train America's leaders and make them role models for the nation. Again, letter after letter went into the New Haven post addressed to Cabinet members, legislators, and even the president himself. Assistant Secretary of Commerce E.F. Sweet, for example, wrote back sympathetically to Camp's query regarding the Senior Service Corps suggesting other men Camp should also write to in this next phase of his quest.[49] In a letter on 18 May

One member of the 1917 Washington Senior Service Corps group was Franklin Delano Roosevelt, shown here as the second man from the right in the first row. Roosevelt was the youngest member of the exercise squad at age 35 and, according to Camp, he was then a "beautifully built young man, with the long muscles of the athlete." In 1921, Roosevelt became paralyzed with polio, yet continued his political career and served as our 32nd president. *Courtesy of Library of Congress*

1917 Camp told Sweet more about the New Haven experiment explaining that he had been "having an experimental test along scientific lines upon a corps of 110 men here for four weeks, I know positively what can be done." Urging Sweet to share his letter and some enclosed materials with the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, Camp asked them to begin a training group. "I can assure you," wrote Camp, "that they will be of at least twenty-five per cent greater efficiency, at an expenditure of only an hour a day three days in the week, and the chances are that they will last out the long strain that is coming."[50]

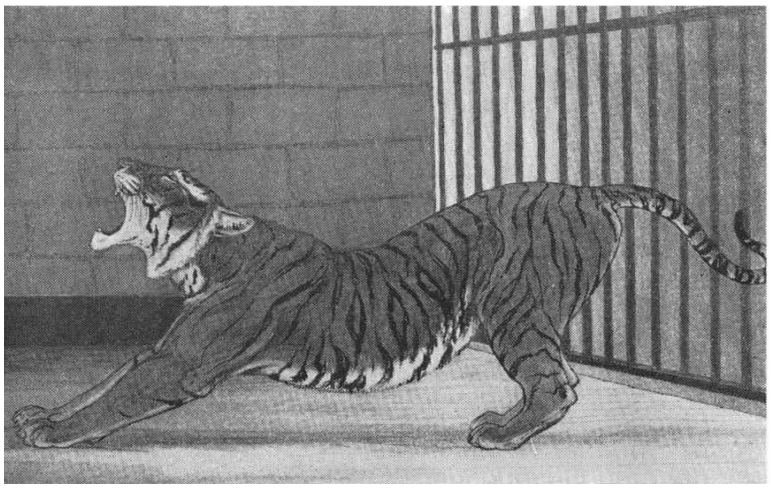
On 17 May 1917 Representative John Q. Tilson of Connecticut addressed the U.S. House of Representatives and pled the case of the Senior Service Corps.[51] His lengthy speech praised Camp's work and urged his fellow politicians to become involved. The most important of all our country's resources, Tilson explained, "is man power." Young men were "needed for the battle line," while older men were "just as necessary to provide money, food and material." The problem, he explained, was that "too little attention" was being paid to "conserving the power of these older gentlemen."[52] What was needed was a new approach, he explained, one advocated by Walter Camp, the "great football authority."[53] Camp, according to Tilson, was perfect for the job as he was "not only the father and one of the natural guardians of football, he is also a man of large business affairs, with wide knowledge of business men."[54] Tilson then told his fellow members about the New Haven experiment, where Camp was "attempting to lengthen and strengthen the effective years of mature men."[55] Looking at the men seated around him, Tilson reminded them that the "most valuable men behind the lines," were 45 years of age or older.[56] They were men "upon whom the Government depends," and they needed to be "made fit and kept at the maximum of their efficiency."[57] Camp's program, Tilson explained, did not ask older adults to train like the young, but to practice a "scientific conservation of … energy" that would bring America's leaders to the "highest point of efficiency" for the coming emergency."[58]

Tilson next told his fellow congressmen of the one hundred men from 45 to 73 years of age—including former President William Howard Taft, university deans, company presidents, judges, and professors—who had participated successfully in Camp's Senior Service Corps. The men, according to Tilson, became fitter, lost inches from their waists, increased the girth of their chests, and attained better posture.[59] Their rapid fitness conversion he explained, had also gained the attention of Secretary of War, Newton Baker, who had "given it his unqualified approval as a means of putting in physical condition men past the military age."[60] General Electric, Tilson continued, was also trying it. They had "applied for 100 books of instruction to start a squad there."[61]

Tilson closed by reading a letter from Walter Camp himself. "Permit me to come to Washington," wrote Camp, "and let me have as my football squad for one hour of a prearranged day—from 8 to 9 o'clock a.m.—President Wilson, Secretary Lan-

sing, Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Baker, Attorney General Gregory, Postmaster Burleson, Secretary Daniels, Secretary Lane, Secretary Houston, Secretary Redfield, and Secretary Wilson. I promise not to 'scrimmage' them," he continued, "but to take them through the hour's work. They will not make 'touchdowns,' but will shoulder again the burdens of the state with renewed vigor. What they do they can ask any man of 45 and over to do. It is not as hazardous as testing a submarine or an aeroplane, but it might prove as great a gain for our country in the long run."[62]

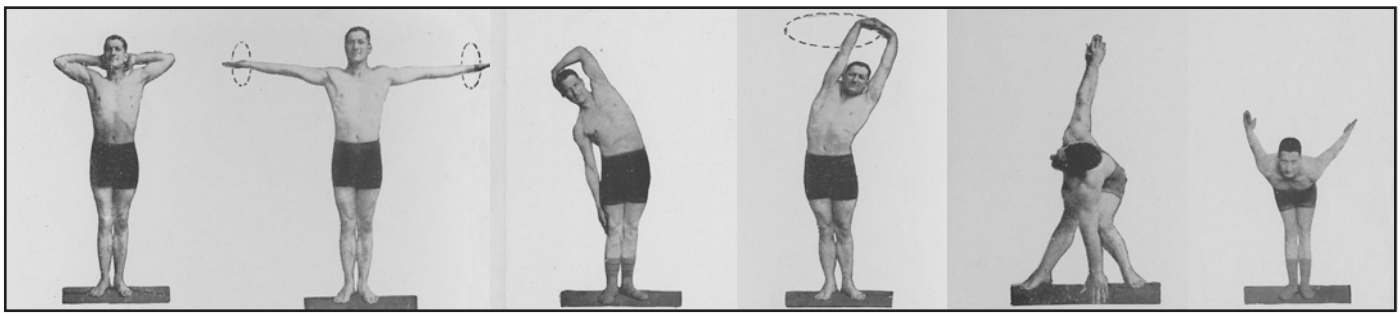
Camp got his wish, and in the early summer of 1917, as the fragrant scent of cherry blossoms drifted through the nation's capital, one could hear the "Father of American Football," Walter Camp, bellowing military-style commands to a group of exercisers. His trainees were not his boys of fall preparing for another season of football, but, rather, some of the most powerful men in America—Cabinet members, State Department staff, and other high ranking government officials, men of middle age and beyond—who gathered behind the Treasury Building four times a week to train with Walter Camp.[63] Although the Washington group unofficially called themselves "The Walter Scamps," the participation of these public figures in Camp's exercise routine, helped spread Camp's system and made adult exercise more acceptable in the eyes of many Americans.[64]



This stretching tiger image appeared on the cover of the first edition of Camp's *Daily Dozen* book, and then appeared inside most other editions. Camp claimed (as Charles Atlas later did) that watching animals stretch had convinced him that the body alone could provide enough resistance for physical perfection.

The Washington workouts began with a series of gentle warm-up exercises designed to loosen muscles and joints no longer possessing the suppleness of youth. Camp lined up his trainees for these so-called "setting up" exercises, as if they were a military squad and began the sessions with exercises to expand the chest and improve posture. After taking them through the warmup routine, the men did more strenuous work, walking, running up hills, and even carrying weighted bars to mimic the weight of a rifle.[65] One of the men in this inaugural group, Camp later wrote, was a "beautifully built young man, with the long muscles of the athlete." This description referred to future president (and later polio victim) Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy.[66] At age 35, Roosevelt was one of the younger men in the group, but he trained alongside other notable figures: Attorney General, Thomas Gregory; Secretary of the Interior, Daniel Roper; Secretary of Labor, William Wilson; Assistant Secretary of Commerce, Edwin Sweet; Solicitor General, John Davis; Frank Polk from the State Department; Paul Warburg from the Federal Reserve Board; and other politicos. The group shared Tilson's and Camp's belief that it was their patriotic duty to be physically fit. Probably, none of them expected that they would don a uniform and engage in battle, but, as America's leaders, they believed that Camp's call to fitness for older Americans made sense; especially when he promised that their increased fitness would help them withstand the tough decisions and increased pressures they would face as they steered America through World War I.[67] On 24 June 1917 the *New York Times Magazine* gave Camp's Senior Service Corps an incredible boost by devoting an entire page-and-a-half to a lengthy article praising Camp's work and urging Americans from all walks of life to join in the new national fitness movement.[68] The support of the *New York Times,* along with the publicity generated by the high-ranking Washington politicos, stimulated dozens of other Senior Service Corps groups to emerge in cities across the nation in the summer of 1917.[69]

Camp's exercise prescription was, at this time, a set of calisthenic exercises followed by rapid marching. He codified the routine into twelve exercises; and, for ease of memorization, the movements were divided into four separate groups of three exercises. Each individual exercise in a particular group started with the same letter.[70] The starting point for each exercise had the exerciser standing in a "cross" position with the "arms extended laterally and horizontally," with the palms facing down. Each exercise name was a command term given after the prepara-



Camp's Daily Dozen were calisthenic type exercises that carried unusual names. The first image depicts The Head exercise. This arm circle exercise (second image) was called The Grind. The third image shows a side stretch called The Crawl. The fourth image illustrates The Wave. The fifth image shows a toe-touch called The Weave. The final image shows Camp's exercise called The Wing. They all appear as illustrations in Camp's 1925 book, *The Daily Dozen.*

Table 1. Walter Camp's Daily Dozen from the November 1918 *Outing Magazine*

1) Hands – At the command of 'hands' the arms were brought down to the side from "cross" position. They should not be allowed to slap against sides.

