

## Research Note

# Edward M. Hartwell and Physical Training at The Johns Hopkins University, 1879 – 1890

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In one of the many excellent biographical essays which appear in *Innovators and Institutions in Physical Education*, Ellen Gerber has declared: "Edward Mussey Hartwell should be considered one of the forefathers of physical education in the United States for his contribution toward defining the profession. . . . To such a task Hartwell brought an unusual insight and open-minded sensitivity, bolstered by a considerable formal education."<sup>1</sup> Indeed, of the many individuals who were interested in the subject of "physical education" in the late 1800s, Hartwell possessed especially impressive credentials: M.D. from Cincinnati's Miami Medical College and Ph.D. in biology from Baltimore's Johns Hopkins University. His extensive formal education was enhanced by several visits to Europe to investigate medicine and, especially, physical training. Although his formal career as a physical educator lasted less than two decades, he remained interested in and involved with matters of central importance to the field.

In 1882 Hartwell was appointed Instructor in Physical Culture at The Johns Hopkins University. He resigned in December 1890 to become Director of Physical Training for the Boston Public Schools, a position which he held until 1897 when he became Secretary of Boston's newly created Department of Municipal Statistics. He served as President of the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education in 1891-92 and again from 1895 to 1899; the first chairman of the A.A.A.P.E. Section on History and Bibliography; and chairman of its Committee on Theory and Statistics. He also served on the Advisory Committee for *Physical Education* (a monthly journal published by the International Y.M.C.A. Training College at Springfield, Massachusetts), and was an official delegate to many important conferences.<sup>2</sup>

More comprehensive and influential reports, articles, and commentaries

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1. Ellen W Gerber, *Innovators and Institutions in Physical Education* (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1971), 319.

2. Fred E. Leonard, *Pioneers of Modern Physical Training* (New York: Association Press, 1915), 147-155; Gerber, *Innovators*, 319-324.

flowed from Hartwell's pen than from that of any other late nineteenth century American physical educator. These writings reflect his interest in medicine, biology, and statistics as well as his appreciation of the value of an historical understanding of physical education. At the request of John Eaton, Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education, he prepared *Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities* (1885), the nation's first full-scale survey on the subject. To gather information, he visited college, public, and private gymnasia from Maine to Tennessee in the summer of 1884. He authored lengthy articles on physical training for the Report of the U.S. Commission of Education in 1897 (and 1903).<sup>3</sup> His paper "On the Physiology of Exercise," read before the A.A.A.P.E. in 1886—and published in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* in 1887—was one of the more comprehensive statements on the subject made by a nineteenth century American.<sup>4</sup>

In "The Nature of Physical Training, and the Best Means of Securing Its Ends," an address before the 1889 Boston Conference on Physical Training, Hartwell again summarized recent findings in physiology and biology as they related to physical exercise, calling upon the work of the German physiologist Emil DuBois-Reymond, the American physician S. Weir Mitchell, and Ross's *Diseases of the Nervous System*. He criticized the fragmentary nature of the various "American systems" and declared: ". . . a careful study of the German and Swedish systems of school gymnastics will be found an indispensable preliminary step for those who propose to organize a natural, rational, safe and effective system of American physical education."<sup>5</sup> Although he was not an advocate of the uncritical adoption of any foreign "system"—an important point in light of the protracted debate in which many of his contemporaries were engaged—his preference tended toward Swedish gymnastics. What Hartwell most desired was a well-developed program founded on the most up-to-date principles of biological science and medicine: And he found both the German and the Swedish systems far superior to anything yet devised in America.

Hartwell's interest in history, statistics, biology, and physical education, the topics which were repeatedly incorporated into his professional writings, began early. In 1880, while a doctoral student in biology, he read a lengthy paper entitled "The Study of Anatomy, Historically and Legally Considered" at the annual meeting of the American Social Science Association. Existing American Anatomy Acts impeded the use of cadavers in medical training; American attitudes, he concluded, were about the same as those with which Vesalius had

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3. Edward M. Hartwell, *Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities*, Circulars of Information of the Bureau of Education. No. 5, 1885 (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1886); idem, "On Physical Training," *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1897-1898*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1899); idem, "On Physical Training," *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1903*, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1905), 721-757.

