



FROM PHILADELPHIA TO YORK: GEORGE JOWETT, MARK BERRY, BOB HOFFMAN, AND THE REBIRTH OF AMERICAN WEIGHTLIFTING, 1927-1936*

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Editor's Note: This article is the final installment of a trilogy on the origins of American weightlifting written by Dr. John Fair, chairman of the history department at AUM. The first two installments appeared in *IGH* vol. 2 no. 6 (May 1993) and *IGH* vol. 3 no. 5 (December 1994). If you missed those issues and would like copies, back order information is available on page 28.

We have always had a soft spot in our heart for Philly, because once it was the Mecca of barbell bugs. We came here timidly and shook hands reverently with the Great Man, and later, when Calvert passed out of the picture, we hobnobbed with his successors, George Jowett and Mark Berry. We met our long-time pal Sig Klein in this very town, in the old, dusty Milo building on narrow Palethorp street.

Came the 1930s and like the Capital of the United States was once moved to York during Revolutionary Days, young and vigorous Bob Hoffman picked up the torch that others had laid down, and the Capital of the Weight-Lifting World moved 90 miles westward to Muscletown. Then the real development of American Lifting began.¹

—Harry Paschall

In the early decades of the twentieth century, weightlifting became an organized sport in the United States under the guidance of Alan Calvert, Ottley Coulter, George Jowett, and David Willoughby. But it was Jowett who did most to foster its growth during the 1920s through his development of the American Continental Weight Lifting Association (ACWLA) and his editing of *Strength* magazine from 1924 to 1927. Not only did the latter constitute a major source of inspiration for fledgling lifters, but its effect was enhanced by its association with Milo Barbell Company, the principal supplier of lifting apparatus since 1902. With the presence of Herrmann's Gym

and Jowett's conduct of exhibition meets at Milo on a regular basis, Philadelphia became the center of iron game activity.² That Jowett was unable to sustain his lofty standing may be attributed to his inability to control the commercial and political infrastructure of weightlifting. Hence the capricious owner of Milo, Daniel Redmond, was easily able to replace him as editor of *Strength* in 1927 with the more pliable Mark Berry.³ American weightlifting languished for several years as Berry's Association of Bar Bell Men (ABBM) proved to be merely an imitation of the ACWLA and the parent company struggled to survive the onset of the Depression. But Berry, through the offices of Dietrich Wortmann, did forge an important alliance with the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), a step that was as important to the future of American lifting as the promotional acumen of Jowett. What brought these disparate strands together in the early 1930s was Bob Hoffman whose financial resources and dynamic personality brought about a supplanting of Redmond's malevolent influence and a rebirth of American weightlifting.

The story of these unique developments has never been recounted in full. The first historical glimpse of events in this critical era was provided by Hoffman in his "Story of the World Famous York Barbell Club" in successive issues of *Strength & Health* just after World War II. Unfortunately the account terminates in 1932, York's take-off year, and, not surprisingly, focuses unduly on the achievements of Bob and his gang, relegating other worthies of the sport to bystander roles. Jowett, for instance, invited by Hoffman to a contest in the mid-1920s to choose York's strongest man, "just sat there aiding us perhaps by his presence, but doing nothing to run the meet."⁴ Likewise David Willoughby's serialized "History of American Weight-Lifting," which appeared in *Your Physique* a few years later, strongly reflects the author's personal views and the activities of the Los Angeles Athletic Club. With regard to the circumstances behind the submission of the ACWLA and ABBM to the AAU, he is only able to admit "I do not know."⁵ David Webster's *Iron Game*, though providing a much broader and more balanced perspec-

tive, comes to no closer quarters on substantive issues of reorganization. As for Hoffman, he points out that “Bob has never been noted for his modesty and likes to tell of his most interesting life. So much has been written about him that further comment here would be superfluous.”⁶ Yet Hoffman’s triumphs in the early 1930s cannot be so easily dismissed, and lest his role be overstated by relying too much on York publications, it is possible to gain a more accurate picture of how the center of gravity in weightlifting shifted from Philadelphia to York by consulting hitherto untapped sources in *Strength* and the Todd-McLean Collection at the University of Texas.

Upon being dismissed from Milo in 1927, Jowett’s first inclination was to strike back. “Redmond pulled off a dirty trick on me,” he told Coulter, “but I am not through with him yet. If it is possible I will make him regret it.” To this end, Jowett intended to file a \$17,000 suit for damages, reinstate his claim to profits from the sale of his books by Milo, and reassert his right to advertise in *Strength*. He was also scheming to “buy Redmonds mailing list through another firm,” he explained to Coulter. “He will go mad if he knows it is for me. By the way he is laughing he has got me out of the business and that I cannot get a job in the game.”⁷ Jowett felt nothing but contempt for Redmond who had “better be careful for I am not in the mood to be trifled with by a physical inferiority as he” and for Berry who “looks like a starved shit.”⁸ Despite his bravado, Jowett needed a steady income to support his ailing wife Bessie and daughter Phyllis in Canada, and for awhile he even considered joining his pal Coulter on the police force in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. His severance from Milo not only cost him advertising and mail privileges but denied him an effective medium for self-promotion and propagation of his gospel of “scientific lifting.” Eventually he worked his way back into the iron game by founding the Jowett Institute of Physical Culture and pursuing various other mail order schemes with International Correspondence Schools in Scranton. But survival was by no means easy. Jowett was forced to sell his home in Philadelphia and to sleep in his car during the summer months.⁹ Then he avoided room rent by “sleeping in the shop of a friend,” he related to Coulter in December, “but it is getting too cold for that, so I figured if I could get a good office room cheap it would do for both purposes. I hit a good one this week with heat & light for 20 00 a month less than I paid for a room. I brought all my stuff in today...Bit by bit I will get some necessary things, but we can’t do biz with no place to operate or store things.” With the Jowett Institute only beginning and the ICS having experienced its “worst year,” with “terrible losses,” the outlook was bleak. “It will be a lonely Xmas for me,” he predicted. “That rat Berry I’ll get & when I get him I get him good.”¹⁰

Meanwhile Redmond and Berry were making every effort to erase all traces of Jowett’s association with *Strength* and to supplant the ACWLA with the ABBM. How curious it must have seemed for readers to encounter Jowett’s plea for \$2.00 to join the ACWLA in the June 1927 issue followed by Berry’s pitch for \$2.75 for ABBM membership the next month! Surely the credibility of organized lifting must have suffered from the presence of two obviously rival associations with equally grandiose designs. The extent to which Jowett was cast aside was most evident in the publication of American weightlifting records in successive months. Whereas Jowett appears prominently in those listed for June, his name is noticeably absent from the July listing.¹¹ To ensure Jowett’s complete exclusion from

the organizational hierarchy of weightlifting, however, it was necessary to supplant his connections with the increasingly powerful AAU. At its Baltimore convention in 1926 Jowett had assumed chairmanship of an AAU weightlifting committee which included Roy Smith of New York City, Donald Mitchell of Easthampton, Massachusetts, Albert Manger of Baltimore, and Marion Betty of Los Angeles. Exactly how it would relate to the ACWLA was unclear, but it was incumbent on Jowett to coordinate the committee’s activities with AAU chief Charles Dieges.¹² In the months following his takeover of *Strength*, Berry made every effort to inspire a new organizational framework. After informing readers of the August 1927 issue that “the response to our call for members has been nothing short of wonderful,” Berry announced that the new ABBM would have a board of control consisting of Warren Lincoln Travis and Siegmund Klein of New York, Charles McMahon and himself of Philadelphia, and Arnold Schiemann of Baltimore.¹³ He also set up a photographic posing competition, reported a major strength show that he refereed in New York City, listed the current British and European records, and announced plans for future shows in Philadelphia. Included in the latter was a national weightlifting competition to be conducted at various locations nationwide with the results being mailed to *Strength*. Robert Hoffman, still a relative unknown, won the heavyweight class in Philadelphia (by default) and thereby became national champion, With this flurry of activity under the ABBM rubric, affiliation with the AAU might not have seemed necessary to Berry, but to ensure that Jowett did not seize this organizational initiative he secured a statement from its secretary, published in the December 1927 issue of *Strength*, that the AAU was not allied with the ACWLA.¹⁴

Jowett was, in fact, planning an approach to the AAU, but concern over its links with the International Olympic Committee (IOC), involving changes in bodyweight classifications and number of competitive lifts, made him reluctant. Whereas both the ACWLA and ABBM were modeled on the rules of the British Amateur Weightlifting Association (BAWLA), it was French rules that had largely governed international competition since the Antwerp Olympics in 1920.¹⁵ Whatever prestige might be accrued from such an affiliation, reasoned Coulter, it could also discourage membership in the ACWLA. “The more lifts, the more lifters will be interested as lifters are mainly interested in what the organization will do for them.” With only the Olympic lifts being contested, he could see little benefit aside from improving “the status of a few, very few, bonafide amateurs that would compete in an A.A.U.” This arrangement would “put a lot of capable lifters out of any worth while recognition. Perhaps this A.A.U. recognition is worth the sacrifice to get a chance to get back at Milo.” Indeed Coulter felt a sense of proprietary interest in organized lifting in the United States, having originated (with Jowett) the first association, and if there was any money to be made through the AAU “we have did [sic] as much to earn the same as anyone.”¹⁶ Notwithstanding these reservations, Jowett seemed determined to secure AAU affiliation which he was able to do for \$10.00 in the Middle Atlantic Association in early 1928. He also intended to change the name of his organization from ACWLA to the American Amateur Weight Lifting Association (AAWLA), “thereby seizing the national title for the asso. & crimp any reactions from others for American always signifies top dog.” By such means he hoped to “make the big plunge towards success.”¹⁷

In succeeding months Jowett drafted new bylaws for the association, and Coulter became convinced that affiliation would be “the best means of combating Milo.” This strategy would enable them to “control the amateur lifting and issue the only titles that will be recognized by the A.A.U.” What concerned Coulter was the possibility that Milo might try to affiliate directly with the Federation Internationale Halterophile (FIH). But he doubted that “the European organization would recognize any organization from this country unless there was some prestige mixed in it like the sanction of the A.A.U.” The best way of securing strong standing within the AAU, he thought, was to publish a physical culture magazine with an ancillary focus on track and field news.¹⁸ Despite the absence of any activities since Jowett’s dismissal from *Strength* and the lack of an alternative publicity medium, Coulter wanted to believe that the ACWLA could at least maintain parity with its rival. “I suppose that the A.C.W.L.A. has already attained as much official recognition as the barbell assoc. will ever attain but it is hard to tell as publicity is the big thing and they have the medium at present.” He was pleased at least to learn that Redmond and Berry could not directly affiliate with the FIH. “I hope that we will be able to do so later and put a big thorn in their side.”¹⁹ Upon acceptance of the ACWLA by the AAU in early July, Jowett felt confident that they could disallow joint registration to ABBM members. Again Coulter demurred.