2) Hips – At this command, arms are dropped from "cross" and hands "placed on the hips with shoulders, elbows and thumbs well back.

3) Head – Hands from "cross" to behind neck, index fingers just touching and elbows forced back. In this exercise and the proceeding, the commands, "head," "hips," "hands," etc. are sometimes given in quick succession or varied on the chance of catching the unwary napping.

4) Grind – Command is "cross" command and then "turn." Palms are turned up with backs of hands down and arms back as far as possible. Leader orders "grind" and counts from one to ten. Movement is a twelve inch circle with finger tips. A complete circle is described at each count. On backward movement of circle, arms are forced back to limit. At command 'reverse,' same circles are described in opposite direction. Ten circles are described in each direction.

5) Grate – Arms are raised from horizontal to an angle of forty-five degrees a deep breath being taken. Also heels are raised from ground. Then arms are returned to horizontal, breath exhaled, and heels back to ground. Arms should be raised and lowered ten times.

6) Grasp – Command is "cross" "grasp," then "head." Hands behind head. Leader counts one to four. Body is bent forward from the waist as far as possible. Return to upright in same number of counts. Then at slow "one," body is bent backward far as possible and returned upright at "two." Repeat entire movement five times.

7) Crawl – "Cross," then "crawl." Leader counts one to four while right palm is turned up and arm raised and left arm at sides; an upright position. Then leader counts one to three and body is bent sidewise from waist, left hand slipping down below knee and right hand over head and fingers touching left ear. At "four," position of "cross" is resumed. Repeat entire movement five times.

8) Curl – Feet about twelve inches apart. As leader counts one to four, forearms drop from "cross' and are bent down from elbows which are kept pressed back. At "three," fists are curled into armpits; at "four," head and shoulders have been forced back. Then leader counts one to four again. At "one" arms are extended straight forward from shoulders, palms down. At "two" arms fall and body bends forward at waist. By time "four" has been reached, trunk of body is horizontal and arms are well back and in air. Then leader counts one to four as body is straightened to upright position with arms straight forward at 'three." At same time a full breath is taken. "Cross" is resumed at "four." Start over again, holding breath through the first part of movement. Repeat entire movement five times.

9) Crouch – Heels twelve inches apart. Leader counts, one, two. At "one," body is lowered nearly to heels, keeping trunk erect. At "two," upright again. Repeat movement ten times.

10) Wave – Arms straight above head, fingers interlaced. Leader counts one to four as complete circle about twenty-four inches in diameter is described with hands, body bending only at waist. Same count for reverse. Five circles should be described in each direction.

11) Weave – Body turns to right, the right arm swings up and left down, body being bent at waist so that the left hand touch ground midway between feet. Position of cross is resumed then reverse is gone through, body turning to left. The entire movement is repeated ten times.

12) Wing – Arms are extended straight upward from horizontal. Then arms fall forward and body bends forward from waist. The arms pass the sides and are forced back. Leader has counted one to four. Same count is repeated as body is straightened upright position, arms up and then to "cross." Very slow counting in this exercise. All air is forced from lungs as body bends forward. Lungs are filled to capacity as body is straightened. Entire movement is repeated five times.

tory command of "cross" that brought the exerciser back to the starting posture.[71] In a 1918 article for *Outing* magazine, Camp described the exercises as outlined in Table 1 on the previous page.[72]

At some point in late 1917 or early 1918, Camp published this set of exercises, which he had begun to call "The Daily Dozen," in a small pamphlet under the auspices of the National Security League. It is not exactly clear just how, or if, the Senior Service Corps was absorbed into the National Security League at this time but there *is* clear evidence of multiple editions of Camp's booklet, for in a report by the NSL it stated that "over 2,500 copies of Walter Camp's Manual of Physical Exercises have been distributed" to their members in 1918.[73]

While Camp was in Washington and making exercise converts out of his aging politicians, the Navy also began to look to him for advice on training their recruits. When America entered the war in April 1917, the Navy consisted of only fifty-six thousand men. In less than 18 months, there were more than four hundred thousand men on active duty.[74] In order to prepare the sailors for their new duties, the Navy had to quickly standardize physical training, which became a serious problem since the new recruits possessed radically different levels of fitness.[75]

Walter Camp's Daily Dozen exercise routine found popularity with the general public with the rise of the home phonograph. Camp's advertisements were found in publications such as the *New York Times* and *Collier's Magazine* as well as local newspapers.

Camp claimed in his 1925 book, *The Daily Dozen*, that his work with the Navy began following a letter of request from an unnamed officer:

> At the beginning of the war, when such a heavy percentage of our young men were found unfit for military service, the government was faced with the stupendous problem of training the millions of men who were found sufficiently accepted. A letter came to me from the commandant of one of the great naval training stations. He was disgusted with the old-fashioned setting-up drill prescribed in regulations. He said that when the men followed it faithfully, they were tired out, and left without the zest or energy for their other duties. Also, it was easy for the man who wasn't conscientious to go through the motions without doing any real work. The officer asked me if I could suggest some better kind of drill.[76]

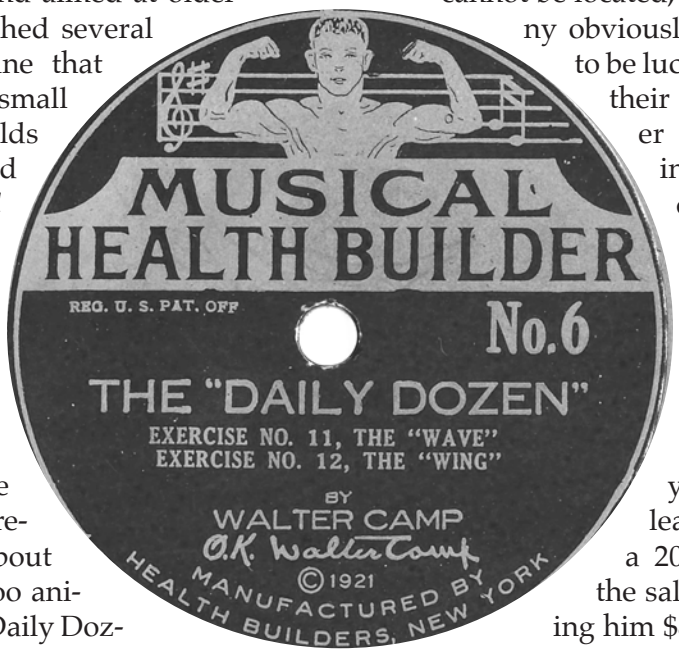
According to Camp, he examined numerous training systems and methods including those of experts like Doctor Dudley Sargent at Harvard who had written that "more than one-half of the male population between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years are unable to meet the health requirements of military service."[77] These stunning statistics, Camp wrote, had "opened our eyes." He felt that there needed to be a far "broader comprehension of what physical condition and physical education really mean."[78] Also cited as inspiration by Camp was a visit he made to a naval training station where he saw men living closely together in squalid conditions who were unable to resist such diseases as meningitis, measles and scarlet fever. "The camp surgeons were keenly on the alert to prevent the spread of such diseases," he explained, "but their efforts were largely negative," because the camp's daily "setting-up drill" left the sailors tired and physically vulnerable.[79] Camp did not turn to "weight training" to build the resistance the men needed, however. Camp had little regard for barbells and dumbbells and the large leg and arm muscles they created. Sandow and his ilk might be "built like giants," he wrote, but they were "rotten inside" and lacked the "suppleness, chest expansion, resistive force, and endurance" that a military life required.[80]

The full story of Camp's involvement with the training of men who served in the Navy and other branches of the military during World War I

is beyond the scope of this paper.[81] However, that his work with the Navy further established him as a physical culture expert in the eyes of the public cannot be disputed.[82]

