



**Luther Halsey Gulick II, c. 1900**  
(Courtesy of the Springfield College Archives)

# Luther Gulick:

## His Contributions to Springfield College, the YMCA, and “Muscular Christianity”

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**Abstract:** *Based largely on hitherto unpublished archival sources, this article focuses on the early life and career of Luther Halsey Gulick II (1865-1918). Gulick was among America’s most influential educators in the Progressive Era. He is best known today for co-founding the Camp Fire Girls (CFG) with his wife Charlotte. But before his involvement with CFG he taught physical education for the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) at Springfield College, Massachusetts, in the 1890s. As a professor at Springfield, Gulick achieved a great deal, and this article examines his many accomplishments, including his invention of the YMCA Triangle (the organization’s official emblem) and his role in the invention of both basketball and volleyball.*

*The article also analyzes Gulick’s unconventional childhood, when he travelled around the world with his parents. They were Congregational missionaries who fervently hoped Luther would embrace their brand of ascetic Christianity. He preferred a religion that was more corporeal, however. This led to him becoming a leader of the “muscular Christianity” movement. Muscular Christians espoused a combination of religion and sports, although, in the*

*end, Gulick ended up emphasizing sports over religion. Historian Clifford Putney has extensively researched the Gulick family and is the author of Missionaries in Hawai'i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883 (2010).*

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Few American reformers achieved more in the Progressive Era than Luther Halsey Gulick II (1865-1918). Described by a contemporary admirer as “one of the outstanding and significant personalities of our time,” Gulick was an enthusiastic educator, promoting everything from playgrounds to folk dancing. He is especially well known for his association with the Camp Fire Girls, which he and his wife Charlotte cofounded in 1912. But before he became involved with organized camping for girls, he taught young men at Springfield College, which in its early years trained staff to work for the Young Men’s Christian Association in America.<sup>1</sup>

Gulick’s association with the YMCA impressed C. Howard Hopkins, the organization’s principal historian. He called Gulick “the most unique genius to touch the first half-century of the American Y.M.C.A.” and described the 1890s as “the Gulick era.” During that period, Gulick convinced the Association to accept athletics as a central part of its mission. The YMCA formerly viewed athletics as inferior to its original purpose of converting young men to Christianity. But Gulick argued that the gyms that the Association had built to lure young men into its Christian reading rooms ought to be held in honor, because exercising in gyms promised to make people better Christians.<sup>2</sup>

To show a link between Christianity and athletics, Gulick argued that physical fortitude enabled Christians to do their duty. If they were weak, they were ineffectual. But if they were strong, they could uplift the world and Gulick urged them to do so. He also argued that Christians should not be anti-corporeal. Rather than denigrating the body and celebrating the spirit in the manner of many Christians from the Victorian period, in Gulick’s opinion every Christian of the Progressive Era needed to acknowledge that he or she was a union of body, mind, and spirit. “Each of the three is absolutely essential,” Gulick argued. He designed the YMCA’s inverted triangle to symbolize his “body-mind-spirit” ideal. He also persuaded his employers, Springfield College and the YMCA, to adopt the triangle and it remains their emblem today.<sup>3</sup>

Gulick was hardly alone in thinking that Christianity should be more corporeal. Many figures of his generation thought so, too. They were part of the “muscular Christianity” movement, which flourished among American Protestants in the Progressive Era. Muscular Christianity was affiliated with the Social Gospel (the idea being that strength was needed to clean up the slums) and Gulick was among its primary leaders. For that reason alone he is a noteworthy figure and his life deserves scrutiny. More importantly, his individual experience illuminates that of his generation—many of whom found the new doctrine of muscular Christianity appealing. Many of his contemporaries grew up, like Gulick, in ascetic Protestant households and like him they rejected asceticism and embraced recreational activities.

This article focuses on Gulick’s upbringing and the first part of his career. It begins with a look at the remarkable family of Protestant missionaries from which he sprang and explores how his character was formed during his childhood and education. Lastly, it analyzes Gulick’s involvement with the YMCA and its training school, Springfield College, where he assisted in the creation of basketball. Although he espoused muscular Christianity at Springfield College, his religious convictions weakened there, prompting him to leave the school and work for more secular organizations, such as the Camp Fire Girls.

## **GULICK FAMILY HISTORY**

Luther Gulick belonged to a family that had been in America for a very long time. The first Gulick to enter the land was Hendrick Van Gulick, who emigrated from the Netherlands in 1653. For the next century and a half, Hendrick’s descendants worked mainly as farmers in New York and New Jersey. But then Luther’s grandfather, Peter Gulick, got caught up in the evangelical fervor of the Second Great Awakening and decided to eschew farming in New Jersey for a career as a Presbyterian missionary. He sought employment from the ABCFM, the country’s first creator of overseas Christian missions. It assigned him to the kingdom of Hawai’i in 1827. The ABCFM subsequently employed many other Gulicks—generations of them. Today its successor organization, the Wider Church Ministries division of the United Church of Christ, still has a missionary of Gulick descent.<sup>4</sup>

The ABCFM expected its male missionaries to marry before they encountered seductive “heathen” women overseas and it made no exception for Luther’s grandfather. Peter Gulick cast around for a wife

and ended up marrying Fanny Thomas, the scion of an old Connecticut family. She was a schoolteacher in New York who had been converted to Christianity in 1826 by Charles Grandison Finney, the greatest American evangelist of his day. Finney went on to lead Oberlin College, America's first biracial and coeducational school, which graduated many of the Gulicks' descendants.

Peter and Fanny had eight children, starting with Luther (who will henceforth be referred to by his nickname, Halsey, to distinguish him from his son, the primary subject of this article). The couple's other children were Orramel, John, Charles, William, Theodore, Thomas and Julia Ann. All were taught to believe in social equality and to abhor both slavery and the oppression of women. In addition, their Calvinist parents made sure that they viewed themselves as "children of the devil" until they formally converted to Christianity. (According to Calvinist orthodoxy, baptism didn't automatically make children Christians.) This harsh upbringing was hard on the children, especially Charles. He developed bulimia (an eating disorder that stems from feelings of guilt and self-loathing) and died as a result of the condition at the age of nineteen.<sup>5</sup>

The remaining children were more fortunate. They eventually chose conversion to Christianity and followed in their parents' footsteps by becoming pioneer missionaries. Their choice of career was rather atypical: whereas many other children of missionaries to Hawai'i went into sugar-planting and became immensely rich, the Gulicks turned their backs on wealth and fanned out all over the globe, preaching the Gospel (mainly as Congregationalists) in places such as China, Japan and Spain.<sup>6</sup>

