



IRON GAME HISTORY



THE JOURNAL OF PHYSICAL CULTURE

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Attila Enters the Cyber World

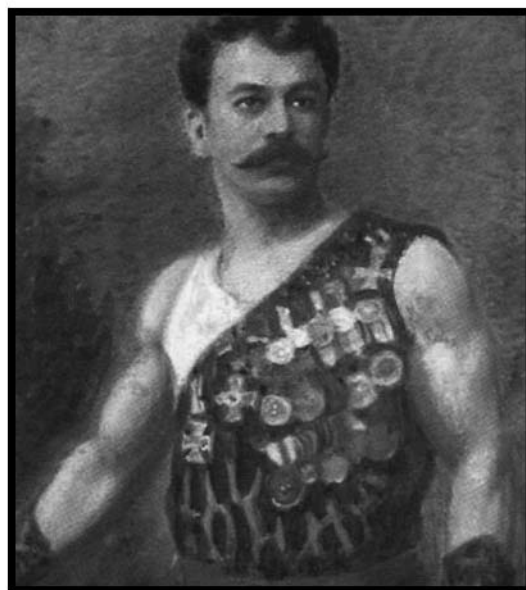
In the future, the sort of information we now get from books and libraries will be gotten primarily from computers—most of which will be in our private homes. This is a profound change, and one we are trying to grapple with here at the University of Texas. One of the primary advantages of this "website" technology is that it allows people to have access to rare materials that they would otherwise have to travel hundreds or even thousands of miles to see and use. In our efforts to use this technology to make some of the holdings in our collection more widely available, we recently submitted a grant proposal to the Utopia Project, a new initiative on campus that aims to share some of the treasures of the university with the public.

The Utopia Project envisions a series of websites that will be linked through the Utopia "portal," thus making them accessible to people around the nation and world. The grant proposal we submitted was called "Strongmen and Strongwomen: An Illustrated History of the World's Greatest Strength Athletes," and we just got word that the proposal has been funded with a grant of approximately \$25,000. We wanted to share the good news with

the readers of *Iron Game History* because next winter, when we have finished building the website, those of you who have computers or friends with computers will be able to visit the Utopia Website. There, you'll be able

to see the photos and read the biographical information about the 30 men and 15 women we will have chosen to represent the world of physical strength.

The website "Strongmen and Strongwomen" is designed to showcase some of the materials in our collection, and it will allow us to share some of our many photographs. We are in the process of choosing the 45 strength athletes for the website, and we invite your suggestions. We will, of course, include icons such as Louis Cyr, Apollon, Vasily Alexeyev, John Davis, Tommy Kono, Lamar Gant, Bill Kazmaier, Nairn



Suleymanoglu, Dennis Rogers, Zydrunas Savickas, Katie Sandwina, Minerva, Ivy Russell, Beverly Francis, and Jill Mills but we are still in the process of making our final decisions.

The grant will allow us to support several of our graduate students so they can help us assemble photographs and biographical information for the final writ-

ing, which will be done by either Jan or me. One of the things we're most pleased about is that the grant will provide the several thousand dollars it will cost to fully "digitize" Professor Attila's personal scrapbook, which is one of the most significant artifacts in the history of physical culture. Louis Durlacher (Professor Attila) was famous throughout Europe for his performances as a strongman, for his work as a "personal trainer" at Queen Victoria's court in England, for his mentoring of the strongman Eugen Sandow, and for the gym he opened in the 1890s in New York City where he introduced the idea of using resistance exercise to improve athletic performance. Attila's scrapbook will be scanned and "digitized" by the same machine that was used to digitize UT's Gutenberg Bible. Digitization involves scanning images from each page of the scrapbook, and then storing and sorting those images so that, for example, a person in London will be able to go to the Utopia Website and then read every page of the Professor's scrapbook. Think of what access to this and other digitized rarities will mean for fans and researchers in the iron game. Our goal when we established the Physical Culture Collection here at U.T. over 20 years ago was to share the Collection as widely as possible with those who loved the game as we do. Over time, we hope to digitize the most significant holdings in our collection, and to make them available to the world. The Utopia Project is the first step.

—Terry Todd

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"Chaos Can Have Gentle Beginnings"

The Early History of the Quest for Drug Testing in American Powerlifting: 1964-1984

Jan Todd

The University of Texas at Austin

*"Chaos can have gentle beginnings . . . it is easy to forget that it may have begun with the best of intentions."*¹

—John Underwood

Begun as a Xeroxed newsletter in June 1977, *Powerlifting USA* has grown through the years to become a colorful monthly with approximately 15,500 subscribers.² Like most single-sport journals, it covers the major contests each year, publishes biographical pieces and training articles, and, as a free service to meet promoters, it includes a list of upcoming contests that American lifters might like to enter. The September 2003 "Coming Events" column, for example, contained notices for 259 such contests.³ However, unlike the sport of track and field, or swimming, or even powerlifting's sister sport—weightlifting—those meets are not sanctioned by one national governing body that's directly linked to a single international federation. Rather, the contests represent 27 different national, regional, or international powerlifting organizations.⁴ As far as I know, the extent of powerlifting's fragmentation is unique in the world of amateur sport, and it occurred primarily as a result of the struggle for and against meaningful drug testing.

Terry Todd, my husband, and I were deeply involved for a time in that struggle. We were involved because of our careers as lifters and journalists and because we both served in a number of administrative roles in the early days of the sport. This essay is, then, both autobiographical (with all its non-objective pitfalls) and an attempt to analyze the push for drug testing in powerlifting during the first two decades of the sport's existence. The battle for testing didn't end in 1984, but my level of involvement dramatically lessened after that time, and so this article concentrates on the period leading up to the mid-1980s. However, a future issue of *IGH* will carry the story of powerlifting and drug testing from 1984 to the present.



Sports Illustrated author John Underwood

Sixteen National/Regional Federations

Number of Meets
in September 2003
Powerlifting USA

Am. Amateur Powerlifting Fed. (AAPF)	1
Amateur Athletic Union (AAU)	5
American Powerlifting Association (APA)	18
American Powerlifting Committee (APC)	1
American Powerlifting Federation (APF)	14
Anti-Drug Athletes United (ADAU)	9
Indiana State Powerlifting Federation (ISPA)	1
Natural Athlete Strength Assoc. (NASA)	15
Python Powerlifting League (PPL)	3
100% Raw Powerlifting Federation (RAW)	4
Son-Light Power Federation (SLP)	22
Southern Powerlifting Federation (SPF)	5
USAPowerlifting (USAPL)	35
United Amateur Powerlifting Committee (UAPC)	1
United States Bench Federation (USBF)	3
United States Powerlifting Federation (USPF)	6

Eleven International Federations

Number of Meets in
September 2003
Powerlifting USA

Amateur World Powerlifting Congress (AWPC)	1
International Powerlifting Association (IPA)	2
International Powerlifting Federation (IPF)	12
International Strength Association (ISA)	1
Int'l Natural Strength Athletes (INSA/INSAA)	2
World Assoc. of Benchers & Deadlifters (WABDL)	5
World Drug Free Powerlifting Federation (WDFPF)	1
World Natural Powerlifting Federation (WNPF)	22
World Powerlifting Alliance (WPA)	1
World Powerlifting Committee (WPC)	2
World Powerlifting Organization (WPO)	3

argued in his 1984 classic, *Spoiled Sport*, that sport was once something wonderful that's been "made grotesque" by commercialism, corruption, and the use of performance-enhancing drugs. The overriding problem, he claimed, is the "never ending quest for more."⁶ Although all sports that keep records implicitly urge athletes to break those records, Underwood might have had powerlifting in mind, for powerlifting has always been about the quest for "more." More weight, more records, more poundage-boosting gear, and over the past forty years or so, more drugs, and many more federations.

Unlike those sports that can look back to a golden age before anabolic steroids were invented, powerlifting was a littermate of the drug culture and permissive atmosphere of the Sixties. The men who turned to powerlifting in that decade lived in homes with, on average, more than 30 different medicines, vitamins, and assorted nostrums in their medicine chests, making the idea of using drugs to enhance performance almost acceptable.⁷ Furthermore, many of these men believed, as most athletes of their generation did, that science was the handmaiden of sport and that new technologies—particularly new pharmacologic inventions—would make their athletic quest easier. As powerlifting evolved, drug use became identified with being part of the inner circle of the sport—what one author referred to as a "hip badge of honor."⁸ To quote Ken Kesey, "You were either on the bus or off the bus," in powerlifting as well as on the streets and on college campuses.⁹ *Iron Man* magazine publisher Peary Rader was one of the few to decry the use of drugs in the late 1960s. Wrote Rader:

While at the Senior Nationals, I had a chance to discuss the use of drugs with a number of lifters. They all admitted to using them (some of these men are record holders). They did not think them to be dangerous if taken under a doctor's care and not used excessively. They did not feel they had suffered any bad side effects . . . they felt it was worth the chance. They reported they did not know any top lifter who was not taking pills, usually dianabol. It was their opinion that a man could not reach the top without taking them . . . We know a lot of coaches who encourage their athletes to take the drugs. Any-

thing to win. . . . All of you know our opinion of these drugs. We certainly cannot approve them in any way.¹⁰

As for the sport of powerlifting, it began as the step-child of weightlifting which, beginning in the 1940s, would occasionally include "odd-lift" contests and exhibitions to hype the gate at their AAU meets.¹¹ Sometimes these events consisted of squats, curls and deadlifts. At other times the "press on floor" or bench press was included. As the odd-lift events increased in frequency, they became known as "powerlifting" events and grew popular with the lifting audiences, who could see what was happening in the lifts more clearly than was possible with the faster and more complicated "Olympic" lifts.¹² Competitors were also drawn to the new sport because the lifts required less flexibility, less technique training, and less specialized equipment than the intricate weightlifting movements. Weightlifting required rubber bumper plates, platforms, and special spring steel bars, items not found in most commercial gyms. Powerlifting, on the other hand, required only squat racks, benches and a simple barbell—standard equipment in most commercial gyms of the Sixties. Many powerlifters were also drawn to the emerging sport because of the bodies it produced. While weightlifting gave one an athletic, muscular physique, the press, snatch, and clean and jerk performed in weightlifting contests in the Fifties and early Sixties did not produce the thick-chested, big-armed, comic book-type physiques made popular by bodybuilding. This was especially true after 1972, when the International Weightlifting Federation (IWF) dropped the overhead press from competition and the large deltoids and thick triceps developed by the press gradually disappeared, leaving the weightlifters even less physically impressive when compared to powerlifters of the same size.¹³ Powerlifting's inclusion of the bench press, perhaps the most popular of all bodybuilding exercises, guaranteed the development of thick chests, large deltoids and big arms. What more could a young man want? Records. That's what. And the final motivation for many American men to shift to powerlifting was because the newness of the sport meant that records were being broken at nearly every meet.

By 1963, interest in powerlifting had grown enough to interest Bob Hoffman, the founder and owner of the York Barbell Company and the leading figure in

AAU weightlifting since the 1930s. Hoffman realized, according to his biographer, John Fair, that *Strength & Health's* sole focus on weightlifting—a sport in which America continued to decline in both numbers of participants and world ranking in the 1960s—was an economic and editorial blunder.¹⁴ So, Hoffman began *Muscular Development (MD)* in 1963, and hired powerlifter and Ph.D. candidate Terry Todd in 1964 to help edit both *Strength & Health* and MD, the latter of which aimed to cover bodybuilding and be the "powerlifter's organ." Fair argues that "Todd's most important impact at York was his instigation of powerlifting." According to *MuscleTown USA*, Todd "had made his mark as an



Bob Hoffman, shown here at 80 years of age in 1978, helped fund powerlifting in its infancy and started *Muscular Development* magazine to help give the new sport publicity.

Olympic lifter by winning the heavy-weight class in the 1963 junior nationals. Then he won the first national powerlift tournament staged at York in September of 1964. The next year Todd pulled out another victory."¹⁵ Todd, John Fair goes on to say, "helped define powerlifting's image" in its formative period, because of his unusual size (330 pounds with a 60" chest) and the large weights he lifted.¹⁶

Hoffman's commitment to powerlifting deepened over the next several years. He sponsored the first official AAU Senior National Championships in 1965 and hosted the subsequent national meets held in 1966, 1967, and 1968. During these years, powerlifting sanctions remained under the control of the AAU Weightlifting Committee. However, the fact that more powerlifting meet sanctions were being issued than weightlifting sanctions by the end of the Sixties created ambivalence among many weightlifting officials.¹⁷ At this time, the AAU operated as a clearinghouse for most amateur sports in the United States, and each sport under the AAU's national umbrella had its own organizing committee to sanction contests, keep records, and create rules.¹⁸ Powerlifting, however, had no direct AAU affiliation, but it still grew exponentially. As Peary Rader put it in his "Grunt and Groan" column in 1969, "POWER lifting is sweeping the country by storm. For a while we thought that Olympic lifting was holding its own. Now it would appear that while Olympic lifting has

about as many competitors as ever, it is not growing, but power lifting is moving like wildfire. All you have to do is announce a power lifting contest anywhere and any time and you soon have a lot of competitors."¹⁹

In 1968, the AAU Weightlifting Committee's control of powerlifting was threatened by Olympic hammer thrower, George Frenn—who'd begun competing in powerlifting—when he asked for an AAU sanction to host an international powerlifting meet with sponsorship from California magazine magnate Joe Weider. Weider, like Hoffman, had also begun publicizing the new sport and hired Frenn to serve as his powerlifting editor for *Muscle Builder* in 1969.²⁰ Hoffman and his weightlifting colleagues feared that Frenn, with support from Weider, might be trying to get permission from the AAU to start an independent powerlifting committee.²¹ Although the AAU turned down the request for the

new organization, Frenn's continued interest in seeing the sport become autonomous served to galvanize Hoffman and his primary assistant, John Terpak, to request permission to set up powerlifting as an official sub-committee of the AAU Weightlifting Committee so they could maintain control of the growing sport.²²

Frenn and Weider did, finally, hold a meet in Los Angeles—nine Americans faced eight British lifters—on 19 September 1970.²³ Although it was not declared such by any sanctioning body, the meet appears to have been the first international contest ever held in powerlifting.²⁴ Over the next several years, Bob Crist, the weightlifting official put in charge of powerlifting, worked to hold off Frenn, Weider, and any other potential challengers to AAU authority by building a more meaningful powerlifting organization. Crist drew up minimal by-laws, set up regional chairmen, began keeping national records, and lobbied Hoffman to host an international meet. In 1971 Hoffman agreed, sponsoring a joint Mr. World Bodybuilding Contest and the World Powerlifting Championships at York. Although this first "world" meet was made up largely of Americans, international involvement continued to grow and in 1973, with the blessing of the AAU old-guard, the Internation-

al Powerlifting Federation was formed. Bob Crist credits Hoffman for the rapid growth of the international scene: "it was he who bankrolled the IPF and really got powerlifting moving" in the 1970s."²⁵

If American powerlifting had a golden era, the Seventies was surely it. The sport grew steadily in numbers and Americans dominated powerlifting's politics as well as the world record lists. In 1973, when the IPF formed, Bob Crist was chosen President, Clay Patterson was named General Secretary, and Rudy Sablo was named Records Chairman.²⁶ All were Americans and all were well-entrenched members of the AAU fraternity. In 1975, the year the IPF published its first rule book, Americans held 30 of the 40 world records in men's powerlifting.²⁷ That same year, in Birmingham, England, America won eight of the ten weight classes at the first world championships held outside the United States.²⁸ By 1977, powerlifting even began to attract big-time TV contracts.²⁹ However, the "gremlins of modern sport" as Terry Todd later called anabolic steroids, were preparing to throw an ethical monkey wrench into this smoothly-running machine.

In the early 1970s, the Olympic movement wrestled with a variety of drug-related incidents that caused drug testing to become part of the mainstream discourse surrounding sport. There was, for instance, American weightlifter Ken Patera's 1971 public pronouncement that he hoped to find out at the Munich Olympics whose steroids were better—the Russian superheavyweight Alexeyev's or his own. Then, the following year, track and field team member Jay Sylvester's unofficial poll indicated that 68% of the US men's track and field athletes at Munich had used some form of anabolic agent to prepare for the Games. During that same era, however, the non-Olympic sport of powerlifting largely avoided any real discussion of the drug problem.³⁰ In fact, it was only when the IOC announced that the drug testing at the Montreal Olympic Games had caught eight athletes, that drug testing became a topic of conversation in powerlifting circles, as it did elsewhere in the world of sports.³¹

Anabolic steroid use had become increasingly



Bob Crist was the first chairman of AAU Powerlifting and was instrumental in shaping both the national and international federations.