All you state about ruling them out of the Milo Assoc. is ail right if it does not limit our own membership too much. If it works it will be a terrible blow to them but we will have to be careful about this as most of the amateurs in this country do not care much for their chances in the Olympic Games as they realize that they do not rank high enough on those lifts. They are after all the publicity they can get and know that they have a better chance on lifts in which they are more proficient. They no doubt will think that Milo is in the best position to give them publicity because of Strength Mag. If they get the publicity they will not care much whether they get the sanction of the AA.U. or not but as time goes on and they realize that they are getting no real official worldwide recognition with the Milo Assoc. they will gradually see the value of joining with us. We need a medium for giving them equal publicity with Strength.

As Coulter recognized, the critical factor to their success would be the launching of a magazine. To this end they sampled reader opinion from old ACWLA mailing lists and newer ones obtained from Earle Liederman. They decided that “The Body Builder” would be the best name and that it should include articles under such headings as “Stalwarts of Strength,” “With the Boys,” “Rules and Records,” “A.A.W.L.A.,” “Hands and Wrists,” “How Strong are You,” and “Around Vulcan’s Forge.”²⁰ Their major problem was insufficient capital. In addition to start up costs, yearly estimates for production of a 34 page magazine were in the \$25,000 range. Neither Jowett nor Coulter had access to this amount of cash. Attempts were made to

market chest expanders, spring sets, an abdominal board, and even leotards, but to no avail. Jowett’s proposition for a \$10,000 loan from a bank president fell through, and his publication (through the Jowett Institute) of a series of instructional *Man Power* booklets failed to catch on. Despite AAU acceptance and innumerable strike-it-rich schemes, Jowett had to face the fact that it would be impossible to regain his former stature in the iron game without adequate financial resources.

Milo, on the other hand, though having the wherewithal to stake sole claim to AAU and international recognition, seemed to lack the motivation. In an early 1928 poll of its readers, *Strength* received near unanimous approval to change from British to continental regulations, but recent contacts with BAWLA made Berry disinclined to change the present structure.²¹ His stance was reinforced by a decision not to send a contingent of American lifters to the Olympics in Amsterdam where the standard three lifts—press, snatch, and clean & jerk—were first performed. Berry noted that “the Amateur Authorities of this country have to be convinced concerning the quality of the lifting material who would represent the Stars and Stripes against the best from all other comers of the Earth.” A quick analysis of the highest totals of America’s leading lifters led him to believe that light heavyweight Al Manger was “the only man among our amateurs who would have a look-in.” It would be hard to justify the effort and expense of sending a team “with chances of placing but one man out of the fifteen or so who would compose the team.” To compensate for this admission of weakness, the A.B.B.M. was offering an ersatz gold medal to any amateur lifter who equaled the *third* place winner in his class at the Olympics.²² It is hardly surprising that there were no takers. In a more practical vein, *Strength* regularly promoted and reported on meets that were held in Philadelphia and elsewhere, thereby imparting a greater sense of camaraderie. Berry hoped that “by the time of the next Games our boys will be capable of giving battle to the world’s best.” But Berry never expected that his countrymen would be capable of beating the Europeans. The results of the 1924 Olympics in Paris had led some “students of strength” to believe that “the approximate limit in lifting had been reached,” only to see it surpassed by the Austrians, French, and Germans in 1928. Berry portrayed European lifters as invincible, and even after an ABBM rules committee recommended affiliation “with the International Federation as soon as possible,” he seemed reluctant to act.²³

More resolute leadership was soon forthcoming from an unexpected quarter. Dietrich Wortmann, a wrestler at the 1904 Olympics and leader of the German-American Athletic Club (GAAC) in New York City, had already gained an appreciation for a national amateur sports regulatory body. In 1927 Wortmann anticipated both Jowett and Berry by presenting to the AAU a set of rules conforming to international practice. Along with a sanctioning of the GAAC and its rules by the AAU, Wortmann was named chairman of the Metropolitan Weightlifting Committee and subsequently national chairman.²⁴ Berry grudgingly acknowledged the presence of this new power, noting in the February 1929 issue of *Strength* that “there are quite a number of good lifters in this club.” Sig Klein, one of its newest members, suggested a team match in New York between the GAAC and ABBM amateurs. Berry regarded this challenge as a splendid idea, but “it is our belief that the G.A.A.C. men would

have to step some to take the measure of the A.B.B.M. boys,” who would include the likes of Al Manger of Baltimore, Arnie Sundberg from Portland, Oregon, Artie Levan from Reading, Pennsylvania, and Robert Knodle and Dick Bachtell from Hagerstown, Maryland.²⁵ Such an encounter never materialized, but next month’s issue included full publication of Wortmann’s rules and an announcement that an AAU national championship in weightlifting would soon take place at the German-American club.²⁶ In succeeding months Berry tried to disparage Wortmann’s efforts by contrasting the exorbitant (\$2.00) entry fee with the nominal costs for ABBM membership, certificates, diplomas, etc. Furthermore it was his intention to seek ABBM affiliation with the AAU and the FIH. What helped convince him to do so was a special AAU meet staged by the German-Americans in March where he met the AAU president, Col. Charles Dieges. “It is a pleasure to meet this gentleman,” observed Berry. “The Colonel, a powerfully built man of sixty-three years, has a manner of shaking hands by which he reaches forward and pulls the other man towards him. You should have seen the weight lifters fly off their balance as they gripped with him.”²⁷ Although it seemed somewhat contradictory to his own aspirations for control over a national regulatory body, Berry urged ABBM members to join the AAU also. Especially with Jowett and Wortmann having already made a commitment, he could not afford to ignore the possibility of tapping the AAU’s growing prestige with the IOC and FIH.²⁸

The first AAU national championship in weightlifting, held on May 3 and 4, 1929, was a spectacular success. *Strength* called it “the greatest carnival of weight lifting in the history of the game, in America.” It was “a great boost for lifting in America, and we must take off our hats to Mr. Wortmann for all the trouble he has gone to in getting things properly started in the A.A.U.” The most notable feature of this gathering, unlike previous national championships, is that it was staged at a single time and place, thereby imparting a greater sense of uniformity and excitement to the proceedings. Much was made of how welterweight Arnie Sundberg had traveled all the way from Oregon to take part. But the most distinctive characteristic of the meet itself was its domination by the big German-American clubs of the New York City area. Although no official team scores were recorded if three, two, and one points are allotted to first, second, and third places respectively, the following would result:

Cooper AC, Brooklyn, New York.....	15
German-American A.C., New York, New York.....	11
Arcade A.C., Hagerstown, Maryland.....	6
Deutsche Eiche, Hoboken, New Jersey.....	4
Independent Entry, Baltimore, Maryland.....	3
Multonomah A.C., Portland, Oregon.....	2

Of the 23 competitors, 19 had German-sounding names—Rasch, Kettner, Meisenbach, Froelich, Rohrer, Gruebel, Faas, and Knaup being among the more obvious. Some of the lifters had only recently arrived from Germany.²⁹ A Teutonic cultural flavor was palpable to lifter and spectator alike. Robert Knodle, seven-time national champion from Maryland who won the 112 pound class, recalled that many of the competitors “could hardly speak English. All they would do was eat and drink. The bartender would be lifting the next day.” Kno-

dle “didn’t know how they could lift, they ate and drank so much.”³⁰ This occurrence serves as a reminder of the extent to which competitive weightlifting on both sides of the Atlantic is rooted in German culture.

Wortmann’s rivals, however, were not prepared to concede sole control over lifting to the New York Germans. Jowett, who had attended one of their earlier meets, was not impressed. It was “rotten,” he sardonically told Coulter, and he did “not wait to see the finish. Berry was there and when he saw me he beat it.” Later Sig Klein allegedly asked Jowett if he would talk with Berry. “I told him if Berry wanted to keep his face and body whole to stay away from me or I would smash him right there. He did too.” Jowett vowed too that Redmond “will get his yet.”³¹ Unable to secure a special place for himself in the AAU, Jowett seemed determined to play the role of a spoiler, but he possessed neither the personal following of Wortmann, the publicity medium of Berry, nor the financial resources of Redmond to “call the shots” in the iron game.

Berry, with less reason to be bitter, also displayed piques of jealousy over Wortmann’s AAU connections. Though he recognized in the September 1929 issue of *Strength* the need to conform to FIH standards, he believed that in America “the game of weight lifting would be due for a terrible flop if any serious attempt was made to entirely rule out all lifts other than the five recognized by the International body.” Therefore he sought to develop a closer relationship with BAWLA and “continue to promote interest in all recognized lifts.” After printing a lengthy letter from BAWLA Secretary W. J. Lowry touting the virtues of the British tradition, Berry pointed out the impracticality of Wortmann’s “continental” reforms. “That such rules are incomplete has since been adequately proven at recent lifting contests.”³² But Berry remained unsure of his ground. In announcing the upcoming ABBM championships, designed to challenge Wortmann’s AAU meet as the premier national event, he decided to adhere to the new international standards for weight classes and number of contested lifts, while otherwise allowing recognition of both AAU and ABBM rules. He admitted that “some length of time will be required to properly iron out this question of rules. If. . . we find very few interested in the old style of lifting, we will adopt International rules completely.”³³ Berry was unable to determine which path held the greatest prospect for future success in the iron game—the British trail blazed by Jowett for the ACWLA and ABBM or the new international order being created by Wortmann for the AAU.

