

THE GREAT GATHERING OF SPORT SCIENTISTS: THE 1904 ST. LOUIS OLYMPIC GAMES EXPOSITION FAIR PHYSICAL EDUCATION LECTURES

by John Lucas

The Games of the Third Olympiad (1904), held in St. Louis, Missouri, were an important appendage of the Louisiana Purchase celebration and Universal Exposition. These Olympic Games and world's fair were so enmeshed that only in recent times scholars have disentangled them. Very good work has been done by Robert K. BARNEY (1992); Mark DYRESON (1992 and 1998) and Bill MALLON(1999).¹

The President of the United States, Thomas JEFFERSON and his special envoy to France, James MONROE, negotiated with Napoleon BONAPARTE for the purchase of a gigantic land mass in central North America for \$15 million. Napoleon agreed and a treaty was signed on May 2, 1803. American historian John R. ALDEN said the new nation "had indeed secured a bargain" while Samuel Eliot MORRISON went beyond that, writing: "The Louisiana purchase turned out to be the greatest bargain in American history."² A hundred years later (plus a year's delay), the world's fair Louisiana Purchase Exposition and, incidentally, the Games of the Third Olympiad, took place in an elongated celebration, beginning April 30, 1904 and ending November 26. In both cases, the "hand" of the youthful 46-year old United States president, Theodore ROOSEVELT, was evident.³

French
exhibition
poster by
Alphonse
Mucha

The labyrinthine seven month long commemoration involved at least four parts:

1. an international world's fair,⁴
2. athletic competitions and demonstrations for youth,



3. the third Olympic Games of the modern era, and

4. a scientific-educational-cultural symposia, featuring speakers from North America and Europe.

The least-well documented of these four are these distinguished speakers: medical doctors and advanced degree educator-scientists. This paper will attempt an outline of these men (there were no women presenters), their subject titles, something

- 1 See BARNEY, Robert K., "A Myth Arrested: Theodore Roosevelt and the 1904 Olympic Games", in: *Reflexionen im Umfeld...für Horst Ueberhorst* (Universität Verlag 1991), p. 218-229, and "Born from Dilemma: America awakens to the Modern Olympic Games 1901-1903", in: *Olympika* 1(1992), p. 92-135. DYRESON, Mark, "America's Athletic Missionaries: Political Performance, Olympic Spectacle and the Quest for an American National Culture 1896-1912", in: *Olympika* 1(1992), p. 70-91. See also chapter 4 "St. Louis, 1904: an 'All-American' Olympics", in: DYRESON, Mark: *Making The American Team. Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience*, Urbana, Illinois, 1998. Bill MALLON's important book is titled *The 1904 Olympic Games. Results for all competitions in all events, with commentaries*, Jefferson, North Carolina, 1999.
- 2 See ALDEN, John R., *Rise of the American Republic*, New York, 1963, p. 236, and MORRISON, Samuel, *The Oxford History of the American People*, New York, 1965, p. 366.
- 3 ROOSEVELT pressed a key in the *White House*, setting in motion an electrical impulse opening the St. Louis festivities. See *New York Tribune* (May 1, 1904), p. 1, 2. The president and some of his family visited the fair's closing ceremonies and exuded: "This is marvelous. It is beyond description, and exceeds my fondest expectations. I have had the best time I ever had in my life, and I have seen more than I ever expected to see in one day's time". See *New York Tribune*, (November 27, 1904), p. 1.
- 4 Robert W. RYDELL wrote an introductory essay in *The Books of the Fairs; Materials about world's fairs, 1834-1916*, Chicago, 1992. On page 58, he wrote: "According to *Cosmopolitan* editor John Brisben Walker, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition's display showing how 'science is being introduced into every branch of the life of man and woman' was one of the 'five greatest features' of the fair". See Walker, John Brisben, "Athletics and Health", in: 37(Sept. 1904), p. 593.