Photo courtesy John Fair.

open in powerlifting by the mid-1970s and, since there were no rules banning the use of ergogenic aids in any of the hastily written powerlifting rule books, few users felt any moral or ethical conflict over their use. Some people, like *Iron Man* editor Peary Rader, had continued to express concerns about the use of drugs but, for the most, the men lifting during this era felt little concern for their mortality or morality because of their use of drugs. Terry Todd, for example, in the first book written about the sport, *Inside Powerlifting* (1977), openly discussed his own steroid use and suggested that many—if not most—of the nine elite lifters he profiled probably used ergogenic drugs.³² During that general period, Terry and I both observed

lifters with steroids in their gym bags at contests; saw men inject themselves with adrenaline, steroids, and other stimulants; and saw men openly taking drugs backstage at meets. In fact, the atmosphere was such that when Terry called meet promoter Jim Taylor in 1975 to ask if I could attempt to break a 48-year-old women's record at the upcoming Chattanooga Open, Taylor advised Terry to put me on Decadurabolin to make sure I'd succeed. Terry and I had a good laugh over the suggestion, but I decided to pass on the Deca and try to make my Guinness world record anyway. However, this casual suggestion from someone I'd never met, and Terry knew only casually, is indicative of the climate of the times. Anabolic steroids were deeply embedded in powerlifting by then, and as Rader had observed in 1969, most of the male champions used them.³³ Powerlifter Joe Nickle spoke for many male powerlifters in 1977 when he wrote an "Open Letter to All Officials of the IPF" for inclusion in *Powerlifting USA*. "Eventually," Nickle wrote, "the IPF will have to decide whether or not to test for steroids at national and international championships." However, rather than recommend testing for the sport, Nickle asked the IPF to take a stand against testing. If the IPF decides not to test, he wrote, "Criticism will come from all directions, of course. . . . However, the IPF should be responsive to the desire of the majority of the lifters." And those lifters, Nickle explained, didn't want testing. "If you ask around, you

will probably find that the majority of lifters agree that what really counts in powerlifting is the lifter's *strength*, not HOW he got strong."³⁴

Although a few women occasionally entered men's powerlifting contests after the passage of Title IX in 1972, and there was a small eight-woman "contest" held in California in 1975, it wasn't until 1976, at the Men's World Powerlifting Championships, that Cindy Wyatt Reinhoudt (wife of men's superheavyweight champion Don Reinhoudt), met promoter Joe Zarella, and I first discussed the possibility of an AAU-sanctioned national championships for women.³⁵ After we talked, Zarella agreed to request AAU permission to hold the "All-American Women's Open." Permission was given, and the following May, 25 women participated at this historic meet in Nashua, New Hampshire.³⁶ After the contest, Cindy and Joe Zarella held an open meeting to discuss the future of women's powerlifting. The consensus of those there was that, for the time being, women's powerlifting should stay within the

political structure of the AAU Powerlifting Committee as there were not enough women lifters or women officials for us to be independent.³⁷ Zarella put in a bid to host an official national championships for women the next year, and this time 74 women showed up in Nashua to compete.³⁸

After the 1978 Women's Nationals another open meeting was held and the subject of drug testing was discussed for the first time by women powerlifters. At issue was the fact that the previous fall, in October of 1977, at the AAU National Committee meeting held in conjunction with the 1977 Men's Nationals, Oklahoma referee Dick Burke had introduced legislation requiring powerlifting to adopt the same testing protocols used by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Burke's proposal met with considerable resistance, as the members of the all-male national committee, most of whom were active competitors, argued that there was no need to test since the IPF had no testing policy. As *Powerlifting USA* publisher Mike Lambert put it, "no other countries seem to have much concern about the use/abuse of these substances."³⁹ When it was clear that there was little support for steroid testing within the group, Burke's motion was amended to require only a test for amphetamines at the following year's championships.⁴⁰ This passed but the National Committee did not take the next step and allocate money to pay for the testing.⁴¹ In May, however, when the women lifters met after the 1978 Nationals, many of us were optimistic that the AAU would soon implement a testing program because of the passage of the Burke motion. Although the women's group took no formal stand on steroids at our meeting in Nashua in 1978, many expressed concern about the potentially negative impact of steroid use on television contracts and spectatorship for women's powerlifting. However, Burke's amphetamine test was not implemented at the 1979 Men's Nationals Championships or at any American contest thereafter.⁴²

The year 1979 marked a transitional time for powerlifting. Following the passage of the 1978 Amateur Sports Act, which lessened the AAU's power in favor of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) and mandated that all sports should have their own autonomous governing bodies, the powerlifting committee began working to form an independent organization that would be known as the United States Powerlifting Federation (USPF).⁴³ The new bylaws called for an annual meeting of the National Committee (composed of



Cindy Wyatt Reinhoudt (left), first chairperson of the USPF Women's Committee, won the 165 pound class at the 1978 Women's Nationals and is shown here with *Iron Man* magazine publisher, Mabel Rader, who presented the awards at that historic meet. Rader served for many years on the United States Powerlifting Federation Women's Committee and was a strong supporter of drug testing for both men and women.

state chairmen and various committee heads) and it created a ten-member Executive Committee (eight elected members, president and appointed secretary) which was given full authority to make policy decisions for the USPF between National Committee meetings. Terry and I moved back to the United States from Canada that summer, and Joe Zarella, by now the USPF president, asked me to take over as chair of the women's subcommittee (USPFWC).

That same year, the International Powerlifting Federation voted to amend its by-laws to include regulation 5.02, which read: "The IPF shall maintain testing procedures for Anabolic Steroids and Amphetamine Supplements for all International Championships beginning in 1979. Testing will begin in all National Championships beginning in 1980."⁴⁴ Although passed by the IPF, the new rule had little immediate impact. No testing occurred at the World Championships in 1979 or 1980, although Canadian world champion powerlifter and physician Mauro DiPasquale, head of the IPF Medical Committee, recommended at that Congress that the IPF begin at once to test for the full IOC list of banned substances. However, as so often happens in powerlift-

ing—and indeed in many amateur sport meetings—the group felt it necessary to revisit the entire decision they'd made the previous year and so, after lengthy discussion about the expense, the potential for legal consequences, and other speculative matters, the IPF Congress agreed by a 12-0 vote to allocate funds *only* for the testing of amphetamines at the World Championships scheduled for Calcutta, India, in 1981. Testing for steroids was put on hold. (It should be remembered that the IOC began such testing in 1976.)⁴⁵

Meanwhile, as chair of the USPF women's committee, I began lobbying both the national and international federation to begin upholding IPF Rule 5.02. In May of 1980, Zarella played host to the first Women's World Championships in Lowell, Massachusetts. Following the contest, at a meeting for women lifters and interested officials, IPF President Vic Mercer of Great Britain explained that he was appointing a women's subcommittee to advise the IPF leadership on matters concerning women.⁴⁶ Roz Basile, a gym-owner in Sydney, Australia and coach of the Australian team, became the first chairperson. Basile held the post for slightly more than a year before deciding that she would step down in

1981.⁴⁷ Since I had written a "constitutional framework" for the IPF Women's Committee and been intimately involved in the IPF Women's Committee (IPFWC) from the beginning, I was unanimously elected as the new chairperson at the 1981 Women's Worlds in Honolulu. Immediately following my election, I asked the IPFWC delegates for their support on a resolution to request a full drug testing program at the 1982 Women's Worlds.⁴⁸

Things on the national scene also heated up in 1981. At the USPFWC meeting held in conjunction with the 1981 Women's Nationals in Los Angeles, the women's committee voted unanimously to request drug testing at



Winners of the 1978 Women's National Powerlifting Championships pose with meet promoter Joe Zarella. Front row: Terry Dillard (114), Zarella, Betsy Darrow (Unl.). Back row: Penny Jordan (123), Jandrena Irwin (132), Sherry Waltz (148), Cindy Reinhoudt (165), and Ann Turbyne(181).

the 1982 Nationals.⁴⁹ Since the USPFWC was only an advisory committee, however, the vote carried no weight without the approval of the full USPF National Committee, which would have to allocate funds to pay for the tests. At the Men's Nationals in Corpus Christi, the USPF National Committee supported our request and voted to allocate \$2000 for the testing of women at the next nationals. The National Committee also approved a resolution to adopt testing for men if the IPF voted to do testing at the 1982 World Championships. Finally, it seemed, we were making headway. In fact, after the 1981 meeting Zarella appointed me to serve as the head of a newly formed USPF Medical Committee and asked me to investigate the best testing protocol for 1982.⁵⁰

Later that year, I attended the IPF Men's World Championships in Calcutta, India, where as a delegate in the IPF Congress, I presented my IPF Women's Committee request for drug testing. The IPF approved the request for a full drug test at the 1982 Women's World Championships, and also approved IPF President Vic Mercer's recommendation that all women competing in the World's would have to submit to a chromosome-based gender test.⁵¹ This was not something that the IPF women's committee had supported, but Mercer was adamant that the test was necessary and argued that since it could be done by a simple scraping of the inside of the cheek there was no reason for the women to object.⁵² The other surprise of the Congress was the decision to support both amphetamine and steroid testing at the 1982 Men's World Championships and to send word to the member nations of the IPF that they should, therefore, drug test at their own national championships.⁵³

Besides attending the IPF Congress, however, I had other duties in Calcutta. After a meeting of the athletes on the 1981 men's team, I'd been asked to serve as that year's manager/coach at the World Championships. This meant I was responsible for all aspects of the US team's performance in Calcutta, including their drug testing. Since this marked the first time that a woman had served as a coach at the Men's World's I took my duties very seriously and was concerned when I learned that the IPF planned to run the amphetamine tests at a hospital in Calcutta, rather than in an IOC lab. Even though I'd heard Dr. Mahabir Singh, the Calcutta physician in charge of the doping protocol, assure the IPF delegates that the tests would be IOC-type tests, I knew as soon as I entered the "collection center" with one of my athletes that things were not what they should have

been.⁵⁴ However, since the athletes had been informed well in advance of the procedure, and since the only substances the IPF was testing for were amphetamines, I wasn't really worried about the results because I knew that the test for amphetamines did not go back in time and that there was no way my men would be foolish enough to use an amphetamine when they knew they would be tested right after the championships.

I was, therefore, shocked when, on the evening of the second day of the contest, IPF President Mercer announced that six lifters had been found positive for amphetamines in the first day's tests. By the end of the contest, a total of 16 men (including four Americans) had been found positive, one failed to show for testing, and another man was listed as being under "further investigation."⁵⁵ As the word spread about high number of positives, several of the coaches and I met to discuss the matter with IPF President Vic Mercer. Mercer refused to investigate our concerns, claiming that the tests were good tests. Furthermore, he refused to allow any of the coaches to attend the "second test" of the samples, which is normal IOC procedure. In fact, when I asked if I could attend, since four American gold medalists were supposedly positive—Joe Bradley, Mike Bridges, Jim Cash, and Dan Wohleber—I was told by IPF President Mercer that the second tests had already been run and so the results were final. After the contest, Finnish coach Bror Holm, Glenn Hogue of Australia, and I called the rest of the coaches together to discuss the methodology of the testing procedure and we decided, as a group, to request a meeting with Dr. Singh. Although Singh promised to meet with us at the final banquet the next evening, he failed to show. He also missed a second appointment—set up by his colleagues in the Indian Federation—for the following morning. Finally, as time was running out and teams and coaches had to leave Calcutta to return home, Glenn Hogue and I decided to take matters into our own hands. I called the hospital where the tests were done and set up a meeting with Dr. K.L. Mukherjee, the biochemistry professor who actually ran the testing procedures in the lab at the main hospital in Calcutta.⁵⁶

After I returned to the United States, I wrote an eight-page, single-spaced "official protest" to IPF Secretary Arnold Bostrom. In the letter, I detailed how the testing done by Dr. Singh and his colleagues broke nearly every tenet of the IOC's suggestions for proper testing. The facility used for collection was a public wash-

room, which had been used throughout the day by lifters and officials alike. No one watched the men as they gave their samples, they were fully clothed, and the same beakers were used over and over to collect urine and then simply washed out in the sink between tests. No one was asked for a passport or photo ID.⁵⁷ Although I'd been forewarned by the unhygienic conditions of the "collection facility" at the stadium, the trip to the Calcutta hospital was a revelation on almost every level. The dilapidated condition of the building, the omnipresent heat, the people and goats camped out in the interior courtyard, and the drying laundry hung on clotheslines throughout the building, were in stark contrast to the cleanliness and antiseptic atmosphere of an American facility.

When Glenn and I met Dr. Mukherjee in his lab, however, even more surprises were in store for us. I asked Dr. Mukherjee to explain his procedures, and he stated that the tests were gas chromatograph tests. As I wrote in my report, "Simply speaking, this is a test which gives a graph-like reading indicating the presence or non-presence of a drug. To find this out the urine sample is placed in a gas chromatograph machine...and the urine sample [is] broken down into its component parts. Different substances in the urine then show up at different places on the graph and it is on the basis of these 'peaks' or marks on the graph that the trained scientist is able to tell what sort of drug . . . has appeared. . . Gas chromatography, however, cannot tell you exactly what drug a person has taken. . . there are some substances which show up in the amphetamine range which are not amphetamines. That is why the IOC always then carries out a second test on each sample that involves the use of mass spectrometry."⁵⁸ When I asked to see some of the graphs I noticed that on the graphs for two of the men (Joe Bradley of the USA and Hiro Isagawa of Japan) their spikes were not in the same range on the graph even though they were supposedly positive for the same substance. When questioned, Dr. Mukherjee agreed that they were "slightly different" in appearance. When I asked what the drug was, Mukherjee could not tell me as "no mass spectrometry was ever done on the test," and furthermore, that they had no mass spectrometer in the hospital and had made no arrangements anywhere else to have the required mass-spectrometry done. By far the most damning bit of evidence I discovered, however, was when Dr. Mukherjee, trying to be helpful, showed me the composite printout he had made on which all the tests were laid side by side for comparison.

As I wrote in my official report following the championships:

. . . it appeared to me that there were two other men who also had "peaks," though smaller "peaks," in the same amphetamine range. I asked Dr. Mukherjee about these two other tests and he said that, yes, there were two other men who had shown up in the positive range, but to a lesser level. I then asked him what scale he had used to determine a "positive test" from a "negative test" for the IPF, and he said that according to IOC rules any drug test over one part per million per cc was considered by the IOC to be "positive." In answer to my next question, he then admitted that the two other tests (whose names were never disclosed to me) would also have been over the one part per million per cc allowable limit defined by the IOC. Then I asked why he had not included these other two men in his 'positive' test results, and when he didn't answer immediately, I asked him a second question—"Did you make a subjective judgment as to what was considered high or low on the test?"—and to this question he answered, 'Yes, I decided.'⁵⁹

And so, despite my identification as one of the most outspoken advocates of drug testing, I found myself in the unhappy position of trying to get the IPF to rescind the 1981 drug tests. I began writing letters urging the other national coaches who'd been in Calcutta to ask their home federations to protest the results and telling them what Glenn and I had learned from Dr. Mukherjee. Since the four American positives would mean that the US team finished third in the world, rather than first, the USPF fully supported my efforts, and we soon also had support from Sweden, Japan, Australia, England, Finland, Norway, New Zealand, Canada, and France as well. In January, a ballot circulated to IPF member nations asking them to vote whether to let the tests stand or reinstate the 16 lifters.⁶⁰ IPF President Mercer reported back to the member nations that the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of disregarding the drug test and observed, "The way of the pioneer is often hard and it is regrettable that we got off to a bad start with the drug testing programme. But it must be clearly stated for the future that every possible precaution will be taken to ensure that the tests will be carried out impeccably under the IOC approved testing clinics." However, Mercer continued, the IPF Congress has

decreed that "the sport of powerlifting shall be seen to be free from the use and abuse of drugs. This attitude will give the IPF great respect and esteem from other international federations, the General Assembly of International Sports Federations and the International Olympic Committee."⁶¹

The story of the first IPF tests in Calcutta are a good example of what can go wrong when amateurs—even well-intentioned amateurs—are in charge of drug testing for sport. Mercer's unwillingness to heed the coaches' protests in Calcutta was probably due more to his fear that he and the IPF could be seen as incompetent, I believe, than from any belief that that many lifters were stupid enough to have actually used amphetamines in such a tested competition.

To his credit, however, Mercer and the IPF Executive Committee stuck to their plan to initiate full IOC testing at both the men's and women's world championships in 1982. In the United States, however, the testing program rapidly derailed. The first problem came in January of 1982 when, after repeated attempts to get USPF President Joe Zarella to disclose the federation's economic records, the USPF Executive Committee sent Zarella notice that he would either have to turn over the records or face possible impeachment. A hearing before the USPF Executive was set for February 19th at the 1982 Women's Nationals which Terry and I organized that year at Auburn University. When Zarella failed to appear he was unanimously impeached and USPF secretary Conrad Cotter, a professor at Pensacola Junior College and an active master's lifter, assumed the presidency.⁶² With Cotter as president, the anti-testing faction of the USPF suddenly had a new and very savvy ally. Cotter's first act was to appoint Ramona Kenady, wife of superheavyweight champion Doyle Kenady (who was later convicted and jailed for trafficking in steroids), as the new secretary for the federation, a position that also gave her a vote on the Executive Committee.⁶³

Approximately three weeks before the Women's Nationals, a conference call had been organized for the USPF Executive Committee to hear the medical committee's proposals for testing at the 1982 women's meet. Despite the unanimous vote taken the previous July to



IPF President Vic Mercer hands United States coach Jan Todd the team trophy at the 1981 Men's World Powerlifting Championships in Calcutta, India.

test for all substances, the problems in Calcutta dampened the enthusiasm of several members of the Executive Committee and so the matter of whether to test at all became the main focus of the call. As an Executive Committee member and the head of the drug testing committee, I argued against any change in the announced plan. However, with Cotter leading the discussion, my arguments failed to persuade a majority of the Executive Committee, although the Committee finally agreed to take up the matter again when we all met in Auburn for Zarella's hearing and the 1982 Women's National Championships. When the Executive Committee convened, the room was filled with a number of the top male lifters who'd made the trip to Auburn to be present for the drug discussion. I explained to the Executive Committee that I'd made arrangements with the Chelsea Lab in London (an officially-designated IOC lab) to test the top two women in each class and one other at random in each class for approximately \$1,750—well within the \$2,000 allocated by the National Committee the previous year.⁶⁴ Resisting my suggestion that we move forward, Cotter suggested that the funds be used, instead, to pay the various state chairmen the 50 cents per lifter fee they were supposed to be given each time they sold a registration card. This, he argued, was more important than the USPF starting a drug testing



USPF President Conrad Cotter sits in the judge's chair as master powerlifter Jim Rouse attempts a big bench at the 1979 Chattanooga Open.

program. In the frequently hostile debate that followed, a number of objections were raised by the men present—that the women had not had proper notice—that the list of drugs was too long—that the tests went too far back in time—that the federation was now short on funds because of Zarella's mismanagement, and so on.⁶⁵ Several Executive Committee members also openly supported not going forward with the testing at that juncture and so

no testing was done in Auburn that weekend.⁶⁶

Following that vote, I asked the Executive for permission to go forward with full IOC-type testing at the 1982 Men's Nationals.⁶⁷ Since it was February, I argued, there was plenty of time to officially notify the men and the federation would have the funds because of the TV revenues from the airing of the Men's and Women's Nationals on CBS. I reminded those in the room that the decision of the USPF National Committee had been unanimous the previous July—that if the IPF tested at the Worlds in 1982, then the USPF would test at the preceding Nationals. For more than an hour, frequently acrimonious debate filled the small meeting room. In the end, however, only the eight members of the Executive Committee present and Cotter could vote. As Cotter finally asked for a show of hands, the Executive Committee split—four in favor and four against the motion. That meant that Cotter, the new president, would have to break the tie. It was a particularly revealing moment as Cotter had tried hard in the past to appear

neutral on the drug question. Forced to reveal his position, he voted with those opposed to testing at the 1982 Men's Nationals and thus ignored the mandate of the entire USPF National Committee from the previous summer.⁶⁸ Cotter would later write in *Powerlifting USA* that his vote in Auburn was not against testing—but only about the particular method of testing that I recommended in my report.⁶⁹ Since what I recommended was IOC-type testing done by the Chelsea lab in London, however, his protest made little sense, unless he wanted tests that wouldn't catch anyone. Those close to Cotter knew that he used steroids himself and, seen in that light, his vote was understandable.

