

DOI: 10.14394/eidos.jpc.2021.0037

Aaron Wood
School of Theatre
Louisiana State University, USA
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7116-4393>
awood67@lsu.edu

Eugen Sandow: Performing New Masculinities

Abstract

In the late 1800s masculinity as understood in the United States' urban northeast underwent a major transformation as the preceding emphasis upon decorum and civility gave way to a new ideal based on masculine health and fitness. This thesis seeks to demonstrate the significant role that Eugen Sandow, a Prussian born strongman who rose to international fame at the turn of the century, played in this masculine transformation. Sandow rose to stardom alongside theatre impresario Florenz Ziegfeld and used that stardom to revolutionize American manhood. Sandow was a performer, an athlete, and marketing genius. These three distinct identities coalesced to allow Sandow the opportunity to inspire a nation.

Keywords:

Eugen Sandow, masculinity, fitness, performance, marketing, American culture

In the late 1800s masculinity as understood in the United States' urban northeast underwent a major transformation as the preceding emphasis upon decorum and civility gave way to a new ideal based on masculine health and fitness. This new male figure functioned as a bridge between the chaotic masculinity of the 1840s and the effeminized dandyism of the 1880s. The new man was fit and virile, yet practical and domestic. This archetype continues to influence our depictions of ideal manhood today as theatre, television, and film are packed with images of men who possess the body of a god and the disposition of the boy next door. But where does this character come from, and how has it become so rooted in the American entertainment industry?

To answer these questions, I look to a non-American, Eugen Sandow, a bodybuilder and strongman whose turn of the century run on America's vaudeville stages "set a new benchmark for American virility."¹ For the average American, however, Sandow's legacy has faded into obscurity. A perfunctory search of his name will reveal the strongman as the father of modern bodybuilding. However, his legacy does not extend much beyond this title. What little research there is on Sandow primarily rests in the realm of sports scholarship. The notable examples of this scholarship are David Chapman's 1994 biography *Sandow the Magnificent*² and a series of articles published in *Iron Game Histories* in 1989 in which theatre historian Josh Buck studies Eugen Sandow and his contemporaries. A few rogue scholars, however, have approached Sandow-focused research from alternate perspectives.

In 2013 Dominic G. Morais published "Branding Iron: Eugen Sandow's 'Modern' Marketing Strategies, 1887–1925" in the *Journal of Sports History*.³ Morais's research delves into the many clever marketing tactics Sandow used to build his success. In a similar vein, Dominique Padurano's chapter in the 2009 book *Testimonial Advertising in the American Marketplace: Emulation, Identity, Community* uses Sandow as a case study to build her narrative on the establishment of the bodybuilding self-testimonial genre.⁴ Alternatively, other authors, primarily biographer David Waller, emphasize Sandow's time spent performing on the music hall circuit.

This project seeks to unify these segregated perceptions of Eugen Sandow within the context of American masculinity studies and the emergence of the new masculine ideal that arose during the turn of the century's physical culture boom. This focus on Sandow and his involvement in American masculinity is significant for two reasons. First, Sandow's legacy is largely unrecognized by American culture. Though he is remembered significantly in the world of bodybuilding, the broader cultural discussions about Sandow often only reference him to illustrate Florenz Ziegfeld's penchant for glorifying his performers. However, Sandow is a remarkable example of a performer using the theatre as a catalyst for national change. Sandow capitalized on the performative nature of gender in conjunction with the mimetic audience/performer relationship to revolutionize the way people thought about manhood, health, and fitness in the United States. He used the stage as a launching point for the performance of his masculine ideal and used his two-year vaudeville tour of the United States to establish himself as a national paradigm of masculine health. Despite his success in the United States, Sandow's significant involvement in American culture and his impact on the modern American conception of masculinity have largely been overlooked.

Second, although there is a fair quantity of literature pertaining to American culture and masculinity, the currently available writings leave a largely unexplored gap. Karl Kippola's book *Acts of Manhood: The Performance of Masculinity on the American Stage, 1828–1865* explores theatre and masculinity prior to 1880,⁵ and Marc Shaw and Elwood Watson's *Performing American Masculinities: The 21st-century Man in Popular Culture*, examines recent entertainment and masculinity.⁶ However, there is not a significant work of research that bridges the gap from early to present-day America. That is where Eugen Sandow comes in. Sandow assembled various masculine trademarks from the pre-1800s into a new masculine identity, one which has become both the stereotype and social reality for modern American manhood. In a brief three-year period, Eugen Sandow drastically altered the American perception of masculinity by establishing himself as the benchmark for a new

1) Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 10.

2) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*.

3) Morais, "Branding Iron."

4) Padurano, "Dear Friend," 173–206.

5) Kippola, *Acts of Manhood*.

6) Shaw and Watson, *Performing American Masculinities*.

kind of man. Through vaudeville and music hall performances, Sandow's male ideal found great success in the American northeast. After gaining notability as a performer, Sandow used his keen entrepreneurial prowess to launch a full-scale fitness empire. With the help of Sandow's fitness programs, publications, and schools, his new male ideal found great success in the American northeast and soon gained a following of middle-class men across the country. Sandow's male ideal thrived in entertainment both on stage and on screen, creating an enduring stereotype of the perfect man.

To discuss Sandow's creation of a new male ideal it is first necessary to build an understanding of the development of American manhood in the mid to late 1800s. In 1849 there was perhaps America's strongest pre-Sandow evolution in male identity as two images of masculine character clashed in the Astor Place Riot. On one side, was English actor William Macready. A favorite of the upper-class, Macready's self-aggrandizing British spectacle became representative of the "earnest, majestic, and impassioned" manhood of America's male elite.⁷ Opposite Macready stood the American Edwin Forrest, a national symbol for a "rough and ready" working class masculinity.⁸

In May of 1849 both actors were engaged to perform *Macbeth* at two rival New York venues. Macready's opening night at the Astor Place Opera House was crowded with supporters of Forrest. These rowdy spectators bombarded Macready with howls, rotten eggs, potatoes, even chairs.⁹ Macready retreated from the theatre during the third act. Two days later both actors once more took to the stage. As Richard Butsch indicates, Macready's choice to return to the stage "constituted a direct challenge by the elite to the working-class." On the evening of May 10th, 1849 William Macready set out to perform once more at the Astor Place Opera House. The theatre was filled with two-hundred policemen; numerous more crowded the streets outside. Ticketholders who caused disturbances were arrested, an action that soon led to a full riot. When the evening finally settled twenty-two people were dead.¹⁰ "The situation surrounding Forrest and Macready sharpened the contour and parameters of what would have a resounding impact on the shape of American creative practices and aesthetics."¹¹

Following the fatal events of the Astor Place Riot, the American conception of masculinity underwent a drastic change. Theatre managers worked to put an end to the rowdiness that had characterized many male audiences of the 1830s and 1840s. This "'feminization' of middle-class culture required men to suppress the roughness that had been the mark of American masculinity."¹² As American culture took a turn toward domesticity, men were driven back into their homes. In the northeast, these feminized figures evolved into the Victorian Dandy and served as the new model for American men. When Eugen Sandow, arrived in New York City in 1893 the feminized, domestic man was still the common archetypal form of American masculinity. In the years to follow Sandow would reshape America's thoughts on manhood. Many of Sandow's "new" ideas were, in fact, recollections of the masculinity championed by Edwin Forrest. However, with Ziegfeld's guidance, Sandow was cautious to infuse his public character with a streak of temperance and self-control that allowed his ideal to find appeal across class boundaries.