A further unsettling factor for Berry was the uncertainty of his position in the Milo organization. Redmond, its proprietor and publisher, was a businessman who had no sentimental links to weightlifting. For him it existed chiefly as a means to the greater end of making money. But the ABBM, like the ACWLA, was never a profitable enterprise, and whether the specialized activities of strongmen ever stimulated sales of merchandise amongst the general public interested in physical culture is questionable. Redmond tolerated Berry’s association *but* was unwilling to invest in it. Not only was there no lifting team in the Quaker City, but in 1928 the monthly strength shows that had been held for years at the Milo building on Palethorp Street were discontinued. In October 1929 they were resumed on Chestnut Street at the new studio of Lynwood “Bill” Lilly, a strength star who (having performed a world record shoulder



AT A MEET IN HAGERSTOWN, MARYLAND, IN 1932, BOB HOFFMAN (CENTER) AND THE MEMBERS OF THE YORK OIL BURNER ATHLETIC CLUB POSE WITH OTHER OFFICIALS AND COMPETITORS. STANDING NEXT TO BOB IN THE SUIT IS ROBERT SNYDER. AL MANGER IS STANDING AT THE FAR RIGHT. ALSO INCLUDED ARE BILL AND WALTER GOOD, ART LEVAN, BOB KNODLE, DICK BACHTELL, AND JOE MILLER. HOW MANY OTHERS CAN YOU IDENTIFY?
 —TODD-McLEAN COLLECTION

bridge of 458 pounds) was now trying to become an entrepreneur of sport. Other new businesses that sponsored clubs and served as staging areas for lifting and bodybuilding shows were established by Charles Durner in Allentown and Arthur Gay in Rochester.³⁴ No such link between business and sport seemed possible at Milo, though it was ideally situated to patronize weightlifting. Despite Berry's enthusiasm, and the presence of Charles MacMahon and Robert Jones, Redmond begrudged every penny spent on the sport per se. *Strength* was an important source of information on lifting activities and an inspiration to physical culturists, but it was becoming less of an amoral force in American weightlifting. That Philadelphia was no longer able to chart a course independent of the AAU was evident in the cancellation of the 1929 ABBM national championships. "We did not become properly affiliated with the A.A.U. until rather late," Berry admitted. Credibility was undermined by there being too few entrants registered and too few locations sanctioned by the AAU. "In some quarters, totals were made under A.A.U. sanction in other quarters fellows lifted who were not registered, some of the latter type are still to be heard from while the majority of A.A.U. members hold back to be certain of their steps."³⁵ This abject failure actually signified progress in the sport by ending the practice of holding national championships by mail. Most importantly, Berry was forced to abandon the pretensions of the ABBM and to respect the new regulatory authority of the AAU, thereby imparting a new course to American weightlifting.

To align himself with the Gotham Germans, Berry quickly came to terms with the AAU. In the spring 1930 issues of *Strength* he devoted considerable effort to publicizing the forthcoming National AAU Championships in New York City, assuring readers that it would be a "competition, the like of which has never been seen on

the west shores of the broad Atlantic." Furthermore all ABBM shows and athletes must now be registered in the AAU. For good measure, he even published from Spalding's handbook, the rules defining amateurism. It was obvious from various endearing references to the activities of the German-American clubs that an understanding had been reached between Berry and Wortmann. The former and the ABBM would remain the focus of attention for iron game enthusiasts while the latter and his AAU associates would control the course of competition.³⁶ Berry estimated that "the greatest lifting ever witnessed in America was seen at the National A.A.U. Championships." With 25 new AAU marks being established, American lifters were "improving by leaps and bounds" and "have lately been approaching the European standard."³⁷ The extent to which the ABBM was now subsumed under the AAU was evident from the fact that all enquiries concerning AAU activities, including national championships, were directed to Berry. Still the combined talent and financial resources of the two leading organizations in American weightlifting were deemed insufficient to send a team that would be competitive to the 1930 world championships in Munich.³⁸

Underlying at least some of this weakness was a general economic malaise associated with the onset of the Great Depression. "Business is terrible," Jowett reported to Coulter in May of 1930. "The whole bottom fell out of the advertising with March." Some issues of physical culture magazines featuring his ads "have never given a single order. I cancelled all my June and July ads." Even his correspondence courses with ICS were "taking an awful licking. Things were going fine but all report the same. It just seemed as though something stopped everything."³⁹ But Jowett seemed to be faring better than most mail order musclemen. In September he told Coulter that he had recently been to New York where he had

personal contact with all in our field. Titus is out completely. The Federal Trade Commission suspended him. The agency took it over to get their money out. They lost so heavy with Titus and Jimmy De Forest who is more than broke that they ruined their credit. Crusader is in bad water from magazine and wholesale depression . . . Brietbart is out I think for good. Atlas is out personally for good. Titus is trying to do something with Michael McFadden which he owns. Earle [Liederman] tried to do something with the apparatus end since his course flopped. He lost very heavy on both and has stopped his apparatus campaign. I was with him and he told me personally he was hard hit. You would be amazed to see the empty desks. From 96 employees he now only has ten.

What interested Jowett most, however, was the condition of Milo, especially *Strength*, which had taken over *Correct Eating Magazine* earlier in the year. *Strength* was reputed to be in “the worst” state of all the physical culture magazines. “What in Gods name has happened to it I cannot fathom” exclaimed Jowett. “I do know they do not have the reading following they did. Earle said it looked to him that all the circulation they had was 500 . . . I think Redmond made a mistake when he took over Correct Eating. It was a failure with only 20,000 readers.” An advertising agent had supposedly told Jowett that Redmond “felt the need of me and asked me if I would consider going back. I said not at any price.” Indeed Redmond remained the “one guy I hope does get hit and hit out for keeps.”⁴⁰

Meanwhile Berry continued to sponsor monthly strength shows at various locations, including Hermann’s Gym and the Grand Fraternity Building on Arch Street. That the Quaker City remained an important hub of iron game activity was indicated by a successful show in March 1931 which produced the biggest gate ever and the 1931 AAU national championships in May at the Penn Athletic Club which, in Berry’s estimation, evinced the “finest lifting ever seen in America.”⁴¹ Again the German-Americans dominated the competition. Lifting as a heavyweight was Robert Hoffman, representing the York Oil Burner Athletic Club (YOBAC). His third place total for five lifts of 731.5 was less than the winning totals of the five preceding classes and elicited no comment in the official report of the lifting.⁴² Yet it was Hoffman’s activities as a promoter that excited constant attention in *Strength* over the next two years. The October 1931 issue reported a dual meet at York between lifters headed by Hoffman and a rival team assembled by Dick Bachtell from Hagerstown. Outstanding lifting by Art Levan and Joe Miller, recruited from nearby Reading and Salunga, provided the winning edge of 45 pounds for the York squad in a competition that lasted until 3 AM. Indicative of his growing enthusiasm for the sport was Hoffman’s hope to participate in the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles; and if poor pressing ability kept him off the team, he was willing to serve in the menial capacity of loader. In the meantime, he would be organizing meets between teams on opposing sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. Berry, who credited Hoffman with “doing everything possible to promote lifting” in southern Pennsylvania, noted that there were

“just two things he talks about chiefly—one, the success of his business of manufacturing oil burners, the other weight lifting.” On August 31 his men defeated Hagerstown by an even greater margin 3,165 to 3,110 pounds, despite the presence of two national champions on the latter team.⁴³ An encounter on September 27 yielded similar results, but what most impressed Berry was the luxurious facilities where the lifting took place in York.

If you as a real dyed-in-the-wool weight lifting enthusiast have entertained day-dreams of an ideal club for iron-men, you have only to see the York O.B.A.C. club-house to realize that your dreams have come true. In truth, it is a veritable palace situated on the outskirts of a thriving city of some sixty odd thousand citizens.

*A private lifting gym wherein a few hundred spectators can be seated, spacious lounging, game, and dressing rooms, with buffet and dining accommodations. We might even go so far as to say it is beyond the dreams of avarice. If you ever get within a few hundred miles of York, by all means go around to see this—the worlds finest weight lifting club.*⁴⁴

As Hoffman’s aggregation continued to reel off victories, it claimed to have the best weightlifting team in the United States. But to deserve this honor the York Oil Burner AC. would need to beat the formidable German-American team from New York.

What enabled Hoffman to establish such a bold profile in the iron game so quickly was his success as a businessman. Originally from Pittsburgh, he came to York in 1920 at the urging of his older brother Chuck who had been stationed at nearby Fort Meade and had married a local girl. After pursuing various marketing schemes, Bob entered a partnership with Ed Kraber, the son of a local plumber. Kraber had inherited some money and had designed one of the country’s first automatic oil burners, but he was “no salesman” recalls an early business associate.⁴⁵ The partners sold oil burners from the middle Atlantic coast to the hinterlands of Ohio, and their profits steadily increased during the 1920s. Hoffman estimates that he sold 227 oil burners in 1927 and continued that pace for the next four years. Soon there were branches of York Oil Burner in Philadelphia and Toronto also reporting spectacular gains.⁴⁶ By the early 1930s Hoffman according to his brother Jack, was making money at an unbelievable rate,” perhaps as much as \$60,000 a year.⁴⁷ In 1928 Bob and his wife Rosetta purchased a one bedroom bungalow on a Susquehanna River inlet. It was here that he claimed to have recruited his earliest lifters, devised the barbell training system he later peddled, and performed his first serious weight *training*—*after* winning the national championship! In 1929 Hoffman and his partner acquired a permanent building at 51 N. Broad Street in York to manufacture oil burners *and* barbells. Hoffman also purchased some land on Lightner’s Hill in north York where he built the YOBAC club house and started constructing in 1931, the multi-story “house on the hill,” designed to be his dream home.⁴⁸ With his new found affluence he could take business interests more for granted and devote more energy to weightlifting. “Finally in 1931,” he later admitted,

"I was so situated that I could go on with the game I had come to love more than any other."⁴⁹ The key to his eventual success in appropriating the iron game to himself was the attachment of his sporting interests to his business enterprise.