Exposition's Executive Board was Alfred J. SHAPLEIGH (1862-1945).⁸ He was joined by a parade of dignitaries, and speakers of world caliber: Max WEBER; Henri POINCARÉ; William Rainey HARPER and Hugo MUNSTERBERG.⁹ Not taking a back seat to such glittering speakers were the oral presentations at the fair's Department of Physical Culture - a reflection, said Robert W. RYDELL, of "the national cult of strenuous living, or 'the gospel of muscles' as

US- governmental building at the World's Fair with the palace of humanities on the right

of what they said, and brief biographies of each.

There exist uncertainties as to who were official academic lecturers at the 1904 "Expo" and those dignitaries that made oral presentations. The three best sources do not agree completely with the number and names of those that made formal oral presentations. MALLON does not list as speakers Calvin Milton WOODWARD; Clark Wilson HETHERINGTON nor the Exposition president, David Rowland FRANCIS.⁵ James Edward SULLIVAN's *Review of the Olympic Games of 1904*⁶ does not list as a speaker WOODWARD; HETHERINGTON nor FRANCIS, the same omissions as MALLON. Published prior to the St. Louis Exposition is the *Universal Exposition St. Louis Olympic Games Programme - Physical Training Section and Department of Physical Culture*.⁷ Not listed in this Programme as speakers are William John MCGEE, Chief of the Department of Anthropology at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and SULLIVAN.

A significant member and chairman of the Physical Culture Committee and a member of the

it was called at the fair."¹⁰ The "scientific and educational" speakers were selected by some of the best minds of the *American Physical Education Association*; the Physical Directors' Society of the *Young Men's Christian Association* of North America, with "six Gold Medals offered by Mr. James E. Sullivan, Chief of the Department of Physical Culture of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition."¹¹ The directions and criteria for selection as a speaker run to 2000 words.

All was ready for a great world's fair in St. Louis. In far away New York City, a Sunday special section was titled "*The Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis*." A zealous Missouri politician addressed his House of Representatives, wrote *The New York Times*. The Honorable Richard BARTHOLDT predicted that "our exposition will eclipse all previous ones" and "will be the grandest triumph human genius has yet achieved."¹² In his own academic manner, historian Robert W. RYDELL wrote that sheer number of people at the fair "testified that the expositions struck a responsive chord [and] performed a hegemonic function precisely because they propagated the

5 See MALLON, *Games*, p. 32-33.

6 SULLIVAN, James Edward, *Review of the Olympic Games of 1904*, New York, 1905, p. 171-172.

7 This pre-expo Programme was obtained from the archives of the *International Olympic Committee* (IOC) in Lausanne, Switzerland, sent to this researcher in July, 2003, by librarian Evelyne Moosmann. See three lists on pages 2, 4, 5. Hereafter, citation titled Programme.

8 There is a full-page photo of SHAPLEIGH on Sullivan's Review, page 164. "He was vice president of Washington University (St. Louis) Corporation and a director of the institution for more than fifty years" See *The New York Times* (December 25, 1945), p. 23.

9 See Robert W. RYDELL, *All The World's a Fair. Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, Chicago, 1984, p. 155. He called the Exposition "an ivory-tinted city of vast proportions" (p. 155).

10 RYDELL, *World*, p. 155.

11 See Programme, p. 7-9.

12 *The New York Times* (February 28, 1904) part 2, p. 15. Mr. BARTHOLDT concluded, "amidst great applause," that the half-year long affair would be "an academy of learning, an inspiration, and an inexhaustible source of genuine delight, and the memories of the Ivory City will live and bear fruit in all the ages yet to come."