Eugene Sandow was born in Königsberg in East Prussia, on April 2nd, 1867. There are few stories of Sandow in his youth, and those that survive "seem to be as much part of Sandow's personalized creation myth, as a true

7) Gerstner, *Manly Arts*, 4–5.

8) *Ibid.*, 10.

9) Butsch, *The Making of American Audiences*, 54.

10) *Ibid.*, 55.

11) Gerstner, *Manly Arts*, 3.

12) Butsch, *The Making of American Audiences*, 72.

reflection of his childhood.”¹³ The varying accounts of Sandow’s biological father represent the man as either a fruit peddler or soldier turned jeweler. However, as David Waller demonstrates in his book *The Perfect Man*, Sandow’s 1906 application for British citizenship pointedly omits the father’s name due to Sandow’s status as illegitimate. His biological mother, however, is somewhat less of a mystery. The 1906 citizenship application identifies Sandow’s mother as Wilhelmina Elizabeth Kresand and notes her death in 1876. Though it is still difficult to differentiate the facts from the myth of Sandow’s early life, the accepted truth is that Sandow, the child of Wilhelmina Kresand and an unknown father, was adopted in his early years by the Müller family and given the name Friedrich Wilhelm Müller.

Though Sandow never expressly denied his Prussian heritage, his choice to adopt the stage name Sandow (an anglicized form of his mother’s maiden name, Sandov) shows a certain desire to conform to the Anglophone societies he encountered in Britain and the United States. Furthermore, the transition from Friedrich to Eugen shows an early glimpse of Sandow’s self-marketing prowess. By adopting the name Eugen, he could play on the term eugenics and boast of being “well born” both through his physique and his name. Unfortunately, it is not clear when Friedrich Müller became Eugen Sandow. However, one theory cites Sandow’s mentor Professor Attila as the origin of the name change in approximately 1887.¹⁴ Fitting though his stage name was, it did seem to work in direct opposition to Sandow’s narrative of his childhood.

According to Sandow, he was, in his youth, “pale, frail, delicate – even weakly.”¹⁵ The truth of these claims, however, is somewhat suspect. It is reasonably likely that these tales are simply a fabrication to aide Sandow in creating mass appeal for his fitness training programs. Throughout his career, Sandow relied on this origin story as proof of every man’s ability to become strong. In his first American appearance at the 1893 World Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Sandow spoke of his journey from weakling to strongman, saying, “I was a puny lad ... and my desire to improve myself physically was inspired by a view of the grand works of sculpture that I saw when my father took me through the art galleries of Rome.”¹⁶

In all likelihood this 1877 journey to Rome was a fabricated part of Sandow’s creation myth. In fact, in a 1910 writing in *Strand Magazine* Sandow recalls asking his father “how is it that these men were so strong, father? How is it that men to-day are so different from them in strength and stature?” To which his father replied, “the heroes of old, my little Eugen, never lolled at ease in a carriage or a railway train. Either they walked or rode on horse-back. Thus, they were ever active, ever exercising their bodies.” This seems notably insincere, as there is little likelihood of Sandow’s father addressing him as “Eugen,” for the strongman did not adopt that name until approximately 1887.

Though the probability of young Sandow’s tour of Italy is dubious, it became an integral part of his carefully crafted creation myth. The more probable account of how Sandow became fixated on masculine strength details the young man’s interest in the circus and wrestling arena as well as his prowess in gymnastics. The first published biography of Eugen Sandow was written by Graeme Mercer Adam under direct supervision from the strongman himself. In the book, Adam explains that Sandow was “continually running off to visit the circus or the wrestling arena, ‘but these were forbidden indulgences’.”¹⁷ Adam further explains that in his early adulthood Sandow “devoted himself with great ardor to all forms of gymnastic exercises and athletics.”¹⁸

13) Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 19.

14) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 17.

15) Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 18.

16) Padurano, “Dear Friend,” 177.

17) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 5.

18) Sandow and Adam, *On Physical Training*, 23.

By his early teens Sandow was already a capable athlete, and following a row with his adoptive father, a young Sandow turned to the circus and wrestling challenges as a means to earn money. Soon the rupture between Sandow and his parents drove him to leave Königsberg. In approximately 1885, at age 18, Sandow joined a circus and began to tour Europe. Unfortunately, the circus disbanded two years later, leaving the 20-year-old stranded in Brussels. It is here that he took the first major step toward becoming a new paragon of masculinity.

While in Brussels, Sandow found his way to Louis Durlacher, known as Professor Attila. Durlacher was a trainer, gym owner, and showman. According to an article in the December 1889 issue of the *Pall Mall Gazette*,

Attila ... is a professor of athletics, and keeps a school in Brussels, where he has some three hundred pupils. Two and a half years ago, Sandow was brought to him by some of his pupils. He was then quite undeveloped, and Attila, after looking him over, undertook to make Sandow the strongest man in the school. Sandow submitted himself assiduously to the training, and in two months' time the pupil was positively stronger than the master, and Attila's strength is something out of the ordinary.¹⁹

Sandow's impressive growth under Durlacher's tutelage inspired the professor to coach Sandow to become "the strongest man in the world."²⁰ In his book *Sandow the Magnificent*, David Chapman sums up Attila's greatest contribution to Sandow's physical development; "before his meeting with the elder strongman, Sandow had developed his physique as an acrobat and gymnast. The early photographs of him tend to bear this out: Sandow's physique is lean and sinewy but without the bulk that he later acquired. After his contact with Attila, however, Sandow began to put on more mass and to acquire the body of a bona fide muscleman."²¹ However, after an 1889 tour of Europe, Sandow and Attila parted ways.

Sandow set off on his own and headed to Amsterdam. Unfortunately for the strongman he found that the people of Amsterdam had little interest in the feats of strongmen. This lack of interest provided Sandow the first opportunity to test his marketing prowess. As David Chapman observed, Sandow "realized that he needed publicity – he needed a gimmick – something to call attention to himself."²² Sandow's solution demonstrates an awareness of self-promotion that would benefit even the best showman.