It seems remarkable that Hoffman's glory years began in the depths of the Depression, at just the point when all other physical culturists were suffering monumental losses. In April 1931 Jowett estimated that "this game is ruined beyond measure." Earle Liederma, the most successful muscles-by-mail vendor of the 1920s "had a worse blow than anyone," Jowett told Coulter.

His agency is broke for over \$100,000 in bad advertising for 1930. Earle would not help with his money and whether his wife began to think he would and lose all he had is hard to say but she ran away with another fellow taking Earle's imported Italian car and unfortunately robbing Earle of every penny he possessed. Unfortunately Earle had all his securities in her name as a protection if such a thing happened to the advertising game as did, then they could not come on him, but she stripped him clean. Earle has been in a sanatorium under treatment. He is broke in heart as well as financially. . . . Everybody in the magazine and athletic and physical culture business have taken a terrible lacing.⁵⁰

Jowett was by no means immune to these untoward circumstances. By July the lack of sales "completely wiped me out," he told Coulter. He had had to relinquish his interest in his latest venture, the American Athletic Appliance Co. "My creditors took it away and operate it from New York. . . . I owe the advertising company over \$4,000.00 and the printer nearly \$2,000.00. The bank wiped all my investments out and I owe them \$5300.00 . . . I am broke worse than ever in my life."⁵¹

Jowett, now an advertising manager for a wholesale firm in Connecticut, was consoled only by the fact that his old Milo adversaries were doing no better. He had heard that *Strength* was "dead entirely. Few people use it. It has too many padded readers." Jowett explained to Coulter that Redmond stayed in business by buying address lists of defunct magazines.

I should say he buys out the old magazines so he has the subscriptions to fill in order to prove to the Advert. As so that he has so many subscribers and readers. He bought out a dead diet magazine and a matrimonial magazine and a confidence mag, so you can form your opinion what he is doing. He has not paid a foundry bill for over three years and owes over \$16,000, I have this from the foundry. He gets away with it because his father is a partner but the president is sick of it and asked me to take over that type of business and he would help me.⁵²

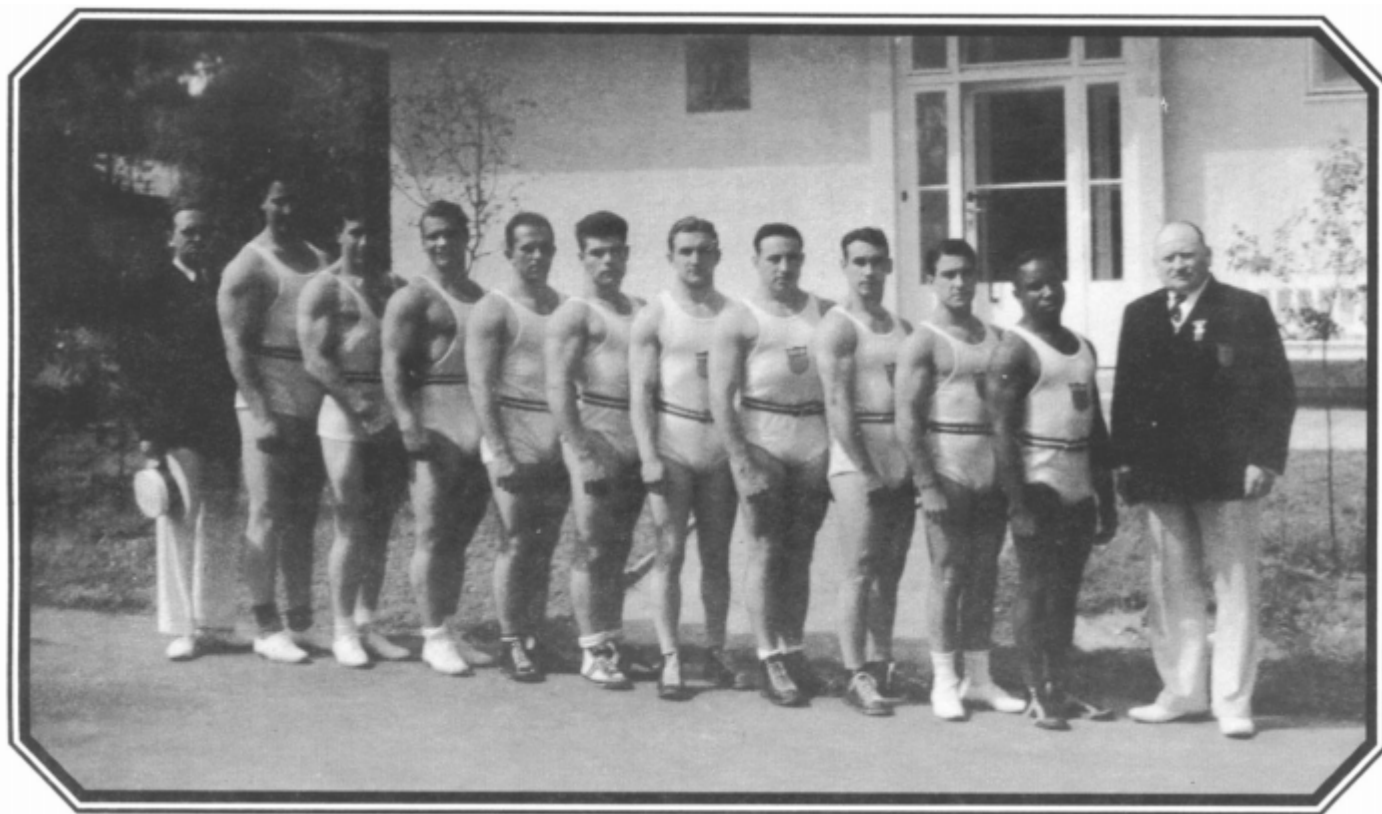
The standing of the ABBM, as a non-profit adjunct to *Strength*, appears to have been even more precarious. Though it boasted in 1931 Of having three times as many members as the earlier ACWLA, it suffered acute financial losses. *Strength* had absorbed this burden in the interest of sport, but henceforth it vowed that the ABBM would be administered on "a firm business basis, paying for every operation incidental to its maintenance." Accordingly membership fees were increased drastically to \$1.00.⁵³ Unfortunately the response to this appeal for more member support was "disgustingly apathetic." It was, of course, the heart of the Depression and many of the estimated half million barbell users in the country were unemployed Nevertheless *Strength* scolded its readers, insisting that "greater cooperation on your part is essential—absolutely essential." Despite its advertisements and gimmicks, ABBM membership was only 2,000, and the same individuals were always having to organize and promote weightlifting events.

Now contrary to what a lot of you may think, no one is either getting rich or making a penny out of the A.B.B.M. Instead, the lifting organization has always been a money losing proposition, and if we may be permitted the freedom of saying so, weight lifters are quite apathetic when it comes to properly supporting the very things in which they should be vitally interested.

*Oh, yes, we are fully aware of the existing belief that the A.B.B.M. is hooked up with the sale of bar bells. Well, let us assure you it isn't, and certain parties who should know are convinced that the game of weight-lifting is essential neither to *Strength* Magazine or the promotion of bar bells . . . We wonder if you fully realize what would become of the lifting game if those who are behind the A.B.B.M. should become disgusted and decide lifting was too unprofitable. We venture the guess that within several months American lifting would be dead as the proverbial door-nail.⁵⁴*

Obviously Milo Barbell viewed *Strength* and the ABBM as financial liabilities, regardless of their potential advertising value. Money was tight everywhere it seemed—except in York!

Despite such a dismal outlook, Berry drew inspiration from the preparations that were underway for the forthcoming Olympics in Los Angeles. More attention nationwide was being focused on performing the Olympic lifts and Berry, once an exponent of the 60 lift British tradition, now believed that "everyone should concentrate upon these lifts for district, sectional, and local championships." American lifters were "all the time trying too many different stunts. . . . The truth on this question is that if you want to be a good javelin thrower, you practice with a javelin."⁵⁵ Also featured in *Strength* was a full explanation of the program and Olympic regulations and pictures of the well-appointed Olympic village. This first Olympiad on American soil since 1904 was definitely helping to standardize, internationalize, and popularize weightlifting in the United States, and there would be no excuse for not engaging the formidable Europeans and Egyptians. Raising \$6,000 to send a team to Los Angeles



FLANKED BY MARK BERRY (LEFT) AND DIETRICH WORTMANN (RIGHT), THE MEMBERS OF THE 1936 OLYMPIC TEAM POSE IN THE OLYMPIC VILLAGE AT BERLIN.

—TODD-MCLEAN COLLECTION

might have seemed an impossible goal, especially given the meager finances of the ABBM. But Berry seemed undaunted. “Come cdl—let’s see what sort of sports you fellows are,” was his appeal.⁵⁶

Meanwhile Hoffman’s standing was enhanced by his inclusion among the American weightlifting officials for the Olympics. With Wortmann as manager, Berry as coach, and Emmett Faris of Cincinnati as trainer, Hoffman was named assistant trainer. Perhaps even more indicative of his status was York’s selection as the venue in 1932 for both the Middle Atlantic championships and the AAU national championships. The latter was especially significant inasmuch as it was originally scheduled for Philadelphia. The most important test of Hoffman’s growing strength, however, was his encounter with the redoubtable German-American team in December 1931 at the York club house. The New Yorkers, spirited by Tony Terlazzo’s 600 pound total as a featherweight, easily outclassed Hoffman’s team and a visiting Hagerstown squad by 3,890 to 3,725 to 3,375 pounds. At their next meeting in February in New York, the German-Americans bested the YOBAC by 4,114 to 4,031 pounds. *Strength* reported that “the most remarkable score of the day was, beyond any question, that of Tony Terlazzo; just note that his total was but 5 1/2 pounds behind the score of the Egyptian world’s champion, and but 16 pounds under the best ever scored by a featherweight in official competition.”⁵⁷ Losing at anything was intolerable to Hoffman, and it was becoming obvious that drastic measures would be necessary to establish his paramourcy in weightlifting. He was already paying to transport his lifters to distant meets and offering

special medals and trophies for their performance, but what he most needed was a sure-fire method of recruiting better lifters. Hoffman was by no means above the most flagrant violation of the amateur code, including outright payments to athletes, but he found a far more effective and *legal* method of attracting lifting talent to York—a job in the oil burner business. It would be difficult to imagine a more effective lure for America’s best lifters in this bleak decade than the prospect of secure employment and access to the finest training facilities anywhere. “At first we didn’t mind getting beat,” Hoffman told team member Walter Good in early 1932, “but now we want to have a first team that can beat the best team that can be gotten together.”⁵⁸ He would use the remarkable economic power he had accumulated at York to appropriate the cream of weightlifting talent in the eastern United States.