Many of the women lifters who competed in the Nationals that weekend took the news hard. As *Powerlifting USA* editor Mike Lambert later described the scene, "Testing for drugs dominated much of the conversation at the meet . . . Many women came into the meet expecting and hoping for testing and left disappointed. Others pointed out unfair aspects of the proposed tests and were relieved when they did not take place. Emotion was at a high level."⁷⁰ It was indeed high. Some of the lifters made their anti-drug stance very public. Mary Barreira wore a t-shirt all weekend with "100% Natural" written on the back. Terri Ptomey, a drug free lifter who won the 165 pound class that year, pulled on one that said "Look Ma, No Roids," to accept her trophy.⁷¹ Ptomey's main opponent was Jennifer Weyland, an outspoken opponent of drug testing. When Ptomey made her winning lift, Ptomey's teammate, perennial World Champion Lamar Gant, rushed onto the stage yelling, "Don't need no drugs to be a champion!" The next morning, as we were cleaning up the hotel where the contest was held, we found Weyland's broken second-place trophy at the bottom of the swimming pool. Feelings ran high on both sides.

At the USPFWC meeting after the contest, most of the women complained bitterly about the Executive Committee's decision and about their inability to control their own sport. Sue Elwyn, of Boston, argued that the women should break away and form their own independent organization, but I sadly reminded the group that very few of them had taken the time to become referees or promote meets and so the infrastructure wasn't there yet to support a national organization just for women. However, as a step in the direction of self governance, the USPFWC ratified a new constitution that would mean that the Women's Committee would have the right to directly elect their own chairperson, rather

than have the USPF President appoint someone. However, like all USPFWC decisions, it would have to be approved by the USPF National Committee before it became official.⁷²

Unfortunately, emotions were no less high in July of 1982, when I presented another Medical Committee Report at the National Convention in Dayton, Ohio, and this time recommended that testing be done for both men and women in 1983. Kathy Sansocie, the secretary of the USPFWC, moved that the vote be separated so that testing for men and testing for women would be considered separately. By a vote of 25-21, the Sansocie amendment failed, as did the vote on testing at both championships—27 to 21.1 and the other members of the USPF Women's Committee who'd traveled to Dayton to fight for testing and our right to elect our own leadership were angered and depressed by the USPF's unwillingness to go along with the IPF's new mandate on testing and by the fact that the USPF turned down the women's request to elect their own chairperson of the USPFWC.⁷³ When elections were held in Dayton, the new Executive Committee members were largely opposed to testing, with the exception of perennial Executive Committee members Lyle Schwartz and Nate Foster. Doyle Kenady, the superheavyweight world champion was elected that year as was Fred Hatfield, author of *Anabolic Steroids, What Kind, and How Many*.⁷⁴ Hatfield had made no secret of his pro-drug stance either in his books or in USPF meetings. In one heated debate among USPF officials in Austin, Texas, in 1983, in fact, Hatfield even declared that anabolic steroids would one day be viewed as "the salvation of mankind."⁷⁵ Filling

out the Executive Committee roster was Larry Kidney, national champion in the 275 pound class, John Pettit of Texas, and George Zangas and Bob Packer of California.⁷⁶

Following the National Committee meeting, Larry Pacifico hosted the most successful contest ever seen in the history of powerlifting. The large audience in the Dayton Convention Center watched dozens of records broken while CBS filmed the contest for "Sports Spectacular."⁷⁷ There was only one hitch. The men winning the trophies and setting the records were not tested and so when the American team was chosen for that year's World Championships, there was no way to predict what they would lift in a tested meet.

The 1982 Men's World Championships in Munich, Germany, marked the first time that powerlifting tested for anabolic steroids, and the difference in performance was dramatic. On average, the American team lifted 122.2 pounds (55.5 kilos) less than they had just four months earlier at the Nationals. Normally, of course, four additional months of training should mean that the men were a bit stronger. In a letter to IPF secretary Arnold Bostrom, written after the contest, I observed, "I think almost everyone was surprised by the fact that the testing seemed to cause such a huge drop in the amount of weight lifted. Everyone expected *some* drop, but few expected that the drop would be so great. As you remember, there have been many world records made in the past world championships, usually between 10 and 20 per championships. This year there was only one."⁷⁸

In that same letter, I asked the IPF to abolish the

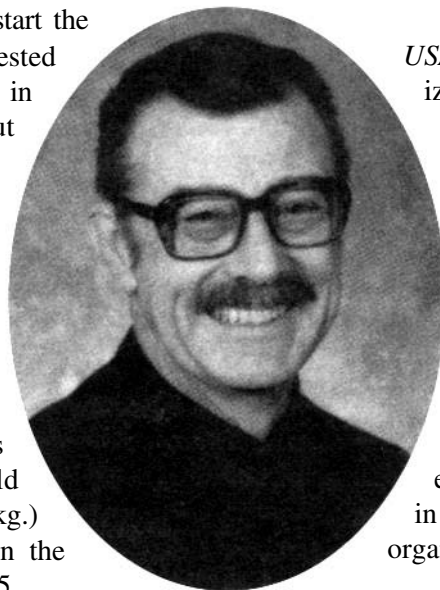
1982 U.S. Men's Team Performances

Name & Weight Class	Squat/Bench/Deadlift/Total USPF Nationals, July 1982	Squat/Bench/Deadlift/Total IPF Worlds, November 1982	Difference in pounds
Chuck Dunbar (114)	485/308/424/1218	507/303/402/1212	6
Lamar Gant (123)	440/303/639/1383	485*/264/551/1300	83
Jay Rosciglione (148)	595/347/600/1543	551/308/540/1399	144
Ricky Crain (165)	655/391/672/1719	661/363/677/1703	16
Mike Bridges (181)	837/512/755/2105	705/451/705/1862	243
Walter Thomas (198)	766/479/755/2000	733/468/688/1890	110
Jim Cash (220)	804/457/810/2072	661/457/760/1879	193
Dave Schneider (242)	815/440/804/2061	766/424/710/1901	160
John Gamble (275)	865/523/804/2193	782/490/727/2000	193
Wayne Bouvier (SHW)	804/584/760/2149	804/540/733/2077	72

*On a fourth attempt, Lamar Gant squatted 518 pounds for a new world record. It was the only world record set in the 1982 Men's World Championships.

existing list of world records and to start the keeping of records with the drug-tested 1982 Worlds. The IPF had done this in 1973 when it initiated rules about excessive elbow and knee wraps. Writing at the request of my IPF Women's Committee, I told Bostrom, "Our feeling is that unless we remove the current world records, many of our lifters will become depressed, thinking they will have no chance to ever create a new world record." In closing, I added a personal note, "As you know, I now hold three world records—the squat (545 lbs./247.5 kg.) and the total (1229 lbs./557.5 kg.) in the unlimited class, and the deadlift (446.5 lbs./202.5 kg.) in the 67.5 kg class, and if the IPF accepts our recommendation, I realize I will lose all three of these world records . . . losing my three world records is not nearly as important as helping to make powerlifting a fairer sport in which the health of our lifters is protected and in which *all* the world records represent lifts made in competitions with IOC testing."⁷⁹

The IPF chose not to start their record list over, however, and discussion on both sides of the drug issue swelled again in the United States. By this time, many lifters, coaches and former lifters had begun to realize that anabolic steroids were a bane to the sport. As physical and psychological problems associated with drug use began to emerge, many people began moving away from the pro-drug or *laissez faire* attitude so common in the mid-seventies. Terry Todd, in fact, in a long article in *Sports Illustrated*, discussed his own steroid use and detailed the history of drug use in sports and how steroids had been particularly harmful to powerlifting.⁸⁰ As frustration rose among those who wanted testing, Edmund Martin Bishop, whose name within the Catholic order of the Brothers of the Sacred Heart was Brother Bennet, decided to start a new federation in which testing would be done at every sanctioned meet. Brother Bennet, who taught at St. Stanislaus College in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi, had worked as a powerlifting official for many years but as he watched the increase in both steroid use and the USPF's foot-dragging on the testing issue, Bennet decided to give lifters another venue in which to compete.⁸¹ The idea was not totally new.



Brother Bennet (Edmund Martin Bishop) founded the American Drug Free Powerlifting Association in 1981 and served as president until 1991.

Mike Lambert, editor of *Powerlifting USA*, had suggested a similar sort of organization in 1980 when he wrote in an editorial, "As far as I can discern, there is only lip service paid toward drug testing in Powerlifting by national and international levels of administration. . . While some administrators in PL do push for drug testing, most nod their heads in agreement with such statements as . . . 'It's too expensive' . . . 'what if the test is inaccurate and we get sued.'" Lambert claimed that ever since he started *Powerlifting USA* in 1977 he'd felt there should be two organizations.

How does this sound? Let's form an organization . . . open only to powerlifters who will sign their name to a document stating that they will not take drugs as long as they hold membership. And let's keep track of the performances of the members of this organization . . . keep records of their clean lifts, perhaps even run local, regional and national contests for the members of the organization. With enough members and proper preparation, such an organization could exert significant political and even ethical influence on the sport eventually.⁸²

In November of 1981, at a meeting in Arlington, Virginia, Bennet and a group of like-minded friends adopted by-laws, elected an executive committee, drafted an oath that all members would have to sign, and set up testing policies for the American Drug Free Powerlifting Association (ADFPA). Several months later, at the tumultuous 1982 USPFWC meeting in Auburn, Bennet spoke eloquently about the group's goals and urged the women lifters to join him. "What we do reflects who we are," Bennet told the group in Auburn, adding that "Drugs offend the concept of fairness. . . Athletic competitions are becoming more and more chemical competitions. Does this sound right?? Moral?? Ethical?? . . . If we are to have respect for others, we must first have respect for ourselves. A different world cannot be made by indifferent people."⁸³

Bennet's hope that many of the disgruntled

women lifters would leave the USPF and join his organization proved true. Many time world and national champion Judy Gedney was one of the first women lifters to answer Bennet's call to join the ADFPA. Said Gedney, who is still actively competing at age 63:

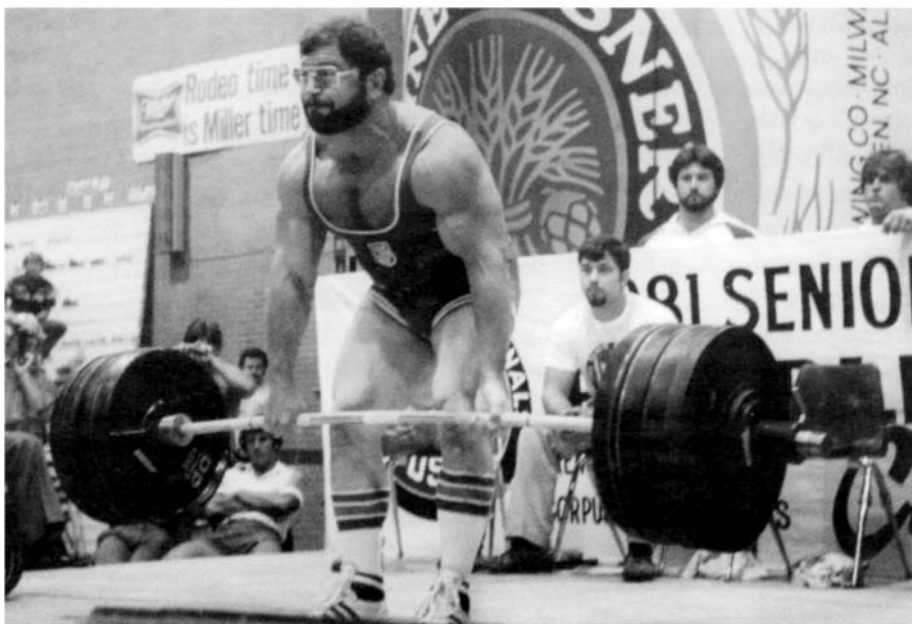
If it wasn't for the development of the ADFPA, I'm sure that the frustration of dealing with drug use within the USPF and the IPF would have discouraged me from continuing to participate in this sport. As a committed Christian and an educator, I'm a firm believer that using chemicals and drugs to enhance strength or to adjust body weight is unethical. Athletes who use drugs to enhance performance usually provide a rationale to justify their decisions; I simply consider, would taking drugs be a pleasing decision to my Creator? Drug use is morally wrong because it is contrary to sporting rules.

When I started competing in 1979, drug use was becoming popular among the male lifters; it soon spread to the female lifters. It was shocking to go to National Championships and see the physical changes that took place within a year's time among some of the women lifters who used anabolic steroids. By afternoon, the Women's Nationals taking place in Boston looked like a Bic razor commercial. Drug testing motions were placed on the annual agendas regularly; sadly the sporting administrators had no interest in allowing drug testing within the sport of powerlifting. The organization of the USPF Women's Committee helped to promote drug-testing within the sport. Still with the exception of select leaders with character, the USPF as a body did not want to establish a drug testing program.⁸⁴

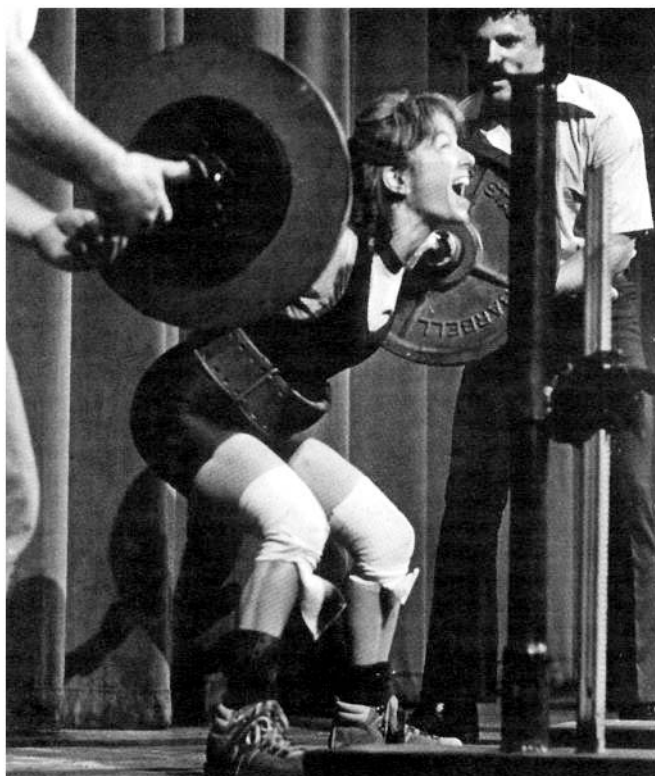
The ADFPA grew consider-

ably in 1982 and 1983 as large numbers of women and men began to view its contests as a viable alternative to the USPF. They held national championships for both men and women in 1983, and the first Men's Nationals attracted 120 lifters.⁸⁵ There were, however, two big problems. The first was that the USPF remained the officially recognized member of the IPF and so it was the only federation that could send athletes to the World Championships. So, Gedney and others couldn't lift *only* in the ADFPA if they wanted a chance to be IPF world champion. The second problem, and a significant one it was, was that in order to live up to its mandate that it would test 10% of the lifters in every meet it sanctioned, the ADFPA generally used polygraph exams to determine if someone was "clean."⁸⁶ Fears of registering a false positive on a polygraph test made many lifters reluctant to lift in ADFPA meets, however, even though they were drug-free lifters.⁸⁷

Although many people recognized that the



Larry Pacifico, who helped found the American Powerlifting Federation, was no stranger to the idea of new federations. At the 1980 Senior National Championships he made an error and called for only a 2.5 kilo increase between his first and second deadlift attempts. According to the rules, a lifter had to increase by at least five kilos or he lost his third attempt. Pacifico's mistake probably cost him the national title. Following the Nationals, when he was not chosen for the world team (and thus lost his chance to win an unprecedented tenth straight world title), Pacifico and several of his friends decided to form a new organization, the National Powerlifting Federation (NPF). Because of an error made by one of the international officials, the NPF was briefly recognized as a provisional member of the IPF. Pacifico then initiated legal proceedings to allow an NPF team to lift in the World Championships. Thus, at the 1980 World's, Pacifico and his team were allowed to lift "outside the competition" while USPF lifters were in medal contention. The NPF folded shortly thereafter.



Drug testing advocate Judy Gedney has perhaps amassed more national and world championships than any woman in powerlifting history. She has also been continuously involved in the administration of the sport since the early 1980s.