4. Edward M. Hartwell, "On the Physiology of Exercise," *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 31 March 1887, 297-302; *ibid.*, 7 April 1887, 321-324. This expanded version derived from an address given at Hopkins Lecture Hall.

5. Edward M. Hartwell, "The Nature of Physical Training, and the Best Means of Securing Its Ends," in *Physical Training: A Full Report of the Papers and Discussions of the Conference Held in Boston in November 1889*, ed. Isabel Barrows (Boston: Press of George H. Ellis, 1899), 5-22.

to contend in the fifteenth century! His "A Preliminary Report on Anthropometry in the United States," a full summary of all important-and less important-works on the subject, was prepared for the 1893 *Publications of the American Statistical Association*.<sup>6</sup>

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Although various biographies exist, none deal with Hartwell's work at Johns Hopkins, where he was first a graduate student in biology and later Associate in Physical Training and Director of the Gymnasium. This paper will concentrate, therefore, on the years from 1879 to 1890 when he was associated with America's newly developing first true research university.

Born at Exeter, New Hampshire, on May 29, 1850, Edward Mussey Hartwell was the oldest of eight children. His father, Josiah Shattuck Hartwell, was a graduate of Harvard College and Law School, tutor in Latin at Harvard, successful Boston lawyer, and official at the Boston Custom House. His mother, Catherine Stone Mussey, was the daughter of Dr. Reuben Dimond Mussey, the holder of a professorship in medicine at Dartmouth College for twenty-five years before he moved to Cincinnati to become professor of surgery at the Medical College of Ohio. Hartwell attended Lawrence Academy, Groton School, and the Boston Latin School, from which he received his diploma in 1869. He then enrolled at Amherst College where he served a captain of the junior class in the gymnasium, rowed on his class crew, and was commander of the Amherst navy. An interest in biological science was evident early for in 1871 he won the college gold medal for excellence in human physiology. He surely had numerous opportunities to observe the program of physical education and anthropometric measurement which Edward Hitchcock, M.D. had established at Amherst in the 1860s. Upon receiving the bachelor's degree in 1873, he accepted a post as Vice Principal at Orange, New Jersey; this he resigned to take a position at the Boston Latin School, where he was asked to introduce the Amherst plan of light gymnastics.<sup>7</sup>

In 1877 Hartwell enrolled at Cincinnati's Miami Medical College but soon left to pursue doctoral studies. On October 21, 1878, he made application for admittance to The Johns Hopkins University with the simple declaration: "I wish to pursue Chemical and Biological studies."<sup>8</sup> In June 1879 he was awarded a Fellowship in Biology which he held until graduation in 1881. Under the guidance of Professor H. Newell Martin, he undertook work in animal physiology and general biology. Martin had studied physiology with Michael Foster and biology with Thomas Huxley. Persuaded by Hopkins' dynamic President Daniel Coit Gilman to leave Britain and join the faculty of Baltimore's new university, he was considered the foremost biological scientist in America in the

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6. Edward M. Hartwell, "The Study of Anatomy. Historically and Legally Considered," *Journal of Social Science*, 18(1883), 44-52; "A Preliminary Report on Anthropometry in the United States," in *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 3 (Boston: W.J. Schofield, 1893), 554-568.

7. Leonard, *Pioneers*. 147-150; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, s.v. "Hartwell. Edward Mussey," vol. 20, 131-132.