The most peripatetic was Luther's father, Halsey. Born in Hawai'i in 1828, he left the islands at the age of twelve to be educated in the U.S., where he earned a medical degree from New York University in 1850. A year later he married Louisa Lewis, the daughter of a middle-class New York City merchant. She was not as bright as Halsey who, like most of the Gulicks, had an extremely keen mind, but she was warm-hearted, which was not a Gulick family trait. As her son Luther said of the clan, "It seems to me our greatest lack is natural love."<sup>7</sup>

Rather than manifesting affection, the Gulicks displayed a sense of Christian duty. This sense was strong in Halsey and led him to sign on with the ABCFM as a pioneer missionary to Micronesia. Louisa also aspired to be a missionary and the couple embarked for Micronesia in 1851. After reaching the islands, they set to work, preaching the Gospel, effectively combating Micronesia's first epidemic of smallpox and operating the islands' first printing press. They also had their first two children, Luther's

sisters Frances and Harriet. All of these positive experiences, however, were offset by severe hardships, which prompted the Gulicks to leave Micronesia in hope of finding an easier field on Ebon, one of the Marshall Islands, around 1859.<sup>8</sup>

The Gulicks had their third child, Sidney, on Ebon. He was destined to become a famous missionary to Japan and a leader of the world peace movement. However, Sidney and his father became so sick that the family felt compelled to move from Ebon to Hawai'i. There Louisa had her fourth child, Edward, in 1862. He grew up to be a Congregational minister and the founder of a still thriving children's camp in Fairlee, Vermont.<sup>9</sup>

When Edward was born, Halsey was in the United States, lecturing for the ABCFM on behalf of its missions. His oratorical abilities were formidable and greatly impressed Rufus Anderson, the head of the ABCFM. Anderson also liked Halsey's progressive style of Congregationalism. He decided to make the young man the leader of the ABCFM-supported mission in Hawai'i. Formerly known as the Sandwich Islands Mission, the enterprise had just been renamed the Hawaiian Evangelical Association; Halsey took charge of it in 1864.<sup>10</sup>

While Halsey was working in Hawai'i, he and Louisa had two more children, Luther and Orramel (or Ollie). Luther was born in Honolulu on December 4, 1865, and Ollie was born two years later. The brothers did not live together for long. Ollie was sent at the age of three to live with relatives in Japan, where he died at the age of nine. His death greatly saddened his parents, but they took comfort from Luther's good health and activeness. From his earliest years, he was "always interested in new things, experimenting and inventing," his brother Sidney recalled.<sup>11</sup>

Luther inherited a number of physical traits that were characteristic of his family. Most were tall, thin and wiry, and so was he. He also inherited his red hair, blue eyes, predisposition towards headaches and an expressive face that was described as "homey" rather than handsome. Although Luther's red hair and blue eyes were uncommon, it was his personality that made him truly distinctive. "[T]he essence of the man was alertness, aliveness, enthusiasm," his biographer Ethel Dorgan wrote. She also praised him for his originality, creativity, gentlemanly behavior, keen sense of humor and quickness of mind and body. Not everything about Luther was appealing, however. He had a kinetic personality that overwhelmed some. Moreover he could be sarcastic, cutting, and impatient—especially with those who appeared slow-witted.<sup>12</sup>

Luther also suffered intermittently from depression. He was generally able to conceal his bad moods from the public and was not nearly as



depressed as his sister Harriet (who hovered on the edge of insanity for years). Nevertheless his mother could tell when he was unhappy and in an 1890 letter she wrote: “Luther is just himself as of old impetuous, impulsive, full of fun and jollity or depressed and forlorn.”<sup>13</sup>

## CHILDHOOD AND EARLY EDUCATION

Luther developed many of his characteristics in childhood. It was a rather unsettled time for him, because of his family’s globe-trotting. For the first five years of his life, Luther lived in Hawai‘i. But then his father, Halsey, got into trouble protesting against the tyranny of the king and the rapacity of white sugar planters. Pressured to leave the islands, Halsey did so early in 1870. Later that year, his family joined him in America, where he raised funds in New England for the ABCFM. He missed evangelizing overseas, however, and was glad when the ABCFM chose him and his brother William to create one of the first Protestant missions in Spain. Although it was a Catholic country, the ABCFM classified it as only “nominally Christian,” because they viewed Catholicism as inferior to Protestantism.<sup>14</sup>

Halsey and Louisa moved to Spain in 1871. They took most of the children, including Luther, but left two behind to be educated by friends and relatives. While in Spain, they had their seventh and last child, Pierre. His birth was quite taxing for Louisa, who appears from family letters to have suffered a nervous breakdown. Yet in spite of her malady, she felt up to relocating with her family to Italy in 1873.<sup>15</sup>

The Gulicks moved to Italy because Halsey had been asked to explore the possibility of establishing a mission there for the ABCFM. His conclusion, not surprisingly, was that Catholicism in Italy was too deeply entrenched to be successfully challenged. He quickly gave up on that project and the family returned to the U.S. in 1874. For the next two years, Halsey did administrative work for the ABCFM in New England. However, he did not get along well with the organization’s new director, Nathaniel Clark. As a result, Halsey left the ABCFM and went to work for another evangelical organization, the American Bible Society—the country’s largest distributor of Bibles overseas. It assigned him to Japan and he went there in 1876 with his daughter Frances. Most of her siblings remained in the U.S. to be educated, but her brothers Luther and Pierre went to Japan in 1877, as did their mother.

Wherever her children traveled, Louisa strove to minimize their exposure to the native population. She believed strongly in the superiority

of her religious and cultural values and feared that her children would be contaminated by fraternizing with people whose ways differed from hers. This fearfulness, together with frequent moves, caused Luther and his siblings to be isolated. Rather than making friends outside their home, they played mainly with each other, developing very strong intra-familial ties.<sup>16</sup>

The cloistered nature of Luther's childhood began to recede in Japan. He was eleven when he moved there, and his mother thought he was old enough to play with well-mannered white boys outside the family. He did so and became the leader of a club, "The Jolly Boys of Yokohama." The boys defended themselves against rivals and they had a clubhouse, which they equipped with parallel and horizontal bars. Through his association with the Jolly Boys, Luther honed his athletic skills and learned how to interact normally with his peers. This socialization served him well in later life, when he was widely viewed as one of America's foremost experts on adolescent psychology.<sup>17</sup>

#### **THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL OF OBERLIN COLLEGE, 1880-1885**

Luther's sojourn in Japan ended in 1880. That was when his parents, who greatly valued education, sent him to the Preparatory School of Oberlin College in Ohio. Oberlin appealed to the Gulicks, because it produced numerous Congregational missionaries. It also employed Frank Jewett, a chemistry professor who had married Luther's sister Frances. The couple agreed to take Luther into their home and look after him during his studies.<sup>18</sup>

Luther entered Oberlin's preparatory school at the age of fourteen. He was expected to focus on classical and religious subjects in preparation for a missionary career. But Luther hated studying biblical languages and begged his family to let him study creative writing instead. He also wanted to study music, at which he excelled. He was especially good at playing the piano, the organ and the guitar.