Hoffman’s clever compromise of the amateur spirit was made even more egregious by his practice of making barbells from the same facilities used in the manufacture of home heaters. Although he produced his first barbell (from a German design) in 1929, he notes that 1932 marked the real beginning of the operation. “A sale of 22 bar bells during the week of [the] fourth of July, 1933, stood as the record in the sale of York Bar Bells for a time.”⁵⁹ His team became so integrated with the company that it trained not at the luxurious club house on Lightner’s Hill but on a ramshackle platform on the second floor of the Broad Street factory. Long before the Olympic ideal was tarnished by the nationalization of sport by countries eager to make a political statement, Hoffman was using his corporate resources to

make his personal mark in weightlifting.

Opposition, however, soon emerged from those interests that had most to lose from Hoffman's strategy. "Some strange matters have arisen in official lifting ranks," remarked Berry after Hoffman enlisted Dick Bachtell from Maryland and Wally Zagurski from Indiana to lift for him. At issue was an AAU rule requiring athletes from another district first to compete unattached for a year.

*These two transfers . . . took place late in March, so neither of the men is eligible to lift on the Y.O.B.A.C. team either in the Middle-Atlantic title events on April 30th or the Nationals on June 4th; nor may they compete for M.A. titles. That is . . . true on strict A.A.U. definition as applying to athletes in general. But, there is a queer angle in connection with lifting . . . The A.B.B.M. is a member of the Middle-Atlantic Association and not directly affiliated with the National Body. In which case it **might** be decided that every A.B.B.M. member, regardless of where his residence may be, belongs in the M.A. a district and has the right to compete in such district without transfer.*

Berry further noted that the "parties concerned. . . aren't very jovially inclined over the turn of events." Permitting Bachtell and Zagurski to cross district lines might set a precedent for other elite lifters, such as Tony Terlazzo, Art Levan, or Bill Good, to travel around the country to win titles. There was an ambiguity surrounding lifters who held multiple memberships in the AAU, the ABBM, and affiliated clubs.⁶⁰ Given its unprofitability and conflicting jurisdiction with the AAU, serious questions emerged over whether the ABBM should continue to exist. Underlying this whole process, however, was a subtle shift of power that was taking place in two stages. Berry's ABBM had already been eclipsed by Wortmann who effectively applied the AAU's international leverage to his advantage. Now the latter's authority was being undermined by the financial wizardry of Hoffman.

There is no question that Wortmann was using his influence in the AAU to harass Hoffman, but his team's loss in April 1932 in New York to the YOBAC, 5,725 to 5,835 pounds, was a devastating blow. Critical to Hoffman's victory was the appearance of his two "ringers," Bachtell and Zagurski. The latter, according to *Strength*, was "the sensation of the meet."⁶¹ Hoffman confided to Walter Goal that Wortmann and Berry "didn't do any protesting until after we won at New York, but they surely have tried to make it difficult since that time." Not only was there an attempt to exclude Bachtell and Zagurski, but Hoffman's opponents protested his use of the York Oil Burner A.C. name as commercialism, that too many major meets were being held in York, and that some YOBAC members had violated amateur guidelines. Hoffman took decisive steps to check his adversaries. "I have been appointed A.A.U. Commissioner in this territory and have been on very intimate terms with the A.A.U. Commissioner in Pittsburgh for the last twenty years," he told Good. "And thanks to Mr. Clarke in Philadelphia, the President of the A.A.U. there, being in favor of the work we are doing here, everything has

been satisfactorily arranged."⁶² Thus Hoffman wisely decided not to declare war on troublesome AAU regulations but to use its organization and status to advance his own cause.

In the 1932 national championships at York in June, Hoffman's team won its first of many nationals. Because of the personal power and prestige at stake in triumphing over Wortmann, it made a deep impression on Hoffman. For the rest of his life, winning the team title at the AAU nationals became his foremost aim as a means to showcase his influence in the sport. York compiled 22 points as against 15 for the German-Americans and five each for teams from Detroit, Portland, Pittsburgh, and Baltimore. *Strength* reported:

The biggest factor in deciding the team honors was the transfer of Anthony Terlazzo from German-American A.C. to unattached in the Middle Atlantic district. The young fellow was out of work and learning of the possibility of landing a job in York he went there. However, he was informed that holding the position depended upon his not representing the G.-A. Club, hence the transfer. The loss of Terlazzo, who was regarded as a certain winner, by the G.-A. Boys, resulted in a dampening of their spirit. Indeed, we are surprised they came so close to the York combination.

The York O.B. outfit should have a powerful team a little later on as Bachtell and Walter Zagurski are now residing there waiting for the A.A.U. time limit to expire so they may represent the team. Beyond any doubt other fellows would like to locate there as the environment is most ideal.

Although York lifters won three weight divisions (to none for the German-Americans), Hoffman protested that two more of his men were denied victories by the tie-breaking lightest man rule. Even when Berry pointed out that this rule complied with AAU rules and international practice, Hoffman further defied the powers-that-be (on his home turf) by suddenly deciding to lift during the course of the meet, despite having initially signified his intention not to compete and having never weighed in. Berry regretted Hoffman's arrogance. "Until most recently, American weight lifting was entirely free of bickering and questioning of official decisions." He noted that "the complaining emanates from but one source. Steps can, should and may be taken to end this unjust criticism of honest and impartial officiating."⁶³ Looming ahead lay the question of whether the intrusion of Hoffman's expansive ego was too great a price to pay for the financial revival of American weightlifting.

Bob, however, was still a relative newcomer and had little influence over the ruling councils of the sport. At the Olympics, bronze medal wins by Tony Terlazzo and light heavyweight Henry Duey of Detroit helped the United States team attain a third place finish in its first international outing. Team results were: France 36, Germany 22, United States 20, Czechoslovakia 15, Italy 14, Austria 9, Denmark 5, and Argentina 1. "So close was the team scoring," according to Berry, "that had Tony won and Suvigny been disqualified as

he should have on his presses and snatches, the U.S. would either have tied or beaten out France.”⁶⁴ Largely because he was excluded from a dominant role in this quite respectable showing, however, Hoffman characterized it as a loss and criticized American officials for mishandling the American team. Berry, in a lengthy report on the FIH Congress meeting in Los Angeles identified two autocratic forces that endangered the welfare of weightlifting. First, “the present manner of French domination of the sport must discontinue,” especially the influence of FIH President Jules Rosset. But his more immediate concern lay with the future of American lifting.

*So strongly have we tried to make it appear to be a sport embracing saints and angels that perhaps the thing has been overdrawn . . . It may be as well that the game has in the past in this country not assumed sufficiently large proportions to get mixed up in the things which bring troubles. We do know that conditions have recently changed in this country; that is, since the formation of a certain club the members of which have become too ambitious. This was remarked upon by a certain famous lifter who regularly journeys East to take part in the National title events. He stated not so long ago that the game was changing very much in this country and that whereas the spirit formerly was friendly to all hands the exact reverse was getting to be true, there being too much ill feeling and an over-desire to win over the other fellow in certain quarters. Up until the last National Championships we had not experienced trickery and underhand tactics in the attempt to win, but that last title event brought in any number of things which we never thought could have taken place in our beloved game.*⁶⁵

Hoffman reacted to these criticisms first by an unprecedented request that he be appointed to the national committee. When he was unanimously rebuffed by the ruling clique, he made what was arguably the most momentous decision in the history of the iron game—the creation of *Strength & Health* magazine.⁶⁶ Already in possession of the necessary financial resources and the finest lifting club in the country, what Hoffman now needed was a propaganda organ to consolidate his claim to weightlifting hegemony.

The ostensible reason for his demarche, however, was more altruistic. He was supposedly dismayed by America’s lackluster performance in the Olympics. The foreign competitors “looked upon the United States team as something of a joke,” Hoffman wrote. He resolved to make America the world’s foremost lifting power. An important step in this design, and to enhance his own standing, was to ally his fortunes with those of the other outcast figure in weightlifting. Forthwith George Jowett eagerly accepted Hoffman’s offer to become publisher of *Strength & Health*. “This promotion comes out of the great wrong Berry has done Hoffman” Jowett explained to Coulter. “Hoffman I have known many years and he controls the Oil Burner business in U.S.A. He needed me and it was

just what I wanted so we allied our interests and here we are.”⁶⁷ Though the magazine later served chiefly to promote Hoffman’s ideas and products, it initially reflected many of Jowett’s British derivations. The name itself was an obverse of *Health & Strength*, founded in London by Hopten Hadley in 1902. Jowett also revived the ACWLA, proclaiming that it had left an “indelible stamp” on weightlifting.

*The work accomplished by the A.C.W.L.A. has never been equalled . . . There is not a champion or star lifter today who did not get his start in the A.C.W.L.A., excepting those who were too young to enlist at that time. Numerous athletes and certain officials of today who lay claim to a degree of leadership, owe all they are, even their livelihood, to the A.C.W.L.A., which if this had never existed would have left them in total obscurity. None who attended can forget the great strength demonstrations and shows it fostered . . . Once more the A.C.W.L.A. is answering the crusading call.*⁶⁸

A final anglicism was the American Strength and Health League, a curious amalgam of the Boy Scouts and a pen pal club. Its object was “to promote right living, proper physical training,” and “the health of the youth of our nation.” It encouraged young people to be “temperate in all things” and to employ “the golden rule.” Certificates and badges were distributed, and medals were awarded for physical excellence. Jowett and Hoffman stressed “physical training for the masses” and the need to “keep our country physically equal to or superior to all other countries.”⁶⁹ Such fine phrases and elaborate organization could easily be dismissed as gimmicks employed by two clever promoters to bilk an unsuspecting public. Financial gain ego gratification, and a desire to improve their standing in the iron game were undoubtedly foremost, but there was also an element of high-mindedness in their appeal.