13 RYDELL, *World*, p.3.

ideas and values of the country's political, financial, corporate, and intellectual leaders."¹³ On August 1, 1904, an "Introductory Lecture" was delivered by Dr. Frederick SKIFF, Director of Exhibits at these St. Louis festivities. He called his talk *"The General Advantages of Athletic Exercises to the Individual."*¹⁴ Daily lectures were given for the rest of the month till August 25, where "Expo" president, David R. FRANCIS and the great medical doctor, Luther Halsey GULICK, made single presentations.¹⁵ Dr. SKIFF saw these lectures as an important part of a grand scheme that he called *"man and his works."* Historian MALLON described SKIFF'S twelve classifications as art; education; liberal arts and applied sciences; agriculture; horticulture; mining and forestry; manufacturing; transportation; electricity; anthropology; social economy, and physical culture.¹⁶ An icon in American Physical Education history, William Gilbert ANDERSON, M.D., spoke on *"Gymnastic Dancing and its Place in Secondary and Collegiate Schools."* He summarized:

*"Man may be educated as a social, political, aesthetic, ethical, religious, physical and intellectual being. Dancing may be studied in its relationships to each one of these aspects."*¹⁷

Another medical doctor, Ernst Herman ARNOLD, born in Erfurt, Germany, spent his professional life at Connecticut's *Yale University* and the *New Haven Normal School of Gymnastics*. His 1904 Exposition address on *"The Organization and Conduct of School Games"* underscored empirical proof that disciplined-fun games are a boon to the *"Physical, Mental, Moral"* dimensions of children.¹⁸ There are infinite numbers of imaginative and physically-vigorous games, said Dr. ARNOLD, and in

the hands of a skillful, well-educated teacher, the moral and intellectual outcomes are inevitable.¹⁹ Jakob BOLIN, born in Sweden, delivered a paper on *"Developmental Gymnastics"* German gymnastics was more familiar to local Missouri folks, and thus BOLIN'S careful discussion of Swedish hygienic exercises; *"the Swedish Day's Order"* and Swedish gymnastic *"Laws of Progression."*²⁰

For nearly two years, President Theodore ROOSEVELT displayed keen interest in the Olympic Games, first planned for Chicago and then transferred to St. Louis. But domestic and especially international crises kept him in the *White House*. Instead, he sent his three young sons to the Exposition on the Mississippi River. Theodore, Jr., Kermit and Philip *"slipped away from their security guards and made their way to the Exposition, especially to see the native [...] Igorroles and Mores."*²¹ They did the same thing, again unguarded, had lunch with Exposition president FRANCIS at the "Director's Club", and then took in the British Boer War show, all of them agreeing that it was *"bully."*²² Theodore, Jr. told a *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reporter:

*"I learned more and saw more while I was at the Fair than I could in a year of travel. Every boy ought to ask his father to let him come here and spend at least a week."*²³

A journalist ended his article: *"This is the view of a bright-witted boy with an eager and alert intelligence."*²⁴ The boys probably never made it to the physical culture building, but *Yale University* football coach, Walter CAMP, was of the opinion that *"the text books in the Physical Education Hall are full of interest, one would have thought, to the general public."*²⁵ The local newspaper for August

14 See SULLIVAN, *Review*, p. 173. SKIFF'S oration title is listed here, but not the speech itself.

15 See *Programme*, p. 2 Dr. GULICK'S lecture title was *"Athletics and Social Evolution"* - one lecture.

16 MALLON, *Games*, p. 9. Frederick James Volney SKIFF (1851-1921) was Director of *Marshall Field Museum of Natural History* and in 1892, Deputy Director - General of the *Chicago World Columbian Exposition*, and from 1898-1901, Director of American Exhibits at the Paris Exposition. Two obituaries are located in *The New York Times*, February 25, 1921, p. 11 and February 27, 1921; part 3, p. 3. *"Testimony"* and *"Tribute"* to Director SKIFF are located in MALLON, p. 34-36.

17 *Programme*, p. 11.

18 *Programme*, p. 12. Dr. ARNOLD (1865-1928). See his biography on page 377 and pages 452-458 in LEONARD, Fred Eugene / AFFLECK, George B., *A Guide to the History of Physical Education*, Philadelphia 1949; originally 1947.

19 *Programme*, p. 12.

