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THE IDEA OF SPORTS IN GERMANY, 1880 - 1936

by

CHRISTOPHER J. MACK

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York**

2000

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Date

Abraham Ascher
Chair of Examining Committee

11/18/99
Date

David Nasau
Executive Officer

Dr. Daniel Gasman

Dr. Paula Fichtner

Dr. Evelyn Ackerman

Dr. Marion Kaplan

Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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Introduction

"Our most sacred convictions, the unchanging elements in our supreme values, are judgments of our muscles."¹

Between 1880 and 1881 sixteen German cities established bicycle clubs. The clubs sponsored outings in city parks and in the countryside; they allowed those who could afford a bicycle, at that time a small segment of the population, a chance to meet and enjoy one another's company. The clubs also sanctioned races-- which they conducted in a spirit of friendly, "gentlemanly" competition. No money changed hands, relatively few spectators attended, and the honor of victory was the only reward.

From such humble beginnings sports in Germany emerged to become a significant component of German social and cultural life. By 1936, Germany had become a sports-mad nation like much of the rest of the Western (and Western influenced) world. It was in that year that Germany hosted both the winter and summer Olympic Games. The Hitler regime spent millions to construct new facilities, entertain Olympic dignitaries and the world press, and convince the world that Germany was a phoenix rising from the ashes of the First World War to renewed strength and vigor.

By all accounts the 1936 Winter and Summer Olympics

were spectacular successes. The German public enthusiastically attended the events. The world press glowingly reported their success in radio and newspaper stories around the world. Olympic officials hailed them as a model for future contests. And, for the first time in modern Olympic history, German athletes demonstrated their athletic prowess by capturing more medals than any other country during the summer Games.

Thus, in less than fifty years sports in Germany had left behind the casual outings of local bicycle clubs and had become a source of national (and international) interest, concern, and enthusiasm. A careful study of the emergence of modern sports and their reception in Germany will demonstrate the tremendous growth of the sports movement and its influence over the German public during the period. But that is only part, and really not the most important part, of the story of sports in Germany.

More importantly, a study of the idea and understanding of sports in Germany during the period 1880-1936 will demonstrate how sports served as a remarkable barometer of German attitudes toward the rapidly changing character of their society and culture-- i.e. how Germans understood and reacted to the process of modernization in Germany. In many ways and for many people, sports came to embody at one and the same time the best values, behaviors, and ideas of the German (and Western) past; for example, cultural conservatives saw sports as a conduit to a set of ideas and

behaviors that were simpler, more vital, and more "natural"-
- ideas and behaviors rooted in custom and tradition. Culutral progressives viewed sports as a modern phenomenon that ushered in values and practices that were new and necessary in the modern industrial world: values such as competition, performance, and individual success within a team context. In most instances the meaning of sports and their proper place in German culture and society were fluid, not fixed. Sports came to embody both sets of values. Sports could be seen as an agent of cultural preservation by conservatives, or as an agent of change by progressives-- eventually both saw sports as an agent of cultural and social regeneration. Thus, a study of sports and their meaning in Germany from 1880-1936 reveals not only the progress of sports and their popular embrace, but also the ways in which German thinkers, politicians, scientists and physicians, understood the clash between Germany's traditional culture and the forces of change which confronted them.

The locus of concern over sports and how they were to be understood in German society and culture was the male body. By the end of the nineteenth century the male body had come to seem problematic to many scientists and doctors, intellectuals, and politicians. Women's bodies, in so far as they were considered, were chiefly depicted as the Other, the foil and negative measure of manly health and masculinity. Despite advances in the area of health and

hygiene, many men appeared less healthy, lethargic, and incapable of performing their daily tasks. According to both popular and educated opinion, the cause was the rapid industrialization of the German economy and the resultant effects on German culture and society.

Many contemporary commentators and critics identified the horrible fruits of industrialization and modernization through the concept of "degeneration". One of the most popular treatments of the notion of degeneration was offered by Max Nordau, a physician and journalist. Beginning in 1892, Nordau's Degeneration was published and reprinted numerous times.² Nordau argued that the nervous centers of the brain were capable of being over-stimulated and thereafter continuously deteriorating. The result was a progressive weakening of an individual's ability to withstand the stresses and strains of modern life and, eventually, complete enervation. According to Nordau, the industrialization of economic life and the consequent modernization of society and culture caused degeneration. Degeneration resulted from, "the vast fatigue which was experienced by the generation on which the multitude of discoveries and innovations burst rapidly."³ Degeneration was, in effect, a product of modern life.

Many people accepted Nordau's diagnosis. They saw it as a means of understanding not only the collapse or compromise of individuals and their energy and ability, but also as part of a larger social and cultural problem.

Scholars and scientists throughout Europe and the West conflated individual maladies into social and cultural ones. In large measure, this was a result of their adoption of a means of evaluating the supposed crisis posed by degeneration through the implementation of models derived from biology and physics.

Two models taken from innovations that occurred in physics during the middle of the nineteenth century exerted a great deal of influence on corresponding areas of science, medicine, and the wider culture. The first was the law of the conservation of energy, or the first law of thermodynamics, developed by Hermann Ludwig von Helmholtz. In 1847, von Helmholtz presented his findings in a paper entitled, Über die Erhaltung der Kraft ("On the Conservation of Energy").⁴ He contended that energy expended in any activity was not lost, but rather transferred to some other state or condition. To many scientists and others interested in the popularization of science, Helmholtz's discovery meant that energy once utilized by the body or machines could possibly be conserved or recovered for other purposes. As a result, those who adopted a Helmholtzian model saw the world as a place in which the cultivation and extraction of energy from things, and bodies, would be continually possible and, in effect, limitless. I will show how such a model colored and influenced attitudes about the human body and the possibility of sports and exercise as a means of increasing and extending the body's energy and

ability to cope with the stresses of the modern world.

The other model provided by physics that influenced attitudes and behaviors in many profound ways during the period under consideration-- including providing a justification for the theory of degeneration-- was derived from the law of entropy, or the second law of thermodynamics. In 1854, Rudolf Clausius formulated the basic theory of entropy as it applied to energy expended by bodies(or any machine or mechanism). Essentially, he contended that energy expended could never be conserved, retained, or recovered. Energy used was energy lost. Clausius believed that his law applied to the universe as a whole. He maintained that the entire universe was losing energy and headed for a "state of 'thermal death' in which the temperature, and all other physical factors, will be everywhere the same and all natural processes will cease."⁵ His theories were widely publicized and widely held. Clearly, the concept of degeneration closely followed the model suggested by Clausius. Degeneration as a function of the dissipation of energy was perceived as a pervasive problem that required immediate attention if Clausius' grim forecast was not to come true. In the course of my study, I will illustrate how Clausius' model came to influence the thought of doctors, scientists, and thinkers throughout Germany and how their considerations related to sports and their reception and implementation in Germany.

Along with models derived from physics, biological

models for understanding human existence and social relationships were also influential. Certainly Darwin's theory of evolution by means of natural selection influenced scientific and sociological attitudes toward human development and behavior; however, the acceptance of Darwin's ideas by German biologists and thinkers of the period was not straightforward and uncomplicated. They found Darwin's lack of a teleology in his theory of natural selection (its emphasis on random variation in species and haphazard evolutionary development) problematic.⁶ As a result, Ernst Haeckel and other Darwinian proselytizers in Germany advanced a version of Darwinism that was more Lamarckian than Darwinian. They allowed for directed adaptation by individuals and species in order to facilitate progressive development in Nature and society; they also wanted a more directed, less chaotic, means of understanding human and natural development. A theory of evolution which provided for directed adaptation would allow them to address and ameliorate conditions like the degeneration of individuals and societies in the face of rapid industrialization and modernization.⁷

In effect, the Neo-Lamarckian twist given to Darwin's ideas by Haeckel and others enabled doctors, scientists, and social theorists to develop theories which ". . . placed the individual and society on a continuum, wherein individual acquisitions could be fixed and stored in the social organism, and where the evolution of the social unit

expressed its growth in the persistent differentiation of individual functions."⁸ Thus, changes made in individual attitudes, behaviors, and lifestyles could positively (or negatively) effect the larger society-- and vice versa. As I will demonstrate, such notions developed and implemented in the realm of science and medicine carried over to a consideration of sports and how they might help or hinder the development of healthy bodies and a healthy and productive society. Medial and scientific attitudes toward women's participation in sports and exercise will also be considered as a way of illustrating the means by which sports helped to shape conceptions of masculinity and femininity.

It is also important to note the type of connection or relationship that biologists and others identified between the individual and society-- for it too is an important theme, or model that scientists and other thinkers employed in their considerations of human health, society, and culture. For example, the relationship noted above is a binary one. The individual and society are intimately connected and intertwined; the fate of one determines in many ways the fate of the other. Also, the boundaries between the two are not necessarily rigid and fixed, but may be fluid and constantly changing. Such binary relationships were rampant in the thought of the day in almost every sphere.

One of the most famous examples of such binary thinking

was Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft(Community and Society), first published in 1887.⁹ Tönnies' influential sociological study advanced the notion that human social existence can be described as following two patterns: that of Gemeinschaft, whereby social relations are informed by what he called Wesenwille(natural, or essential, will); and that of Gesellschaft, whereby social relations are determined by Kürwille(rational will).¹⁰ In the former, people engage in spontaneous, affective relationships and are viewed as ends in themselves; for example, as in relationships between family members, friendship groups, and in peasant villages and religious sects. In the latter, people relate to one another not on a fundamental, organic level, but as dictated by necessity governed by reason; for example, as in relationships between merchants and traders. The merchant deals with others strictly as a means to an end, successful trade. The relationships between the merchant and his or her customers are governed not by feeling and custom, but by reason. Tönnies identified the second concept as the guiding one of modern society, economy, and governmental bureaucracy.

Thus Tönnies created an interpretive scheme for describing social relations that divided, perhaps irreconcilably, human relationships into two opposing and antagonistic forms. Although Tönnies himself was a liberal who sought to build bridges across the divide he had

identified, many seized upon his ideas to justify the growing void between the past and present, rural and urban, traditional and modern modes of existence that they saw unfolding in nineteenth and twentieth-century Germany. To many intellectuals, politicians, and social commentators, no accommodation between the two was likely (no matter how they longed for it); they could not tolerate the uncertainty of living along the precarious edge of either/or.

Tönnies' study described and reinforced the sense of binary tension that many identified, and tried to address, in German society and culture. A number of very influential studies of German culture, society, and politics have since identified and explored the existence of these binary relationships.

One of the most enduring of such studies was George Mosse's The Crisis of German Ideology.¹¹ Building on the foundation provided by Fritz Stern in his Politics of Cultural Despair, Mosse identified the roots of a reactionary system of thought and cultural beliefs that sought to undermine and deny the thought of the Enlightenment and the developments fostered by the advent of the Industrial Revolution when it arrived in Germany.¹² In his discussion of the "German Ideology", he identified a number of binary systems that one can variously describe as traditional/modern, rural/urban, natural/artificial, conservative/liberal, Romantic/Enlightened, religious/secular, etc. More recently, he extended his

binary reach to include masculinity/femininity, issues of sexuality, and a binary consideration of race. Mosse's great contribution was to show how these binary relationships, or concepts, played themselves out in German culture, society, and politics and how they created a system of thought that allowed Hitler and the National Socialists to exploit one half of the binary relationship (the traditional/rural/Romantic components) and propel themselves to power.

Peter Gay's Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider also examined the existence and import of binary relationships and the tensions that they engendered.¹³ Gay recognized the creation of binary relationships by German artists, intellectuals, and politicians at the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. He noted that the longing for a resolution of those same binary tensions, what he called "the hunger for wholeness", dominated the thought and work of Germany's most prominent intellectual and political thinkers and leaders. In fact, he argued that it was in no small part the fatigue resulting from binary tensions and the search for a "third way", a resolution of the binary conflicts that existed in society and culture, that prepared the intellectual and cultural ground for Hitler and National Socialism. Gay aptly described the climate that existed by the end of the Weimar period:

The complex of feelings and responses I have called 'the hunger for wholeness' turns out on examination to be a great regression born from a great fear: the fear of modernity. The

abstractions that Tönnies and Hofmannstahl and the others manipulated-- Volk, Führer, Organismus, Reich, Entscheidung, Gemeinschaft-- reveal a desperate need for roots and for community, a vehement, often vicious repudiation of reason accompanied by the urge for direct action or for surrender to a charismatic leader.¹⁴

More recently, Jeffrey Herf's, Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich examined the binary character of German modes of thought and how they impacted German society and culture..¹⁵ Herf identified the type of binary concepts and thinking that Stern, Mosse, and Gay presented; however, he contended that rather than accentuate only one-half of these binary concepts, Hitler and the National Socialists embraced both. In effect, he argued that they adopted both the conservative ideas and values demonstrated by Stern and Mosse, and the ideas and values developed during the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution. Herf argued that the National Socialists had to do so or be rendered impotent in their effort to restore German power in Europe and abroad. In Herf's own words:

In the country of romantic counterrevolution against the Enlightenment, they succeeded in incorporating technology *into* the symbolism and language of Kultur-- community, blood, will, self, form, productivity, and finally race-- by taking it *out* of the realm of Zivilisation-- reason, intellect, internationalism, materialism, and finance. The integration of technology into the world view of German nationalism provided a cultural matrix that seemed to restore order into what these thinkers viewed as chaotic postwar reality.¹⁶

When viewing the situation Herf described through the lens of sports, one sees a similar phenomenon underway. Sports as a modern phenomenon were ultimately viewed as positive because they offered a kind of technology of the body that would help realize the aims of rootedness, bodily power and fitness, and the depreciation of reason that cultural conservatives (and the National Socialists) emphasized.

I will demonstrate how the type of binary relationships described by Mosse, Gay, and Herf came into play and were used to interpret and re-interpret sports and the place that they were allowed to occupy in German society and culture. And, at the same time I will argue that sports served not only as a marker and maker of such binary concepts, but even as a possible mechanism to transcend them. In short, sports came to be understood by many commentators as a way to transcend, or overcome, the binary struggles that informed and inflamed German society and culture. For example, in my discussion of Leni Riefenstahl and her film of the Berlin Olympics of 1936, I will demonstrate how she tried to use sports to create an aesthetic perspective that transcended the binary predicaments of German and Western culture. Thus, sports could be seen as a path toward the elusive "third way" which would, again, enable Germans to transcend their binary predicament.

In addition, my study fills a void that has appeared in the historical literature that examines the history of sports in Germany (and indeed in the Western world).

Historians of sports have done marvelous and important work in tracing the beginnings and path of sports in Germany. However, their work can largely be fitted into four broad categories: chronological, political, cultural, and social histories. Rarely do they overlap or consider the wider implications of their insights. The most notable exception is John Hoberman's Sport and Political Ideology.¹⁷ Hoberman considered not only the literature on sports of the period, but how sports and "sportive imagery" figured in the writings of many of the leading intellectuals of the era as well. Thus, his is a truly valuable study of the cultural implications of sports and their political effects. Still, Hoberman did not consider the tremendous impact that science and medicine came to have on German (and Western) culture and how models from science and medicine may have decisively influenced the way people thought about, discussed, and practiced sports.

In a later study, Hoberman did turn to the relationship between science and sports. His Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport, considered the development of the close working relationship between science and sports that exists today.¹⁸ Hoberman's work is again exceptional; however, in his treatment of the relationship between the scientific and medical communities and the sporting community during the period 1880-1936, he failed to recognize the great influence that science and medicine had in shaping popular acceptance of sports; nor

did he consider the degree to which the medical community embraced sports as a valuable mechanism for improving personal and public hygiene. My study seeks to fill that void. It will also provide the necessary historical and interpretive connections between science and medicine and the larger culture that have been missing in previous studies.

Finally, other historians and cultural commentators have considered the career of Leni Riefenstahl and the relationship between her films and National Socialism. However, it is my contention that they have been far too negligent in their consideration of Riefenstahl's depiction of the human, and especially the athletic, body in her films. As a result, they have missed how her vision of the body related to ideas and attitudes in the wider culture. My study will demonstrate how central the notion of the athletic body was in Riefenstahl's films-- and how it was pointed toward the resolution of profound conflicts that existed throughout German culture.

