Thinking about the Gym: Greek Ideals, Newtonian Bodies, and Exercise in Early Eighteenth-Century England

Robert K. Batchelor

Georgia Southern University, batchelo@georgiasouthern.edu

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/history-facpubs

Part of the European History Commons

Recommended Citation

https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/history-facpubs/4

This article is brought to you for free and open access by the History, Department of at Digital Commons@Georgia Southern. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of Digital Commons@Georgia Southern. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@georgiasouthern.edu.
Thinking about the Gym: Greek Ideals, Newtonian Bodies and Exercise in Early Eighteenth-Century Britain

ROBERT BATCHELOR

Abstract: Revival of Greek ideas about exercise in the British and Irish Enlightenment by doctors led to a shift in understandings about the independent mind by establishing a relation between bodily and mental health. By the late 1730s, interest shifted away from mind and body and towards the sentiments and passions, which marked gender distinctions and held together national communities. Gilbert West’s writing about the Olympics in the 1740s indicated the difficulty in resolving tensions about exercise and sport as producing aristocratic distinction and violent passions as against their encouragement of healthy minds and civic virtue in the nation.

Keywords: exercise, Olympics, sport, George Cheyne, sentimentalism, Gilbert West, Enlightenment

It is often easy to forget that the original Olympics as well as their nineteenth-century revival had as much to do with exercise and education, the practice of the gymnasion, as with the competitive entertainment of sport, the spectacle of the arena. Although the connection between the cultivation of the mind and the body came down from the Greeks in the medical tradition through writers such as Aristotle and Galen, the radical distinction made by Descartes between res cogitans and res extensa, mind and body, as a defining point of science and Enlightenment appeared to suggest that the cultivation of reason was best served by a kind of Stoic detachment from physical activity. But in early eighteenth-century Britain, a crucial location for the development of modern notions of sport, the concept of ‘exercise’ became on the advice of physicians the basis for a kind of mass movement supporting physical activity as good for cultivating both body and mind. Rather than a discourse of restraint, like politeness, this revival of the ancient Greek concept of exercise actively attempted to address the limitations of the theory of the independent mind inherited from seventeenth-century science and philosophy, building in the process a broader public for the claims of the new science and new philosophies.

There remains something of a cultural taboo in mentioning exercise and sports in connection with the Enlightenment, or the ‘Age of Reason’ as it was once called. It goes back at least to Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, who for good reasons expressed anxiety about the Nazi sports palace and Leni Riefensthal’s celebration of the Olympics, writing rather bluntly that ‘Those who extolled the body in Germany, the gymnasts and outdoor sports enthusiasts, always had an intimate affinity to killing.’ Others, notably Norbert Elias and his student Eric Dunning in their landmark collection of essays Quest for Excitement, did their best to rehabilitate sport in relation to the ‘civilizing process’ as something that not only decreased violent impulses but also defined polite and rule-bound conflict appropriate to an emerging democratic society. They in turn
failed to capture the liberating and often transcultural aspects of sports and exercise that appear, for example, in C. L. R. James's famous account of cricket. Each of these approaches avoids the question of the embodied mind and the dynamic historical questions that emerged in the British Enlightenment around the question of how to understand it.3

The ambiguities surrounding the most famous advocate of exercise in the early eighteenth century, the Newtonian physician George Cheyne, offer some sense of why it remains difficult to address these questions. Cheyne, in his Essay of Health and Long Life (1724), had been one of the first to recommend a broad spectrum of everyday exercises as part of a healthy daily regimen, including billiards and cricket for rheumatism, tennis for feeble arms, football for weak hams and bell-ringing or pumping for a bad back, as well as exercise more generally for the health of the mind and spirit. Dancing and walking could be equally effective for men and women.4 With this very popular book, which went through eight editions in the decade that followed, Cheyne’s exercise and diet suggestions became the subject of dinner conversation and what one author called ‘Sects in the Dietetic philosophy’.5 Born in Aberdeen, Cheyne is usually given only a minor role in the history of the Scottish, and more broadly British, Enlightenment, despite his Newtonian and medicinal theories on Hutcheson and Hume as well as his influence on the Deist and sentimental movements in England. Cheyne considered himself as one who wanted to ‘enlighten’ the public, as he said in his autobiographical ‘Case of the Author’ appended to his English Malady (1733), and at one time he aspired to write a Principia for medicine that would turn that discipline into a true mathematical scientia.