20 See the *Programme*, p. 13. Dr. BOLIN (1863-1914) is discussed in LEONARD/AFFLECK, p. 338-340 (including a photo). He came to the United States in 1888, teaching medical gymnastics at the *University of Utah*; in New York City, and at the *Anderson Normal School of Physical Education*. He served as treasurer of the *American Physical Education Association*. See *Programme* on the page titled "Officers and Societies."

21 See *"Here is the first snapshot taken of the Roosevelt Boys since they came to St. Louis," St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, hereafter SLPD, August 1, 1904, p. 1.

22 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 3, 1904), p. 12.

23 "A Boy's View of the Fair," in: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 6, 1904), (page number missing).

24 *ibid*.

5, 1904, announced the following day's program, in part "10 am. to 3 pm. *Physical Culture lectures, Hall of Physical Culture*"²⁶

In one of his five lectures²⁷, New York City, medical doctor C. Ward CRAMPTON, spoke on "*The Correlation of Hygiene and Physical Training*" This "*geriatrician, exponent of physical training, civic leader*" took the view that the teaching of hygiene in American elementary and high schools is no more than "*the prostitution and decay of physiology*"²⁸

The perceptive president of "Expo '04", David FRANCIS, felt that the nineteenth-century pseudo-science of physical education was in the process of change in the United States. Historian Bill MALLON paraphrased David FRANCIS:

*"The object of the Department of Physical Culture was not to make money It was believed that the subject of physical training and athletics had advanced to such a stage that a department could be created [...] to show what an advanced state of affairs athletics had reached".*²⁹

Astride the old and new worlds of physical education was Exposition lecturer, George W. EHLER, who spoke on "*The Adaptation of Physical Exercise to Modern Conditions of Life.*" His several lectures emphasized that, for children, daily formal gymnastics combined with games and play can be great fun and can "*maintain the best balance between muscular and neural expenditure.*"³⁰ For 40 years, EHLER was involved in physical education and hygiene programs, and served as President of the Physical Directors society of the Y.M.C.A. Association of the United

States.³¹ Clark Wilson HETHERINGTON'S lecture in August of 1904 was typical of the emergence of the "scientific" physical educator. A professor at the *University of Missouri* at the time of his speech, he soon left for Zurich, Switzerland and specialized studies. Without the application of scientific methodologies, physical education can never rise to that of a profession, he said in a presentation titled "*Divergent effects of Uniform Physical Training Upon Different Individuals.*"

"We must master [...]

*the facts of growth and development, the physiology and psychology of exercise, the hygiene and pedagogy of motor activity, the history and literature of physical training, etc."*³²

This founder of the important *American Academy of Kinesiology and Physical Education*, HETHERINGTON did much more.³³ Of similar reputation was the next Exposition speaker, Granville Stanley HALL, Ph.D., LL.D., the president of *Clark University*, the founder of the *American Journal of Psychology* and "*the author of numerous volumes on philosophical and psychological subjects and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*"³⁴ In St. Louis his topic was "*Health as Related to Civilization.*" In his several lectures he pointed out dangers as well as advantages of modern technological civilization "*including [...] psychic and social as well as physical environment*" dilemmas.³⁵ He gave another speech on "*The Effect of Civilization on the Health of Women.*" The local newspaper, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* found the talk of sufficient interest to publish it the next day. The rush of modern civilization has just begun to find women marrying much later in life

25 "Coach Camp praises Stadium's Fine Points", in: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 12, 1904) (page number missing in microfilm).

26 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 5, 1904, p. 15.

27 A large number of lecturers gave multiple talks.

28 See the *Programme*, p. 13. Dr. CRAMPTON (1877-1964) lived an exceptionally event-filled life and his obituary gives us highlights. See *The New York Times* (October 22, 1964), p. 35. Henry S. CURTIS spoke on a powerful topic of that time - "*The Playground Movement*" In several lectures he discussed the movement's recent history in England, Scotland, Germany and France, comparing them with the United States. The near-perfect system borrows from all, he said. CRAMPTON'S master's degree and Ph.D. were from Yale and Clark University. He must have been good at his work for he taught in New York City; for the State of Missouri; at Cornell; Columbia and Harvard Universities. See also "Recreation Expert" in the *The New York Times* (January 10, 1954), p. 87.