A study of modern sports and their reception and understanding in Germany from 1880-1936 will, then, demonstrate not only how Germans felt about, and wrestled with, the problems of making the transition from a rural, traditional, agricultural society, to an urban, modern, industrial one, but it will also offer a deeper understanding (from a much different perspective) of the ways

in which Germans tried to preserve and adapt their cultural values, beliefs, and behaviors to the exigencies of a fast changing world. It will also show how, to an increasing number of scientific, cultural, and political leaders, sports came to be viewed as a possible means of transcending the binary tensions that existed in German culture; sports, it appeared, might be a mechanism for creating a "third way"-- an alternative to the unresolved tensions that existed in their culture's way of thinking, values, and political behaviors. An understanding of the latter might also explain why sports in Germany, and around the world, have come to serve as a bridge between peoples, cultures, and political systems to this very day.

Notes

¹Friedrich Nietzsche, The Will to Power (New York: Random House, 1968) 173.

²Max Nordau, Degeneration (New York: Appleton, 1895).

³Ibid., 426.

⁴Hermann von Helmholtz, Über die Erhaltung der Kraft (Berlin, 1847).

⁵G. J. Whitrow, "Entropy," Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 1966.

⁶See, for example: Peter Bowler, Evolution: The History of an Idea (Berkeley, CA: Calif. Univ. Press, 1989) 187ff.

⁷See especially: Daniel Gasman, The Scientific Origins of National Socialism: Social Darwinism in Ernst Haeckel and the Monist League (New York: American Elsevier, 1971). And, Bowler, Evolution.

⁸Robert Nye, "Sociology and Degeneration: The Irony of Progress" in Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress, eds. J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander Gilman (New York: Columbia UP, 1985) 50.

⁹Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (Leipzig, 1887).

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich (New York: Schocken, 1981ed.).

¹²Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair (New York, 1961).

¹³Peter Gay, Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider (New York, 1968). See also: Walter Laquer, Weimar: A Cultural History 1918-1933 (New York, 1974); J. Hermand and F. Trommler, Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik (Munich, 1978); J. Willet, The New Sobriety 1917-1933: Art and Politics in the Weimar Period (Princeton, 1978); A. Kaes, ed. Weimarer Republik. Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen

Literatur 1918-1933 (Stuttgart, 1983); D. J. K. Peukert, The Weimar Republic (New York, 1989); A. Kaes, M. Jay, E. Dimendberg, eds. The Weimar Republic Sourcebook (Berkeley, 1995).

¹⁴Gay, 96.

¹⁵Jeffrey Herf, Reactionary Modernism: Technology, culture, and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich (New York, 1984).

¹⁶Ibid., 16.

¹⁷John Hoberman, Sport and Political Ideology. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1984). I am greatly indebted to Hoberman's study and the ideas that it helped to foster.

¹⁸John Hoberman, Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport (New York: Free Press, 1992). Notes

¹Friedrich Nietzsche, The Will to Power (New York: Random House, 1968) 173.

²Max Nordau, Degeneration (New York: Appleton, 1895).

³Ibid., 426.

⁴Hermann von Helmholtz, Über die Erhaltung der Kraft (Berlin, 1847).

⁵G. J. Whitrow, "Entropy," Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 1966 ed.

⁶See, for example: Peter Bowler, Evolution: The History of an Idea (Berkeley, CA: Calif. Univ. Press, 1989) 187ff.

⁷See especially: Daniel Gasman, The Scientific Origins of National Socialism: Social Darwinism in Ernst Haeckel and the Monist League (New York: American Elsevier, 1971). And, Bowler, Evolution.

⁸Robert Nye, "Sociology and Degeneration: The Irony of Progress" in Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress, eds. J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander Gilman (New York: Columbia UP, 1985) 50.

⁹Ferdinand Tönnies, Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft (Leipzig, 1887).

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹George Mosse, The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich (New York: Schocken, 1981 ed.).

¹²Fritz Stern, The Politics of Cultural Despair (New York, 1961).

¹³Peter Gay, Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider (New

York, 1968). See also: Walter Laquer, Weimar: A Cultural History 1918-1933 (New York, 1974); J. Hermand and F. Trommler, Die Kultur der Weimarer Republik (Munich, 1978); J. Willet, The New Sobriety 1917-1933: Art and Politics in the Weimar Period (Princeton, 1978); A. Kaes, ed. Weimarer Republik. Manifeste und Dokumente zur deutschen Literatur 1918-1933 (Stuttgart, 1983); D. J. K. Peukert, The Weimar Republic (New York, 1989); A. Kaes, M. Jay, E. Dimendberg, eds. The Weimar Republic Sourcebook (Berkeley, 1995).

¹⁴Gay, 96.

¹⁵Jeffrey Herf, Reactionary Modernism: Technology, culture, and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich (New York, 1984).

¹⁶Ibid., 16.

¹⁷John Hoberman, Sport and Political Ideology. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1984). I am greatly indebted to Hoberman's study and the ideas that it helped to foster.

¹⁸John Hoberman, Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport (New York: Free Press, 1992).

I. Modern Sports in Britain and their Appearance in Germany, 1830-1880.

Modern sports developed in Britain in response to the new social patterns and values fostered by the Industrial Revolution. The shift from an agrarian economy to an industrial one brought not only a redistribution of social wealth and influence, but new ways of organizing groups and individuals in time and space. Sports was one of these new manifestations.

Traditional agrarian economies emphasized the cycles of Nature; tilling the soil, planting, tending, and harvesting follow one another in an unbroken, circular fashion-- and they must do so in order to assure a successful crop and harvest. Participants in this great cycle knew (and know) that the pattern must be carefully cultivated and preserved; any variation or interruption in the cycle indicates trouble of some sort-- drought, flood, pests, or disasters from human and natural causes.

Similarly, the manual labor required in an agricultural system was also cyclical in character. The body's position or pose in plowing was different than that required for sowing or harvesting with a sickle or scythe, and threshing required yet another positioning of the body in order to successfully accomplish the task. But all of these tasks and their bodily demands were determined by the requirements of the larger cycle; they did not substantially change for

thousands of years.¹

The structure of agricultural labor and the body's role in it was based on the idea of circularity-- following the cyclical patterns of Nature; and hence, the body's duties and the demands placed on it for labor power were essentially fixed and determined.² Any innovations in equipment or technique were incorporated into the great, guiding structures of the agricultural labor system, they did not fundamentally alter them.

However, the Industrial Revolution broke the guiding patterns and cycles of the agricultural system. In fundamental ways the demands placed on the human body were profoundly altered. Therefore, new ways of developing the labor power of the human body, organizing and directing its energies, and understanding its operation needed to be developed.

One of the most important factors in developing a new way of understanding and cultivating the human body was the abandonment of the old cyclical and conservative model of existence and the adoption of a dynamic and progressive (or linear) one. As an industrial economy and society began to emerge in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the agrarian model of a cyclical existence was increasingly deemed to be invalid. The patterns of Nature no longer applied in determining the pace and character of human life. Instead, the machine and its requirements determined the spatial location, postures, and movements of

the human body. Thus, the transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy profoundly altered the way humans labored, organized themselves, and utilized their bodies--indeed their entire world-view changed.³

The pursuit of leisure was no exception. In the agrarian world, leisure time followed the great cycle. Folk games were conducted during fairs and festivals, the greatest of which were held in the Spring and Fall to help ensure successful planting and harvest.⁴ The games played during these festivals reflected the larger cyclical pattern. No matter whether the sport was an early form of football, racing, or fighting contest, their conduct and character varied little over time; in short, they too were subject to the larger structure of natural cycles.⁵

The conduct and tenor of folk contests differed greatly from modern sports. For example, what few rules there were in folk contests derived from long custom and were not recorded. The number of contestants was variable. The players movements and behaviors were not closely regulated. Informal, unsanctioned, violence pervaded the contests; in the case of football matches, monarchs and mayors continually attempted to have them outlawed(largely unsuccessfully) due to their often violent conduct .⁶

Certainly this is a far cry from the regular, and generally orderly, sports of today that are so rule governed and well organized. In modern sports, appropriate levels of violence are sanctioned-- that is, covered by the rules and

regulations of the sport. If athletes exceed the acceptable degree of violence provided for in the rules, they are in turn subject to fines and penalties.⁷ Such a formal system of behavioral control did not exist in the folk contests. The transition from folk contests and the informal regulation of leisure time and behavior to modern, rule governed practices occurred in Britain sometime between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The shift in attitudes and behavior occurred when behaviors and values changed to reflect (and support) new social and economic realities.⁸

The enormously popular schoolboy novel Tom Brown's Schooldays, by Thomas Hughes, presented excellent examples of the new values of dynamic change, progress, individual performance and competition, and cooperation in a more mobile society.⁹ First published in 1857 and then reprinted continuously thereafter, Hughes' reminiscence of his boyhood revealed the influence of the British public school system on the development of modern, rule governed sports. At the public schools new rules and mores were infused in sports. Sports were expected to transmit those values to the future leaders of the nation. In addition, displays of tension between old and new modes of conduct, definitions of masculinity (and by negative example, femininity), and attitudes toward the body and its use were revealed.

Hughes' novel detailed his experiences at Rugby School from 1834-1842. Hughes was an average student, but an

exceptional athlete. Through his athletic experiences Hughes was a proponent of "muscular Christianity"-- the use of sports to create vigorous, healthy young men possessed of "Christian virtues."¹⁰ Hughes trumpeted the values of competition and individual achievement, teamwork and cooperation, progressive change tempered by consideration for the past, and cultivation of the body's physical, as well as mental, powers.

A description of Tom Brown's arrival at the school and his viewing of a football match provide insight into how sports fostered the virtues and values mentioned above and the evolution of folk games into modern sports. When Tom and his chaperon, Harry East, approached the great field where the game was to be played, Tom asked if he would be allowed to play. East replied, ". . . why, you don't know the rules-- you'll be a month learning them. And then, it's no joke playing up in a match, I can tell you. . . Why, there's been two collar bones broken this half, and a dozen fellows lamed. And last year a fellow had his leg broken."¹¹

Clearly football at Rugby was not a simple childhood game. It was violent and had particular rules. The description of the game mirrored the larger reality of the world beyond Rugby school. The rules of football varied greatly from school to school and locality to locality-- local custom ruled. Initially, the games played at Rugby and the other public schools reflected their folk origins.

Outside the schools, the suppression of folk games coincided with authorities' demands for order (and the changed social and economic circumstances of the Industrial Revolution); yet, the spirit of the folk games lived on-- closely akin to their original form-- at the public schools.¹² The injuries Hughes described also reflected the original folk character of the games-- violent and unruly.

The best example of a local interpretation of the rules at Rugby School was that the ball could be picked up and carried, rather than being moved solely by kicking; also, in the match described, Hughes' team, Schoolhouse, played against the remainder of the school and was greatly outnumbered.¹³ The idea of an equal number of players on both teams had yet to come into vogue.

The formulation of the rules in a regular and universal manner occurred about the time of Hughes' writing. When Thomas Arnold became headmaster of Rugby School (1828-1842), he changed its rules and governance; and not coincidentally, he also changed the rules and behaviors required in the games the students played as well.¹⁴ Arnold reformed the school in light of flagging enrollments and middle class parents' concern over the conduct of their children's education. The loose administration of the schools and pupils had to change, Arnold argued, in order to accommodate the increasing influence of the middle classes and their values of discipline, diligence, and competition.¹⁵ Arnold saw an opportunity to save the public schools through a

series of reforms that enticed middle class parents to enroll their children and at the same did not frighten off aristocratic families who, though soon to be outnumbered, provided the patina of tradition and esteem the middle classes admired. Thus, Rugby School served as a great experiment in melding the increasingly successful and influential sons of the middle classes with those of the old order.¹⁶

Sports formed an important part of Arnold's integration program. He attacked the established "field sports" of the aristocracy that reinforced archaic, individualistic behaviors-- such as hunting and shooting-- and emphasized team games that fostered a spirit of competition and cooperation(such as football and cricket).¹⁷ In his novel, Hughes commented on the transition by describing the displeasure of those aristocratic boys who bridled at Arnold's reforms. Bans on hunting and the removal of the school's hounds angered aristocratic students.¹⁸ They deemed such changes a direct attack on old aristocratic hunting pastimes and the values that they represented.

Arnold also sponsored a student assembly that discussed and codified the rules of football as it was played at Rugby School. He thereby fostered a spirit of freedom and self-reliance on the part of his charges, while at the same time he forced them to act in groups and reach compromises to arrive at consensus-building decisions.¹⁹ In no small measure, Arnold created a proving ground for the working out

of tensions between the classes both within the school and outside its walls and dormitories.

The establishment of the Football Association in October 1863 epitomized the process initiated by Arnold. A meeting of representatives from all of the public schools, and Oxford and Cambridge Universities, gathered in London to draft common rules for football-- to which all pledged to adhere.²⁰

Tom Brown's Schooldays demonstrated the values that Arnold and the advocates of sports sought to promote. On the day of his arrival at the school, Tom participated in a great football match that pitted his new school, Schoolhouse, against the rest of the Rugby student body. Despite being vastly outnumbered, the Schoolhouse side was able to battle to a draw-- it was considered a great victory in the face of such high odds. Later, a great feast was held to celebrate the Schoolhouse side's ability to hold off everyone else. During the party, the leader of the Schoolhouse team, old Brooke, was called upon to make a speech. In his address, the value of individual achievement within a group or team context was offered as the cause of the Schoolhouse team's success:

Well, but we beat'em--(cheers). Ay, but why did we beat 'em? answer me that--(shouts of 'Your play'). Nonsense! 'Twasn't the wind and the kick-off either-- that wouldn't do it. 'Twasn't because we've half a dozen of the best players in the school, as we have. But a half a dozen fellows can't keep it up for two hours against two hundred. Why is it then? I'll tell you what I think. It's because we've more reliance on one another,

more of a house feeling, more fellowship than the school have. Each of us knows and can depend on his next hand man better-- that's why we beat 'em today. We've union, they've division-- there's the secret--(cheers).²¹

Thus, Hughes presented one of the central tenets of the new industrial age and the age of the middle class: a keen sense of competition and struggle to succeed and attain one's ambitions was necessary and desirable; yet, as Hughes' passage suggests, unbridled individual striving and competition must be tempered by a concern for the group and the society as a whole. Most importantly for my thesis, Hughes' text suggested that sports served as an important mechanism for the transmission of important and necessary values. Sports, in effect, communicated and inculcated the new values of the new industrial economy and society in an extremely efficient and popular manner.

In another episode, Hughes again broadcast the new values of the industrial world. Using boxing as a symbol, Hughes presented testimony of the middle-class world-view that called for rugged individualism tempered by a respect for the needs of the group. However, he realized that the essential nature of human existence is struggle; therefore, boxing should be cultivated as a tool for "righteous" self-defense:

. . . for the most part, the constant use of those surest keepers of the peace, the boxing gloves, kept the Schoolhouse boys from fighting one another. Two or three nights in every week the gloves were brought out, . . .

After all, what would life be without fighting, I should like to know? From the

cradle to the grave, fighting, rightly understood, is the business, the real, highest, honestest business of every son of man. Every one who is worth his salt has his enemies, who must be beaten, be they evil thoughts and habits in himself or spiritual wickedness in high places. . .

It is no good for Quakers, or any other body of men, to uplift their voices against fighting. Human nature is too strong for them, and they don't follow their own precepts. Every soul of them is doing his own piece of fighting, somehow and somewhere. The world might be a better world without fighting, . . . but it wouldn't be our world; and therefore I am dead against crying peace when there is no peace, and isn't meant to be. I am as sorry as any man to see folk fighting the wrong people and the wrong things, but I'd a deal sooner see them doing that than that they should have no fight in them.²²

Hence, cooperation was desirable, but not always possible. The ideal for Hughes and his fellows, all members of the privileged elite(whether middle or aristocratic upper class), was to struggle earnestly and with forbearance, to play fairly in sports and in life, but to be prepared to fight those who sought to overcome one by fair means or foul. A final passage from Hughes encapsulates the public school ethic and the role of sports in its articulation:

Learn to box, then, as you learn to play cricket and football. Not one of you will be the worse, but very much the better, for learning to box well. Should you never have to use it in earnest, there's no exercise in the world so good for the temper, and for the muscles of the back and legs.