When the poet Thomas Gray imagined a conversation between ancient and modern geniuses, he included Cheyne among a list of conversants that included Aristotle, Euclid, Ovid, Virgil, Locke, Malebranche and Swift.6 But Cheyne was also a failure, angering Newton in 1703 by publishing before the master a general summary of the fluxion calculus. In the aftermath of the controversy he gained vast amounts of weight (up to 32 stone or c.450 lb.) in the 1720s in binges of drinking and eating as he struggled to find a place in Aberdeen, London and Bath, and he sought solace in a kind of Neoplatonic spiritualism learned from Scottish mystics.7

Many historians as a result treat Cheyne as an almost grotesque figure, clearly damaged by Newton’s rejection of his ideas and his own provincialism and later obsessed with all too discursive mental health diagnoses of hysteria, the vapours and melancholia in women. Roy Porter quoted him as struggling with his ‘own crazy Carcase’, understanding Cheyne’s confessional writing about diet as a kind of Pilgrim’s Progress.8 His popularity clearly did at some level come from his performative story of depression and weight gain and loss, which brought him down to as little as 9 stone (125 lb.) if his accounts are to be believed. His portrait from 1732, dignified but hardly what one might imagine for a diet and exercise guru, circulated widely as an engraving and mezzotint in both London and Bath, where it was a popular souvenir at the Great Toy Shop. This portrait has been in many ways an ambiguous sign, serving as a visual reminder of the challenges in framing Cheyne’s work within broader narratives of Enlightenment. Indeed, Cheyne consistently returns historians to George Rousseau’s provocative question, ‘In which “discipline” ought a figure such as Cheyne be studied?’9

In the early eighteenth century, certain strains of Enlightenment thinking along with the more practical advice of physicians tried to place a particular vision of ancient Greek exercise and sport in a closer dialogue with contemporary Britain. Cheyne’s friend Jonathan Swift, for example, put at the core of Houyhnhnm society a kind of utopian version of Greek gymnastic education, having Gulliver describe them as
train[ing] up their Youth to Strength, Speed, and Hardiness, by exercising them in running Races up and down steep Hills, or over hard stony Grounds; and when they are all in a Sweat, they are ordered to leap over Head and Ears into a Pond or River. Four times a Year the Youth of certain Districts meet to shew their Proficiency in Running and Leaping, and other Feats of Strength or Agility; where the Victor is rewarded with a Song made in his or her Praise.10

Swift clearly wanted to use such gymnastic training to differentiate Houyhnhnmns from Yahoos, who rarely, in Gulliver’s increasingly estranged eyes, practised the equine values of ‘temperance, industry, exercise and cleanliness’. The questions involved here are rather different from those posed by Elias and Dunning in relation to sport as a tool for the moderation of social violence or more recent discursive studies about eighteenth-century ‘politeness’ and religious ‘enthusiasm’. They are closer to what Jan de Vries, C. A. Bayly and Craig Muldrew have talked about in terms of the ‘industrious revolution’, the efficient bodies photographed a century later by Muybridge in his time-motion studies. Bayly, in particular, has written about modernity as ‘building outward from the body’, a growing uniformity in bodily practices at a global level observable in, among other things, rules for sports and games but also intertwined with colonial practices, as in Swift’s Ireland.11 As Swift’s horses suggest, there could be something unsettling about the need for exercise to theories of the independent rational mind. Swift’s Houyhnhnmns in some way must be horses – the success of their civic virtue requires a generation of independence by educating the youth through exercise. Rather than pantheistic, this enlargement of the human into horseness, which connects the education of mind and body, seems like an uncanny return of ‘country’ and aristocratic values to the mercantile Gulliver, and Gulliver finds it difficult to return to London, where he is surrounded by the confused bodies and minds of Yahoos.

Part of the dilemma seems to have come out of the sense that Stoic intellectual labour (and critical observation or ‘spectatorship’) failed on its own to produce an independent political subject or, in the case of the Irish Dean Swift or of Cheyne the Scot, despite their moves to London, a proper scientific observer. Conversely, simple industriousness and exercise seemed virtues more appropriately aimed at labourers, wild Irish and highland Scots. This broader British and Irish uncertainty about political subjectivity and intellectual labour may be one reason why the ‘English Enlightenment’ has often seemed less clearly defined than the rationalist French or even Jonathan Israel’s radically pantheist and internationalist Dutch, and why writers such as Swift expressed such ambiguity about the Laputa-like rationalism of London’s Royal Society, floating above the undisciplined activities of the ‘many busy Heads, Hands, and Faces’ of Balnibari.