8. Hartwell's official application is located in the Ferdinand Hamburger, Jr. Archives, The Johns Hopkins University. (Hereafter, Archives J.H.U.)

late 1800s. Hartwell served as his assistant in demonstration courses in physiology for medical students; he also studied animal histology and morphology under Dr. William K. Brooks. His program included comparative anatomy, circulation of the blood, physiology of respiration, physiology of the nervous system, and physiological technology. During the 1879-80 academic year he was actively engaged with animal dissection and vivisection, working on eupnea (normal respiration), *dyspnea* (labored respiration), and *apnea* (transient cessation of respiration); the following summer he made biological examinations of drinking water for the National Board of Health.<sup>9</sup>

In spite of his extensive academic and scientific preparation, Hartwell was not interested in a career as a research physiologist. "I think," he wrote to Gilman, "[I] should serve my generation better as a country doctor than as a Professor of all the 'ologies'. . . . I can almost see my way clear to a medical degree." It was his intent to seek the M.D. degree ". . . either in Baltimore or in Cincinnati, where it can be had cheaply, next March."<sup>10</sup> The M.D. degree from Miami Medical College was obtained in 1882; however, his future lay in a career devoted to physical education and statistical work, although he did engage in some private medical practice in Baltimore.

Johns Hopkins University had opened in 1876 and was located in an obscure group of buildings in downtown Baltimore.<sup>11</sup> Although the President's attention was devoted to building academic and research programs, he had no intention of neglecting the physical well-being of students. In his *Eighth Annual Report* Gilman declared: "The necessity of providing some means for the promotion of physical culture and of active sports has constantly been considered by the authorities since the opening of the university, but it is only within the past twelve months that a satisfactory plan has been agreed upon."<sup>12</sup> In the meantime, students and faculty had been using local gymnasias and forming teams in various sports. By 1881, a "varsity" football team had been organized by the Clifton Club: a university lacrosse team (the one sport in which J.H.U. would be able to build an athletic reputation) was formed shortly thereafter.<sup>13</sup> This was not the type of unsupervised and undirected physical education and sport that Gilman wanted, however. Something so important in the lives of young men needed to be guided by a faculty member who was thoroughly prepared to provide what was best for their "physical side": This preparation called for formal education in both biological science and medicine!

Hartwell possessed credentials commensurate with the high expectations of a

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9. Edward M. Hartwell. Letters to Daniel Coit Gilman, President of The Johns Hopkins University, 11 June 1880 and 29 August 1881, in E.M. Hartwell Correspondence. Special Collections Division, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University. (Hereafter HC:MSEL). Unless otherwise noted, all letters and memoranda from Hattwell to Gilman (and to the Trustees) are in this collection.

10. Hartwell to Gilman, 29 August 1881.

11. Lawrence R. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 159.

12. *Eighth Annual Report of the President of The Johns Hopkins University*, Baltimore. Maryland, 1883 (Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1883), 35-36.

13. John C. French. *A History of the University Founded by Johns Hopkins* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946), 287-290.

member of the Hopkins faculty: M.D. and Ph.D. He was offered the position of Instructor in Physical Culture in fall 1882—at his request the title was soon changed to Associate in Physical Training and Director of the Gymnasium. During the 1882-83 academic year he concentrated on plans for the construction of the gymnasium and the promotion of out-of-door sports, and lectured to undergraduates on health and hygiene. Having visited numerous gymnasia, he concluded that Harvard's Hemenway Gymnasium had the best facilities and that its Director Dr. Dudley Allen Sargent had devised the best program he had seen. On December 8, 1882, he requested authority to arrange for a room near the downtown Baltimore campus where he could offer instruction based upon Sargent's system of exercises, and \$1300 for the purchase of "developing appliances" (e.g., chest weights; wall pulleys) and instruments to take anthropometric measurements.<sup>14</sup>

The following June the Trustees authorized the construction of a \$10,000 gymnasium; this was ready for occupancy by the time Gilman prepared his 1883 *Annual Report*. In this Gilman set forth his views regarding what form athletic sport was to take at J.H.U. The only acceptable reasons for the encouragement of college sport were ". . . the zest of college comradeship or the maintenance of good health"; he would have nothing of ". . . that 'professional' play [which] will gradually cease to be 'play' and become a business." Athletics were to be for "gentlemen" and not "hired performers."<sup>15</sup> Hartwell concurred: ". . . the aim of athletics, unless of the illegitimate professional sort, [was] pleasurable activity for the sake of recreation. . . ." Like many of his contemporaries, he agreed that athletics were conducive ". . . to bodily growth and improvement . . ." and that they could have valuable "moral effects"; however, Hartwell considered them inferior to a systematic program of gymnastics.<sup>16</sup>

The new Director set forth the goals for his department: (1) instruction in the laws of health in accordance with the most advanced medical and scientific knowledge; (2) ". . . guidance of students in a systematic attempt to attain sound bodies and vigorous normal functions by means of gymnastic exercises, developing appliances, and the non-abuse of athletic sports"; and (3) "the scientific study of the natural history of the student class," by which he meant compiling demographic and statistical data. The duties of the Director included: (1) performing physical examination; (2) giving anatomical and physiological demonstrations; and (3) presenting lectures on health (e.g., Nature and Needs of the Human Body; Theory and Practice of Exercise and Training; Personal Hygiene). Special teachers, who would work directly under his supervision, were to be engaged for activities like dancing, fencing, and gymnastics.<sup>17</sup>

The new gymnasium was apparently well-used for by 1887 Hartwell found it

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14. Hartwell to President and Trustees, 8 December 1882. (A handwritten note on the front of this document, dated 11 December, indicates that the Executive committee appropriated \$1400.)

15. *Eighth Annual Report of the President . . . 1883*, 37.

16. Hartwell. "Nature of Physical Training," 19.

17. Memorandum of Proposed Programme of the Health and Physical Culture Department-Johns Hopkins University 1 June 1883. (HC:MSEL).

necessary to ask for extensions. Located in close proximity to classrooms, laboratories, and libraries in downtown Baltimore, it consisted of a large wing containing the main gymnasium hall and another wing with lockers, baths, and offices. The yard was soon expanded to accommodate tennis and ball games. Within four months of its opening, the Director had examined about half of the University community. He was also approached by alumni and others in the Baltimore area who wanted similar physical and anthropometric examinations; these requests were directed to the city's Y.M.C.A., which had recently installed a number of Sargent's "developing machines."<sup>18</sup>

Attendance at the gymnasium was made compulsory for all candidates for the A.B. degree in 1884; undergraduates were also required to attend lectures on elementary physiology and hygiene.<sup>19</sup> Although Hartwell's initial efforts were aimed at making his department the equal of those which he had visited at Harvard, Cornell, Amherst, and Lehigh, he found it necessary to devote time to athletics. Clifton Park, the country estate of the University's benefactor Johns Hopkins, was being readied as a sports ground for students and faculty. As this was not yet available, the Trustees authorized renting Newington Park, much closer to the school. Hartwell received an appropriation of \$175.00 for rental and urged the Trustees to set aside Wednesday and Saturday afternoons in the very full University schedule of classes for students to engage in sports.<sup>20</sup>

While various student publications convey an interest in athletics, there does not seem to have been the same intense following among the student-body and alumni that was to be found at many other American colleges and universities. Several reasons mitigated against this, the most significant probably being the large percentage of *graduate* students. Complaints that team members would not attend practices when they had studies and laboratory work to complete were numerous. The success of teams, except in lacrosse, was, at best, extremely uneven. The 1883 football team, for example, lost to the University of Pennsylvania by scores of 26 to 6 and 30 to 0, but managed to defeat the Naval Cadets 2 to 0. The 1885-86 football team lost to Princeton by a score of 108 to 0! In 1887-88, captain Paul Dashiell, who was prominent in several sports and in gymnastic exhibitions, ". . . had great difficulty in getting together a [football] team. . . ."<sup>21</sup>

During the Spring of 1887 much of Hartwell's time was given over to improving the Clifton Playground and making it more accessible to students.

18. *Twelfth Annual Report of the President of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1887*, 4—50; Hartwell to President and Trustees, 7 April 1884.

19. *Ninth Annual Report of the President of The Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore. Maryland. 1884*, 38-39. Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of The Johns Hopkins University, 1874-1889* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960), 247, suggests that these courses were voluntary, but *The Johns Hopkins Register for 1881-85* stipulates that "Physical Culture" is among those "Studies Required of All Candidates for the B.A.": "All undergraduate students will pay attention to this group of subjects and attain that degree of proficiency in respect to them which is indispensable to a liberal education" (pp. 100-101).

20. Hartwell to President and Trustees, 7 April 1884.

21. *Ibid.*; French, *History*, 287; *Students' Handbook, Johns Hopkins University, 1889-90*. Published by the Young Men's Christian Association of The Johns Hopkins University, 1889, 15-16. (Archives J.H.U.).

He requested \$1,877.00 for improvements in seating, a covered stand for spectators, a reception room for ladies, and omnibus service (the local railway system refused to provide transportation). These funds were also directed to the promotion of approximately twenty athletic contests with local and visiting amateur clubs. The students must have been satisfied with Hartwell's efforts, for an article in the 1895 student yearbook *The Hullabaloo* credited him with extending the university's participation in athletic sports.<sup>22</sup>

When he had accepted the three-year appointment at Johns Hopkins, Hartwell had indicated his desire to visit Germany during the 1884-85 academic year; this leave of absence was granted for the spring of 1885. One consequence of his trip was the attendance of representatives of the North American Turnerbund at the second meeting of the A.A.A.P.E. (1886).<sup>23</sup> He spent nearly six months in Frankfurt-am-Main, Berlin, Dresden, and Vienna studying the German system of physical training. He had high praise for the German system for training teachers for all levels—elementary and secondary schools; institutions of higher learning; the military; however, after a visit to Sweden, where he believed “medical gymnastics” had reached the highest level of development, his clear preference was for the Swedish system. These visits also confirmed Hartwell's belief that physical education in the United States was inferior to various European forms of physical training and he resolved to do what he could to remedy this.

There is no evidence that Hartwell had any direct contact with the work of Emil DuBois-Reymond or other physiologists at the University of Berlin, but he could hardly have escaped the lingering consequences of the acrimonious debate which had been raging over the relative merits of the German and the Swedish systems. Hugo Rothstein, a major in the Prussian army had studied Ling's theories of physical training in Stockholm. Upon his return in 1848, he had managed to convince the government to appoint him Director of Berlin's Royal Central Gymnasium (Königliche Turnlehrer Bildungsaustalt) where he instituted the Swedish in place of the German system. The Gymnasium was the Prussian government's normal school for training gymnastics teachers for schools and the army, and other Germans were infuriated. A debate of growing acerbity ensued. J. C. Lion, director of gymnastics at Leipzig, took Rothstein to task for the latter's contention that the “German gymnastic art” was nothing more than “. . . formal outer movements . . .” not grounded in any type of meaningful system. DuBois-Reymond was drawn into the fray and in 1862 he wrote an article entitled “Swedish Gymnastics and German Gymnastics for a

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22. French, *History*, 292; *The Hullabaloo* (Class Yearbook), 1895, 135-147. Memorandum from Hartwell to President and Trustees, 31 January 1887; Statement by E.M. Hartwell Regarding Needs at Clifton, May 1887; Transcript of the Minutes of a Meeting of the Gymnasium Committee, 29 April 1887 (HC: MSEL).

23. Undated handwritten note from president Gilman in E.M. Hartwell Correspondence states: “It is our understanding that Dr. Hartwell, in accepting this appointment for three years agrees to remain here during that period—with this exception, that during the academic year 1884-5, he is at liberty to go to Germany for further preparation to discharge the duty of his position. The title he prefers is Associate in Physical Training and Director of the Gymnasium; Hartwell to Gilman, 30 January 1885. Leonard, *Pioneers*, 152; *Report of the Twenty-Sixth National Festival of North American Gymnastics Union, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. July 21-25, 1893* (St. Louis: Executive Board of the Union, 1893), 7-20.

Physiological Point of View” which severely criticized Ling’s system for its unscientific emphases on “single muscles” rather than groups of muscles and its failure to recognize that “. . . all gymnastics is as much exercise for the nervous system as for the muscles.”<sup>24</sup> That Hartwell was thoroughly familiar with this phrase is evident from his 1887 article “On the Physiology of Exercise” and other essays.

Dr. Walter B. Platt, a local physician, served as Acting Director in his absence; C. A. Perkins, a graduate student in Romance Languages, was named Acting Superintendent of the Gymnasium. Upon his return in October, Hartwell resumed his duties, examining some sixty percent of the students and faculty. The absence of “practical instruction in gymnastics,” he wrote the President, prevented his department from attaining equal footing with other leading physical education departments. His own training, he stated, was too limited to permit him to teach anything but free and light gymnastics; therefore, he obtained the services of Hartvig Nissen, who had opened a Swedish Health Institute in Washington, D.C., “. . . a most competent teacher of Swedish and German gymnastics . . .,” as his Assistant. It was under Nissen’s direction that J.H.U. students gave their first gymnastic exhibition on February 22, 1888.<sup>25</sup>

Early in 1888 Hartwell had asked the President and Trustees if it was their intention to renew his contract and, if so, on what terms. His personal and professional interests, he stated, necessitated spending a substantial part of the following year in Europe. It is not clear precisely what Hartwell meant by “personal interests,” but before his return in fall 1889 he had been married in London to Mary Laetitia Brown, the daughter of a Baltimore judge. The leave was granted. During his absence, H. W. Magoun served as gymnasium Director.<sup>26</sup>

Hartwell wrote to Gilman early in 1889 detailing his various European activities. He had spent nearly six months in England occupied with investigations of mortality and disease statistics and had also looked into current medical practices in Vienna. At St. Petersburg (Leningrad) he visited the War Academy and School for Officers of Cavalry in the company of G. Stanley Hall, a former colleague at J.H.U. The Russians, he wrote, “. . . reminded me a good deal of Americans—they were so alert minded. . . .” He found medical education at St. Petersburg (under the direction of the Ministry of War) to be scientific and modern; but the university professors impressed him as “. . . a scruffy lot. . . .” He reserved his highest praise for Swedish medicine, noting that the social and economic standing of Swedish doctors was so well-established that

24. Emil Dubois-Reymond, “Swedish Gymnastics and German Gymnastics,” *Essay Concerning the German System of Gymnastics—translated from the German by A.B.C. Biewind* (St. Louis: Executive Committee of the North American Turnerbund, n.d.); J.C. Lion, “Why Is the German System of Gymnastics Entitled to Recognition,” *ibid.*, n.p.

25. “Gymnasium Report” (By Hartwell to President and Trustees), 1 June 1886; Memorandum signed by Hartwell and endorsed by Executive Committee, 31 March 1887, hiring Nissen to give twelve lessons for \$85.00. (HC:MSEL); *Thirteenth Annual Report of the President of The Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore. Maryland. 1888*, 91-92.

26. Hartwell to President and Trustees. 6 February 1888; *Narional Cyclopaedia of American Biography, s.v., “Hartwell, E.M.”*

they were free of the unseemly professional rivalry so apparent in most other countries. An absence of the rush to publish was, he believed, a major reason why Swedish gymnastics were not well known in other countries. He was also studying Swedish. (In 1892 Hartwell did translate Dr. Emil Kleen's *Handbook i Massage* into English.)<sup>27</sup>

Hartwell was especially impressed by work in mechano-therapy which was being done at the Institute of the Swedish physician Dr. Gustave Zander. This type of work was under way in Germany and London. In London, however, it had fallen into the hands of an entrepreneur who had no medical training—much to Zander's, and Hartwell's, distress. While Hartwell acknowledged that no mechanical system could entirely replace manual massage, he saw that machines had several advantages. They were tireless and economical; moreover, they were "asexual," hence there was no need to worry about the gender of either patient or practitioner—a concern of no small importance to Victorian sensibilities. He considered Zander's system to be incomparably more scientific and efficient than Sargent's and was so impressed that he vowed to ". . . make Massage and Gymnastics my specialty."<sup>28</sup> He was also instrumental in enabling Dr. Alice T. Hall, Director of Physical Training and Hygiene at Goucher College, to obtain a set of machines, and assisted the newly-established women's college in other ways with physical education.

In Sweden, he reported, only those teachers grounded in anatomy and the "theory and practice" of gymnastics were allowed to teach. Whereas in the United States all types of entrepreneurs and unprepared individuals could—and did—announce themselves as "Professors" of physical training. Indeed, the American Association for the Advancement of Physical Education had only just begun to hear debates over which "system" was best and had done little, if anything, to insure that those who presented themselves to the public as teachers of physical training had any scientific or medical knowledge of the human body. He would repeatedly encourage fellow A.A.A.P.E. members to remedy this situation.<sup>29</sup>

For some time the tone of Hartwell's letters had suggested that he was more interested in the collection and analysis of data and the exploration of relationships between medicine and physical training than he was in the more routine tasks of the Director of a college gymnasium. In 1890, he would ask to be released from his position. A contributing factor may have been the financial crisis which the University faced; it is doubtful, however, that this was his only consideration.

The Johns Hopkins University had been supported by a large endowment from its benefactor in the form of Baltimore and Ohio railroad stock. Specifications of the will prohibited the liquidation of stock shares and rigid economies became necessary. The President's 1888 *Annual Report* closed with the state-

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27. Hartwell to Gilman, 26 February 1889.

28. Ibid.

29. "School Hygiene and Mechanotherapy," *American Physical Education Review* 4 (June 1899), 158-163.

ment: "Our only cause of anxiety is one of which you are fully aware-the loss of income from the stocks which were given to the University by its founder." The *Nation* speculated: ". . . the University . . . will be compelled to diminish its activity in some of the departments in which its work has been of the greatest service to the cause of higher learning in this country."<sup>30</sup> Increased attention was placed on undergraduate education and the medical school, and Gilman took on the additional responsibility of director of the hospital. By the spring of 1890, Hugh Hawkins maintains, the ". . . strain of double calls forced him to request a long vacation."<sup>31</sup> Whether these changes had any influence on Hartwell's subsequent actions is not clear, but Gilman's personal commitment to physical education had been an important factor in the department's growth and he may have anticipated that his was one of the departments whose work would have to be "diminished."

Back on campus for the 1889 term, Hartwell requested that Magoun be retained as Assistant as he could not ". . . find a better man to take the place of Mr. Nissen, his former Assistant." Fortunately, this arrangement was approved, for he was soon invited to update his extensive 1885 study of physical training. In November, Hartwell presented one of the major addresses at the Boston Conference on Physical Training. Shortly thereafter he wrote to J.H.U. Acting President Ira Remsen, stating that he had been invited to deliver six lectures in Boston on athletic sports and school and military gymnastics ". . . as they exist today in America, England, Scandinavia, Germany, France, and Switzerland." Mrs. Mary Hemenway, the sponsor of the 1889 Boston Conference on Physical Training, had also engaged him to speak to the students of the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics and had agreed to fund a summer visit to Europe so that he might gather information for his revised report. He received permission to be absent from the second week in May until the beginning of the 1890-91 academic year and left Magoun in charge of the Department.<sup>32</sup>

Back at Hopkins in fall 1890, Hartwell resumed his regular duties; however, the same enthusiasm which had characterized his earlier reports and correspondence does not pervade his later communications. Student publications note an inauspicious beginning to the football season until someone suggested the formation of an Inter-class league, whereupon there were reports that ". . . interest in football grew to a fever-heat."<sup>33</sup> In early November, Hartwell stated that ". . . a more healthy and laudable interest in athletic sports than has hitherto existed here is now manifest," and he expressed a hope that more students would participate. J.H.U. students must have had some notions of extending their athletic activities, for Hartwell wrote that a moderate amount of regulation would be needed to discourage ". . . expensive journeys to distant

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30. "The Johns Hopkins University," *The Nation*, (20 December 1888): 493-494.

31. Hawkins, *Pioneer*, 323.

32. Memorandum from Hartwell, undated. (Notation on front: Executive Committee #193, 26 October 1889.); Hartwell to Acting President [Remsen] and Trustees, 20 February 1890 and 3 April 1890.

33. *The Hullabaloo*. 1895, 143-145.

places for the sake of engaging in unequal contests.” To achieve this, he recommended that the Committee of the Gymnasium should be expanded, renamed the Committee on Physical Training, and given jurisdiction over both the Gymnasium and Clifton Playground. He also suggested (somewhat surprisingly) that the Hopkins Athletic Association be permitted to enroll Baltimore schoolboys as members provided they conformed to the rules and regulations of the Committee on Physical Training.<sup>34</sup>

This decision may add weight to the assumption that the University’s financial crisis had effected Hartwell’s department for he also suggested that special courses of instruction in Physical Training might be offered for a fee of \$10.00 or \$15.00 to the young men and boys of Baltimore at times which would not conflict with the students’ use of the gymnasium. The Baltimore Y.M.C.A. had netted a sum of \$4,000.00 a year by offering such courses and the Women’s College of Baltimore [Goucher College] had cleared enough the previous year by giving such courses to pay *its* Assistant \$800.00. He asked for permission to rehire Hartvig Nissen at \$7.50 per week to give lessons on Wednesday and Saturday afternoons and for Mr. J. B. Crenshaw, a graduate student who had attended Sargent’s Summer School of Gymnastics and was in charge of the gymnasium at Virginia’s Randolph Macon College, to be appointed his Assistant.<sup>35</sup>

There is no direct evidence that when Hartwell sought permission to employ Nissen and Crenshaw he had decided to take other employment but such a possibility was surely on his mind. The Boston School Board was anxious to introduce Swedish gymnastics into the public schools, and in June 1890 Hartwell had been offered the city’s newly created Directorship of Physical Training. This he declined, but in November the School Board again urged him to accept this important post. Four days later Hartwell wrote to the President and Trustees tendering his resignation. He expressed his appreciation for the kindness and consideration he had received since 1882, saying “. . . the Boston School Board and the Management of the Boston Normal School of Gymnastics have made me such a favorable and attractive offer that it seemed to be my duty to signify my willingness to go to Boston-provided your Board should be pleased to release me from my engagement with you.” The resignation was accepted, and Hartwell began his duties as Director of Physical Training for the City of Boston on January 1, 1891. Within two months he had completed a detailed survey of the extent of physical education in the city’s primary, grammar, and high schools, hired Nissen as an Assistant Instructor of Physical Training, and instituted classes in Swedish gymnastics for all primary and grammar school teachers.<sup>36</sup> Already the center of much of America’s

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34. Hartwell to President and Trustees, 3 November 1890 and 6 November 1890.

35. *Ibid.*

36. Hartwell to President and Trustees, 29 [November] 1890. (The letter is signed in Hartwell’s hand as December 29, 1890. However, the President’s Office records receiving it on December 1, 1890, and other evidence suggests the month was November.) *The Baltimore Sun*, 2 December 1890 reported “Dr. Hartwell Resigns to Go to Boston”; see also, Fred. E. Leonard and George B. Affleck, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1947), 331-338; Hartwell, “Report on Physical Training, 1891,” 1-8. While

interest in hygiene and physical education, Boston had gained an able and respected spokesman. The college ranks, however, had lost one of the century's most qualified men for advancing physical education as a scientifically and medically, as well as professionally, grounded field.

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Hartwell was enthusiastic about Swedish gymnastics, he was not impressed with Baron Nils Posse, who had been engaged by Mary Hemenway to introduce the Ling system to Boston teachers, referring to him in a letter to Gilman as "an adventurer." (Hartwell to Gilman, 26 February 1889.)