Luther's family did not approve of his plan to study music and writing. His guardian, Frank Jewett, dismissed his proposed course of study as impractical. Jewett was far more stolid than Luther and the two did not get along. Luther, who disliked taking orders from people, viewed Jewett as an authoritarian, while Jewett viewed Luther as a ne'er do well. He also disliked Luther's habit of masturbating, telling Luther's father that it was an awful "addiction."<sup>19</sup>



Jewett subscribed to the common nineteenth century belief that masturbation caused illness and thought it was undermining Luther's health. It was not, of course, but other things were. Backaches and eye-strain were especially troublesome for Luther, but the worst of his ailments were migraine headaches that forced him to drop out of school for long periods of time.<sup>20</sup>

To improve his health, Luther worked on farms near Oberlin. This provided him with badly needed income, but he found it boring. He tried alternative ways of making money, but they were all fiascos. His parents began to despair about his prospects. They maintained very high standards for their children and wanted Luther to emulate his siblings, who were models of studiousness, direction and achievement.

Luther sensed his parents' disappointment and felt bad about it. He insisted, however, that he was not a failure and contended that his health was better than his family thought. To buttress his claim of fitness, he pointed to his prowess as an athlete. He was especially good at boxing, baseball and gymnastics. His mastery of those and other sports makes one wonder whether his physical ailments were, at least in part, a psychosomatic reaction against being forced to study subjects he disliked.<sup>21</sup>

Luther's participation in sports helped make him a popular student at Oberlin, which did not impress his family. They discounted sports, adhering to the common nineteenth century Protestant belief that "artificial" exercise was an immoral waste of time. Luther's father in particular was unaccustomed to play and found it hard to do. Rather than "bat a ball over a net," he preferred to study religion. This struck him and his wife as a vastly more profitable activity than sports.<sup>22</sup>

Luther's parents played an important role in forming his religiosity. Under their guidance, he converted to Christianity while still a teenager in Japan. His religious convictions were somewhat shaky, however. He hated praying and reading the Bible while at Oberlin. His family and many friends encouraged him to prepare for life as a missionary doctor, which eventually he agreed to do. But he preferred recreational activities above studying, which led to a poor scholarly record.<sup>23</sup>

Luther's academic struggles finally prompted his mother to withdraw him from Oberlin while she was on furlough from missionary work in the fall of 1881. For the next two years, mother and son resided together in Hanover, New Hampshire, where Luther's older brothers were excelling in their studies at Dartmouth College. Moved by their example, Luther endeavored to perform well at the local high school. But he was distracted from his studies by a girlfriend named Connie. He was very attracted to

her, largely because he had a powerful sex drive. Other members of his family had powerful sex drives as well, or at least Luther claimed that they did. "Our sexual passions are stronger than in most," he later wrote with regard to the Gulicks.<sup>24</sup>

Luther's thirst for romance alarmed his mother. She felt he needed adult supervision to prevent him from marrying badly, but she was departing for China, where her husband was working for the American Bible Society. The prospect of leaving Luther alone in Hanover did not appeal to her. Nor did she want him to enter Dartmouth, which she had found insufficiently religious. It occurred to her that the best place for Luther would be Oberlin, where he could again be guided by the Jewetts.<sup>25</sup>

In accordance with his mother's wishes, Luther returned to Oberlin in the fall of 1883 and resumed his studies at the Preparatory School of Oberlin College. He also moved back in with the Jewetts, but he disliked having to accept the discipline imposed by brother-in-law Frank. As a result, he rebelled against his family. Rather than remaining under their roof, he moved out in 1884.

Luther's willingness to assert himself did not make him excel academically. He continued to perform better on the playing field than in the classroom and his grades were far from stellar. They were good enough, however, to gain him admittance into Oberlin College, which he entered in 1885. That was a pivotal time in Luther's life, partly because it was then that he appears to have read William Blaikie's popular book, *How to Get Strong and How to Stay So*. The book captivated Luther, who liked its presentation of athletics as an intellectually respectable subject. He was especially interested in a chapter of the book that was entitled "What a College Gymnasium Might Be and Do."<sup>26</sup>

Another important influence on Luther was Delphine Hanna, who came to Oberlin in the fall of 1885 to be its first instructor in physical culture. She was a recent graduate of the Sargent School of Physical Training, which had been founded in 1881 by Dudley Allen Sargent, one of the greatest pioneers of American physical education. Sargent viewed Hanna as one of his best students. He was undoubtedly instrumental in placing her at Oberlin, where she strove to convince her students that physical education was essential to good health.<sup>27</sup>

Hanna's teaching made sense to Luther and his friend Thomas Wood. Both were athletes. They liked hearing that their involvement in sports was healthy and not simply a distraction from their studies. They also came to the realization that the field of physical education had great potential. One Sunday afternoon they discussed that potential while sitting beside a

fence in the woods. "That day, that hour, was a turning point for both of us," Luther recalled in 1892.<sup>28</sup>

Both Luther and Wood decided to pursue careers in physical education. Wood proceeded to take charge of the gymnasium work at Oberlin, while Luther wrote a letter to Dudley Allen Sargent asking about his school and the job prospects of its graduates. Sargent responded with alacrity, stating that his training program took only one year and that there was a plethora of jobs for physical education teachers. Male teachers in particular were likely to find jobs, he wrote. That news excited Luther, who asked his family for money to attend the school.<sup>29</sup>

The Gulicks were highly skeptical about Luther's plan to study physical fitness. They had seen him fail at many things before and feared that his enrollment at the Sargent School would be another failure. However, they ultimately gave Luther money to enroll, largely because they liked seeing how animated he was about physical education. It was a field that struck them as far less important than missionary work, but it seemed to be giving Luther a sense of direction that he had hitherto lacked.