For France, Descartes had set the model for the solitary mind alone in his study, withdrawn from the world and using geometry to leverage the world from its stability. Despite an interest in Greek geometry and Platonic dualism, Descartes’s gesture was largely Roman and Stoic, in which a connection existed between mind and body that should be actively resisted. Seneca’s eightieth epistle (epitomised by the translation in 1620 by Thomas Lodge) set out the terms quite starkly: ‘That the common sort went to the Shewes and Games, hee to his studie and contemplation. That the minde is to be beautified and not the bodie.’ Seneca’s letter began not with the scholar himself withdrawing but with everyone withdrawing from the scholar because of, as it was translated in the seventeenth century, a football game:

This day I am wholly mine owne, not onely by mine owne means, but for that the Foot-ball play hath withdrew all those that were troublesome unto mee, and came to importune mee. There is not one that thrusteth in upon mee, no man distracteth my thoughts, my doore
creaked not so often as it was accustomed, my hanging was not lifted up. I have freedome to
be solitary, which is most necessary for him that walketh alone, and followeth his own way
[...] Behold a huge cry is rayersd in the Theater, where men exercise their running, which
cannot draw my selfe from my selfe, but rather transporteth me to contemplate on the
Combats that are in hand. I think with my selfe, how many exercise their bodies, how few
their minds; how many men throng to a vaine and trifling spectacle, and what desolation
there is about good arts, how weakly minded they are, whose armes and shoulders we wonder
at? But above all I meditate upon this: If a man may by exercise bring his bodie to this patience
whereby he may sustayne not only the strokes and spurnes of many men, whereby soyled
with his own bloud [...] how much more easily may the mind be strengthened invincibly to
entertayne the shocke of Fortune, to the end that being cast to ground, and trod under foot,
he may yet rayse himself?  

For Descartes, Stoic training of the mind had been a way of clearly defining in-
dependence and the individual away from both common bodily and Jesuit spiritual
exercises, one reason why he proved attractive to an Irish Protestant such as his English
translator William Molyneaux. 'The mind', as Milton would have Satan say, following
Seneca and the broader Stoic and indeed Protestant idea of self-sufficiency, 'is its own
place.'  
The radically independent mind of Seneca and especially Descartes has traditionally
served as the classic basis of Enlightenment rationality and republicanism. Without a
Stoic concept of the independence of mind, how could one frame the notion of individual
authority or scientific observation in ways that did not simply derive from the virtual or
Hobbesian body of the sovereign? Scholars have proposed collective witnessing (the Royal
Society), sociability (politeness), printing and coffee houses (the public) and the citizen-
soldier of civic humanism as possible late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century answers to
this question in terms of collective authority. But especially by the 1720s such collective
solutions also raised suspicions, and here lay the core of Swift's satire. In the world of
Walpolean Parliamentary corruption, Irish penal laws and General Wade's Black Watch
one could not achieve independence through mere Senecan/Cartesian withdrawal of the
mind, despite the efforts of John Locke to create a natural world of ideas or Bishop Berkeley
of Cloyne to make perception divine. Only among the horses in a country retreat could one
emulate the Greeks and achieve true embodiment of mind through a combination of
physical and intellectual labour.

Many of Swift's English contemporaries were, however, far more confident of the
possibilities of Grecian exercises. A new translation of the Greek Stoic Epictetus described
his preparations for the Olympic Games as a process akin to training for philosophy,
while Plato became a wrestler in the account of one of his early eighteenth-century
biographers. Compared with this, the Senecan scholar, fearful of the public and their
sporting events, looked unhealthy, sitting at his desk all day and night, squinting at
mathematical diagrams and scribbling calculations by candlelight. Following certain
Greek ideals, Joseph Addison proclaimed himself no mere spectator but 'a compound of
soul and body', obliged to labour and exercise as well as study and contemplate. Although
he too preferred the country activities of hunting and riding, when in town, as he wrote in
the Spectator for 12 July 1711,

I exercise myself an hour every morning upon a dumb-bell [a bell without a clapper] that is
placed in the corner of my room, and pleases me the more because it does everything I require
of it in the most profound silence. My landlady and her daughters are so well acquainted with
my hours of exercise, that they never come into my room to disturb me whilst I am ringing.
Addison felt obliged to lift in private, explicitly away from the eyes of the women in the house, let alone the broader public. He also engaged in solitary skiomachia (Σκίομαχία), or shadow boxing with free weights, which he appropriately claimed to have learned from reading an obscure sixteenth-century treatise on gymnastics rather than training at a martial arts academy or emulating street fighting. Why exercise in private rather than publicly in a gymnasium like the Greeks or collectively through sport? Addison’s initial concern in his essay was to separate ordinary labour, the industriousness of the English populace, from the voluntary labour of exercise. Resistant to the more violent aspects of James Figg’s boxing (Figg opened his School of Arms and Art of Self-Defence Academy in Tottenham Court Road in 1719) as well as popular ball games and acrobatics in the fields surrounding London, where William Bedle was becoming the first star of English cricket. Addison nevertheless believed that such activities were ultimately healthy. He understood the body in terms of Newtonian and ultimately Aristotelian kinetics (although Newton himself held different views), a system of pipes that needs to be cleared and cleansed by exercise. Without such movement the body lacked ‘vigour’ and the soul ‘cheerfulness’. Addison went out of his way to emphasise the benefits of exercise for the ‘faculties of the mind’, including ‘keeping the understanding clear, the imagination untroubled, and refining those spirits that are necessary for the proper exertion of our intellectual faculties, during the present laws of union between soul and body’. Neglecting exercise by the studious and sedentary led to melancholic spleen in men and the vapours in women – that is to say depression. Country life as well as industrious physical labour provided such cleansing as of course, but the emerging urban middle class did not reap the same benefits. They needed to use their leisure time in an industrious manner in order to remain healthy. Beneath Addison’s confident advocacy of an hour of private exercise each day lay the sense that, unlike the Greeks, the English and the ‘moderns’ more generally had failed to come to terms with the compound nature of mind and body.