A Reluctant Physical Culture Entrepreneur

Camp's foray into commercial physical culture began in 1919 with the publication of a small book titled *Keeping Fit All the Way: How to Obtain and Maintain Health, Strength and Efficiency.*[83] The book was similar to manuals distributed by the National Security League earlier, and like those, provided instructions for group leaders. The following year, 1920, he released *The Handbook of Health and How to Keep It*, a book that included two Daily Dozen routines—the first a copy of what the Navy men used during the war and a second aimed at older civilians.[84] He then published several articles in *Colliers* magazine that were combined into a small booklet sold by the Reynolds Publishing Company titled *The Daily Dozen for Men and Women.*[85] The soft cover of the book contained an illustration of a stretching tiger and the admonition, "Take a Tip from the Tiger and Stay Young."[86] Camp claimed in the book that it was watching his dog rise and stretch in front of his fireplace as well as thinking about the vitality of circus and zoo animals that had inspired the Daily Dozen. He told his readers that animals do not lift weights but they do twist and stretch, and in doing those activities, "the lion and tiger and dog keep fitter than you do."[87]



This record label is from one of the five records in the set sold by the Health Builder Company in 1921. Records one through three had two exercises on each side as this one illustrates. The last two records had routines involving three different exercises. Camp advised that if the normal 78 rpm speed was too fast then one could simply slow it down using your record player's speed regulator until proficiency was gained.

In 1921, a new technology allowed exercisers not just to read about the Daily Dozen—but to exercise "with Camp" through the release of a five-record set of instructional recordings to be used in the privacy of their homes. According to music historian Tim Gracyk, between 1916 and 1920 most record players sold in large wooden cabinets making them expensive and cumbersome. In the early 1920s, however, several companies began marketing smaller, more portable "talking machines" that became increasingly fashionable. The arrival of these less expensive Victrolas, as they were commonly called, "created new markets for musical recordings and allowed a few physical culture entrepreneurs to experiment with a new way to deliver exercise."[88] Wallace M. Rogerson, a Chicago-based physical culturist who specialized in weight loss for women, copyrighted the first physical fitness records in 1920.[89] Wallace's first set of exercise records were pressed by the Columbia Phonograph Company and sold via mail order. Camp's record set, marketed by the Health Builders Company in New York, appeared almost immediately after Rogerson's and sold by both mail order and in stores. The five records consisted of rousing band marches over which Camp shouted exercise commands.[90]

Camp's *Daily Dozen* records were marketed for the next several years, and although sales figures cannot be located, the Health Builder Company obviously found the Camp records to be lucrative, as they began selling their own portable record player called the "Camp-Fone" in April 1923.[91] Weighing only 15 pounds, the small Victrola sold for $25. An ad for the new machine claimed, "The Camp-Fone appeals both to the Walter-Camp 'fans,' and to all outdoor camp enthusiasts, as well."[92] In 1921, the first year the records were released, Health Builders paid a 20-cent royalty to Camp on the sale of 4,182 record sets, earning him $836.40. That figure is hardly insignificant when one considers that the average American man earned just over $3200 annually in 1920.[93] Following the release of the records, a revised edition of the *Daily Dozen* book appeared, although this time, Health Builders held the copyright. In 1922, Health Builders renewed the copyright suggesting that the book remained popular, requiring new editions.[94]

Camp published his final book on physical culture, also called *The Daily Dozen* in 1925. It appeared just after his unexpected death of a heart attack that same year, and so Camp's friend and biographer, Harford Powel completed the final editing. In an Editor's Note, inside the greatly expanded, hardcover edition, Powel tried to distance Camp from

other physical culturists, and from the idea that he might have made money from his exercise system. *The Daily Dozen*, Powel claimed, was "not developed as a money-making idea." Camp put out the *Daily Dozen,* Powel argued, "as his personal contribution to winning the war." He had turned to publishing after the war only because of the incredible growth of his ideas and the fact that people "from small towns and big cities" were imploring Camp to come and visit them in order to "demonstrate the amazing new system which was easy to do, and which was accomplishing so much for its devotees."[95]

Powel's attempt to distance Camp from physical culture entrepreneurs like Macfadden and Sandow reveals more than it convinces. While it does not appear that Camp ever took out any kind of patent or copyright on the idea of the Daily Dozen itself and *Colliers*, in 1920, wrote that Camp's system "has never been commercialized," the truth is that Camp did receive money from magazine articles, books and even record sales related to the Daily Dozen, and he, or Powel on his behalf, copyrighted the 1925 edition of *The Daily Dozen*.[96]

While Camp's exercise methods and his desired type of fitness were quantifiably different than those espoused by either Sandow or Macfadden, it was Camp's upper-class upbringing, Yale University training, government connections, and most importantly, the fact he published his ideas in "mainstream" magazines like *Colliers*, that made him stand alone in early-twentieth-century physical culture as an unstigmatized expert.

One measure of how the public viewed his physical culture advocacy can be seen the various obituaries in which the Daily Dozen and his advocacy of fitness and exercise were discussed as among his most important contributions to American life. As the *Bridgeport* (Connecticut) *Telegram* put it:

> As a successful business man Mr. Camp was well known in his own community but not so well known outside. As a football mentor, and the author of one of the classics on football, he was known to all followers of that greatest of college sports. But perhaps his greatest bid to national fame came when, toward the close of a well-rounded life, he set the whole nation [to] daily bending and bowing, kneeling and rising to the schedule of the 'daily dozen. . . .The preaching of the gospel of fitness will long be associated with the name of Walter Camp. The schedule which he originally invented as a substitute for regular exercise in the war days has come to be adopted in hundreds of thousands of American homes. If we are to believe the insurance companies, he has surely been the means of bringing a higher degree of personal fitness and good health to countless people, and perhaps has been the means of prolonging many lives as well. Surely a useful service, and entitling him to nation's grateful remembrance as he passes into the beyond.[97]

Clearly, he was recognized as one of the most significant physical culture experts of the early twentieth century.

While this essay has attempted to provide the proverbial big picture of how Camp's Daily Dozen emerged as a favored form of exercise during World War I, and to examine Camp's endeavors in rousing Americans of all ages to pursue greater fitness in the years after the war, the authors fully acknowledge that only part of this tale is told here. Further work is warranted on nearly all the topics referenced in this essay—the Senior Service Corps, Camp's Navy work, his physical culture articles and books, and even Camp's own feelings about the field of physical culture and his involvement in it. Future scholars will, hopefully, more fully unpack Camp's physical culture legacy and explore, for example, the impact his antithetical views on weight training may have had on coaches and the greater world of sport. Camp's reliance on animals as models for fitness and sources of inspiration also bears further investigation in light of Charles Atlas's citing his visits to the zoo to watch the tigers and lions as the inspiration for his training course—which appeared after Camp's first Daily Dozen books.[98] Finally, it would also be interesting to track the hundreds of uses of the term Daily Dozen since Camp's time—particularly in the fitness industry where it has been used again and again by those selling books and training courses. York Barbell most notably appropriated it in 1958 for the title of their new training guide—*Bob Hoffman's Daily Dozen*.[99]

Notes

1. The Olympic Congress ran 15-23 June 1914. Bill Mallon, Ian Buchanan, Jeroen Heijmans, *Historical Dictionary of the Olympic Movement* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2011), 255. See also: International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Congresses: Overview of the Content of the Archives Concerning the Organization, Running and Decisions of the Congresses between 1894 and 1981* (Lausanne, Switzerland, 18 April 2011), 18-21.

2. For discussion on Camp's trip to Paris, see: Richard P. Borkowski, "Life and Contributions of Walter Camp" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1979), 234-236.

3. Ibid.; and "World War One," viewed at: www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/world-war-i-history#section_1.

4. The poem was first published in the *New York American*, 29 September 1914. Camp also included it in Walter Camp, *Keeping Fit all the Way* (New York: Harper & Bros. Publishers, 1919), 40-41.

5. Harford Powel only briefly mentions Camp's work with The Daily Dozen in Harford Powel, Jr., *Walter Camp: Father of American Football* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1926), 163-165. Kathleen Valenzi makes brief mention of his wartime work and the Daily Dozen, but does not frame the work in a physical culture context in Kathleen D. Valenzi, *Champion of Sport: The Life of Walter Camp, 1859-1925* (Charlottesville, VA: Howell Press, Inc., 1990), 81-99. Julie Des Jardins frames Camp's Daily Dozen as an alternative to the "German Turners, physical culturists, and Swedish drillers" in a brief passage in Julie Des Jardins, *Walter Camp: Football and the Modern Man*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 296-297. Borkowski briefly covers many of Camp's accomplishments, concluding that Camp was a "Promotor of Physical Fitness," but not in a physical culture context in Borkowski, "The Life and Contributions," 293. Finally, Roger R. Tamte, author of the most recent biography of Camp, also focuses on his football exploits and spends only a few pages discussing Camp's wartime physical fitness work in Roger R. Tamte, *Walter Camp and the Creation of American Football* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 292-298.