29 For FRANCIS' comment, see MALLON, p. 31.

30 See the *Programme*, p. 15-16.

31 See *Programme*, p. 9, and his obituary in *The New York Times* (born 1866) (February 16, 1947), p. 57.

32 *Programme*, p. 16-17.

33 C. W. HETHERINGTON (1870-1942) led a formidable life. See *Biographical Dictionary of American Educators*. Volume 2 of 3 vis., Westport, Connecticut 1978, p. 635-636. Also, p. 428-430 in VAN DALEN, Deobold B. / MITCHELL, Elmer D./BENNETT, Bruce, *A World History of Physical Education*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey 1953. A good look at HETHERINGTON can be found in WESTON, Arthur, *The Making of American Physical Education*, New York 1962, p. 159-165.

34 See *The New York Times* (April 25, 1944), p. 17. Dr. HALL was born in Ashfield, Massachusetts in 1846, and died April 24, 1924.

35 *Programme*, p. 17-18.

and, frequently with negative outcomes regarding child-birth.³⁶

Mark DYRESON, sport historian at *The Pennsylvania State University*, is convinced that the great St. Louis World's Fair and the Olympic Games "would play a pivotal role in convincing the American public that sport [and scientific physical culture] served the interests of progress and national revitalization."³⁷ George T. HEPBRON gave five lectures at these Exposition series, all on sport "Equipment and Construction", dealing with the most effective ways of building sporting facilities "that would accommodate the largest number of individuals," safely. HEPBRON spent his life in the world of basketball "the first referee in New York City, the editor of the men's and women's basketball guides," and as early as 1898, along with Luther GULICK, was a force in international YMCA work.³⁸ G.E. JOHNSON'S lengthy talk on "Play in Relation to Education," is reproduced in the Universal Exposition Programme and stated, without equivocation, that in the hands of educated professionals with a sense of mission, play experiences are valuable "from cradle to grave"³⁹ Medical doctor, Dr. David F. LINCOLN spoke on humane "treatment of the Feeble Minded." Every humane, scientific effort must be made to reduce the number of such suffering persons, and if that fails, then enlightened means must be used to "make an individual self-directing"⁴⁰

There are "giants" in the realms of physical education-sport science-kinesiology and Robert Tait MCKENZIE, M.D. (1867-1938), was one of them. His provocative topic to a St. Louis audience was

"Artistic Anatomy in Relation to Physical Training" His was a series of lectures "fully illustrated by chalk drawings [...] lantern slides of the masterpieces of ancient and modern art, and demonstrations on the living model."⁴¹ The list of medical doctors, deeply-interested in physical education, was large one hundred years ago. One of them, Paul Chryssostom PHILLIPS, long-time professor at *Amherst College*, spoke on "Anthropometric Methods" His oration to mostly lay persons was "an endeavor [...] to indicate the place and value of anthropometry in a scheme of education"⁴² A member of the *American Olympic Committee* and president of both the *College Physical Education Association* and the *American Health and Physical Education Association*, Joseph Edward RAYCROFT of *Princeton University*, was in St. Louis in August of 1904 and lectured on "The Organization and Administration of Physical Training" The practice of bodily training will be discussed, he said "from different influences - patriotic, social, competitive, religious and scientific"⁴³

The German-born Ferdinand August SCHMIDT, M.D., high-ranked member of the *German Gymnastics Association* and the *Central Committee for the Advancement of Folk and Child Play (Zentralausschuß für Volks- und Jugendspiele)* preferred to deliver his St. Louis speech in the German language. His three lectures were titled "Physiology of Physical Exercise" The faint-hearted and non-speaking German language audiences may have been intimidated by Dr. SCHMIDT'S talk on muscular and nervous systems; metabolism; co-ordination and skill as exercises of

36 See "Civilization has come too fast", in: *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 4, 1904), p. 14. Another speech on August 6 was titled "Don't get discouraged", again addressing the health of women. Learn every bit of scientific information, he told women. See *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 7, 1904), p. 2.