The ‘British Enlightenment’ deserves to be called such precisely because it marked a radical departure from the more limited theory of mind espoused by Cartesianism and neo-Stoic science more generally, involving an active debate over what the relation between mind and body should be. Before the late seventeenth century, recommendations for exercise were largely aimed at preserving the integrity of the body and mind. In the 1680s Thomas Sydenham was the first English physician to advocate exercise as part of a regimen of health, specifically for warding off hysteria. Michel Foucault, as one might expect, attributed Sydenham’s encouragement of riding and walking to an increasing regulation of the movement of the body, arguing that this, ‘therapeutics of movement conceals the idea of a seizure by the world of the alienated mind’. But for Sydenham, whose writings tended towards a kind of natural philosophy, the basic gesture was to stabilise the mind within a now fragile, uncertain and in a Hobbesian sense discredited natural order, the Restoration regrets of one who like Milton supported the cause of a monarch-less Parliament.

In the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution, English physicians, notably Francis Fuller and John Floyer, began to investigate diagnostic and therapeutic strategies derived from other medical traditions, respectively the Greek and the Chinese, in order to try and resolve how one could actually measure the effects of exercise on producing healthy mental states. Addison took the lion’s share of his ideas on exercise from the 1705 edition of Fuller’s Medicina Gymnastica: or, A Treatise Concerning the Power of Exercise, which argued that gymnastic exercise, neglected since the ancient Greeks, was in fact the key to medicine. Fuller worried that to some modern doctors this might seem to be a primitive
approach, alluding to the famous semi-barbarous nature of the Greeks and their 
Dionysian festivals, but he nevertheless insisted that it should form an equally valid part of 
therapeutics. He could not say why the contemporary British no longer exercised properly 
in the manner of the Greeks. The omission of exercise from medicinal practice might be a 
very old Gothic problem in which Greek concepts had not translated – northern European 
nations not placing as much emphasis on exercise as southern ones – or it could be a more 
recent problem derived from the impression given by the anatomical table that medicine 
was an entirely internal rather than partially an external question. Addressing both 
issues, Fuller redefined exercise in Newtonian terms as the motion of the body generated 
at least partially by externalities to it. Such motions in turn could change both bodily and 
mental health, asserting both performatively and physically a new self, one in some ways 
appropiate to the more republican gestures of the Glorious Revolution.20 

Published in 1707, the same year as the second edition of Fuller’s book, John Floyer’s 
Physician’s Pulse Watch also tried to redefine therapeutics and exercise. Floyer relied on a 
series of accounts of Chinese medicine, including Andreas Cleyer’s Specimen Medicinae 
(1682), on Chinese methods for taking the pulse.21 In terms of which tradition to revive 
and which concepts to translate, Floyer thought that the Chinese used a more empirical 
method than the Greeks (Galen) for taking the pulse, tying it to the state of particular 
organs in the body rather than more abstract and mathematical ‘magnitudes’ defined 
through geometry. Regulating heart rate was the essence of Chinese medicine, a 
balancing of forces both between the body and the world and between organs within the 
body, whereas the inaccuracies of Greek pulse measurement techniques (and geometric 
science) had led them to neglect the interplay of forces external to and within the body.22 
Because the Chinese technique was more precise, they could use pulse measurement as 
part of ‘therapeutics’ rather than simply diagnostics (which he classified in good Greek 
fashion as ‘Prognostications and Semiotica’) – like the heart rate monitor on a modern 
treadmill. But Floyer, not knowing how to read Chinese and only having access to a Latin 
translation and some Chinese anatomical prints, admittedly did not fully understand 
their methods. So in a nod to Newtonian mechanics he recommended instead using a 
stopwatch (his own model – the ‘pulse watch’) and then moderating the pulse through a 
combination of baths, diet and, above all, exercise. As with Addison’s dumb-bell, exercise 
required a technical apparatus that could guarantee physical labour was actually 
occurring and not becoming excessive. 