Throughout the city's populous locales Sandow found weightlifting machines designed to test the strength of their user. He enlisted a cab driver and began the first great publicity stunt of his career. He went from one test-your-might machine to the next and pulled their levers with such force that the machines were rendered broken. At first the vandalism was thought to have been executed by a gang of ruffians. And, after the machines were damaged a second, then a third time, it became clear that something needed to be done. Of course, this played right into Sandow's plan.

Sandow intended to be caught and eventually was observed in the act of vandalism by an onlooker. The police were called and, when they approached Sandow he calmly accepted his arrest and accompanied them to the police station. When the police pushed Sandow to name his accomplices, the strongman insisted that he had performed the act alone. Further, he argued that he had not committed a crime as he had paid the fee for each machine, and they were merely unable to withstand his might. Whether this defense would have proven

19) Beckwith and Todd, "Requiem for a Strongman," 44.

20) Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 33.

21) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 9.

22) *Ibid.*, 12.

valid is unclear, but fortunately for Sandow, he was bailed out by his mentor Professor Attila. After his release, Sandow found the stunt had worked splendidly. He had become an immediate celebrity and enjoyed free room and board at his hotel as well as a lucrative twelve-hundred-guilder contract to appear at a local theatre.

By September 1889 Sandow had become not only strong but also defined and aesthetically impressive. The strongman's physique easily began to turn heads and open doors for further opportunity. In his article "My Reminiscences," Sandow recounts his 1889 meeting in Italy with painter Aubrey Hunt, whom he quotes as complimenting his "perfect physique and beauty of form."²³ This chance meeting led to a close friendship between the painter and the strongman; Sandow posed for Hunt's portrait of a Roman gladiator. In fact, it was Hunt who would guide Sandow toward the single most defining moment of his early career.

In 1889 Hunt informed Sandow that a strongman by the name of Sampson was issuing an open challenge to competitors and offering significant prize money. In a later account of the event, Sandow recalled the offer as "£100 to the person who could perform the feats of [Sampson's] pupil, Cyclops, and £1,000 to anyone who could beat his own."²⁴ The promise of such a large sum of money led Sandow, with Attila acting as his manager, to set off for England.

Sampson's open challenge was not necessarily unique in form, however, the large sum of money on the line set Sampson apart. As Josh Buck observes in his 1998 article in *Iron Game Histories*, "challenges were becoming common in the world of strength because strongmen offered them as a means of legitimizing their claims to strength."²⁵ However, Sampson's open challenge backfired on October 28, 1889, at the Royal Aquarium, when Eugen Sandow stepped forward and accepted the challenge. The duo agreed to come face to face at a later date.

The challenge drew significant attention and on November 2, 1889, the day of the contest, "every seat in the house was taken and hundreds of would-be spectators had been turned away."²⁶ The throng was so massive that one theatre worker sealed the stage door and refused entry to all parties. One of the men blindly refused entry was Sandow himself, who upon facing the stagehand's ongoing resistance broke through the door. With Sandow finally present the contest could begin. The first challenge was to bend an iron pipe, a standard in Sampson's stage act. Sampson handled the task with ease, while Sandow was slower and less graceful in his execution. Next came the act of breaking an iron rope wrapped about the chest. Sampson again was familiar with the feat and quickly completed the task. Sandow, however, struggled and eventually, with tips suggested by the audience, broke the rope.

Perhaps a little overconfident, Sampson next proceeded to his forte: chain breaking. He put one on his own forearm and coolly offered another to Sandow. It was obviously too small for the German, and he rejected it with a gesture of contempt. To everyone's surprise, Sandow brought out a chain of his own from his pocket and, true to his word, the chain maker was in the audience and was happy to verify that the chains were exactly the same as those used by Sampson. In order to verify the strength of his chains even further, Sandow passed them to members of the audience, taking them back at last from a pretty woman who sat conveniently near the stage.²⁷

23) Elledge, *Queers in American Popular Culture*, 122.

24) Sandow, *Strength and How to Obtain It*, 93.

25) Buck, "Louis Cyr and Charles Sampson," 20.

26) Kent, *The Strongest Men on Earth*, 14.

27) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 30.

Both Sampson and Sandow completed the task of breaking their chain with equal ease.

Finally, the judges determined that if Sandow were to display a greater number of feats than Sampson he would be ruled the victor. In acquiescence, Sandow began by hoisting a male spectator into the air and culminated with a series of tricks using a 150-pound dumbbell. As Sandow performed his final stunts an audience member offered Sampson £50 to replicate any of Sandow's feats. Sampson refused and left the stage. Sandow was deemed the victor and thus earned the title "The Strongest Man on Earth." After two years of training, Sandow was able to realize his mentor's prophecy and take his first step toward establishing his "perfect man" aesthetic.

Sandow, later recalled the aftermath of the fateful bout in his book *Strength and How to Obtain it*, saying:

When we left the Aquarium after the contest the great crowd followed us cheering, and the four-wheeled cab into which we got was lifted up by these enthusiasts. The crowd cheered us all the way to my rooms in Leicester Square; newspaper men poured in to interview me; and, though I had then no intention of giving performances in public, I was induced to accept one of numerous offers of £150 a week, made by a syndicate of the members of the Lyric Club, and I commenced an engagement at the Alhambra, giving Mr. Attila £30 a week to assist me.²⁸

The challenge with Sampson became the greatest stepping-stone in Sandow's career, truly elevating him to stardom.

Sandow's act at the Alhambra was a great success, as David Waller sums up: "the Prince of Wales attended at least one performance, on the 29th of November, when Sandow started with manipulation of a two-handed dumb-bell, went on to lift various enormous weights above his head with one or two hands and concluded with his enactment of the death of Hercules, which involved bearing a weight of 1,500 lbs. on his chest. The future King Edward VII visited Sandow in his dressing room on this occasion and he and his son, the future King George V, would in later years patronize Sandow's establishment in St James's." Even allowing for the hyperbole of a sympathetic biographer concerned to demonstrate his subject's appeal to high society, Sandow had become, within days of his arrival in London, a late-Victorian celebrity.