These initiatives threatened to upset the balance of power in the strength world. “We are having nice response from our efforts on the magn,[sic]” Jowett reported to Coulter in January 1933, “but the going is slow and times are still bad” With regard to the ACWLA, he was delighted that “all the old and new boys have come over en masse to us and the old association. They are tickled to death it is being revived.” Only Manger was holding back as “Berry’s last stand by.”⁷⁰ Despite public pronouncements that they were above the blatant commercialism of earlier promoters, controversy soon set in for Hoffman and Jowett. “We anticipated the fight of jealousy and envious competition, and the filthy breath of slander from those who see the finger of doom pointing at them from the sword of our teachings. We burnt all our bridges behind in our eagerness for the duel.”⁷¹ In subsequent months every effort was made to revive the ACWLA for its impending duel with the “parasital forces” of Wortmann and Berry. Its first meet in March 1933 appears to have been a success, but Jowett interpreted it as a personal triumph. “It was like old times,” he told Coulter. “Went over with a bang and when I came forward the crowd rose and cheered. Berry felt terrible. I made him get up to be introduced and no one clapped. That should have been enough

to show to him who is who in this game.” Jowett was so puffed up from being back in the limelight that he suffered from delusions of grandeur. Indeed he had just returned from a physical culture convention where he had been the “honor guest” of fitness mogul Bernarr Macfadden. “Them was a big attendance and many eminent people. My lectures went over big so much so they asked me to be one of the speakers in response to the toast at the banquet with Wainwright Evans the novelist. B.M. congratulated me and asked me to stick to the game. He is much impressed with what I have gone through and done. They generally concede today I am the biggest shot in the business.” However true it might be that Jowett was making an important contribution to York’s success, he began to view himself as indispensable. He took full credit for the early issues of the magazine. “I do all the planning, lay out, spacing, selection of MSS, Editorial proof ready & selection of type etc.” He also appeared to be on the verge of striking it rich by being able to market his own brand of Saxon Barbells along with two brands of York Barbells in *Strength & Health*.⁷² What he failed to realize, however, was that Hoffman no more than Redmond, would not tolerate anyone who attempted to usurp his authority. Jowett’s failure to mount an ACWLA national championship in the summer was a premonition that his boasts were possibly premature.

The certainty of success for Hoffman however, was beyond question. At the Middle-Atlantic Championships in April at Bridgeport, Pennsylvania, his club monopolized the competition. Only four of the 35 lifters were non-York, yet as Berry pointed out, virtually none were actually from York. It appeared that Hoffman was “anxious to see that no one else won any places. It is this sort of thing that breaks up competition and one can hardly imagine any club in the country meeting this outfit with hopes of winning much less to look for competition in the M.-A. District.” Likewise at the Junior Nationals in May the York gang far outdistanced all the rest, garnering 22 points to only 6 for the German-Americans and 3 or 2 each for the remaining eight clubs.⁷³ Competition at a meet held at Cobb’s Creek Park in Philadelphia on July 4th was a little less onesided, but Hoffman used the occasion to attack Wortmann’s leadership in the AAU. With 35,000 people attending, he thought it important that those “in charge of amateur athletics should first of all look the part.” Wortmann had gained a lot of weight since his wrestling days and was no longer fit. But Hoffman was most critical of his authoritarian manner, referring to “Kaiser Wortmann” who ruled with an “Iron hand” over America’s lifters as if they were “Christian slaves” or conscripts in the German Army. “This man Wortmann is riding for a fall. It is only a question of time until the A.A.U. will find that the man they made the mistake to place at the head of the A.A.U. is the wrong man for the job, that he is doing the sport more harm than good.”⁷⁴ Berry retaliated in two ways. First, he instigated a special meeting of the national weightlifting committee, including Wortmann, Arthur Gay, Emmett Faris, John Britt, Helmut Frank, and himself, which declared the ACWLA an “outlaw” organization. He reported that

plenty of discussion preceded this motion and it can be said that all were not only familiar with all the events leading up to the resolution but in full accord with the spirit of the move. Anyone

who has had experience in the game knows full well that lifting has prospered under A.A.U. affiliation and control; how differently from the days when the A.C.W.L.A. had something to do with it? Weights were seldom weighed and likewise with the lifters. Records were claimed for all and sundry with no basis for the same. Lately we have a repetition of the same thing . . . The quarrel that Mr. Berry has had with the crowd in question all along has been in reference to laxity of rule enforcement. Certain parties are too ambitious to achieve their ends at the expense of all other lifters and so they take any means of getting into official recognition: when they are not allowed to tramp unbridled, an attempt is made to gain control of the amateur game through influencing the boys to believe that those who are behind the game have axes to grind and have been playing unfair to the lifters. Never has the game been more fair and on the up-and-up in this country since Mr. Wortmann assumed the chairmanship of the National Committee and urged lifters everywhere to support him. Those who have been most active on the National Committee have been jealous of the conduct of the game and have done everything possible to keep the game clean and above those who would commercialize it to their own ends.

This attempt to ban the ACWLA was followed by a stalwart defense of Wortmann in the next issue of *Strength*, rebutting point-by-point the charges made against him in *Strength & Health*.⁷⁵ Every effort was being made by Wortmann and Berry to elude the embrace of Hoffman’s ego and money. At stake was whether amateurs—not without pride and ambition—would continue to exercise control; or whether weightlifting would succumb to the forces of professionalism and commercialization.

The ease with which Berry thought he could rid weightlifting of Hoffman’s pernicious influence is evident in a *Strength* caricature of “Personalities” who attended the 1933 senior nationals at the Chicago World’s Fair. Nowhere is Hoffman’s face or name identified among the 72 figures displayed. But it was impossible to ignore him and his club which amassed more points than all the other teams combined. Furthermore Hoffman pointed out that his outlawed association “was very much in evidence,” to the extent that it “won every one of the senior titles.” Indeed “the A.A.U. and A.C.W.L.A. worked closer together at this championship than ever before.”⁷⁶ Eventually the two warring factions reached an accord in late 1933 at the annual meeting of the AAU national committee in Pittsburgh. “We felt that two bodies could not operate one sport without considerable friction and did not wish to break up American weight lifting,” wrote Jowett. Though the ACWLA had a longer association with lifting, he conceded that the AAU should have power to sanction all meets and conduct all championships. The ACWLA would “be a fraternal organization like the American Legion” to promote the sport. In a face-saving gesture, Hoffman accepted this inferior

status only if Wortmann agreed to recommend ACWLA leaders to AAU committees.⁷⁷ The ACWLA, no more than Berry's ABBM, was not capable of resisting the power which the AAU exercised over national and international sport.

For the next three years an uneasy tolerance prevailed between the *Strength* and York factions. During this period three events occurred that would resolve these questions over authority and forever transform the course of American lifting. First, there was a parting of the ways between Hoffman and Jowett after little more than a year of collaboration. In the February 1934 issue of *Strength & Health*, Jowett's name no longer appears on the masthead, and in the October issue it is announced that he was stepping down as president of the ACWLA, supposedly owing to the "pressure" of his "many business interests."⁷⁸ The exact circumstances surrounding his departure are unclear, but Jowett told Coulter that

I quit Hoffman because the man is crazy. He started because he was sore at Milo. I did a lot for him. Let him use my contracts and contacts but he abused them. He has the mag on the jew-stands [sic] where I put it, but it does no business. Of course he does not have to rely on it for a living. It is a hobby with him . . . Hoffman has got a big head. He thinks he is the Czar. I told him he was a punk. . . He copies and cheats and steals other peoples ideas which one of these days will land him in serious trouble.⁷⁹

Soon the ACWLA and the Strength and Health League disappeared and Hoffman concentrated all his efforts toward bolstering his influence in the AAU. He had learned much from Jowett, including the art of exaggeration in which he far surpassed his mentor. "He always assumes more than what actually is," Jowett later wrote of Hoffman, "and can distort a meaning of a fact so great one wonders at times whether he is all there in the head."⁸⁰ One organization simply could not tolerate two such egocentric personalities. Jowett was again relegated to oblivion and a lasting bitterness toward anyone who attained patriarchal status in the iron game. In the following decade his talents would be exploited by the Weider brothers to establish themselves as Hoffman's chief nemesis, but never again would the man who did most to establish regulated weightlifting in the United States be a major force.