It was Cheyne who in the 1720s spread these ideas more broadly, but even before that 
point the movement had become fashionable, as Addison’s private exercises suggest. By 
the 1720s the idea of public exercise was also gaining traction, tied in part to the interest in 
popular spectator shows and sports. In 1727 twenty-two men in their seventies played an 
exhibition match of cricket in Crankbrook, Kent.23 East India Company servants diverted 
themselves in the 1720s with ‘Cricket, and other Exercises’ as locals watched on as 
spectators’ near Khambhat.24 Not to be outdone, the gentry and aristocracy at times 
participated in such country activities, but they increasingly developed their own spaces 
for public exercise. This was especially true in the fashion for purchasing country houses 
next to spa towns such as Bath or Epsom. Advertisements suggested that light exercise 
such as walking or fishing could be combined with spectatorship of village sports like 
cricket or the more aristocratic pastimes of horse-racing and fox-hunting.25 John Wood, 
Ralph Allen’s chief architect for the resort town of Bath, wanted to put in a ‘Forum, Circus 
and Imperial Gymnasium’, along Roman lines. Wood believed that this would re-establish 
Roman gymnastics in Britain, claiming falsely that the first Roman gymnasium had been 
built at Bath. Inspired by the Colosseum, Wood’s celebrated King’s Circus (1754) was to
have a 320-foot diameter central space for the ‘exhibition of sports’. In the final design this was decided impractical. In fact, it had fallen victim to a complex reaction to the English exercise movement.26

In the 1720s Bath became an important centre for the exercise movement, in particular because Cheyne went there to conduct public exercises and to cure maladies such as melancholy, hysteria and the gout. Cheyne became a major backer not of the exercise fields, however, but of the General Hospital or Infirmary (also known as the Mineral Water Hospital, founded in 1738), a charity for which he served as a trustee from 1725.27 Cheyne had moved to Bath by 1718 and become a sensation there and in London, especially with his publications in the 1720s. His milk diet, which appeared in Cheyne’s Essay on Gout (1720), was learned from a doctor in Croydon but supposedly inspired by ‘lusty and strong’ Scottish Highlanders, who ate lots of porridge.28 But by 1725 Cheyne was also having weight problems with this regimen, which became the subject of his confessional story in The English Malady (1733).29

By the 1730s Cheyne, both personally and publicly, shifted the debate from exercise to diet. Cheyne knew some Greek and was seen by his contemporaries as inspired by Greece. ‘So many Grecian Sages live in Thee’, wrote one admirer.30 He came to think of medicine, however, in terms of removing of obstructions and excess, Newtonian bodies in rest and motion, unlike Fuller’s or Floyer’s effort to translate a Classical approach to mind and body derived from either Greece or China. For Cheyne medicine had always been defined by the natural, and all the physician could really do is to prescribe a regimen, involving air, exercise and evacuation to facilitate removal of such build-ups.31 His English Malady, or A Treatise of Nervous Diseases of All Kinds (1733) reflected his growing sense of ambiguity about exercise, especially games and sports, as tools for doing this. His recommendations for activities narrowed substantially, and he only supported a ‘low regimen’ of exercise (namely riding and walking), leaving out many of the specific sports he had previously recommended for fear that too much exercise could lead to nervous and psychiatric disorders. He argued that slow thinkers were better than quick thinkers because they proved less prone to disease, and he advocated ‘easy and agreeable’ reading and ‘innocent entertaining amusement’ rather than more excitable sports such as football or cricket. Cheyne seems to have come to fear what Elias and Dunning (not to mention Aristotle in the Poetics) refer to as the cathartic power of sports.32

Despite its strong connection with medical discourse, clearly by the 1720s exercise had taken on broader implications not only for philosophy but also, and more importantly, for sociability. In part, Cheyne’s new fears seem to have come out of a redefinition of women in relation to the embodied mind, a shift, as Anita Guerrini has argued, that involved conceiving of women as emotional and sociable rather than in terms of the bodily and the mental.33 Cheyne already in the mid-1720s was contending that riding was the best exercise because it was ‘manly’. Adam’s punishment of working by the sweat of his brow was actually for Cheyne a kind of remedy for bodily disorders and specifically the poison of the tree of knowledge. These passages on exercise from his Essay on Health made some quite radical claims about the relation of the body and mind to environment, noting that, after the Fall,

there happened an intire Revolution in the Complexion and Qualities of the minds of the first Pair (of Mankind) so to me there appear to be evident Indications of a designed change and alteration in the material World, and the Nature of the Animals and Vegetables, which subsist on this Globe, from what they were when God pronounced everything good that he had made.34