Though the Sampson/Sandow confrontation took place in London, Sandow's success became international news, reaching as far as New York City, where the *Brooklyn Eagle* detailed the strongman's success. "As the Pomeranian (Sandow) snapped length after length of the steel chain bracelets with his biceps and burst the wire ropes with his pectoral muscles, men rose in the audience and waved banknotes of big denominations as an invitation to Sampson to beat Sandow if he could, but the former sulked and declined."²⁹ As Sandow's fame began to grow, more and more people began to sing the praises of the strongman, some quite literally. Alec Hurley, a music hall performer who would later gain recognition as the husband of Marie Lloyd, adopted a signature number that detailed the Sampson/Sandow contest. The song's chorus:

Up Jumped Sandow like a Hercules,
Lifting up the iron bars
And breaking them with ease.
Sampson looked astonished and said it wasn't fair.
But everyone knows that Sandow was the winner there³⁰

28) Sandow, *Strength*, 101.

29) Kent, *The Strongest Men on Earth*, 30.

30) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 33.

As the chorus reflects, the news of Sandow's victory spread in various mediums, yet each recounting of the event built Sandow up as a new paragon for musclemen.

Sandow and Attila continued to perform at the Alhambra as news of Sandow's impressive victory spread. In his biography of Sandow, David Waller details the content and structure of their Alhambra act. The stage show was approximately 20 minutes long. Preceding Sandow on the bill was magician Charles Bertram and Professor Attila. Finally, Sandow would take to the stage before a frenzied audience.

Sandow would start with a revealing warm-up act, followed by poses designed to exhibit his musculature and then feats of strength. These might include lifting a (quite genuine) horse above his head, or cartwheeling across the stage with dumb-bells attached to his arms and legs, and turning a somersault with 56lb weights in each hand.³¹

The Alhambra show drew consistent crowds. Graeme Mercer Adam's biography of the strongman remarks that Sandow's audiences at the Alhambra were "most conspicuous, including not only all athletic and would-be athletic London, but royalty, also, and the flower of the nobility, plus the elite of Mayfair and Belgravia."³² Sandow and Attila stayed with the Alhambra through late January 1890. Thereafter, they embarked on an equally successful tour of the British provinces. Later that same year Sandow separated from Attila and began his solo career at the Royal Music Hall in Holborn where he continued to draw massive crowds.

Though Sandow had become a major draw in Europe, his payment did not match the massive income of other big name music hall performers. This led Sandow's new manager, Henry S. Abbey, to determine that the "American market [was] the key to greater fortune" and success.³³ And so, in June of 1893 Eugen Sandow boarded the liner *Elba* and set sail for a new nation, the United States of America.

When Sandow arrived in New York, he found a nation still struggling with the racial anxieties brought up during Reconstruction, one whose political system was witnessing the arrival of a new populist movement driven by the People's Party, and one whose newly declining railroad industry had caused an economic panic. Sandow came to this anxious nation, bringing with him a remarkable physique and a penchant for staging provocative *tableaux vivants*. His debut American performance took place on June 12th, 1893, at the Casino Roof Garden in New York City. Sandow's act immediately followed pantomime artist Henry Dixie's performance of *Adonis*, a living statue pantomime. As cultural historian John F. Kasson observes, by the 1890s Dixie "had made his body ... a thoroughly trained instrument of expression, of which he [had] perfect and complete control." At the end of his act, Dixie assumed the pose "of a perfect work of art as the curtain fell."³⁴ When the curtain rose once more, the audience was given their first look at Eugen Sandow. The European strong man had duplicated the final pose of Dixie's act. The stark contrast in physique led one observer to write "New York has come to look upon Dixie as a fairly well-made young man. When New York has seen Sandow after Dixie, however, New York will realize what a wretched, scrawny creature the usual well-built young gentleman is compared with the perfect man."³⁵ In his very first venture into the American market, Sandow had set a new standard. As his American career grew, so too would his influence over the American perception of manhood.

31) Quoted in Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 47.

32) Sandow and Adam, *On Physical Training*, 68.

33) Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 10.

34) Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and The Perfect Man*, 25.

35) Quoted in Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and The Perfect Man*, 28.

In the audience of Sandow's Casino Roof show, sat Florenz Ziegfeld (a man who would later find great success with the eponymous Ziegfeld Follies). Ziegfeld had arrived in New York to scout for talents that could help save the failing Trocadero Nightclub in Chicago, which was run by Ziegfeld's father. The legend goes that Ziegfeld was so excited by Sandow's act that he immediately afterwards charged the strongman's dressing room and offered him a contract. Whether the tale is true or not, Ziegfeld did sign Eugen Sandow as the headliner for Chicago's Trocadero Theatre.

While Ziegfeld would go on to build a career from glorifying young women, according to his daughter Patricia Ziegfeld his "first experiment in the fine art of glorification" was Eugen Sandow.³⁶ To gain interest in Sandow's Chicago premier, Ziegfeld launched the first of many advertising campaigns to market Sandow as the ideal man. Ziegfeld hailed Sandow as "The Unprecedented Sensation of the Century," "The Strongest Man on Earth," and "The Perfect Man." The campaign worked, and on August 1st, with Sandow's body already poised as a new masculine ideal, Ziegfeld aimed to heighten the appeal of the World's Strongest Man by adding another element to the modern masculine ideal. This additional element was to be the "one Ziegfeld promoted most shamelessly: Sandow's sex-appeal."³⁷ Ziegfeld had a strong mind for public relations and recognized Sandow's strong appeal to female spectators.³⁸ The showman's first step in sexualizing the European Hercules was to drastically alter his stage attire.

Before Chicago, Sandow had performed in a neck-to-toe pink leotard and blue singlet, but Ziegfeld stripped him down to a pair of skin-tight, white silk trunks. Newspaper illustrations of the time almost always show Sandow from behind, suggesting that a frontal view would have been too scandalous to publish. In the few frontal views that were published, his boxers are usually darkened to conceal the offending bulges. Sandow's [Chicago] debut in his skimpy outfit received thunderous applause.³⁹

To further build Sandow's status as a sex-symbol, Ziegfeld took to the Trocadero stage following Sandow's first appearance and announced that "anyone willing to donate three hundred dollars to charity would be granted a private interview in Sandow's dressing room."⁴⁰ Two prominent women, Mrs. Potter Palmer and Mrs. George Pullman, met the challenge. "Inasmuch as Ziegfeld planned for the ladies to go backstage, he probably also planned for the pressmen to be waiting outside the dressing room, enabling them to cover the ladies' experience and print every word."⁴¹

Of course, Ziegfeld's plan worked, and by the next morning, "you were no one, really no one ... unless you have felt Sandow's muscles."⁴² In her 1999 book, *Ziegfeld Girl*, Linda Mizejewski highlights the ingenuity of this plan, in which "the pitch made specifically to the opposite sex offered a brush of intimacy in a suggestive backstage setting, but under the auspices of a family amusement show. Female contact with a stranger's amazing masculine body, a potentially vulgar or dangerous situation, was organized like a tour, safe and public."⁴³

36) Buck, "Sandow," 29.

37) Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 97.

38) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 61.

39) Elledge, "Eugen Sandow's Gift to Gay Men," 17.

40) Buck, "Sandow," 29.

41) *Ibid.*, 30.

42) Farnsworth, *The Ziegfeld Follies*, 16.

43) Mizejewski, *Ziegfeld Girl*, 14.

With one clever move, Ziegfeld elevated Sandow from a mere impressive physique to a must see, must touch, paradigm of virility and masculinity. “Ziegfeld sold Sandow through sex appeal,” working with him to create a sensationalized paradigm of masculine perfection.⁴⁴

It is then all the more interesting to note that while Sandow built a career of appealing to women’s erotic passions, the strongman seemed to hold little interest in sex itself. “Perhaps this was out of exaggerated desire to maintain the respectability of his public reputation, which at the time deemed it acceptable for a man to strip off in the interests on science, but not so if he were actively trying to titillate women. Or was it the self-obsession of a man so besotted with his own beauty that he could not be moved to take an interest in others?”⁴⁵ Other scholars, such as Jim Elledge and David Chapman, have pondered the question and speculate that the Strongman’s disinterest may have stemmed from his possible homosexuality.

The claims of homosexuality, however, are mere speculation. There is evidence to support the theory, such as the strongman’s relationship with the painter Aubrey Hunt and an 1893 clipping from the *New York World* which reveals Sandow had been living with his close friend and pianist Martinus Sieveking during his engagement at the Casino Roof Garden. Although this does provide grounds for speculation regarding Sandow’s sexual orientation it offers no certainty. In fact, in 1894 Sandow married Blanche Brooks, and eventually the pair had two daughters. Sandow’s suspected gay lover, Martinus Sieveking, was also wed in 1899. The argument could, of course, be made that their wives simply served as beards to shore up their false heterosexuality, but this would again be speculation.

Regardless of the reason behind Sandow’s abstinence, his manager, Ziegfeld, viewed the matter as a vacuum in his public relations campaign and set about the creation of “a number of rumors to underscore Sandow’s he-man image by linking him romantically to several women, notably the alluring beauty Lillian Russell.”⁴⁶ The plot solidified Sandow’s status as champion of a new male ideal as it cemented the strongman’s status as a sexual icon. Linking Sandow to Lillian Russell was a stroke of genius. Both parties were performers at the Chicago World’s Fair and thus were seen together frequently enough to fan the flame of the rumor. By employing the relationship rumors Ziegfeld was able to subtly encourage women’s interest in the strongman’s body while also putting any questions of homosexuality to rest. The falsified romances must have worked, as Sandow’s performances at the Trocadero Theatre went on to be one of the biggest draws for 1993 Chicago’s World Fair.

Sandow’s early success began the “process of redefining white middle-class masculinity from a . . . quality of character based on self-control and social responsibility to a corporeal essence identified with the vigor and prowess of the individual male body.”⁴⁷ Prior to Sandow’s arrival in the United States male etiquette was a stodgy affair. Both Margaret Conkling’s *The American Gentleman’s Guide to Politeness and Fashion* (published in 1864 under the pseudonym Henry Lunettes) and Cecil Hartley’s *The Gentlemen’s Book of Etiquette, and Manual of Politeness* (published 1873) two late 1800s etiquette guides, reflect the rigidity and forced decorum of the pre-Sandow ideal. Both texts emphasize politeness in manner and quality of dress, as well as genial courtesy and social ritual. However, these courtesy texts were far less prudish than those transcribed by the young founding father. These elements of masculine self-control can also be seen in the Sandow ideal; however, their importance is mitigated. To Sandow the fitness of the body was the primary step in the creation of “a sound mind in a sound body,” self-control is simply a natural side effect.⁴⁸ Self-control is the only commonality between

44) Buck, “Sandow,” 32.

45) Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 100.

46) Elledge, “Eugen Sandow’s Gift to Gay Men,” 17.

47) Kaplan, “Romancing the Empire,” 42.

48) Sandow and Adam, *On Physical Training*, 1.

Sandow's manhood and these Victorian etiquette guides. The Hartley guide even offers a short chapter on "Manly Exercise," in which Hartley cites proper standing and sitting posture as the greatest benefit of fitness.

Hartley proposes that exercise should serve as an amusement and suggests a series of exercises that are deemed fitting for the gentleman, among them: riding, carriage driving, and sailing. Though fitness was in mind for the 1800s American gentleman, it was obviously not regarded with the same level of esteem that would be solicited by Eugen Sandow. Sandow championed the idea of "emphasis on external 'personality' over internal 'character' as the key to manliness and success... . As Sandow championed this outer focus, notions of male health began to focus on the appearance or physique of the male body."⁴⁹ Through Sandow, urbanized men in the northeast began to move away from the dandy ideal and settle instead on the Sandow inspired ideal of fitness and vigor.

Sandow's body and attitude presented the audience of America's northeast with a new view of ideal manhood. "The sense of masculinity embodied by Sandow was 'the antithesis of the ... feminized dandy so often associated with the 1890s'."⁵⁰ However, Sandow's sense of masculinity was also markedly different from the one embodied by Edwin Forrest, the premier acting star of the early-to-mid 1800s. Where Forrest was rough and ready, Sandow was energetic, purposive, disciplined. Forrest was an icon for "power and danger," while Sandow stood for dedication, ambition, and strength.⁵¹ Ziegfeld took pains to emphasize Sandow's nonthreatening nature and make the strongman a more conscionable model of manhood.

To fully reach its potential, Sandow and Ziegfeld needed to infuse the strongman's public image with something wholesome, something which could balance the borderline ferocity of his stage act. And so, they went about purifying the strongman's public image by injecting it with a confirmed surge of gentleness. Shortly after Sandow's act opened at the Trocadero Theatre, Ziegfeld arranged for Amy Leslie, the drama critic for the *Chicago Daily News*, to accompany Sandow on a stroll through the fairground's garden. However, Ziegfeld had made particular arrangements for this trek. As they walked Leslie was "surprised to find the strongman was actually a gentle, happy fellow, fond of nature's beauty."⁵² Sandow paused to pick a snapdragon blossom and mentioned how it reminded him of his childhood in Germany. Just then Sandow was accosted by an irate guard who "shouted 'that Sandow had broken the law... . Unwisely the guard grabbed Sandow by the elbow.' Sandow, however, 'simply picked up the guard and held him at arm's length, examining him as if he were some curious specimen of the park's fauna'."⁵³ As news of the encounter spread, Ziegfeld was quick to point out "that however ferocious he might act on stage, Sandow was really a gentle giant, equally comfortable with a bouquet of flowers or a heavy barbell in his hand."⁵⁴

The partnership between Florenz Ziegfeld and Eugen Sandow could not have been more opportune for the strongman. Ziegfeld's unmatched eye for publicity provided Sandow with all the traits that would become cornerstones for the strongman's new male ideal. Thanks to Ziegfeld, Sandow was not only a muscular physique. He was an undeniable sexual force, an unexpected romantic, an undercover gentleman, and the unabashed perfect man. The Ziegfeld/Sandow partnership was not only helpful but also highly lucrative, as their Trocadero show pulled in over \$30,000 in just six weeks. However, as the winds of winter rolled into Chicago, the Trocadero Theatre shut down. Following the theatre's closure on November 4th Sandow "was presented by Manager Ziegfeld,

49) Carroll, *American Masculinities*, 203.