ADFPA posed a threat to the growth and expansion of the USPF. Cotter and a few others began to view it as a way to maintain the status quo for the USPF. In an interesting editorial published in the September 1982 issue of *Powerlifting USA*, Cotter even argued that the USPF should begin co-sanctioning meets with the ADFPA rather than following the IPF guidelines for testing.⁸⁸ Although the ADFPA and the USPF did co-sanction a few meets in that first year, Bennet soon realized that most of his lifters and administrative supporters wanted nothing to do with the USPF. Long time powerlifting officials Peary and Mabel Rader, for instance, resigned from the USPF in 1982, as did Executive Committee member Nate Foster. In a letter to Rader, on 11 September 1982, Brother Bennet wrote, "It was a sad day indeed when you resigned from the USPF. I can fully understand your disgust. So did Nate Foster. Then, perhaps, on the other hand, these are good signs since the people of integrity are beginning to show a greater interest in the ADFPA."⁸⁹ While many people transferred their allegiance to the ADFPA, some top lifters could not fully commit because they hoped to still be able to attend the IPF world championships. So, Bennet began lobby-

ing the IPF to recognize the ADFPA as the official federation for the United States.⁹⁰

Although Brother Bennet's lobby failed, the IPF did make life more difficult for the drug users by passing a new regulation in 1982 that required all world record applications to include a negative drug test report from an official IOC lab. Furthermore, the IPF required that one of its own drug control officers had to be present at the test, and since there were only two IPF medical officers—George Bostrom in Sweden and Bill Jamieson in Canada—this meant that very few world records would be set in America any time soon. Rather than seizing upon the IPF decision as a tool it could use to hammer home the need for an American testing program, however, Cotter and the USPF Executive responded by announcing new regulations for the setting of American records. "All IPF rules currently in force . . . shall apply also to the setting of American records, with the proviso that drug testing will not be required."⁹¹ Cotter and his Executive Committee then went even further and agreed to begin keeping "USPF-Recognized World Records," which, of course, did not require a drug test.⁹² Cotter admitted that this would soon mean that many USPF records would probably exceed the IPF world records. However, he and many of the other American leaders, viewed the new IPF regulation as specifically anti-American as well as anti-drug, and so felt it was fair to defy the IPF.⁹³

Because there were women who wanted to set official world records (including myself), I requested, on behalf of the USPF women's committee, that there be a testing program at the upcoming 1983 Women's Nationals so that IPF world records could be set. When the USPF denied my request, I asked to implement "voluntary testing" at the meet scheduled for Chicago. As Ruthie Shafer, an open opponent of drug testing explained it in *Powerlifting USA*, "Although the measure was voted down by the Executive Committee twice, with heavy lobbying Jan Todd managed to push it through as long as she could arrange outside funding."⁹⁴ I was able to do that, and so sent word to the IPF asking Bill Jamieson, the Canadian drug officer, to attend the meet. However, things became complicated. As Mike Lambert wrote in his report of the contest:

Somewhat like last year's competition, the possibility of drug testing at this competition (albeit of the voluntary type) wavered between yes and no almost up until meet

time. Yes, Bill Jamieson would be there to run the IPF approved drug control test for those athletes who wanted to get world records; No he would not; Yes, Mauro Di Pasquale would take his place; No, he would not; Yes he would, but only for one day. Finally Vic Mercer appointed two Americans to handle the testing, Jan Todd and Nate Foster. Now those appointments are under protest by the Executive Committee of the USPF.⁹⁵

Fifteen women broke world records at that meet, but only four agreed to be tested.⁹⁶ I was one of them, deadlifting 473.75 pounds in the 148 pound class, and it was my last meet with the USPF as a lifter.⁹⁷ At the USPFWC meeting following the Chicago Nationals, I was again elected to serve as head of the USPFWC. However, I was coming to the realization that my effectiveness as an advocate for testing on the national scene was diminishing as the pro-drug faction, which now included a number of the top anti-testing women lifters, was gaining in strength under Cotter's leadership.

At the National Committee meeting that summer, sensitive to the polarization I now created on the national scene, I asked Judy Gedney to present the resolution requesting that IOC-type drug testing be done in all National Championships beginning in 1984.⁹⁸ I then moved to separate the men's and women's votes in the hopes that perhaps we could get the women's testing passed. This time the strategy worked and after a heated debate it was agreed that the USPF would pay for full (required) IPF testing at the women's nationals in 1984—but not at the men's.⁹⁹ However, the USPF National Committee did pass my request for *voluntary* testing at the 1984 Men's Nationals for those men who wished to set official world records.¹⁰⁰

In November, at the 1983 World Powerlifting Championships in Gothenburg, Sweden, the IPF Congress was clearly angry that the USPF had still not agreed to test their men. And so, to force the issue, they passed a new rule requiring all federations who sent lifters to the IPF World Championships to have an IOC-type testing program at their national championships.¹⁰¹

The decision infuriated many of the top USPF lifters, and Cotter agreed that it was an attempt by the IPF to "dictate" to the United States. While Cotter and his inner circle tried to figure out how to finesse the new requirement, master lifter Ernie Frantz and nine time world powerlifting champion Larry Pacifico used it to

attract lifters to yet another new federation—the American Powerlifting Federation. The APF had been announced with a full page ad in the January 1983 issue of *Powerlifting USA*, following the IPF's decision about the testing of world records.¹⁰² "Don't be dictated to—Lift the way you want to lift," read the ad. "Don't want testing? We won't have any." As Ernie Frantz then went on to explain in the ad, "We want to run our own organization the way we, the lifters see fit ...There are more powerlifters in the US than any other country in the world, yet we are dictated to by a small minority of foreign lifters. The AMPF/APF will bring the power back where it belongs—to you, the American lifter."¹⁰³ *Powerlifting USA* columnist Ken Leistner claimed that "almost every top lifter [is] ready to abandon the IPF if this ruling stands."¹⁰⁴

The APF held its first organizational meeting on 28 January 1983 on the same weekend as the USPF Women's National Championships. From the beginning, Frantz wanted there to be no confusion about the drug stance of his group. In the promotional materials he circulated that weekend trying to get members to join with him, Item One on Frantz's "Proposal for APF/AMPF Meeting" read: "I don't believe in any testing whatsoever at any time."¹⁰⁵ However, Frantz's reason for starting the new federation was more complicated than simply a desire to use drugs and lift big weights. He was not happy, he told me back in 1983, about being a rule breaker. In a conversation we had that weekend, Frantz explained that he was tired of the hypocrisy of the USPF's position on drug testing and didn't like the idea that he was using drugs in a federation that supposedly banned them. He felt that the more ethical thing would be to have a federation in which everyone knew that drug use was a permitted option and in which he or she wasn't taking a trophy from some clean lifter who hadn't used drugs. I can't fault that logic.

Although Frantz and Pacifico had hoped that most of the top men and women would jump ship and join them, the majority chose to stay with the USPF, especially after the IPF let it be known that any lifter participating in an APF meet would face a two year suspension from the IPF.¹⁰⁶ As things stood, however, America's anti-testing lifters had little reason to leave the USPF with Cotter and his anti-testing Executive Committee at the helm. At the 1984 Women's Nationals held in Austin, Cotter's new drug control officer, Dr. Richard Herrick of Opelika, Alabama, collected urine samples from the winners, record breakers, and other lifters at

random, to be sent to the new IOC testing lab at UCLA in Los Angeles. What none of the lifters realized until after the championships, however, was that Cotter—using a loophole in the enabling legislation—did not plan to impose any sanctions against those women who might turn up positive. Nor did he plan to reveal who they were.¹⁰⁷ This was the final straw for many women lifters, including me. I was up for re-election that year for the USPFWC chair and decided not to run, as I saw drug testing as a battle we would never win.¹⁰⁸ Judy Gedney, my staunch ally since her introduction to the national scene, agreed to run instead, and did her best to continue to work with the USPF for the next several years following her election.¹⁰⁹ She did not have an easy job.¹¹⁰ Although the USPFWC immediately asked that sanctions be put in place for the women found positive at the 1984 Women's Nationals, Cotter and the Executive Committee refused to act retroactively. Writing in *Powerlifting USA*, in June, prior to the National Committee meeting, Cotter contended:

It will, of course, be argued that the pro testing people, especially members of the Women's Committee, feel very strongly that sanctions must be applied, however, belatedly in order to preserve the integrity of the US team and the sport. It will be argued that failure to impose sanctions will make a mockery of drug testing and will unfairly nullify the victory of those who fought so hard for testing at Austin last July. It will be argued that sanctions may legitimately be implied from this contract.

On the other side, it will be argued that strong feelings confer no legal right, that injustice also may make a mockery of drug testing, and that sanctions for testing positive for drugs in a private contract should be included by express action, and not by implication.¹¹¹

Responding to Cotter's explanation, USPFWC Chairperson Judy Gedney replied:

I assure you that there was no intent on the part of the Women's Committee during the July/Austin National Meeting to purposely avoid the inclusion of sanctions in the drug testing motion. I do not believe that a logi-

cal case can be developed to support that particular view. I believe the rationale for testing was so obviously to negate the necessity of considering whether or not there would be sanctions. It should be obvious, even to those who are most opposed to drug evaluation, that this testing procedure was not implemented as a pilot study for some future event, but that it was meant to be "for real" and passage of the test would be necessary to participate on the USA team for the World Championships. The problem that has now arisen about the sanctions must seem to everyone to be just what it is: a loophole. It appears inconceivable that it could be anything else in light of the time, energy and vast expense (taken from the registered powerlifter's [sic] fees) that went into the implementation of the entire process.¹¹²

As it turned out, the loophole was sufficiently large to allow the pro-drug faction to continue to have its way. In May, when the 1984 Women's World Championships were held in Los Angeles, no official word about the results of the drug tests from the Nationals had been announced by Cotter, who claimed that the IOC drug labs were taking too much time to run the second, confirming test. So, all the class winners were automatically sent forward as US team members and no sanctions were ever imposed.¹¹³ Furthermore, in July of 1984 when the National Committee had its annual meeting in Dayton, the group voted down testing at the 1985 Women's Nationals.¹¹⁴ They did, however, agree to optional testing for world records at the 1984 Men's National Championships as had been decided the previous year.¹¹⁵

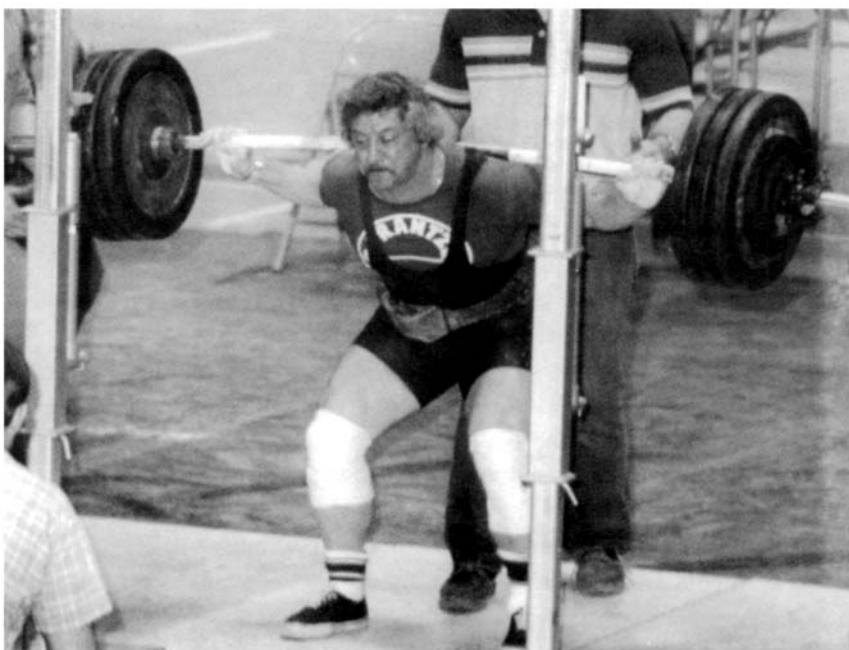
And so, by the end of 1984, American powerlifting had three distinct federations with three distinct sets of records and three different philosophies on the drug question. Although Cotter and others called for reconciliation of the disparate groups, the level of mistrust on all sides was great, and as Cotter rightly pointed out, the leaders of the new organizations undoubtedly found "it more exciting to be a top leader in a splinter group than to be a soldier in a larger organization."¹¹⁶

Over the next two decades, dozens of additional federations have cluttered the powerlifting landscape. Many of these federations have been short-lived. Many are strictly regional or age-group affairs. One can only

wonder where powerlifting might be these days if instead of fighting the IPF over testing, the USPF had acted honorably and led the fight to implement reliable testing methods. Would powerlifting still have the TV contracts which were once so lucrative? Probably. Would it perhaps now be an Olympic sport? Probably not. Would it have grown in numbers and reputation? Undoubtedly.

Instead, the USPF spent most of its time, energy, and money in the latter part of the 1980s fighting off a series of lawsuits from Ernie Frantz and the APF, while the ADFPA, frustrated at the IPF's unwillingness to recognize them, eventually formed its own international association—the World Drug Free Powerlifting Federation.¹¹⁷ The ADFPA gradually overtook the USPF and some members of the USPF did eventually join them, forming USAPowerlifting, which became the designated IPF affiliate in 1996. However, USAPowerlifting still has only about half as many members as the USPF did in the early 1980s, and the US is no longer the dominant force it once was in international powerlifting competitions.¹¹⁸

And so the fragmentation of powerlifting that began in the early 1980s continues, as does the quest for more records, more championships, and more individual glory.¹¹⁹ In addition to the IPF, lifters can now compete internationally in federations such as the World Drug Free Powerlifting Federation (WDFPF); the World Powerlifting Congress (WPC); the Amateur World Powerlifting Congress (AWPC), the amateur wing of the WPC; the World Association of Benchers and Dead Lifters (WABDL), which sanctions single-lift competitions; the World Powerlifting Alliance (WPA); the Natural Athlete Strength Association (NASA); the World Powerlifting League (WPL); the World Powerlifting Organization (WPO); and the World Natural Powerlifting Federation (WNPF).¹²⁰ One of the problems of such diversity is that in addition to different rules on drug testing, the various federations also vary dramatically on what kind of supportive gear a lifter can use and even how the individual lifts are performed. Some of the supportive, multi-layered shirts permitted in the APF and WPO, for instance,



Ernie Frantz, founder and long-time president of the American Powerlifting Federation, made no secret of his desire to use drugs in competition. The advertising materials for his organization promised, "Don't want testing? We won't have any."

supposedly allow a man to lift as much as 300 pounds more than he can in a simple t-shirt.

Master's powerlifter Bob Strauss, who's been involved with the sport since 1971, satirized the current situation on his website when he "announced" the formation of a fictional federation—The Committee Representing Advanced Powerlifting (CRAP). CRAP had been formed, Strauss explained, to "limit the intrusion of rules" in powerlifting and to take advantage of the technological and pharmaceutical advances of the 21st century. The rules he lists for this mock-federation are all geared to maximize record breaking. There are no limits on uniforms or supportive gear; there is absolutely no drug testing or even talk of drug testing allowed. CRAP's goal, he explains, is simple—lift bigger and bigger weights and "popularize powerlifting like the WWF has done to wrestling."¹²¹ Switching to a serious tone, Strauss concluded his satirical web announcement by noting that the state of powerlifting in 2004 was simply ridiculous. "If you thought I was just kidding or frantically inventing," he wrote, "just look at what's going on in powerlifting now. Record crazy federations, backed by greedy suppliers are ruining our sport. Look at the recent *PL-USA*! Look at the federations in which you don't even have to back out with a squat and don't have

to go anywhere low enough in a triple ply canvas suit!" Look at the federations, he continued, where spotters not only help a man lift the bar into position but actually have to help him get the bar down to his chest because the bench shirt he's wearing is so strong that it won't allow the bar to touch his chest without spotter help.¹²² Strauss has reason to be concerned. When a sport has no consistent set of rules, it ceases to be a sport.

The struggle over drug-testing is not the sole cause of the proliferation of federations we see today, but it made them possible. The success of the ADFPA and the APF demonstrated just how easy it was to begin a new organization that suited an individual's personal tastes. Ironically, if I had started a separate women's organization as soon as the National Committee turned down the USPFWC's first request to test at the Women's Nationals, powerlifting might have evolved on a more traditional model for sport—like men's and women's tennis or men's and women's golf. However, with less than a thousand American women involved in the sport in the early 1980s, I did not see how we could go it alone and so I recommended, on more than one occasion, that women's lifting should try to stay within the USPF.

Anabolic steroids are addictive drugs and once an obsessive lifter has seen his body swell and strengthen, he will fight for his right to keep using these substances even in the face of laws, commonsense, and friendship. Because we were not autonomous, women powerlifters could not control their own destiny on the drug issue. And, as the USPFWC became more vocal in its requests to test women lifters, the top male lifters realized that we had to be stopped. They rightfully feared that if they allowed us to test the women, the IPF would force the men to be tested, too.

I deeply believe that had the USPF Women's Committee been "allowed" to create its own testing procedures, we could have gradually added to our numbers and kept our side of the sport basically clean. I say this because in meeting after meeting held during the years I led the USPFWC, almost all of the women lifters I spoke with at the national and local level wanted testing. We lacked the male hunger for heavy muscling, and we feared the baldness, acne, amenorrhea, beards, and deepened voices of the women who first took steroids at the urging of some boyfriend, husband or training partner. Beyond these physiological fears, however, most of the women also felt as Judy Gedney and I did, that the winners of a contest should be determined by genetic gifts and hard training—not by how many drugs they were

willing to take.