© 2012 British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies
Such remarks in the 1720s were entirely aimed at the treatment of men, even though Cheyne had women patients. After some prominent failures, including the death under his care of Robert Walpole’s eldest daughter, Catherine, in 1722, as well as the success of his diet, Cheyne by the 1730s refocused his efforts towards emotional and sentimental problems affecting women, notably hysteria and the vapours.35 Cheyne, now in his sixties and from 1733 avidly corresponding with Samuel Richardson, began to reinstitute the split between mind and body in his descriptions of emotional and sentimental pathologies that empiricist doctors in the first three decades of the eighteenth century, including himself, had undermined.36 The nervous system, which included emotional and sentimental states once associated with the body, was in this account removed from the world and thus increasingly from exercise and sport. His shift in emphasis paralleled that of Francis Hutcheson, working in Ireland in the 1720s and then Scotland in the 1730s, who was developing a theory of the passions and sentiments and interested in the problem of their moderation.37 Influenced by Cheyne’s writings, Edmund Burke would come to argue that the sublime was a kind of convalescence after the aesthetic experience of pain, which shook and worked the emotions as exercise did the muscles.38 Musings on feeling replaced questions about the kind of physical education necessary to maintain independent minds, and women were increasingly divorced from such questions altogether.

As exercise became more closely tied to emotional states, particular kinds of sports – notably cricket – became identified with national passions and masculinity, the ‘manly Britishness’ of the new patriotism that emerged in the 1740s and ’50s.39 Away from the exercising body, mind became defined much more broadly in relation to a public network of sentiment and affect described as ‘sympathy’ and linked through the imagination. Because of this the passions of the spectator became an even more significant issue than the passions generated in actual participation in sports. This would be the signature of both Richardson’s sentimentalism and the Scottish Enlightenment, beginning with Hume’s engagement with Cheyne’s work in the Treatise on Human Nature (1739). Hume emphasised the way that physical labour produced a different constellation of sentiments in day labourers, as opposed to ‘men of quality’. Adam Smith’s Theory of Moral Sentiments (1759) would broaden such observations into communities of sentiment, while Adam Ferguson worried in civic humanist terms in his An Essay on the History of Civil Society (1767) that the national spirit and ‘the vigour of a nation, like that of a natural body, does not waste by a physical decay, that yet it may sicken for want of exercise.’40 Such writers, along with the spiritualists in the Methodist movement, were now quite far away from physicians who had generally advised an hour of exercise each day for reasons of health, let alone the democratic aspirations of the Greeks and the Houyhnhnms, where the idea had been to create independence of both mind and body at an individual level prior to the nation as a community of sentiment. Walking and riding increasingly had more to do with sociability than as strategies for personal improvement and Enlightenment.

The exercise movement, despite the rise of sentimentalism, did leave a critical legacy to the British Enlightenment in relation to the concept of Olympic Games themselves. To his translation of Pindar from 1749, Gilbert West appended a Dissertation on the Olympic Games. In it the patriotic West, who had been part of the Cobham circle of opposition Whigs in the 1730s, defined the ‘Gymnasium’ conceptually as a ‘School of Exercise maintained at the publick Expence, with a View of training up their Youth in a Manner that best suited, as they imagined, to make them usefull to their Country’.41 Such schools were not limited to physical exercise, for it was in this active context that one would encounter and learn from rhetoricians, philosophers and other men of learning. As with
Thinking about the Gym

the Houyhnhnms, these were institutions for the creations of citizens, a suggestion made directly by Lucian in a dialogue also translated by West: ‘Our first and principal concern is how to make our Citizens virtuous in mind and strong in Body.’

Schooling, at least for boys, was not to be a mere credential-gaining process but a training ground for breaking away from the kind of ‘self-imposed immaturity’ later described by Kant in his definition of Aufklärung.

But for West the basic problem with the Olympics and the gymnasium system of public schooling as a historical model was the general tendency for Greek history to be shrouded in myth and the aristocratic magnification of heroes. Rather than neglecting the mind or mixing the classes raising the body created an inappropriate sense of superiority within a national community of sentiments. In many ways like Elias in his *Historiography of sport*, West understood the Olympics as a ‘Heroic Age’ institution, one that celebrated conquerors and supported through the aristocratic munificence of figures such as Achilles. West also explicitly turned to Isaac Newton’s *Chronology* (1728), in which Newton followed Pausanias’ *Description of Greece* (1.V.7) in arguing that the games were connected with war and ‘celebrated in Triumph for Victories’, beginning with Hercules Idaeus’ victory over Saturn and the Titans. This aristocratic and mythic nature of the Olympics made them for West an uncertain institution, and they were in turn surrounded by, in his words, a ‘Diversity and Uncertainty’ of accounts as well as striking silences in Homer. But, as West noted, Homer did talk of games and heroes participating in ‘exercises’ like those supposedly part of the Olympics. To West this seemed to indicate that, instead of being ‘restored’ by King Iphitos of Elis to initiate the ‘Olympic truce’, they were actually at that point ‘founded’. The Olympics were thus ‘modern’, only loosely based on older heroic or aristocratic practices. Stadium events such as ‘Gymnastick Combats’ and ‘Horse-Races’ were events added only later, by those who wanted to return the aristocratic element to the games by making them both more violent and, because horse-training was expensive, more aristocratic. West here expressed a kind of double uncertainty about sport. It created better citizens but retained overt practices of violent barbarism. It also could be hijacked by the aristocracy and become an end rather than a means – creating largely useless professional athletic stars rather than warrior citizen-soldiers in the civic humanist tradition.