Blessed with his family's halfhearted support, Luther left Oberlin and moved to the Sargent School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The school, which he entered in November 1885, proved to be the perfect place for him. It enabled him to get academic credit for playing the sports he liked and its coursework was not terribly rigorous. As a result, the headaches that had plagued Luther at Oberlin largely disappeared and he had time to engage in a wide variety of social activities. One of those was the camping trip on which he met his future wife, Charlotte (or Lottie) Vetter, early in 1886.<sup>30</sup>

Lottie was the same age as Luther. Like him she came from a missionary background, although her father was a home missionary rather than a foreign one. She had grown up mainly in Kansas. Unlike most women of her day, she possessed a bachelor's degree, which she had obtained from Drury College in Springfield, Missouri. That she was an educated woman pleased Luther's family, but his mother worried about a nervous breakdown that Lottie's mother had suffered. Louisa wanted assurance that insanity did not run in Lottie's family, and Luther informed her that it did not. He assured her that Lottie was strong, healthy, spiritual, theologically liberal, adept at housekeeping and nearly as bright as he was.<sup>31</sup>

Luther and Lottie became engaged in the spring of 1886, but they postponed marriage. They did not want to stop studying, nor did they have enough money to start a family. Their finances improved, however, when Luther left the Sargent School to take on a well-paid job, which entailed

supervising the Hopkins Gymnasium at the YMCA in Jackson, Michigan. Although he only held the job for the summer of 1886 he enjoyed it immensely: it made use of his talents as an athlete, entertainer and team-builder. It also drew him into the activities of the national YMCA, which was an up-and-coming organization.

## THE YMCA

The YMCA was founded in London in 1844. Seven years later, the first YMCA in the United States opened in Boston. Soon YMCAs were springing up all over the country, mainly in cities. At first, American YMCAs were primarily evangelical and rescue-oriented. Their purpose



**Luther Halsey Gulick II,  
surrounded by graduating students  
from Springfield's Physical Department, c. 1891**

(Courtesy of the Springfield College Archives)

was to keep Protestant farm boys from falling into evil ways when they moved to the cities for work. To attract the young men, YMCAs built Christian reading rooms and held tea parties and Bible readings. But members of the Association wanted more. Many members were engaged in sedentary white-collar jobs and feared that their muscles were atrophying from lack of use. They wanted to exercise, but they found few gyms in the cities. Nor were they happy with existent gyms, which tended to be full of working-class toughs who swore and gambled.<sup>32</sup>

The lack of “respectable gyms” spurred the YMCA into action. It started building gyms after the Civil War, and it used these to attract new members. Many of the staff who were initially hired to supervise the gyms were rough-hewn, profane characters: they were usually former boxers and the like who did not uphold the Christian principles of the YMCA. As a result, the Association looked around eagerly for new men to staff its gyms and it tried in particular to hire Christian athletes.<sup>33</sup>

When the YMCA hired Luther, it struck gold. He was an athlete who identified himself as a Christian and he fully embraced the new emphasis within the YMCA on exercise and sports. He was also a dynamic speaker and for that reason he was invited to give a number of talks at YMCAs in the summer of 1886. The talks probably involved the relationship between sports and religion, because that was a subject about which Luther cared deeply. He thought that exercise made Christians better able physically to reform the world and he quoted scripture to justify his position.<sup>34</sup>

Luther’s talks were a hit. They captivated YMCA members and made him a rising star within the organization. But Luther was not ready to work for the Association on a permanent basis and turned down a lucrative job offer from the YMCA of Des Moines, Iowa. Rather than moving there and marrying his fiancée, Lottie, he separated from her temporarily. While she went off to study at Wellesley College in the fall of 1886, he travelled to New York to enter the medical school of New York University. The school was Luther’s father’s alma mater, and Luther had decided to emulate his father and become a missionary doctor.

Luther had long promised his family that he would one day do missionary work. His siblings, Harriet and Sidney, were already embarked on missionary careers; Luther clearly felt compelled to join them in upholding the Gulick family’s tradition of evangelizing overseas. He also knew that his fiancée was keen on helping him out in a missionary field. But he did not allow his missionary aspirations to disconnect him from physical education in the American YMCA. Rather than severing his ties to that organization, he strengthened them in the fall of 1886, when

he began working part-time in New York City as the Association's first physical work secretary.

### **SPRINGFIELD COLLEGE YEARS, 1887 TO 1900**

Luther's secretarial work was rewarding. But an even better job came his way in the summer of 1887. That was when the YMCA sent him to Springfield, Massachusetts, to help start a training program for gym supervisors at what became Springfield College. The institution (which was then known as the School for Christian Workers) had been founded by David Allen Reed in 1885. He was a Congregational minister who aimed to train Christian workers of all sorts. YMCA administrators were among the workers whom Reed trained, but his school remained independent of the Association until 1890. At that point, the YMCA took over the school and changed its name to the YMCA Training School, commonly referred to as Springfield.<sup>35</sup>

When Luther arrived at Springfield, he was assigned to work with Robert J. Roberts, the coiner of the term "body building." Roberts was older than Luther and came from a working-class background. His initial training was as a wood-turner, but he preferred gymnastics and his skill as a gymnast landed him a job with the Boston YMCA in 1872. As gym supervisor there, Roberts advocated the pursuit of light as opposed to heavy gymnastics. His message resonated with YMCA members, few of whom wanted the intensive training that was necessary for professional athletes. Most of the members preferred comparatively light exercise and their leaders responded by hiring Roberts to champion that kind of exercise at Springfield.<sup>36</sup>

Roberts worked with his colleague, Luther, to create the college's physical training program. But the two did not get along: Roberts viewed Luther as an upstart and Luther described Roberts as "pugnacious and illiterate." He also liked group games more than Roberts and faulted the older man for focusing mainly on calisthenics. Possibly as a result of this criticism, Roberts went back to the Boston YMCA in 1889, leaving Luther in charge of physical education at Springfield.<sup>37</sup>

Luther's rise at the college coincided with other important changes in his life. Foremost was his marriage to Lottie in Hanover, New Hampshire, on August 30, 1887. The marriage proved to be a happy one, largely because Luther greatly valued female companionship. Many of his cohorts in the muscular Christianity movement believed that women were sending the United States into a downward spiral of spinelessness and effeminacy. But



Luther more than most muscular Christians avoided attacks on femininity and viewed women as sources of strength rather than weakness.