50) Waller, *The Perfect Man*, 68.

51) Butsch, *For Fun and Profit*, 55.

52) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 61.

53) Buck, "Sandow," 30.

54) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 61.

of the Trocadero, with a fine gold medal, bearing an inscription testifying to his record-breaking engagement.”⁵⁵ Though their time at Chicago’s Trocadero Theatre had come to an end, the partnership between Florenz Ziegfeld and Eugen Sandow had only just begun. Immediately following the World’s Fair, Ziegfeld arranged an eight-week engagement for Sandow at Koster and Bial’s Music Hall in New York City. From there Sandow was sent to West Orange, New Jersey where he met with Thomas Edison who immortalized the strongman on kinoscope film. Then, in 1894, Ziegfeld took Sandow on a performance tour of the United States.

This national tour helped elevate Sandow from local talent to national icon. As Sandow’s fame spread, so, too, did the challenge of his new male ideal. As more men were exposed to Sandow’s magnificent frame the strongman became increasingly “determined to put in motion long-term plans to share his knowledge of physical culture with the universe.”⁵⁶ However, Sandow’s influence had not yet overtaken the entire country. The impact of his stage shows was limited to the immediate areas surrounding the performances. To extend his reach to an even wider audience Sandow would need to employ new tactics.

While the general nature of Sandow’s physique and performance may reflect his contribution to the development of a new understanding of masculinity within the northeastern United States and the locale of his few stops during the American tour, it was Sandow’s keen sense of entrepreneurship and self-promotion that enabled his ideal male aesthetic to take hold across the United States.⁵⁷ As Victorian literature scholar Patrick Scott observed in 2008, “Sandow saw physical culture, not simply as entertainment, but as a moral crusade, racial necessity, and also a business opening.”⁵⁸ In an effort to remedy the lacking physical culture environment of the United States Sandow took advantage of his fame, the emergence of leisure culture, and the antimodernist sentiments present at the turn of the century to capitalize on the growing discontent with the American masculine ideal. By the late nineteenth century a sense of over-civilization, a weakening of Protestant morality spurred by an increasingly material society, and a perceived loss of individual will in the face of a bureaucratic market economy had severely altered the consciousness of many upper and middle class intellectuals; “a weightless culture of material comfort and spiritual blandness was breeding weightless persons who longed for intense experience to give ... substance to their vaporous lives.”⁵⁹ This yearning for intense experience was one of the many cultural trends Sandow exploited at the turn of the century to spread his influence across the United States and to establish himself as a national brand.

Sandow’s first step in constructing himself as a national brand was to establish himself as a male paradigm. This aim was met early in his American career as his partnership with Florenz Ziegfeld elevated Sandow to celebrity status and his appearance in kinoscope films spread his fame to many of the nation’s major cities. This national name recognition was the first step in establishing the strongman’s brand equity. “This is important because Sandow’s name became associated with health, exercise, and the built body, which he leveraged to sell various products.”⁶⁰ With his name now recognizable in almost every major city, Sandow’s next task was to extend the practical reach of his philosophies and merchandise to an even more diverse population.

To meet this goal Sandow needed to offer his brand to the widest audience possible. While his stage show could reach a great many consumers in the Northeast, he needed something less regional. To meet this need Sandow turned to literature. First came his 1894 book, *Sandow on Physical Training: A Study in the Perfect*

55) *New York Dramatic Mirror*, 14.

56) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 100.

57) Morais, “Branding Iron,” 193.

58) Scott, “Body-Building and Empire-Building,” 79.

59) Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 32.

60) Morais, “Branding Iron,” 195.

Type of the Human Form. The book was co-authored with Graeme Mercer Adam and, according to the preface, aims to provide “detailed instructions for the performance of [Sandow’s] ... exercises and [supply] the reader with a text-book which ... will be useful to the would-be athlete and to all who desire to attain perfect health, increased strength, and the full development of their physical frame.”⁶¹ Sandow’s first book acts as a how-to guide, a biography, and a mouthpiece for Sandow’s many philosophies regarding fitness and health. It comprises twenty chapters that varyingly outline the Strongman’s early life, his passion for physical education, and his personal exercise routines.

Four years after the publication of his first book Sandow began publishing *Physical Culture* (later titled *Sandow’s Magazine of Physical Culture*, and then simply *Sandow’s Magazine*). According to the first editorial in *Sandow’s Magazine*, the publication’s aim was “to raise the average standard of the race as a whole,” and concludes that “unless we set about improving the physique of the present generation, we cannot hope to benefit those who come after us.”⁶² It is worth noting that this desire to raise the standard of the race refers to humankind in general, not Caucasians exclusively. However, the publicity for the publication would seem to indicate that the primary audience is upper- and middle-class white Americans. Print ads for *Sandow’s Magazine* appeared in other white-centric publications like *The Atlantic Monthly* and *Gunton’s Magazine*.

Patrick Scott’s 2008 article in *Victorian Periodicals Review* offers a summation of the average issue of *Sandow’s Magazine*.

A normal issue opened with a lead article under the byline of Sandow himself, extolling the historical, philosophical or political importance of the physical culture movement before giving details of some new exercise procedure. Sandow’s name also headed a regular feature “Hints from Sandow or Editorial Chat,” combining Sandow’s sense of historic mission (“I am now making an effort to get the general scheme of National Physical Education ... through Parliament”) with small-print answers to anxious correspondents: “Don’t be too self-conscious”; “Stammering can be cured by getting your body into good condition”; “Once a day is sufficient for exercise”; “Send the defective strands to the Developer Company, Basing House, London, E.C.”; “You are quite right, knickers would be better than trousers”; “We hope to be able to start a school in Edinburgh shortly”; and “Blackheads may be removed ... Exercise regularly, with the cold tub after, ... and you will soon have a perfect skin.”⁶³

American issues of the magazine differed from those in England. Though the American version was heavily influenced by its British incarnation, its form and content purposefully played toward a more American audience.⁶⁴

The publication of his magazine allowed Sandow to spread a wide variety of ideals. *Physical Culture* became the mouthpiece for Eugen Sandow’s views on nutrition and exercise as well as topical features and household tips. The magazine’s impact on the development of Sandow’s masculine ideal is twofold. First, his publication of training regimens, exercise tips, and nutrition plans appealed to a wide demographic of men from various regions and social classes.⁶⁵ Second, “the magazine also covered topical events, contained household hints,

61) Sandow and Adam, *On Physical Training*, i.