As to fighting, keep out of it if you can, by all means. When the time comes, . . . that you have to say, 'Yes' or 'No' to a challenge to a fight, say 'No' if you can,--only take care to make it clear to yourselves why you say 'No.' It's proof of the highest courage, if done from true Christian motives.

It's quite right and justifiable, if done from a simple aversion to physical pain and danger. But don't say 'No' because you fear a licking, and say or think it's because you fear God, for that's neither Christian nor honest. And if you do fight, fight it out; and don't give in while you can stand and see.²³

The contradictory nature of such a world-view was apparent. Sports served as a means of building character and cultivating positive virtues. But these same virtues were tainted by the realization that the world and Nature were no longer places of enduring cycles and order, rather they were the scene of struggle and conflict-- and a powerful, athletic body (along with a firm resolve) was often the sole means of resolving conflicts. Struggle is the meaning of life for Hughes, and one must always be prepared to engage in righteous violence to protect oneself and attain a position in the world. Such ideas reflected the values and attitudes of the new industrial middle class. They advocated individualism, struggle, and a dynamic, progressive economy and society tempered by some notion of cooperation and commitment to the values of the larger society. Such middle class values represented a direct challenge to the ideas of order, social hierarchy, and social stasis of the old agrarian model. The sports discussed by Hughes reflected the change in attitudes very well. The capricious days of unregulated play and folk games had passed. In Tom Brown's Schooldays, Hughes demonstrated that we have entered the modern world.

I have sought to illustrate how the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain changed attitudes and values across a wide spectrum of British society and culture. Through the use of Hughes' Tom Brown's Schooldays, one can see what the development of new middle class values and how sports cultivated and inculcated those values in the hearts and minds of Britain's governing elites. Thus, modern sports and the Industrial Revolution are intimately connected. Sports are a modern phenomenon and hastened the advance of "modern" values.

A similar phenomenon occurred in Germany. As the Industrial Revolution unfolded in the German states, new social and cultural structures and supports developed to create and reinforce the values that supported and advanced it. The question is: Were the values and virtues associated with sports in Britain, values that were also deemed essential to the creation of a modern, industrial economy and society, adopted and accepted in Germany?

In fact, an intimate relationship between sports and the Industrial Revolution flowered in Germany just as in Britain. The values deemed necessary for economic success in an industrial society-- hard work, a desire for individual attainment within a cooperative setting, competition, deferred gratification, remained requirements for success in sports. In Britain, the public schools and the elite universities of Oxford and Cambridge served as the proving ground for the development of such values in sports;

they were also the location of a growing accommodation between the sons of the aristocracy, with their traditional values, and the sons of the manufacturing elites who were attempting to gain access to the social milieu of their heretofore "betters."

A similar process unfolded in the German states during the middle of the nineteenth century. The developing industrial and professional middle class had begun to challenge the primacy of the aristocratic elite. And as in Britain, sports illustrated the difficulties and tensions involved in coming to grips with the new values of the modern industrial world.

That the hereditary nobility of the German states were more firmly in control of their subjects, both politically and socially, than their British counterparts at the turn of the nineteenth century is beyond doubt. The storms of the French Revolution had rolled over the German states, as they had all of Europe, in the person of Napoleon. However, with Bonaparte's defeat in 1815, the forces of reaction emerged triumphant; the monarchy and the nobility reigned in fact and in principle.²⁴

The same held true in German social life. The nobility maintained its hold over style and custom. The Bürgertum pursued its economic, cultural, and professional interests and endeavors. And the peasantry remained locked in seemingly permanent inferiority.

It should not be surprising then that when sports first

appeared in the German states they were largely the preserve of the aristocracy. Such activities as horse racing and riding, sailing, golf, and tennis required expensive equipment and/or extensive facilities. The aristocracy alone had the means and the necessary leisure to engage in them.

Rowing and bicycling were the first sports to win widespread popularity amongst the German elite. In 1836, Hamburg's English merchant community formed the English Rowing Club.²⁵ The Mathilde Rowing Club, comprised only of German citizens, was organized in the same year. Shortly thereafter, numerous other clubs, though mainly in the port cities and other areas that attracted British business or visitors, such as spa towns, appeared. Hence Hannover and Braunschweig served as early focal points for the introduction of sports on the English model, as did Wiesbaden, Bad Homburg, and Baden-Baden.²⁶

The aristocracy and monied elite dominated the early rowing associations and clubs. Like the British aristocracy, their German counterparts attempted to maintain social and participatory distance between gentlemen-amateurs and mere professional rowers (many of whom were boatmen on the inland waterways and therefore members of the working class).²⁷ Elite rowing teams travelled to Paris in 1867 to participate in an international competition held there; and rowers formed the first great national sports organization in Germany with the creation of the Deutsche

Ruderverband(German Rowing Association) in 1883.²⁸

The aristocracy also dominated bicycling. Imported from abroad, the high-wheeled style bicycles of the early nineteenth-century were expensive; thus, few could afford to challenge aristocratic dominance of the sport. In the 1860's the first local bicycle clubs formed in Hamburg-Altona and Munich.²⁹ With the invention of the low-wheeled bicycle and the pneumatic rubber tire, by the 1880's bicycles and bicycling became a more affordable, and more popular, pursuit for many German citizens.

However, despite the successes of rowing and the increasing popularity of bicycling, it was not until the late 1880's and 1890's that modern sports began to capture the attention and the affection of the larger German public. The question is why? Why then and not twenty or thirty years earlier as in Great Britain?

Two important social, cultural, and institutional factors largely account for the initial lack of enthusiasm for sports amongst the German middle and working classes. One was the existence of a long established approach toward exercise and the body embodied in the Turnvereine(Gymnastic Associations). And secondly, the existence of more rigid social and class barriers that carefully defined the individual's place in society and class.³⁰

Turnen(Gymnastics) represented a particularly truculent problem for the exponents of sports because of its long established connection with the drive for German national

unity, its Romantic intellectual underpinnings, and because the values that modern sports advanced ran completely counter to those that undergirded Turnen and much of German society.

Turnen was founded by Friedrich Ludwig "Turnvater" Jahn(1778-1852). Jahn was born on the then Swedish island of Rügen in the Baltic Sea, but soon embraced Prussia as his spiritual homeland. Early in his career he wrote extensively and avidly in favor of bolstering Prussian patriotic feeling and the extension of Prussian influence in the German states.³¹ However, he soon transformed his Prussian patriotism into a larger, all-encompassing reverence for Germany and the German people. Jahn n advocated social ideas that opposed those of the Enlightenment. He rejected any notion of a reasoned, business-like social contract between German citizens and their leaders; rather, he proselytized a Romantic attitude toward Germany and its people, or Volk. Jahn profoundly influenced the development of a number of seminal institutions: voluntary, paramilitary organizations of citizens(the Freikorps), student associations or fraternities(the Burschenschaften); and finally, the Turnvereine. All three furthered Jahn's burning desire for national liberation and the unification of the German states, and a deep reverence for the German Volk.³² In each organization the highest principle and expression of one's inner spiritual content and condition was an ethic of

individual service to the Volk. The greater and more unselfishly one sacrificed one's individual desires and energies to the good of the group, the nation, and the Volk, the greater one's inner harmony and peace; in short, one would become integrated(absorbed) into the social whole and would attain, paradoxically enough, complete and essential freedom.

Jahn articulated his mystical reverence for the German Volk in a book of 1810, Deutsches Volkstum. In it he presented a paeon to the great German Kultur that had been developed over the course of two thousand years. He appealed to all German speaking people to unite and embrace their cultural and ethnic heritage which he saw as one of sobriety, honesty, and noble character. Jahn viewed the German Volk as a chosen people who had been led away and separated from their divine inheritance of national unity and power.³³

Unlike Herder, who advocated a more egalitarian, cosmopolitan, and inclusive idea of ethnic and cultural pride, Jahn maintained that the German Volk were indeed and undoubtedly unique and superior to all others. The German Volk, according to Jahn, served as the means to bring peace and happiness, unity and freedom, to all of the people of the world.³⁴

In order to realize their glorious and divinely ordained end, the German Volk had to maintain absolute racial and ethnic purity. Any cosmopolitanism, appeals to

universal rights and liberties, or Natural Law, was abhorrent to Jahn. Peoples and cultures were different, he argued, and those differences were essential and must be rigidly preserved. Failure to do so would result in chaos and collapse. Jahn attributed the fall of Rome to just such cosmopolitanism and the intermingling of ethnic and racial groups.³⁵

Not surprisingly given the views stated above, Jahn voiced ideas that can be construed as anti-Semitic and misogynistic. Whether he was in fact anti-Semitic and denigrated women remains controversial. Jahn allowed German Jews to participate in Turnen. According to some scholars, he purportedly viewed Judaism as just another religious practice, and treated it like any Christian sect. As long as the worshipper sought true German unity and demonstrated devotion to the Volk, their religious affiliation was of little consequence.³⁶ On the hand, Jahn's vitriolic attacks on anything deemed contrary to the Volk and ostensible "German" values easily lent themselves to misappropriation by members of the Turnvereine who advanced anti-Semitic programs.³⁷

Regarding women, Jahn clearly accepted and extended the cultural stereotypes of his day. He believed that women were physically and mentally inferior to men. He argued that women should restrict themselves to the important roles of wife and mother. Women, in Jahn's view, were "naturally" inferior and should therefore not seek to change their

social or political condition.³⁸

Jahn's even extended his rabid German particularism to language and ideas. He castigated any cultivation or emulation of foreign cultural practices. He was, not surprisingly given his herculean efforts to rid the German states of its French army of occupation, vehemently anti-French. On Germans who spoke French, Jahn maintained that: "It has fooled your men, enticed your youth, dishonored your wives. Germans! Remember your noble language. Draw from its never dying resources, and leave Lutetia's stagnant pool alone!"³⁹ Those who taught French in Germany he labelled traitors and spies.

How could the German states overcome their low condition? According to Jahn through a rediscovery of their German cultural and linguistic heritage: "In the whole history of a people, its most sacred moment arrives when it awakens from its torpor, [and] becomes for the first time conscious of itself, thinks of its sacred rights and of the eternal duty of preserving them."⁴⁰ Once this awakening occurred, a renaissance might unfold through proper völkisch education and training. For Jahn this included the study of history, reading popular literature and folk tales, training the body through exercise, and pursuit of the martial arts. Above all, Jahn's was a national program. Every citizen from the humblest peasant to the highest noble had to receive a völkisch education on his model. In addition, Germans would be required to participate in great national

festivals that Jahn had planned to celebrate the rediscovery of German Kultur and its bounty.

Paradoxically, then, this ultimate nationalist had embraced wholeheartedly at least two strands of the French Revolution and its intellectual foundations-- the notion of democracy and nationalism. Jahn dove headlong and deep into the pool of Rousseau's "General Will". The Volks, for Jahn, were masculine and virile, one and indivisible, all equal, with no extraordinary respect nor privilege for birth or rank. Jahn's völkisch nation would be based on popular will and popular sovereignty, but not of the atomistic, individual, Enlightenment variety; rather, "The citizen will feel, think and act with the state, through it, for it, and in it; he will be one with it and the people in life, woe, and love. Through all the changing times, the folkdom and its sacredly treasured originality. . . will mirror itself from generation to generation with ever increasing beauty."⁴¹ Following this program and pursuing this ideal would lead to a nation overflowing with vigor, purpose, and infused with a deeper meaning than those in the individualistic, selfish, West.

A primary vehicle for the advancement of Jahn's program were the Turnerschaft(Gymnastic societies) or Turnvereine(Gymnastic Associations). Jahn developed Turnkunst(gymnastics) in 1811, while he was teaching in a gymnasium in Berlin. He took his male students to the open fields of the Hasenheide district just south of the city.

There they engaged in gymnastic exercises and drills to increase their strength and stamina. In 1816, Jahn published Deutsche Turnkunst (German Gymnastics), which described both the exercises included in the practice of Turnen (gymnastics) and the philosophical undercarriage and larger purpose of the exercises.

The development of the male body, according to Jahn, was not to be an end in itself. A shapely and muscular figure possessed no intrinsic aesthetic or social value. Instead, the practitioner of Turnen was engaged in a process intended for, and dedicated to, a greater end-- the liberation of the German states from the French military occupation. Once Napoleon's armies were ousted, the elimination of the remnants of Western civilization was required to assure the unification of the German Volk. The fit and fully masculine bodies of the Turner, then, were to be the shock troops in Jahn's campaign for the realization of his great völkisch program:

It lay in the nature of things that from the very foundation of Turnen its purpose has been clear: that the exercises engaged in by the boys and young men were to build their bodies for the battles against the enemies of the Fatherland, and to fill their souls with enthusiasm for their Fatherland and hatred for its enemies.⁴²

Fueled by Jahn's vitriolic rhetoric and the desire to rid the land of Napoleon's armies, the establishment of Turnvereine throughout the German states proceeded successfully.

The recruitment of young men and schoolboys into the Turnvereine was greatly facilitated by the cooperation and encouragement given to Jahn and his followers by the Prussian and allied governments. They saw Turnen as a marvelous aid in military training and the installation of the virtues of discipline, service, and subordination to authority and the state.

However, once the Germans ousted Napoleon and his troops, Jahn's message of national unification and democratic government was no longer desirable to Germany's monarchs. Jahn was especially compromised in the eyes of German authorities by his relationship with the Burschenschaften-- student fraternities that he had helped to establish.

When a student, Karl Ludwig Sand, assassinated the playwright (and sometimes agent for the Czar of Russia), August von Kotzebue, on March 23, 1819, condemnation fell on Jahn and his disciples. Under the auspices of Austria's chief minister, Prince Klemens von Metternich, the German states adopted a series of resolutions known as the Karlsbad Decrees. The decrees outlawed the Burschenschaften and the Turnvereine, as well as instituted restrictions on other civil freedoms-- especially censorship of the press.⁴³

Jahn was arrested in the wave of reaction against the assassination and imprisoned for six years.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, Jahn's Turnen did not disappear; instead, his followers met and trained in secret. With the death of Friedrich Wilhelm

III in 1840, Jahn received a measure of public rehabilitation. He was released from police supervision and allowed to travel freely. Still dedicated to the causes that he had championed throughout his life, Jahn resumed a leadership role in the Turnvereine.

In 1842, the Prussian government sought an inexpensive physical education program for boys. One of Jahn's followers, August Spieß, developed a stream-lined Turnen program that required little equipment and much less space than traditional Turnen. Spieß' program was known as "free exercise" and it soon became an important part of educational programs and the activities of the Turnvereine.⁴⁵

When revolution erupted in 1848, Jahn readily joined in. He sat as the oldest member of the Frankfurt Parliament. He believed his dream of a united Germany might finally be realized. However, the revolution collapsed and the parliament was disbanded. Due to their part in the revolution, the most radical elements of the Turnvereine fled abroad (many to the United States) or went underground. As a result, the Revolution of 1848 marked the end of the radical phase of the Turnvereine.

Jahn died in 1852. In some measure, his program died with him. Interest in the politically compromised Turnvereine decreased and the membership declined. Over the course of the decade, the number of Turnvereine fell from

approximately three hundred to a scant one hundred active groups.⁴⁶

To halt the slide in its membership, two new leaders emerged in the 1850's determined to change the political direction of the movement. Theodor Georgii and Alwin Martens founded a new organ, the Deutsche Turn-Zeitung in 1856. Its aim was to enhance the cohesion of the remaining Turnvereine and provide a foundation for rebuilding the flagging movement. To further that end, Georgii and Martens called for the Turnvereine to take an "unpolitical" stand. Their plea was controversial and divisive. At one point the Turnvereine split into three rival factions.⁴⁷

With the economic crisis of 1857, however, and Napoleon III's rejuvenation of France, the Turnvereine offered their services as a training ground for the armies of the German states. The pages of the Deutsche Turn-Zeitung rang with Georgii's call for a re-unified and vital gymnastic movement. The fruit of his appeals was the first "Allgemeinen Deutschen Turn- und Jugendfest", held in Coburg, June 17-18, 1860.⁴⁸ Over one thousand Turners attended the exhibition of various athletic displays and assemblies. Group leaders delivered speeches and discussions concerning the differences between the various factions and the future of the movement. Although no agreement resulted, a second Turnfest was held the following year in Berlin.

By 1863, the leadership of the various factions had

patched up their differences. Most importantly, they settled the all-important political question by adopting a neutral stand: "'The Turnvereine can only continue to bear fruit, and serve as a means of educating men throughout the Fatherland, if it maintains its distance from political parties and politics. Participation in politics must be the care and concern of the individual alone.'"49

The new policy of political neutrality succeeded. The third Turnfest held in Leipzig in 1863 marked a huge victory for the leaders of the Turnvereine. Over twenty thousand Turners participated-- tangible evidence of support for the groups' new direction and buoyed fortunes.⁵⁰

Further evidence of increased power and unity appeared at the fourth Turnfest held at Weimar in 1868. There, the various regional Turnvereine created a national gymnastic organization-- the Deutsche Turnerschaft (DT) . The DT formalized the policy of political quiescence and sought to extend the practice of Turnen to all German schools. Residual animosity against the policy of political neutrality still existed, however. The DT lost twenty-percent of its membership in 1868. The following year another twenty-three and one-half percent resigned.⁵¹

The slide in DT membership dramatically reversed in 1870. With the onset of the war against France, the DT recovered its nationalist past and portrayed itself as the true voice of German nationalism. The DT gave unstinting support to Bismarck's war effort; as a result, it won

increasing favor with the Chancellor and a greater influence over physical education in the schools. In addition, the völkisch strand of Jahn's thought was resurrected and embraced. By the end of the 1870's, the DT and Turnen solidified its position as the premier form of physical education, pre-military training, and agent of national consciousness in the newly united Germany.

In the 1880's the movement enjoyed even greater success as it gained influence within the government. Prussian Minister of Education and Culture, Gustav von Goßler, was an avid gymnast. He became convinced that Turnen and other forms of recreation, especially outdoor activities, should be included in the curriculum of all schools.⁵² In 1882, von Goßler succeeded in passing legislation that provided for the construction of outdoor playgrounds and Turnplätze(gymnastic fields).⁵³ Given such government support, the place of the Turnvereine as the arbiters of physical culture in Germany appeared secure. Not until the next decade did modern sports on the English model begin to seriously challenge the dominance of Turnen in Germany.

Thus, by the time that modern sports on the British model began to enter Germany a native system of physical education was already deeply rooted-- as was an antithetical set of cultural values and assumptions. German Turnen had already created and adapted a set of values that they argued were particularly German and best suited the needs of the German people. As I demonstrated through the case of Tom

Brown's Schooldays, the modern sports developed in Britain fostered a set of values, attitudes, and assumptions that served the interests of the new industrial middle classes. In large measure, the ensuing conflict between the DT and the advocates of modern sports in Germany was a conflict not over exercise and the creation of a fit body, but over whether or not the values that modern sports advanced were desirable and necessary in Germany. Through the conflict between proponents of sports and Turnen we can readily view the great contest in Germany over the meaning and direction of German culture and society in the face of rapid modernization and industrialization.

Notes

¹Fernand Braudel, Capitalism and Material Life, 1400-1800, trans. Miriam Kochan (New York: Harper & Row, 1975) See especially the discussion of cultivating corn, 68-97.

²Ibid., 246-249.

³Henning Eichberg, Leistung, Spannung, Geschwindigkeit

⁴Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning, Quest for Excitement. Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986) 65-66.

⁵Ibid., 217.

⁶Ibid., 217.

⁷Certainly violence continues to be a part of modern mass spectator sports just as it was in the folk contests. However, the degree and severity of such violence appears to be less now than in the era of the folk games. Still, it is clear that sporting events still serve as an opportunity for individuals and groups to engage in violent behaviors.

⁸Ibid., See especially Chapter Three: "The Genesis of Sport as a Sociological Problem," 126-149. See also, Eichberg, Leistung, Spannung, Geschwindigkeit, 46.

⁹Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays, ed. T.W. Gosling (New York: American Book Co., 1917). The text was originally published in 1857.

¹⁰Ibid., 8.

¹¹Ibid., 86.

¹²Eric Dunning, "Industrialization and the Incipient Modernization of Football," Stadion I (1975) 111-112.

¹³Hughes, 89.

¹⁴Dunning, "Industrialization. . .", 122.

¹⁵Ibid., 120.

¹⁶Ibid., 122.

- ¹⁷Ibid., 126.
- ¹⁸Hughes, 105.
- ¹⁹Dunning, "Industrialization. . .", 132.
- ²⁰R. Brasch, How did Sports Begin? A Look at the Origins of Man at Play (New York: David McKay Co., 1970) 152.
- ²¹Hughes, 104-105.
- ²²Ibid., 223.
- ²³Ibid., 238.
- ²⁴See especially: Thodor S. Hamerow, Restoration, Revloution, Reaction: Economics and Politics in Germany, 1815-1871. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1958).
- ²⁵Arnd Krüger, Sport und Politik: Von Turnvater Jahn zum Staatsamateur (Hannover: Fackelträger Verlag, 1975) 25.
- ²⁶Christiane Eisenberg, "The Middle Class and Competition: Some Considerations of the Beginning of Modern Sport in England and Germany," The International Journal of the History of Sport 7, no.2 (1990): 265.
- ²⁷Allen Guttman, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia UP, 1978) 60-61.
- ²⁸Krüger, Sport und Politik, 25.
- ²⁹Ibid.
- ³⁰See especially, Eisenberg, "The Middle Class and Competition".
- ³¹Hans Kohn, The Mind of Germany: The Education of a Nation (New York: Harper & Row, 1960) 81.
- ³²Ibid., 83.
- ³³Friederich Ludwig Jahn, Deutsches Volkstum (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag, 1991) 32-33.
- ³⁴Kohn, The Mind of Germany, 89.
- ³⁵Jahn, Deutsches Volkstum, 33-34.
- ³⁶Becker, Hartmut. "War Jahn 'Antisemit'?" , Stadion IV (1978): 121-135.

³⁷For a thorough treatment of the debate over the question of Jahn's anti-Semitism see the articles contained in the issue of Stadion IV(1978).

³⁸Gertrud Pfister, "Das Frauenbild in den Werken Jahns", Stadion IV (1978): 136-167. And, Gertrud Pfister, "Deutsche Eichen, starke Muskeln, sportliche Damen: Kollektive Symbolik der Turn und Sportwerbung." Proceedings of the Third ISHPES Congress, Sankt Augustin, 1996.

³⁹As quoted in Kohn, The Mind of Germany, 90.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Jahn, Deutsches Volkstum, 187-188.

⁴²As quoted in Krüger, Sport und Politik, 15. For Jahn and the creation of masculinity see: George Mosse, The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity, New York, 1996.

⁴³Hajo Holborn, A History of Modern Germany. 1648-1840 (New York: Knopf, 1973) 466-468.

⁴⁴Krüger, Sport und Politik, 15.

⁴⁵C.W. Hackensmith, History of Physical Education (New York: Harper & Row, 1966) 135-136. See also: Bruno Saurbier, Geschichte der Leibesübungen (Frankfurt A.M.: Wilhelm Limpert, 1955) 129-132.

⁴⁶Krüger, Sport und Politik, 19-20.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Saurbier, Geschichte, 169.

⁴⁹As quoted in Krüger, Sport und Politik, 22.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Saurbier, Geschichte, 169-170.

⁵²Ibid., 174.

⁵³Ibid., and Hackensmith, History, 139.

II. Economic Modernization and German Sports: The Development of Bicycling in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

In the second half of the nineteenth century Germany embarked on a rapid process of economic modernization. The changing character and structure of the economy in turn shaped the composition, values, and conduct of society: new ideas concerning competition, individual ambition and performance, and changing definitions of success were introduced.

Along with new ideas and behaviors, new inventions and technologies also flourished-- among them the bicycle. A consideration of the bicycle's history and development into the first truly popular professional sport in Germany illustrates not only how sports came to take root and prosper during the period, but also how they came to mirror and extend the new values, organizational structures, and formal behaviors that had arisen alongside the country's dynamic new economy. In addition, it will indicate that the struggles and contests that unfolded in the economic sphere had their corollaries in the world of bicycling-- and often times, with very similar results. The most concrete manifestation of the difficult transition from old values and behaviors to new will be demonstrated through an examination of the great controversy that dominated bicycling in its formative years-- the struggle over whether

bicyclists should compete as amateurs or professionals.

To better understand the pace and extent of the economic and social changes that Germany underwent at the turn of the century, a discussion of the economic and social landscape of Germany is required. The industrialization of the German economy and the consequent modernization of society was a prolonged and complex process. The extent of this process is impossible to encompass in this paper; however, three patterns can be identified and related to the industrialization and modernization of the Reich. They are: industrialization of the economy and resulting changes in values, attitudes, and behaviors; urbanization in response to the requirements of industry and its consequent social effects; and finally, the persistence of old social structures and behaviors and subsequent resistance to the modernization of society and culture by social and cultural conservatives. Each of these processes was in turn supported and extended in the emergence of the bicycle and development of the sport of bicycling.

The industrialization of Germany began in the 1850's, but its effects for the purposes of this study can best be measured with the creation of the Reich in 1871. An indication of the rapid growth of German industrial production during the Reich period(1871-1918) can be garnered from an examination of the production indices of coal, iron, and steel.

In the case of coal, a fundamental component of

industrialization, Germany produced 47,000,000 tons in 1880. By 1890, production had increased to 70,200,000 tons. A decade later it had moved upward again to 109,300,000 tons. These increases were in turn eclipsed by a great leap to 152,800,000 tons by 1910. Finally, the year before the outbreak of war, in 1913, Germany produced 191,500,000 tons of coal-- the greatest amount before or since.¹

Large gains were also posted in the production of steel. In 1880, 1,548,000 tons were produced. In 1890, steel production rose to 2,195,000 tons. Ten years later, in 1900, it rose to 6,260,000 tons. Another great leap occurred in 1910 to 10,900,000 tons of steel produced. In 1913, production hit a remarkable 18,654,000 tons.²

Increases in the production of the key components of an industrial economy were matched by a tremendous increase in the commercial activity of the Reich. Using 1913 as the baseline with a value of 100, German exports increased from 22.4 in 1880 to 29.8 in 1890. In the decade 1890-1900 exports expanded to 44.7; and from 1900-1910, they exploded to 77.4 before reaching 100 in 1913.³

Imports rose alongside the volume of exports. From 1880-1890 the indices for imports moved up from 25.5 to 44.0. By 1900, import levels reached 63.2. In 1910, imports had mushroomed to an indices rating of 88.3. Thus, imports to the Reich increased at a remarkable rate throughout the period.

Such long-term growth patterns in business and industry

profoundly affected the character of the German work force. The number employed in the agricultural sector stayed relatively flat during the period 1875-1913. In 1875, 9,230,000 people worked in agriculture. By 1913, the number of agricultural workers had increased only slightly to 10,701,000.⁴

On the other hand, industrial employment nearly doubled during the same period. Those employed in industry and handicraft occupations increased from 5,153,000 in 1875, to 10,857,000 in 1913.⁵ This becomes an even more significant increase when it is coupled with similarly dramatic increases in commercial occupations and other service related industries. The agricultural economy was becoming less and less of a factor in the overall German economy, and industry and its corollaries were growing by leaps and bounds. What is more, these structural changes in the economy came to have a profound impact on German society and its concerns.

One final statistical offering helps to set this rapid economic growth in a wider context. As Germany was undergoing its industrial transformation, how did it compare in production levels with the grandfather of the Industrial Revolution, and reigning economic giant, Great Britain?

A comparison of coal and steel production in the two countries presents some interesting figures. In 1880, Britain produced 149,000,000 tons of coal and 982,000 (1878) tons of steel; Germany produced 47,000,000 tons of coal and

1,548,000 tons of steel. By 1900, Britain maintained its edge in coal mining at 228,000,000 tons to 109,300,000 for Germany. Yet, Germany continued to produce more steel than Britain, 6,260,000 tons to 4,901,000 tons. By 1913, the coal production figures still showed Britain ahead, 292,000,000 tons to 191,500,000 tons. However, by that year Germany far outstripped Britain's capacity to produce steel. In 1913, Germany produced 18,654,000 tons, while Britain could produce only 6,103,000 tons. Thus, in the production of two of the most important materials necessary for an industrialized economy the two nations were somewhat in a dead heat. Britain maintained its edge in coal production, but Germany's steel industry had greatly expanded and more than doubled that of Britain just before the war.⁶

What is most significant is the fact that Germany's economy had achieved such high production levels in such a short period of time; and, the economic rivalry between Germany and Britain grew ever hotter by the onset of war in 1914. The economic rivalry between the two fueled domestic and foreign policy debates and, as will be shown later in the paper, through the fostering of national feeling both directly and indirectly affected the development of sports.

A dramatic increase in population contributed to the economic development of the Reich. In 1871, the population of Germany stood at 40,997,000. By 1901 it had grown by nearly sixteen million to 56,874,000. In 1911, just three years before the war, the total German population was

calculated at 65,359,000.⁷ The dramatic increases are made even more impressive by the fact that some three million Germans emigrated during the period.

Thus, the available work force of the country increased greatly to meet the need for workers in the burgeoning factories and commercial sector; however, given the vagaries of a developing industrial economy the pressure of feeding all of these new citizens also greatly stretched the resources and institutions of the country. For just as important a factor as the raw increase in population in the Reich was where and how people began to live.

A few statistics offer dramatic testimony to the rapidly changing demographic character of Germany. In 1871, 63.9% of the population lived in villages of under 2,000 people.⁸ In that same year only 4.8% lived in cities with a population of over 100,000. By 1910, rural villages still contained the highest percentage of citizens, but that percentage had dropped to 40%. Moreover, the population of the largest cities grew during the period to 21.3% of the populace as a whole. If smaller cities with a population of 20,000 - 100,000 are included, then the number of city dwellers goes up to 34.7%! Thus, in less than the span of one person's lifetime a decisive move away from the country to the city had occurred. Berlin, the capital and magnet for those seeking to relocate, boasted a population of over two million by 1910.⁹

The mass mobilization of the populace had considerable

impacts on German society. A shortage of housing stock to accommodate the ever expanding industrial work force plagued city officials and administrators. Severe pressures were brought to bear on all municipal institutions and infrastructure; the maintenance of public health standards was especially problematic.¹⁰

In the face of such incredible change in the economic sphere, Germany's social structure remained, for the most part, exceedingly static. Although social mobility of at least a limited sort (and it varied from region to region) occurred, the old, aristocratic class continued to hold a disproportionate amount of power and influence-- despite the fact that its economic might steadily declined.¹¹

The Prussian aristocracy, or Junkers, harshly criticized many aspects of industrialization and its impacts on the German agricultural economy. The Junkers derived their livelihood, in the main, from large, still semi-feudal, estates in the hinterlands of East Prussia. They were well represented in the Hohenzollern court; Otto von Bismarck, Chancellor and director of foreign affairs, the architect of Germany's unification, was himself a Junker and made it his life's mission to insure the continued influence and economic viability of his brethren.¹² Such a task became increasingly difficult as Germany began to industrialize and be pulled into the world economy.

Industrialization hit the Junkers and other German farmers very hard. As grain poured into Germany from the

United States, Canada, Argentina, and Russia, grain prices dropped precipitously. With their livelihood threatened, and with it their social standing, the Junkers raised a hue and cry calling for the abandonment of free trade policies and the erection of high tariffs on imported agricultural products.

National Liberal politicians and industrialists rejected such protectionist sentiments. They argued that tariffs on agricultural goods could only raise the price of food, especially bread, and thereby lead to demands for wage increases by the workers. Bismarck defused the situation by a "marriage of iron and rye." He brought the two sides together by offering the Junkers and agricultural sector the tariffs they clamored for, while at the same time drafting new social legislation that would placate and defuse working class discontent.¹³ Thus, the Junkers maintained their economic position, if just barely, and continued to dominate the political, military, and social life of the Reich.

One final consideration concerning the socio-political structure of the country was the increasing scope and aggressiveness of foreign policy. Under Bismarck, Germany occupied a conservative position vis-a-vis the other European powers. Bismarck maintained that the nation's interests lay in Europe and Europe alone. Until the 1880's, Bismarck felt that the country could do without colonial adventures and aggrandizement. Only after tremendous pressure by pan-Germans and business interests did Bismarck

acquiesce and agree to acquire colonies in Africa and the Pacific. Still, by comparison with the other great powers Germany's acquisition of territories abroad and commitment to imperialism was slight.¹⁴

Upon Bismarck's ouster from office in 1890, German foreign policy rapidly shifted to one bent on foreign adventures and the acquisition of territories around the globe. The new policy of Weltpolitik, or "World politics", represented a decisive shift that reflected the Kaiser's desire to project German power abroad and harness popular support at home; the German public appeared to have an insatiable desire to possess overseas territories for economic interest and national prestige.

In part, the new departure and public mood reflected the pervasive influence of Social Darwinian ideas concerning the behavior of animals and organisms in Nature; in short, it was as much the translation of the infamous and misunderstood notion of "survival of the fittest" into foreign policy as it was of anything else. Those who embraced the idea argued that Germany must pursue colonies as a means of expanding the nation's access to valuable and scarce raw materials, markets for finished goods, and land for future expansion. Without such avenues, it was argued, the country would slowly but surely atrophy or be bypassed by more expansionist and vital nations.¹⁵

The severe demographic pressures surfacing in the nation as a result of industrialization indicated to many a

need for expansion and wider availability of natural resources. Many maintained that if the Reich did not add new territories overcrowding would swamp the resources and institutions of the country and social unrest would inevitably ensue.¹⁶

Finally, the Kaiser's desire to see himself as a monarch the equal of all and second to none, especially his uncle the Prince of Wales and future Edward VII, also pushed German policy in a more aggressive and expansionist direction. The Kaiser and his retinue echoed the Social Darwinian thinking of the time and argued that Germany must expand or ultimately die; and, they contended that Germany was now a power of the first rank and must be treated as such, and since overseas possessions were the lettre d'cachet of the day, Germany must obtain them.¹⁷

All of the phenomena, ideas, and values mentioned above-- from the industrialization of the economy and the social pressures that resulted, to the influence of Social Darwinian thinking and the international competition it fostered-- were reflected in, and perhaps influenced by, sports in some way, shape, or form. At their very heart sports were, and are, possessed of a dual nature. Sports, in their current form, are both a creation and phenomenon of modernity and share and promote distinctly modern values and attitudes. Yet, at the same time, sports are an activity or exertion of the body, and in Germany during the period under consideration bodies were themselves a battleground.

The greatest conflict over the bodies of German citizens and how they should be organized, trained, and understood appeared in the struggle between the advocates of modern sports on the English model and the practitioners of Turnen. The two were completely at odds with one another. As has already been discussed, the Turnvereine maintained that their organizations were dedicated to producing strong male bodies for the Volk. The meaning of that message changed over time-- from ousting the French, to promoting liberalism and unification, to encouraging the development of a powerful and influential Reich that could flex its muscles abroad. At the waning of the century, the Turnvereine deepened their commitment to völkisch and nationalist values that were bent on strengthening "German culture" at home and projecting German power overseas. Among their tactics for legitimizing this enterprise, and their voice in it, they claimed an exclusive right to train and exercise the bodies of German men. Sports continued to be assailed as a foreign import that fostered competitive and urban values, not cooperative and corporate ones as did Turnen. In addition, the leaders of the Turnvereine argued, sports demeaned the individual by viewing the body as a machine and not as an organism rooted in a particular Volk and culture. Thus, sports expressed modernity and its values and they should be vigorously resisted lest they contribute to the degeneration of the Volk.

Even a cursory view of sports and the values that they

promote indicates that, on the face of it, the leadership of the Turnvereine were right-- sports do foster values and habits similar to those promoted by capitalism and liberalism. Among the most significant of these are competition, rational organization, and an emphasis on ever increasing levels of performance. In the possession and development of each of these qualities or attitudes sports and the modern industrial economy reinforced and extended one another.¹⁸

Competition is certainly at the heart of the capitalist enterprise. According to its foremost theorist, Adam Smith, competition was a means of regulating the price and availability of goods:

When the quantity of any commodity which is brought to market falls short of the effectual demand, all those who are willing to pay the whole value of the rent, wages, and profit, which must be paid in order to bring it thither, cannot be supplied with the quantity which they want. Rather than want it altogether, some of them will be willing to give more. A competition will immediately begin among them, and the market price will rise more or less above the natural price, according as either the greatness or the deficiency, or the wealth and wanton luxury of the competitors, happen to animate more or less the eagerness of the competition, according as the acquisition of the commodity happens to be of more or less importance to them. (Smith, *Wealth*, 159)

Thus it is the desire for a product or commodity that initiates and prolongs competition in the economic realm. The nature of the desire that motivates the competition may

be material, such as food, clothing, or shelter, or it may be purely abstract and derived from psychological concerns such as honor, revenge, or delight in the besting of one's rivals. The former conception of the competitive desire, material gain, came to be held in some measure of disrepute by German aristocrats. The latter notion of competition, its psychological component, was deemed more respectable and dear-- especially regarding honor.¹⁹

In the economic realm, competition became suspect as a result of the long economic recession, or "Great Depression", of the 1870's to the early 1890's. In Germany, the Junkers questioned free-trade policies and howled for tariffs that would lessen the demand for foreign goods and products. Bismarck's domestic political agenda-- the maintenance of the Junkers as a viable economic and political entity-- pushed him toward protectionism. By 1879, the government jettisoned low tariffs and placed high tariffs on a whole host of agricultural and manufactured goods.²⁰ Viewed as an unwanted byproduct of a modern capitalist economy, international competition, it was clear to many, needed to be controlled as thoroughly as possible.

At the same time that international competition was beginning to be addressed and limited, the value of domestic competition was also being reconsidered. Among the measures introduced, or at least allowed to tacitly take root, were cartels. Cartels found a welcome home in Germany. Many viewed excess competition as the culprit when the economic

climate turned sour. Cartels were introduced to regulate and limit competition in individual industries to insure that enterprises could still run a profit, or at least keep their heads above water, even in the harshest economic conditions.²¹

In Germany, cartels first appeared in the coke, pig iron, and sheet steel industries. By the 1890's, "aside from cartels in steel and coal, there were cartels in plate glass, cement, and certain chemicals."²² After the turn of the century, the pace and extent of cartelization increased even more dramatically. Eventually, cartels dominated all of German industry. In basic, or heavy industries, cartelization meant the installation of production quotas and the regulation of raw materials required to achieve them. As Stolper pointed out, "...the only entrepreneurial function left to individual firms was to ensure technical efficiency in order to reduce costs and raise the profit margin."²³ In effect, competition in the marketplace, at least as Adam Smith had described it, was eliminated. Certainly the maintenance of cartel agreements was difficult, and competitive price wars did break out when cartel agreements lapsed, "but in many cases, under the promptings of a benevolent government, a new agreement was established and peace returned."²⁴

The social and political implications of the cartelization of German industry were also significant. The behavior of German business leaders clearly reflected their

own lack of enthusiasm for the competitive aspect of a capitalist economy and, at least in some measure, a similar discounting of the profit motive as well. Unbridled competition could lead to higher profits for the successful few, but it could also mean ruin for those who could not keep pace. Thus, competition led to economic and social instability. Cartels, by controlling competition undoubtedly prevented some entrepreneurs from maximizing their profits; however, they also helped to spread the wealth and insure a more even distribution of "successful" businesses. How could a modern businessman be so willing to sacrifice his economic self-interest?

Stolper suggested that the answer lay in the character of German society-- especially in the leadership of the old aristocracy. He contended that: "The tone was set by the bureaucracy and the army; in their opinion the profit motive was something contemptible. The capitalist bourgeoisie regarded the way of life of the non-business strata as an ideal to which they tried to conform."²⁵ Here Stolper offered a by now traditional interpretation of the behavior of the German middle and business classes. He contended that the middle classes jettisoned their own values and began to ape those of the aristocracy and thereby relinquished any claim to political influence as well. This "feudalization" thesis has been supported by many historians, among them Hans Rosenberg and Hans Ulrich-Wehler. However, during the past decade or so many

historians have come to question such an interpretation. Among the most influential critics of the bourgeoisie capitulation thesis are Geoffrey Eley and David Blackbourn.

Blackbourn and Eley argue that far from willingly subordinating themselves to the Junker and military elites the German middle classes looked askance at the old values and behaviors that the old order represented. They admit that despite their increasing economic power the German business classes did not wield corresponding social and political influence, but not because they could not; rather, Blackbourn and Eley contend that the middle classes either consciously and pragmatically chose to ape the manners and customs of the aristocracy(as a pragmatic tactic to aid their business and professional endeavors), or because the middle and business classes were far too disunited to present a united and concerted challenge to the established authority of the Junkers and military leadership.²⁶ They also contend that the German bourgeoisie may have created their own styles and standards, thereby tacitly rejecting those of the old order.

Each of these theses can be illuminated through an investigation of contemporary debates about the sport of bicycle racing, and whether or not professional or amateur cycling was the ideal form of the sport. The conflict that unfolded in the cycling world from the middle of the 1880's to the turn of the century manifested the points of contact between middle class and aristocratic culture, but also

revealed the divisions within the middle classes themselves. At bottom it will be shown that the relations and conflicts between the aristocracy and the middle classes-- and within the middle classes themselves-- were functions of the rapid changes taking place in the German economy and the adoption of an "economic" or capitalist value system as a means of interpreting experience.

Perhaps the most popular sport and leisure activity amongst the middle classes in Germany during the nineteenth century was bicycling. A consideration of bicycling's history in Germany and its tremendous popularity during the period under consideration will illustrate how the sport reflected and reinforced the social attitudes and tensions that were present in the country and how these tensions revealed the fundamental crises over the appearance of new values in the country at the end of the century.

Bicycling has a long and prominent history in Germany. In fact, the "'father of the bicycle'" may have been German.²⁷ Karl von Drais(1775-1851) was a citizen of Karlsruhe and the inventor of the "Laufmaschine", or "Draisine", "... a swift walking two-wheeler".²⁸ Von Drais, member of a prominent family in Baden, was the "Master of the Woods and Forests of Badenia", and in 1816 developed a two-wheeled walking vehicle that was the precursor of the modern two-wheeled bicycle. The "Laufmaschine" had "... a wooden beam with triangulated legs, wooden wheels with leather-covered tires and iron rims, a steering tiller with

arm rest, an upholstered seat, a spoon brake operated by hand, a kickstand, and luggage rack."²⁹ However, no pedals or gear mechanism were placed on the vehicle; instead, the machine was straddled by the rider and propelled purely by the rider's feet and legs-- akin to a present day child's scooter.

The unique machine attracted the interest of the local press. In a story of August 1, 1817 the Karlsruher Zeitung reported that von Drais' and his machine made the trip "from Mannheim to Schwetzingen in one hour, while the postwagon took four hours." The paper also noted the size of the machine and its cost, forty kilograms and thirty-five gulden.³⁰

The world took notice of von Drais' Laufmaschine, and he promoted it tirelessly. In 1817, the inventor demonstrated his vehicle "in Paris at the Luxembourg Gardens, the first of many public demonstrations around Paris with crowds of paying spectators."³¹ As a result of the vehicles popularity, von Drais took out patents on its design for Badenia, Bavaria, Prussia and France.

In the applications for his patent, von Drais described the abilities and function of his Laufmaschine:

1. That on a well-maintained post-road, it will travel uphill as fast as a man can walk.
2. On a plain, even after heavy rain, it will go 6 to 7 miles an hour, which is as swift as a courier.
3. When the roads are dry and firm, it runs on the plain at the rate of 8 to 9 miles an hour, which is equal to a horse's gallop.
4. On a descent, it equals a horse at

full speed.³²

Granted his patents, von Drais then licensed them and trusted the manufacture of his vehicle to others. Others quickly copied his design and variations of his machine appeared throughout the continent.

The popularity of Laufmaschine soon ebbed; by 1825, they were no longer in vogue. Difficulties in the materials and design, coupled with the rough condition of European roads, made the machines increasingly less desirable as a means of personal transport. It was to be a number of years before von Drais' machine was adapted and improved by the addition of various mechanical devices to propel it.³³

The most important innovations came in France during the middle of the nineteenth century. A father and son team, Pierre and Ernest Michaux, affixed pedals and a crank mechanism to the front wheel of a successor type of the Laufmaschine. The result was the "velocipede" and a boom in two-wheeled locomotion. The production of velocipedes by Michaux et Cie increased dramatically alongside the popular demand for their product. Annual production figures illustrated the growing tide of consumer demand. In 1862, one hundred and forty-two velocipeds were produced; in 1863, four hundred. By 1867, eleven hundred were manufactured; and by 1868, the Michaux's works engaged three hundred full-time employees, producing four to five machines each day.³⁴ In 1869, the Michaux's sold their interest in the concern for 150,000 francs!

The development of the velocipede and its tremendous growth in popularity extended to Germany. By the end of the 1860's the formation of local clubs demonstrated the public's embrace of the Velociped(in German). Although primarily devoted to velocipede touring, the clubs also engaged in racing competitions-- most often among their own membership.³⁵ The emphasis on racing is important, because racing captured the interest of the wider public and firmly entrenched the velocipede and its successors in the public consciousness.

The members of bicycle clubs excluded public participation in most early races. The St.Georger and Eimsbütteler Bicycle Clubs(later the Altona Bicycle Club) offered a notable exception. They sponsored races that were held in September 1869 as part of the Altoner Industrial Exhibition-- a trade show, or fair, for velocipede manufacturers.³⁶ These races were significant in a number of respects. Firstly, they were held in conjunction with the industrial exhibition, which suggests that they were viewed as something new, modern, and interesting to the wider public. In effect, the races were not just entertainment, but an opportunity for the public to get a glimpse of one of the contemporary wonders of technology. And the exhibition was clearly meant to boost the fledgling velocipede industry. Secondly, the races were international in extent; that is, the racers came not only from all over Germany, but also from Denmark, England, and France.

Thirdly, the manner in which the races were conducted is extremely informative. They were carefully organized and run-- these were no informal, hastily thrown together activities to divert the public from the main business of the exhibition; rather, careful attention to every possible detail of the competitions was recorded. For example, races were held at distances of 1000m., 750m., and 1500m. The races were conducted on a track which measured approximately 231m.; the number of laps of the track necessary to meet the required distances is also listed. The size of the velocipedes allowed to participate was prescribed; no machine over ninety-six centimeters was allowed (the measured diameter of the front wheel) to race in the first two races; the third was an "open race" for all sizes of machine.³⁷

Further, for each of the three races a detailed roster of the participants was offered. The roster included the name of the racer, their place of residence, their occupation; the size of their velocipede, the style and manufacturer of their machine, and their identifying racing colors. A close look at this information presented some interesting insights into the state of the pursuit at that time. In addition, it illustrated how even in its infancy the sport had begun to take on the precise and calculated forms and procedures of the contemporary business world; in short, bicycling had already adopted and conformed to the language and organizational structures of the modern capitalist economy.³⁸

The occupations of the thirty participating racers were as follows:

Kaufmann(businessman)- 10
Fabrikant(manufacturer)- 8
Mechaniker(mechanic)- 4
Gymnasiast(student)- 3
Maschinenbauer(mechanical engineer)- 1
Anstalts-Direkt(institutional director)-1
Rechtsanwalt(attorney)- 1
Künstler(artist)-1³⁹

Most of those listed were more than just casual observers, more even than avid fans, of the velocipede scene-- they were velocipede manufacturers or salesmen whose livelihood depended on promoting and selling their product. Thirteen different manufacturers were represented at the Altona exhibition. They entered at least nine different designs of velocipede for the races(based on wheel diameter). No public preference or industry-wide standard had yet been demonstrated for the manufacture of velocipedes; and, no over-arching, formal governing bodies had yet been created to regulate the design and manufacture of the machines. Any and all designs could be imagined and produced based upon the individual capacity and initiative of the manufacturer. Thus, the one time fad had now become a growing industry with many different competitors, and cut-throat competition for the attention(and marks) of a relatively select market.

The dynamic, perhaps chaotic, character of the design and construction of these early machines reflected the development of technical innovations in many other fields. Initially, innovation encouraged a proliferation of styles and types of construction. Later, the most functional,

durable, safe, and popular styles and designs won out. At that point standardization emerged and the focus of competition shifted to the efficient production, rather than the design, of the machines or product. Thus, cycling clearly reflected its relationship to the burgeoning capitalist economy and its ethos in Germany.

The occupations listed above are also instructive because they indicate that at this juncture the manufacture and ownership of velocipedes was not a working-class affair. Apart from those directly involved in the manufacture or sale of velocipedes, the remaining participants were largely drawn from the comfortable Besitzsbürgertum, the propertied bourgeoisie. Why was this the case?

Three plausible explanations for the social composition of the participants at the Altona exhibition (and the early adherents of the velocipede for the Altona evidence does not appear unique) are persuasive.⁴⁰ Members of the Besitzbürgertum and their counterparts, the Bildungsbürgertum (or educated middle class) had more leisure time to pursue velocipede touring and racing than did the lower middle class and working classes. Factory and other work hours did not leave much opportunity for other pursuits.

The general public could also not afford a velocipede. In the 1870's, a typical velocipede, or its successor, the high-wheeled bicycle, cost approximately six hundred marks.⁴¹ In 1870, the average annual wage for an industrial

employee or someone in the handicraft trades was only 506 marks!⁴² Thus, only those at least moderately well off could afford to purchase, and maintain, one of the machines.

Finally, because of the nearly inflexible class structure that existed in Germany, a separation of activities according to class and occupation predominated. At this early stage, the high cost of velocipedes helped to insulate their owners and advocates from the people; however, as innovations in the design and production of the machines helped to drive prices down, and popular enthusiasm for the activity began to increase, great battles would be waged along class lines to determine whether cycling would remain a mere pastime and passion of the better educated and well-to-do, or an organized sport with mass appeal and great financial interest.

In some measure, a final look at the races held at the Altona exhibition offers some insight into this last mentioned issue as well. Each races offered a first and second prize. For the 750m race, the first place finisher chose merchandise from the exhibitors' displays valued up to forty marks; the second place finisher chose up to twenty marks worth of goods.⁴³ A similar procedure held for the 1000m race; the first prize winner garnered sixty marks worth of merchandise, second place received thirty marks.⁴⁴ As I will argue below, this practice caused a rift in the ranks of cycling's adherents and practitioners. Many feared that offering racers cash prizes would lead to the loss of

social exclusivity that cycling first engendered. As riders from the lower classes struggled to compete and earn a living from their bodies and machines the privileged felt their grip on control of cycling would slip. At this early juncture, however, no regulatory mechanisms could prevent such awards; and, no doubt, they helped to heighten the interest and enthusiasm of the riders and the public. In any event, it would be a number of years before better machines and more regular and organized cycling organizations made the issue one of pressing concern for the early victims of "velocipedimania".

The most important changes unfolded in the decade after the Altona exhibition. The construction of the bicycles themselves illustrated the path of the cycling boom. During the 1870's "high-wheelers" came into vogue. The first vehicles to commonly be called bicycles, the term has covered all two-wheeled, human powered machines ever since. The high-wheelers had large fore wheels, usually as large as fifty or sixty inches in diameter.⁴⁵ The advantage of the large front wheel was power, or speed; however, there were numerous difficulties with the design as well:

Wheelmen were perched as high as horsemen, yet they were a strange new presence on the roads. Cyclists often ran into frightened horses, mad carriage drivers, and restrictive toll-road gate keepers. Riding schools and booklets often discussed the art of mounting the high-wheel and ways to avoid the most severe problem, falling head first, called 'taking a header.' The high center of gravity and narrow rubber tires, which could roll off, made potential hazards of ordinary objects like small rocks, animals, and

children.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the high-wheelers attracted a dedicated following throughout the 1870's and into the 1880's. The machines deepened the interest of the public and sparked a continued boom in cycling as both a pursuit and an industry.

One means by which bicycle manufacturers brought their products to the attention of the buying public continued to be, as at Altona, sponsoring races. The long distance bicycle race or trek became another widespread advertising gimmick. Long tours demonstrated the mobility that the bicycle provided and the machines' durability. By the end of the 1860's, cyclists had undertaken treks from Paris to Kiev(1869), Liverpool to London(1869), Paris to Vienna(1875), and London to Budapest(1883).⁴⁷ One of the first, and most celebrated, trips came in England with the trek from London to John O'Groats(the extreme northern tip of Scotland), by a group from the Middlesex Bicycle Club in 1873. The cyclists covered the 800 mile trip in fourteen days.⁴⁸

Similar exploits came later in Germany, but they eventually captured the German public's imagination. In 1888, a group of cyclists made the trip from Kronstadt to Nürnberg. In 1891, Anton von Gödrich rode through all of the European countries, concluding his tour in Athens.⁴⁹ Von Gödrich's trip, like many during the period, was not only sponsored by the manufacturer of his bicycle, but also by a German newspaper. The press saw the sponsorship of

such popular "extreme" events as a means of boosting reader interest and circulation.⁵⁰ Thus, the bicycle became a means of tapping into the growing masses of Germany's, and Europe's, urban populace. This despite the fact that the bicycle remained very expensive, in fact beyond the reach of most citizens, and the possession of only the wealthy and comfortable Bürgertum. The well-off guarded the social exclusivity of cycling. They sought to organize the sport and control, as best they could, the manner in which the machines were used and distributed.

As with other sports, the British led in determining the social implications of the bicycle, the development of bicycle clubs, and how the machines would be used. In 1878, the Cyclists Touring Club(CTC) was founded in Britain. In Germany, an English transplant to Berlin, T.H.S. Walker, provided a significant spur to the establishment and organization of the sport. Walker gained attention for his bicycle racing prowess. On 31 July 1881, in an 2000m. open division race sponsored by the Münchener Velociped-Club von 1869, Walker defeated some of the club's best racers in a time of 4 minutes, 18 and 1/5 seconds.⁵¹ He soon became one of the sport's greatest promoters and an enthusiastic advocate for pure amateur racing.

Walker was born in Cambridge in 1855, and became interested in cycling in 1868. In 1877, he relocated to Berlin as a representative of the Howe Machine Company, a bicycle manufacturer. The company made high-wheelers and

allowed Walker a number of them for his own use. He allowed his friends to use them, and they provided the nucleus for the establishment of "'The First Berlin Bicycle Club'", in February 1881.⁵² In part due to the popularity of the club, sales of Howe's high-wheelers were brisk.

In addition, Walker's promotional efforts helped cycling associations appear in ever increasing numbers. From 1880-81, sixteen new local clubs or associations were founded; among the most important were associations in Breslau, Munich, Leipzig, Cologne, Berlin, Heidelberg, Bremen, Frankfurt a. M, Strasbourg, and Hannover.⁵³ On August 1, 1881, to help knit the new associations into a more unified group, Walker established the first cycling journal to be published in Germany, Das Velociped; the following year he started one of the first nation-wide bicycling organizations, the Deutsche Velocipedisten Bund (German Velocipedists Union, or DVB).⁵⁴

But Walker not only tirelessly promoted cycling and the fledgling associations, he led by example. For Walker that meant racing-- but racing as an amateur, not for pay or other economic rewards, merely for the pleasure of the activity in and of itself; for him, cycling had to be, and always remained, a sport that was pure and free from the corrupting influence of cash prizes. The only acceptable prizes in the eyes of Walker and those in his ever expanding circle were "Ehrenpreise", or "honor prizes", symbols of the honor that accrued to the individual for a victory in a

hotly contested, but "sporting"(gentlemanly) race.

The notion of honor and its preservation preoccupied many in nineteenth-century Germany. Honor connoted men's status in the society, both economic and social. Only men of the propertied, educated, and established classes possessed honor. Thus, it illustrated the deserving character of those who had "made it" in Germany society, either through their success in business or their educational attainments.⁵⁵ Men of the Besitzbürgertum and Bildungsbürgertum considered themselves to have honor and in their minds it needed to be carefully cultivated and conserved. Women, in keeping with the standards of the time, remained objects of honor, but could not possess honor themselves.⁵⁶

In Das Velociped, Walker presented his definition of the difference between an amateur and professional rider, and by extension his understanding of the "honorable" pursuit of the sport:

A professional rider is:

1. Anyone who publicly competes for cash prizes.
2. Anyone who knowingly competes with those who have won cash prizes.
3. Anyone who appears in public as an artist[a circus or trick rider].
4. Anyone who competes in a foreign country without the knowledge and sanction of the Bicycle Union.
5. Anyone who competes against professional riders, even without accepting money, without the sanction of the Union.

An amateur rider is:

Anyone who does not violate the provisions of the above five paragraphs.⁵⁷

The statutes included the proviso, "[that] includes anyone

who is involved with Velociped-Sport as a source of personal income."⁵⁸ However, in May 1883, the code was amended to include the following qualifying statement: "Herein Velociped manufacturers and salesmen are not included." Thus, only the riders who accepted money, not the makers or dealers of the machines, were deemed professionals. As we will see, however, such a distinction remained problematic due to the fact that the bicycling industry turned to professional races as a means of promoting their products. In any event, in the early years of the sport's development Walker was able to see his aim of erecting and enforcing a high amateur standing largely realized.

The First Berlin Bicycle Club sponsored its first races on August 7, 1881.⁵⁹ Since no tracks or formal routes had yet been established, the racers met in the flower gardens of Charlottenburg, an exclusive Berlin suburb. T.H.S. Walker won the Club Championship, the longest race of the day at 8045m.⁶⁰

The author of an early history of cycling, Robert Höser, praised the purity and dedication to the early aficionados of the sport: "There were no cycling tracks then; the brilliant enthusiasm for the beauty of the sport was enough to overcome all obstacles. Each rider was conscious that he rode as an ambassador for the sport in order to make cycling popular. And each rider took care to pursue his passion in the purest manner possible; and one can say that such evident zeal and desire to overcome

obstacles is lacking in our present generation."⁶¹

The rewards of victory were similarly simple and celebrated: "At that time bicycle racing was pure sport; an exclusive circle of aficionados participated and did so for the sake of the pursuit itself. The value of prizes won was of secondary importance; one only competed for honor."⁶²

The author lamented the fact that such a level of purity and commitment could not be sustained and that bicycling went down the path of commercialism and corrupted its ideals for the pursuit of the almighty dollar.

Such complaints became more and more frequent. However, as the sport grew in popularity and economic significance, a sport free from the taint of cash became increasingly problematic. The early adherents of cycling undermined their own cause as they sought to modernize and expand their facilities and their sport's following.

New training and racing facilities were especially lacking. Most often city streets served as the sites of training and racing, and that led to a whole host of problems-- vicious dogs, spooked horses, angry pedestrians, policemen, and a significant number of injured cyclists. To remedy the situation, influential and financially well-to-do clubs built their own bicycle tracks. The Munich Velociped Club built one of the first tracks; the club's constructed their facility sometime between 1881 and 1884. Later, two other Munich clubs joined in to help administer and maintain the track and its facilities.⁶³

T.H.S. Walker led the effort to build a track in Berlin. He helped form "the Association for Velociped Competition in Berlin" on January 25, 1884; the organization planned to fund and construct a cycling track. Leipzig mirrored Berlin's efforts; they constructed their own track early in 1884, and held their first race at the new facility on June 1.⁶⁴ The following day, a visiting rider from the Göttingen Bicycle Club, Dr. Fiske, set a twenty-four hour record on his high-wheeler. Riding back and forth on country roads between Leipzig and Dresden, Fiske covered 330km.-- a feat that garnered him great acclaim throughout the country.⁶⁵

In part to assist the push for building racing facilities, the largest and most influential cycling clubs and associations in Germany gathered in Leipzig for a "'German Velocipedists Congress'" in 1884. Their deliberations resulted in the formation of Germany's first united cycling organization, the Deutsche Radfahrer Bund (DRB). The DRB exercised sweeping authority to regularize the rules and procedures of cycling activities in the country, a function which it continues to fulfill to this day. Not only did it serve as an impetus to forging rules to govern competitive racing and the building of quality tracks, it also helped to boost the interest and enthusiasm of the public for the sport. Hence, the actions of Walker and others, in no small way, helped to heighten public awareness of their activities and eventually made it

more difficult for the early leaders to control their burgeoning membership.

The high point of 1884 was the meeting of the first DRB sponsored cycling championships in Leipzig. The climax of the program was "the Championship Race for Germany and Austria". The race was 10,000m long, or twenty-five laps of the track. Prizes were awarded: first prize was the Association Medal; second prize was a trophy.⁶⁶ Clearly Walker's counseled that highest amateur standards had to be maintained. Absolutely no prize money or other material considerations were distributed. Julius Huber, from the Munich Bicycle Club, won the championship race. Huber covered the 10,000m. in 19 minutes 58 and two-fifths seconds, "and became the first champion of the German Bicycling Federation".⁶⁷

The establishment of bicycling as an orderly and regulated sport commenced. The transformation of Walker's journal The Velociped into The Cyclist on January 1, 1885 hastened the process-- as of that date, The Cyclist became the official journal of the DRB. The Cyclist served as a means of broadcasting and standardizing the rules for cycling competitions. In turn, those rules came to govern the standards and practices of all the clubs and associations in Germany.⁶⁸

All of these events and actions were important because they highlighted the fact that the leaders of the cycling movement were not just interested in pursuing their

hobby in a haphazard and casual fashion; rather, they sought to make it an organized and rule governed pursuit that was structured and conducted in a particular fashion. This is characteristic of the modern sporting era, when a host of such pursuits-- from boxing to yachting-- were turned into organized, rule governed, and officially sanctioned activities. The creation of overarching associations to establish rules and standards for the particular activity and the publication of journals or newsletters to inform the association's membership of the newest rules and practices were key components in the development of modern sports.

A good example of the DRB's policing of the sport were its rulings concerning prizes and titles that sponsors could distribute. Communities and sponsors eagerly affixed the title, "championship", to the competitions they sponsored: "Each state, every province and every city would hold its championship, and a championship in every class of event-- sprints, endurance, hill climbing, etc., and naturally for each style of machine as well[high-wheeler, tricycle, safety bicycle]".⁶⁹ As a result, the federation feared that the title, "champion" was so well-worn that it had lost its luster and "sporting value". To remedy the situation, the federation intervened and in effect reserved the title for federation sponsored events alone.⁷⁰ That the federation could formulate, and in large measure successfully enforce, such a policy indicated its grasp and ability to wield power over the conduct of the sport and its members.

As a result of these developments, by the middle of the 1880's one can truly say that the sport of cycling had been carefully cultivated and had taken root in Germany. Further evidence of that fact was the increasing number of foreign riders who travelled to Germany to compete in federation sanctioned events. The appearance of foreign cyclists indicated the high level of German cycling and gave proof to the leadership of the DRB over the sport.

One of the first and most influential visitors was an english champion, George Hillier, who represented the Stanley Cycle Club; Hillier came to Germany to compete in the fall races sponsored by the Berlin and Leipzig cycling clubs. In the 10,000m. event, Hillier squared off against some of Germany's best racers. He beat them in each preliminary heat, and bested them in the final race as well. He accomplished this feat by carefully timing his sprints, thereby catching his competitors off guard. Hillier's impact was so decisive, that when the first national list of record times was produced in 1885, Hillier's name appeared four times. Hillier's total was surpassed only by a rider named Jahl from Prague, who set six records from 50km. to 100km.⁷¹ Hillier's success proved an extraordinary boost to German racing technique; it illustrated that, "the race is not won through the legs alone, but also through the use of one's head."⁷²

Based on his successes, Hillier published An Introduction to Training the English Way, a manual on

bicycle racing sponsored by Walker in 1886. The manual presented detailed discussions of racing technique and strategy, from proper pedal position to the necessity of maintaining proper track position to produce the best possible speed. Most importantly, Hillier re-emphasized the necessity of using one's mind to analyze one's opponents and their strengths and weaknesses in order to produce the best possible racing strategy.⁷³

The new techniques being formulated to win success on the growing number of cycling tracks in Germany and throughout Europe were soon being put to dangerous use in the eyes of many. For in 1886, the first truly professional race was held in Germany. The Munich Bicycle Club sponsored a professional competition on May 16, 1886. The prize money totalled 1,000 marks. With such a rich purse available, professional riders from all over Europe appeared at the Munich competition, most notably, de Civry and Dubois from France and Duncan from England.⁷⁴ As a result, the first professional records were established in Germany and the opening salvo of a struggle that would rock the German cycling world was unleashed.

The appearance of professional cyclists in Germany at this time indicated that there was a demand for their type of entertainment. The public was enthusiastic about cycling, especially the professionals, because they provided, "schönen[sic] Sport"(good sport). They were masters of cycling technique and well trained athletes.

Thus they could attain higher speeds and complete more daring maneuvers than the majority of their amateur counterparts.

In addition, independent track owners courted professional cyclists because they attracted large paying crowds. The public adored the pros, so the track owners signed them on. Thus, a professional circuit developed whereby the riders, like those mentioned above, travelled to all the great tracks of Europe touting their skills and competing for increasingly significant sums of money. As a result of the professionals' superior skills and their popularity, many in the public and press began to call for the recognition and sanction of professionalism by the DRB and an end to its strict Amateur Code.

The DRB refused to relax its amateur standards. The question is why? If professional cyclists were so clearly superior in technique and performance to their amateur fellows, then why not recognize their abilities and allow them into the DRB? The attitudes and the behavior of the DRB can largely be attributed to social prejudice and the desire of a privileged few to maintain their control over the conduct of "their" sport.

T.H.S. Walker led the fight to preserve the DRB, and German cycling, from the taint of professionalism. He closed one of his articles with the statement, "At least we are fortunate that the poor are not at liberty to acquire bicycles, for if that were to happen the days of bicycling

as a sport would be numbered!"⁷⁵ At that time, a modest high-wheeler sold for three hundred marks-- and credit was unavailable for their purchase.⁷⁶ Thus, the average worker was unable to purchase one of the machines.⁷⁷ Despite the fact that the formal by-laws of the DRB did not overtly exclude anyone based on their social standing or occupation, in practice they were indeed excluded.⁷⁸ The veil of liberality and openness among the members of the DRB was stripped away when the issue of professionalism arose. As Walker's comment indicated, the membership sought to guard their pursuit from participation, and possible domination, by the growing masses in Germany's cities. Walker and his fellows shared the prejudices of their class and those in their economic position. As mentioned, the membership of the DRB was largely drawn from the Besitzbürgertum and Bildungsbürgertum, with a leavening of the old aristocracy providing a patina of distinction. Walker, for example, was overjoyed when the Kaiser offered a trophy for the DRB's German championships.⁷⁹

However, by this juncture a Kaiserpreis could not stem the steadily increasing flow of riders into the professional ranks, nor could it maintain the DRB's control over the increasingly popular sport. Over the course of the next decade, amateur cycling lost its influence and audience to the professionals; but the DRB did not go down without a fight.

To maintain its control over the sport, the DRB created

a rules committee to oversee the federation's activities and prepare the agenda for the yearly congresses of the federation's members. In addition, they also helped draft and administer the bylaws of the organization. In effect, the committee became a means of policing the sport of cycling in Germany; it aimed at rooting out violators of the federation's amateur code.⁸⁰ Rather than halt the exodus from the federation, however, it only helped to increase animosity toward the federation and its policies, especially among the press.

The leaders of the DRB were not obtuse, nor were they out of touch with their membership. At the federation's congress of 1888, the DRB leadership distributed a questionnaire designed to elicit the memberships' views on a variety of issues, among them the question of who could participate in federation sanctioned championship events. The questionnaire read as follows:

1. Should the championship competitions of the DRB be open to members of the federation alone, or should they be open to all amateurs and members of various associations?
2. Should the federation's championships include not only the sprint for two and three wheelers, but also championships for:
 - a.) the safety bicycle(low-wheeler)
 - b.) the Tandem(two riders)
3. Should members of the federation be forbidden from competing in Championships of Germany that are not sanctioned by the federation?⁸¹

The overwhelming majority of members embraced the initiatives of their leadership with a resounding "Yea".

Thus, the leadership had the memberships' support and could

with confidence proceed against those who violated the federation's rules of conduct.

The resolve and policies of the league were soon tested. Early in 1888, it came to the attention of the federation's leadership that the champion racer Michele had been involved in a race that offered and awarded a cash prize; to further complicate the situation, the race had been held in Switzerland, and, Michele had won. Initially the rider had accepted the gift, but later, when he learned that he had violated the DRB's rules, he had returned it.⁸²

The federation's leaders saw this as a perfect opportunity to send a message to its members and the cycling community of Germany. Michele had indeed won the race and been awarded the prize; however, he had given it back immediately and appealed to his local federation district, Gau 12 in Munich, to give him a ruling on his conduct. The Munich leadership decided that Michele had participated in a cash race, won, and accepted the prize and therefore was in violation of the federation's rules. Through his club, the Munich Bicycle Club, Michele tried to appeal the decision of the Gau 12 officials-- to no avail. He then appealed this decision to the national leadership of the DRB.

In part to bring the matter to a conclusion and avoid further negative publicity-- Michele was a recognized, championship caliber cyclist-- the DRB placed him on a four month suspension. Thus, the federation exercised its influence against a well known rider and enforced its rules

and authority, but at the same time it had not been too severe in its treatment of Michele and thereby hoped to mitigate the backlash of criticism that was sure to be unleashed by those who disagreed with the federation's strict amateur code.⁸³

The Michele case did serve as an example to other riders, but at the same time, the desire of track owners and race promoters to make money continued to undermine the authority of the DRB and its ability to police its membership and exercise control over the sport. Increasingly, the opportunity to take money for their talent proved to be too much for the country's top riders. A system of covert, or under the table, payments and awards began to be established and the DRB soon had to take a stand on that type of conduct too. In the meantime, more tracks continued to be built throughout the country and more fans began to attend cycling races.

The sport was given a further boost at the Berlin competitions held in 1888. The races that were held represented the amateur championships of the nation and, in that year, the European championships as well. As a result, a strong international field of riders was on hand for the three days of competition, June 10-12.⁸⁴ The races were also significant because the German riders who participated did remarkably well.

The most successful of the German competitors was August Lehr. The Frankfurt native was just seventeen years

old and a new face on the racing scene; in fact, he had only learned to ride a bicycle the previous year. He was therefore expected to do little against the more experienced and storied international field. In the 10,000m. championship race, Lehr amazingly, and easily, outdistanced his competitors. Especially dramatic was Lehr's sprint at the end of the race which left his opponents far behind. Lehr's winning time(on a high wheeler) was 18min. 57 and three-fifths seconds.⁸⁵ Later, in a special race sponsored by Prince Friedrich, Lehr again bested his opponents over 7,500m. It was the auspicious beginning of a very successful and distinguished career. By the end of 1888, Lehr owned national speed records at five separate distances and had won a great many races.

In addition to his success as a racer, Lehr was also known as a marvelous physical specimen and race tactician; he embodied the ideal of the smart, calculating athlete who used his mind to wring the most from his many physical gifts. And perhaps most importantly, he was universally recognized as a complete and chivalrous sportsman; Lehr rode hard, but he rode fair. As a result, he was much beloved by both the public and his fellow racers, "which remained true even after he later became a professional rider."⁸⁶

The DRB refined its rules and procedures during the Berlin races as well. They added a rules committee to serve as an examining or grievance board. It oversaw competitions to insure that they complied with the federation's bylaws

and procedures-- especially regarding the issue of amateur standing and policing the participation of professional riders.

At the same time that the DRB was trying to further tighten its grip on amateur racing, and put an end to professionalism, it also created more antagonism among the cycling community. In 1888, in part to preserve their economic interest and control over their facilities, the racers and the owners of independent bicycle tracks banded together to form Der Rennverein-Verband (Union of Race Associations). The Union's formation was met with scorn and derision on the part of the DRB and its allies. They contended that a united front, overseen by the DRB, would be more prudent and successful in protecting the interests of everyone involved in the sport. Hence, due to the hostility of the DRB, the leadership of cycling was even more fragmented and contentious.⁸⁷

The following year, as cycling approached the new decade ever more popular but ever more divided, one bright spot was August Lehr. At the English and World Championship competition of 1889, Lehr claimed the first world title for Germany. Riding a high-wheeler in the 1609m.(mile) race, he won by one and one-quarter lengths over his nearest competitor. Germany was overjoyed. Upon his return from England, Lehr received a hero's welcome in his hometown of Frankfurt a.M. He was met at the train station by a band and cheering fans. A parade was then conducted in his

honor; later, a rally was held and he was given a commendation by the city.⁸⁸ Lehr's triumph and the public's reaction clearly indicate the firm hold that cycling had gained over the public imagination.

The popularity of bicycle riding and racing was certainly secure by the end of the 1880's, but the popularity of amateur cycling peaked in 1889.⁸⁹ The demands of racers for better prizes and remuneration for their efforts led to a further push for professionalization of the sport. It is no coincidence that in 1889, T.H.S. Walker withdrew from the DRB and sold both his publishing and bicycling businesses. He was so aggrieved by what he saw as "the short-sightedness of the D.R.B and its views and principles" that he abandoned the sport he had done so much to promote. With his resignation, the D.R.B. and amateur cycling in Germany lost one of its most vociferous and active promoters and guardians. The way was open for even further confusion, and ultimately, the eclipse of amateur cycling in the country.⁹⁰

A number of important technological innovations also helped to push the bicycle to greater popular success. The two most important were the development of the low-wheeled safety bicycle and the invention of the pneumatic tire. These two developments made cycling easier, more comfortable, and safer-- and for Germany's and the world's racers, faster as well.

The safety bicycle, with two same-sized wheels in the

front and back and driven by a chain and gear mechanism attached to the rear wheel, was first developed in England in the mid-1880's by J.K. Starley and his Rover Cycle Company.⁹¹ By 1890, "the Rovers" were so popular that their catalog sported eight different models of safety bicycles for a variety of pursuits.⁹² In Germany, the Rover models were so popular that some bicycle clubs even named themselves after the brand.

The popularity of the safety bicycle can be attributed to the nearly simultaneous invention of the pneumatic tire by a Scottish veterinary surgeon, John Boyd Dunlop, in 1888. Dunlop discovered a way to create and attach an air-filled innertube to a bicycle rim, thereby allowing the rider unparalleled speed, stability, and comfort. The invention was such a success that it made Dunlop a millionaire and was soon copied by the Michelin brothers in France and a number of manufacturers in the United States.⁹³ These two innovations sounded the death knell of the high-wheeler.

In Germany, it was apparent that the low-wheeled safety bicycle equipped with the new pneumatic tires was increasingly becoming the favored machine of the best racers. August Lehr, the undisputed king of German bicycle racing, appeared on the DRB's record list for 1891 in both the high-wheeled and low-wheeled categories. That Lehr, who had made his name and reputation on the high-wheeler, had begun to compete on a low-wheeled machine as well is a clear indication that the new technology had come to stay. By

1893, Lehr began to race almost exclusively on low-wheelers.⁹⁴

In addition to the technological changes that were permanently altering the face of cycling, the continued battle over the character and control of the sport continued unabated. Over the course of the 1890's the struggle between the DRB, riders, and track owners was often difficult and acrimonious. It would end at the turn of the century in a Pyrrhic victory for a much less influential DRB.

Again, by 1889 amateur cycling had reached its apex. Riders openly grumbled about the way the DRB leadership used them to garner increased recognition for the federation and the sport, but with seemingly little appreciation for their efforts and hardships. As a result, on July 16, 1890, a number of the country's most important and respected riders gathered at a meeting in Berlin to express their outrage over the variety and low-quality of many of the prizes they received and the difficulties they met in maintaining their amateur status.⁹⁵ The racers' primary demand was for some standardization of prizes throughout the country. The DRB listened and offered a new policy toward prizes and their value. The prizes would remain, Ehrenpreise (honor prizes) alone. But they had to be constructed of appropriate materials-- precious metals and stones. Thus, the usual run of prizes consisted of trophies, gold watches, gold watch chains, stick-pins and rings.⁹⁶ The riders appeared

satisfied with these arrangements.

Another concern was the cost of competing. Riders not only had to curtail their work to properly train, they also had to pay for travel and lodgings for any competitions they entered outside their hometowns. For those racers of more modest means such expenses had become a burden. To remedy this situation, the DRB authorized the use of Gutscheine(vouchers) that could be exchanged for goods and services(food and lodging) in the cities that sponsored competitions. The riders liked that arrangement. Not only could they cover their travel and lodging needs, but those riders who were short of cash found it easy to exchange the vouchers with local merchants for cash. Thus the DRB recognized the riders' claims for further support, but indirectly it also allowed them to circumvent the federation's rigid amateur code through the underground economy that developed around the Gutscheine.⁹⁷ To many interested observers, the abuse of the vouchers was to be expected; it demonstrated that the entire amateur code and system of enforcing it needed to be scrapped.

Along with the riders, a number of journalists were disenchanted with the DRB's allegiance to amateur principles. One of the most outspoken was H. Maurion of Berlin. He called for the DRB to recognize the existence of extensive abuses of the federation's rules and bylaws and, often, the open complicity of federation officials in their transgression. The only proper action, he argued, should be

the abandonment of the amateur code:

From time to time over a number of years the cycling press has raised the issue of prizes of honor versus cash prizes. If one carefully looks again at all sides of the issue it is apparent that it bears reconsideration. The time has come for the federation to engage in a fundamental revision of our race prize structures.

The term Amateur(meaning that one races only for honor) is for the most part no longer observed by the majority of our riders. The racers compete for valuables and prizes first and honor takes second place. . It is high time that we change our stance, and no longer stretch our measurement of amateurism to the breaking point, by giving our champions real cash prizes. Just as it is not possible for officials and princely personalities to sully themselves by accepting cash, so the riders and champions have no occasion to accept the fabricated paper money(Gutscheine) of our race associations. Hopefully the day is not far off when our champions can be handed good German Reichsbanknoten.⁹⁸

Maurion's article certainly struck a nerve; it expressed the hopes and desires of many cyclists who longed to accept cash prizes in the light of day, with honor, without any underhanded tactics or worried glances over their shoulders.

However, the DRB was not pleased, nor was it ready to abandon its strict amateur code. Federation officials declared that the DRB would not change its rules and that federation members could not accept money prizes, nor derive a livelihood from bicycle racing.⁹⁹ By maintaining such an inflexible attitude, the federation effectively stuck its head in the sand and refused to recognize the changed circumstances and the necessity of, in some degree, accommodating its riders.

The debate sparked by Maurion's article raged through the federation's journal. Opponents of professionalism were quick to criticize those who sought to profit from their noble pastime: "'Anyone who participates in a sport for pay puts themselves on the level of the theater and circus performers. They sell themselves to the public, and the better circles will not thank them for such appearances.'" ¹⁰⁰ Other critics contended that, "'A competition of paid racers can generate no enthusiasm or joyful emulation.'" And finally, "'The introduction of the cash prize would be a serious misfortune for German bicycle racing.'" ¹⁰¹ All of these arguments echoed the social prejudices of Walker's initial formulation of the amateur code and revealed the rifts that plagued not only the cycling world, but Germany itself. The country was in the midst of a rapid transition to an industrial economy and the powers that be, the old order, did not want to lose its grip on power. Similarly, the governors of the DRB refused to slacken their grip on the governance and policies of the federation. Nevertheless, the public popularity of cycling, and its growing economic importance, increasingly demanded some accommodation with professionalism.

A brief interlude of peace appeared in the cycling world in 1893; however, it was not to last. In 1894, Maurion renewed his attack on the federation's policies. Maurion's arrows were launched in the federation's newspaper, "' . . . the edifice of 'Pure Amateurism' is

rotten and a sham.' " He contended that change could no longer be avoided. In response, the federation's rules committee ousted seven prominent riders for either accepting cash prizes or for knowingly racing against professionals. The federation adamantly refused to bend, or amend, its practices. Despite the federation's intransigence, the owners of the larger independent cycling tracks continued to offer top riders appearance fees and other forms of material compensation. They considered themselves to be businessmen and they could not afford the luxury of such high principals.¹⁰²

Still, the DRB hard-liners stubbornly hung on. At the federation congress of 1894, the Frankfurt Bicycle Club openly opposed the maintenance of the strict amateur code(perhaps in part through the encouragement of their most prominent member, August Lehr). A ballot on the question resulted in an overwhelming confirmation of the hard-line position. Not only could riders not accept money, the Gutscheine were abandoned, since they were now considered only an incentive to corruption. The only suitable prizes remained Ehrenpreise-- trophies, medals, watches, etc., mere tokens in the eyes of those who sought to dedicate themselves to training earnestly and nearly full time. The result was the creeping marginalization of the DRB. By the end of the century it served only as an mediator with the UCI(Union Cycliste International, formed in 1900). The growing public audience wanted to see the best racers;

therefore, the track owners paid to attract them-- "amateur" or professional.