Despite his enjoyment of marriage, Luther and his wife often had to spend time apart. This was especially true during the 1887-1888 academic year, when Luther alternated between his job at Springfield and his studies at New York University. He graduated with a degree in medicine in the spring of 1888, but he warned his parents in advance of his graduation that he might not use his degree to become a missionary doctor. Rather than doing the Lord's work overseas, he told them he felt drawn to do the Lord's work in America, spreading the gospel of fitness for the YMCA.<sup>38</sup>

Luther was what missionaries called a "detained volunteer." He never became a missionary doctor, but he put his medical degree to good use at Springfield College, where he taught anthropometry (the measurement of bodies) and other medically related subjects. His courses were popular, partly because they enabled students to obtain physical education jobs within the YMCA. The Association greatly accelerated its employment of gym supervisors in the 1890s. It also applauded Luther for instilling Christian principles in the aspiring supervisors whom he was teaching. "I shall be able to put the stamp of my own convictions on them religiously as well as scientifically," Luther explained in 1888. "These men will excel [over] others in this field because they are working for Christ."<sup>39</sup>

Luther's students at Springfield included a number of men who later became famous in the world of sports. One of them was William G. Morgan, who invented volleyball in 1895 and popularized it with Luther's help. Another man whom Luther taught was Amos Alonzo Stagg, who became a legendary football coach at the University of Chicago. He also invented the forward pass, but this invention was eclipsed by that of James Naismith, Luther's most famous student. Asked by his mentor to come up with a game that could be played indoors in the winter under electric lights, Naismith invented basketball in 1891 and watched as it quickly became a worldwide sensation.<sup>40</sup>

Naismith and others whom Luther taught learned from him to value their bodies, their minds and their souls. All three were integral in the "development of man as a whole," Luther wrote, expressing admiration for those who trained men "physically, mentally and morally." He was especially fulsome in his praise for the German philosopher Karl Heinrich Schaible, the author of *An Essay on the Systematic Training of the Body*. In this work, Schaible urged educators to focus on "the cultivation of the whole man," and his advice made a big impression on Luther, who

according to the historian Herbert Zettl acquired his concept of “the unity of man” from Schaible’s book.<sup>41</sup>

To symbolize the unity of man, Luther came up with an inverted triangle in 1889, using its lines to represent mind (left), body (right) and spirit (top). What inspired him to choose the triangle is unknown, but his biographer Ethel Dorgan suggests two possibilities. One is a series of lectures on Buddhism that he attended while studying at the Sargent School. The lectures emphasized the tripartite nature of humanity and Luther might have gotten his idea for the triangle from them. It is more likely, however, that he got his idea for the triangle from students at Springfield College, where he discovered that a baseball team was using two triangles (one upright, the other inverted) in a Star of David formation as their logo. The team had not invested the triangles with any particular meaning, but according to one of its players Luther was intrigued by the triangles. He used the inverted one to illustrate his views on the interrelatedness of body-mind-spirit.<sup>42</sup>

Luther thought that a body-mind-spirit triangle ought to become the emblem of the American YMCA. But the Association rejected that idea at its conventions in 1889 and 1891, because many of its members felt that the triangle concept glorified the body at the expense of the spirit. They also viewed the triangle as a non-Christian symbol, even though many Christians had historically used it to symbolize the Trinity.<sup>43</sup>

Despite people’s objections to the triangle, Luther was not discouraged. He redoubled his efforts to promote the icon by creating pins that featured it and by starting a magazine called the *Triangle* in 1891. As a result of his advocacy, Springfield College chose the triangle to be their logo in 1891 and four years later the YMCA agreed to adopt a complex emblem that included the triangle. It also included a circle, the letters Chi-Rho and the Bible open to John 17:21, but these symbols were dropped in World War I, when the YMCA decided to operate under the triangle alone, perhaps because they wanted a logo as distinctive as that of the Red Cross.

The YMCA’s adoption of the triangle was a triumph for Luther, who could boast of numerous successes in the 1890s. Some of these were professional, others personal. Among the latter was Luther’s marriage to Lottie, who shared many of Luther’s interests, most notably his love of outdoor play. The couple got along well together, although Luther’s mother, Louisa, observed that he occasionally tuned Lottie out. “He leans on her and yet is not always the same to her—gets silent sometimes and will not talk,” Louisa wrote. But she noted that Lottie was a strong-willed individual who admired Luther greatly and could put up with his silences.

“She is valuable and a power for Luther,” Louisa averred, referring to Lottie’s supportiveness and resourcefulness. Thanks to these qualities, she was well equipped to raise a family with Luther and eventually the couple had six children: Louise (born in 1888), Frances (born in 1891), Charlotte (born in 1893), Katherine (born in 1895), Luther (born in 1897; died in 1898), and John (born in 1899).<sup>44</sup>

The Gulicks were known as Springfield’s “experimental family” because of their unconventional behavior. For periods of time they lived in a houseboat called *Nirvana*, though mostly they lived in a regular house. There they had some nude statuary, which discomfited Luther’s prim brother Sidney. He observed that Luther and Lottie talked “perfectly freely” about sexual matters and complained that Luther had a lot of peculiar habits, one of which was wearing gray flannel shirts. These items of apparel struck Luther as more healthful and less expensive than suits and he wore them to work, ignoring the popular preference for more formal workplace attire. He also ignored criticism from his neighbors, some of whom expressed disapproval because the Gulick girls were allowed to roam around like boys, peddling things door-to-door or procuring food for one of their mother’s hastily prepared meals.<sup>45</sup>

In the summertime, the Gulick family went camping in the country to counteract what they viewed as the enervating effects of urban life. They were pioneers of recreational camping, which Luther and Lottie began to do before they had children. When Lottie was pregnant with her first child in the summer of 1888, she and Luther started camping at Gales Ferry on the Thames River in Connecticut. Their Gales Ferry encampments soon became lengthy, big-time affairs, involving multiple families and dozens of people. All of the campers looked to Luther for inspiration and he was able to supply it. “Luther is the center of all activity here,” his brother Edward reported from the camp, where Luther energetically led the campers in song, swimming, story-telling, athletic games and other activities. His leadership of the camp lasted until 1907, when he and Lottie closed the place at the end of the summer. Shortly thereafter, they started camping in South Casco, Maine, where they founded the Camp Fire Girls.<sup>46</sup>

Luther enjoyed camping immensely. “At camp he was the life of the company,” his sister Frances wrote, although she acknowledged that not everything in his life was as fun as camping. This was especially true in the early 1890s, when he experienced a series of family tragedies, including the death of his father. Inundated by missionary responsibilities in China, Halsey collapsed from overwork in 1889 and died two years later while under Luther’s care in Springfield. After his death, his widow,

Louisa, decided to evangelize with her daughter and son-in-law, Harriet and Cyrus Clark, in Miyazaki, Japan. Louisa was still a Congregationalist, although she had adopted anti-medical views similar to those of a Christian Scientist. Her unwillingness to seek medical treatment for a strangulated hernia led to her death on June 14, 1894.<sup>47</sup>

The loss of their parents saddened Luther and his siblings. It was especially troubling to his sister Harriet, who came close to having a nervous breakdown. She did not have one, however, until the death of her brother Pierre, an undergraduate student at Harvard. Consumed with