62) Quoted in Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 109.

63) Scott, “Body-Building and Empire-Building,” 85.

64) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 148.

65) *Ibid.*, 109.

and had a ‘breezy, populist tone’ which maintained his desirability with his female audience.⁶⁶ The magazine portrayed Sandow as wholly masculine, though pragmatically domesticated. His manhood was not as blatant as that of the rough Edwin Forrest, nor was it as refined as that of the masculine Dandy. Instead, Sandow balanced the two extremes, crafting a masculine identity that was empowering for men and appealing to women.

Another key achievement of Sandow’s books and magazines was their ability to make Sandow’s male ideal an attainable reality (or to at least make it appear that it was). Sandow’s status as a fitness celebrity granted him the credibility to market any health and fitness product. The effect of this was heightened by the proliferation of Sandow’s creation myth. The transformative story of the weakling Sandow into the world’s strongest man resonated with American audiences. As Dominique Padurano says in *Testimonial Advertising in the American Marketplace*, the United States is a place “where narratives of social transformation [have] long held sway over the American imagination.”⁶⁷ By linking his ongoing series of publications and training equipment with the narrative of his personal triumph, Sandow was able to present his masculine ideal as not just a paradigm but as a practical, tangible reality achievable by the humblest of men.

Sandow’s promise of attainable results was not just available via his books and magazines. Around 1903 Sandow opened Sandow’s Institute of Physical Culture in Boston, Massachusetts, making it even easier to attain the Sandow level of masculine perfection. The college “was one of the best-equipped gymnasiums in the country ... and gave lessons both individually and in large classes.”⁶⁸ The school catered to both sexes and offered mail-away courses for non-local students. Though Sandow did not personally oversee the management of the school he was frequently on the premises and made himself available for consultation.⁶⁹ Though the school closed before the end of World War I, during its operation it was “revered for ... [its] reputation of achieving stellar results with exercise and dietary advice.”⁷⁰ The Boston institute was one of many international Sandow sponsored schools for physical culture. Similar institutes were opened in England, Wales, and Australia. W. T. Stead, an English journalist who toured Sandow’s Institute of Physical Culture in London, published a review of the school, noting the cleanliness of the venue, peak fitness of the trainers, and marked age and gender diversity in the hundreds of patrons who passed through the gym in single day.

Despite Sandow’s immense success, “like many popular historical figures, Sandow was not successful simply because of his own efforts.”⁷¹ There were many social and cultural shifts that undergirded the success of Eugen Sandow and his new male ideal. His arrival in America was fortuitously timed. In 1893, a month prior to Sandow’s arrival, the U.S. stock market crashed, pulling the country into a deep depression. The depression reinforced the already emerging gender struggle of the American middle class. “To many, manhood seemed no longer a stable condition – absolute and unproblematic – but rather an arduous, even precarious achievement that had to be vigilantly defended.”⁷²

Then came Sandow, a beacon of manhood and physical perfection. “By stressing the potential for strength, control, heroism, and virility in the male physique, [Sandow] reassured a broad public of the continuation of these qualities – and their potential for further development – in the modern world.”⁷³ His adept mixture of

66) Morais, “Branding Iron,” 204.

67) Padurano, “Dear Friend,” 174.

68) Chapman, *Sandow the Magnificent*, 148.

69) Ibid.

70) Morais, “Branding Iron,” 204.

71) Ibid., 196.

72) Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and The Perfect Man*, 23.

73) Ibid., 76.

masculine performance and brand development assuaged the fear of further de-masculinization, and refreshed the discourse on health, fitness, and manhood.

The depression was not the only societal shift that bolstered Sandow's success. Perhaps one of the most significant movements that undergirded Sandow's achievements was the antimodernist anxiety of the late 1800s. At a base level, antimodernism centers on the anxiety stemming from a cognitive recognition that the socio-economic and technological advancements of modernism also result in potentially destructive consequences in areas such as nature, culture, and religion.⁷⁴ One of the most direct fears of antimodernist thought was the product of a perceived loss of selfhood and personal autonomy that came from an increasingly market centric society. "Ordinary people's livelihood depended increasing[ly] on decisions made in distant cities, on circumstances largely beyond the individual's control."⁷⁵ Sandow was able to harness the cultural tensions of modernity at the turn of century to further the relevancy of his cause. As T. Jackson Lears states, during the late 1800s "the internalized morality of self-control and autonomous achievement ... seemed at the end of its tether... . Ultimately even personal identity seemed affected by the unreality of modern existence."⁷⁶ As urban American men moved further away from the ideals that characterized Victorian manhood, their sense of identity was called into question. The Victorian ideal soon fell to the "newer notion of self-fulfillment through social performance in late nineteenth-century bourgeois culture."⁷⁷

In his book *American Manhood*, E. Anthony Rotundo notes a "vogue of physical culture, beginning in the 1850s, [and becoming] a mania during the century's final third."⁷⁸ In his 1990 chapter in *For Fun and Profit*, Stephen Butsch details how social, economic, and cultural conditions of the late 1800s were ripe for the emergence of sport, fitness, and physical culture.⁷⁹ He further outlines the period's accelerated emergence of sport-centric entrepreneurs who manufactured and marketed fitness equipment to America's middle class. As the consumer marketplace became increasingly inundated with sporting goods, the nation's interest in physical culture boomed. Unquestionably, Sandow's success in America contributed greatly to this mania of physical culture experienced in the late 1800s, but it was the ongoing sensation of physical culture that helped Sandow maintain his star status.

The turn of the century also saw the development of a new lifestyle doctrine, Muscular Christianity. "Using metaphors of fitness and body-building, Christian thinkers imagined a strong, forceful Jesus with a religion to match."⁸⁰ Some of the earliest supporters of the movement, notably Theodore Roosevelt and Protestant leader Josiah Strong, "viewed factors such as urbanization, sedentary office jobs, and non-Protestant immigration as threats not only to their health and manhood but also to their privileged social standing."⁸¹ As this implies, the "Christianity" in "muscular Christianity" refers almost exclusively to Protestantism; in this view Catholics were not "Christian." Catholics were not the only party kept from table, for the Muscular Christian view of Jesus was a thoroughly white one. J. F. A. Abrams, an early proponent of Muscular Christianity and physical education, "believed that public schools would have to initiate physical training if Anglo-Saxons were to 'save our race

74) Versluis, "Antimodernism," 97.

75) Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 34.

76) *Ibid.*, 6.

77) Butsch, *For Fun and Profit*, 61.

78) Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 223.

79) Butsch, *For Fun and Profit*, 77.

80) Rotundo, *American Manhood*, 224.

81) Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 44.

from physical degeneracy.”⁸² Sandow himself became a vocal advocate for Muscular Christianity arguing in his 1907 book, *The Construction and Reconstruction of the Human Body: A Manual of the Therapeutics of Exercise*, that “at first sight there does not appear to be much connection between morals and exercise, but a moment’s reflection will enable us to understand that anything which develops the body, invigorates the health, and strengthens the will, will also have a profound effect upon the character.”⁸³

Muscular Christianity’s advocacy for a healthy lifestyle capitalized on the physical culture mania and spread the ideologies of nutrition and fitness to a new audience. By affiliating himself with muscular Christianity, Sandow joined the group in their “aversion to [the] sentimentality, refinement, and other stereotypically feminine traits ... [that] characterized Victorian religion.”⁸⁴ This stance positioned Sandow to champion a new masculine identity, one centered on vigor, health, and fitness.

With the United States’ rising interest in physical culture came the emergence of physical education. The idea of physical education was not new; however, it was not until Dudley Sargent and Marry Hemenway opened a series of physical training schools that the idea gained legitimate steam.⁸⁵ Sargent became director of Harvard’s Hemenway Gymnasium and opened it to the entire student body instead of limiting membership to upperclassman. Sargent became “the John the Baptist of fitness, preaching the gospel of physical education and longing for the coming of a messiah, a ‘perfect man’ who would show forth the way to all.”⁸⁶ The “messiah” came in the form of Eugen Sandow. “Sargent ... examined Sandow and judged him to be the finest specimen of manhood he had seen.”⁸⁷ Sandow capitalized on rising interest in physical education through his books, magazine, and training school effectually making superior fitness training available to the American masses.

This Sandow-esque masculine ideal can still be seen today in every aspect of American entertainment culture. Film, television, literature, and advertising have all adopted, predominantly though not exclusively, the fit, sexualized hero as the ideal male. Sandow’s masculine character continues to thrive as an ideal image to which men should aspire to.

Sandow’s ideal is posed as a challenge, not an expectation. The expectation of the modern male is not that he should look like Eugen Sandow, but rather that he should want to. The representation of the fit male body serves as a reminder of what the average American male can be and should want to be. Sandow’s brand of masculinity is versatile, allowing for a mix of strength, power, pragmatism, domesticity, gentility, sexuality, and business sense. With the support of Ziegfeld Sandow championed perfection and challenged others to pursue it, thus ingraining the image of the “perfect man” into American culture.

82) Quoted in Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 31.

83) Quoted in Morais, 197.

84) Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 3.

85) Kennard, “The History of Physical Education,” 837.

86) Kasson, *Houdini, Tarzan, and The Perfect Man*, 42.

87) *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Eugen Sandow.”

Bibliography:

- Barth, Gunther Paul. *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Beckwith, Kim and Jan Todd. "Requiem for a Strongman: Reassessing the Career of Professor Louis Attila." *Iron Game History* 7, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 42–55.
- Buck, Josh. "Louis Cyr and Charles Sampson: Archetypes of Vaudevillian Strongmen." *Iron Game History* 5, no. 3 (1998): 18–28.
- . "Sandow: No Folly with Ziegfeld's First Glorification." *Iron Game History* 5, no. 1 (1998): 29–33.
- Butsch, Richard. *For Fun and Profit: The Transformation of Leisure into Consumption*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- . *The Making of American Audiences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Carroll, Bret E. *American Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003.
- Chapman, David L. *Sandow the Magnificent*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2006.
- Elledge, Jim. *Queers in American Popular Culture*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2010.
- . "Eugen Sandow's Gift to Gay Men." *Gay and Lesbian Review*, (July 2011): 14–17.
- Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. "Eugen Sandow." Accessed June 26, 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Eugen-Sandow>.
- Farnsworth, Marjorie. *The Ziegfeld Follies with an Introduction by Billie Burke Ziegfeld*. New York: Putnam, 1956.
- Gerstner, David A. *Manly Arts*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780822387664>.
- Kaplan, Amy. "Romancing the Empire: The Embodiment of American Masculinity in the Popular Historical Novel of the 1890s." *American Literary History* 2, no. 4 (Winter 1990): 659–90. <https://doi.org/10.1093/alh/2.4.659>.
- Kent, Graeme. *The Strongest Men on Earth: When the Muscle Men Ruled Show Business*. London: Robson Press, 2012.
- Kennard, June A. "The History of Physical Education." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 2, no. 4 (1977): 835–42. <https://doi.org/10.1086/493413>.
- Lears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03612759.1995.9949134>.
- Mizejewski, Linda. *Ziegfeld Girl*. London: Duke University Press Books, 2012.
- Morais, Dominic G. "Branding Iron: Eugen Sandow's 'Modern' Marketing Strategies, 1887–1925." *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 2 (2013): 193–214.
- New York Dramatic Mirror*. Nov. 11, 1893: 14–15. <https://doi.org/10.1038/scientificamerican01011893-14bbuild>.
- Padurano, Dominique. "'Dear Friend': Charles Atlas, American Masculinity and the Bodybuilding Testimonial, 1897–1944." In *Testimonial Advertising in the American Marketplace: Emulation, Identity, Community*. Edited by Marlis Schweitzer and Marina Moskowitz, 173–206. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230101715_8.

Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Rotundo, E. Anthony. *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era*. New York, NY: BasicBooks, 2001.

Sandow, Eugen. *Strength and How to Obtain it: With Anatomical Chart, Illustrating the Exercises for the Physical Development*. London: Gale & Polden, 1897.

Scott, Patrick. “Body-Building and Empire-Building: George Douglas Brown, The South African War, and Sandow’s *Magazine of Physical Culture*.” *Victorian Periodicals Review* 41, no. 1 (2008): 78–94. Project MUSE. <https://doi.org/10.1353/vpr.0.0025>.

Versluis, Arthur. “Antimodernism.” *Telos: Critical Theory of the Contemporary* 137, (2006): 96–130.

Waller, David. *The Perfect Man*. Brighton: Victorian Secrets, 2011.

Webster, David. “A Chronology of Significant Events in the Life of Eugen Sandow.” *Iron Game History* 2, no. 4 (Nov. 1992): 17–18.



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 3.0 Unported License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/3.0/> or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.