What West thought was interesting about Iphitus was his institutionalising of the Olympic Games, framing them into ‘a regular and coherent System or Form’, ‘uniting the sacred and Political institutions’ and creating a ‘Principle of Life and Duration as enabled it to outlive the Laws and Customs, the Liberty, and almost the Religion of Greece’. The Olympics themselves were a way of rationalising the calendar and, as a kind of measuring-stick of time, had contributed to Newton’s ability to revise historical chronology, a book that clearly impressed West. The stadium was based on the length of the stadion – an eighth of a mile – and was a space of exhibition for ‘Gymnastic Exercises’. The collection of exercises called the pentathlon were all trials of skill rather than chance. And with the exception of the horse activities, introduced according to West by aristocratic families, gymnastic exercises favoured, as Alcibiades had noted, the ‘meanly born, more meanly educated, and Inhabitants, perhaps of mean and inconsiderable cities’. In other words, not only was there something modern about the Olympics – in the sense of a coherent or rationalised system along the lines of Newton – but there was also something translatable, equitable and cosmopolitan about the Olympics that transcended national sentiments and enabled them to survive the almost complete disintegration of Greek culture, which by another view was seen by early eighteenth-century commentators such as West as ‘superstitious and ostentatious’. Unlike Swift, West was
neither utopian nor cynical, and he offered an alternative to the emerging consensus about the nation as an imagined community of ‘moral sentiments’ in which the bodies and minds of citizens must be disciplined and repressed into a more passive obedience and provincial outlook than the Greeks would have thought healthy.

The recent death of the French scholar of Greek thought Jacqueline de Romilly has provoked some reflection on the translation of concepts and the momentum of languages across time through crises and rebirths. The physicians and historians of eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland seem at some level doing work more aptly characterised by her methodologies than by those of either Elias, with his figurations of the civilising process, or Foucault, with his discourses of medicine and madness. Cheyne, along with Fuller and Floyer and others who laid the foundations for our modern understandings of exercise and sports medicine, do indeed belong in the history of sport. Perhaps more importantly, the history, languages and practices of sport and exercise should play a greater role in our understanding of the Enlightenment. In this regard Elias and Dunning remind us of something very important. Fields of study such as sports, ‘the only global idiom apart from science’, as Laurence Kitchin once quipped, require approaches that are not merely limited to a particular nation state or to a particular conception of the body and mind entirely divorced from biological and environmental questions. To the extent that we discuss emotions and not exercise, education and not sports, mind and not body, discourses and not physicality, the Enlightenment’s problems, like those constantly re-invented concepts of the Greek language, remain with us. And while the elements of fascist spectacle and sentimental nationalism may linger over modern sporting events, it is also worth remembering and carrying forward other elements inherited from the Enlightenment – the range of possible exercises, the complex mental and physical demands required for achievement, the sense of experimentation with physical causes and the potential to participate in a cosmopolitan dialogue across divergent political, cultural and historical formations.

NOTES

1. Jonathan Israel’s emphasis on Spinoza’s materialism as a rejection of Cartesian dualism and Stoic teleology is interesting here, but it has a tendency to move away from questions about the critical individual and towards more abstract questions about theology and materialism. See generally Jonathan Israel, Radical Enlightenment (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), and especially Enlightenment Contested (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p.457-79.


17. This was a common refrain about the character of the ‘English nation’ more broadly, as Edward Chamberlayne wrote: ‘The natives will endure long and hard Labour, insomuch that after 12 Hours hard Work, they will go in the Evening to Foot-ball, Stool-ball. Cricket, Prison-base, Wrestling, Cudgel-playing, or some such like vehement Exercise for their Recreation.’ Edward Chamberlyne, *Anglia notitia* (London: T. Hodgkin, 1644), p.78. (This passage first appears in this in the 18th edn.) By 1708 John Chamberlyne had changed ‘natives’ to ‘Common people’ (*Magnae Britanniae Notitia*, London: Timothy Godwin et. al., 1708), p.30). Chamberlayne also suggests that the ‘Ringing of Bells’ is particularly English, ‘a Recreation used in no other Country in the world’ (p.187).


22. David Hume famously, at the beginning of his *A Treatise of Human Nature*, vol. I (London: John Noon, 1739), argues that Locke does this as well in his broader philosophy and revives Hobbes’s notion of ‘impressions’.