The second major development that altered the course of weightlifting history was the bankruptcy of Milo Barbell Company and the termination of *Strength* in 1935.⁸¹ Hoffman acquired their assets and copyright entitlements for \$4,000, though Milo had left \$2,000,000 in liabilities, including 900 unfilled orders. To drive out any remaining competition, according to Jowett, Hoffman was offering to fill the order of anyone who bought a barbell from Milo and did not receive it for half its original cost. "He sells a 200 lbs set this way for \$6.00. Materials cost him \$8.35 without office overhead and advertising."⁸² Jowett seemed perplexed by Hoffman's ability to survive against all financial odds. Not only did he supposedly owe York Oil Burner \$16,000, but

the Oil Burner business is greatly in debt. I know

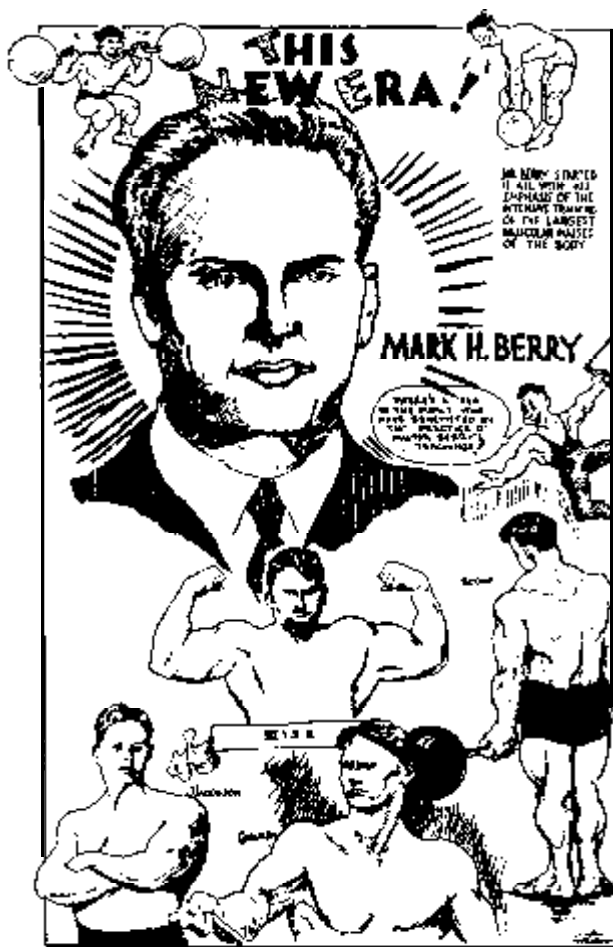
he has to pay his p.c. business bills out of Oil Burner funds. He uses their checks. On some he uses S & H Co checks but few. Which all proves he is not making money, but he does things no intelligent man would do. He hates everyone, and is insanely jealous of me. Every kid who pats his back makes his chest swell a mile. He is consumed with ego.⁸³

Now at last Hoffman was virtually the only barbell manufacturer in the country, and with Bob Jutes, a skilled handbalancer from Arkansas, at the helm of the client Milo operation in Philadelphia he could lay claim to a tradition going back to 1902. For all practical purposes, the transition from Philadelphia to York was complete.

Yet Mark Berry refused to recognize Hoffman's supremacy. Indeed a flattering caricature of Berry in one of the final issues of *Strength* pronounced him to be a true father of the iron game for inaugurating "This New Era!"⁸⁴ The irony of this caption can be appreciated only in retrospect, especially in view of his dwindling financial resources. Jim Messer, who drove Berry to meets, recalls that when *Strength* folded Hoffman tried to get Berry to work for him.⁸⁵ But the latter remained aloof, preferring instead to start his own magazine, *Physical Training Notes*, and his own brand of Berry Barbells from his home at Llanerck, just outside Philadelphia, probably with Redmond's assistance.⁸⁶ Unlike others, the stubborn Berry could not be bought or coopted.

Predictably therefore, tensions between the two leaders mounted, especially with the 1936 Olympics on the horizon. Hoffman eyeing berths for members of his team and himself as American coach, developed grandiose notions of his organization as a world weightlifting power. Having won the senior nationals for a fourth time in 1935, Bob represented his lifters as the world's strongest club, comparable to the talent of entire nations. Germany supposedly had the strongest team in the world, but the combined totals of its five best lifters exceeded that of York's best five by only 84 pounds.⁸⁷ Further to ensure a prominent role for himself at Berlin, Hoffman tactfully promoted Wortmann as a "hard worker for amateur athletics." He could afford to be generous since the German-American club was no longer a weightlifting power. It was trounced at the 1935 nationals by York, 31 to 7. At the junior national championships in Cleveland in April 1936, Hoffman recognized that "no man has done more for weight lifting" than Wortmann. But his flattery was to no avail inasmuch as Wortmann secured Berry's appointment as Olympic coach—an immense blow to Hoffman. He at least made a show of "good sportsmanship," it being noted in *Strength & Health* that Bob "gave no sign of disappointment."⁸⁸ Notwithstanding selection of the wrong person as coach, Hoffman in succeeding months attempted to appropriate America's lifters as his own. Even though they were trained by others, he claimed that they had used York equipment and methods. Hoffman envisioned that the York-trained team would be "a happy family and a hard working one, who will be training, thinking, breathing weight lifting in an endeavor to win the team title for America in Berlin."⁸⁹

Unfortunately the largely York-based team did not perform as well as expected at Hitler's games. Tony Terlazzo, as a featherweight, became America's first Olympic gold medalist in weightlift-



"MR. BERRY STARTED IT ALL WITH HIS EMPHASIS OF THE INTENSIVE TRAINING OF THE LARGEST MUSCULAR MASSES OF THE BODY." READS THE CAPTION ON THIS ILLUSTRATION FROM THE APRIL 1934 *STRENGTH*.

ing, but no one else placed higher than fifth, and the United States team again placed third behind Germany and Egypt. Chagrined, as he had been four years earlier at being excluded from a team that he had largely raised, and unwilling to remain on the sidelines while others received the credit, Hoffman resorted to desperate measures. While waiting to return on ship at Le Havre, France, Hoffman took advantage of his size to carry out an unprovoked attack on Berry. Team member John Terpak, who witnessed the incident from a half block away, recalls that Bob descended upon Berry along some store fronts in the French port and beat up his diminutive rival for about 20 or 30 seconds.⁹⁰ Jowett rightly refers to it as a "cowardly assault" prompted by "pure hate and jealousy on B.H.'s part," but the immediate cause was an embarrassing exposure of Hoffman's business practices published in Berry's magazine during their trip.⁹¹ Hoffman explained:

It would be interesting to know what happened in La Havre, France. The Olympic boat was in port there for a day and most of the team went ashore. When Berry came back aboard he was the worst messed up specimen of humanity we have seen. Blood and mud everywhere. The story went the

rounds that he was kicked by a mule, hit by a truck, thrown out somewhere, etc . . . No doubt retribution caught up with him, for his story appeared in the team's absence. Mails brought it to Berlin. There are men who owe him much and perhaps one of these men caught up with him and paid his debt in part.

We couldn't imagine what it was. No other member of the team had any marks on his face to match Berry's closed eye, split and badly swollen lip, his greatly enlarged and flattened nose and enough bruises in general to have been the result of going through a concrete mixer. Bob Hoffman had the skin torn on both hands and swollen knuckles but he had slipped on wet pavement on the way back to the ship, so we were informed . . . People that throw stones should be prepared to meet the consequences when it comes. Berry spent the next seven days in the confines of his own room, most of it in bed. Perhaps he did a little thinking and may have learned a lesson. If he hasn't, the same mule might catch him again.⁹²

What actually happened was that when Hoffman bought out the Milo assets, he assumed that they included rights to Berry's book *Your Physique and Its Culture*. He thus procured, advertised, and sold hundreds of copies without giving its author a cent. Berry, however, took legal action and in May 1936 received a favorable decree on all five points of his suit. Hoffman appealed, but Berry won again hence the notice that appeared in his magazine. What must have galled Hoffman was Berry's headline—"I Win the Law-Suit with Bob Hoffman."⁹³ Bob hated losing, and this must have been the final straw in his attempt to cope with Berry who had been an irritant for years. Failing in any other way to relegate Berry to a subordinate role in the iron game, Hoffman resorted to a final physical solution. Though Hoffman was forced by the state of Pennsylvania to pay him \$544 from the sales of his book, Berry never recovered his former stature and transferred his interests to swimming.⁹⁴

Thus by 1936 Hoffman had emerged victorious over all his rivals from the previous decade and was billing himself as the **WORLDS LEADING PHYSICAL DIRECTOR**. "The irony of it," remarked Coulter to Jowett. "A few years ago he was an unknown and had done nothing in the pioneering of the business . . . I really believe that you would have been better off, if you had united with Berry or Redmond instead of Hoffman. Apparently there is no way of stopping him from being the Big Mug of Muscledom."⁹⁵ *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!* Hoffman's success in moving mecca from Philadelphia to York may be attributed to several inter-related factors. First and foremost was the firm financial stake he established in the oil burner business in the 1920s which evolved into the York Barbell Company. Hoffman used these resources to assemble the best lifting team in the country and thereby build a social and political base in the weightlifting community. While his initial bid for power in the AAU and the international Olympic structure was stymied the creation of *Strength & Health* as a promotional organ

in 1932 broadened his appeal and made his claim to absolute control irresistible. His resort to fisticuffs at Le Havre destroyed the last vestige of resistance to his authority and enabled him to bring about a rebirth of American weightlifting. Subsequently Hoffman's consolidation of power became so complete that it was possible for him to alter wholesale perceptions of the past. By acts of historical legerdamain, Hoffman would not only demolish the claims of Jowett and Berry to immortal status in the iron game but deny earlier patriarchs—Windship, Curtis, Attila, Sandow, Macfadden, and Calvert—their rightful claims to the title of Father of American Weightlifting.

NOTES

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¹Harry Paschall, "Behind the Scenes," *Strength & Health* 24(August 1956): 26.

²See Robert L. Jones, "Wm. J. Herrmann, Health Builder," *Strength & Health* 15(April 1947): 16-17, & 31-33; and (May 1947): 28, & 30-33.

³It is ironic that heretofore Berry was subservient to Jowett. "In Mark," according to Sig Klein, "Jowett had possibly the greatest admirer any cult leader has ever had before or since. He hung on George's every word, and often told us, 'Jowett is the most intelligent man I have ever known.'" "Weightlifting Pioneer . . . Mark Berry," *Strength & Health* 25(July 1951): 43.

⁴See Bob Hoffman, "The Story of the World Famous 'York Barbell Club,'" *Strength & Health* 13(November 1945): 39 and most issues through November 1946.

⁵David P. Willoughby, "A History of American Weightlifting," *Your Physique* 12(November 1949): 38, and all issues from March 1949 through March 1950.

⁶David Webster, *The Iron Game, An Illustrated History of Weightlifting* (Irvine, Scotland, 1976), 116.

⁷Jowett to Coulter, 22 March 1927, and n.d. [Monday], Coulter Papers, Todd-McLean Collection, UT-Austin. Unless indicated, all correspondence is from the Todd-McLean Collection.

⁸Jowett to Coulter, 4 May 1927, and n.d. [1927].

⁹Coulter to Jowett, 27 July 1927.

¹⁰Jowett to Coulter, n.d. [December 1927].