Notes:

1. John Underwood, *Spoiled Sport: A Fan's Notes on the Troubles of Spectator Sports* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1984), 21.
2. *Powerlifting USA*, 1(1) (June 1977); and telephone interview with In Joo Lambert, of *Powerlifting USA*, October 13, 2003.
3. "Coming Events," *Powerlifting USA* 27(1) (September 2003): 49-54.
4. Ibid. There is also more than one national federations in most European and Pacific-rim countries. Some of the federations included in this list are, actually, subsets of other organizations. For example, the AMPF is the master's arm of the APF.
5. Underwood, *Spoiled Sport*, 21.
6. Ibid. 5.
7. James Wright, *Anabolic Steroids and Sports* (Natick, MA: Sports Science Consultants, 1982), 119.
8. Terence Todd, "Anabolic Steroids: The Gremlins of Sport," *Journal of Sport History* 14(1) (Spring 1987): 95.
9. Tom Wolfe, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (New York: Farrar-Strauss-Giroux, 1968), 29.
10. Peary Rader, untitled, *Iron Man* (1969), viewed at: <http://www.americanpowerliftevolution.net/New%20Folder%201969/drugcommentary.html>.
11. Terence Todd, "The History of Resistance Exercise and Its Role in United States Education," (Ph.D. diss.: The University of Texas at Austin, 1966): 72. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, lifters performed a variety of lifts in competition. The British Amateur Weightlifting Federation, for instance, recognized 42 lifts and kept records in all of them. In the USA, the American Continental Weightlifting Association (ACWLA), formed in 1922, recognized 49 lifts. For more information on the ACWLA and the early history of American weightlifting see: John D. Fair, "George Jowett, Otley Coulter, David P. Willoughby and the Formation of American Weightlifting: 1911-1924," *Iron Game History: The Journal of Physical Culture* 2(6) (May 1993): 5. For information of BAWLA see: David Webster, *The Iron Game* (Irvine, Scotland: printed by John Geddes: 1976), 147-151.
12. Todd, "History of Resistance Exercise," 72.
13. John D. Fair, "The Rise and Fall of the Press in Olympic and World Championship Competition, 1928-1972," *North American Society For Sport History: Proceedings and Newsletter* (2000): 84-85.
14. Peary Rader of *Iron Man* magazine also believed that American weightlifting was in a period of decline. See: <http://www.americanpowerliftevolution.net/New%20Folder%201969/drugcommentary.html>; and Rader's 1969 "Grunt and Groan" comments at: <http://www.americanpowerliftevolution.net/New%20Folder%201969/7-69g&g1.html>. Viewed on 6 June 2004.
15. On 5 September 1964, the first AAU sanctioned contest was held at William Penn Senior High School in York, PA. Directed by John Terlazzo, the contest was called the "Powerlifting Tournament of America" and it was held in conjunction with the Mr. United States physique contest. Terry Todd won the heavyweight class. See <http://jva.ontariostrongman.ca/PLR.htm> for more details.
16. John D. Fair, *Muscle Town USA: Bob Hoffman and the Manly Culture of York Barbell* (University Park: Penn State Press, 1999), 215.
17. Todd, "History of Resistance Exercise," 72; and Fair, *Muscle Town*, 215.
18. The AAU Weightlifting Committee was made up of delegates from approximately 60 local associations and 13 regions within the United States. The chairman was elected by this committee and he appointed "sub-committee" chairmen for various jobs.
19. Peary Rader, "Grunt and Groan," *Iron Man* (1969) viewed at: <http://www.americanpowerliftevolution.net/New%20Folder%201969/7-69g&g1.html>.
20. George Frenn, "American Power Scene," *Muscle Builder*, 1969, viewed at <http://www.americanpowerliftevolution.net/New%20Folder%201969/ampower-scene1.html>.
21. See Fair, *Muscle Town*, 34, 37, and throughout the text for discussions of Hoffman's relationship with the AAU.
22. Ibid. 261-262. Hoffman's long-time involvement with weightlifting and the financial gifts he bestowed on lifters and officials through the years allowed him a heavy hand in the decisions of the AAU Weightlifting Committee. A number of the men who served on the committee were either former York Barbell Company team members or Bob's actual employees.
23. Ray Yeagar, "Frenn Squats with 819 at U.S. vs. British Meet," *Iron Man* (1970), viewed at: <http://www.americanpowerliftevolution.net/1970/usbritmeet1.html>. Nine Americans lifted against eight British lifters.

24. Fair, *MuscleTown*, 262.
25. Interview with Bob Crist quoted in Fair, *MuscleTown*, 311.
26. Clay Patterson, "Message from the National AAU Chairman," ms. Folder: IPF Handbook, Rader Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
27. "World Record List," *International Powerlifting Handbook*, Folder: IPF Handbook, Rader Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
28. Bob Hoffman and Terry Todd, "The 1975 World Power Championships," *Muscular Development*, 13(March/April 1976): 9-14.
29. NBC covered the 1977 Men's World Championships from Perth, Australia that year. Bryant Gumbel was the announcer and Terry Todd did the color commentary. Tony Fitton, "World Championships, Perth 77," *Powerlifting USA* 1(6) (November 1977): 2.
30. Jan Todd and Terry Todd, "Significant Events in the History of Drug Testing and the Olympic Movement," *Doping in Elite Sport: The Politics of Drugs in the Olympic Movement* Wayne Wilson and Ed Derse, eds. (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 2001): 70-71.
31. Ibid. 74.
32. Terry Todd, *Inside Powerlifting* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, 1977), 6.
33. Rader, viewed at: <http://www.americanpowerliftevolution.net/New%20Folder%201969/drugcommentary.html>.
34. Joe Nickele, "An Open Letter to All Officials of the IPF," *Powerlifting USA* 1(3) (August, 1977): 20.
35. Although the professional strongwoman Jane de Vesley reportedly deadlifted 392.5 pounds in 1926; and Ivy Russell of Great Britain claimed to have made 410.5 in the same lift at approximately 125 pounds bodyweight in the early 1930s; and Jean Ansorge of Grand Rapids, Michigan, hosted a meet on 17 October 1943, in which women competed in the overhead press, the squat, and the deadlift; the "birth" of women's powerlifting is generally dated to the mid-1970s. In 1975, the Southern Pacific Association of the AAU sanctioned the "All Women's Powerlifting Championships on 6 September 1975. It was a small affair with only 8 lifters and did not totally adhere to AAU rules. "SPA-AAU 1st All Women's Powerlifting Championships," *Powerliftingnews* (No volume, 1976): 7. This same newsletter contains a list of "All-time Best Women's Powerlifts as of 1/1/76" compiled by John Pettit on page 8. For a reprinted version of meet director John Askem's report on this first meet see: <http://jva.ontariostrongman.ca/PLRW.htm>, viewed on 1 June 2004. See also: Jan Todd, "Powerlifting," *International Encyclopedia of Women and Sport*, Vol. 2, Karen Christensen, Allen Guttmann and Gertrude Pfister, eds. (New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2001), 899-902, for more information on the early history of women's powerlifting.
36. Jan Todd, "Powerlifting," *International Encyclopedia*. Six of the 1977 competitors were Todd's high school students from Nova Scotia, Canada, (Todd had moved to Canada in 1975) marking the first time women powerlifters competed "internationally."
37. The United States Powerlifting Federation formed in 1979, when powerlifting was recognized by the AAU as its own autonomous sport.
38. Jan Todd, "1982 International Women's Powerlifting Report—USA," report submitted to International Powerlifting Federation. Jan Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1, The Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
39. Mike Lambert "National AAU Convention," *Powerlifting USA* 1(5) (October, 1977): 3.
40. Ibid., 3. See also: "Message from Conrad Cotter," *Powerlifting USA* 6(7) (January 1983): 34.
41. Conrad Cotter, "Rules Passes and Other Decisions Made by the USPF Executive Committee Since Dayton," *Powerlifting USA* 7(1) (July 1983): 36.
42. None of the official AAU Powerlifting Committee minutes from those years or the "President's Reports" which appeared each month in *Powerlifting USA*, explain why the testing was not done.
43. Richard A. Swanson and Betty Spears, *History of Sport and Physical Education in the United States* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 1995), 313; "Minutes of the National AAU Powerlifting Committee, 16 August, Bay St. Louis, Mississippi." & "Minutes of the National AAU Powerlifting Committee, 26 November, 1979, Las Vegas, Nevada." Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1, Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin. At the Bay St. Louis meeting, the vote was 20-4 in favor of leaving the AAU.
44. "By-Laws of the International Powerlifting Federation, As Amended November 6, 1979." Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
45. The IPF decided to test the top four men in each class and one other in each division chosen at random. "Minutes of the 1980 IPF Congress, Arlington, Texas, November 5 & 6, 1980," Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1, Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
46. Letter, Roz Basile to Clay Patterson, 29 May 1980. Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1, Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
47. Letter, Roz Basile to Jan Todd, 15 April 1981; Jan Todd, "Adelaide Welcome Address—1982 Women's IPF Committee Meeting, Adelaide, Australia" ms. Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
48. "Minutes of the 1981 Meeting of the Women's Committee of the IPF, May 9-10, Honolulu, Hawaii." Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1, Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin. See also: Jan Todd, "Women's News," *The Powerlifter* 1 (6) (June 1981): 14. We also asked for two women to be appointed to the IPF Medical Committee.
49. "1983 Report and Recommendations to the US National Committee From the USPF Medical Committee Concerning Drug Testing," ms. Todd Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
50. Ibid.
51. "Minutes of the IPF Congress Held at Banquet Hall, Park Hotel, Calcutta (India) on November 4, 1981," Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
52. The IPF abolished the gender test for women in 1984 after numerous complaints from the women's committee and individual female competitors.
53. "Minutes of the IPF Congress Calcutta (India) on November 4, 1981."
54. *International Powerlifting Handbook, Part II: Constitution, By-Laws, Drug Testing Appendix, Bid Appendix* (IPF: 1984), Drug Testing Folder, Todd Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
55. "Drug Tests Done for Amphetamines at the World Championships in Calcutta," Official Communique of the IPF, written by Arnold Bostrom, IPF General Secretary. "IPF Calcutta 1981" folder in Todd Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
56. Letter of Official Protest from USPF to Arnold Bostrom, IPF Secretary, January 5, 1982. "IPF Calcutta 1981" folder in Todd, Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. "Urgent: Drug Testing World Championships 1981," official communique from IPF General Secretary Arnold Bostrom. "IPF Calcutta 1981" folder in Todd Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
61. "Drug Testing: 1981 World Championships, Calcutta," official communique from IPF President Vic Mercer. "IPF Calcutta 1981" folder in Todd Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
62. Conrad Cotter, "Message from the USPF President," *Powerlifting USA*, 5(9) (March 1982): 6.
63. Ibid. See also: Mike Lambert, "Doyle Kenady" *Power Hotline* 18(6) (15 February 1999): 1; and "Salem Gym Owner Faces Steroid Charges," *The Oregonian* 13 July, 1991.
64. Jan Todd, "Report and Recommendations to the USPF National Committee From the USPF Medical Committee Concerning Drug Testing, February 1982. Todd Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
65. Mike Lambert, "Drugs in Powerlifting," *Powerlifting USA* 5(10) (April 1982): 13.
66. Ibid.
67. Todd, "Report and Recommendations . . . Drug Testing, February 1982."
68. In Austin, Texas, in July of 1983, Cotter voted against testing in another tied-vote situation. This time the resolution was whether the USPF National Committee would test for steroids at the 1984 Men's Senior Nationals. See: Judy Gedney, "A Statement from Judy Gedney, USPF Women's Committee Member," *USPFWC Bulletin* #2 (8 December 1983) and Jan Todd, "Letter to Members of the IPFWC and Member Nations of the IPF, 29 July 1982," Binder One, Todd Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
69. Conrad Cotter, "A Message from the President," *Powerlifting USA* 6(11) (May 1983): 38.
70. Mike Lambert, "Women's Nationals," *Powerlifting USA* 5(10) April 1982, 8.
71. Ibid., 7 & 8.
72. 1982 USPFWC minutes, ms. Powerlifting files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.

73. "Minutes of the National Committee, July 9, 1982, Dayton Convention Center." Radar File: USPF Agenda and Minutes, July 1982. Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection. See also: "Letter from Jan Todd to Members of the IPFWC and Member Nations of the IPF, 29 July, 1982," Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder One, Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
74. Frederick C. Hatfield, *Anabolic Steroids: What Kind, How Many?* (Madison: Fitness Systems, 1982).
75. "More from Ken Leistner," *Powerlifting USA*, 7(5) November 1983, 28. See also: "Minutes of the National Committee, 22 July 1983, *Powerlifting USA* 7(September 1983): 22-23.
76. "Minutes of the National Committee, 9 July 1982, Dayton, Ohio." Powerlifting files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
77. Ron Fernando, Herb Glossbrenner and Mike Lambert, "Senior National Championship Report," *Powerlifting USA* 6(2) (August 1982): 7.
78. The only lifter to set a world record in Munich was many time world champion Lamar Gant who had always maintained that he did not use drugs. Letter from Jan Todd to Arnold Bostrom, IPF Secretary, November 17, 1982. Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder One, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
79. Ibid.
80. Terry Todd, "The Steroid Dilemma," *Sports Illustrated* (1 August 1983): 62-77.
81. Edmund Martin Bishop (Brother Bennet) was born on 28 January 1931 in New Orleans and died in Bay St. Louis, Mississippi on 17 November 1994 from a heart attack. For information on the life of Brother Bennet see: Bob Gaynor, "ADFPFA Founder Dies," *American Drug Free Powerlifting News* 1(4) (December 1994): 1; Brother Aquin Gauthier, S.C., "Brother Bennet Bishop (1931-1994)," special obituary written for St. Stanislaus College Archives, St. Stanislaus, Mississippi; and Arley West, "A Salute to Brother Bennet," *Muscular Development* (April 1983): 32-33, 64. For information on the first meeting of the ADFPFA held on 27 & 28 November 1981, in Arlington, Virginia, see: "American Drug Free Powerlifting Association," *Powerlifting USA* 5(7) (January 1982): 40.
82. Mike Lambert, "Editor's Note," *Powerlifting USA*, 4(5) (November 1980): 21.
83. Brother Bennett, "Morals and Ethics in Powerlifting: A Speech Given at the Women's Nationals," *Powerlifting USA* 5(10) (April 1982): 13. Bennett's moral approach to sport was also evident in the group's requirement that every member sign a pledge asserting that "I hereby give my word of honor as an athlete that I have not used any strength-inducing drugs (i.e. any anabolic steroids or natural hormones) as part of my training during the past twelve months." ADFPFA Certification Form. Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder 1. Todd-McLean Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
84. Telephone interview with Judy Gedney, 5 October 1983; and email from Judy Gedney on 26 June 2004.
85. Brother Bennet, "Message from the ADFPFA President," 7(4) (October 1983): 25. The first women's nationals in the ADFPFA was a jointly sponsored meet held in Boston on May 21 & 22, 1982. See: Kathy Tuite, "Women's Natural Nationals," *Powerlifting USA* 7(1) (July 1983): 12-14.
86. The ADFPFA permitted urinalysis testing in the early days but, because it was so much less expensive, polygraph testing was the normal testing method used.
87. In an email on 26 June 2004, Judy Gedney argues that the polygraphs were more likely to not catch drug users than to create false positives: "I remember being very much in favor of polygraph testing as we were able to test many more lifters using the polygraph. When mistakes were made, I'm relatively confident that it was the drug users that got away with something and not the drug free lifters who were found positive." For more information on polygraphs see: Robert Klein, Sr. "Using the Polygraph for Drug Testing," *Powerlifting USA* 6(5) November 1982, 13-14.
88. Conrad Cotter, "Message from the President," *Powerlifting USA* 6(3) (September 1982): 35. The most important of these jointly sanctioned meets was the 1983 Women's Natural Nationals, held in Boston on May 21 & 22, 1983. See: Kathy Tuite, "Women's Natural Nationals," *Powerlifting USA* 7(1) (July 1983): 12-14.
89. Brother Bennet to Peary Rader, September 11, 1982. "Brother Bennet Folder," Rader Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
90. Ibid. and Brother Bennet to Peary Rader, 11 November 1982, "Brother Bennet Folder," Rader Powerlifting Files, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
91. Conrad Cotter, "Message from the USPF President," *Powerlifting USA* 6(6) (December 1982): 17.
92. Conrad Cotter, "Rules Passes and Other Decisions Made by the USPF Executive Committee Since Dayton," *Powerlifting USA* 7(1) (July 1983): 36.
93. Conrad Cotter, "Message from the USPF President," *Powerlifting USA*, 6(6) (December 1982): 17.
94. Ruthie Shafer, "Women's Corner," *Powerlifting USA* 6(9) (21 March 1983): 10.
95. Mike Lambert, "Women's Nationals," *Powerlifting USA* 6(9) (March 1983): 7.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid. 9.
98. "Minutes of the National Committee, 22 July 1983, Austin Texas." *Powerlifting USA* 7(3) (September 1983): 23.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
101. They also elected me to the IPF Hall of Fame for my work as an administrator.
102. APF Advertisement, *Powerlifting USA*, 6(7) (Jan 1983): 58.
103. Ibid.
104. "More from Ken Leistner," *Powerlifting USA* 6(7) (January 1983): 21.
105. "Proposal for APF/AMPF Meeting, Submitted by Ernie Frantz, 28 January 1983," Todd Powerlifting Files, "APF File," The Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
106. Letter, Arnold Bostrom to Mike Lambert, printed in *Power Hotline*, 3(14) (14 June 1984): 1. See also: Conrad Cotter, "Message from the President," *Powerlifting USA* 8(2) (September 1984): 30-31.
107. Mike Lambert, "USPF Women's National Championships," *Powerlifting USA* 7(9) (April 1984): 10.
108. The other reason for my decision to give up the chair was that Terry and I had just moved to Austin and I had started a new career teaching at The University of Texas.
109. Ruthie Schafer, "Women's Corner," *Powerlifting USA* 7(9) (April 1984): 16.
110. Shortly after Gedney's protests about the 1984 drug test fiasco, Cotter replaced her with Ramona Kenady (who had never been a lifter herself) and decreed that the women no longer had the right to elect their chair. Letter from Conrad Cotter to Dr. Judith Gedney, 15 July 1985, Todd Powerlifting Files, Binder One, The Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
111. Conrad Cotter, "Message from the President," *Powerlifting USA* 7(11) (June 1984): 25.
112. Judy Gedney, "Message from the Chairwoman," *Powerlifting USA* 7(11) (June 1984): 25.
113. Mike Lambert, "Women's Worlds," *Powerlifting USA* 7(12) (July 1984): 7.
114. "From Judy Gedney," *Powerlifting USA* 8(2) (September 1985): 52.
115. Mike Lambert, "The 1984 Senior Nationals," *Powerlifting USA* 8(2) (September 1985): 7-8.
116. Conrad Cotter, "Message from the President," *Powerlifting USA* 8(3) (October 1984): 24.
117. Memorandum from Steven L. Sulzer to Conrad Cotter, 29 June, 1984, reprinted in *Powerlifting USA* 8(2) (September 1984): 30-31.
118. Telephone interview by Terry Todd with Larry Maile, 3 October 2003. Maile is the current president of USAPowerlifting and estimates that his group, the largest of all the current federations, has about 5000 members. The USPF, which has no testing program, continues to sanction a few meets each year.
119. There are now several websites on the internet devoted simply to keeping up with the new federations and their various rules and records. See for instance: <http://www.fitnessforoneandall.com/links/powerlifting/federations.htm>; and <http://www.zyworld.com/powerlifting/organizations.htm>.
120. The IPF remains the major international governing body and is affiliated with the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Although not yet an Olympic sport, powerlifting is an official sport of the Paralympics and the IPF is bound to follow the IOC's drug testing procedures. Currently, the IFP has more than 70 member nations, while the WPC claims 30 countries. More information on all these groups can be found on their individual websites.
121. <http://kazfan.homestead.com/files/CRAP.htm>.
122. Ibid.
123. Underwood, *Spoiled Sport*, 21.