1.2 ROBERT BATELOR


30. 'To Dr Cheyne of Bath on Reading his Works', Gentleman's Magazine or Monthly Intelligencer for the Year 1733 3 (April 1733), p.205.


32. Elias and Dunning, Quest for Excitement, p.90.


37. On this as part of a broader trend in Dublin in the aftermath of the South Sea Bubble see Sean Moore, Swift, the Book, and the Irish Financial Revolution: Satire and Sovereignty in Colonial Ireland (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).


42. West, 'Discertation on the Olympic Games', p.221.

43. West, 'Discertation on the Olympic Games', p.3-11.


45. West, 'Discertation on the Olympic Games', p.11-12.


47. See, for example, J. B. Castel, Petites leçons sur le grec ancien (Paris: Stock, 2008). With its diffusionist and comparative approach to Greek, My thanks to Martha Zebrowski for similarly keeping this Greek torch alight at BSECS and to Haun Saussy for reminding me of de Romilly's significance in this regard.

48. Kitchin is quoted by Elias and Dunning, Quest, p.5.

© 2012 British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies

ROBERT BATELOR is Associate Professor of History at Georgia Southern University. He has a forthcoming book on the role of translation in shaping London’s development as a global city.
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Journal Code:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Proofreader:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Article No:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Elsie</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Page Extent:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Delivery date:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JECS</strong></td>
<td><strong>17 April 2012</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Toppan Best-set Premedia Limited**
USING e-ANNOTATION TOOLS FOR ELECTRONIC PROOF CORRECTION

Required software to e-Annotate PDFs: Adobe Acrobat Professional or Adobe Reader (version 8.0 or above). (Note that this document uses screenshots from Adobe Reader X)
The latest version of Acrobat Reader can be downloaded for free at: http://get.adobe.com/reader/

Once you have Acrobat Reader open on your computer, click on the Comment tab at the right of the toolbar:

This will open up a panel down the right side of the document. The majority of tools you will use for annotating your proof will be in the Annotations section, pictured opposite. We’ve picked out some of these tools below:

1. **Replace (Ins) Tool** – for replacing text.
   - Strikes a line through text and opens up a text box where replacement text can be entered.
   - How to use it:
     - Highlight a word or sentence.
     - Click on the Replace (Ins) icon in the Annotations section.
     - Type the replacement text into the blue box that appears.
   - Standard framework for the analysis of m

2. **Strikethrough (Del) Tool** – for deleting text.
   - Strikes a red line through text that is to be deleted.
   - How to use it:
     - Highlight a word or sentence.
     - Click on the Strikethrough (Del) icon in the Annotations section.

3. **Add note to text Tool** – for highlighting a section to be changed to bold or italic.
   - Highlights text in yellow and opens up a text box where comments can be entered.
   - How to use it:
     - Highlight the relevant section of text.
     - Click on the Add note to text icon in the Annotations section.
     - Type instruction on what should be changed regarding the text into the yellow box that appears.

4. **Add sticky note Tool** – for making notes at specific points in the text.
   - Marks a point in the proof where a comment needs to be highlighted.
   - How to use it:
     - Click on the Add sticky note icon in the Annotations section.
     - Click at the point in the proof where the comment should be inserted.
     - Type the comment into the yellow box that appears.

there is no room for extra profits at ups are zero and the number of set values are not determined by
Blanchard and Kiyotaki (1987), perfect competition in general equilibriums of aggregate demand and supply
classical framework assuming monopo
en an exogenous number of firms
5. **Attach File Tool** – for inserting large amounts of text or replacement figures.

Inserts an icon linking to the attached file in the appropriate pace in the text.

**How to use it**
- Click on the Attach File icon in the Annotations section.
- Click on the proof to where you’d like the attached file to be linked.
- Select the file to be attached from your computer or network.
- Select the colour and type of icon that will appear in the proof. Click OK.

6. **Add stamp Tool** – for approving a proof if no corrections are required.

Inserts a selected stamp onto an appropriate place in the proof.

**How to use it**
- Click on the Add stamp icon in the Annotations section.
- Select the stamp you want to use. (The Approved stamp is usually available directly in the menu that appears).
- Click on the proof where you’d like the stamp to appear. (Where a proof is to be approved as it is, this would normally be on the first page).

7. **Drawing Markups Tools** – for drawing shapes, lines and freeform annotations on proofs and commenting on these marks.

Allows shapes, lines and freeform annotations to be drawn on proofs and for comment to be made on these marks.

**How to use it**
- Click on one of the shapes in the Drawing Markups section.
- Click on the proof at the relevant point and draw the selected shape with the cursor.
- To add a comment to the drawn shape, move the cursor over the shape until an arrowhead appears.
- Double click on the shape and type any text in the red box that appears.

For further information on how to annotate proofs, click on the Help menu to reveal a list of further options: