

WOMAN'S COLLEGE
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

CONTENTS

Department of Physical Education

The psychological meaning of historical study of German physical
education Gail Steacy

Relationship of the intelligence test to intelligence and physical
fitness [✓]
562² Katherine A. White

Department of Psychology

HONORS PAPERS ^{trial for scientific}
" Nancy Tharrington Boyd

1957/58

Part II Dorothy Richmond

Department of Foreign Languages

..... Carolyn Catchett

Greensboro, North Carolina

1958

304017

WAR AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

An Historical Study of German Physical Education

From 1806 to 1957

CONTENTS

Department of Physical Education

- War and physical education, an historical study of German physical education Gail Steacy
- Implications of the relationships between intelligence and physical fitness Katherine A. White

Department of Psychology

- The attempted construction and validation of a test for scientific aptitude Nancy Tharrington Boyd
- An investigation of the possibility of differential effects of color upon human emotions Dorothy Richmond

Department of Romance Languages

- Paul Eluard Carolyn Cotchett

Submitted as an Honors Paper
in the
Department of Physical Education

THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

CHapel Hill, NORTH CAROLINA

204047

WAR AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

An Historical Study of German Physical Education

From 1806 to 1957

Director

Examining Committee

James Martin
President
Franklin D. Parker

By

Gail Steacy

**Submitted as an Honors Paper
in the
Department of Physical Education**

THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

1958

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Approved by

There are several people to whom the writer is especially grateful. She appreciates the helpful suggestions of Eshel Martus, Dr. Richard Current, and Dr. Franklin Parker, and it has been a pleasure to work with Mrs. E. Milton Gerringer on this paper. Most especially the writer wishes to express her gratitude to Dr. Generaly Miller for her untiring assistance and patience.

Director
Examining Committee

Raymond M. G. [Signature]

*Eshel Martus
Richard R. Current
Franklin D. Parker*

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

CHAPTER There are several people to whom the writer is extremely PAGE
grateful. She appreciates the helpful suggestions of Miss Ethel
Martus, Dr. Richard Current, and Dr. Franklin Parker, and it has
been a pleasure to work with Mrs. S. Hilton Gerringer, who typed
this paper. Most especially the writer wishes to express her
gratitude to Dr. Rosemary McGee for her untiring interest,
assistance and patience.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN GERMANY BEFORE 1806	5
III. JAHN AND THE TURNVEREINE	10
IV. FURTHER GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF THE TURNERS	20
Physical Education in Germany from 1820-1840	
The Turners in America	
Further Development of the Turners in Germany	
Summary	
V. THE INTRODUCTION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS -	
ITS DEVELOPMENT AND OUTGROWTHS THROUGH WORLD	
WAR I	26
Spiess' Contributions to Physical Education	
The Introduction of Military Gymnastics	
The Influence of Bismarck	
The Playground Movement	
The Beginning of the Sports Movement	
The Political Situation	
The Youth Movement	
The Educational System	
Physical Education Before World War I	
Germany During World War I	
VI. PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC	40
The Political Situation	
THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION	42
Sports and Recreation for Rehabilitation	
The Turners	
The Educational System	
Physical Education in the Schools	
Summary	

CHAPTER	PAGE
THE TWILIGHT OF THE REPUBLIC	51
The Rise of Hitler	
Physical Education Organizations	
Physical Education in the Schools	
Summary	
VII. PHYSICAL EDUCATION UNDER NATIONAL SOCIALISM	58
The Political Situation	
The Educational System	
Physical Education Under Hitler	
Physical Education in the Schools	
Extra-curricular Physical Education for Youth and Adults	
Summary	
VIII. THE RE-EDUCATION OF GERMANY	78
The Effects of World War II	
The New Government	
Sports and Recreation in the Federal Republic	
The Educational System in the Federal Republic	
Physical Education in the Republic	
IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	86
BIBLIOGRAPHY	94

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The history of Germany has been one of extremes; it has dominated other countries and has been dominated, its forms of government have ranged from monarchies and dictatorships to attempted democracy. The political and social forces that have contributed to the development of the country have influenced physical education and have been reflected in it; thus the systems of physical education which have been used in Germany also illustrate a history of extremes.

"Physical education in all countries is used for higher purposes than that of mere body conditioning, skill training, or the correction of defects."¹ Sometimes it is viewed as an essential element in the education of the total being; sometimes it is an instrument for stimulating nationalism in preparation for or recovery from war; sometimes its main purpose is propaganda; and then again, its sole aim can be merely to provide an enjoyable means of recreation for leisure time. The activities used in carrying out these programs may appear to be the same, but aims and methods direct them toward the desired goals.

"Physical education is not just a series of movements or a set of exercises, but a reflection of national ideals, philosophy, and traits."²

It is the purpose of this paper to study relationships between war

¹John Dambach, Physical Education in Germany (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937), p. 3.

²Loc. cit.

and physical education. In so doing, an attempt will be made to determine what effects wars have on the organized physical activity of the people and what reciprocal influences there might be. Germany has been chosen for this study for several reasons. Its many wars and political upheavals provide an excellent source of study. Germany has also been a leader in European physical education and has influenced other parts of the world in this field; the development and influence of the American Turners attest to this. Most of all, Germany was chosen because through its study it is hoped that possible answers can be seen for some general questions such as the following: Does the nature of physical education change with changing forms of government? What are some of the purposes for which physical education has been used? Can physical education influence the thoughts and actions of the people? Do people become more interested in physical education in time of war? Is the fact that there have been many systems of physical education in Germany in any way related to the fact that Germany has been involved in many wars? Does the necessity or desire for war affect the attitude of a country toward physical education and the practice of it?

"It is probably a platitude to remark that the greatness of a nation depends upon the mental, moral, and physical greatness of its citizenry. However, it is a fact which all nations may overlook in periods of progress and a fact which all nations face in times of adversity."³ This greatness comes to a large degree through education,

³Emmett A. Rice, "The American Turners," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 5, No. 4 (April, 1934), p. 3.

and it has been said that "the future will belong to the best educated nation."⁴ The significance of education for national welfare is often shown by wars since wars can provide "the supreme test of the type of individual produced by each system."⁵ In determining the causes of the outcome of a war, the strength and weakness of each nation has often been attributed to education. Physical education is a phase of total education and therefore it is vitally concerned in this examination of educational systems. However, the introduction and development of physical education does not always stem from motives concerning educational advancement. According to one author, gymnastic movements in Germany and other countries represent "the work of single men or groups of men impressed with the necessity of delivering their country from imminent danger by improving the efficiency of her citizens."⁶ Modern physical education in Germany began and grew as a direct outgrowth of the political situation at the time. Simple love of country and a strong desire for its freedom and unification prompted the introduction of gymnastic societies which are active in Germany even to this day.

Modern physical education began in Germany approximately 150 years ago and therefore this study will be concerned mainly with the years

⁴Baroness Rose Posse, "How Physical Training Affects the Welfare of the Nation," American Physical Education Review, Vol. 15, No. 7 (October, 1910), p. 493.

⁵I. L. Kandel, Comparative Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933), p. xv.

⁶R. Tait McKenzie, "Constructive Patriotism," American Physical Education Review, Vol. 17, No. 4 (April, 1912), p. 251.

1806-1957. Throughout this paper special attention will be given to relationships between the effects of war and the development of physical education.

Physical education did not play an important role in the national development of Germany or the life of the people until Friedrich Jahn dedicated himself to this work and made gymnastics popular. However, it seems worth while to take a brief look at the physical education just previous to this time.

There was very little physical education in the German schools before 1806 because the nation was too divided to promote this phase of education. Prussia offered universal education under national control, theoretically at least; however, the public schools concentrated their efforts on the traditional subjects. Thus what little physical education did exist was found in a few isolated private and experimental schools.

These German schools were collectively influenced by the French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose writings influenced and inspired men of letters all over the world. Rousseau was one of the leaders of the reform movement in France to reject formal education

¹See Jahn, Physical Education in Germany (New York City: Frederick Muller, Columbia University, 1929), p. 1.

100-101

100-101

CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN GERMANY BEFORE 1806

Physical education did not play an important role in the national development of Germany or the life of its people until Friedrich Jahn dedicated himself to this work and made gymnastics popular. However, it seems worth while to take a brief look at the physical education just previous to this time.

There was very little physical education in the German schools before 1806 because the nation was too divided to promote this phase of education.¹ Prussia offered universal education under national control, theoretically at least; however, the public schools concentrated their efforts on the traditional subjects.² Thus what little physical education did exist was found in a few isolated private and experimental schools.³

These German schools were indirectly initiated by the French philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, whose writings influenced and inspired many educators all over the world. Rousseau was one of the leaders of the reform movement in France; he rejected formal education

¹John Dambach, Physical Education in Germany (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937), p. 5.

²Loc. cit.

³Loc. cit.

and advocated following nature.⁴ He and John Locke seemed to agree on the importance of "a sound mind in a sound body," and both of them preached the necessity of some sort of physical training in education.⁵ Rousseau insisted on education of the whole child and placed a major emphasis on health and physical education.

The doctrine of naturalism which Rousseau advocated was outlawed in France, but German educators began to experiment with his ideas. Rousseau's influence in Germany was enhanced by the work of Johann Bernard Basedow (1723-1790), who founded a school called the Philanthropinum. In Basedow's Philanthropinum the first attempts were made to put naturalistic education into practice.⁶ Basedow was a native born German, but he spent some time teaching in Denmark. There he "had before his eyes a system of education which actually made the attempt to combine physical with mental training, in the case of youth of a certain class."⁷ After returning to Germany to teach, Basedow planned to reform educational methods. The appearance of Rousseau's Emile in 1762 must have had a profound influence on Basedow for he decided to organize a naturalistic

⁴Jackson R. Sharman, Introduction to Physical Education (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1934), p. 34.

⁵Ibid., p. 35.

⁶Deebold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), p. 199.

⁷Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, A Guide to the History of Physical Education, (third edition; Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1947), p. 68.

school in which he would put into practice many of Rousseau's ideas and some of his own. In 1774 the Philanthropinum was opened at Dessau. In this school both physical and intellectual development were considered to be important parts of education. The accumulation of knowledge was not thought to be as important as a "self-contented, cheerful, enthusiastic disposition; a virtuous character;" and a harmonious development of mind and body.⁸ In keeping with its stated purposes, time was allotted for physical activities. The physical education program at the Philanthropinum contained, in embryo, most of the varied forms of physical education which have been advocated at one time or another since then; these included the following: simple games, sports, gymnastics, military drill, manual labor and training, and school excursions.⁹

The Philanthropinum was the first school in modern Europe, admitting all classes of society, to incorporate daily physical education instruction for all pupils into its curriculum.¹⁰ The growth of physical education in Germany and the rest of the world was influenced by this innovation. Due to difficulties in organization and administration the Philanthropinum was forced to close in 1793, but the effects of its short life combined with the teachings and writings

⁸Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 201.

⁹Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, op. cit., p. 70.

¹⁰Jackson R. Sharman, op. cit., p. 35.

of its founder, Basedow, were far reaching and influential. It became the model for many similar schools.

One of the schools patterned after Basedow's was the Schnepfenthal Educational Institute which was founded in 1785 by Christian Salzmann, a former teacher at the Philanthropinum. This school outlived its parent and, in fact, survived longer than any of the philanthropistic schools founded toward the end of the eighteenth century.¹¹ The importance of this school to physical education can be credited to Johann Friedrich GutsMuths (1759-1839), who taught physical education there for almost fifty years. During this time of distinguished service, GutsMuths "developed a program that compares favorably with good programs at the present time; it included swimming, athletics, gymnastics, games, stunts, outing activities, and recreational sports."¹² GutsMuths was able to give a more practical expression to the physical education which had been initiated in Basedow's school. GutsMuths' teaching was of high quality and therefore he influenced both his students and observers. Perhaps even more influential, however, were his writings. In 1793 GutsMuths published the first scientific book on physical education, Gymnastics for the Young, which provided a complete educational technique for the time and has been since regarded as one of the

¹¹Fred Eugene Leonard, "An Outline of the Development of Physical Training in Germany in Modern Times," American Physical Education Review, Vol. 4, No. 1 (March, 1899), p. 8.

¹²Jackson R. Sharman, op. cit., p. 36.

classics in physical education literature.¹³ In this book and others that followed, many of GutsMuths' beliefs were revealed. He recognized the importance of basing physical education activities on sound scientific foundations, and devised a system of keeping accurate records of the progress of each student. He saw an educational value in play and advocated a program for girls adapted to their needs, abilities, and interests. GutsMuths was primarily interested in the development of a complete person and in physical education as a method of education, but as early as 1804 he urged the Prussian Minister to introduce exercises into the school in order to promote the military efficiency of the people.¹⁴

GutsMuths was an outstanding physical educator and writer whose immediate and far reaching influence did much to further physical education. Due to his contributions, GutsMuths is generally regarded as the "grandfather of modern physical education."¹⁵ If a period of political unrest and war had not interfered, GutsMuths might have secured a prominent place for school gymnastics in general education long before this was accomplished.¹⁶

¹³Leopold F. Zwarg, "A Study of the History, Uses and Values of Apparatus in Physical Education," Mind and Body, Vol. 38, No. 395 (April, 1931), p. 434.

¹⁴A. Holmes, "The Soul and Body in Physical Training," American Physical Education Review, Vol. 14, No. 7 (October, 1909), p. 483.

¹⁵Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 200.

¹⁶Emmett A. Rice and John L. Hutchinson, A Brief History of Physical Education (third edition; New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1952), p. 93.

CHAPTER III

JAHN AND THE TURNVEREINE

1806-1819

The German gymnastic societies, Turnvereine, which are active to this day, began in the first decade of the nineteenth century in a period of turmoil throughout Germany. They were originated and developed largely through the efforts of Friedrich Jahn (1778-1852), whose love for Germany and desire for its freedom and unity inspired him to undertake this work.

As the nineteenth century began, Germany was composed of a conglomeration of some 300 petty principalities and there was little or no feeling of national pride held by either the nobility or common people. A feeling of humanistic cosmopolitanism was dominant among the people, and they cared little about national unity or progress.¹ This situation kept Germany disorganized and made her vulnerable for the aggression of other nations. When its very existence was threatened by Napoleon, Germany was forced to go to war. Prussia's ill-prepared, unpatriotic troops proved to be an easy prey for the French in the crushing battle at Jena in 1806. The resulting Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 cut Prussia's territory in half and she became a mere province at the mercy of Napoleon. The German people were forced to face defeat and occupation, but it was this very situation which aroused them and led to the changes

¹John Dambach, Physical Education in Germany (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937) p. 7.

in Germany resulting in Napoleon's final defeat in 1815. "The thrilling drama which opened at Jena and closed at Tilsit halved the possessions of Prussia but doubled her moral strength."² Prussia's defeat changed the attitude of the people from "indifference to deep humiliation, and then to emotional patriotism."³ In the period of liberation following 1806 the hopes of the lower classes continually rose and the people gained new confidence in the future. The Prussian defeat and the years following it produced profound effects on the country, including: Stein's reforms in the government which gave the people more freedom, Scharnhorst's creation of an army based on compulsory universal military service, and Humboldt's reconstruction of the educational system.⁴

Fear of Napoleon forced closer cooperation among Germans. Many leaders began to speak for German freedom and unity believing that "Prussia and the rest of Germany could rise from its degradation only through a national regeneration beginning with the mental, moral, and physical education of youth."⁵ Among these leaders were the following: Arndt, "one of the most resolute antagonists of Napoleon and Napoleonism;"⁶

²George P. Gooch, Germany, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 8.

³John Dambach, op. cit., p. 7.

⁴Friedrich Paulsen, German Education, translated by T. Lorenz (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), p. 182.

⁵Emmett A. Rice, "The American Turners," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 5, No. 4 (April, 1934), p. 3.

⁶Adolphus William Ward, Germany 1815-1890 (Vol. I; Cambridge: at the University Press, 1916) p. 129.

Fichte, a philosopher whose "Addresses to the German Nation" stirred many to patriotic fervor;⁷ and Jahn, the father of popular gymnastics.

Friedrich Ludwig Jahn was a Prussian by birth, but felt that all Germany was his fatherland. Jahn was a liberalist in thought and action; he longed for freedom from French oppression, and felt equally as strongly that Germany should be united as one country under a democratic constitution. In his first important publication, German Nationality, Jahn called attention to the excellence of German achievements and urged all Germans to unite.⁸ This was soon followed by Deutsches Volkstum (German Popular Life and Thought), in which Jahn prophesied "one people, one nation, one empire, all united under one legal constitution."⁹ Jahn felt that Germany could best throw off the Napoleonic yoke and attain freedom by molding German youth into strong, healthy, loyal citizens, and that this could be achieved through physical education. To this end Jahn organized gymnastic clubs, and thus began the Turnvereine.

As a child, Jahn spent most of his time outdoors and developed a love for active outdoor life. It was natural then for Jahn, the teacher in a boys' school, to make a practice of meeting the boys out of school hours to work with them in various outdoor activities. In 1811

⁷Friedrich Paulsen, op. cit., p. 183.

⁸Emmett A. Rice and John L. Hutchinson, A Brief History of Physical Education (third edition; New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1952), p. 99.

⁹John Dambach, op. cit., p. 11.

he set up a turnplatz (exercise ground) outside Berlin. This turnplatz was called the Hasenheide, and various pieces of apparatus were erected there for use in gymnastic activities. Among the physical activities performed under Jahn's direction were the following: walking, hopping, running, leaping, balancing, climbing, throwing, wrestling, apparatus work, and gymnastic exercises and games.¹⁰ Little was known at that time about principles of anatomy and physiology, but a regard for increasing the amounts and resistance in exercises can be discerned through Jahn's writings.

"To Jahn, gymnastics were not merely the means of augmenting physical powers but a tool for achieving political goals as well."¹¹ He hoped to make German youth physically strong and capable of bearing arms, and to arouse in them a love for the fatherland.¹² Patriotic feeling could be expressed through physical education, and it served as an outlet for liberalism. Freedom and exercise became synonymous. In order to assure that rich and poor would participate on an equal basis, Jahn advocated a uniform of unbleached linen which would be "durable, cheap, and fit for all movements."¹³

¹⁰Friedrich Jahn, A Treatise on Gymnastics, translated by Charles Beck (Northampton: Simeon Butler, 1828), pp. 1-179.

¹¹Debold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), p. 219.

¹²K. A. Knudsen, A Text-book of Gymnastics, translated by Ruth Herbert and H. G. Junker, revised by Frank N. PUNCHARD (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1920), p. 10.

¹³Friedrich Jahn, op. cit., p. 156.

Although Jahn's patriotic motives prompted his work in physical education, militaristic methods had no place on his turnplatz. He saw in physical education the educational values inherent in aiding the growth and development of children and advocated supervision, but he was opposed to stiff formality. Thus Jahn followed no set program for the day and individual freedom of action was highly regarded. His gymnastics lessons were "a combination of the most informal type of work, of songs or games, and of inspirational talks."¹⁴

Largely due to Jahn's enthusiasm, personality, and sincerity, he won the love and respect of his students and his gymnastics program grew in popularity. His following increased, and adults as well as youth participated in the Turnverein. In 1812 it was necessary to move to a larger turnplatz and add more apparatus. Jahn became a bit more systematic, writing down various exercises by name and description, but he continued to avoid rigidity in his lessons.

Jahn did not attempt to put gymnastics into the formal course of study in the schools, and participation in the Turnverein remained voluntary. He did, however, strongly advocate gymnastics as a necessary part of the education of each individual. In his Treatise on Gymnastics Jahn said:

Gymnastick exercises are intended to restore the just proportion of the two principal parts of human education, moral and physical, the latter of which had been neglected for the space of several ages. As long as man has a body, it is his duty to take care of,

¹⁴William A. Stecher, "The Turners and Physical Education," Mind and Body, Vol. 33, No. 356 (February, 1927), p. 421.

to cultivate it, as well as his mind, and consequently gymnastick exercises should form an essential part of education. . . . Every village, however insignificant, ought to, and could, have a gymnasium, as well as institutions for mental education.¹⁵

During these early years of its existence, Jahn's turnen (physical exercise) flourished and Jahn was viewed as a national hero by the government and people alike. The formation of Turnvereine spread rapidly all over Prussia and to some of the other German states. The common incentive in organizing these gymnastic societies was a patriotic love for Germany, and the Turners made an effort to be purely German in speech, custom and dress. The motto adopted by the Turnverein was: "Frisch, Frei, Froehlich, Fromm," which freely translated means "Free, Cheerful, Intelligent, Dependable or Good."¹⁶ They advocated all around development and sought a sound mind in a sound body. Jahn felt that membership in the Turnverein should mean more than just participation in bodily exercises. He thought that through turnen character training and education for citizenship could take place. Jahn stressed the necessity of cooperation and courteous behavior on his turnplatz, and he strongly urged adherence to high moral standards at all times. For Jahn the term "turner" denoted an attitude of mind and the development of a personality; for him it was a philosophy of life.¹⁷ The Turners have always stood for freedom of the individual and unity of

¹⁵Friedrich Jahn, op. cit., p. 152

¹⁶William A. Stecher, op. cit., p. 419.

¹⁷W. K. Streit, "The German Turnfest at Stuttgart," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 4, No. 10 (December, 1933), p. 12.

the nation.¹⁸ At this time, with Prussia trying courageously to recover from its crushing defeat at the hands of Napoleon, even the government, which was fearful of liberalism and yet desirous of freedom from France, supported this nationalistic movement.

In 1813, King Friedrich William III of Prussia called all Germans to the War of Liberation. Jahn was among the first to volunteer his services and most of the Turners who were of age soon followed. Although the further development of Jahn's work was temporarily retarded and had to be carried on with diminished numbers, at the same time its value was emphasized.¹⁹ This time Germany was ready, and it was Napoleon who faced defeat first at Leipzig and finally at Waterloo in 1815. The whole nation was enthusiastic over gymnastics at the close of the war and the gymnastic societies enjoyed a spontaneous growth. Once again Jahn was hailed as a national hero.

At the Congress of Vienna, which opened in 1814 with the Austrian Minister Metternich presiding, Prussia regained in area the territory she had lost to Napoleon.²⁰ Although the Germanic Confederation of 1815 which came out of the Vienna Congress seemed to be the best possible agreement that could be reached, it was a disappointment for many Germans who had hoped for a closer German union culminating in a

¹⁸John Dambach, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁹Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, A Guide to the History of Physical Education (third edition; Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1947), p. 92.

²⁰Ferdinand Schevill, The Making of Modern Germany (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1916), p. 89.

national constitution. The king had promised this in time of stress, but with the restoration of peace they found that he had no intention of keeping such promises.

Meanwhile, Jahn's gymnastics continued to grow in popularity and the formation of Turnvereine in many German cities found favor with all grades of society. Many visitors came to Berlin for teacher training in gymnastics. "Jahn made them all welcome, charged no fees, gave his time and personal interest freely in regular hours and out, and saw that each one obtained the best possible preparation."²¹ In 1816 Jahn published Die Deutsche Turnkunst and it became a guide for building and running turnplatze. Jahn felt at this time that his work was only half done; freedom from France had been won, but Germany was not yet united and did not have a constitution. He returned to his work eager to create good German citizens who would work toward German unity. Student clubs called Burschenschaften, which had sprung up in the preceding years with the aim of uniting Germany under a free government for the people, supported the practice of turnen and many of their members joined the Turners. The kings and aristocrats, who had even gone so far as to support nationalistic movements in ridding Germany of French occupation, began to restore a policy of repression and reaction in order to prevent the spread of liberal ideas. As the turnvereine movement grew it became more and more associated with liberal and democratic ideals. This aroused the suspicion and hostility of the

²¹Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, op. cit., p. 97.

nobility; they began to think of the Turners as a radical element, and the beliefs of Jahn and his followers were considered to be dangerous. The reactionary Austrian Minister, Metternich, was very influential at this time and was the virtual dictator of Europe. Metternich feared the Turner organizations because they were devoted to liberal doctrines, and he encouraged the Prussian king to prohibit them. In 1819 a turner assassinated a famous writer who was in the employ of the monarchy. Jahn was charged with conspiracy and arrested; and turnen was immediately forbidden in Prussia. The Karlsbad Decrees (1819) dissolved all Turnvereine, of which there were over one thousand.²² Jahn was deprived of the right to teach and was imprisoned for a time. Although Jahn was cleared of any connection with this crime in 1825, his freedom was limited for many years. Thus ended the direct leadership of Friedrich Jahn in the Turnvereine.

The spirit of the War of Liberation was largely responsible for the origination and development of the Turners from 1814-1818; and it was this liberal spirit which also caused the government to impose repressive measures on the Turner organizations and check their growth for more than twenty years.²³

During the years that he was active, Jahn wrote, spoke, worked, and fought for German unity. In the midst of national tragedy, he organized the Turnvereine and preached regeneration of Germany. Jahn

²²John Dambach, op. cit., p. 17.

²³Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, op. cit., p. 98.

made gymnastics popular in Germany and his work had a profound influence on physical education in many other parts of the world as well. Friedrich Jahn is to be remembered as a great patriot and advocate of physical education.

Physical Education in Germany from 1820-1840

Unfortunately the events noted at the conclusion of the last chapter did not mark the end of the gymnastic movement. Despite the efforts of the government to suppress it, Jahn's followers kept Jahn alive. In 1820 Frederick William III decreed that Jahn should absolutely cease his efforts.¹ While the gymnastic societies were outlawed, some of them continued to work secretly indoors. Jahn's Jungs and boys were again able to engage in their activities with almost unlimited scope. As the teachers were forced indoors, more organization was necessary and their meetings, of necessity, became more formal.

In the years 1819-1840 open liberalism was allowed and the belief that the French Revolution of 1830 gave to the German people was quickly dispelled when Metternich persuaded the German states to revise and strengthen the Carlsbad Decrees. Metternich's secretary, which marks this dreary period of German history, depended, in its small measure, upon the continued fears of the sovereigns of Germany for the safety of their thrones.² The ruling class feared nationalistic organizations such as the Turnvereine and endeavored to

¹Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Atfield, *A Guide to the History of Physical Education* (third edition; Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1947), p. 109.

²Joseph William Ward, *Germany 1815-1848* (Vol. I; Cambridge at the University Press, 1916), p. 180.

CHAPTER IV

FURTHER GROWTH AND INFLUENCE OF THE TURNERS

1820-1871

Physical Education in Germany from 1820-1840

Fortunately the events noted at the conclusion of the last chapter did not mark the end of the turnvereine movement; despite the efforts of the government to suppress it, Jahn's followers kept turnen alive. In 1820 Frederick William III decreed that turnen should absolutely cease in Prussia.¹ While the gymnastic societies were outlawed, some of them continued to work secretly indoors. Jahn's turnen had begun as an open air activity with almost limitless space. As the Turners were forced indoors, more organization was necessary and their meetings, of necessity, became more formal.

In the years 1820-1840 open liberalism was silenced and the brief ray of hope which the French Revolution of 1830 gave to the German people was quickly dispelled when Metternich persuaded the German states to revive and strengthen the Karlsbad Decrees. "Metternich's ascendancy, which marks this dreary period of German history, depended, in no small measure, upon the continued fears of the sovereigns of Germany for the safety of their thrones."² The ruling class feared nationalistic organizations such as the Turners and endeavored to

¹Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, A Guide to the History of Physical Education (third edition; Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1947), p. 100.

²Adolphus William Ward, Germany 1815-1890 (Vol. I; Cambridge: at the University Press, 1916), p. 180.

prohibit their growth. During these years no notable progress was made in German physical education.

The Turners in America

The policy of reaction and persecution which prevailed in Germany caused many liberal Germans who believed in democratic principles to move to America. Among the refugees to arrive in the United States around 1824 were Charles Follen, Francis Lieber, and Charles Beck. These three Turners were pioneers in the development of American physical education. Their first impression on American life was through the introduction of voluntary physical education in the American institutions in which they taught. In the 1820's German gymnastics were accepted with enthusiasm, but this proved to be temporary. These great leaders failed to recognize the tremendous difference between the social and political conditions of Germany and America. For instance, in introducing his translation of Jahn's Treatise on Gymnasticks, Beck spoke of the contributions which gymnastic exercises could make to the formation of an already existing ideal of social equality. Aims and methods were not changed to fit American democracy, and thus this effort to transplant German gymnastics was doomed to failure.

About the middle of the nineteenth century many more Germans arrived in America and a second and more lasting impression was made on American life by the German Turners. Turnvereine began to be organized in the United States. The purposes of the societies were to practice gymnastic activities and promote patriotism. True to the ideals of democracy and freedom which brought its leaders to this country, the

gymnastic societies spread rapidly and in 1863 they united to form a central organization. . Its Principles and Statutes state:

The American Turnerbund is a federation of turner societies in the United States of America, organized to promote physical education and disseminate rational ideas, in order to advance the health, happiness, prosperity, and progress of mankind. It is the principal duty of our societies to provide courses in physical training for youth and adult and also to promote their intellectual growth and moral character. . . .³

These societies became very influential and they were largely responsible for the introduction of physical education into the public school program toward the end of the nineteenth century. Many Turner leaders spoke, wrote, gave demonstrations, and even taught for a while without accepting pay to help achieve this innovation. Turnvereine in many cities convinced Boards of Education that physical training was a necessary and valuable part of a well balanced curriculum. Through the years the American Turners have upheld high standards and have contributed to American democracy both in education and politics. "It is probably true that during the period from 1850-1900 the organization of Turners was the most important force in the promotion of physical education in America."⁴

Further Development of the Turners in Germany

In Germany, Frederick William IV donned the Prussian crown in 1840 and in that same year signed an ordinance which secured an amnesty

³The Principles and Statutes of the American Turnerbund, as cited by Emmett A. Rice, "The American Turners," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 5, No. 4 (April, 1934), p. 6.

⁴Jackson R. Sharman, Introduction to Physical Education (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1934), p. 43.

to all political offenders.⁵ Jahn's police supervision was removed and he was decorated with the iron cross. Frederick William IV removed the ban on Turnvereine, and in 1842 gymnastics were recognized formally as a "necessary and indispensable part of male education."⁶ Accordingly, participation in turnen began to revive.

There was strong feeling among the people for a constitution and the unity of Germany; thus when the king called together a united diet in Berlin in 1847, their hopes, which had already been aroused, rose still higher. This was the first body Prussia had ever had which was even suggestive of a national representative assembly; however the king intended for its power to be only that of consultation, and when the diet tried to extend this, it was dismissed with the king's disapproval.⁷

The Revolution in Paris in 1848 encouraged other countries to rise against repressive governments. Metternich was driven out of office in Austria, and Berlin desired to follow. Patriotic enthusiasm was evident as the people themselves called a national assembly at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. Here they wrote a constitution for a united Germany. The Imperial Crown was offered to Frederick William IV, but since it did not come from the princes he felt obliged to refuse it, and thus ended the German revolutionary efforts of 1848. The king, fearful that the

⁵Adolphus William Ward, op. cit., p. 311.

⁶Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, op. cit., p. 101.

⁷Ferdinand Schevill, The Making of Modern Germany (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1916), p. 115.

desires of the people could not be denied much longer, pledged himself to the two demands of the hour which were a Prussian Constitution and German unity. The Constitution of 1850, however, served only to assure the supremacy of the king.⁸ Once again the German people had attempted to gain freedom and had failed.

During the brief period of liberalism in the 1840's the Turners came to life again. They held Turntage (district conventions) and Turnfeste (gatherings for gymnastic exercises) in order to meet their desire for union.⁹ Turner periodicals made their appearance and interest grew. After the attempted revolution, the Turners were once again suppressed because of their liberal political ideals. Many Turners had taken an active part in revolutionary movements; but in carrying out a policy of repression, even those gymnastic societies which had not been involved in these were disbanded or put under careful supervision by the government.¹⁰ During the next decade hardly a third of the 300 societies in existence in 1849 survived.¹¹

Toward the end of the 1850's the Turnvereine began to revive, and in 1860 more than a thousand adult Turners attended the first general German Convention and Turnfest.¹² The following year the

⁸John Dambach, Physical Education in Germany (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937), p. 20.

⁹Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, op. cit., p. 102.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 103.

¹¹Loc. cit.

¹²Ibid., pp. 103 & 104.

Turners could record an attendance of over two thousand when they held a convention and Turnfest at Berlin to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Hasenheide Turnplatz.¹³ Soon after this the Turners made their momentous decision to remain unconditionally aloof from all political affiliations. The way was now open for growth with the approval and encouragement of the government. The Turners began to rise and they have flourished steadily since that time. In 1868 the Turners united to form the National Union of German Gymnastic Societies and their membership increased still more.

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 brought the unification of Germany which Jahn and his followers had looked forward to for many years. This war brought attention to the need and value of physical efficiency and after the formation of the new empire, turnen grew rapidly with full approval of the state.

Summary

Thus it is seen that Jahn's Turnvereine began through informal supervision of some school boys and grew into a national organization which became an important force in the lives of thousands of Germans. The strength of Jahn's influence is further illustrated by the establishment of Gymnastic Societies in the United States which enjoyed a steady growth for several years and are still active to some degree today.

¹³Ibid., p. 104.

CHAPTER V

THE INTRODUCTION OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS ITS DEVELOPMENT AND OUTGROWTHS THROUGH WORLD WAR I

"The value of introducing bodily exercises into the schools was discussed in 1804, 1809, and 1817; but wars and incidents prevented the adoption of any definite proposal."¹ For many years German Turnvereine tended to supplement the work of the schools rather than become a part of them. Due to public opinion, which was partially aroused by the appeals of medical men, a cabinet order of 1842 advocated gymnastics for the schools and by order of the Minister of Education the establishment of gymnasia was authorized in 1844. Rather than GutsMuth's gymnastics for children, it was Jahn's more popular system of gymnastics for adults which was first introduced in the schools. Hans Massmann, a Turner true to Jahn's methods, was chosen to plan a system of physical education for all Prussia. This proved to be a poor choice. Massmann attempted to inject club activities into the schools and his efforts were unsuccessful; he retired in 1850. By order of the Minister of Education this informal system of gymnastics was replaced by the system of Adolf Spiess (1810-1858),

¹Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), p. 226.

who is often called "the founder of school gymnastics in Germany."² To Spiess, more than any other one man in German history, goes the credit for making physical education a part of school life.³

Spiess' Contributions to Physical Education

Spiess was a German who gained teaching experience in Switzerland; there he experimented with the integration of physical education into the regular curriculum. After the ban on the Turners was lifted in 1840, Spiess wanted to return to Germany and was ready to devote his life to physical education. In 1848 Spiess was offered a position in Hesse to introduce gymnastics into the schools of the Duchy and to train teachers. In just a few years his system took root throughout all Germany and educational authorities began to adopt it as basic to their schools. Many of Spiess' beliefs were shown through his book, System of Gymnastics. Spiess was interested in the total growth of the individual and believed in physical education for girls as well as boys. He was firmly convinced that physical exercise constituted a vital part of a child's development and that physical education should be accepted in the curriculum on the same basis as other subjects. He wanted to change turnen from voluntary recreation to required education. Among his aims was the development of a system of physical education suitable to the schools, and he felt strongly that instructors should be trained teachers who understood the development of children.

²Ibid., p. 220.

³Charles A. Bucher, Foundations of Physical Education (second edition; St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1956), p. 202.

Spieß was a product of the indoor Turnverein and he continued to use the more formal methods which the Turners had necessarily followed during time of repression.⁴ Although he did advocate some other activities such as dancing and games, Spieß placed a major stress on group exercises. He advocated and practiced formal methods in order to maintain order in his classes and develop in youth the qualities of obedience and docility. Under Spieß, exercises were done in response to command, without opportunity for individual expression. Each exercise had a definite purpose and was systematically administered. "Turnen under Jahn and Spieß was diametrically opposite, although many of the same movements and apparatus were used."⁵

The ruling class saw value in Spieß' turnen, and it became law; thus Spieß helped to raise the Turners to a place of respect again. In view of the times and the political situation in Germany, it can be seen that if Spieß' methods had not been as formal as they were, it is very doubtful that they would have found acceptance. The rise of Spieß signified a new epoch in physical education; from this time on, physical education for both boys and girls was fostered in the German schools.⁶ For many years this physical education consisted mainly of formal gymnastics which had clearly defined objectives.

⁴John Dambach, Physical Education in Germany (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937), p. 24.

⁵Ibid., p. 23.

⁶Ibid., p. 25.

The Introduction of Military Gymnastics

At almost the same time, military men were beginning to see possibilities for the schools to help train soldiers. Since Spiess' system was questioned by the Turners because of its formal methods and also by some medical men who doubted its physical value, it seemed feasible to attempt to introduce the militaristic methods of Sweden's Ling system which was supposed to have a sound scientific basis. Per Henrick Ling (1776-1839) "was moved by patriotic convictions similar to those that had activated Jahn in Germany."⁷ Ling studied anatomy and physiology and attempted to organize his system of physical education according to the principles set forth in these sciences. He was a modern pioneer in the field of medical gymnastics and was interested in correcting physical defects. Ling's gymnastics were classified in the following way: military, medical, pedagogical, and aesthetic.⁸ Ling felt that all four types of exercises were mutually interdependent and that no phase should be disregarded, but he devoted himself mainly to the military and medical exercises. His gymnastic program consisted largely of free exercises and some lighter apparatus work. Hugo von Rothstein, a German army officer, translated Ling's book into his native tongue and was largely responsible for introducing this system into Germany. The Turners opposed this new system which

⁷Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 255.

was even more formal than Spiess'. Rothstein's insistence that all gymnastic work should follow the Ling system brought criticism from all sides, and in 1836 he was forced to withdraw from his position of Director of the Royal Institute for Gymnastics. However, his ideas remained a part of army and school physical education until World War I.

The Influence of Bismarck

Rothstein's attempt to introduce military gymnastics was a reflection of the political situation at that time. In 1858, after Friedrich William IV lost his reason, his brother William accepted the Prussian regency and a new era began. King William reconstructed the ministry along more liberal lines and began to build up the army. When William's army reform was opposed, Otto von Bismarck rose to defend the royal cause. The king put Bismarck in diplomatic service, and in 1862 Bismarck was appointed Prime Minister. Bismarck was devoted to his country and wanted to unite Germany under Prussian leadership. Soon after his appointment Bismarck announced: "Germany does not look to Prussia's liberalism but to its power. . . . The great issues of our time are not decided by speeches and majority decisions. . . but by blood and iron."⁹ Bismarck, later known as the Iron Chancellor, believed that war with Austria was inevitable and in 1866 Austria was decisively defeated by Prussia in one of the shortest wars in history. Out of this war came the North German Confederation with Prussia at its head. Bismarck drew up a constitution which made

⁹Gerhart Eisler, Albert Norden, and Albert Schreimer, The Lesson of Germany (New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1945), p. 42.

the Prussian king and government dominant in Germany. This was adopted and put into effect in 1867. The most democratic feature of the constitution was provision for a reichstag, a parliamentary body to be elected by universal male suffrage; however, in reality its powers were kept to a minimum and it was destined to become little more than a debate society. Bismarck, by his own confession, was primarily a royalist.¹⁰ He fought every attempt to extend the rights of parliament, and his leadership in Germany was characterized by his conservative policy of reaction to any opposition.

A rivalry had been going on between France and Germany for many years, and a dispute over the Spanish crown brought this to the fore in 1870. Bismarck sent a dispatch to the French which left them a choice only between war or humiliation.¹¹ France declared war on Prussia and all Germany, North and South, united behind the Prussian king. The well trained German armies marched against the foe and a united Germany soon defeated France. Thus in 1871 the long awaited German unification was achieved. Germany emerged a stronger nation and a real power.

In the following years Bismarck displayed amazing diplomacy and kept Germany at peace. Many alliances were made. Under Bismarck's leadership Germany grew and progressed. In the 1880's social insurance laws were passed which put Germany far ahead of the rest of the world

¹⁰Herman Pinnow, History of Germany, translated by Mabel R. Brailsford, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933), p. 378.

¹¹Ibid., p. 354.

in regard to this type of legislation.¹² Ironically, Bismarck put these through not as a friend of labor but as an opponent. Socialist ideas had been spread in Germany for many years and in 1875 the Social Democratic party was formed. Bismarck viewed socialism as a threat to the German Empire. In 1878 a law was passed against all socialists; instead of becoming weaker, however, the socialists grew in strength. In an attempt to combat socialism, Bismarck gave the workers many benefits which he hoped would make them more loyal to his government than to liberal forces. The Social Democratic Party continued to grow, however, and by 1914 it had millions of followers.¹³

Despite the era of peace under Bismarck, militarism became associated with gymnastics to the dissatisfaction of many Turners who favored less formal methods. Bismarck felt that militarism was necessary for the preservation of the Empire. Schools became more and more controlled by the military, and ex-officers infiltrated the ranks of teachers.

The Playground Movement

As early as 1870 dissatisfaction with the prevailing educational philosophy and physical education found expression. Konrad Koch, August Hermann, Emil von Schenckendorff and Gustav Eitner were among the leaders who sought to broaden the purposes of physical education through a playground movement. Konrad Koch (1846-1911), a teacher who had participated in the Turnverein during his boyhood, began in 1872 to take pupils to

¹²S. William Halperin, Germany Tried Democracy (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946), p. 17.

¹³Loc. cit.

the outskirts of town to participate in a variety of running and ball games out of school hours.¹⁴ Rather than stressing the formal exercises which were prevalent in German physical education at the time, the pioneers in the playground movement began to experiment with the sports and games of England. They saw an educational value in playground activities and advocated their adoption into the schools. Emil Hartwich's pamphlet in 1881 and his writings which followed added considerable impetus to the campaign. Despite the fact that many Turners opposed the playground movement because of its endeavor to introduce a foreign system of physical education into Germany, it gradually gathered momentum. In 1891 the "Central Committee for the Promotion of Games in Germany" was formed under the leadership of Emil von Schenckendorff (1837-1915).¹⁵ This organization aimed to foster not only games in the narrow sense, but all forms of exercise in the open air. It publicized the value of playground activities and prepared leaders to teach them. Games and sports began to penetrate into the schools, but only to a very limited extent.

The Beginning of the Sports Movement

As the playground movement was growing up, the beginnings of a sports movement began to make itself known. Several athletic clubs were established as interest developed, but these did not find mass

¹⁴Fred Eugene Leonard and George B. Affleck, A Guide to the History of Physical Education (third edition; Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1947), p. 133.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 143.

support and remained more or less private in nature. Thus the sports movement did not constitute a very important force in German life at this time.

The Political Situation

In 1888 William II became Emperor and in 1890 he dismissed Bismarck. No sooner had this been done than France and Russia drew together, and they soon formed the Dual Alliance. Great Britain joined them in 1907 to form the Triple Entente. William II did not want war, but he was not capable of keeping Germany out of it. He often acted without fully understanding situations and he did not bother to renew the alliances which Bismarck had so carefully made. In a few years Germany stood alone with her feeble Austrian ally. Rivalry for colonial acquisitions had been growing since the 1880's. Tension was mounting in Europe, and armies were preparing. Germany, under the leadership of William II, was soon to be plunged into the midst of the greatest conflict the world had yet known.

The Youth Movement

During the reign of William II a youth movement had sprung up in Germany. It had its beginnings in 1896 in a suburb of Berlin when a group of school boys sought freedom through open air activities. They were assisted in their activities by a sympathetic teacher, Karl Fischer. These youths stressed the spiritual freedom of the individual and rebelled against the strict control and militaristic spirit which was prevalent in Prussian schools. Physical education was the chief activity of the youth movement and in keeping with its spirit, some of Jahn's methods were revived. Rather than have anything to do with the formal

methods of Spiess, they substituted wandering. They began to organize hiking tours, and groups of youth hiked and wandered over the German countryside. These groups became known in Germany as Wandervoegel which literally translated means wandering birds.¹⁶ A Decree of 1911 encouraged organizations to open public buildings for use by the wanderers.¹⁷ With governmental support, hostels sprang up all over Germany. In 1913, 3,000 boys met and formed the Freideutschen Jugend.¹⁸ This organization had no political or religious commitments but rather it was bound together by common ideals which stressed individual freedom and the performance of wholesome physical activity in the open air. These ideals were supported by the Turners and many other Germans. Until 1914 the youth movement grew in numbers and in cultural importance.¹⁹ Hiking, which was very closely associated with the youth movement, was partially responsible for a revival of popular interest in physical education.

The Educational System

Despite the efforts of youth, however, education in Germany before World War I remained very formal and the schools stressed intellectualism. Instruction was efficient and thorough and there was very little personal contact between teachers and students. In 1872 the elementary schools

¹⁶Karl Brossmer, "Homes and Shelters for Young People and Hikers in Germany," European Sporting Activities, edited by Karl Kiesel and Walter Hulek, (Bremen, Germany: The University Travel Department of the North German Lloyd, 1928), p. 142.

¹⁷Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 230.

¹⁸John Dambach, op. cit., p. 32.

¹⁹Karl Brossmer, op. cit., pp. 143 & 144.

had been placed under state control. The Volksschule (elementary school) provided free, compulsory education for everyone, but in order to go on to a secondary school it was usually necessary to attend a school which charged tuition. Many types of schools were developing; but common to them all were rigid discipline, formality, and a heavy stress on the traditional academic subjects.

Physical Education Before World War I

Physical education had been made compulsory in the elementary schools in 1862, but in the 80's and 90's it became somewhat neglected at all levels. At the turn of the century, Germany began to realize the seriousness of this problem. The playground movement and the youth movement served to alleviate this situation to some degree. The poor showing of Germany in the 1912 Olympics led to a sincere desire to improve their method of training and a Study Commission was sent to the United States. A stadium was built in Berlin and opened in 1913 in preparation for the 1916 Olympics which were to be held there, but World War I intervened. More students were becoming interested in sports and games and a couple of organizations were formed by university students to promote these activities. However, provision for athletics was very inadequate in the universities and, in general, schools were still dominated by the military regime. With the emphasis on serious intellectual studies under strict formal supervision, the spirit of play and free expression in physical education were hampered. Physical education in German schools just previous to World War I was a combination of Spiess' calisthenics and Rothstein's military training. Team

games were almost unknown, and students had literally forgotten how to play. Cooperation and the spirit of competition were lacking. Germany was just beginning to recognize the weaknesses in its physical education when she became involved in World War I.

Germany During World War I

On June 28, 1914 the Austrian heir-apparent was assassinated by an Austrian Serb. Austria declared war one month later. Germany, by necessity, supported her ally Austria and soon declared war on Russia and France. Germany's invasion of neutral Belgium resulted in England's declaration of war on Germany on August 4th.²⁰ World War I was under way!

Germany had weak chancellors all through the war and it was the Generals Ludendorff and Hindenburg of the Supreme Army Command who directed the fate of the country. Ludendorff became, in fact, the virtual dictator of Germany.²¹ Despite the fact that Germany's leaders followed an aggressive, expansionist policy which resulted in both prolongation of the war and the addition of the United States to her list of enemies, most Germans felt that they were fighting a necessary war of defense. The Germans won some outstanding victories on the field of battle during the first weeks of the war and this led to "a certainty of triumph which carried them through four years of toil and suffering."²²

Although the people endured terrible hardships and deprivations,

²⁰Hermann Pinnow, op. cit., pp. 402 & 403.

²¹S. William Halperin, op. cit., p. 22.

²²George P. Gooch, Germany (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 116.

confidence prevailed among German leaders. Ludendorff's unexpected admission in September, 1918, that the war was lost had a devastating effect on the masses who had been made to believe that they were winning the war. Ludendorff lost his authority as dictator, and the long suffering people demanded peace at any price.

President Wilson of the United States called upon the Germans to rid themselves of monarchical rule and many thought that the peace terms would be more favorable for Germany if she had a democratic form of government. The discontented people began to demand the abdication of William II. Too late he made an attempt to introduce liberal reforms. A revolutionary movement swept over Germany. On November 9, 1918 the Kaiser abdicated and fled to Holland, and the power of government passed into the hands of the people without bloodshed. The revolution was the immediate result of a lost war, but its roots went way back in the political history of the 19th century.²³ It represented an automatic reaction to an unbearable situation rather than a planned attempt to carry out clearly defined political or social ideas; it was a collapse rather than a revolution.²⁴ Nevertheless, the monarchy had come to an end in Germany. The Socialists, who had been the leading party for several years, set up a provisional government. Its first task was, unfortunately, to accept the harsh armistice terms. The armistice was signed on November 11, 1918 and World War I came to an official end.

²³H. G. Daniels, The Rise of the German Republic (London: Nisbet and Co. Ltd., 1927), p. 1.

²⁴George P. Gooch, op. cit., p. 161.

During the war little, if any, progress was made in physical education. The great mental and emotional strain from the war coupled with a terrible shortage of food had a very detrimental effect on the physical welfare of German children. The desire to play was lessened and the progress of the youth movement was interrupted. The health of the German people fell to a dangerous level during the war. The masses cared only for their existence and for peace. What interest Germany did have in physical education was directed toward preparation for war. In the schools physical education was very military, and out of them it was almost non-existent. A serious shortage of trained physical educators further prevented progress in physical education.

Thus the effects of World War I were making themselves known in physical education as well as all other phases of German life. These effects were to be felt for several years to come.

CHAPTER VI

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE REPUBLIC

1918-1933

The Political Situation

From the end of 1918 until 1933 Germany was, in name at least, a republic based on democratic ideals. In answer to a call for a National Assembly, 87% of those eligible cast their votes.¹ The National Assembly, which had thus been elected by the people, met at Weimar early in 1919. It chose Ebert as the first President of the Republic and approved a cabinet headed by Scheidemann. The National Assembly then began its chief work, the adoption of a new constitution. On July 31, 1919, it approved a constitution drafted by Hugo Preuss which was based on sovereignty of the people. The two dominating principles of the constitution were democracy and centralization.² Under Bismarck's rule the people had learned to think of themselves as Germans, now they were truly united under a federal government. The constitution was very democratic in spirit and contained a detailed bill of rights. The President was henceforth to be elected by popular vote and the Reichstag, which had become increasingly important toward the end of the war, was to have real power. Ten articles of the constitution were devoted to education. "The new

¹Elmer Luehr, The New German Republic (New York: Minton, Balch and Company, 1929), p. 94.

²George P. Gooch, Germany (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925), p. 203.

Republic was on paper the apotheosis of democratic parliamentarianism."³

Even before work on the constitution was completed the government was faced with the necessary task of negotiating peace. However the German delegates soon found that they were to be allowed no voice in the deliberations which led to the Versailles Treaty. They were simply allowed to accept or reject the harsh terms which were set before them. Germans were surprised and infuriated when they heard the impossible conditions of the treaty. It was a far cry from the more lenient Fourteen Points which President Wilson had advocated. Despite the strong feelings of both the German leaders and masses that the terms of the treaty were unacceptable, Germany was in no position to bargain and the Versailles Treaty was signed on June 28, 1919. Germany was reduced to moral degradation by war guilt clauses, disarmament clauses, economic enslavement, severe reparations and loss of colonies.⁴ The Versailles Treaty lessened the possibility for internal peace in Germany and the Republic was standing on a shaky foundation. Germany was made to feel the painful after-effects of the war and was soon to undergo the worst depression she had ever known. Dissatisfaction with the Treaty and with the general conditions in the country led to several attempts to overthrow the Republic. Nevertheless it prevailed and in the years 1923-1929 Germany was blessed with a new prosperity.

³Frederick Lewis Schuman, Germany Since 1918 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), p. 23.

⁴Ibid., p. 27.

THE PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

During the first years of the Republic, which might be termed the period of reconstruction, Germany accepted her defeat and tried to uphold the terms of the treaty.⁵ The people were grateful for an era of peace and set about trying to make democracy work. The democratic Weimar Constitution gave the people new freedom, and they embarked upon a new and strange experience called self-government.

Sports and Recreation for Rehabilitation

During the first years of the Republic there was a tremendous popular interest in all physical activities. For the first time Germany was not dominated by a military spirit. The war-ridden German people were anxious for peace and interested in the reconstruction of their country. They were trying to uphold the ideals of a democracy and thus physical education became "a free expression of a free people."⁶ Young and old alike embarked upon a passionate crusade for health and renewed vitality.⁷ A new spirit of enthusiasm for sports and games swept over Germany; they were a means of physical rehabilitation and of forgetting the troubles which besieged the long-suffering German people. In advocating tennis, one German wrote: "All thoughts of the drab common-places of life vanish, at least for hours, and sunny, golden

⁵John Dambach; Physical Education in Germany (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937), p. 39.

⁶Ibid., p. 41.

⁷Thomas Alexander and Beryl Parker, The New Education in the German Republic (New York: The John Day Company, 1929), p. 84.

spirits and love of life enter the mind."⁸ Through sports one could get away from the unpleasant realities which faced him, and at the same time increase his physical fitness. Sports which had been introduced before the war regained and surpassed their former popularity. Sports began to have a place in the newspapers and in family conversations. Thousands of Germans joined athletic clubs. One of the most important of these was the Central Commission for Sport and Physical Culture whose motto was "sport makes the masses healthy."⁹ The Turners gained in members and added athletics to their program. Whole communities began to give careful attention to the support and development of sports. Germany's sports movement was without parallel in the history of the world.¹⁰ The surge toward recreation and physical education had the direct support of government legislation. The government encouraged all measures that might help youth and adults recover physically from the ill effects of the war.

Germany was learning, or perhaps relearning, to play. The teachings and philosophy of Jahn were revived in an effort to revitalize the people, and outdoor activities were held in very high regard. The

⁸Eugen Matthias, "The Value and Attraction of Tennis," European Sporting Activities, edited by Karl Kiesel and Walter Hulek (Bremen, Germany: The University Travel Department of the North German Lloyd, 1928), p. 77.

⁹Hamilton C. Claiborne, "Germans Turn From Military Exercises to Organized Sports," Mind and Body, Vol. 34, No. 365 (January, 1928), p. 354.

¹⁰John Dambach, op. cit., p. 43.

Youth Movement was revived and expanded; youth again hiked through the German countryside. There was no single guiding figure as Jahn had been, but instead an entire youth was apparently accepting physical activity as an escape from the depression and despondency of post-war conditions.¹¹ Adults too could be seen hiking over the countryside and participating in other outdoor physical activities.

Sports had changed from a more or less individual matter to an important force in the life of the German people; correspondingly, many sport and recreation grounds arose all over the country. The building of German playgrounds developed chiefly after the war and received its first impulse from the condition of unemployment at that time.¹² Through "emergency labors" the towns used the cheap labor of the unemployed to build stadiums, playgrounds and other places for the masses to participate in recreation. Most Germans felt that sports would help them regain and maintain their health and thus, even in a depression, money spent to further sports would be worthwhile and economical. In opening the great municipal sporting-ground schemes in Cologne a German leader expressed what many Germans seemed to feel at that time when he said: "Sport must become the medical doctor at the sick bed of the German nation."¹³

¹¹Frederick H. Wohlers, "The New Physical Education in Germany," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 1, No. 8 (October, 1930), p. 3.

¹²Theodor Lewald, "How Does Germany Justify Its Large Expenditures For Sporting Facilities?", Mind and Body, Vol. 41, No. 422 (September-October, 1934), p. 104.

¹³Ibid., p. 110.

The Turners

The German desire for achievement and records was shown through the constant and heightened efforts to improve their training methods for the Olympics; their desire for mass participation was shown through the activities of the Turners who continued to grow and develop. At the beginning of the twentieth century the number of women's divisions began to increase considerably. At first their activities were very similar to the men's but then the program expanded to include rhythmic gymnastics. "Model Turning Schools" came into existence to direct the activities of women and were pioneers in this modern form of physical education for women.¹⁴ During the Republic the Turners continued to grow in popularity and numbers. They continued to hold Turnfests (Turner Meets) every five years and aimed to secure the participation of many people in their festivals. Thousands, including the schools as well as association members, took part in the many events which included mass demonstrations, parades, and contests. These Turnfests held a deeper meaning for Germans than just physical performance; they represented an expression of national loyalty and love for the fatherland. One German of that time described a Turnfest as "a great folk festival whose equal in extent and popularity the world has not seen in sporting life."¹⁵ Rather than aiming for specialization in single activities the Turners were aiming for all around development which

¹⁴F. P. Weidemann, "Model Turner Schools," European Sporting Activities, op. cit., pp. 135-140.

¹⁵Walter Hulek, "The Program of the German Turnfest," European Sporting Activities, op. cit., p. 107.

they hoped would lead to the physical, mental, and ethical growth of all. In 1928, 30,000 men and 12,000 women participated in the Turnfest at Cologne.¹⁶ A good spirit and enthusiasm were shown for the Turnfest and its meaning. It was thought by some to be the best Turnfest which had ever been held.¹⁷ The Turners continued to grow even through times of depression and in 1932 they could claim 12,963 societies in 10,902 cities with a total membership of 1,617,849 Germans.¹⁸ Their 1933 Turnfest was to boast of the largest attendance they had ever had.

The Educational System

Germany's new found democracy was reflected in her educational system. A movement was under way for a common school, Einheitsschule, under the slogan "One Nation! One School!"¹⁹ The war had pointed out even more clearly the need for reform. The reorganization of the government made a reorganization of the school necessary. The Weimar Constitution laid the foundation for a new reformed system of education which was characterized by more freedom of action and less formality. Provision was made for the compulsory attendance of all children in a common primary school. Pre-war education had been intellectually and

¹⁶A. E. Kindervater, "European Observations, Impressions and Experiences," Mind and Body, Vol. 35, No. 373 (December, 1928), p. 277.

¹⁷Ernest Senkewitz, "The Cologne Turnfest," Mind and Body, Vol. 36, No. 377 (April, 1929), p. 1.

¹⁸"Foreign Items of Interest," Mind and Body, Vol. 39, No. 404 (April, 1932), p. 35.

¹⁹Adolph E. Meyer, The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1939), p. 324.

socially selective; in the Republic any student could pass into any higher school provided he had the ability. The new slogan was "An open road for the capable."²⁰ In contrast to the system of education before the war, the Republic tended to be more liberal, more progressive, and more democratic.²¹ In this atmosphere experimentation was encouraged in the schools and became prevalent. New objectives concerning democracy dominated the schools and the spiritual side of education was stressed. With the country run by self-government, it was necessary for the schools to teach the children to rule themselves in preparation for democratic citizenship. Pupils were given a more active part in the schools as teachers became less dictatorial. There was a reaction against the overemphasis on intellectualism which had persisted throughout the Empire and the stress during the Republic was on the total development of the individual. Physical education held an important place as an essential part of a well rounded education during the Republican regime.

Physical Education in the Schools

In accordance with the trends in education, physical education in the schools became more liberal in the first years of the Republic. The two major changes in the physical education program were that the time requirements were increased in order to raise the low health level and, in keeping with the philosophy of democracy, informality came into

²⁰Thomas Alexander and Beryl Parker, op. cit., p. 247.

²¹Adolph E. Meyer, op. cit., p. 334.

style.²² The health of the German children had been very seriously affected by the war and the period right after it; this made it necessary to provide measures for the improvement of their physical welfare. The Weimar Constitution guaranteed the right of children to "education for physical, intellectual and social efficiency."²³ "The health of the people became the basis of the new education."²⁴ The time allotted to physical education in the schools increased until in 1927 four hours a week were devoted to this subject.²⁵ Although attempts to make it a law were unsuccessful, many schools began to carry out a requirement of daily participation in one hour of physical education. One afternoon each week was devoted to play and recreation and a whole day each month was set aside for hiking. Many clubs were formed to participate in recreation after school hours. Thus it can be seen that under republican rule much more time was spent on physical education in the schools.

Under the Republic, physical education was no longer dominated by militaristic and nationalistic aims.²⁶ It was hoped that physical education would contribute to building healthy, capable and happy citizens. It was considered more important to develop an individual's

²²John Dambach, op. cit., p. 45.

²³I. L. Kandel, Comparative Education (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1933), p. 150.

²⁴John Dambach, op. cit., p. 45.

²⁵Ibid., p. 46.

²⁶Ibid., p. 222.

character, personality and natural movement than to develop special muscular capabilities.²⁷ Thus physical education stressed education through the body rather than of the body. According to a Ministerial Decree of June 1, 1925, the aims of school physical education included the following:

Promotion of health, the entire physical development and efficiency through systematic strengthening of the important organs, nerves and muscles. Habitual good posture and light natural movements. Guidance to bodily care and hardening. Education to independence and self-command, to courage and perseverance, to self and social control, to public spirit and cooperation.²⁸

The methods in physical education changed greatly, in fact there were a multitude of different systems and methods put into practice during the first years of the Republic. The teachers had greater freedom now and they were encouraged to experiment with various methods. In general, sports and physical education supplanted the old compulsory military training. Strict discipline was discarded as formal drills and apparatus work gave way to outdoor exercises and play. There was great emphasis on the value of sunlight. Team games, which would foster a cooperative spirit, became more important. As various systems of physical education were tried, rhythmic gymnastics took a place in the school curriculum. Rudolf Bode advocated free movements and natural positions. Dr. Bess Mensendieck, an American, took an entirely hygienic view and gave attention to easy, correct performance of ordinary move-

²⁷Elizabeth Hoffa, "Physical Education in Germany," Mind and Body, Vol. 41, No. 424 (Dec., 1934 - Jan., 1935), p. 199 & 200.

²⁸Frederick H. Wohlers, op. cit., p. 11.

ments such as walking, running, and jumping and their variations. Dance activities were led by Isadora Duncan, Rudolf von Laban and Mary Wigman. During the Republic methods were used which emphasized sports and games and promoted natural movements; however most German physical educators did not feel that these alone could attain optimum physical development, and the practice of calisthenics was continued to a limited extent.

The war brought attention to a marked need for better trained physical educators. In 1920 the German College for Physical Culture was opened in Berlin. It was a private institution of German Turner and sport associations and provided leaders for these organizations. The Prussian College for Physical Culture was the main source for physical education teachers in the schools. It had good facilities and gave future teachers practical and theoretical training in physical education and related subjects. Many universities began to include physical education in their programs. These developments resulted in the entrance of more and better prepared teachers into the schools and sports associations of Germany.

Summary

Thus, during the first years of the Republic physical education was given a more prominent place in the schools; the time spent on it was increased and more emphasis was placed on the contributions that it could make to the development of German youth. Physical education was conducted by less formal methods and a real effort was put forth to make it an enjoyable experience.

THE TWILIGHT OF THE REPUBLIC

The late 1920's marked the twilight of the Republic and its democratic ideals. Having reconstructed Germany as far as the Treaty would permit, the nation could progress no farther and the people became impatient and bitter. "The Versailles Treaty, by imposing many degrading and some impossible obligations, engendered a spirit of hopelessness among the Germans."²⁹ The Germans blamed many of their troubles on their late enemies who were responsible for the treaty, but they also blamed their own leaders whom they felt were responsible for its acceptance. In 1929 the short period of prosperity was at an end and Germany again faced a period of depression. In 1930 none of the 29 parties in the Reichstag could command a majority. The Germans, who were accustomed to taking orders from a military regime, were finding self-government a difficult process. As problems increased, popular support of the Republic decreased. Germans became so dissatisfied that they were willing to give up their liberty and right of self-government to a strong regime which would guarantee better conditions. They looked for a strong leader and they found him in Adolf Hitler who led the National Socialist Party into power in 1933.

The Rise of Hitler

National Socialism began as a movement at the close of World War I. In 1919 an obscure corporal named Adolf Hitler joined the National Socialist German Workers' Party (Nationalsozialistische

²⁹John Dambach, op. cit., p. 49.

deutsche Arbeiterpartei or NSDAP)³⁰ which was then in its infancy. Hitler was an extreme patriot who preached the glory and greatness of Germany. His aim was unlimited dictatorship for the NSDAP with himself as its undisputed master.³¹ In 1923 Hitler led the Beer Hall Putsch in an attempt to overthrow the Republican government and establish a totalitarian state in its place. This was just one episode in the inflation crisis that Germany was then facing. Hitler was sent to prison for a short time. The National Socialist Party was temporarily dissolved, but it lived on as a movement. Most Republican leaders were opposed to National Socialism and totalitarianism, but they were ineffective in fighting against it. "Liberals remained tolerant of the apostles of intolerance and freely granted the rights and privileges of democracy to those bent upon using them to destroy democracy."³²

The depression of 1929 ultimately meant the destruction of the Weimar Republic and the establishment of a totalitarian state. Those who suffered greatly in depressions turned viciously against the liberalism of the Republic and embraced Hitler's Fascism. During prosperous times people could not easily be won over to Hitler's party, but with dissatisfaction everywhere, its membership increased rapidly. Consequently the Nazis increased their representation in the Reichstag and in 1932 the NSDAP became the largest party by a wide margin. The

³⁰Ibid., p. 69.

³¹Frederick Lewis Schuman, op. cit., p. 63.

³²Ibid., p. 50.

following year Hitler was appointed as chancellor. Under his leadership, the Reichstag passed an Enabling Act which gave the cabinet power to pass laws and appropriate money for four years without parliamentary approval. Hitler could then move swiftly, within the bounds of constitutional legality, to bring everything under state control. Soon all opposition parties were dissolved. On July 4, 1933 a cabinet decree asserted: "The NSDAP is the only political party in Germany."³³ The Republic, which had been born in defeat and had spent its short life in times of very adverse national conditions, was now dead. The cheering masses were emotionally stirred by the Nazi propaganda and looked to the future; they did not yet realize that they had brought tyranny upon themselves.

Physical Education Organizations

The desire of the people for discipline under strong leadership was reflected in physical education as well as in the political structure of Germany. During the twilight of German democracy the organization of physical education outside the schools, which had been initiated earlier in the Republic, was strengthened and became more thorough. Germans joined local athletic and sport clubs which in turn formed leagues which joined national associations. There were five such national commissions.³⁴ These were the following: the DRA (German National Commission of Physical Education), ZK (Central Commission for Workers' Sport and Physical Education), and KRS (The Communistic Sport Commission), which represented

³³ Ibid., p. 69.

³⁴ Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 231.

adults; and the RDJ (National Commission of German Youth Associations) and JH (National Commission of German Hostels) which were concerned with the activities of youth.

By far the most important commission in physical education was the DRA which was a non-political federation of independent unions.³⁵ Over 30,000 clubs belonged to this commission and it had more than 6,000,000 members.³⁶ It was directed by its General Secretary, Dr. Carl Diem, who was one of the outstanding leaders of German physical education at that time. Among the achievements of the DRA were the following: "compulsory athletic instruction in the public schools; the fostering of sports in the various clubs; the increase in numbers of playgrounds, athletic fields, and stadia throughout Germany; the founding^{of}/the German College of Physical Education in 1920; the instituting of German Olympic Games; the building of the Stadium and Sport Forum in Berlin in 1925; and the establishment in 1919 of the Archive for Physical Education, which included the Museum."³⁷ The other two organizations for adults were the ZK which was a federation of socialistic sports clubs, and the KRS (Communitistic Sport Commission) which was formed in 1931.³⁸ Both of these used physical activities as a means of spreading their political propaganda.

³⁵John Dambach, op. cit., p. 57.

³⁶Loc. cit.

³⁷Loc. cit.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 60-62.

Most school organizations were members of the two national commissions which represented the youth of Germany, the RDJ and the JH. The chief purpose of the RDJ was to knit together a wide variety of youth clubs in a loose federation which promoted the health and physical education of youth.³⁹ The JH promoted the hostel movement. "By 1927, the original spirit of the Youth Movement had practically disappeared."⁴⁰ Instead of hiking by themselves as they had previously done, the Wandervoegel were accompanied by adults. Youth organizations were run mostly by political or denominational parties, and the young people found it to their advantage to join one or more of them. Many groups used physical activities as a means of indoctrinating youth in their philosophies.

Thus it was that the desire for organization was met through athletic and sport clubs which formed national commissions. During the twilight of the Republic the bonds of these organizations became stronger than before. They would soon serve as a convenient means to bring all physical education under state control.

Physical Education in the Schools

Physical education in the schools began to swing back toward formalism. The old formal, disciplinary procedures had been easier to teach, and a desire to return them to their former status began to be

³⁹Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 231.

⁴⁰John Dambach, op. cit., p. 52.

expressed by some teachers. There was much confusion about the purposes and methods of physical education and even physical educators themselves could not agree on the procedures to be followed. The era of experimentation in the schools had passed. Syllabi, which had merely made suggestions in the earlier years of the Republic, began to set forth definite programs. In 1931 Prussia brought back calisthenics as a definite part of the program.⁴¹ As the people began to question democracy as a form of government, the practice of democratic principles became a little less evident in school physical education. By 1932, democracy was visibly on the decline, and it was common for youth to salute each other in Nazi fashion.⁴² Nevertheless, physical education, even during the last days of the Republic, was more democratic than it had been during the Empire.

Summary

The twilight period of the Republic, then, was characterized by confusion as to purposes and methods in physical education and by a great desire to organize. Physical education leaders, both in the schools and out, were unable to agree on the conduct of their own field. The problem of whetherto follow formal or informal methods posed itself as basic to the progress of physical education. Even the Turners were undecided and they began to question their previous decision to include athletics in their program. Youth and adults joined many clubs in which they received not only physical training but also political or religious

⁴¹Ibid., p. 65.

⁴²Loc. cit.

indoctrination in many cases. The Germans felt that they had tried democratic government and a liberal kind of physical education; they now reverted to complete organization in which discipline and strong leadership reigned supreme.

The Political Situation

The National Socialist Party began its opposition to the existing conditions in Germany and came to power with great determination and energy. It was based upon national patriotism and its program was for the future. At first it was merely an expression of dissatisfaction, but with time a more definite platform evolved. The Party made effective use of propaganda in order to heighten the appeal of its leader and doctrine, and the popularity with the masses grew. Although several other nationalist groups were organized at approximately the same time, it was the NSDAP which composed the largest following and thus achieved the power in Germany. Even the best strategies presented every aspect of German life.

Through Hitler's writings and speeches the essential purpose of the Party can be observed. Hitler provided the mass Hitler youth and youth camps in an emotional appeal to the masses. The goals of the party, as stated by Hitler in Mein Kampf, were to unify the scattered national groups, to develop the national economy, to develop the German race, to acquire German lands, to acquire a strong military, and to restore German unity to the Versailles Treaty and

CHAPTER VII

PHYSICAL EDUCATION UNDER NATIONAL SOCIALISM

1933-1945

The Political Situation

The National Socialist Party began in opposition to the existing conditions in Germany and rose to power amid great dissatisfaction and unhappiness. It was based upon emotional patriotism and it promised hope for the future. At first it was merely an expression of discontent, but with time a more definite platform evolved. The Party made effective use of propaganda in order to heighten the appeal of its leader and doctrines, and its popularity with the masses grew. Although several other nationalistic groups were organized at approximately the same time, it was the NSDAP which commanded the largest following and thus achieved sole power in Germany. Soon the Nazi ideologies permeated every phase of German life.

Through Hitler's writings and speeches the avowed purposes of the NSDAP can be viewed. Hitler preached the same things over and over again in an emotional appeal to the masses. The goals of the party, as stated by Hitler in Mein Kampf, were briefly the following: national regeneration, unity, improved economic conditions, the development of a superior German race, German expansion, and a strong military nation.¹ Hitler pledged eternal enmity to the Versailles Treaty and

¹Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, edited by John Chamberlain, et. al. (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939), pp. 1-994.

those responsible for it. He repeatedly told the German people that the cause of Germany's defeat in World War I was not military reversals on the field of battle; he said that defeat came because traitors at home stabbed the German armies in the back. According to Hitler, the criminals responsible for Germany's downfall and humiliation were the hateful Jews and Marxists who were then leading the weak republican government. In setting forth the racial doctrine of the NSDAP, Hitler proclaimed that Aryan Germans composed a biologically superior race. He said that the Jewish people were not true Germans and he bitterly blamed them for all evils in Germany, past and present. Thus, intense anti-Semitism became an important part of the racial doctrine. Hitler preached that only a "pure" German race which was unmixed with foreign blood could make the Reich strong so that it would again be respected. Hitler predicted a regenerated Germany which would be not only the equal of other nations, but superior to them. The NSDAP was Pan German from its start; it strongly advocated the unity of all German people, regardless of the boundaries within which they were presently living. The party firmly believed that its goals could be accomplished only through a Germany united under a strong leader, and they had found him in Adolf Hitler.

After the National Socialists came to power, Hitler wasted no time in firmly establishing the Third Reich as a totalitarian police state with himself in complete charge. The NSDAP was based on the principle of leadership from the top down. Everyone was subordinated to Hitler and was expected to sacrifice himself for the good of the State. Under the Hitler regime the Reichstag no longer had power;

laws were decreed rather than decided by majority decisions. The Reichstag soon had no functions "save to draw its salary and meet occasionally to cheer Hitler's speeches and grant him unanimous support."² It was retained, however, to provide jobs and honors to loyal party members.³

Hitler once said: "Terror is the most effective political instrument."⁴ He also said: "The world can only be ruled by fear."⁵ Accordingly, his totalitarian system of government was based on power and terror. Persecution was an important part of the machinery of the government and it was systematically aimed at scapegoat minorities which included pacifists and liberalists as well as Marxists and Jewish people. Heinrich Himmler was placed in charge of the Gestapo (secret police), and this group became a law unto itself. Concentration camps or death awaited those whom the State considered to be enemies; and, in fact, Hitler's regime sometimes turned its vengeance on its own members so that no one was assured of safety in the Third Reich.

Even though Hitler's system was founded on terror it retained most of its followers because it embodied the strong leadership which the people wanted. The Party promised the masses what they asked for,

²Frederick Lewis Schuman, Germany Since 1918 (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), p. 71.

³Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany - Its History and Civilization (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1954), p. 510.

⁴Hermann Rauschnig, The Voice of Destruction, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), p. 83.

⁵Ibid., p. 81.

and concentrated propaganda resulted in the enthusiastic support of the majority of the people. The system of propaganda was under the direction of Dr. Josef Goebbels and it was probably the most effective system of propaganda the world had ever seen. Following Hitler's lead, the Nazis felt that the masses would accept almost anything they were told as long as it was repeated often enough. They believed that the people naturally yearned to follow and that their lives were directed more by emotion than logic. The Nazis seized complete control of every means of communication in the country. Through propaganda, every German was indoctrinated in Nazi ideals from the day he was born until he reached the grave. Banners, slogans, flags, parades, uniforms, salutes, songs, mass demonstrations, and various symbols were used to rally the people around the Nazi ideology. Hitler professed to understand mass psychology, and the results he obtained would indicate that he did. His power as a speaker was overwhelming; the people heard, and they believed. Through concerted Nazi efforts, Hitler and his Party enjoyed tremendous popularity. Millions of Germans devoted their lives to the Fuehrer (leader). They were ready to gladly sacrifice their lives for Hitler and the NSDAP. Even in his lifetime Hitler became a legend in Germany and many people came to regard him as a god.

"It was the foreign policy that revealed the deepest mainsprings of Nazi ideology and Nazi rule."⁶ This policy was aimed toward marked expansion for which no definite limits or goals were set. With time it

⁶Koppel S. Pinson, op. cit., p. 517.

was proven that Nazism was pathologically insatiable.⁷ Hitler successfully lulled the rest of the world into a sense of false security by announcing soon after his ascension that Germany wanted peace and had no intention of becoming an aggressor. He used treaties and assurances of friendship to divide his enemies so that he would be able to deal with them one by one. Hitler expressed his feelings concerning this in the following way: "Why should I not make an agreement in good faith today and unhesitatingly break it tomorrow if the future of the German people demands it?"⁸

In order to carry out this policy of conquest, it was necessary for Germany to disregard the clauses of the Versailles Treaty which prohibited the maintenance of large armed forces. The first step toward full-scale rearmament was Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference in October, 1933.⁹ The national economy was geared toward this end as war-time conditions prevailed. Universal military training was restored on March 16, 1935, and this helped the unemployment situation which the National Socialist Party had inherited. In March of 1936 German troops marched into the Rhineland, thus denouncing the Locarno Treaty which the Republic had made and Hitler had explicitly confirmed. After claiming that Germany had no further territorial demands, Hitler ordered the invasion of Austria and this was followed

⁷Ibid., p. 518.

⁸Hermann Rauschning, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

⁹Koppel S. Pinson, op. cit., p. 519.

by its annexation. Czechoslovakia soon became the next victim of German aggression. The rest of the world looked on too shocked to do anything. Most of the Western powers disapproved of what Hitler was doing, but in order to prevent a second world war, they did not defy him. However, when Germany invaded Poland in September of 1939, a large-scale war was inevitable. Great Britain and France had agreements with Poland and they declared war on Germany. Thus it was that the powers of the world embarked upon a second great war.

The Educational System

During the Hitler regime the whole population was trained along military lines. All phases of life were regimented so that the individual was subjugated for the good of the nation. The NSDAP found in the educational system an excellent medium for spreading their doctrines and the schools were quickly brought under state control. Education in the schools became very different from what it had been during the Republic. Even before the National Socialists came to power, they had planned far-reaching educational changes.¹⁰ In Mein Kampf Hitler expounded much educational theory. According to Hitler, physical education was of greatest importance, character training came next, and then intellectual studies.¹¹ In this way Germans could become fit for a life of service to their great state. Hitler said: "the folkish State

¹⁰Adolph E. Meyer, The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939), p. 340.

¹¹Adolf Hitler, op. cit., p. 613.

has to start from the presumption that a man though scientifically little educated but physically healthy, who has a sound, firm character, filled with joyful determination and will power, is of greater value to the national community than an ingenious weakling."¹² Hitler believed that the development of physical fitness was of utmost importance in building a strong nation and that the position of physical education should be elevated accordingly. Through character training he wanted youth to learn to obey commands without question and to find joy in responsibility. He thought that intellectual studies should be limited to instruction in ordinary, useful subjects.

Upon coming to power the Nazis began to organize a system of education which was based on extreme nationalism. Dr. Bernard Rust was placed in charge of the work done in the schools by his appointment to the position of the Reich Minister of Education. Here again the principle of leadership was shown as educational changes took place at the decrees of Rust. The Nazis denounced the aimlessness of democratic education and one of their first tasks became the destruction of every vestige of freedom and liberalism which had been introduced into education during the Republic. A Military spirit invaded the schools, and firm discipline became the order of the day.

In his manual on education, Rust stated:

The German school in the Third Reich is an integral part of the National Socialistic order of living. It has the mission, in

¹²Loc. cit.

collaboration with other phases of the Party, to fashion and mold the National Socialistic Being according to Party orders.¹³

The schools were turned into hotbeds of political indoctrination. Soon after the Nazis were in control, Isaac L. Kandel¹⁴ wrote: "On Hitler's theory that the appeal must be made to the emotions rather than to the intelligence of the masses, education has become propaganda without any disguise." German culture was stressed. Biology turned into race study. All classes, and particularly modern history and geography, taught about the evils which National Socialism would correct. Hero worship was emphasized with the Fuehrer supreme. Physical training was exalted, while the importance of spiritual education declined. The regime drew a sharp distinction between the education of boys and girls because they considered their purposes in life to be fundamentally different.¹⁵ In short, boys were trained for their careers as soldiers and girls were trained for their roles as mothers so that all could serve the totalitarian state. Everywhere education was directed toward one aim, the creation of good National Socialists.

The nation's teachers were brought under strict regimentation.¹⁶

¹³Bernard Rust, *Erziehung und Unterricht; Official Teachers Manual of the Nazi Ministry of Education*, (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1938), p. 9, as cited by Gregor Ziemer, *Education for Death - The Making of the Nazi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 17.

¹⁴I. L. Kandel, *The Making of Nazis* (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935), p. 59.

¹⁵Gregor A. Ziemer, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁶Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett *A World History of Physical Education* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), p. 236.

In order to assure themselves of a body of teachers who would be able and anxious to teach NSDAP doctrines, there was a complete overhauling in teacher training and several new normal schools were opened.¹⁷ All teachers had to be politically reliable National Socialists.¹⁸ To further assure control all teacher organizations were replaced by the National Socialistic Teacher Association (NSLB).¹⁹ With the teachers under government control, all education moved toward the dissemination of National Socialist propaganda.

Physical Education Under Hitler

Great changes took place in the physical education of the nation. The NSDAP saw in physical education a particularly good medium for the transmission of propaganda as well as the development of strong bodies. Thus physical education had its own bureau of propaganda and was used to further Nazi aims. Physical education on all levels was used to educate Germans for a life of strength and might. All physical education was governed by a Federal Bureau which prescribed definite methodology and teaching procedure.²⁰ The function of physical education seemed to be to develop a physically perfect race which would prove German superiority. According to one authority, the chief aim of physical education during the Hitler regime

¹⁷Adolph E. Meyer, op. cit., p. 348-349.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 349.

¹⁹Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 236.

²⁰"Nationalized Physical Education in Modern Germany," Mind and Body, Vol. 42, No. 433 (February, 1936), p. 315. (Summary translation of speech by the Reichssportfuehrer).

was the development of physical efficiency with a strong emphasis on military defense and preparedness.²¹ Strict discipline and political indoctrination began to replace the free, creative, more informal procedures of the Republic. Physical education was organized under state control toward Nazi nationalistic purposes.

Physical Education in the Schools

Physical education was reorganized as a part of military training and it received even more emphasis in the Nazi schools than it had under the republican regime. Hitler continually stressed its importance. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler said: "The folkish State. . . had to direct its entire education primarily not at pumping in mere knowledge, but at the breeding of absolutely healthy bodies."²² He further emphasized this point by saying: "A rotten body is not in the least made more aesthetic by a brilliant mind."²³ In accordance with Hitler's philosophy, Rust decreed that physical education was the most important subject in the Third Reich.²⁴ It was a required subject for which grades were given. If students failed to pass physical fitness tests they could be withheld from graduating. On the other hand, those who demonstrated exceptional physical fitness and qualities of leadership were selected to attend a special school which prepared them for important party and military positions. The value of having youth lead youth was stressed, and

²¹I. L. Kandel, op. cit., p. 63.

²²Adolf Hitler, op. cit., p. 613.

²³Ibid., p. 614.

²⁴Gregor A. Ziemer, op. cit., p. 16.

athletic fields turned into proving grounds for future leaders.

"The Nazis were devoted to a Spartan program of rigid discipline and strenuous physical activity."²⁵ Classes in physical education were usually divided into the following three parts: warming up exercises, apparatus and agility exercises, and games.²⁶ Although exercises represented the best method for achieving bodily development, team games were retained also because it was thought that they could aid in teaching cooperation and political unity.

The Minister of Education defined physical education as pre-military training.²⁷ To lay the foundation for a national army, Gelandesport (open country sports) and Wehrsport (military sport) were introduced in the physical education program.²⁸ Gelandesport was carried out largely through organizations which were under the supervision of the schools and it was often practiced during the course of hikes. It included the following activities: "endurance marches, tracking and spying, silent forays on the enemy, the use of small calibre rifles, the throwing of hand grenades, obstacle races in field uniforms and packs, wall scaling, throwing, climbing, creeping, jumping,

²⁵Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 223.

²⁶Ibid., p. 234.

²⁷Jesse Feiring Williams, The Principles of Physical Education (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1954), sixth edition, p. 201.

²⁸I. L. Kandel, op. cit., p. 63.

hurling, and boxing."²⁹ Along with this, aviation instruction was also promoted in the schools.

A required program of physical education was introduced into the universities and was aimed toward the same general ends as the program in lower schools. Here too, outdoor activities were stressed. Included in the program were gymnastics, riflery, cross-country running, and team games.³⁰ The schools kept careful medical histories, systematic physical measurements, and records of achievements in specific sports.³¹ Awards were used often to stimulate participation and accomplishment.

In summary, physical education in the schools was thoroughly organized and governed toward the attainment of National Socialist goals. Creativity and individual expression were forgotten in the desire to mold obedient Germans who would serve the state well. Each German child was taught and frequently reminded that it was his duty to maintain a good degree of physical fitness so that he would be an asset to his country.

Extra-curricular Physical Education for Youth and Adults

The physical education of youth was not limited to school time. Hitler had said: "the entire education has to be directed towards

²⁹John Dambach, Physical Education in Germany (New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937), p. 85.

³⁰Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 241.

³¹Ibid., pp. 234 - 235.

employing the free time of the boy for useful training of his body."³² The Nazis saw the need for supplementing their system of education and by decrees they guided youth out of the school as well as in it. Almost all of the students' "free" time was spent participating in club activities which the Party sponsored. Hitler Youth Organizations were preminent in the training of boys and girls and proved to be a valuable agency for carrying out the state's educational program.

Hitler Youth was originally founded by Kurt Gruber in 1925 and it arose as a movement of the youth themselves.³³ Unlike the original youth movement which was previously discussed, this movement was avowedly military in spirit and attitude.³⁴ It started apart from politics, but its members were attracted to the doctrines of the NSDAP and they dedicated themselves to Hitler. Thus the group became known by the name of its hero. The Hitler Youth developed into a strong organization and continued to support the Party as it rose to power. Soon after the National Socialists had gained control of the government all other youth organizations were incorporated into the Hitler Youth. Baldur von Schirach was appointed the first "Youth Leader of the German Reich" in 1933.³⁵ He set about organizing the program in accordance with Nazi purposes. Eventually, all

³²Adolf Hitler, op. cit., p. 346.

³³George Frederick Kneller, The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941), p. 157.

³⁴Ibid., p. 161.

³⁵Adelaide H. Miller, "The German Youth Movement," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 8, No. 6 (June, 1937), p. 352.

German children from ten to eighteen years of age were required to be members of Hitler Youth.

The Nazis made a gigantic effort to provide activities in the Hitler Youth Organization which would attract the young people. Its objectives were to develop comradeship, character, and physical hardihood.³⁶ After the NSDAP took over, Hitler Youth became an agent of the totalitarian state and was used to unify youth in service to Germany. A military atmosphere prevailed. It was organized like an army and distinctive uniforms were worn by its members. The activities of the Hitler Youth included such things as singing and camping as well as more vigorous physical and military training. Gelandesport constituted one of the most important parts of the program. Some of the motives of National Socialism in advocating these activities were the following: to lead youth back to nature, to make them conscious of the soil on which they lived, and to keep them aware of their membership in the German race.³⁷

Hitler Youth concentrated on physical development, military prowess, and ideological growth. The program was so organized that as a child grew his program became more intensely aimed toward Nazi goals. Boys from 6 through 10 years of age belonged to the Pimpf Organization. They then passed into the Jungvolk where their activities were continued on a more comprehensive basis. Boys from 14 - 18 had the most

³⁶Ibid., p. 354.

³⁷George Frederick Kneller, op. cit., p. 156.

prestige of all because they were members of the Hitler Youth proper which was Hitler's secondary army.³⁸ This group was well grounded in military science and party doctrines and it served as a training ground for the Storm Troops.

Girls also took an active part in the Hitler Youth Organizations. Up to 14 years of age girls were members of the Jungmaedel and they remained in the Bund Deutscher Maedel (League of German Girls) until they reached 21.³⁹ The girls were being trained for motherhood and therefore their activities were also directed toward physical development and health.

Another important means of educating German youth in National Socialism was the Landjahr (country year).⁴⁰ After 1935 it became compulsory for all graduates from the elementary school (fourteen or fifteen years of age) to spend approximately one year in the country.⁴¹ They stayed in Landjahr camps under the supervision of specially trained young men and women. Here youth could improve their physical health and learn to appreciate the country and its people. They participated in "organized farm work, physical training, and ideological indoctrination."⁴²

³⁸Gregor A. Ziemer, op. cit., p. 145.

³⁹Ibid., p. 83 & p. 123.

⁴⁰George Frederick Kneller, op. cit., p. 160.

⁴¹Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 235.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 235-236.

The Landjahr represented a "combination of national-political education, physical hardening, contact with the land, and the development of solidarity through a close community life."⁴³

The Arbeitsdienst (Labor Service) continued the work of the Hitler Youth and it had practically the same educational tasks.⁴⁴ This was the final step of premilitary training and everyone was required to spend six months in a labor camp sometime between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.⁴⁵ It was based on the principle that work is noble.⁴⁶ The first labor camps arose in connection with the Youth Movement and served to combat the unemployment which was prevalent after World War I.⁴⁷ In the hands of the National Socialists, the Arbeitsdienst became an important educational medium in which political indoctrination could take place. The Labor Service participants led a simple life. Through the performance of manual labor it was hoped that they would learn the joy to be derived from serving the State. Their motto was: "labor service is a service of honor to the German nation."⁴⁸ The program consisted largely of education for physical training and self-

⁴³I. L. Kandel, op. cit., p. 81

⁴⁴George Frederick Kneller, op. cit., p. 165.

⁴⁵Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 236.

⁴⁶George Frederick Kneller, op. cit., p. 165.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 166.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 236.

defense, with a great deal of attention given to character development.⁴⁹ Intellectualism was counterbalanced by physical activities as much as by actual labor, and Gelandesport was practiced frequently in the labor camps.

All physical training was culminated in actual army life.⁵⁰ By the time a boy had passed through the Hitler Youth and Labor Service he was thoroughly inculcated with Nazi ideologies and well-trained for army life. According to Karl Sturm: "the army was the last and highest step in German education."⁵¹

In the Third Reich education was not limited to young people. Through several organizations which embraced practically the whole population, the party also directed almost every phase of adult life. A large number of these organizations were athletic clubs. During the Republic, it will be remembered, tremendous popularity came to sports and games and millions of Germans participated in them. Upon coming to power, the National Socialists found a vigorous centralized physical education administrative structure already built which could be conveniently used for their purposes.⁵² The Nazis recognized the fact that an organized nation-wide recreation program would be valuable for the

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 165.

⁵⁰Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 236.

⁵¹George Frederick Kneller, op. cit., p. 172.

⁵²Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 232.

happiness and well-being of the masses.⁵³ They also realized that such an organization would provide a convenient means for indoctrination.

In 1933 Von Tschammer und Osten, a military man, was appointed by Hitler as National Sports Commissioner. Thus it was not a physical educator but an army officer whom the Fuehrer chose to put in charge of the physical education of the nation. With a view to the political benefits which the NSDAP would receive from it, the government proceeded to organize a national physical education and recreation program. Nazi propaganda was directed toward this end, and soon all sport and youth organizations were placed under government control. In order to bring unity and control, Von Tschammer und Osten set up sixteen sport unions and every amateur club in the nation had to become a member of one of them in order to exist.⁵⁴ The National Sport Commissioner established a national association called the Fuhererring which was composed of one representative from each of the sixteen unions.⁵⁵ This assured State control. The Turners gave up their independence in becoming one of the sixteen unions which formed the Fuhererring but, at the same time, their contributions to physical fitness were recognized perhaps more fully and gratefully than ever before. In completing the organization of physical education, Von Tschammer und Osten also created a Woman's

⁵³Hans Nabholz, "Some Unique Recreational Programs in Germany," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 7, No. 3 (March, 1936), p. 149.

⁵⁴Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 233.

Committee of Physical Education whose purpose it was to develop a sound race of women through physical education.⁵⁶ Thus the nation's organized physical activity was brought under complete government domination.

To further contribute to physical fitness and ensure party loyalty, many opportunities for recreation were offered to the German people through the German Labor Front which was a national association organized by the party to replace the dissolved labor unions. Von Tschammer und Osten led the Sport Division of the Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy), an organization under the German Labor Front, and he was in charge of the recreational program for labor.⁵⁷ The Kraft durch Freude endeavored to direct the leisure time of the nation toward pursuits which would strengthen National Socialism. The stated objectives of the organization included uniting all Germans in their cultural efforts and overcoming class differences between German citizens.⁵⁸ Physical education proved to be the most popular activity offered by the Kraft durch Freude. Two of the eleven departments of the organization were related to physical education. These were the Sports Section which employed more than 2,000 trainers and teachers, and the Travel, Hiking and Vacation Section which gave many Germans an opportunity

⁵⁶John Dambach, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

⁵⁷Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., p. 233.

⁵⁸Hans Nabholz, op. cit., p. 149.

to travel.⁵⁹ All German citizens were eligible for membership in the organization. They took advantage of the opportunities given to them and in turn pledged their loyalty to the Party which had made them possible.

Summary

Under National Socialism, then, all phases of life were under the control of the Party. Physical fitness was constantly stressed as a vital part of the Nazi way of life. The Party stressed might and strength for military preparedness, and militaristic methods and purposes were accordingly introduced into physical education. All education was devoted to political indoctrination and physical education presented itself as one of the most effective mediums for Nazi propaganda. With these conditions prevailing, physical education rose to supreme importance both in and out of school.

⁵⁹Deobold B. Van Dalen, Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, op. cit., pp. 233-234.

CHAPTER VIII

THE RE-EDUCATION OF GERMANY

1945-1957

The Effects of World War II

In the early phases of World War II it appeared that the German troops might be invincible. "For over three years Hitler went from one triumph to another and stood as the greatest conqueror of modern times."¹ Poland was annihilated in a number of days. Soon France was forced to surrender and Russia was invaded. For a while Great Britain stood almost completely alone in opposing the well-trained German troops. On December 7, 1941, Hitler's ally, Japan, attacked Pearl Harbor and the United States entered the war. It was not until the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943, however, that the fortunes of war began to turn toward the Allies (i.e. England, France, the United States, and Russia).² On May 7, 1945, a matter of days after Hitler had committed suicide, Germany surrendered and the war was over.

For the second time within thirty years, Germany lay prostrate at the feet of the Western powers. The consequences of this war were even more devastating than the one before. Germany was left in a state of complete chaos. With the death of Hitler, the government had

¹Koppel S. Pinson, Modern Germany - Its History and Civilization (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1954), p. 521.

²Ibid., p. 522.

collapsed. Almost unbearable conditions prevailed everywhere. A tremendous lack of food and clothing, overcrowded living conditions, unemployment, and the dangerously low level of health all contributed to the hardships and miseries which the German people were forced to endure.³ Utter destruction was evident everywhere. "Never in the history of modern European civilization has a nation which had achieved the high material level of Germany plummeted to such depths of economic disruption and psychological despair."⁴ Uncertainty and insecurity reigned supreme. There was little faith among the people that they would live to see pre-war standards achieved.⁵

The New Government

This was the situation into which the Allied Forces marched to set up four zones of occupation. The purposes of the Allied German policy, according to the Yalta and Potsdam agreements, were to destroy Nazism and militarism in Germany and to make sure that she would not cause another war.⁶ Germany had not overthrown the government of the totalitarian state herself, and the new form of government was imposed on her by the outsiders who had defeated her on the field of battle. The Allies pledged themselves to a program of denazification and rehabilitation in Germany. In order to accomplish these ends it was essential to re-educate the German people. A thorough program of de-

³Victor Gollancz, In Darkest Germany (Hinsdale, Illinois: Henry Regnery Company, 1947), pp. 1-252.

⁴David Rodnick, Postwar Germans (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 1.

⁵Loc. cit.

⁶Koppel S. Pinson, op. cit., p. 539.

nazification was carried on in all four zones. An attempt was made to remove every element of the Nazi regime from German life. Nazis were identified and then removed from positions of authority or educational influence.⁷ Insofar as the purposes of this program went, the four victors were in agreement, but there were some differences of opinion concerning the methods which should be used.

Soon there was an obvious break between Russia and the three Western powers. The Russian East German state became a one-party, police state.⁸ It put into operation many of the policies which had been common in Germany under Hitler. These included the following: "Rigid political control, censorship of information and culture, labor and concentration camps for political opponents, prohibition of all contact with the West, and a huge propaganda apparatus. . . ."⁹ Perhaps indicative of its policies is the fact that information on the conduct of its physical education was not available for this paper.

The three Western powers, on the other hand, preferred to prepare Germany for a life of self-government. They hoped to educate Germany for democracy through democracy. In the interests of maintaining order, Military Governments were at first in control, but gradually the Germans were allowed more freedom. In 1949 the Federal Republic of

⁷William Ernest Hocking, Experiment in Education - What We Can Learn from Teaching Germany (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1954), p. 26.

⁸Koppel S. Pinson, op. cit., p. 561.

⁹Loc. cit.

Germany was formally established.¹⁰ The Bonn Constitution was written by elected German representatives, and indicated the democratic spirit of the new government set up by combination of the zones of the three Western Allies. The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with the German re-education under the Federal Republic, which embraces the larger portion of the country.

Sports and Recreation in the Federal Republic

Sports and recreation offered one means to the Allies through which to attempt re-education. The Germans themselves were well aware of the values to be derived from physical activity. After World War I the people had called on these activities to restore them to health and happiness. After World War II conditions in Germany were much the same with but one major difference, things were worse. Once again the people looked to physical education as a means of rehabilitation. Under Hitler, the sports movement had begun to decline just before World War II, and with Germany's defeat it sank still farther.¹¹ After a period of adjustment, sports began to rise again in popularity. Even the terrible conditions surrounding the Germans could not prevent the desire of Germans, particularly youth, to prove themselves through physical

¹⁰Alina M. Lindegren, Germany Revisited - Education in the Federal Republic, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 2.

¹¹Carl Diem, "Development and Aims of Physical Education in Germany," The Journal of Health and Physical Education, Vol. 19, No. 6, (June, 1948), p. 392.

activities.¹² Perhaps these conditions were, rather, the cause of the new urge to participate spontaneously in athletic activities. Old clubs were reformed without political affiliations. The occupying authorities were aware of the purposes for which these clubs had been used under Hitler, and a central sports organization was not permitted.¹³ "Despite all obstacles and the absence of any central organization sporting life arose again from pure instinct."¹⁴ In 1946 and 1947, German Light-Athletic Championships returned to the scene and many Germans participated in them.¹⁵ Old and young were once again joyfully participating in physical activity.

According to an English reporter who visited Germany, the worst thing about its post-war condition was the spiritual condition of youth.¹⁶ They had suffered through a long war only to see Germany defeated. They saw about them ruin, unemployment, and misery, and wondered if this was democracy. The campaign for the reorientation of German youth was at first devoted almost entirely to athletics.¹⁷ The re-education of the

¹²Emmett A. Rice and John L. Hutchinson, A Brief History of Physical Education (third edition; New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1952), p. 112.

¹³Loc. cit.

¹⁴Carl Diem, op. cit., p. 392.

¹⁵Loc. cit.

¹⁶Victor Gollancz, op. cit., p. 230.

¹⁷Delbert Clark, Again the Goose Step (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1949), p. 79.

Hitler Youth was an important part of the program and the responsibility for its administration was given to Allied military men.¹⁸ New games were taught and found popularity among many German children, however this in itself was not enough to re-educate German youth.

The Educational System in the Federal Republic

In order to have the educational system serve Allied ends, it had to be completely remade. At the close of the war the Allies took over complete control of the schools by means of official directives in education which were equal in power to laws.¹⁹ They found the schools in a state of almost complete demoralization.²⁰ One of the most serious problems of the post-war schools was a lack of space and facilities. German pupils were crowded into buildings unsuitable for instruction. Recent textbooks, which had played an important part in the Nazi indoctrination, could not be used. This question was turned over to the Germans themselves, but due to an acute paper shortage it was some time before an adequate supply of new books could be printed.²¹ Perhaps the most serious problem of all was the shortage of trained teachers after the war. Few Germans had prepared for teaching during the war.²² The post-war dearth was mainly due, however, to war casual-

¹⁸Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁹William Ernest Hocking, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

²⁰Alina M. Lindegren, op. cit., p. 42.

²¹Delbert Clark, op. cit., p. 83.

²²Alina M. Lindegren, op. cit., p. 53.

ties and denazification.²³ Under Hitler almost every teacher in Germany had joined the National Socialist Party and thus was rendered ineligible to teach under the Federal Government. "The pitifully inadequate replacements that were found were seldom equipped either by training or by aptitude for the most important educational task in the history of the world."²⁴

Nevertheless, amid hardship and discouragement, the German school system began to be rebuilt toward democratic ends. The inclination was to revert to the education of pre-Hitler days and then progress from there.²⁵ After the post-war emergency, more trained teachers permeated the schools. With time informality and cooperation became evident in the schools at all levels. The progress of the German schools is indicated by the following statement which was made by Alina Lindegren²⁶ upon observing German schools in 1955: "In the past decade German universities have eliminated the vestiges of National Socialism and have returned almost entirely to the system of higher education prevalent before 1933."

Physical Education in the Republic

Physical education thus returned to much the same status and purpose it had assumed under the first republic. The war had caused a

²³Ibid., p. 42.

²⁴Delbert Clark, op. cit., p. 83.

²⁵William Ernest Hocking, op. cit., p. 133.

²⁶Alina M. Lindegren, op. cit., p. 78.

great loss of physical educators. The situation in the profession after the capitulation was desperate.²⁷ The Nazi teachers had not been prepared to teach physical education in a democratic atmosphere. In an attempt to turn out fully trained teachers who had command of the whole range of physical education, schools which had been dissolved under National Socialism were reopened and new ones were established. In keeping with the trends of general education, social as well as technical abilities were required, and a new body of teachers rose to fulfill these needs.

Physical education in the schools again swung toward informality. The students' best efforts were obtained through appeal rather than harsh discipline. Creativity was brought back into calisthenics and apparatus work as well as sports and games. Self-expression was considered important and was developed through dance especially. In general, physical education was much like that which preceded Hitler's reign, and was used as a means of joyful physical activity.

Perhaps the German post-war aims can best be expressed by a German physical educator, Dr. Carl Diem, who said:

Sports are a school of democracy. Youth must therefore not only learn the rules of the game of democracy but inwardly digest its human dignity and beauty. . . . Sports for us represent the poetry of the body, an immersion in nature, a return to the purely human, a striving after self-discipline and self-perfection. Therein to grow ripe is the goal of German physical education.²⁸

²⁷Carl Diem, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 431.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It would seem from this study that the growth of physical education is intricately interwoven in the political development of the nation and that wars very definitely affect the progress of physical education. In order to draw specific conclusions it is necessary to consider the history of physical education in relation to these events.

Summary of the Development of Physical Education in Germany

Until a German patriot named Friedrich Jahn established the Turnvereine in Germany, physical education was almost entirely limited to a few isolated and experimental schools which followed Rousseau's doctrine of naturalism in education. Johann Basedow's Philanthropinum was the first school to incorporate physical education into the curriculum of all students. An even stronger influence on the progress of physical education were the teaching and writing of Johann GutsMuths who was able to give a more practical expression to physical education.

After Prussia's crushing defeat in 1806, Jahn was motivated to introduce a system of gymnastics in Germany which was aimed toward the development of strong Germans who could throw off the Napoleonic yoke. Although the ultimate aim of Jahn's gymnastics was militaristic, all around development was stressed and the conduct of his program was informal in nature. In the atmosphere set by the spirit of the War of Liberation which was marked by emotional patriotism the movement spread rapidly and gymnastic societies grew up all over Germany. The Turners

sought freedom of the individual and unity of the nation. They embraced democratic ideals from the start, but this became more evident after Napoleon was defeated and the Turners were free to concentrate on liberal political ideals. In reaction to the liberalism which became more and more associated with the Turnvereine, the government attempted to abolish them but this task proved impossible. After various periods of liberalism in which the Turners came to life and reaction in which they were driven to secrecy, the Turners made an all important decision around 1860 to remain unconditionally aloof from all political affiliations. This marked a turning point in their development as it opened the way for the steady growth which resulted.

Physical education was introduced into the schools by Adolf Spiess during a time of political repression. For this reason and in order to facilitate class management, Spiess' system was more formal than Jahn's. Spiess' program consisted largely of exercises done to command. He was firmly convinced that physical education represented an important part of a child's total education, and he attempted to design his system of gymnastics to meet this purpose. Under the military atmosphere of Bismarck's Empire, Hugo von Rothstein attempted to introduce Ling's military gymnastics in the schools. Although this system met with much opposition because of its formality and because it was foreign, it, along with Spiess', remained a part of school physical education until World War I.

Two movements grew up in reaction to the militaristic spirit and strict discipline which characterized the schools in the Empire. One

was the youth movement through which boys and girls sought freedom and individual expression through participation in outdoor activities such as hiking. The other was the playground movement which advocated the adoption of English sports and games in German schools. The youth movement was quite successful even before World War I, but Germany was not yet ready for a large scale participation in sports and games.

During World War I little, if any, progress was made in physical education, but the effects of the war influenced physical education tremendously. The degenerate physical and moral condition of Germans led to the use of physical education for rehabilitation purposes and to blot out unpleasant realities which surrounded the defeated Germans. A sports movement which was unequalled in German history took place. Millions of Germans joined athletic clubs, and sports became an important part of the German way of life. In the schools physical education received more emphasis than it had, and it was used for training in democratic citizenship as well as physical development. Creativity and individual expression were emphasized in place of formal drills, and an attempt was made to have physical education be an enjoyable experience. During the first part of the Republic experimentation in teaching was encouraged and a number of physical education methods were used. This new freedom opened the way for advancement, but it eventually resulted in confusion over purposes and methods. As democracy faded into the twilight of the Republic, sports became more thoroughly organized and a military spirit began to creep back into the schools.

When Hitler and the National Socialists came to power, physical

education was stressed as never before. All phases of the lives of youth and adults were brought under Nazi regimentation. It became each German's duty to be physically fit in order to most effectively serve the totalitarian state. Physical education was used to develop physical efficiency, and at the same time it served as a convenient means of disseminating Nazi propaganda. Uniforms became prevalent in the schools. Physical education was decreed to be of primary importance in the schools and was reorganized as a part of military training. Boys and girls were required to join Hitler Youth Organizations and to participate in Labor Service, both of which served as mediums for hardening youth physically and indoctrinating them politically. This helped to complete the training of boys to be soldiers and girls to be mothers. Adult organizations too were brought under Nazi control and used for its purposes. Everything and everybody was under complete government domination and physical education rose to supreme importance.

The effects of World War II were similar to those of the preceding great conflict only conditions were even more severe. Once again the physical condition and morale of the people were far below normal and physical education presented itself as a means of regeneration. In reaction to Hitlerism, Germany's conquerors set about re-educating Germans. Russia's East Zone was run in much the same way as it had been under Hitler, but the other three zones followed more democratic ideals and a Federal Republic was established. In the Federal Republic all education swung back toward the purposes and methods which had been prevalent in the first Republic. Physical education once again was

stressed as a part of total education and was directed toward democratic aims. Sports clubs were revived. Creativity and less formal methods regained their status in physical education. As Germany regained her independence, physical education again moved toward its function of a free expression of a free people.

Conclusions

The history of German physical education clearly indicates that changes in governmental form and attitude have a profound effect on the purposes and conduct of physical education. Physical education has swung back and forth between formal and informal methods as changes have taken place. It seems that physical education develops either as a direct outgrowth of the prevailing government or in reaction to it. The Turner development in itself illustrates this. When the whole country, including the ruling class, was obsessed with the desire to rid itself of foreign oppression, physical education was fostered everywhere and was directed toward this aim. However, when the government became reactionary and repressive, the Turners continued in opposition to the government and Jahn's gymnastics became an expression of the desire for freedom. Spiess' more formal system of school gymnastics was an outgrowth of the political situation of his time, while the youth movement which began in that same era was a reaction against the militarism and formalism which was pre-dominant in the schools. The democratic Weimar Republic very definitely fostered the emphasis on creativity and individual expression which characterized its physical education. In accordance with the political ideals of the Republic, physical education contributed to education for

democratic citizenship. Under Hitler, physical education was not only supported by the government but also forced on the people. All physical education was directed toward the formation of good National Socialists. Finally, as a democratic form of government was again instituted, physical education grew in accordance with the political views which directed the nation.

The fact that political situations influence physical education makes it inevitable that wars would also affect its conduct and progress. It has been seen that the effects of war have had a profound influence on German physical education, and there appears to be a direct relationship between the facts that Germany has been involved in many wars and has also had many systems of physical education. It seems from this study that several relationships can be drawn between war and physical education; however each is dependent upon the particular situation existing at the time.

It was shown that in several instances preparation for and recovery from war produced profound effects on the physical education of the nation. Modern physical education in Germany received its first real impetus from a war in which Germany was defeated. Under the leadership of Jahn, the Germans set about patriotically to build strong bodies and character in order to overthrow Napoleon's armies. In preparation for war, particularly an aggressive war, physical fitness is of utmost importance and therefore so is physical education. Hitler's Third Reich exemplifies the elevation of physical education to fulfill military goals.

It would seem that during war civilian physical education is neglected and progress is inhibited. World War I was a particularly good example of this. There was a severe shortage of trained physical educators, and movements outside the schools all but ceased. Also it will be remembered that Germany's slowness in introducing physical education into the schools was attributed partially to the interference of wars.

At the conclusion of wars in which the physical condition is adversely affected and health levels fall, physical education offers a means for rehabilitation. It also serves as a means of escape from depressing post-war problems. The stress on sports and recreation after World War I illustrates the use of physical education for moral and physical regeneration.

Wars bring attention to the need for physical efficiency which often results in a patriotic desire to develop a good degree of physical fitness. This in turn brings an emphasis on the values of physical education and much attention is devoted to it. However, military motives are not essential to the development of physical education. As the Republic began, it was peace rather than war which was sought and yet physical education rose to new heights of importance.

It might be pointed out that the use made of physical education is to some degree dependent on the level at which it is found. For example, Hitler could not have as effectively used physical education for his purposes if previous development in the field had not taken place.

In conclusion, it can be said that the philosophy and methods of

physical education are affected by wars and the direction that the program takes is dependent upon the particular situation. In general; physical education is emphasized in preparation for war and takes on a militaristic spirit; during wars civilian physical education is subject to neglect but at the same time attention is focused on the need for physical fitness; and after wars, physical education is usually re-emphasized and is often used for rehabilitation purposes.

Physical education thus reflects the times and it changes with them in order to best fit the needs and desires of the nation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

Flexner, Thomas, and Cyril Parker, *The Its Education in the United States*. New York: The John Day Company, 1939. 397 pp.

Forster, Charles A., *Evolution of Physical Education*. Second edition, St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1936. 436 pp.

Glick, Herbert, *Inside the Gym*. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1947. 297 pp.

Deane, R. G., *The Rise of the Science of Education*. London: Herbert & Wendenhoe Day, 1927. 292 pp.

Garrett, John, *Physical Education in Germany*. New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937. 116 pp.

Heiler, Gerhart, Albert Horden, and Albert Schreiner, *The Lesson of Germany*. New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1945. 322 pp.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Callahan, Victor, *In Dickson's Gymnasium*. Hinsdale, Illinois: Henry Regnery Company, 1947. 232 pp.

Couch, George Tenby, *Gymnastics*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. 360 pp.

Halperin, S. William, *Gymnastics and Physical Education*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946. 167 pp.

Hiller, Adolf, *Mein Kampf*, edited by John Chamberlain, 21. 21. Complete and unabridged, New York: Regal & Hitchcock, 1939. 794 pp.

Hocking, William Ernest, *Experiments in Education - How to Use Your Own Teaching*. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1951. 303 pp.

Jahn, Friedrich, *A Treatise on Gymnastics*, translated by Charles Beck. Northampton: Simon Butler, 1882. 179 pp.

Kandel, I. L., *Comparative Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. 922 pp.

_____. *The Making of Man*. New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935. 163 pp.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

- Alexander, Thomas, and Beryl Parker, The New Education in the German Republic. New York: The John Day Company, 1929. 387 pp.
- Bucher, Charles A., Foundations of Physical Education. Second edition, St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1956. 456 pp.
- Clark, Delbert, Again the Goose Step. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1949. 297 pp.
- Daniels, H. G., The Rise of the German Republic. London: Nisbet & Company Ltd., 1927. 292 pp.
- Dambach, John, Physical Education in Germany. New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1937. 116 pp.
- Eisler, Gerhart, Albert Norden, and Albert Schreimer, The Lesson of Germany. New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1945. 222 pp.
- Gollancz, Victor, In Darkest Germany. Hinsdale, Illinois: Henry Regnery Company, 1947. 252 pp.
- Gooch, George Peabody, Germany. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925. 360 pp.
- Halperin, S. William, Germany Tried Democracy. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946. 567 pp.
- Hitler, Adolf, Mein Kampf, edited by John Chamberlain, et. al. Complete and unabridged, New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1939. 994 pp.
- Hocking, William Ernest, Experiment in Education - What We Can Learn from Teaching Germany. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1954. 303 pp.
- Jahn, Friedrich, A Treatise on Gymnastics, translated by Charles Beck. Northampton: Simeon Butler, 1828. 179 pp.
- Kandel, I. L., Comparative Education. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1933. 922 pp.
- _____, The Making of Nazis. New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935. 143 pp.

- Kiesel, Karl and Walter Hulek, editors, European Sporting Activities. Bremen, Germany: The University Travel Department of the North German Lloyd, 1928. 158 pp.
- Kneller, George Frederick, The Educational Philosophy of National Socialism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. 299 pp.
- Knudsen, K. A., A Text-book of Gymnastics, translated by Ruth Herbert & H. G. Junker, revised by Frank N. Punchard, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1920. 347 pp.
- Leonard, Fred Eugene, and George B. Affleck, A Guide to the History of Physical Education. Third edition, Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1947. 480 pp.
- Luehr, Elmer, The New German Republic. New York: Minton, Balch & Company, 1929. 442 pp.
- Meyer, Adolph E., The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939. 402 pp.
- Paulsen, Friedrich, German Education, translated by T. Lorenz. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908. 310 pp.
- Pinnow, Hermann, History of Germany, translated by Mabel R. Brailsford. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1933. 473 pp.
- Pinson, Koppel S., Modern Germany - Its History and Civilization. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1954. 637 pp.
- Rauschnig, Hermann, The Voice of Destruction. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940. 295 pp.
- Rice, Emmett A., and John L. Hutchinson, A Brief History of Physical Education. Third edition, New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1952. 294 pp.
- Rodnick, David, Postwar Germans. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948. 233 pp.
- Schevill, Ferdinand, The Making of Modern Germany. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Company, 1916. 259 pp.
- Schuman, Frederick Lewis, Germany Since 1918. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937. 128 pp.
- Sharman, Jackson R., Introduction to Physical Education. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1934. 317 pp.

- Van Dalen, Deobold B., Elmer D. Mitchell, and Bruce L. Bennett, A World History of Physical Education. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953. 640 pp.
- Ward, Adolphus William, Germany 1815-1890. Volume I, Cambridge: at the University Press, 1916. 591 pp.
- Williams, Jesse Feiring, The Principles of Physical Education. Sixth edition, Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1954. 366 pp.
- Ziemer, Gregor, Education For Death - The Making of the Nazi. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. 209 pp.

B. PAMPHLET

- Lindgren, Alina M., Germany Revisited - Education in the Federal Republic. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office (United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare), 1957. 107 pp.

C. PERIODICALS

- Claiborne, Hamilton C., "Germans Turn From Military Exercises to Organized Sports," Mind and Body. Vol. 34, No. 365 (January, 1928), pp. 352-354.
- Diem, Carl, "Development and Aims of Physical Education in Germany," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 19, No. 6 (June, 1948), pp. 390-392 & 430-431.
- "Foreign Items of Interest," Mind and Body. Vol. 39, No. 404 (April, 1932), p. 35.
- Hoffa, Elizabeth, "Physical Education in Germany," Mind and Body. Vol. 41, No. 424 (December, 1934-January, 1935), pp. 193-200.
- Holmes, A., "The Soul and Body in Physical Training," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 14, No. 7 (October, 1909), pp. 479-489.
- Kindervater, A. E., "European Observations, Impressions and Experiences," Mind and Body. Vol. 35, No. 373 (December, 1928), pp. 270-282.
- Leonard, Fred Eugene, "An Outline of the Development of Physical Training in Germany in Modern Times," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 4, No. 1 (March, 1899), pp. 1-18; Vol. 5, No. 1 (March, 1900), pp. 18-39.

- Lewald, Theodor, "How Does Germany Justify Its Large Expenditures for Sport Facilities?," Mind and Body. Vol. 41, No. 422 (September-October, 1934), pp. 104-113.
- McKenzie, R. Tait, "Constructive Patriotism," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 17, No. 4 (April, 1912), pp. 245-254.
- Miller, Adelaide H., "The German Youth Movement," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 8, No. 6 (June, 1937), pp. 352-354; 394-395.
- Nabholz, Hans, "Some Unique Recreational Programs in Germany," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 7, No. 3 (March, 1936), pp. 149-151 and 204-205.
- "Nationalized Physical Education in Modern Germany," Mind and Body. Vol. 42, No. 433 (February, 1936), pp. 315-316. (Summary translation of speech by the Reichssportfuehrer.)
- Posse, Baroness Rose, "How Physical Training Affects the Welfare of the Nation," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 15, No. 7 (October, 1910), pp. 493-499.
- Rice, Emmett A., "The American Turners," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 5, No. 4 (April, 1934), pp. 3-6.
- Senkewitz, Ernest, "The Cologne Turnfest," Mind and Body. Vol. 36, No. 377 (April, 1929), pp. 1-5.
- Stecher, William A., "The Turners and Physical Education," Mind and Body. Vol. 33, No. 356 (February, 1927), pp. 419-422.
- Streit, W. K., "The German Turnfest at Stuttgart," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 4, No. 10 (December, 1933), pp. 11-16 and 57.
- Wohlens, Frederick H., "The New Physical Education in Germany," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 1, No. 8 (October, 1930), pp. 3-9 and 54-56.
- Zwarg, Leopold F., "A Study of the History, Uses and Values of Apparatus in Physical Education," Mind and Body. Vol. 38: No. 395 (April, 1931), pp. 429-438; No. 396 (May, 1931), pp. 481-490; No. 397 (June, 1931), pp. 556-565; No. 398 (September, 1931), pp. 594-601; No. 399 (November, 1931), pp. 637-650.

SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following works, while not referred to directly in the text of the paper, did contribute much to the background knowledge and thinking of the writer and would be valuable in undertaking any similar study.

A. BOOKS

- Abel, Theodore, Why Hitler Came Into Power. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938. 322 pp.
- Angell, James W., The Recovery of Germany. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. 425 pp.
- Bayles, William D., Caesars in Goose Step. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1940. 262 pp.
- Bouton, S. Miles, And the Kaiser Abdicates. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1921. 332 pp.
- Brady, Robert A., The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1937. 383 pp.
- Brandenburg, Erich, From Bismarck to the World War, translated by Annie Elizabeth Adams. London: Oxford University Press, 1927. 542 pp.
- Brecht, Arnold, Prelude to Silence - The End of the German Republic. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944. 156 pp.
- Brownell, Clifford Lee, and E. Patricia Hagman, Physical Education: Foundations and Principles. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. 397 pp.
- Clark, R. T., The Fall of the German Republic. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935. 494 pp.
- Cobb, Louise Staples, A Study of the Functions of Physical Education in Higher Education. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943. 176 pp.
- Deuel, Wallace R., People Under Hitler. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942. 392 pp.
- Francke, Kuno, German After-War Problems. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. 134 pp.

- Fraser, Lindley, Germany Between Two Wars. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945. 184 pp.
- Grzesinski, Albert, Inside Germany, translated by Alexander S. Lipschitz. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1939. 374 pp.
- Hagen, Paul, Germany After Hitler. New York: Farrar & Rhinehart, Inc., 1944. 240 pp.
- Hayes, Carlton J., A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe. Volume II, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1936. 1215 pp.
- Hazen, Charles Downer, Europe Since 1815. Volume II, revised and enlarged edition, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923. 1202 pp.
- Heiden, Konrad, Der Fuehrer, translated by Ralph Manheim. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944. 788 pp.
- _____, Hitler, translated by Winifred Ray. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936. 390 pp.
- Hitler, Adolf, My New Order, edited with commentary by Raoul de Roussy de Sales, New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1941. 1008 pp.
- Holt, John B., Under the Swastika. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 261 pp.
- Jackh, Ernst, The New Germany. London: Oxford University Press, 1927. 102 pp.
- Kandel, I. L., The Training of Elementary School Teachers in Germany. New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1910. 137 pp.
- Leonard, Fred E., Pioneers of Modern Physical Training. Second edition, revised and enlarged. New York: Association Press, 1915. 159 pp.
- Loewenstein, Karl, Hitler's Germany. Revised edition, New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941. 230 pp.
- Malleson, G. B., The Refounding of the German Empire. Third edition, London: Seely, Service & Co. Limited, 1914. 332 pp.
- Matthias, Eugen, The Deeper Meaning of Physical Education, translated by Carl L. Schrader. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1929. 88 pp.
- Monroe, Paul, A Text-book in the History of Education. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1907. 772 pp.

- Monroe, Walter S., editor, Encyclopedia of Educational Research.
Revised edition. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1950. 1520 pp.
- Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., Germany Is Our Problem. New York: Harper &
Brothers Publishers, 1945. 239 pp.
- Nixon, Eugene W., and Frederick W. Cozens, An Introduction to Physical
Education, fourth edition. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company,
1952. 271 pp.
- Priest, George Madison, Germany Since 1740. Boston: Ginn and Company,
1915. 199 pp.
- Richter, Werner, Re-educating Germany, translated by Paul Lehmann.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945. 227 pp.
- Roberts, Stephen H., The House That Hitler Built. New York: Harper
& Brothers Publishers, 1938. 380 pp.
- Rosenberg, Arthur, The Birth of the German Republic, translated by
Ian F. D. Morrow. London: Oxford University Press, 1931. 286 pp.
- Russell, James E., German Higher Schools. New York: Longmans, Green
and Company, 1916. 122 pp.
- Scheele, Godfrey, The Weimar Republic. London: Faber and Faber
Limited, 1946. 360 pp.
- Schuman, Frederick Lewis, The Nazi Dictatorship. Second edition, revised,
New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936. 516 pp.
- Schwendener, Norma, A History of Physical Education in the United States.
New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1942. 237 pp.
- Sharman, Jackson R., Modern Principles of Physical Education. New York:
A. S. Barnes and Company, 1937. 208 pp.
- Taylor, A. J. P., The Course of German History. New York: Coward-
McCann, Inc., 1946. 231 pp.
- Walz, John A., German Influence in American Education and Culture.
Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1936. 79 pp.
- Williams, Jesse Feiring, The Organization and Administration of
Physical Education. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930. 325 pp.
- Wood, Thomas D., and Clifford L. Brownell, Source Book in Health and
Physical Education. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1932, 590 pp.
- Young, George, The New Germany. London: Constable and Company Limited,
1920. 333 pp.

B. PAMPHLETS

- Diem, Liselott, Who Can. Frankfort A. M., Germany: Wilhelm Limpert-Publisher (Copyright U. S. A., by George Williams College, Chicago), 1957. 47 pp.
- Eberhardt, Walter C., The American Turners - Their History, Philosophy, and Contributions to American Democracy. Bloomington, Indiana: School of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, Indiana University, 1955. 16 pp.
- Ensor, Robert C. K., Herr Hitler's Self-disclosure in Mein Kampf. Pamphlets on World Affairs No. 3, New York: Farrar & Rhinehart, Inc., 1939. 29 pp.
- Guidebook to Some European School Systems. New York City: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927. 47 pp.
- Kellermann, Fritz, The Effect of the World War on European Education. Harvard Bulletins in Education No. 13, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928. 89 pp.
- Stone, Shepard, Shadow Over Europe. New York: Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, 1938. 94 pp.
- Wertheimer, Mildred S., Germany Under Hitler. World Affairs Pamphlets No. 8. New York: Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, 1935. 48 pp.

C. PERIODICALS

- "Adolf Hitler Speaks on Physical Education," translated by E. Thoma from "Discobolus," Mind and Body. Vol. 40, No. 415 (November, 1933), pp. 150-152.
- Brock, Nancy, "The Mary Wigman Studio," Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. Vol. 27, No. 8 (November, 1956), pp. 44, 45, and 60.
- Diem, Carl, "Physical Culture in America," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 19, No. 7 (October, 1914), pp. 539-542.
- Frostell, G., "Gymnastics and Sports in France and Germany," translated into German by Folke Swenson and into English by D. V. Besser, Mind and Body. Vol. 32, No. 346 (February, 1926), pp. 895-898.

- Gardiner, Rolf, "Rhythmic Gymnastics in Germany," Mind and Body. Vol. 32, No. 344 (December, 1925), pp. 776-780.
- Heckrich, Karl, "Subject Matter for Turnverein Classes," Mind and Body. Vol. 38, No. 395 (April, 1931), pp. 438-446.
- Kindervater, A. E., "The International Gymnastic and Athletic Competition at Frankfurt, Germany, and Olympic Games at London, England," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 14, No. 1 (January, 1909), pp. 27-39.
- Kindervater, A. G., "Early History of Physical Education in the Public Schools of America," Mind and Body. Vol. 33, No. 350 (June, 1926), pp. 97-103.
- Kleeberger, Frank L., "American Athletics Vs. German Militarism," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 24, No. 2 (February, 1919), pp. 83-89.
- Lange, A. F., "Observations on Physical Education in Germany," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 20, No. 5 (May, 1915), pp. 273-277.
- Larned, Charles W., "Athletics from a Historical and Educational Standpoint," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 14, No. 1 (January, 1909), pp. 1-9.
- Leonard, Fred Eugene, "Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, and the Development of Popular Gymnastics (Vereins-Turnen) in Germany," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 10, No. 1 (March, 1905), pp. 1-19.
- _____, "German-American Gymnastic Societies and the North American Turnerbund," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 15, No. 9 (December, 1910), pp. 617-628.
- McGee, Mildred, "An American Student at the Deutsche Hochschule fuer Leibesuebungen, Berlin, Germany," Mind and Body. Vol. 41, No. 424 (December, 1934-January, 1935), pp. 205-208.
- McKenzie, R. Tait, "Physical Education at Girard College, Philadelphia," Mind and Body. Vol. 30, No. 321 (September-October, 1923), pp. 197-203.
- Miller, Freda, "Dance Workshop in Europe 1955 -- Part II," Journal of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation. Vol. 27, No. 5 (May-June, 1956), pp. 42 and 43.
- Rath, Emil, "Physical Education in Germany," Mind and Body. Vol. 29, No. 315 (February, 1923), pp. 389-394.

- Rice, Emmett A., "Physical Education a Century Ago," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 1, No. 4 (April, 1930), pp. 16-17, 56.
- Richter, K. E., "Sports Versus Military Training in the German Republic," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 33, No. 3 (March, 1928), pp. 201-202.
- Roper, R. E., "Systems of Gymnastics: Their Origin and Evolution," Mind and Body. Vol. 36, No. 378 (May, 1929), pp. 60-64.
- Sargent, Dudley A., "Is War a Biological Necessity?" American Physical Education Review. Vol. 20, No. 3 (March, 1915), pp. 135-142.
- Sharman, Jackson R., "Professional Education of Physical Education Teachers in Germany," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 9, No. 1 (January, 1938), pp. 10-12 and 58-60.
- Staley, S. C., "Sports in Europe," The Journal of Health and Physical Education. Vol. 2, No. 8 (October, 1931), pp. 3-8, and 52.
- Stecher, William A., "The German University for Physical Education," Mind and Body. Vol. 32, No. 339 (May, 1925), pp. 557 and 558.
- Weier, Ernst A., "Observations and Comments on the National Festival," Mind and Body. Vol. 28, No. 301 (September-October, 1921), pp. 717-726.
- Williams, Jesse F., "Standards for Judging Physical Education Practice," Mind and Body. Vol. 30, No. 318 (May, 1923), pp. 49-58.
- Zapp, Karl, "Statistical Sketch of the Present Status of Physical Training," American Physical Education Review. Vol. 1, No. 1 (September-December, 1896), pp. 23-32.