6. Between 1888 and 1912, Walter Camp served at Yale University as football coach, as athletic director, and as a special advisor. John J. Miller, *The Big Scrum: How Teddy Roosevelt Saved Football* (New York: Harper, 2011), 65-90. To see how sport history textbooks cover Camp, see: Betty Swanson and Richard Spears, *History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States,* 3rd ed. (Dubuque, IA: Championship Books, 1988): 139-140; Gerald Gems and Gertrud Pfister, *Understanding American Sports* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 142; and S.W. Pope, *Patriotic Games: Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination 1876-1926* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 90. See also: Michael Oriard, *King Football: Sport and spectacle in the Golden Age of Radio and Newsreels, Movies and Magazines, The Weekly and The Daily Press* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 130-131.

7. Steven W. Pope briefly refers to Camp supervising President Wilson's Cabinet and Camp's naval work in a short paragraph in S.W. Pope, "The World War I American Military Experience," in *Sport in America: from Colonial Leisure to Celebrity Figures and Globalization*, vol 2, ed. David K. Wiggins (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2010), 207, 209. Camp is not mentioned at all in David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) even though the book references the National Security League, military preparedness and other aspects of preparing for World War I.

8. Walter Camp quoted in Powel, Jr., *Walter Camp, 164.*

9. Quoted in Special Committee of the House of Representatives, *Hearings on H.R. 469 and H.R. 476 to Investigate and Make Report as to the Officers, Membership, Financial Support, Expenditures, General Character, Activities, and Purposes of the National Security League, A Corporation of New York, and any of Associated Organizations*, 65th Cong., 3rd session, Part IV, 1918, 204. Viewed at: hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433004204792.

10. Ibid. Robert D. Ward, "The Origin and Activities of the National Security League: 1914-1919," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47, no.1 (June 1960): 52.

11. Ibid.

12. "The National Security League and Preparedness for War," *The Advocate of Peace* 77, no. 7 (July 1915): 158-159.

13. Ibid.

14. John S.D Eisenhower, *Teddy Roosevelt and Leonard Wood: Partners in Command* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2014). See also: Jack C. Lane, "Wood, Leonard," *American National Biography Online* (2000) viewed at: www.anb.org/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-0600730.

15. Dues for regular membership were one dollar a year, life members paid twenty-five dollars, and founding members one hundred dollars. Several large donors helped keep the group running, including Cornelius Vanderbilt, Mortimer Schiff, George W. Perkins, and Bernard Baruch. Harold T. Pulsifer, "The Security League Conference," *Outlook* 111 (8 December 1915): 853-54. See also: Ward, "The Origin and Activities," 53-54; and House Subcommittee, *Hearings*, 5.

16. Ward, "The Origin and Activities," 55. Poster, "Washington Said," for National Security League, circa 1916, Pritzker Military Museum and Library viewed at: cdm16630.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/ref/collection/p16630coll2/id/2044.

17. Hew Strachan, *The First World War* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 222-230. See also: Edward M. Coffman, *The War to End all Wars: The American Military Experience in World War I* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1986), 7. One of the most important precipitating factors for America to enter the war was the discovery of the "Zimmermann Telegraph," a secret diplomatic communication issued from the German Foreign Office proposing a military alliance between Germany and Mexico should the United States enter World War I, including the annexation of Texas by Mexico. The cable was intercepted and decoded by British intelligence. The information was presented to the American public who became enraged, especially after German Foreign Secretary Arthur Zimmermann publicly admitted the telegram was genuine. It galvanized Americans to begin thinking of the European situation as "their" war too.

18. Borkowski, "Life and Contributions," 237-238.

19. Ibid., and Powel, Jr., *Walter Camp*, 150-5. See also: Jardins, *Walter Camp*.

20 By 1918, Camp was clearly involved with the NSL as he appears in House Subcommittee, *Hearings*, 395. The first appearance reads: "February 27 (1918), committee on physical reserve organized with Walter Camp of New Haven, Conn., as chairman, letters were sent to the principal cities, requesting the formation of local physical reserve committees, and over three hundred of these committees were appointed by these local authorities," (p. 395). The second appearance reads: "February 27 (1918), over 2,500 copies of Walter Camp's Manual of Physical Exercises have been distributed," (p. 395). Camp also published a pamphlet with the League in 1917: Walter Camp and the National Security League, "What the Victory or Defeat of Germany means to Every American," (New York: National Security League, n.d.).

21. Ibid.

22. Although he initially called his new program the Internal Defense League, it was almost immediately renamed The Senior Service Corps. "Walter Camp Head of Home Defenders: Noted Yale Athlete to Condition Men Beyond Military Age as Guards," *New York Sun*, 25 March 1917. See also: Borkowski, "Life and Contributions," 237-238.

23. He wanted to develop them into men able "to make the nineteen-mile march from New Haven to Bridgeport and then be ready for duty," quoted in "Walter Camp Head of Home Defenders."

24 Jardins, *Walter Camp,* 9-38. This is also well documented in Valenzi, *Champion of Sport,* 24, 96-99. Borkowski, "The Life and Contributions." See also: "Biographical Sketch," Walter Chauncey Camp Papers (MS 125) Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT., at: hdl.handle.net/10079/fa/mssa.ms.0125. (Hereafter, Camp's collection

will be referenced as – WCC).
25. Borkowski, "The Life and Contributions," 3.
26. New Haven Museum 2010 Exhibit, "Hopkins in the 19th Century," *Hopkins School: Celebrating 350 Years*, online exhibit narrative viewed at: www.hopkins.edu/ftpimages/82/download/Narrative%20History.pdf.
27. As pointed out by Borkowski, multiple biographers state that Camp worked to build muscle and often ran through the streets of New Haven training his small phyique, however there is practically no primary source information to corroborate the story. Borkowski, "The Life and Contributions," 6. Valenzi's biography makes the same claim but no source is cited in *Champion of Sport*, 16. Jardins makes the same claim in *Walter Camp,* 15.
28. Powel Jr., *Walter Camp,* 4-5.
29. See for example: Jardins, *Walter Camp*, 9-38. Valenzi, *Champion of Sport*, 16.
30. Yale University, "Yale University, University Catalogue, 1876," paper 65, *Yale University Catalogue* (1876), 33, 57, viewed at: elischolar.library.yale.edu/yale_catalogue/65. Camp is listed as a freshman in the "Undergraduate Academical Department," 33. The catalogue sets forth all required academic courses for each department without a reference for any physical education requirements. The only mention of the gymnasium states: "The Gymnasium is designed to provide all students with opportunities for exercise. Those who use the bath-rooms pay a small fee for tickets," 57. The 1880 catalogue makes the same reference to the gymnasium and lists Camp as a senior.
31. *Obituary Record of Yale Graduates, 1924-1925*, Bulletin of Yale University, Twenty-First Series, Number Twenty-Two (New Haven: Yale University, 1925), viewed at: mssa.library.yale.edu/obituary_record/1859_1924/1924-25.pdf; and Biographical Sketch. See also Powel Jr., *Walter Camp;* Jardins, *Walter Camp*, 9-38; Valenzi, *Champion of Sport*.
32. Ibid.
33. Camp is credited with introducing the idea of playing the game in 15-minute quarters, instituting the eleven player limit, creating the 'safety' as a scoring play, creating the line of 'scrimmage,' and inventing the quarterback position. He also created the "downs system," and suggested the field be divided by white lines, which resulted in the moniker "gridiron." Pamela Grundy and Benjamin Radar, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Televised Sports,* 7th ed. (New York: Pearson, 2015), 73-75, 154.
34. Valenzi, *Champion of Sport*, 24.
35. Ibid. Although his job at the New Haven Clock Company was demanding, Camp still had enough energy to supplement his income by writing more than 250 popular articles for magazines and newspapers and publishing 30 books. Some of Camp's non-football titles include: *Handbook on Health: And How to Keep It*, (New York: D. Appleton Co., 1920); *Walter Camp's Book of College Sports* (New York: The Century Company, 1893); *Athletes All: Training, Organization, and Play* (New York: Scribner, 1919); *Keeping Fit All the Way: How to Obtain and Maintain Health, Strength and Efficiency* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919). Examples of some of his articles include: "A Day's Foot-ball Practice at Yale," *Harper's Weekly* 32, no. 1066 (24 November 1888): 890; "The Historic Game of Football," *Youth's Companion,* no. 74 (29 November 1900): 625-6; "The New Idea in Athletics," *Outing Magazine* 55, no. 6 (March 1910): 651; and "Industrial Athletics: How the Sports for Soldiers and Sailors are Developing into Civilian Athletics," *Outlook* 122 (11 June 1919): 252.
36. Powel Jr., *Walter Camp,* 4-5.
37. For information on Anderson see: Judith Schiff, "Building a Better Student Body: The Doctor Who Pioneered Physical Education at Yale," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, January/February 2016, viewed at: yalealumnimagazine.com/articles/4213-building-a-better-student-body.
38. Letter, W.G. Anderson to Walter Camp, 30 March 1917, Box 2, File Folder 47, WCC.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid. Anderson was one of the few academic physical educators in this era to recommend moderate weight training. He includes a short section on the activity in: William G. Anderson and William L. Anderson, *A Manual of Physical Training, for Boys and Girls, for Use by Public-school Teachers, Parents, and the Superintendents of Junior Societies in Churches* (Boston and Chicago: United Society of Christian Endeavor, 1913), 89-92.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Letter, Walter Camp to Maurice Hole, 9 April 1917, Box 22, File 614, WCC.
44. For additional information on the founding of the Senior Service Corps see: Van Tassel Sutphens, "Making Middle-Aged Men Fit to Help in War: Walter Camp Urges Plan of Moderate Physical Training," *New York Times Magazine* (24 June 1917), 60-61.
45. Letter, Walter Camp to H.B. Moss, 7 April 1917, Box 22, File 614, WCC.
46. Letter, Walter Camp to Rolph Duff, 7 April 1917, Box 22, File 614, WCC.
47. Letter, Walter Camp to Cleveland H. Dodge, 7 April 1917, Box 22, File 614, WCC.
48. Letter, W.G. Anderson to Walter Camp, 9 May 1917, Box 22, File 614, WCC; Letter, W.G. Anderson to Walter Camp, 14 May 1917, Box 22, File 614, WCC.
49. Letter, E.F. Sweet to Walter Camp, 10 May 1917, Box 25, File 698, WCC.
50. Letter, Walter Camp to E.F. Sweet, 15 March 1917, Box 25, File 698, WCC.
51. Congressman John Q. Tilson of Connecticut, *Senior Service Corps, Remarks in the House of Representatives*, 17 May 1917, 65th Cong., 1st sess., 1917, 3, viewed at: babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112039404253.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., 4.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid., 5.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid., 6.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid. The title of this book is not known.
62. Ibid., 8-9.
63. For more on Camp as the Father of American Football, see his original biographer, Harford Powel Jr., *Walter Camp*. Numerous historians of sport also refer to Camp as the Father of American Football. See Ronald A. Smith. *Sports & Freedom: The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 83; Michael Oriard, *Reading Football: How the Popular Press Created an American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 35; Robin Lester, *Stagg's University: The Rise, Decline & Fall of Big-Time Football in Chicago* (Urbana: University of Chicago Press: 1995), 104; S.W. Pope refers to Camp as the "Dean of American Football," in *Patriotic Games,* 90. For information about Camp's training of Wilson's cabinet see: "Cabinet Chiefs Learn How to be Young Again," *New York Times*, 22 July 1917. See also: "Cherry Blossum Festival," National Park Service, viewed at: www.nps.gov/subjects/cherryblossom/history-of-the-cherry-trees.htm.
64. The Senior Service Corps was absorbed by the National Security League. It is unclear exactly how this occurred, however John Carver Edwards describes the founder of the National Security League, S. Stanwood Menken as proceeding to "establish a national fitness program under the direction of sportswriter Walter Camp to condition" rejected volunteers for military duty, which occurred sometime in late 1917. That program was Camp's Daily Dozen. John Carver Edwards, *Patriots in Pinstripe: Men of the National Security League* (Washington, DC: University of America Press, 1982), 60. The National Security League published multiple editions of Camp's Daily Dozen as part of its pub-