THE PIONEERS OF PROTEIN

DANIEL T. HALL AND JOHN D. FAIR

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In the 1950s when I started bodybuilding, most guys believed all you had to do to develop your body was lift weights. They didn't think what you ate really mattered. Now we all know differently.¹

—Frank Zane

Nutritional supplements have become big business as America enters the twenty-first century. One can scarcely thumb through the first 30 pages of any fitness or muscle magazine without being inundated with advertisements for these kinds of products. What all of them have in common is some kind of protein ingredient or an improved way of ingesting this basic building block for muscle. Protein products are now sold as stock items at nutritional outlets, such as General Nutrition Center (GNC) stores and supermarkets. Even Wal-Mart sells its own brand of protein supplements for low-carbohydrate diets. Surprisingly, however, this nutritional advancement which (along with steroids) sparked a revolution in bodybuilding, is of relatively recent vintage. Although dietary regulation extends back to the health reformers of the early nineteenth century, and some aspects of the health food industry trace their origin to the isolation of the first vitamin in 1911, the efficacy of protein supplementation was not appreciated until after World War II.² Obviously, leading iron game promoters in the 1950s—Bob Hoffman, Peary Rader, and Joe Weider—played major roles in its development, commercialization, and acceptance, but the prominence of their public pitch has obscured the activities of earlier pioneers who first conceived the idea of protein supplements.

In the spring of 1946 Paul Bragg, noted physical culturist and natural foods advocate, visited Hoffman at his home in York.³ With an eye to striking up some sort of business proposition and aware of the "tremendous influence" Hoffman had "over thousands of young men in America and over the world," Bragg encouraged him to enter the food business. Upon returning to his home in Burbank, California, Bragg further pursued this line in a letter, explaining to Bob that he would be doing his legions of followers

a real service to see that they get from you supplementary foods and special foods that will be part of their training program. As I told you in York, you have done what no

other barbell man has ever done. You have made your barbell students nutrition-conscious and that has been the weak link all through the history of barbells. I remember thirty-five years ago or more talking to Mr. Calvert. At that time I wanted him to add some dietetic information to his course, which I agreed to co-operate with him on. But he brushed me off with, 'As long as they eat good nourishing food that's all that is necessary.' . . . and his idea of good nourishing food was fried meat, mashed potatoes, white bread, coffee, and dessert. I feel that he would have had twice the influence over his students if he had made them a little more food-conscious—and that is exactly what you have done.

By way of an additional rationale and incentive to this altruistic appeal, Bragg held out the prospect of a lucrative income from a product which, unlike barbells, would generate a constant turnover in sales.

I believe, Bob, that we can really add a tremendous income to your earnings, because the food business is not like the athletic equipment business. In 1913 I bought a set of barbells from the Milo Barbell Company and today they are just as fine as they were way back there in the dim past. But when you get thousands of your students eating your food and they consume it, you have no idea of the tremendous income that you will have rolling in.⁴

Bragg even suggested that the product line be called "Bob Hoffman Health Foods." That Bob did not enthusiastically embrace Bragg's offer to collaborate in such an uncertain enterprise is not surprising. In his reply he admitted that "I have no great amount of ideas as to what we should sell for I have not delved into the subject to any great extent." Whole wheat bread was the only mar-

ketable food item Hoffman could suggest, the commodification of protein being beyond the imagination of both physical culturists.⁵ Food supplements, at least at this point, would have been an even greater leap in the dark than either oil burners or barbells, the two commodities on which he had established his fortune in York.

Still Bragg had planted an idea that would later bear fruit, rightly reckoning that Hoffman had already done much to raise nutrition-consciousness. Indeed correct eating figured prominently in Bob's first "big book," *How to Be Strong, Healthy, and Happy*, published in 1938. He believed that "a strong and healthy man must consume foods which contain all the necessary elements," but Hoffman saw no need for any scientific study of food to determine what kinds were best for any particular bodily function. "A wide variety of good plain natural foods," he advised, "will be sufficient to supply the body with all the minerals and vitamins it requires."⁶ Much the same message is conveyed in a follow-up volume entitled *Better Nutrition for the Strength and Health Seeker*, published in 1940. Here Hoffman recognizes the importance of protein as the most necessary ingredient to tissue building and repair, but he places no special emphasis on its value to weightlifters or the amount of protein that should be consumed. In line with most recent studies, he believed that most people probably consumed too much protein since the body can only ingest a limited amount of it for tissue growth. The remainder is available for fuel, but even in that process there is considerable wastage. "Starch, sugar and fat are burned up almost one hundred per cent in the body, but only part of a protein is burned and the rest is eliminated, mostly from the kidneys." It was for this reason that "those who suffer from Bright's Disease are warned to be very moderate in their eating of meat." Another reason for exercising moderation was that "protein is expensive as compared to starches and sugars." Finally, according to data Hoffman cited from the Technical Committee of the League of Nations, the recommended dose of protein per day for an adult over twenty-one was only .045 gram (or 1/60th of an ounce) per pound of bodyweight. This computed as just 2.5 ounces for a 154 pound man and 2.1 ounces for a 132 pound woman.⁷ Hoffman therefore recommended a balanced diet consisting of simple foods from all the nutritional categories. While it must have disappointed him that this book sold so few copies, especially in contrast to his books on sex technique and marriage, nutrition

remained, second only to proper physical training, as one of his four essential rules for good health.⁸ In any consideration of nutritional awareness among early iron game promoters, Hoffman was clearly in the forefront, as he was in virtually all other categories.

Notably different in outlook was Peary Rader's *Iron Man*, which—though offering ample coverage of lifting events, bodybuilders, training routines, and exercises—was for years almost totally devoid of insights or advice on nutrition. Finally, in an early 1948 issue Rader prescribed a "Diet for the Strongman," but it was obvious that he knew little about the subject. He simply advised readers that "the diet of most successful bodybuilders is just the average well rounded diet." To gain muscular bodyweight one just needed to eat more nourishing foods, but "the more you worry about your diet, the less you benefit by it."⁹ It was only through outside advertisements that any nutritional information was made available to *Iron Man* readers. They began in late 1948 with an ad for vitamins and minerals from Walter Marcy's House of Health in Los Angeles and continued in 1950 with Kevetts hi-potency tablets and "44" supplemental food beverage. The latter was sold in powdered form by Patton's Dietetics of Los Angeles and Schenectady and contained such ingredients as soy beans, deep sea kelp, and whole wheat germ.¹⁰ It was the first protein supplement advertised for weightlifters.

Whether these products stimulated further developments is uncertain, but the December 1950 issue of *Iron Man* featured an article by Irvin Johnson entitled "Build Bigger Biceps Faster with Food Supplements." In introducing it Rader explained that Johnson had originally come from New Jersey to Chicago to take voice lessons and now operated one of the finest gyms in the country. When they first met at the 1947 national championships in Chicago, Johnson was far from robust in either health or physique, although he had been training with weights for some years. Now, however, Rader was "amazed" at his transformation. "He had gained a great deal of weight and had a beautiful physique which had recently won him a physique contest in Chicago. He had developed one of the most pleasant and magnetic personalities we have ever had the pleasure of contacting." Rader was also impressed with Johnson's layout, which included a large modern gym, comfortable living quarters, and a huge voice studio with up-to-date recording equipment. But the centerpiece was "a big modern kitchen where he and some of the boys of the gym con-

coct new and unusual and result producing foods and meals." It was by this means that Johnson had transformed his body and achieved amazing results for his trainees. One boy of thirteen, in just four weeks, had supposedly put five inches on his chest, an inch on his arms, and increased his press from 95 to 132 pounds without ever practicing the press. Another lad of 19, after two years of no results, was said to have gained twenty pounds of muscle in just two weeks of training. And Johnson himself, once only able to do 165 pounds for ten repetitions in the leg press, gained 45 pounds and now claimed to do 660 pounds for twelve repetitions. Johnson attributed these gains in great part to intake of B complex vitamins which improved digestion, assimilation, and appetite for bodybuilders.¹¹ In the following issue Johnson explains how B complex contributed to "bulging muscles" and provides information on how readers can order them from his gym.

So taken was Rader by the breakthroughs reported by Johnson in numerous long-distance calls to Nebraska, that he virtually devoted an issue (July 1951) to them. It featured "The Irvin Johnson Story," a Horatio Alger style recounting of the subject's transformation from a "weakling" to a "superman." Then there were two articles by Johnson himself, the first being the success story of how two of his young charges, Bill McDonough and Johnny Gaal, won the Mr. Chicago and Mr. Jr. Illinois physique titles by employing his revolutionary diet system.¹² In the second one Johnson reveals the so-called "Miracle Food," a protein concoction that he developed in his kitchen laboratory. To demonstrate its efficacy, Johnson experimented on a pair of twins, named Larry and John, who worked out at his gym. Larry had always been bigger and more developed, but when John began supplementing his diet with Johnson's new protein food he became larger than his brother. John's arm alone became one inch larger than Larry's.¹³ Even more impressive were the revelations of Rader in an editorial. For him, proof of the effectiveness of Johnson's supplements came from successful experiments he



Bob Hoffman shakes Irvin Johnson's hand during the 1951 Mr. World Contest in Philadelphia in this photo from *Tomorrow's Man* magazine. Just two months later, Hoffman launched his own line of high protein supplements in *Strength & Health*.

had performed on an underweight young woman of 23 and himself. Rader admitted in an editorial that he had become soft from not exercising regularly. But after taking Johnson's vitamin B1 complex and protein food he "immediately began to feel better. Even without exercise I found my muscles becoming firmer and apparently growing somewhat." The results seemed miraculous. "I can truthfully say that I've never felt better in all my life. My bodyweight has increased, tho I had no particular desire to increase it and made no effort in this direction. In fact I gained 15 pounds in one month." The only caveat to Rader's enthusiastic endorsement of Johnson's system was the latter's philosophy that "heavy, intense work where you squeeze out the last repetition possible is neither necessary nor desirable." That impressive results could be achieved with light weights or even no weights was a concept that would likely be questioned by many experienced bodybuilders, but Rader was "dedicated to furthering this great work" of Johnson's. "Progress that you would have considered a miracle in the past will become commonplace in the future," he prophesized.¹⁴ Rader had become a true believer in

"Irvin Johnson's Hi-Protein Food." It was a silver bullet!

Subsequent issues of *Iron Man* featured hyperbolic ads and articles about Johnson's products. "We Produce The Greatest Before and After Cases in the World," boasted an ad for his Vitamin Mineral Supplement. "No One Can Equal Us!" And this was followed by a layout of nine before/after photos with his bodybuilding course and the claim that some of his pupils gained as much as seven inches on their chests in just thirty-five days.¹⁵ In the September issue of 1951 Rader reported "one of the hardest things to believe" from a phone conversation he had had "the other day" with Johnson.

The case of a young man who had trained a year with little progress and weighed 169 pounds. His blood pressure was only 100. His arm measured 14½ inches. He stayed there just 24 hours under the special diet treatment of Mr. Johnson and left weighing 181, blood pressure normal and arm measuring 16¾ inches. Mr. Johnson says, 'no one will believe this so there is no use writing it up.'

"Fantastic? No, It Really Happened!!" is the heading Rader chose to divulge these latest "Miracles in Muscles."¹⁶ But a nagging sense of doubt, along with an immense curiosity from readers over these sensational results, must have led him back to Chicago to revisit Johnson's studio some weeks later. There Rader found that although Johnson emphasized diet more than exercise, his pupils displayed remarkable physical development. He was especially impressed with Jim Park, a future Mr. America "whose arms look like hams hanging from his shoulders." What's more, Rader was struck by the radiance exhibited by some of Johnson's pupils. "Their faces and personalities undergo remarkable changes," he noted. To allay any suspicion that his publicizing of Johnson's methods was done out of self-interest, Rader made it clear that "we have no interest at all in selling Johnson's products. He pays for his ads like everyone else . . . In fact York Barbell Co. have full sales rights to the proteins. So we don't get a single cent, gift or concession for what we have said, and our articles have in no way been commercially aimed."¹⁷ Still it was

Rader's enthusiastic endorsements and free publicity that initially aroused the interest of iron gamers to the possibilities of protein supplements.

How Bob Hoffman obtained the exclusive rights to market "Johnson's Hi Protein Food" is not difficult to imagine. *Strength & Health* was the leading publication in its field, and it is not unlikely that Johnson made a pitch to York for advertising space. But Hoffman viewed his magazine as a company sales catalog and did not like to promote non-York products or anything in which he did not have a direct hand. So he featured a half page ad for Johnson's Hi-Protein, beginning in the April 1951 issue, but it had to be "endorsed and recommended by Bob Hoffman, Famous Olympic Coach" and ordered from the York Barbell Company. Interestingly it was accompanied by an article and cover picture of Jim Park, though without the kind of fawning tributes to his mentor (Johnson) that were so characteristic of Rader's articles.¹⁸ For Hoffman it was just a business proposition and not a revelation. Soon, however, he was showing a renewed interest in nutrition. In the September 1951 issue he admits that he was formerly "not convinced of the necessity for food concentrates and vitamin supplements." But his views were altered "as more and more conclusive evidence" called attention "to the depletion of the soil. The deficiencies have become pronounced through soil erosion and general depletion of vital elements through improper or inadequate fertilization replacement." [Editors' note: Hoffman's views were no doubt influenced by Louis Bromfield's best-selling 1933 book, *The Farm*, which lyrically described the restoration of the soil on his family farm in Ohio by means of organic principles.] Plain simple food was no longer enough, Hoffman argued. Now it was necessary to take protein, vitamin, and mineral supplements to compensate for the inadequacies of the average diet. There ensued in the same issue not only another article on nutrition but an ad for Hoffman's latest product, the York Vitamin-Mineral Food Supplement. Closely following Johnson's line, he insisted that his product helped to "increase the ingestion of protein in building sound muscle tissue."¹⁹ Much though it contradicts his previous position in *Better Nutrition*, Hoffman's advocacy for protein and vitamin/mineral supplements crescendos in successive issues of his magazine.

Then in the February issue of 1952 an

epiphany—the point of his promotion becomes clear with the sudden replacement of Johnson's Hi-Protein Food ad with one for Bob Hoffman's High-Protein Food, replete already with seven testimonials from satisfied customers. One of them, Bob Butterfield of Stockton, California, had already consumed four pounds of the stuff and felt "like a new man." Don Burwell of Tacoma, Washington, "found that plain soy flour is no match for this miracle food" which "added ½ inch to my arms." Christian Herr of Eden, Pennsylvania, had been consuming Bob's High-Protein "for several months" and liked it so much that he had his entire family taking it. Amazingly all seven testimonials had the new product spelled correctly. Indeed the only way for Hoffman to have received such glowing responses was for him to have taken letters received by his office for Johnson's Hi-Protein and altered the product's name ever so slightly. Whether he also now filled orders for Johnson's product that continued to be addressed to York Barbell Company with his own protein miracle food cannot be determined, but it would have been a logical next step—a modified version of the age-old practice of "bait and switch."²⁰ But such devious methods were exactly the way Bob promoted his "new, improved body building food," although it was being marketed in the same four pound packages for \$4.00 and available in the same chocolate, vanilla, black walnut, coconut, and plain flavors as Johnson's original brand.

In subsequent issues of *Strength & Health*, Hoffman further appropriated Johnson's innovations as his own, claiming that his weightlifters, with the aid of "generous quantities of Hoffman's High Protein body-building food" entered the previous year's world championship in Milan "in such condition that they scored the greatest victory ever." But if anyone's protein was used in preparation for the victory in Milan in the fall of 1951, it would have been Johnson's. Furthermore it seemed necessary to concoct a story of Hoffman's High Protein's scientific development to convince curious readers of its credibility.

The production of a 'miracle food,' such as High-Protein, is not a hit-or-miss affair. A world famous food research laboratory is put to work. Their chemists and the doctors, who are a part of their organization, work out the product. They profit by their years

of study, experience and research.

After a lengthy period of research and testing, the proper blend is obtained. It must be nutritious, containing—as far as possible—all the necessary amino acids, and it must be pleasant to the taste, so that using it is a pleasure. The blend has been prepared and then the aid of a big, nationally known packing company, is enlisted. It is their work to fill the prescription or formula, to prepare the food as outlined by the research laboratories. The ingredients must be handled in a sanitary manner, properly packaged and prepared for shipment. All of this was done with the Hoffman products. We never leave anything to chance.²¹

These were high-sounding phrases, but as generations of York employees could readily attest, all York products were packaged and shipped from the company's plant on Broad Street and later Ridge Avenue. Also Jim Murray, Hoffman's managing editor, has a very different version of his boss's "invention of the wheel" protein story. Not only did Bob virtually steal Johnson's idea but he created his own formula in a most unscientific manner. He ordered some Hershey's sweet chocolate, and Murray observed him "stirring his mixture with a canoe paddle in a soy bean flour container. He was sweating away while stirring and tasting, saying, 'yuk, no one will buy that,' and so mixed more."²² This trial and error process was a far cry from Hoffman's claims about the involvement of chemists and doctors and a "world famous research laboratory." It was simply a crude attempt to imitate Johnson's discovery.