37 See his "The Playing Field of Progress. American Athletic Nationalism and the 1904 St. Louis Olympics", in: *Gateway Heritage*, Fall 1993, p. 6.

38 *Programme*, p. 18; *the New York Times* (May 1, 1946), p. 25. HEPBRON was born in 1865. Also, see LEONARD/AFFLECK, *History*, p. 325.

39 *Programme*, p. 18-19. Regrettably and in spite of assiduous research, this researcher was unable to learn more of Mr. JOHNSON.

40 *Programme*, p. 19-20. LINCOLN'S lecture was on August 27, 1904, and was published in the *American Physical Education Review*, 10(1905), 31-35, as "What is to become of our 'backward' school children?", p. 31-35. His obituary is located in *The New York Times* (October 19, 1916), p. 9 (Dr. LINCOLN 1841-1916).

41 See the *Programme*, p. 20. "He ended his course [...] with a discussion of the muscles of expression with special studies of the face in violent effort, breathlessness and fatigue as seen in athletics." *The New York Times* obituary, lengthy and with a photo, occurred on April 29, 1938, p. 21. LEONARD/AFFLECK (p. 471) wrote of MCKENZIE: "Physical Education lost a masterly leader and advisor, while Art was deprived of its outstanding exponent of depicting in statuary the beauties of human physique."

42 *Programme*, p. 21. Dr. PHILLIPS took degrees from *Columbia University Medical School* (1895) and a master's degree from *Springfield College* in 1921. See *The New York Times* (January 5, 1942), p. 17. He was born December 20, 1865, in Groton, Massachusetts. He was asked at the Exposition: "Is the physique of the American College man and woman degenerating?" He answered "No, they are getting taller." See *American Physical Education Review*, 9(1904), p. 125-128.

43 *Programme*, p. 21-22. Dr. RAYCROFT (1867-1955) has a lengthy obituary, with photograph, in *The New York Times* (October 2, 1955), p. 87.

the central organ. He couldn't help himself and concluded with the "Moral value of gymnastics"⁴⁴ Calvin Milton WOODWARD, LL.D. spoke on "History and Ethics of Physical Training", from antiquity to the present-day "bane of professionalism" One small way to begin the healing, he said would be "the elimination of gate receipts at all intercollegiate and interscholastic games"⁴⁵

The Secretary of War and future president of the nation, William Howard TAFT (1857-1930), visited the Exposition, returned to Washington, D.C. and was entertained in the White House by Theodore ROOSEVELT. TAFT told the president in the highest hyperbolic terms "The Fair is the greatest thing that has ever happened [...] the greatest thing of the age."⁴⁶ Back at the Fair, there was no dearth of scientific physical culture lectures. The medical director of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, Dr. Cassius WATSON, spoke on "Muscular Movement and Human Evolution" He delivered what may have been a labyrinthine talk on human evolution; protoplasmic movement; nervous and muscular mechanisms, and "man's environment and his ability to meet with success the rapidly changing conditions"⁴⁷ Historian MALLON and contemporary eye-witness James Edward SULLIVAN both stated that Dr. William John

McGEE and SULLIVAN himself were "Expo" speakers in 1904. No where in the *Universal Exposition Olympic Games Programme* are their names mentioned. They were definitely not part of the formal, jury-selected speakers. Somewhere during the long Louisiana Purchase Exposition, McGEE took time away from his work as Chief of the Department of Anthropology at the Exposition to speak on "The Influence of Play in Racial Development with Special Reference to Muscular Movement"⁴⁸ Lastly, SULLIVAN may have delivered a formal talk amidst his duties as "Chief of Department of Physical Culture Louisiana Purchase Exposition and Director of Olympic Games 1904."⁴⁹ It was called "Sketch of the Development of Athletic Implements"⁵⁰ In a quite shameless manner, SULLIVAN, major owner of Spalding Athletic Equipment Company, spoke persistently of Spalding's superiority in all sporting forms.⁵¹