lications: Committee on Physical Reserve, *A Manual of Physical Training Prepared for Civilian Use* (New York: National Security League, 1919(?)), viewed at: hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015070315828.

65. Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way,* 57, 60-61, 12. See also: Tilson, *Senior Service Corps*, 7-8, viewed at: babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112039404253.

66. H.W. Brands, *Traitor to his Class: The Privileged Life and Radical Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt* (New York: Anchor Books, 2000), 125. A similar scene is described in the *NY Time*s article, "Cabinet Chiefs Learn How to be Young Again." See also: Jardins, *Walter Camp,* 284-287. In a letter to Camp, Roosevelt thanks Camp for the training, which caused him to lose ten pounds, see Letter, Franklin D. Roosevelt to Walter Camp, 2 June 1917, WCC.

67. Sutphen, "Making Middle-Aged Men Fit," 60-61.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid. See also: Jardins, *Walter Camp*, 281-287, and Valenzi, *Champion of Sport*, 89-90. The most famous entity being the group of Cabinet Officials in Washington, DC. One of the best pieces of evidence on the growth of the Senior Service Corps is Camp's letter to Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt on 20 June 1917, in which he states, "You will be glad to know I had applications this week from over four hundred places to start units of the Senior Service Corps, of which you approved on my last visit." Camp to FDR, 20 June 1917, Box 21, Folder 592, WCC. In a March 1919 letter from FDR to Camp, FDR thanks Camp for his program in stating, "I find that this job of running the Navy Department all alone means about fourteen hours a day if one is to do it well, but those exercises on the good ship GEORGE WASHINGTON have made the fourteen hours possible, my only complaint is that I have gained ten pounds, luckily most of it is in the right place. Let me know when you come down here." FDR to Camp, 22 March 1919, Box 21, Folder 592, WCC.

70. Committee on Physical Reserve, *Manual of Physical Training*. An interesting point to note is the publication date on the HathiTrust cover label indicates "1919?" The book is a digitized version of a University of Michigan copy. This appears to be the first edition of the manual as another edition found at: hdl/handle.net/2027/ucl.$b281834, A digitized copy originally from the University of California, appears to be the 2nd edition, however all that is legible is the "ND edition." The inside cover of that copy is stamped "Gift, OCT 1, 1918," but it has the same "1919?" as the other copy on the added cover sheet. However, the apparent 2nd edition from the University of California has the addition of pictures of the exercises. In either case, Walter Camp was the chairman of the committee and within the publication is "The Daily Dozen Set-Up: A shorthand system of setting-up exercises."

71. Ibid.

72. "A Daily Dozen Set-Up: Walter Camp's New Shorthand System of Morning Exercises," *Outing* 73, no. 2 (November 1918): 98-100. In this article, the exercises were listed in order without being grouped into sections.

73. *Hearings* - 27 February 1918 entry, 395.

74. Lawrence Perry, *Our Navy in the War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918), 239-259.

75. Ibid.

76. Camp, *The Daily Dozen*, 27.

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

78. Ibid., 7.

79. Camp, *The Daily Dozen*, 28. Dr. Anderson of Yale is not mentioned in the book.

80. Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way*, 33-34; and Camp, *Training for Sports*, 21-22. For further discussions about the negative aspects of weight training see: Walter Camp, *The Handbook of Health and How to Keep It* (New York, Appleton, 1920), 35.

81. Author Mickey Phillips is working on Camp's contributions to military fitness for his doctoral dissertation. In addition to creating the Daily Dozen program for the Navy, Camp was also appointed as Chairman of the Athletic Department of the U.S. Navy Commission on Training Camp Activities, a position that he held until the armistice. As Chairman, Camp, through his network of coaches, set up athletic training programs at each of the Navy training stations. Across the country at mobilization sites, recruits began boxing, playing baseball, and even playing on competitive football teams.

82. Nor should we doubt the impact his ideas had on American military forces. US Army General L. Bullard cited Camp's contributions to military training in a 1923 *New York Time*s article, arguing that in Camp's system, "The exercises are scientifically developed and are calculated to square up the shoulders, fill out the chest, strengthen the arms and legs and, in general, give the man that bearing which so definitively denotes the soldier." See: "Plea for Training Made by Bullard," *New York Time*s, 2 September 1923.

83. Camp, *Keeping Fit All the Way*.

84. Camp, *Handbook on Health*, 57-73, 74-83.

85. Walter Camp, "Live Faster: Don't Die Faster," *Colliers* 66, no.3 (July 1920): 9-11; Walter Camp, "Keeping Young at Forty," *Colliers*, 5 June 1920, 11-13, 55.

86. Walter Camp, "Foreword," *The Daily Dozen for Men and Women* (New York: Reynolds Publishing Company, 1921), cover and 2.

87. Ibid.

88. For additional history of the phonograph and recording industry see Tim Gracyk, *Popular American Recording Pioneers, 1895-1925* (New York: The Hawthorn Press, 2000), 1-7.

89. He received an official patent for the same product on 14 November 1922. See: "Episode 909, Story 2 – Exercise Records," *History Detectives*, viewed at: www-tc.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/static/media/transcripts/2011-09-06/909_exercise-records.pdf.

90. Ibid.

91. Advertisement – Health Builders, "Walter Camp's Health Builder Records," *The Talking Machine World*, various monthly editions from 1921 to 1923.