**YMCA poster from World War I,  
featuring the organization's Red Triangle, c. 1918**

(Courtesy of the Springfield College Archives)

guilt over a sexual affair that he had engaged in with a married woman at the Gales Ferry encampment, Pierre shot himself on November 29, 1894, and his suicide evidently caused Hattie to go temporarily insane. It also distressed his brother Luther, who had been acting as Pierre's guardian. In the company of James Naismith, the inventor of basketball, Luther traveled to Harvard to arrange for Pierre's funeral. He spoke with the school's president, Charles Eliot, about the boy's death and drew strength from Naismith's presence. "Naismith's being with me was a great comfort," Luther wrote: "He is one of my best friends."<sup>48</sup>

In the aftermath of Pierre's suicide, Luther's brother Sidney wondered about the reasons behind it. He thought Pierre had grown despondent after developing uncertainty about the existence of an afterlife and blamed Luther (among others) for fueling Pierre's religious doubts. According to Sidney, his "brilliant eccentric younger brother" (Luther) had grown quite irreverent. Moreover he was a frenetic bohemian who engaged in manipulative behavior. "[H]e can wheedle people and soft soap them," Sidney wrote in 1892, "and make them think he thinks a lot of them, while in reality he's only thinking how smart he is to get around them and how simple they are to be taken in so easily."<sup>49</sup>

Sidney's diatribe (for which he later apologized) must have stung Luther, but he stood up to his brother, defending himself and his religiosity. Dismissed by Sidney as a semi-Christian creed that he mockingly called "YMCA theology," Luther's religiosity was focused more on the here than on the hereafter, but he rejected the idea that his worldly views were partly responsible for the suicide of his brother Pierre. Rather than having been too worldly, Pierre struck Luther as having been too unworldly—too caught up in abstract theorizing. Other members of the Gulick family were likewise inclined to dwell in the realm of theory and according to Luther, who was a budding eugenicist, they had engaged in "nerve cultivation for three generations without vital increase such as comes by manual labor, contact with sun soil rain etc." As a result of their egg-headedness, the Gulicks had, in Luther's estimation, become constitutionally weak and susceptible to catastrophic failures of morale. One of those failures was Pierre's suicide, which Luther viewed as proof that his theories about the importance of symmetry and sports were correct. Had Pierre been less intellectual and more athletic, Luther evidently felt that he might not have shot himself.<sup>50</sup>

Strengthened in his conviction that sports were necessary for a good life, Luther continued his efforts to promote them. He advocated in particular on behalf of the pentathlon, a combination of running, jumping and throwing

that he viewed as productive of well-rounded athletes. Another cause for Luther was expanding people's knowledge of the body—something he did in his first book, *Physical Measurements and How They Are Used*. Published in 1889, the book added to Luther's credentials as a physical fitness expert, enhancing his standing within organizations such as the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education (of which he was secretary from 1892 to 1893) and the Physical Education Department of the YMCA (of which he was secretary from 1886 to 1903). From his positions of leadership in the physical education community, he took a firm stand on a widely debated topic, namely the benefits of amateur athletics versus those of professional sports. Amateur athletics appealed to Luther. He thought they were more wholesome than professional sports and he founded the Amateur Athletic Union in 1896 to support non-professional athletes.

Luther was also interested in boys' work; he argued in the 1890s that the YMCA should do more of it. Hitherto the Association had focused mainly on molding young men, but Luther felt that they were less malleable than boys. Another educator who felt the same way was G. Stanley Hall, the president of Clark University and a pioneer psychologist. Hall popularized the term "adolescence," which he defined as a formative period of critical importance. He also subscribed to the "recapitulation" theory of human development—the idea that children relive stages of human social evolution, progressing from wild nomads to civilized scribes. Recapitulationism provokes laughter today, but it was very popular at the turn of the last century and Luther, who was a student of Hall, embraced the theory and circulated it within the YMCA. He was also instrumental in getting the Association to create a boys' work department in 1900 to ensure the proper development of boys.<sup>51</sup>

As his interests broadened to include boys' work and psychology, Luther felt increasingly constricted by his physical education job at Springfield. Part of the job involved justifying physical education to religious conservatives in the YMCA, and Luther was tired of dealing with them. His religious views had become universalistic, and he had no patience for narrow orthodoxies of any kind. He also feared that his work at Springfield was on the periphery of educational reform. He told his family, "I feel that I have some ability that can better be used in the field of general education than of physical training."<sup>52</sup>

What finally led Luther to leave Springfield was probably his inability to serve under Laurence Doggett, the first full-time president of the college. Before Doggett came to Springfield in 1896, the school was largely run by



its faculty. They maintained absolute control over their departments and Luther did as he pleased within the physical education department. He lost some of his autonomy, however, when Doggett arrived and that bothered him. Rather than taking directions from the forceful new president, Luther left Springfield and moved in 1900 to Brooklyn, New York, where he became the principal of the Pratt Institute High School, a progressive voc-tech institution.<sup>53</sup>

Luther was thirty-four years old when he left Springfield. He only lived for another eighteen years, but during that time he compiled an extraordinary list of achievements. High on this list are the six books that he wrote between 1904 and 1917, a series of five additional books on hygiene that he edited, his editorship of the *American Physical Education Review*, his participation in the planning of two Olympic Games and his pioneering leadership of the child hygiene department of the Russell Sage Foundation. Other organizations for which he did foundational work include the Boy Scouts, the American Folk Dance Society, the American Physical Education Association, the American School Hygiene Association, the Playground Association of America and the Public Schools Physical Training Society.<sup>54</sup>

All of these organizations enjoyed Luther's wholehearted support. But he pulled himself away from them and returned to his first major employer, the YMCA, in World War I. At the outset of the war, the Association had taken responsibility for fulfilling the recreational needs of American troops and it wanted Luther to evaluate its work overseas. He accepted the arduous assignment, but it undermined his health so much that he died on August 13, 1918, at his woodland camp in Maine. After his death, YMCA leaders looked back gratefully on his many contributions to their organization. Some praised his wartime service and his invention of the YMCA triangle. But the historian C. Howard Hopkins chose instead to laud Luther for changing the Association's overall approach to physical education. "He found the Y.M.C.A. doing calisthenics," Hopkins wrote, "and left it on the basketball court and playing field."<sup>55</sup>

Luther also helped to change the Association theologically. In its early years, it had been more religious than physical, but Luther urged it to adopt muscular Christianity, a combination of religion and sports. He believed (and got the "Y" to believe) that muscular Christianity was better than traditional asceticism. But in the latter part of his life, his commitment to muscular Christianity waned. Rather than talking about God in the gym, he increasingly espoused ideas that were only vaguely religious. For this reason, historian Robert Weir describes him as a bridge between

“sentimental Christianity and secular modernism.” This description is apt. Gulick was indeed a transitional figure: he moved like many others in his generation from ascetic Christianity to muscular Christianity to muscularity above all.<sup>56</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Hanford M. Burr, “Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, Missionary,” *American Physical Education Review* 23:7 (October 1918), 413. For more on Gulick’s involvement with the Camp Fire Girls, see Helen Buckler, et alia, *WO-HE-LO: The Story of Camp Fire Girls, 1910-1960* (New York: Camp Fire Girls, Inc., 1961).