Some Afterthoughts and a Closure

The editor of *Mind and Body*, the prestigious national journal of its kind, was pleased with these series of lectures. "For the first time in the history of physical culture, this great factor in the welfare of society is officially recognized as a special department by the Exposition" he reported.⁵² The

44 *Programme*, p. 22. LEONARD/AFFLECK recognized the contributions of SCHMIDT (see p. 143, 147 and 179) in their book. Professor Doctor Karl LENNARTZ speaks of Dr. SCHMIDT in *Die Beteiligung Deutschlands an den Olympischen Spielen 1900 Paris und 1904 St. Louis*, Bonn 1983, p. 133-137.

45 See *Programme*, p. 23-24. Professor WOODWARD received his degree from *Harvard University* (1860), served in the Civil War, and for many years was Thayer Professor of Mathematics and Applied Mechanics at *Washington University* in St. Louis. See his biography in OHLES, John F. (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of American Educators*, (vol. 3), Westport, Connecticut, 1978, p. 1435-1436.

46 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 17, 1904), p. 1. The same newspaper predicted, months before the close of the fair, that all world records would be broken and "eventually 35,000,000 persons would attend."

47 See *Programme*, p. 23, and WATSON'S obituary in *The New York Times* (June 2, 1959), p. 35. Born in Danbury, Connecticut, 1879, his was a distinguished 50-year career.

48 See SULLIVAN on p. 173 of his book, and p. 32 in MALLON, *Games*.

49 SULLIVAN, p. 1.

50 SULLIVAN'S "Sketch" is located in *American Physical Education Review*, 9(December, 1904), p. 287. An adequate but still not complete biography of SULLIVAN is John LUCAS'S "The Hegemonic Rule of the American Amateur Athletic Union 1888-1914: James Edward Sullivan as Prime Mover", in: *The International Journal of the History of Sport* (December 1994), p. 355-371. An exceptionally accurate and readable SULLIVAN biography and that of the 1904 Exposition is located in POSEY, Carl A., */// Olympiad, (The Olympic Century; volume 4 of 25)* Los Angeles, 2000.

51 SULLIVAN and his employer, A. G. SPALDING did produce superior athletic equipment, which does not excuse their monopolistic practices. The "Expo" department of Physical Culture, in which SULLIVAN was a key member, awarded both a "Superior Prize" and a "Grand Prize" to A. G. Spalding and Brothers. See the *American Physical Education Review*, 10(1904), p. 66.

52 See "Preliminary Program of Physical Culture, ...", in: *Mind and Body*, 10(January, 1904), p. 285. "Papers will be sought from eminent workers in the field of physical training and allied sciences..." p. 286. It is hoped that the following is a complete list of Exposition 1904 speakers on the subject of "Physical Culture."

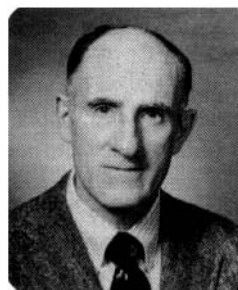
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|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. R. T. MCKENZIE | 6. J. E. RAYCROFT | 11. H. S. CURTIS | 16. Jakob BOLIN | 21. J. E. SULLIVAN |
| 2. E. H. ARNOLD | 7. C. W. HETHERINGTON | 12. C.W.WATSON | 17. D. F. LINCOLN | 22. D. R. FRANCIS |
| 3. C. Ward CRAMPTON | 8. W. G. ANDERSON | 13. P. C. PHILLIPS | 18. G. E. JOHNSON | |
| 4. C.M. WOODWARD | 9. L. H. GULICK | 14. G. W. EHLER | 19. F. J. V. SKIFF | |
| 5. G. Stanley HALL | 10. G. P. HEPBRON | 15. F. A. SCHMIDT | 20. W. J. MCGEE | |

World's Fair Bulletin featured an essay by SULLIVAN, who said the same thing. "For the first time in the history of international Expositions, a separate department has been created for the presentation [...] of man's progress towards his more perfect physical development"⁵³ The fair finally ended in late November. Theodore ROOSEVELT and his daughter Alice were there and had lunch with Dr. FRANCIS. "This is marvelous, marvelous" said the president to anyone that would listen. The German Commissioner General to the World's Fair, Theodor LEWALD, agreed and presented ROOSEVELT with a massive metal goblet, a "Pokar filled with Rhine wine."⁵⁴ At the Exposition banquet, ROOSEVELT told Dr. FRANCIS: "Your exposition is the greatest ever seen in recorded history"⁵⁵ Before the fair's end, a journalist in a Sunday magazine special, wrote:

*"David R. Francis promoted the great scheme of the World's Fair, W. H. Thompson financed it, Taylor built it, and Skiff gathered from all the world the exhibits."*⁵⁶

SKIFF was especially recognized by the governments of China, Japan, Austria, France, Italy and Germany. "He was sometimes referred to as the 'most profusely decorated man in America'"⁵⁷ The St. Louis Exposition Department of Physical Culture awarded 171 gold, silver, and bronze medals, to individuals, clubs and schools. Their fascinating choices included Dr. and Mrs. Luther Halsey GULICK; *Union des Societies Francaise de Sports*; *Oberlin College*; *Smith College*; Walter CAMP and "Miss Senda Berenson."⁵⁸ In a self-congratulatory manner, SULLIVAN viewed "his" Olympic Games and the 1904 lecture series as "The greatest sports carnival in the history of the world [...] a

masterpiece"⁵⁹ Amidst the "Expo" lectures and on the eve of the Olympic Games, SULLIVAN exploded: "Nothing can stop it [...] It is not so much an American victory [...] as a world victory."⁶⁰ And modern scholar, Mark DYRESOON, wrote that "Sullivan cast the Olympics as the centerpiece of the culture exhibit."⁶¹ He, SULLIVAN, was correct in doing so. In another DYRESOON article published in the *Missouri Historical Society's* journal *Gateway Heritage*, he wrote that SULLIVAN exclaimed that the fair's study of "scientific Physical Culture and the rapid spread of athleticism marked a return to a wholesome civilization"⁶² Excessive zeal and uncautious hyperbole by SULLIVAN and many others at this event exactly a hundred years ago do not hide the fact that for the fledgling discipline of American physical education these scientific lectures gave national exposure and a positive image of its research practitioners. In retrospect these approximately forty-five oral presentations should receive "higher grades" than the sporting gold medalists at these Games of the Third Olympiad. Again, DYRESOON concluded: "He [SULLIVAN] opined that visitors to St. Louis had beheld the birth of Modern Physical Culture as a science."⁶³



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53 "Physical Culture" in the February, 1904 issue, p. 20.

54 *New York Daily Tribune* (November 27, 1904), pages 1, 2. The final day of the Fair was officially designated as "David R. Francis Day." See the *Tribune* (December 2, 1904), p. 3.

55 *New York Daily Tribune* (November 28, 1904), p. 1, 2.

56 See essay by Jon E. GORSE in the Sunday Section, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 7, 1904).

57 In his obituary. See *The Chicago Tribune* (February 25, 1921), p. 11.

58 See the *American Physical Education Review* 10(1904), p. 65-66.

59 *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (February 14, 1904), page number obscured.

60 See the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* (August 28, 1904); Sunday Magazine Section, pages 1,4.

61 See DYRESOON's *Making the American Team*, p. 80.

62 Ibid, p. 92. There are many biographies of SULLIVAN. Curiously, a good one was written by Senda Bernson ABBOTT, editor of *Spalding's Official Basketball Guide for Women*, New York 1912, page number obscured.

63 See DYRESOON, *Team*, p. 92.