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The Nuuanu YMCA and The Glory Days of Hawaii Weightlifting

by Brian Niiya

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Introduction by John D. Fair, The University of Texas at Austin

Introduction

Occasionally the annals of sport reveal the emergence of a rich trove of talented athletes from unexpected places. In recent times this phenomenon appears with the disproportionate number of outstanding American Samoan athletes who have eschewed the traditional colonial sports of cricket and rugby popular in their homeland to play American-style football in North America. By the early twenty-first century, wrote Rob Ruck in his insightful book, *Tropic of Football:*

> hundreds of Samoans were playing NCAA Division I football, hundreds more at junior colleges, and dozens in the NFL. About fifty Samoans from as far away as New Zealand report to NFL camps each summer. That's from a U.S. population of 235,000 Samoans—55,000 on the islands comprising American Samoa, the rest in the States, mostly Hawai'i and California.[1]

Samoan Tua Tagovailoa, to cite just one example, became a star quarterback for the Alabama Crimson Tide and runner-up, as a sophomore, for the 2018 Heisman Trophy. Ruck advances the proposition that it was not so much the "bottom line" that motivated Samoan excellence but a value system that created a "social capital" and "a collective sense of purpose."[2] Such altruistic qualities were no less evident in the cadre of weightlifters that emerged in Hawaii a decade before it became the fiftieth state.

Hawaii in large part owing to contributions by Samoans and other ethnic minorities (some of whom still utter the ancient "haka" war chant) has long since entered the mainstream of American sports, thanks mainly to high speed air travel. But in the late 1940s and early 1950s it was still a remote territory, recovering from a direct hit at the outset of World War II, with increasing numbers of tourists, an economy dominated by sugar and pineapple interests, and the ubiquitous presence of the United States Navy. Hawaii was regarded as a distant colonial outpost of American civilization, occupying much the same place in mainland thinking as American Samoa a half century later.

Japanese immigrants (Issei) first appeared in Hawaii in 1868 when 149 contract laborers arrived in what was then a Hawaiian-run monarchy. Although Hawaii would not become an American state until 1959, mainlanders were already in Hawaii running pineapple and sugar cane plantations when these first immigrants arrived. In the years that followed, many more Japanese arrived in Hawaii and the United States seeking work.[3] By 1880 there were only 446 Japanese settlers in the United States, but by 1890 there were approximately 27,000 (mostly in Northern California) while a disproportionate number of them relative to the native and white population lived in Hawaii, which would not be officially annexed by the United States until 1898.[4] The 1910 census revealed that there were 185,502 ethnic Japanese living in Hawaii out of a total population of 191,909.[5] In succeeding generations the Issei were subjected to a series of discriminatory acts, including

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the so-called Gentleman's Agreement of 1907 with the Japanese government that limited the number of Japanese immigrant laborers; the Immigration Act of 1924 that virtually banned the immigration of all Japanese; and President Franklin Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066 on 19 February 1942 that authorized the confinement of 126,947 Japanese Americans, 71,484 of whom were United States citizens. Ironically, less than one percent of the 150,000-plus Japanese Americans living in Hawaii were interned.[6] It was largely from this cohort of oppressed citizens that one of the most remarkable weightlifting teams in Iron Game history emerged in the wake of World War II.

The individual most responsible for assembling and promoting this aggregation of strongmen was Dr. Richard You, a Korean-American born in Honolulu on 23 December 1916, who wrestled for the University of Hawaii in the late 1930s as a middle and light-heavyweight. Upon graduating in 1939, You earned a medical degree from Creighton University in 1943, then served as a medical officer in the Pacific Theater through the end of the war. In its aftermath he returned to Honolulu to establish a medical practice where he took a special interest in treating athletes and administering vitamins and minerals to them, often free of charge. His early efforts were devoted to football players, but after establishing the Hawaii Athletic and Physical Culture Association, he expanded his interests to multiple sports, including boxing, swimming, distance running, Tae Kwon Do, women's track and field, and eventually he served as an U.S. team physician at the 1952 and 1956 Olympics. Possibly owing to a surfeit of local talent, weightlifting held a special fascination for You, especially since the sport was experiencing a golden age on the mainland. Richard Ishikawa, who figures prominently in the following reprinted article, recalled You saying that "he was going to form a team that could beat the York Barbell Club who had a monopoly in weightlifting in those days. … 'Hey, we're going to win. … We're going to beat them for the first time. Let's work up a strategy.' … He pushed to the end."

These are the 1952 National Champions. Dr. You's Hawaii team defeated Bob Hoffman's York team and broke York's 21-year reign. Front row (L-R): George Yoshioka (123-2nd place), Richard Tomita (132-1st place), Emerick Ishikawa (132-7th place, and holding team trophy), and Richard Tom (123-1st place); back row (L-R): John Odo (181-8th place), Dr. Richard You, and Ed Bailey (198-2nd place).

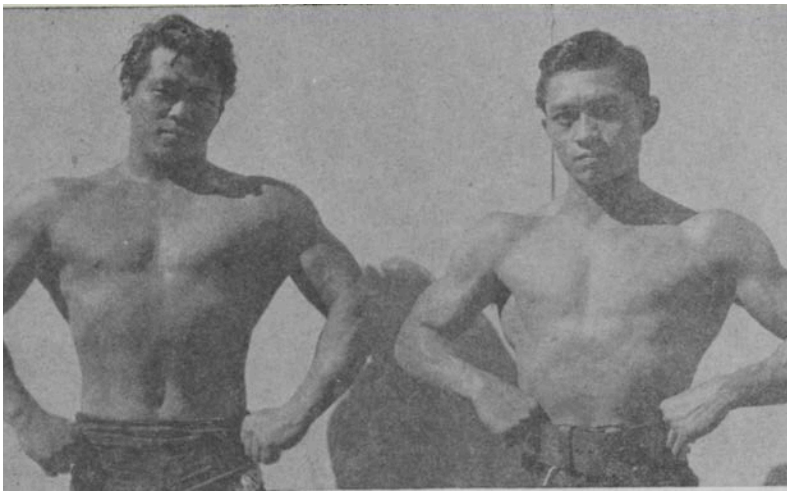
Likewise Richard Tomita, who competed in the 1948 and 1952 Olympics, remembered, "Dr. You called me and said, 'We're going to send a team to the "nationals" in 1952 to try to take the title away from York, Pennsylvania.' I said, 'I wasn't in shape,' … but he said, 'Don't worry about that … just come to my office and I'll build you up and I'll make you a champion.'" Richard Tom, Olympic bronze medalist in 1948 claimed that "if it wasn't for Dr. You we wouldn't have taken the team trophy." Those six weightlifters, accompanied by Dr. You, traveled all the way across the Pacific Ocean and then crossed the continent to New York City to beat the best lifters in North America.[7]

Brian Niiya, author of "The Nuuanu YMCA and the Glory Days of Hawaii Weightlifting," is a renowned journalist and prolific writer of hundreds of articles covering the length and breadth of the Japanese American experience, especially relating to the World War II internment camps.[8] Born in Los Angeles on 10 June 1961, he has worked as curator and administrator for the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles and the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii. Best known perhaps for his mammoth *Encyclopedia of Japanese American History: An A-To-Z Reference from 1868 to the Present*.[9] Niiya currently lives in Los Angeles where he is content director and editor of the *Densho Encyclopedia*, a free on-line publication pertaining to the Japanese American WWII incarceration experience.[10]

The journal that featured Niiya's article, which follows, was renamed *The Hawaii Herald* in October 1942 by Fred Kinzaburo Makino in order to deflect anti-Japanese sentiment during World War II from his formally named newspaper, *Hawaii Hochi*, which was founded in December 1912. Makino returned the *Herald* to its original moniker in 1952. When Japanese journalist Konosuke Oishi of the *Shizuoka Shimbun* purchased *Hawaii Hochi* in 1962, he and its publisher Paul Yempuku subsequently created a new *Hawaii Herald* as a weekly eight-page tabloid for the increasing numbers of Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei unable to read Japanese. Since 1980 it has ap-

peared twice monthly with coverage of the achievements, current events, and aspirations of Japanese Americans in Hawaii and abroad. Its current editor is Karleen Chieko Chinen.[11]

Brian Niiya, though no authority on weightlifting history, has written a very valuable piece of weightlifting lore that needs to be reprinted to fill out the story of Hawaii's sudden rise to national and international significance. It is a remarkably accurate account that first explains how Bob Hoffman, president of York Barbell Company in Pennsylvania, was responsible for the rise of American weightlifting in the 1930s to international stature and how the "colorblind" recruitment of athletes for his teams was critical to his success. By far the most important feature of Niiya's story, however, is that it is based largely on interviews with Hawaiian lifters Richard Tom, Richard Tomita, and Emerick Ishikama, key figures in establishing the vital connection with York. It also brings to light such secondary figures as Soichi Sakamoto, Keo Nakama, Halo Hirose, and Henry Koisumi who might otherwise be lost to posterity and touches upon Tommy Kono (then living in Sacramento) who would emerge in the aftermath to become Hawaii's and America's greatest weightlifter. But as the author says, "that's a story for another time." Remarkably minimal mention is made of the Nuuanu YMCA, which was becoming the epicenter of Hawaiian weightlifting. It would be nice to know more about the ambiance of the old Nuuanu YMCA and how it compared to the old York gym on Broad Street where so many American champions were nurtured during this era. The author also failed to mention Richard Tomita in the text as a member of the team that upset York Barbell in 1952, though his name is included in the caption for the picture from the Tommy Kono Collection at the Stark Center for Physical Culture and Sports at the University of Texas at Austin.



This image of Harold Sakata and Richard Tom appeared in the January 1944 issue of *Strength & Health*. When the photo was taken, Tom had just won the 123 lb. weight class at the 1943 Hawaii State Champtionships. Sakata placed first in the 181 lb. class. Both of them set Hawaii AAU records during the competition.

Otherwise Niiya's resourceful article that follows tells us more than we have ever known about how a small group of weightlifters from a remote and under-populated territory of the United States were briefly able to enter the cultural mainstream and excel in national and international competition.

THE NUUANU YMCA AND THE GLORY DAYS OF HAWAII WEIGHTLIFTING

The crowds stuffed the gym at the Nuuanu YMCA in the late 1940s. Spectators clambered onto the basketball goals, peered into the windows from outside, and stood at the doorways hoping to catch a glimpse of the action.

The sport was Olympic style weightlifting and the Nuuanu YMCA was one of only two centers of competitive weightlifting in America. Four men who trained there would make the 1948 U.S. Olympic team and two would return from London with medals. It was a golden age of weightlifting for America in general and Hawaii in particular.

Beginnings

In the early days of competitive weightlifting, the United States was not among the world's best. One man, Bob Hoffman, sought to change that. As publisher of *Strength and Health* magazine and owner of the York Barbell Company, however, he had a selfish motive to promote the sport. Hoffman stood to make a lot of money if he could popularize lifting weights. Developing an American Olympic champion was a time tested means of accomplishing this.

So in the 1930s, he began to recruit top weightlifters from around the country, bringing them to his headquarters in York, Pennsylvania. There, they would be given jobs at his barbell factory, provided a training facility, and sent to major meets on his dime. As Hoffman's weightlifters began to dominate national meets and make inroads in the world championships, their exploits would be reported in *Strength and Health*.

One of Hoffman's other secrets was that, when it came to lifting heavy weights, he was colorblind. While other sports of the time discriminated against non-whites, Hoffman seemed to actively seek out non-white athletes. His York teams—and later, the American national and Olympic teams he coached—represented the diversity of America at a time when few other sports did.

In Hawaii, three teenagers who would play a key role in the local weightlifting scene first came

together in the late 1930s. Each read magazines like *Strength and Health* carefully and tracked their own progress against the national champions profiled in their pages.

Richard Tom grew up in [the Honolulu neighborhood of] Palama and attended Farrington High School. He began lifting weights as a teenager, inspired by the magazines and by seeing older guys lifting at the Central YMCA. He wanted to look like them and soon became hooked. "From there, weightlifting was my life," he remembered.

Meanwhile, Lahaina-born Emerick Ishikawa began lifting in between participating in other sports. "I was a swimmer first," he recalled of his days as part of Coach Soichi Sakamoto's famed "Three Year Swim Club." He was a friend and contemporary of such legendary swimmers as Keo Nakama and Halo Hirose. "Then in the back room, they had some weights, so I got started with weightlifting."

As a teenager in the Tule Lake internment camp, Tommy Kono met Emerick Ishikawa who inspired Kono to learn to lift. He went on to become one of the greatest U.S. weightlifters of all time. In this photo, Dr. You stands behind Kono as his weights are tested from one of his record-setting performances. Kono's lifelong friend and fellow weightlifter, Pete George, is on the far right.

He soon became friends with Kona's Harold Sakata, who had moved to Maui in the late 1930s. Both moved to Oahu by the time the first territorial weightlifting championship was held in 1938. There they met Tom and the three became friends and trained together. Soon, each was lifting at a level that made them national contenders. Unfortunately, lacking funds and a support system, they were unable to compete in any of the national meets, all of which were held on the Mainland. *[Ed Note: Lahaina is on the island of Maui, Kona is located on the big island of Hawaii, as is Honolulu.]*

Ishikawa Heads East

Realizing the financial situation, Ishikawa decided to make a move. He caught a ship to the West Coast in 1940, hoping to get closer to his goal of a national championship. He ended up in Seattle for a time, then moved to Sacramento. When the Pacific War erupted in 1941, Ishikawa, along with 110,000 other Japanese Americans on the Coast, ended up in a "relocation center" on account of his Japanese ancestry.

He first went to a so-called "assembly center" in Marysville, California, then to the War Relocation Authority camp in Tule Lake, California, just a few miles from the Oregon border. That camp would later become notorious as a "segregation center," where the so-called "disloyal" were moved to after the loyalty questionnaire of early 1943.

"At Tule Lake, I worked for the recreation department and I started a club," he recalled. "They gave me a whole building. They made for me platforms and everything."

That club attracted nearly 200 young lifters, no doubt hoping to escape the boredom of being locked up. Ishikawa charged no dues but collected an entry fee of $1 from each member; that money was used to buy weight equipment from the outside. Meets were held in camp and, later, even involved people from outside the camp such [as] a weightlifting team from the nearby town of Klamath Falls, Oregon. National caliber weightlifters such as Mits Oshima and Kaz Izumi were members of the club.

By this time, Ishikawa was a well-known figure among weightlifting hopefuls. A 14 year-old boy named Tommy Kono, watched Ishikawa do some demonstrations at Tule Lake (after Ishikawa left camp, he was brought back in 1944 and 1945 by the camp administration to do some demonstrations). "I remember seeing the Olympic weights he was lifting. They looked like train wheels to me!" said Kono, the Sacramento native.

Kono, who would go on to become one of the greatest weightlifters of all time, remembers that the first weights he lifted at Tule Lake were actually those purchased by Block 27 of Ward II out of proceeds from a carnival hamburger stand. "We ordered a York Ten-in-One exercise kit, along with bas-

ketballs and other sports equipment," he remembers.

After segregation, Ishikawa left Tule Lake for another camp in Colorado, then left camp shortly thereafter for Chicago. (Many professedly "loyal" Nisei were allowed to leave camp starting in 1943 for areas off the West Coast.) He worked out at the Duncan YMCA there, along with Yaz Kuzuhara, who had accompanied him there. Ishikawa entered the Illinois State Championship meet and won his division, setting a record.

"I called Bob Hoffman from York Barbell, and I told him what I could do and what I did at the Chicago meet and he said to come right down," recalls Ishikawa. "York Barbell used to be a dream for all lifters in those days." So off he went to York.

When Ishikawa got there, he found a weightlifting utopia. A state of the art facility was augmented by an environment in which lifting weights reigned supreme. "We'd talk nothing but barbells," he remembers.

The factory and warehouse employed some of America's—and the world's—top weightlifters. There was Stanley Stanczyk, a Polish American from Detroit, who became a six-time world and Olympic champion middleweight and light heavyweight. There was John Terpak, the great middleweight whose parents had immigrated from the Ukraine. Frank Spellman's father was a Ukranian Jew and his mother was from Austria. Heavyweight John Davis was an African American who was born on a Southern plantation. *[Ed note: This is an error on the author's part. John Davis was born on 12 January 1921 on Long Island. Raised by his mother Margaret Campbell, Davis never met his father.]*

Chuck Vinci speaking with Dr. Richard You, Pete George, and Tommy Kono at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in November, 1956. Dr. You was an integral part of the success of Hawaiian weightlifting and traveled with the athletes to many competitions, including various Olympic Games.

In addition to the regulars, there were also frequent visitors. "That gym was everybody's dream," he remembered. "So [a] lot of these lifters, bodybuilders, everybody used to, whenever they can, they come to York and spend a week over there you know and get pointers from all those guys. Every day, we had visitors from all over the world. Every day."

Ishikawa's job involved filling mail orders for weight equipment. "Oh, you should see the barbells we used to ship out. Oh, lot of sets, those days. Two basketfuls of cards, one in the morning, one in the afternoon."

Once a month, everyone would be called together to help in the mailing out of *Strength & Health* magazine, Ishikawa remembers.

"The lifters would quit work early and work out in the afternoons. They became a close-knit group. That talk lasted even beyond the work day, as he roomed with Stanczyk, the world champion middleweight and light heavyweight."

That environment paid off in results. Ishikawa won four consecutive national championships from 1944 to 1947, the first two as a bantamweight (123 pounds), the last two as a featherweight (132 pounds). Though he was defeated in 1948, he came back to win the Olympic trials later that year and represented the United States at the London Olympics. He would have company.

Hawaii's Resurgence

Richard Tom had wanted to follow Ishikawa to the Mainland but never got the chance. Once the war broke out, all hope for leaving the islands went by the wayside for a while. He and Sakata continued to train and compete locally and read about their friend's accomplishments in the magazines.

Then, in 1947, Nuuanu YMCA athletic director Henry Koizumi approached Tom and Sakata about starting a weightlifting team with the promise that that team would be sent to the major national competitions on the Mainland. The two men eagerly accepted, along with a number of younger lifters, including Kalihi's [Honolulu] Richard Tomita.

The team made its national debut in Dallas at the Junior Nationals, where Tom won the featherweight and Sakata the light heavyweight (181-pound) title. The nationals were a week later in Chicago so the pair journeyed north. There, they had a reunion with their old friend Ishikawa.

"Stanczyk and I drove over together from York to Chicago," recalled Ishikawa, "and we walk[ed] down to the stadium to look around. Typi-

cal local guys—two guys, Tom and Sakata sitting down on the steps just talking story." Though the pair didn't fare as well at the nationals, Ishikawa won his fourth straight national title.

With the world championships scheduled for later that year in Philadelphia, Tom and Sakata decided to stay on the Mainland for the three months rather than go back to Hawaii. Having no money, they were given jobs in York by Hoffman and spent a memorable summer working out with the York team. At the World Championships that year, Tom took second, Ishikawa third, and Sakata fourth in their respective divisions.

At the end of the meet, Ishikawa decided to return to Hawaii with his friends, at Sakata's urging. "Sakata, oh, everyday he's telling me 'come home, come home.' Boy that guy sure talk to me every day," recalled Ishikawa, laughing.

In what appears to be a reunion of sorts at Kailua Beach Park, Hawaii, it is apparent that many of the Nuuanu Y's lifters stayed in contact. Front row (L-R): Possibly Eddie Ching, George Yoshioka, Richard Tom, Richard Tomita; back row (L-R): Harold Sakata, Harold Nariyoshi, Emerick Ishikawa, Tommy Kono, and "Dynamite" Nakasone.

The next year was a whirlwind of training, meets, and demonstrations as the group readied themselves for the Olympic trials in New York in July. Though Koisumi managed them, Richard Tomita recalls that they were largely self-coached, with the old hands Tom and Sakata being the leaders.

"In those days, the weightlifting scene in Honolulu was booming. Meets at the Nuuanu YMCA drew 2,000 to 3,000 people, packing the house," recalled Tomita. The events would also get extensive coverage in the local press, which enabled Koisumi to raise money to cover the team's travel expenses for the national and international meets.

After the final Olympic trials in New York, the U.S. Olympic team was chosen. Four of the 12 team members—three of four in the bantamweight and featherweight divisions—were from the Nuuanu Y. They were Richard Tom, Emerick Ishikawa, Richard Tomita, and Harold Sakata.

The London Olympics were a triumph for the American team as a whole as well as for Hawaii. The Americans won the team title over powerful Egypt (though the Soviet team did not compete). Tom won the bronze medal in the bantamweight class, behind teammate Joe DiPietro and just 2½ kilos out of second place. Sakata finished second in the light heavyweight division behind the great Stan Stanczyk, winning a silver medal. Ishikawa placed sixth and Tomita eighth in the featherweight class. The Olympians and Koizumi received a hero's welcome upon their return to the islands.

After the Olympics, Tom and Ishikawa, now nearing 30, retired from active competition. Tomita continued to compete even as he worked a full-time job and saw his family grow to include three kids. Sakata also continued to compete for a while.

But as Sakata put it at the time, "A very wise man asked me if I was happy. Sure, I said. 'And you're proud of those silver trophies?' Sure I'm proud. 'Now let's see if you can eat them,' he said." As such, Sakata turned to the better paying world of professional wrestling and later, movies and television, which brought him worldwide fame and fortune.

One More Go Round

In about 1950-51, Dr. Richard You, a local Korean-American physician, called together some of the old Nuuanu YMCA lifters to see if they would be interested in taking one more shot at the Olympics, to be held in 1952 in Helsinki, Finland.

That team—which came to include Richard Tom, Emerick Ishikawa, John Odo, Ed Bailey, and George Yoshioka—would also make weightlifting history.

From the beginning of organized weightlifting competitions in the U.S., Hoffman's York Barbell team had dominated the competition. The York team

had taken home the team championship from the nationals each of the previous 21 consecutive years.

But in 1952 [the] nationals was held in a muggy New York City and the team from the tropics, Hawaii, upset the York team to take the national title. It would be the high point of weightlifting in Hawaii.

Despite winning national titles in their weight classes in '52, both Tom and Tomita were left off the U.S. Olympic team by coach Bob Hoffman. This created a minor controversy in the local press. Hoffman's stated rationale—that the second place finishers in the higher weight divisions stood a better chance of scoring points in the Olympics than the winners in the lighter divisions—proved to be true, defusing much of the controversy. Indeed, the lifters put on the team instead of Tom and Tomita provided the key points in the U.S. team's successful defense of its team title.

"We didn't put up a big squawk about it," remembers Tom of the incident. Both men did get to travel to the games as alternates, which took some of the sting out of the incident.

Though no Hawaii lifters made the U.S. Olympic team in 1952, a young Japanese American named Tommy Kono won the gold medal in the lightweight division, capping a year which saw him win both the junior and senior nationals and set a world record. It would be the first of an amazing eight consecutive world championships for Kono, who would win most of them as a resident of Hawaii. But that's a story for another time.

Aftermath

The old Nuuanu YMCA isn't there any more, having been torn down and replaced by the current structure in 1963. The old site, kitty corner to the current one, is now a grocery store and shopping center. But one of the mats from the old Nuuanu YMCA is still in use in the weight room of the new facility, according to Tommy Kono. "It is the cruder of the two platforms."

By the mid-1950s, the golden age of Hawaii weightlifting was over. Richard Tomita attributes the decline to increasing number of youth sports programs in team sports, which drew many of the top athletes away from competitive weightlifting. He recalls that his own kids were like this, more into baseball and football than weights. "It's not something you can force on them. You have to have it in you," he says today.

Tomita continued to compete until 1954, when he retired but continued as a volunteer instructor and coach at Nuuanu YMCA into the 1960s. Today, he can be found on the golf course, along with many other old Nisei athletes.

Sakata became a successful professional wrestler, but came to greater and lasting fame as a movie actor, playing James Bond's most memorable nemesis, the Korean henchman Oddjob, in "Goldfinger" in 1964. The most outgoing of the group and its unofficial leader, Sakata held regular reunions at his home until his death of cancer in 1982.

Both Tom and Ishikawa retired in 1952, but continued to work out. Both men also did some coaching and Tom helped out with contests and with refereeing at meets as well. Both men remain close friends, and continue to work out to this day, even as they near 80. *[Ed note: Ishikawa passed away in 2006. Tom passed away in 2007.]*

One of the local lifters coached by Ishikawa was John Yamauchi, who became a national champion in the 1970s. Today, Yamauchi's sons are promising lifters and they—along with contemporary national champion Legrand Sakamaki from the Big Island—continue the local tradition started so long ago.

Notes

1. Rob Ruck, *Tropic of Football: The Long and Perilous Journey of Samoans to the NFL* (New York: The New Press, 2018), 9, 11.
2. Ibid.
3. "August 21, 1959: Hawaii Becomes the 50th State," *This Day in History, History.com*, viewed at: www.history.com/this-day-in-history/hawaii-becomes-50th-state.
4. Wayne Maeda, *Continuing Traditions: Japanese Americans, Story of a People: 1869 to 1992,* (Sacramento: Sacramento Regional Japanese American 1992 Exhibit Committee, 1992), 2.
5. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States in 1910 for Hawaii* (Washington, 1913), 5.
6. Dennis M. Ogawa and Evarts C. Fox, Jr., "Incarceration elsewhere. Japanese internment and relocation: the Hawaii experience" in *Japanese Americans, from Relocation to Redress*, eds. Roger Daniels, Sandra C. Taylor, Harry H.L. Kitano (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 135.
7. "A Celebration of Service for Dr. Richard You," March 29, 1996, Nu'uanu Congregational Church, Honolulu, x-xii. Tommy Kono Papers, Stark Center, University of Texas, Austin. Afterwards the team was disbanded, though its heroics continued to serve as an inspiration for future weightlifting and bodybuilding activities. Tommy Kono, who won the lightweight class and would later become Hawaii's greatest star, was still living in Sacramento and represented Yarick's Gym in Oakland.
8. For more information on Niiya, see "Brian Niiya," encyclopedia.densho.org/authors/Brian%20Niiya/.
9. Brian Niiya, *Japanese American History: An A to Z reference from 1868 to the present* (New York: *Facts on File,* 1993).
10. See Brian Niiya, encyclopedia.densho.org/authors/Brian%20Niiya/.
11. Kelli Y. Nakamura, "Hawaii Hochi (newspaper)," *Densho Encyclopedia* at encyclopedia.densho.org/Hawaii%20Hochi%20(newspaper)/.

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