<sup>2</sup> C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951), 251.

<sup>3</sup> See Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 69-72; and Luther Gulick, “What the Triangle Means,” *Young Men’s Era* 20 (January 1894), 14. The quotation is from the article.

<sup>4</sup> Putney, *Missionaries to Hawai‘i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010). For a genealogy of the Gulick family, see David A. Gulick, *Gulicks of the U.S.A.* (Los Altos, Calif.: privately printed, 1961).

<sup>5</sup> See Putney, *Missionaries to Hawai‘i*; and Sidney Gulick, “Reminiscences,” July 1934, Gulick Papers, misc. folder, box 20, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA (hereafter referred to as Houghton Library). The quotation is from the “Reminiscences.”

<sup>6</sup> Putney, “The Legacy of the Gulicks, 1827-1964,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 25:1 (January 2001), 28-35.

<sup>7</sup> Luther Gulick to family, November 7, 1891, Gulick Papers, box 12, Houghton Library.

<sup>8</sup> Frances Gulick Jewett, *Luther Halsey Gulick: Missionary in Hawaii, Micronesia, Japan and China* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1895).

<sup>9</sup> See Sandra C. Taylor, *Advocate of Understanding: Sidney Gulick and the Search for Peace with Japan* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1984); and “Edward Leeds Gulick: A Memorial,” [1931], Special Collections, F. W. Olin Library, Mills College, Oakland, Calif.

<sup>10</sup> Putney, “God vs. Sugar: The Gulick Brothers’ Fight against King Kamehameha V and the Sugar Planters in Hawai‘i, 1864-1870,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 37 (2003), 63-89.

<sup>11</sup> Ethel Josephine Dorgan, *Luther Halsey Gulick, 1865-1918* (New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1934), 2.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 9. Laurence Doggett, a president of Springfield College, recalled that Gulick could be troublesome. “The doctor was not always easy to work with,” Doggett wrote. “A member of the faculty once said to me that Gulick was sometimes like a horse that kicks other horses on the team.” Laurence L. Doggett, *Man and a School; Pioneering in Higher Education at Springfield College* (New York: Association Press, 1943), 63.

<sup>13</sup> Louisa Gulick to Sidney and Harriet Gulick, January 29, 1890, Gulick Papers, box 12, Houghton Library.

<sup>14</sup> Carmen de Zulueta, *Missionaries, Feminists and Educators: History of the International Institute for Girls* [in Spanish] (Zurbano, Spain: Castalia, 1984).

<sup>15</sup> For details about Louisa Gulick’s breakdown, see Halsey Gulick to Nathaniel Clark, July 11, 1873, Gulick Papers, box 7, Houghton Library.

<sup>16</sup> Stephanie Wallach, “Luther Halsey Gulick and the Salvation of the American Adolescent” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1989), 43.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 51-52. Gulick wrote that he had always been athletically inclined: “My natural bent since babyhood has led me to endeavor to excel in all forms of athletic sports.” Luther Gulick, Journal, July 9, 1888, Gulick Papers, box 11, Houghton Library.

<sup>18</sup> Louisa Clark, “Life Sketch of Mrs. Frances Gulick Jewett,” 1938, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Hawai‘i. Frances Gulick Jewett, an influential expert on public health, wrote four of the five books in the Gulick Hygiene Series, which her brother Luther Gulick edited.

<sup>19</sup> Frank Jewett to Halsey Gulick, June 18, 1881, Gulick Papers, box 9, Houghton Library.

<sup>20</sup> Fred E. Leonard, *Pioneers of Modern Physical Training* (New York: Association Press, 1915), 130. Leonard studied under Gulick at Springfield in the summer of 1888.

<sup>21</sup> Luther Gulick’s father noted that his son’s level of energy rose and fell in accordance with what he was doing. “My father used to remark upon the quick fatigue that would overtake me when laboring with a hoe,” Gulick wrote, “and the endurance that I had when operating with a baseball bat.” Luther Gulick, “Some Psychical Aspects of Muscular Exercise,” *Appleton’s Popular Science Monthly* 53 (October 1898), 798.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 804.

<sup>23</sup> Gulick’s ball-playing made a big impression on Laurence Doggett, a graduate of Oberlin’s preparatory school. “I well remember,” he wrote, “when I went there as a Freshman in 1882 seeing Gulick pitch for our class baseball team. He was a tall, flaxen-haired Nordic, who threw a swift underhand ball.” Doggett, *Man and a School*, 45.

<sup>24</sup> Luther Gulick to family, November 7, 1891, Gulick Papers, box 12, Houghton Library. For more on Gulick’s sexuality, see Thomas Winter, “‘Sex Is Power’: Luther Halsey Gulick, Emotions, the Body and a Sexual Economy of the Male Self in the Early Twentieth Century,” [2003], Archives, Springfield College,

Springfield, Mass.

<sup>25</sup> Wallach, "Luther Halsey Gulick and the Salvation of the American Adolescent," 59-61.

<sup>26</sup> Luther Gulick, "Prof. T. D. Wood, A.M., M.D.," *Physical Education* 1 (April 1892), 25.

<sup>27</sup> Ellen Gerber, *Innovators and Institutions in Physical Education* (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1971), 283-297.

<sup>28</sup> See *Ibid.*, 325-331; and Luther Gulick, "Prof. T. D. Wood," 25.

<sup>29</sup> Wallach, "Luther Halsey Gulick and the Salvation of the American Adolescent," 71-72.

<sup>30</sup> Dorgan, *Luther Halsey Gulick*, 8.

<sup>31</sup> Wallach, "Luther Halsey Gulick and the Salvation of the American Adolescent," 84-85. Gulick wrote that his wife would have made a good professor at Wellesley College and he praised her for her "masculine mind." Luther Gulick to family, October 24, [1898], Gulick Papers, box 14, Houghton Library.

<sup>32</sup> Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 64-68.

<sup>33</sup> Pierre Gulick wrote that his brother Luther encountered terrible conditions in the YMCA: "When he entered the work the men who were taking charge of the YMCA gymnasiums throughout the country were broken down circus performers and prize fighters—men of no character or of a bad character." Pierre Gulick to family, May 7, 1893, Gulick Papers, box 13, Houghton Library.

<sup>34</sup> Luther Gulick, "What the Triangle Means," 14.