Soon, in an attempt to distance himself from the other brand, Hoffman changed the spelling of his product to "Hi-Proteen" and produced a new set of testimonials, again premature to the product's availability. "I like your new Hi-Proteen much better than the high protein food you formerly sold," wrote Charles Adolph of Mogadore, Ohio.²³ By the June 1952 issue of *Strength & Health* he was able to feature Hi-Proteen ads with pictures of John Grimek, Steve Stanko, Jules Bacon, and himself on the boxes. Now, in accompanying articles on nutrition, Hoffman was no longer convinced that exercise was the most important of his essentials of health. But he was certain that many bodybuilders failed through poor nutrition to build the muscles they crave.²⁴

Obviously the monetary success and potential of his protein supplement was having an impact on his philosophy of health, perhaps more than it was having on its consumers. In the October 1952 issue Bob claimed that he had recently made great gains in weight and strength through regular consumption of Hi-Proteen and exercise over an eight week period. "From 246 to 260 pounds in bodyweight, and from the 100 pounds I had been using in most exercises to 225 in a number of them. . . . Sometimes when I was performing an exercise it would feel lighter than it should and I would have to recount the plates to make sure I was using the right weight. . . . Right now I am in the midst of a program of living almost on Hi-Proteen alone."²⁵ Like Rader, Hoffman had become a true believer in the efficacy of protein supplements, but only by pushing Johnson aside and capitalizing on his ideas.

In the meantime Johnson's standing was also being jeopardized by developments in Rader's organization. Differences in the philosophy of training between the two physical culturists, prevalent in the beginning of their relationship, continued to widen, especially as Johnson's prize pupil, Jim Park, came to the fore. To bolster his concept of "nutrition being more important than exercise in building strength, health, and physique," Johnson carried out an experiment on Park. He put him on a diet of many light meals of various food concentrates, including the new high protein tablet that he was marketing, and a casual exercise program that included Roman chair leg extensions but "NO deep knee bends or squats." This unique program was "a good thing," pronounced Johnson.

Too many squats, especially with heavy weights, produce big fannies, broaden the hips, and develop an upper thigh like that of a woman. I believe too, that squats work against, rather than for stimulating glandular functions, which is just exactly the opposite of what most weight lifters believe. Many muscle-men claim the squat is a great exercise because it develops a big rib box. Here in Chicago we have proved that it is possible to build the chest bigger and faster by doing our Hi-Chest Pull than it is by doing hundreds of squats. The squat, as you can see, is not one of our favorite exercises. It's vastly over-rated in our opinion.

Not only did Park go on to win the Mr. Chicago title, but he increased his maximum squat from 350 to 415 pounds during the experiment. "Amazing? You bet it is," declared Johnson. "Here's the guy who increased the amount of weight he could handle in the squat by not doing the exercise at all and by concentrating on correct eating and on other exercises." These results flew directly in the face of Rader's foremost beliefs about training, so much so that he had to contact Park to verify whether they were true. Having done that, Rader had no recourse but to issue an editorial disclaimer to Johnson's views, especially on the squat and the value of heavy exercise. "We feel that you must work hard to accomplish anything worthwhile. Nothing worthwhile comes easy in this life."²⁶ Further to assume the moral high ground, Rader reiterated that his publicizing of Johnson's teachings and products was not motivated by any prospect of commercial gain.²⁷

A second volley of skepticism came from a Scottish writer, David Martin, who believed Johnson had been imprecise and misleading in his article concerning the amount of protein tablets that would be necessary to build muscle.²⁸ In his rejoinder, Johnson pointed out that his tablets actually contained 86% protein, rather than the 47% assumed by Martin. Furthermore, he explained that ordinary meat contains "intact protein" that cannot be utilized by the body until it is broken down into amino acids by proteolytic enzymes from the stomach, pancreas, and intestines. "In addition to containing a high concentration of protein, our tablets contain enzymes to aid in utilizing protein. Because they are easy to digest, they are more effective than intact protein." Thus, he reasoned that "pound for pound, our tablets give more usable protein than meat" and that "a few pills take up a lot less room" in the stomach "than a steak. . . . Also, the smaller quantity permits the digestive juices to do a better job of assimilation. Naturally, it is more difficult to digest a lot than a little."²⁹ It was quality, not quantity, that counted. Johnson's rationale was convincing enough, but his system's credibility received a more important boost when Jim Park won the Mr. America title in 1952. Although he did not claim full responsibility, Johnson's new ads stated that his "Hi Protein Tablets played an important part in the nutritional program followed by Jim Park in preparation for the

recent Mr. America contest in which he scored so dramatic a success. And Jim is but one of hundreds who will testify to the amazing results achieved through use of these tablets in conjunction with other protein foods.³⁰ In subsequent months Johnson's advertising efforts intensified, even to the extent that he founded his own magazine, *Tomorrow's Man*, to reveal "the miraculous transformations now being performed by the latest science of nutrition and exercise. You won't find the information and inspiration contained in this magazine anywhere else in the world," he promised.³¹

By now it was obvious that a parting of the ways between Rader and Johnson, just as with Hoffman, was imminent, but the circumstances were different. Soon Rader was marketing his own brand of food supplement called "Super Protein" in advertisements closely resembling those of Johnson. Like Johnson, his product contained 85% protein, and he featured before/after pictures and success stories. By way of innovation, Rader promised to present a different case history in each issue, including the subject's exercise program (headed by breathing squats!), diet, measurement data, and strength tests. His first subject, Dick Fouts, gained fifteen pounds in seventeen days with gains of .6 inches in arm, 2 inches in chest, and 1.3 inches in thigh measurements and increases of 70 and 40 pounds in the squat and bench press respectively. Subsequent subject stories featured such headings as "Bill Brewster's 25 Day Miracle," "High School Student Gains 18 lbs. in 1 month," and "Bob Power gains as much in ONE MONTH with SUPER PROTEIN diet as he gained in previous fifteen months without Super Protein."³² By no means the least significant aspect of this new enterprise was that Rader's product could only be obtained from his "Body Culture Equipment Co., Alliance, Nebr." Super Protein marked

FOR THAT SUPER-PHYSIQUE

Hoffman's SPECIAL HI-PROTEEN

"GAIN WEIGHT"
A Body Building Food
For Those Who Want
To Gain Weight
70% PROTEIN

MADE BY
BOB HOFFMAN, YORK BARBELL CO.
YORK, PENNSYLVANIA

Hoffman's GAIN WEIGHT HI-PROTEEN

is a specially blended product that will build stronger and larger muscles. Bodybuilders who find it hard to gain weight, to increase their muscle size, or to get stronger have found this product the answer to their problems. Many users have gained from 6 to 12 pounds of muscle while using only a single pound of this nutritional product. This proves how well it serves as a catalyst in the utilization of incomplete proteins. In good nutrition the basic law of assimilation is that protein cannot be fully assimilated if any of the amino acids are missing. Protein foods lacking in amino acids will often pass through the body as waste, adding only burden to the digestive and eliminative systems. Gain Weight Hi-Protein, on the other hand, is so rich in these essential acids that it supplies nearly 10 times its own weight to facilitate assimilation of incomplete proteins.

It's recommended that you use four teaspoonsful of this product daily. This amount provides 28 grams of the best protein your body can use. Those who wish to gain more weight, however, should use double this amount to speed up the process.

Vast research with animal and human subjects prove conclusively that certain food elements can stimulate rapid body growth. These elements, it can be said, are abundant in the Gain Weight Hi-Protein. For this reason you can be assured that regular use of this product will increase bodyweight and muscle size as desired.

Gain Weight Hi-Protein is sold in Health Stores everywhere, or use the handy coupon and order direct from the manufacturer.

Bob Hoffman, York Barbell Co., York, Pa.

Please send me:

☐ one canister of Gain Weight Hi-Protein—\$3.00 (powder or tablets)

☐ four canisters of Gain Weight Hi-Protein—\$10.00 (powder only)

☐ Gain Weight-Energol Bargain Special—two canisters of Gain Weight Hi-Protein Powder, one pint Energol, plus Bob Hoffman's Daily Dozen course—\$10.00

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

By 1965 John Grimek's image dominated the Hi-Protein ads in *Strength & Health* and *Muscular Development*. Never afraid of hyperbole, Hoffman's ad claims that "many users have gained from six to twelve pounds of muscle from just one pound of Hi-Protein."

the beginning of a long line of training aids that Rader would make available to his readers over the next several decades. What's more, owing to Johnson's influence, there was a dramatic increase in the number of articles on nutrition and even an occasional (thinly disguised) editorial preaching the virtues of protein supplementation. "PROTEIN—This is a word on the lips of everyone now-a-days," he wrote at the end of 1953. "Like a lot of the rest of you, we were a bit skeptical of the results of protein supplements until we had done a lot of

testing and study. We are now honestly convinced that they are an aid of major importance in the bodybuilding program."³³ Rader was never as hyperbolic in his protein pitch as Johnson or Hoffman, but he clearly could not resist the temptation to cast his net in the commercial field while clinging to the traditional values for which *Iron Man* was known and respected.

Meanwhile the first issue of *Tomorrow's Man*, with Jim Park on the cover, appeared in December 1952. It was "dedicated to the young in spirit who will be tomorrow's men . . . to men willing to accept something new and revolutionary." Johnson insisted that "'Huff and puff methods of body building are as out-dated as the Roman chariot. They are based on the theory that straining and forcing the muscles will cause them to grow. I'm firmly convinced that The Johnson System' is the method which will bring body building out of the 'Dark Ages.'"³⁴ There was much to disturb the iron game powers-that-be in Johnson's new publication. Not only was his philosophy of diet over exercise at variance with existing beliefs, but his innovative and aggressive sales techniques threatened the barbell and food supplement profits of other commercial interests. In just a year of publication, Johnson boasted that his tiny pocket-sized publication had "grown by such leaps and bounds that it is now the biggest selling physical culture magazine on the market today!"³⁵ But it also had a different look from the others. Unlike *Strength & Health* or *Iron Man*, Johnson's magazines had a much greater proportion of pictures and comparatively little narrative. Invariably they featured handsome (even comely) young men wearing brief costumes (often G-strings) or even nudes, a practice no so longer prevalent in mainstream muscle magazines in the conservative 1950s. There were also artists' renditions of nude young men, as in "Navajo" and "Thor," frolicking in a wilderness setting.³⁶ Admittedly the revealing depiction of lithe and supple physiques coincided with Johnson's philosophy of light exercise, but there was something else that was different about the look of his magazine. There was a lot of male skin, revealing another side of Johnson's persona that insiders knew about but did not discuss openly in those days. *Tomorrow's Man*, for all of its explicit emphasis on diet and health, also exuded a "come hither" cachet, and most of the record sales it enjoyed doubtless did not come from young women wanting to look at pictures of nearly naked young men.

The homophobia of Peary Rader is well known, and it coincided with his deeply Christian beliefs and values. It was probably the aspect of physical culture that he hated and feared most. Shortly after the appearance of Johnson's magazine, Rader penned an editorial on character issues that affected his conscience. Although the "strutting egotism" of many bodybuilders was his foremost concern, he was also appalled by "the growing tendency towards sexual abnormalities throughout society." Letters from readers informed him of "physique shows organized by 'off color' promoters in which unsuspecting young bodybuilders have been encouraged to participate. Legitimate promoters of high ideals have found it difficult to police their shows and contests and rid them of immoral contacts between young fellows and the social lice who attempt to contaminate anyone or anything good." No mention was made of Johnson, but Rader pointed out that *Iron Man* no longer carried any physique photo ads of the kind that might be employed by "unscrupulous photographers" for illicit and immoral purposes.³⁷ This kind of appeal, of course, was standard fare in *Tomorrow's Man*. At the very least, Rader's position indicates that there was a clear-cut cultural cleavage between the two promoters. An outright break occurred after Johnson, in the January 1954 issue of his magazine, used an endorsement from Rader for his diet program in an article that also emphasized his ideas against heavy exercise and the "monstrous" physiques resulting from it.³⁸ Rader's words in *Tomorrow's Man* provoked a letter from Ray Van Cleef, a feature contributor for *Strength & Health*, claiming that Rader was being "used" by an unscrupulous professional whose "ambitions are not in harmony with the good of the game." Although Rader justified at length his previous associations with Johnson and tried to separate his support of his nutritional innovations from his anti-exercise beliefs, he completely divorced himself from Johnson. "We have nothing to do with Johnson's business or his magazine," he avowed. "There are, perhaps things that we do not approve about his magazine and we might perhaps operate a business in a different manner, however we do not presume to tell him how to operate either of his businesses. . . . We would prefer that critics write direct to Mr. Johnson and he can defend himself as he sees fit."³⁹ Rader was, in effect, washing his hands of Johnson, and it is not surprising that within six months Johnson's ads, and any mention of his miraculous sys-

tem, totally disappeared from *Iron Man*.

While Rader was disassociating himself from Johnson, Hoffman was perfecting his own Hi-Proteen product and pitch. In the spring of 1953, nearly a year after Johnson developed them, Hoffman introduced his own Hi-Proteen tablets, "the answer to a bodybuilder's dream." They were formulated by a Philadelphia chemist named Winston Day whose firm, the High Chemical Company, would eventually supply Hoffman with all of his dietary products. "This is no lie," Day swears. "One day in the early fifties Bob came into my office with a bag of soy flour under one arm and a bag of milk powder under the other and said, 'Can you make me some tablets?' He ended up making a fortune off of the stuff."⁴⁰ Hoffman, in typical fashion, not only declared his tablets an instant success but was staking a claim on the entire protein supplement enterprise. "We were the first to offer for sale a high protein food which was advertised and sold nationally," he claimed. "Now everybody is doing it. . . . From the inception of *Strength & Health* magazine, over 20 years ago, we recommended a high protein diet, and when the book *Better Nutrition* was first written in 1939 . . . much of the book was devoted to a high protein diet."⁴¹ None of these statements, however, were true. In 1953 Hoffman completely revised his *Better Nutrition for the Strength and Health Seeker* and republished it as *The High Protein Way to Better Nutrition*, deleting those portions that recommended only a limited protein intake and adding large sections (five entire chapters) to the importance of a high protein diet.

Truly protein has been the Cinderella of food. Hidden behind other glamorous members of the food family, minerals and vitamins, for a time it was partially obscured, but now it is recognized that protein is the most necessary food element. Too much protein will not be harmful, is easily utilized by the body, but too little protein can have tragic consequences. The way to superior health, greater strength, and a fuller, happier life is to consume a high protein diet.

What's more, in a flagrant sales pitch, Hoffman refers to Hi-Proteen as "the most nearly perfect food in the world today" which, when combined "with the other good natural foods, milk, eggs, honey, and at times various fruit juices, you have a very complete diet."⁴² Of course he gave no indication that his newfound wisdom (and attendant fortune) owed much to the didacticisms of any earlier pioneers of protein.

Finally, in addition to appropriating Johnson's ideas on the importance of food supplements, Hoffman hired Johnson's leading pupil, Jim Park, to come to York to make gym equipment at his company's foundry in Marietta and to showcase York products. In a full page in the May 1953 issue of *Strength & Health*, Hoffman introduced a line of bodybuilding tablets—rice germ oil concentrate, soy germ oil concentrate, protamin, dietary, and raw whole liver—under the heading of Better Nutrition Aids. In a center photograph, standing fully flexed and surrounded by trophies, is Hoffman's newest addition to the York gang with an engaging caption: "Jim Park, the 1952 Mr. America and 1953 Mr. World, used hundreds of the tablets advertised on this page* daily while training intensively for the national and international contests in which he emerged victorious." The asterisk refers to a tiny footnote, no doubt overlooked by most readers, indicating that the supplements used by Park were actually "made in the same laboratory with a different trade name."⁴³ Lest this attribution be confused with an act of conscience, it was more likely motivated by a desire to maintain credibility with those who might have seen Park making the same testimonial in Johnson's ads only a few months earlier. More importantly it suggests that both Johnson and Hoffman obtained their dietary supplements from the same source, not from a "world-famous food research laboratory," but from a modest chemical plant in a dilapidated neighborhood of north Philadelphia. This connection is corroborated by Jim Murray, who indicates that Park, as one would suspect, shared much of what he knew about Johnson's operations with his new employer.⁴⁴

Oddly the Weider organization, innovative in so many other ways in the iron game, was a latecomer to food supplements. To the extent that its magazines featured any coverage of nutrition, it took the form of articles by Dr. Frederick Tilney, a self-taught physical culturist from England who had worked for Bernarr Mac-

fadden and Charles Atlas in the 1920s and for Hoffman in the 1930s. His advice to the readers of *Muscle Power* was not unlike that conveyed by Rader in *Iron Man* and Hoffman in *Strength & Health*—that there was "nothing complicated" about a sound diet for muscle builders. "Eat rationally and vary your food, make it simple," he advised. Above all, avoid "going to stupid extremes of a fad diet."⁴⁵ Nor was Tilney convinced of any special need for protein. "The old method of relying on getting so much protein, so much carbohydrates, or calories has long been known to be ineffective," he wrote in January 1952, fully six months after Irvin Johnson introduced his Hi-Protein "Miracle Food" to *Iron Man* readers. In fact, Tilney was still warning *Muscle Power* readers that "an excess of protein can prove injurious to the kidneys."⁴⁶ It was not until the June 1952 issue of *Your Physique* that Joe Weider, as "Trainer of Champions," introduced his new "Hi-Protein Muscle Building Supplement," nearly six months after Hoffman's copy-cat protein ads appeared in *Strength & Health*. "To develop hard muscles EXTRA FAST, you must eat an abundance of high protein food every day. Only PROTEIN builds strong, healthy, TOUGH tissue, because it nourishes and energizes the muscle cells of the body." Contrary to other such products on the market, Weider claimed his protein supplement was superior because it contained no "carbohydrates, fat and sugar, which induce the formation of FLABBY TISSUE."⁴⁷ Soon Weider expanded his offerings to other lines pioneered by Johnson and his other competitors, including vitamin-mineral, weight-reduction, and weight-gain supplements.