¹¹John Bradford, "American Continental Weight Lifters' Association Notes," *Strength* 11(June 1927): 75 & 77, and Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 11(July 1927): 78-79.

¹²John Bradford, "American Continental Weight Lifters' Association Notes," *Strength* 11(March 1927): 49.

¹³Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 11(August 1927): 53-54, and Mike Drummond "Association Notes," *Strength* 11(September 1927): 48.

¹⁴Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 12(January 1928): 49-50, and Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 11(December 1927): 50.

¹⁵See David Willoughby, "A History of American Weightlifting," *Your Physique* 12(December 1949): 16, and Gottfried Schodl, *The Lost Past* (Budapest: 1992), 74-76.

¹⁶Coulter to Jowett, 16 February 1928.

¹⁷Jowett to Coulter, n.d. [March 1928].

¹⁸Coulter to Jowett, 8 & 21 June 1928.

¹⁹Coulter to Jowett, 27 June 1928.

²⁰Coulter to Jowett, 11 July 1928.

²¹Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 12(March 1928): 65.

²²*Strength* 12(April 1928): 71, and *Strength* 12(May 1928): 77.

²³*Strength* 12(October 1928): 73; *Strength* 12(November 1928): 57; and *Strength* 12(August 1928): 55.

²⁴Dietrich Wortmann, "History of modern American Weightlifting & Body Building," *1948 U.S. Olympic Team Weightlifting Trials, Official Program of the United States Olympic Committee*, 11.

²⁵Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 13(February 1929): 56.

²⁶Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 13(March 1929): 56 & 72.

²⁷"Membership in the A.B.B.M.," *Strength* 13(April 1929): 59; Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 13(May 1929): 56; and *Strength* 13(June 1929): 51 & 66.

²⁸*Strength* 13(July 1929): 55.

²⁹*Strength* 13(August, 1929): 67. Interestingly an announcement of the results of a Silver Cup Posing Contest, conducted by *Strength* in previous months by mail, accompanied reportage of the AAU meet. The winner was Walter Podolak of Syracuse, followed by Dick Bachtell of Hagerstown, Roy Hurcombe of Adelaide, South Australia, Arnie Sundberg of Portland, and Cheah Chin Poh of Penang, Straits Settlements. Its juxtaposition made this contest a precursor and rough equivalent to the Mr. America shows that would accompany Senior National AAU championships in subsequent decades.

³⁰Interview with Robert Knodle, 3 January 1988, Hagerstown, Maryland

³¹Jowett to Coulter, n.d. [April 1929].

³²Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Strength* 13(September 1929): 54 & 80. The FM still recognized the one arm lifts in the snatch and clean & jerk along with the three Olympic lifts.

³³*Strength* 13(November 1929): 53-54.

³⁴*Strength* 13(December 1929): 52-53.

³⁵*Strength* 14(March 1930): 54.

³⁶*Strength* 14(April 1930): 54; and *Strength* 14(June 1930): 56-58 & 74.

³⁷*Strength* 14(September 1930): 52-53.

³⁸*Strength* 15(March 1931): 50; and *Strength* 14(November 1930): 56.

³⁹Jowett to Coulter. 10 May 1930.

⁴⁰*Strength* 14(23 September 1930); See also "Correct Eating," *Correct Eating Combined with Strength*, 14(May 1930): 21; and Jowett to Coulter, 10 May 1930.

⁴¹Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Correct Eating & Strength* 15(April 1931): 48; and *Correct Eating & Strength* 15(July 1931): 50.

⁴²Hoffman's one hand snatch and one hand clean & jerk were the lowest of any competitor in the meet. *Ibid.*, 67.

- ⁴³ *Correct Eating & Strength* 15(October 1931): 19; and (November 1931): 20-21.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 15(December 1931): 34.
- ⁴⁵ Hoffman, "York Barbell Club," 36; and interview with Lavern Brenneman, 28 December 1994, York, Pennsylvania.
- ⁴⁶ Bob Hoffman, "Never Stop Exercising," *Strength & Health* 29 (November, 1961): 4; and the Philadelphia Record, 22 August 1932.
- ⁴⁷ Interview with John L. Hoffman, 1 January 1988, Parker, Pennsylvania.
- ⁴⁸ Bob Hoffman, "The Story of the York Barbell Club," *Strength & Health* 13(March 1946): 34-35; and "The World's Finest Bar Bell Club," *The Strong Man* 1(November 1931).
- ⁴⁹ Bob Hoffman, "The Advantage of Qualified Personal Instruction," *Strength & Health* 1(November 1933): 10; and Alan Carse, "The York Barbell Company," *Strength & Health* 8(September 1941), 27.
- ⁵⁰ Jowett to Coulter, 17 April 1931.
- ⁵¹ Jowett to Coulter, 2 July 1931.
- ⁵² Jowett to Coulter, 16 July 1931.
- ⁵³ Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Correct Eating & Strength* 14(August 1931): 67-68 & 10.
- ⁵⁴ *Correct Eating & Strength* 15(June 1932): 27-28.
- ⁵⁵ *Correct Eating & Strength* 14(December 1931): 32.
- ⁵⁶ *Correct Eating & Strength* 15(February 1932): 32.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 33-34, and *Correct Eating & Strength*, (April 1932): 52-53.
- ⁵⁸ Hoffman to Good, n.d. [1932] Good Papers, West Reading, Pennsylvania.
- ⁵⁹ Alan Carse, "The York Barbell Company," *Strength & Health* 8(September 1941): 27.
- ⁶⁰ Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *The Arena—Strength* 15(June 1932): 26-27.
- ⁶¹ Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *The Arena—Strength* (August 1932), 27.
- ⁶² Hoffman to Good, 23 April 1932, Good Papers.
- ⁶³ Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *The Arena—Strength* 15(September 1932): 28-29 & 47.
- ⁶⁴ Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *The Arena—Strength* (October 1932): 28. Only sixteen pounds separated the top three totals in the featherweight class: Raymond Suvigny (France)-632, Hans Wolpert (Germany)-621, and Anthony Terlazzo (USA)-616.
- ⁶⁵ Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *The Arena—Strength* (November 1932): 29.
- ⁶⁶ Berry noted that "we have never heretofore heard of any such application: when the services of some individual are felt to be for the good of the game he is requested to serve or appointed by the committee of the district in which he resides; but to approach the National Committee in such fashion is almost, if indeed not altogether, unprecedented." Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *The Arena—Strength* 16(February 1933): 26.
- ⁶⁷ Jowett to Coulter, 14 December 1932.
- ⁶⁸ Wally Zagurski, "A.C.W.L.A. Shows and Events," *Strength & Health* 1(February, 1933). 10.
- ⁶⁹ "American Strength and Health League," *Strength & Health* 1(Januarv 1933): 20; and "American Strength and Health League," *Strength & Health* 1(February 1933): 20-21; and "Editorial," *Strength & Health* 1(December 1932): 1.
- ⁷⁰ Jowett to Coulter, 13 & 30 January 1933.
- ⁷¹ Bob Hoffman, "Editorial -- What Can We Believe?" *Strength & Health* 1(March 1933): 2.
- ⁷² Jowett to Coulter, 7 July 1933, and n.d. [mid-1933].
- ⁷³ Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *The Arena—Strength* 17(July 1933): 32-34.
- ⁷⁴ Bob Hoffman, "A.C.W.L.A. Shows and Events," *Strength & Health* 1(August 1933): 17, 27-28.
- ⁷⁵ Mike Drummond. "Association Notes," *Arena—Strength* 17(October, 1933): 51-52, and Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Arena—Strength* 17(November 1933), 36-37.
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.* and Bob Hoffman, "A.C.W.L.A. Shows and Events," *Strength & Health* 1(October 1933): 12-14.
- ⁷⁷ George F. Jowett, "A.C.W.L.A. Shows and Events," *Strength & Health* 2(January 1934): 19; and Mike Drummond, "Association Notes," *Arena—Strength* 18(January 1934): 35.
- ⁷⁸ Bob Hoffman, "Weightlifting News," *Strength & Health* 2(October 1934): 23-24.
- ⁷⁹ Jowett to Coulter, 20 March 1935.
- ⁸⁰ Jowett to Coulter, 21 November 1935.
- ⁸¹ For a requiem on *Strength* see Sig Klein, "Strength Magazine As I Knew It," *Strength & Health* 3 (July 1935): 65-69. On Milo see Hoffman, "Sincerity Necessary for Success," *Strength & Health* 3 (August 1935): 62-63 & 84-85.
- ⁸² Jowett to Coulter, 5 October 1935.
- ⁸³ Jowett to Coulter, 16 October 1935.
- ⁸⁴ Jim Wright, "This New Era," *The Arena—Strength* 18(April 1934): 33.
- ⁸⁵ Interview with Jim Messer, 9 July 1990, Norristown, Pennsylvania.
- ⁸⁶ Jowett to Coulter. 8 April 1936.
- ⁸⁷ Harry Good, "The World's Strongest Weight Lifting Team," *Strength & Health* 4(February 1936): 16-17.
- ⁸⁸ "Reports of Lifting Shows and Events," *Strength & Health* 4(April 1936): 29-30; and "Reports of Lifting Shows and Events," *Strength & Health* 4(June 1936): 30.
- ⁸⁹ Alan Carse, "America's Chances in the Olympics," *Strength & Health* 4(June 1936): 44.
- ⁹⁰ Interviews with John Terpak, 3 July 1990; and John Grimek, 11 July 1990, York Pennsylvania.
- ⁹¹ Jowett to Coulter, 5 October 1936.
- ⁹² "Something Happened in La Havre, France," *Strength & Health* 4(October 1936) 5. Jowett also notes that Hoffman kicked Berry when he was down, and smashed all his false teeth. Jowett to Coulter, 5 October 1936.
- ⁹³ *Physical Training Notes* 2(August 1936): 2 & 20-21.
- ⁹⁴ Mark H. Berry vs. Robert C. Hoffman, 11 May 1938, Court of Common Pleas, No. 1, of Philadelphia County, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Hoffman Papers. For a defense of the York position see Robert L. Jones to Coulter, 26 July 1939.
- ⁹⁵ Coulter to Jowett 19 October 1937.