<sup>35</sup> Doggett, *Man and a School*, 18-39.

<sup>36</sup> Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 69. Quoting from the Springfield school's catalog for 1886-1887, Charlotte Gulick summarized what her husband and Robert J. Roberts were trying to do at the institution: "The aim is to place Christian gymnasium superintendents in the field; men who are first Christians, then intelligent teachers; men whose object in going into the work is *to serve Christ*." Charlotte Gulick to Louisa Gulick, September 1887, Gulick Papers, box 11, Houghton Library.

<sup>37</sup> Luther Gulick, Journal, July 9, 1888, Gulick Papers, box 11, Houghton Library. It is debatable whether Gulick worked with or under Roberts at Springfield College. C. Howard Hopkins wrote that Gulick was hired to be Roberts' "assistant." But Jeffrey L. Monseau, the archivist at Springfield College, disagrees. After reviewing numerous primary documents, he concludes that Gulick and Roberts started out as equals within the school's physical education program. Gulick oversaw the administrative and academic work of the program while Roberts oversaw floor work in the gymnasium. See Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America*, 251; and Jeffrey L. Monseau to Clifford Putney, personal communication, February 8, 2011.

<sup>38</sup> Luther Gulick, Journal, July 9, 1888, Gulick Papers, box 11, Houghton Library.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> James Naismith, *Basketball: Its Origin and Development* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 33.

<sup>41</sup> The first and second quotations are from Doggett, *Man and a School*, 52-53; the third is from Karl Heinrich Schaible, *An Essay on the Systematic Training of the Body* (London: Trubner & Co., 1878), 96; the fourth is from Herbert Zettl, "Physical Education at Springfield College: Its 'Historical and Philosophical Origins of Gulick's Triangle,'" [2010], Archives, Springfield College.

<sup>42</sup> Dorgan, *Luther Halsey Gulick*, 36-37. Gulick cited scripture to justify his adoption of the triangle and he placed special emphasis on Deuteronomy 6:5: "And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might." Luther Gulick, "What the Triangle Means," 14.

<sup>43</sup> For more information about Christian symbolism, see George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art: With Illustrations from Paintings from the Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

<sup>44</sup> Louisa Gulick to Sidney Gulick, April 19, [1890], Gulick Papers, box 12, Houghton Library. Frank Kingdon described the Gulicks' family life at length on his radio program, "Unsung Americans." He focused on Luther and Charlotte's unusual bicycling escapades, asking his audience to imagine one of the couple's rides: "He has come home tired, perhaps with one of those fierce headaches that trouble him, so she has dropped her work to go out with him. Mere cycling has not satisfied his urge to action, so he has abruptly said: 'Get going. Imagine that you are a primitive woman and I am a primitive man and you are trying to get away from me.' Off she goes and he after her and those cries we hear as they careen past us are all part of the game. Down the road they go and reach their gate with merry breathlessness . . . The neighbors can never quite understand such adventures, but they allow that these are nice people, though a trifle queer." Frank Kingdon, "The Man of the Camp Fire," typescript of a program aired over the Mutual Broadcasting System on March 14, 1940, Archives, Camp Fire USA, Kansas City, Missouri.

<sup>45</sup> The first quotation is from Dorgan, *Luther Halsey Gulick*, 11; the second is from Sidney Gulick to Cara Gulick, December 16, 1895, Gulick Papers, box 13 Houghton Library. Sidney Gulick's complaint about his brother's "peculiarity" is from Sidney Gulick to family, January 31, 1892, Gulick Papers, box 12, Houghton Library.

<sup>46</sup> Edward Gulick to family, August 9, 1893, Gulick Papers, box 13, Houghton Library.

<sup>47</sup> See Frances Gulick to Sidney Gulick, July 27, 1892, Gulick Papers, box 12; and Sidney Gulick to family, June 14, 1894, Gulick Papers, box 13, Houghton Library.

<sup>48</sup> See Wallach, "Luther Halsey Gulick and the Salvation of the American Adolescent," 162-165; and Luther Gulick to family, January 6, 1895, Gulick Papers, box 13, Houghton Library. The quotation is from the letter.

<sup>49</sup> See Sidney Gulick to Harriet Gulick Clark, January 4, 1895, Gulick Papers,

box 13, Houghton Library; and Sidney Gulick to family, January 31, 1892, Gulick Papers, box 12, Houghton Library. The quotations are from the second letter.

<sup>50</sup> The first quotation is from Luther Gulick to Sidney Gulick, June 23, 1895, Gulick Papers, box 13, Houghton Library; the second is from Luther Gulick to Sidney Gulick, December 30, 1894, Gulick Papers, box 13, Houghton Library. Sidney Gulick's apology is from Sidney Gulick to family, February 14, 1892, Gulick Papers, box 12, Houghton Library. Gulick liked the term "morale," which he defined as "the spirit of the whole." Luther Gulick, *Morals and Morale* (New York: Association Press, 1919), xi.

<sup>51</sup> Benjamin G. Rader, "The Recapitulation Theory of Play: Motor Behavior, Moral Reflexes and Manly Attitudes in Urban America," in J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1880-1940* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), 123-134.

<sup>52</sup> Luther Gulick to family, [May 1], 1900, Gulick Papers, box 14, Houghton Library. Students and faculty at Springfield College noted that Gulick was slacking off in his religious observances. One day when they were gathering for a chapel service, they saw him hunting on the shore of the lake that borders the college. He was looking to shoot a muskrat for his laboratory. Doggett, *Man and a School*, 47.

<sup>53</sup> Wallach, "Luther Halsey Gulick and the Salvation of the American Adolescent," 172-173. Laurence Doggett had mixed feelings about Gulick. He disliked Gulick's "embarrassing" zeal and "somewhat erratic methods of administration," but he conceded that the man was a "genius," and he described him as "the most original and unique character to serve on the faculty of Springfield College." Doggett, *Man and a School*, 45, 47, 120.

<sup>54</sup> A concise summary of Gulick's achievements is in William J. Baker, "Gulick, Luther Halsey," *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), s.v. In recognition of Gulick's achievements, the American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, Recreation and Dance created their Luther Halsey Gulick Medal in 1923. The medal was and remains the Alliance's most prestigious award.

<sup>55</sup> See "Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick: A Symposium," *American Physical Education Review* 23:7 (October 1918), 413-426; and Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America*, 246. Additional assessments of Gulick can be found in "Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick," *Playground* 22:7 (October 1918), 251-255. Gulick is buried in Oak Grove Cemetery, Springfield, Mass. His tombstone has a triangle on it.

<sup>56</sup> Robert Weir to Clifford Putney, personal communication, October 8, 2010.