What Weider's products lacked in originality and tradition was made up for with claims of scientific credibility and sincerity. His Hi-Protein ads were often accompanied by a picture of a physician, an official-looking certificate and seal, and an assurance that the supplement was "recommended by medical doctors" and "based on medically approved formulae, containing only the purest ingredients and meet the most rigid medical requirements."⁴⁸ Further to disguise the commercial motivation behind these pious pronouncements, Advertising copy vowed to educate readers on the proper use of their high protein food supplements. "When the Weider Company makes a sale, it does not end its interest in you with that sale. It is anxious to see that you succeed in your ambitions, that you make the bodybuilding

grade. For this reason did we establish the Weider Research Clinic. For this reason do we offer a free *life time* advisory service to each and every one of our customers."⁴⁹

In 1959 Jim Murray sought to persuade an unresponsive Peary Rader to publish an article he intended to write questioning the value of food supplements.

I realize that you have become involved in this and do not question that your motives are well-meant. Nevertheless, I have come across nutrition articles by qualified experts which indicate indiscriminate 'self-medication' may actually be harmful in some instances. One of the reasons I left York, of course, was that my own observations showed me the Hoffman 'proteins' were useless for any special benefits. In view of this, I felt charging exorbitant prices for low cost materials of doubtful benefit was clearly victimizing the public. I could see clearly that the one and only motive for the sale of the stuff, in Hoffman's case, was to make a lot of money, quickly. He saw Irvin Johnson raking it in and just couldn't bear to think of anyone *else* profiteering in physical culture. Weider at first published articles spotlighting the obvious weaknesses in the Hoffman-Johnson pitch and then succumbed himself to the lure of easy money. Now I believe a man should be rewarded for his efforts, especially if they are socially useful, and I know you sincerely believe in the value of supplements sold through *Iron Man*. I feel that this is primarily due, however, to having seen only one side of the coin. I've seen the other side.⁵⁰

There is no indication that Rader, despite his reputation for honesty and openness, ever allowed Murray to air his views. Such revelations might have been too controversial and damaging to too many high-profile promoters in the iron game, including himself.

Nevertheless, some diet doctors outside the sport have long since queried the efficacy of high protein consumption. An MSNBC website article entitled "Experts ping-pong on protein advice" traces the debate from the 1960s when "Americans were told they would be healthy if they ate lots of meat." Then high-carbohydrate diets came into vogue with warnings "against eat-

ing too much protein." After much flip-flopping by experts over the next two decades the American Heart Association published several statements in 2000 against high-protein meals, even suggesting that "they might even hurt the dieter's kidneys and rob strength from bones," but later backed away from these views. In October 2002, at the annual meeting of the American Dietetic Association, "nutritionists basically admitted that they really don't know how much protein Americans need."⁵¹ Similar uncertainties persist about the benefits and risks of dietary supplements, of which protein is now one of many ingredients. A 2000 round table discussion among nutrition and exercise scientists concluded that some such products "are associated with serious and sometimes deadly-adverse side effects. . . . Even supplements like vitamins, caffeine, creatine, and protein powders that are safe when taken in recommended doses could be harmful if taken in large doses for a long time." As a further caveat to well-trained athletes, such as bodybuilders, one of the experts suggested that daily protein intakes of only 2.8 grams per kilogram of body-weight "will not harm the function of their kidneys, although higher protein intakes may."⁵²

Within the iron game Jeff Everson, editor of *Planet Muscle* and never a protein vendor [*Editors' note: Everson and his former wife, Cory Everson, did appear in many supplement ads in Weider publications.*] shares many of these uncertainties, asserting that "hard-training bodybuilders can get all their protein from their meals." Most of them consume supplements only because high protein foods—eggs, red meat, milk, chicken, etc.—"contain too many cumulative calories or fats." It was Everson's view, based on 35 years experience, that "95% of the so-called research and 'clinical proof on products within our industry must be dismissed. We are an unregulated industry, largely practicing shoddy, statistically poor science." What currently exists is "a bunch of companies selectively citing research studies that serve their interests best, as they relate to their protein powder constituencies." He beseeched advertisers to, at least, spare bodybuilders "the marketing hype, scare tactics and garbage. Advertise accurately, honorably and positively."⁵³ Obviously the jury is still out on protein supplementation.

What few authorities or promoters realize is that the same uncertainties that plague the protein industry

today have existed for over a half century. This dilemma stems largely from the confusion that has always existed between nutrition science and those who promote the use of dietary supplements. Paul Bragg could hardly have been more accurate when he advised Bob Hoffman in 1946 that the food business would yield a "tremendous income" for him. But most of the credit for the early development and promotion of protein supplements must go to Irvin Johnson who, after being marginalized by the holy trinity of the iron game—Hoffman, Rader, and Weider—changed his name to Rheo H. Blair and moved to Los Angeles. There, through the 1960s and into the 1970s, he continued to market his products, publish his magazine, and train movie stars and such bodybuilding champions as Larry Scott, Frank Zane, Don Howorth, and Gable Boudreaux. Upon Blair's death in 1983, Scott paid tribute to him as "the master chemist. He was so far ahead of everyone in his nutritional research, it didn't even sound like he was talking about the same subject." Scott also insists that, unlike most would-be pioneers of protein, "Rheo was never very money-motivated."⁵⁴ Yet for all of his originality and enterprise, his efforts were largely overshadowed by his competitors who also deprived him of his rightful place in history. The irony of this exclusion was illustrated in 1970 when an advertisement for Blair's protein supplement arrived at York Barbell. To a heading entitled "The Only Protein Supplement with 20 Years of Success!" was an annotation in the hand of John Terpak, Hoffman's general manager and successor, which read: "Who says so—I never heard of it until several years ago."⁵⁵ [*Editors' note: Clearly, John Terpak knew very well who Irvin Johnson-Rheo Blair was and how the York Barbell Company had copied not only Blair's protein supplement but had even copied the name of the supplement and then denied Blair any further ad space in Strength & Health.*] Little did Terpak realize, in this mocking response to a piece of junk mail, how much his company's fortune and well-being owed to Blair's ingenuity. Although Bob Hoffman displayed an early awareness of the importance of nutrition for weightlifters and bodybuilders, it was Blair (as Irvin Johnson) who revolutionized the sport by shifting attention from an external focus on exercise to an internal emphasis on diet. This internalization of training eventually provided an important basis for the acceptance of anabolic steroids

and for the development of countless other substances that, when consumed in sufficient quantities, claim to improve the body's synthesis of protein.

Notes:

1. Ron Harris, "Star Profile—Frank Zane," *Muscle Mag International*, 247 (January 2003): 258.
2. Frank Murray, *More Than One Slingshot, How the Health Food Industry is Changing America* (Richmond, 1984), 6-55.
3. For an interesting sketch on the energy and vision of Bragg, even in his seventies, see an article entitled "Visitor Here Is Ready for Space Man Role" in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, 16 November 1957.
4. Bragg to Hoffman, 4 June 1946, Hoffman Papers, John Fair Collection.
5. Hoffman to Bragg, 28 June 1946, Hoffman Papers, John Fair Collection.
6. Bob Hoffman, *How to Be Strong, Healthy and Happy* (York: 1938), 27.
7. Bob Hoffman, *Better Nutrition for the Strength and Health Seeker* (York: 1940), 193-95.
8. For sales figures on Hoffman's ten books see "Cash Book," 1938-1942, Hoffman Papers.
9. Peary Rader, "Diet for the Strongman," *Iron Man* 8(1) (1948): 11-12.
10. "Vitamins and Minerals," *Iron Man* 8 (November, 1948): 33, and "Build Strength - Energy - Health!" and "'44' The Supplemental Beverage," *Iron Man* 10 (May, 1950): 43 and 41.
11. Irvin Johnson, "Build Bigger Biceps Faster with Food Supplements," *Iron Man* 10 (December, 1950): 28 & 56-57; and "Bulging Muscles and 'B' Complex," *Iron Man* 11 (February 1951): 31-32 & 43.
12. "The Irvin Johnson Story," *Iron Man*, 11 (July 1951): 12-13, and Irvin Johnson, "Bill McDonough, Mr. Chicago 1951," *Iron Man* 11 (July 1951): 6-7.
13. Irvin Johnson, "The Miracle Food," *Iron Man* 11 (July 1951): 18-19 & 53.
14. Peary Rader, "Body Culture Progress," *Iron Man* 11 (July 1951): 5 & 45.
15. "We produce The Greatest Before and after Cases in the World" and "This Could Be You," *Iron Man* 11 (December 1951): 3-5.
16. "Fantastic? No, It Really Happened!!" *Iron Man* (September, 1951): 22.
17. Peary Rader, "We Visit Johnson's Studio," *Iron Man* (December, 1951): 28-29 & 55.
18. "Johnson's Hi-Protein Food," *Strength & Health* 19 (April 1951): 18, and Norbert Grueber, "Cover Man—James Park," *Strength & Health* (April 1951): 33, 39 & 41.
19. Bob Hoffman, "The Most Important Essentials of Health," *Strength & Health* 19 (April 1951): 5; Nat Bernard, "Food Supplements—The Barbells of Good Nutrition," *Strength & Health* 19 (April, 1951): 26-27; and "Balance Your Body-Building Program," *Strength & Health*, 19 (April, 1951): 47.
20. "Bob Hoffman's High-Protein Food," *Strength & Health* 20 (February, 1952): 34.
21. Bob Hoffman, "Why You Need Plenty of Protein!" *Strength & Health* (March, 1952): 37-38. Hoffman later elaborated on this story by tracing his association with protein to 1914 when he started eating at Chinese restaurants and learned about the nutritional value of soybeans. Although Hoffman says he was introduced to a product similar to Hi-Proteen by a professional strength performer named Eddie Polo, it did not have a palatable taste and Hoffman started searching for the right product. No mention of Polo, however, appears in any 1938 issue of *Strength & Health*. Bob Hoffman, "Everybody's Doin' It," *Strength & Health* (September, 1952): 30.
22. Interview with Jim Murray, Morrisville, Pennsylvania, August 23, 1987. Also see John D. Fair, *MuscleTown USA, Bob Hoffman and the Manly Culture of York Barbell* (University Park, 1999), 148.
23. "Bob Hoffman's Hi-Proteen Food," *Strength & Health*, 20 (May, 1952): 34.
24. Bob Hoffman, "What Nutrition Means to Health and Muscle Building," *Strength & Health* (June 1952): 10.
25. Bob Hoffman, "Adventures in Eating," *Strength & Health* (October 1952): 15.
26. Irvin Johnson, "How James Parks [sic] Won the Mr. Chicago Title," *Iron Man* 12 (June 1952): 14-15 & 44-45.
27. "Readers' Round-Up," *Iron Man* (October 1952): 34-35.
28. David Martin, "Meat, Minerals and Muscles," *Iron Man* (February 1953): 25.
29. Irvin Johnson, "Johnson Replies," *Iron Man* (February 1953): 27 & 48.
30. "Available At Last!" *Iron Man* (August 1952): 54-55.
31. "Tomorrow's Man," *Iron Man* (October 1952): 37.
32. "Dick Fouts," *Iron Man* (July 1953): 40; "Bill Brewster," *Iron Man* (September 1953): 40; "High School Student," *Iron Man* (November 1953): 40; and "Bob Power," *Iron Man* (January, 1954): 40.
33. Peary Rader, "Editorial," *Iron Man* (December 1953): 5 & 44.
34. "Tomorrow is Yours" and "A NEW Approach to Body Building," *Tomorrow's Man*, I (December 1952): 3 & 17.
35. "First Year; First Place," *Tomorrow's Man*, II (December, 1953): 3.
36. "Navajo," *Tomorrow's Man* 2 (December, 1953): 40; and "Thor," *Tomorrow's Man* II (January, 1954): 50-51. Also see "Fish Fry Tonight," *Tomorrow's Man* (February, 1954): 18-22.
37. Peary Rader, "Editorial," *Iron Man* 12 (March, 1953): 5 & 42.
38. An Open Letter to Bodybuilders," *Tomorrow's Man* II (January, 1954): 18-24 and 36.
39. Peary Rader, "Our Policy and Our Beliefs," *Iron Man* 13 (March, 1954): 32-33, 39 & 63. See also Ray Van Cleef, "How Important Is Heavy Exercise?" in *Strength & Health*, 22 (March 1954): 22-23 & 46.
40. Interview with Winston Day, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 4 June 1992.
41. Bob Hoffman, "Human Food Requirements," *Strength & Health* 21 (September, 1953), 28.
42. Bob Hoffman, *The High Protein Way to Better Nutrition* (York: 1953), 87 & 113.
43. "B.N.A. Body Building Tablets," *Strength & Health* 21 (May, 1953): 38.
44. Interview with Murray.
45. Dr. Frederick Tilney, "Meals for Muscle Power and Weight Gaining," *Muscle Power* 11 (December, 1950): 31.
46. Dr. Frederick Tilney, "You Need Natural All-Around Health Building Foods," *Muscle Power* 13 (January 1952), 45. Also see his "Are Steaks Necessary for Big Muscles?" *Muscle Power* 14 (July, 1952): 14-15.
47. "Weider Hi-Protein Muscle Building Supplement," *Your Physique* 17 (June 1952): 47-48.
48. "To Develop Bigger Harder Muscles . . . Faster!" *Muscle Power* 15 (January 1953): 12.
49. Ben Weider, "You Need Protein!" *Muscle Builder* 3 (November, 1954): 38.
50. Murray to Rader, 17 September 1959, Rader Papers, Todd-McLean Physical Culture Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.
51. Linda Carroll, "Experts ping-pong on protein advice," MSNBC News, Health, Diet/Nutrition, <http://www.msnbc.com/news/824375.asp/cp1=1>.
52. Priscilla Clarkson, Ellen Coleman, and Christine Rosenbloom, "Risky Dietary Supplements, A Round Table Discussion," *Denis Reno's Weightlifter's Newsletter*, 273 (October 22, 2002): 35 & 38.
53. "Protein Toxicity? Great Proteins?" *Planet Muscle* 5(2) (2000): 21; "Total Protein confusion," *Planet Muscle* 3(3) (2000); and "Has Baloney Become Good Protein," *Planet Muscle* 3(3) (2000): 172.
54. "In Memorium of Rheo H. Blair," *Iron Man*, 43 (May, 1984): 57.
55. "The Only Protein Supplement with 20 Years of Success!" Hoffman Papers.



As we explained on the front cover, we're trying to make our collection more accessible to the public through the new Utopia program initiated here at UT. We've also begun another internet outreach through a partnership with the Amateur Athletic Foundation in Los Angeles (www.aafla.org). Through the link to their library page you can now find—and search for key words in—most of the back issues of *IGH* since our back issues can be viewed on their site as PDF (Adobe Acrobat) documents. This means that if you type in "Grimek" in their search engine, it will show you all the times that his name appeared in our magazine. You can then download the full-text articles for free. This joint project with the AAF has proven to be very successful, and a great help to researchers. According to the AAF's count, more than 77,000 *IGH* articles were downloaded during 2003! Think about that for just a minute. The obvious implication is that the Iron Game is being taken much more seriously.



We want to congratulate David Chapman on his new photo anthology: *Victor Victorians: Early Photographs of the Muscular Male*. Published by Janssen Press, the book highlights the emergence of the physique as a source of art and photographic inspiration in the late 19th century and early 20th century. Chapman's images are powerful and compelling. What we found particularly interesting were the large number of European and "non-celebrity" photos which help justify the claims we at *IGH* make that interest in the physique and strength was a cultural phenomenon that knew no borders. To order, contact janssenbooks.com or www.amazon.com. The ISBN number is: 1-919901-16-7.



Patron subscriber Dr. Ted Nolan Thompson has also finished a book, but in this electronic age he's distributing his book on a CD. His book is entitled *The Rise*

and *Fall of Health Care in America*. Ted, who is now 73, is still actively training in weightlifting and reported that he recently power snatched 135 and cleaned and pressed 185 at a bodyweight of 235. He's training to compete in the Masters Nationals and tells us he is looking forward to the time when he's 75 and can move up to the next age group. What a healthy way to think about aging. To write Ted for a CD copy, send mail to: 33092 Christina Drive, Dana Point, CA 92629.



Dear *IGH*:

I got my copy of the Grimek tribute yesterday. I found it nostalgic, informative and reflective of the man. My first exposure to *Strength & Health* was in the Forties. My dad and I were hauling some calves to the big Port City stockyard in Houston. Afterward, we stopped at a drug store with a soda fountain for coffee. There in the magazine rack was *S&H* with a big muscular guy on the sepia-toned cover. I was hooked. Later, when I ordered a pair of 60-pound York dumbbells, my dad remarked, "If you've got enough energy to lift those things after a day in the hay fields, I'm not getting enough out of you." Our local drug stores never had *Strength & Health*. Sometimes the Bernarr Macfadden magazine was there and later, Weider's mag. Weider also mentioned Grimek as great, but he rarely had photos. It wasn't until the late Forties that I could find *Strength & Health* in Houston.

Grimek's acrobatics and handbalancing must have been unbelievable. He mentioned a summer at Coney Island as a time of outstanding triceps size and definition in one of his articles of the Fifties/Sixties. Handbalancing and tigerbends must have played a role.

Strength & Health featured a lot of small talk about the York gang. I remember they once mentioned Grimek as having just painted his Oldsmobile "York Red." There would also be reports of impromptu gym contests between Grimek, George Eiferman and Stan Stanczyk where they'd lift dumbbells and things. Grimek always had the last laugh with the dumbbells.

Thank you, again, for doing this special issue on Grimek.

John Crainer
Via email