Thus, by the end of the century popular enthusiasm, and the money it poured into the sport, washed away the DRB's amateur code in a wave of cash. Even the beloved August Lehr turned professional, openly accepting appearance money rather than the specious Gutscheine. The critics were proven wrong. The "better sort" did not shun cycling's heroes nor abandon the sport. Instead, they continued to embrace it as enthusiastically as the German masses.

The most apparent aspect of this shift from "noble", amateur, sport to modern professional sport was the rapid commodification of cycling, or its tremendously rapid absorption into the dominant structures and categories of the fast changing German economy. The battle over amateurism and professionalism in the DRB reflected the ambivalence of the country's ruling elites and the Bildungsbürgertum toward economic modernization and the ensuing social changes that it introduced. "Idealists" defended the old order of established rules and the principles of conduct, honor, and the sovereign liberties of the individual(at least individuals like themselves). Those who sought to accommodate the changes brought by modernization, the Besitzbürgertum and their allies, were seen as philistines who would undermine the stability and order of society, replace honor with profit, and submerge the individual and their self-expression in a tide of mass

opinion. Such ideas were anathema to the aristocracy and the Bildungsbürgertum. To them, the enemies of civilization were social change, technological innovation, and Mammon-- and in cycling that meant professionalism.

Despite opposition from the old guard throughout Europe, the bicycling community was forced to accede to the continued existence of professional racing. In 1900, the UCI(Union Cycliste International) was founded to replace the International Cycling Association. The new association was formed, in part, because of Italian and French protests against the strict amateur codes of the other member states, especially those of Germany and Great Britain.¹⁰³ The UCI was divided into two associations: the Fédération Internationale Amateur de Cyclisme(FIAC) and the Fédération Internationale de Cyclisme Professionnel(FICP). Each federation had control over the cyclists and races that fell under its jurisdiction. Thus, the existence of professional racing was recognized and professional riders, promoters, and fans could now feel secure that their sport would be protected and promoted both at the amateur and professional levels. The UCI and its satellites continue to govern their respective sectors of the sport today, in concert with the International Olympic Committee.¹⁰⁴

Not everyone was happy about such formal recognition and protection of professionalism. Great Britain's national governing body, the National Union of Cyclists(formed 1883) refused to recognize the UCI and formally rejected

professional, women's, and road racing. As a result, the number of quality riders in Britain was considerably diminished. No world caliber professional cyclists emerged in Britain until after the Second World War.¹⁰⁵

The reaction in Germany to the formation of the UCI and the recognition of professional cycling throughout Europe was, not surprisingly, mixed. Those who had advocated the restriction of professionalism continued their dogged denunciations of professionalism's dangers. Editorials and articles in one of the sporting elites weeklies, Sport im Bild, reflected the extreme pessimism of many of cycling's old diehards concerning the direction and future of the sport.

In an editorial article recapping the racing season of 1900, R. Doerry contended that bicycle racing was declining both in popularity and quality. He maintained that bicycling, "from the social aspect has lost its importance. The bicycle is no longer 'modern'."¹⁰⁶ In effect, he argued that the bicycle had lost its cachet, its very popularity had made it common and unattractive to those who sought to distinguish themselves from the masses. Doerry then concluded his article with this pessimistic forecast: "We hope that cycling will soon see better times; however, certain ground for such hopes is not easily found."¹⁰⁷ Why was Doerry so concerned and broadcasting such a glum forecast for bicycling's future?

The continuous struggles between the riders, track

owners and managers, and the various bicycling associations had begun to annoy and antagonize the public. Despite the ostensible peace brought by the formation of the UCI, the German cycling world continued to be plagued by internecine quarrels. Even though professionals openly competed and accepted cash prizes without diminishing their popularity and social standing, the wounds received by all sides in the decade long struggle over professionalism continued to irritate some segments of the populace. The heart of the issue remained, according to Doerry, money: "It is not natural that the promotion of cycling, both the promotion of races and interests of riders, have a purely material foundation; nevertheless, pecuniary interests come to the heart of the issue."¹⁰⁸

The difficult situation presented to all sides in the issue, Doerry argued, was a decrease in the amount of money available to riders and promoters. He contended that, "The sorry state of the sport of bicycle racing is best seen through statistics. They place the horrible reality of decline squarely before our eyes. The time of the 'Monster Prize' was over by 1898, although a few 'Grand Prizes' were still recorded in 1899. But the decreases begun in that year endured in the past one."¹⁰⁹ Why, despite the evident popularity of the sport, had such a rapid decline ensued? Doerry pursued that question in the remainder of the article.

Prize money increased at an astonishing rate in the

decade of the 1890's. However, the prize money for 1900 marked a precipitous decline from previous years: "The total amount of prize money awarded in 1900 was 105,900M., while in the previous year, by no means an auspicious racing season, still 150,800M. were awarded. How rapid the catastrophe has unfolded is revealed in a comparison of last year and the 'boom' year of 1898."¹¹⁰ The decline after the 'boom' of 1898 represented a 'bust', not only for bicycle racing, but for the bicycle industry as a whole.

According to Doerry, "The origins[of the decline] are already often the subject of debate, but in the first rank are the unhealthy condition of the bicycle industry due to overproduction-- no longer can they offer huge subsidies to the sport; then, at the same time the interest of the greater public in bicycle racing is waning-- the result of an almost unbroken succession of races, especially in the Spring, with their 'monster prizes'; it is oversaturated."¹¹¹ Doerry also noted that the number of Ehrenpreise(prizes of honor) were down to 2,143 in 1899 from a high of 2,742 in 1897.¹¹² The former argument seems more persuasive than the latter, for the crowds at bicycling races of all varieties continued to grow, especially in the larger cities.¹¹³

Despite contravening evidence in his own journal, Doerry continued his grim forecast for the upcoming racing season. He maintained that Germany's best racers were increasingly falling behind the best of the French,

especially Edouard Jaquelin, a master in the shorter distances.¹¹⁴ August Lehr had faded, and Germany's finest riders, Huber, Arend, Seidl, Büchner and Verheyn, were slipping. He seems to suggest that their very success, like that of their sport, contributed to their decline. Büchner and Verheyn, he argued, ". . . were leaving the group, they have rarely been seen in public and appear ready to return to a settled middle-class life. Bruno Büchner has taken his many winnings and, as is well known, owns a restaurant in Berlin."¹¹⁵ Of the others, "Huber, Arend, and Seidl, all distinguished themselves last season. Huber apparently had the best fortune, while Arend had the best of what was left, save perhaps for Pech. The young Seidl has yet to fully develop; he often begins off his form, although he still had several brilliant performances that allow one to place him alongside Huber and Arend."¹¹⁶ Again, Doerry appears overly severe in his criticisms of his compatriots. Arend was a former world champion, having captured the ICA(International Cycling Association, predecessor of the UCI) world professional title in Glasgow in 1897. Huber was also a well known and highly competitive international star.¹¹⁷

Doerry's pessimism did not reflect the opinion of all analysts and commentators on the state of bicycling in Germany. In an article in Sport im Bild that appeared in the autumn of 1901, Robert Hessen argued that the apparent crisis in cycling was not so dire as Doerry and others suggested. According to Hessen, "The bicycle has now become

the common property of all people in every class and has been applied to all sorts of uses. It also now forms an important component of the national economy."¹¹⁸ He added that the sport of cycling itself had become a business. Hessen concluded by arguing that for the crisis in cycling to be overcome the DRB and other factions had to begin working together or they would all surely fail. He saw the prospect of some accommodation as possible and not nearly so remote as Doerry contended.¹¹⁹

By the turn of the century, the crux of the issue for the members and leadership of the DRB was really the clash of traditional values versus the reality of new economic structures. The early adherents of bicycling had viewed their pastime as a means of moving through the countryside at a brisk pace, enjoying the landscape and its natural beauty. The first racers considered themselves to be passionate amateurs who eschewed systematic training as a means of illustrating not only their physical superiority, but their social superiority as well. To excel without effort was their aim, exertion was an attitude restricted to the lower classes.¹²⁰

However, as bicycles became safer, faster, and more numerous, the cavaliers of the road were forced to give way to the business interests that sought to profit from the new technology. The organizational pangs that Höser, Doerry, and Hessen described reflected the turmoil of the marketplace and the difficulty of establishing a new product

and servicing a new market; bicycling, like the nation as a whole, was being confronted by new ways of interpreting and organizing experience-- in short, economic models and examples. A few statistics illustrate the growing influence of the bicycle industry in the country at the turn of the century.

In an economic summary compiled in 1902 by the Verein für SozialPolitik, the bicycle manufacturing industry received extensive coverage and commentary, confirming the statements of Hessen regarding the industry's increased economic importance.¹²¹ The article analyzed the performance of the bicycling industry from 1895-1901. The author, B.Steller, found that the bicycle manufacturers had done extraordinarily well for most of the period. The manufacturers fared especially well abroad, ". . . for example, the sales from 1895-1901 of one typical corporation rose from around 1,500,000M. to 2,500,000M."¹²² Increased sales were also recorded in the domestic market, but at a lower volume: ". . . domestic sales for 1898 were 470,000M.; in 1901 they reached 730,000M."¹²³ Thus, substantial increases were recorded both at home and abroad for Germany's bicycle manufacturers.

Another marker of the industry's success was the increasing number of people employed in the manufacture of bicycles. The corporation mentioned above saw employment rise from around 700 in 1895, to 1100 employees in 1901. In addition, the yearly wages of its employees increased from

850 to 950M.¹²⁴ Such growth was also impressive because the manufacturer had continued to grant pay increases while it paid handsome dividends to its shareholders.¹²⁵

Steller commented that such impressive sales and shareholder returns had been the rule, not the exception. He contended that, "The bicycling industry has, like the electrical companies, enjoyed rapid growth in the past decade. . . The extraordinarily strong demand for this new vehicle, from the middle of the 90's, was the result of the relative ease of establishing bicycle manufacturing plants, but that very ease soon helped to create ferocious competition and made bicycle manufacturing less profitable."¹²⁶ Excess production at home was not the only reason why the bicycle industry began to realize flagging sales. Another contributing factor was a flood of American made bicycles into the German domestic market.¹²⁷ Finally, the dip in bicycle sales was also the result of, ". . . a general economic decline that did not fail to influence the sales of bicycles as well."¹²⁸ As a result, the bicycle manufacturers scrambled to maintain their high profits and healthy returns to their shareholders. Some manufacturers did so by shifting production to sewing machines or the manufacture of luxury automobiles. They all lobbied the government to levy increased tariffs on imported bicycles.¹²⁹

After his synopsis of the bicycle manufacturing industry, Steller then offered statistical and analytical

information on the dividend performance of specific bicycle manufacturers from 1895-1901. For example, Steller reported that, "Die Cito- Fahrradwerke, A.G. Köln-Klettenberg, lost 6364Mk. by the end of the year 1901/02, whereby it possessed a debt of 47 551Mk. on 600 000Mk. of stock. After the release of its annual statement it was forced by its competition to cut prices even further. However, the export business was satisfactory and the company was receiving ample orders."¹³⁰ Thus, the company was hopeful that the market would take an upturn despite the fact that it had not shown a profit since the 1898-1899 business year.¹³¹

Nearly all of the manufacturers that Steller lists statistics for showed lower profits during the period 1898-1901, although a few stayed flat. One of the most successful was the Bielefelder Nähmaschinenfabrik Co. which manufactured both sewing machines and bicycles(a frequent pairing). Bielefelder saw its profits drop from a high of a 25% increase in 1898-1899 to a low of a 12% increase in 1900-1901. It rebounded in the following year, 1901-1902, to a 17% gain. In addition, Steller reported that the company's, ". . . outlook was favorable for the coming business year."¹³² Thus, the business of manufacturing bicycles was relatively profitable even in difficult years.

Most important for this study is the fact that Steller's report reveals that by the turn of the century the bicycle was not just a toy, a means of transportation, or a

racing vehicle, but a commodity that was recognized and treated as such. In some measure the fears of the leaders of the DRB had been proven correct, money was being made on the bicycle and it was changing the role of the machine in German culture and society-- just as it was changing the very fabric and nature of society itself. Business and its interests had come to permeate virtually every aspect of German society, even bicycling. Doerry inadvertently offered evidence of the close relationship between the bicycling industry and bicycle racing. For the value of individual purses in professional races, and the number of Ehrenpreise, had dropped, according to his article, in the years after 1897-- not because of decreased popularity, or the proliferation of races, but more likely because the economy was in a mild slump and the bicycle industry suffered. The bicycle companies could no longer afford to offer "Monster Prizes", or to underwrite races as they had in the past several years. The business cycle had come to influence the milieu of the bicycle. When the economic climate improved, so too did the purses and prizes for bicycle racers.¹³³

The effects of the commodification of the bicycle were not at all positive in the eyes of traditionalists and critics like Doerry. The introduction of business and the business ethos into cycling led to the creation of unnatural and dangerous forms of the sport. To him and many others, the most egregious example of the negative influence of

money and business models in the sport was the advent of the twenty-four hour race; a contest in which bicycle racers tried to travel as many miles as possible in a single twenty-four hour span. An unnamed journalist argued in Sport im Bild that:

In our opinion the professional riders have for quite some time left the realm of sports proper and entered the realm of 'artistic' performers. The accepted concept of sports, as it has most often been understood, is to devote oneself to a careful concern for the body with the express purpose of cultivating the body and spirit. That is what rowing, soccer, and other sports do, but not the bicycle racing that we know today. Its adherents no longer have the intent of harvesting victory laurels, but rather naked cash. There no longer exists much difference between the trick riders appearing in the circus and the professional bicycle racer. The contests held on the cement battlegrounds are far removed from the ideals they are supposed to serve.¹³⁴

The amateur ideal that the leadership of the DRB and the journalist above so admired appeared to be long gone, especially with the arrival of the twenty-four hour race. The lament related above continued: "On the foundations stated above, we take a stand with other organs of the press. We have seen nothing so degenerate in sports as the 24 hour races. The passage of time has cleared away our old, idealistic conceptions of things."¹³⁵ The guardians of the sport sensed that the barbarians were not only at the gate, but had gained control of the keep as well. Despite their diatribes, the sport continued to gain popularity and flourishes in Europe to this day.

Thus, the early adherents and organizers of the sport of bicycling slowly and bitterly saw themselves losing control over their sport. Why did this occur? In large measure one might argue that it was the result of the increasing influence of economic structures and methods of organization in German society. As discussed in the opening of the chapter, the German economy underwent rapid development during the period after 1850 and especially during the Reich. This rapid transformation occurred because German entrepreneurs and business people adopted modes of organization and structures that allowed them to create a vibrant and dynamic economy. These same structures helped to create certain values that favored and perpetuated them. To the Besitzbürgertum these values and the behaviors they fostered were such things as individual ambition, diligence, a competitive attitude, and short term self-abnegation in return for the realization of a long term goal. Such values and actions, it was held, would eventually insure one of attaining positive results and economic advancement. But if this was the prescription, or formula, proffered by the successful propertied classes it soon proved to be a double edged sword. For it meant that working class folk as well as the lower middle classes might adopt such an attitude and desire to realize the fruits of their hard and difficult labor. And if this was true in the economic realm it was also true in the world of bicycling. Riders who adopted the competitive ethos preached by the

middle class leadership of the DRB were frustrated when they learned that despite their diligent application of the Besitzbürgertum's socio-economic doctrines they would not be rewarded but punished for their efforts. Clearly, the middle classes' embrace of the competitive ethos and the idea of performance came back to haunt them.

Coupled with the difficulty introduced by the economically inspired values of the Besitzbürgertum, were the quite different values embraced by the Bildungsbürgertum. While the former advocated values that would help lead to material success, the latter eschewed material concerns for the attainment of educational and "spiritual" goals. It was the Bildungsbürgertum who were especially concerned with the issue of "honor" and its preservation. They had absorbed aristocratic conceptions of honor in their formative, university years and therefore zealously defended their understanding of its requirements.¹³⁶

What appears to have occurred in the realm of bicycling is a clash between the Besitzbürgertum's values emphasizing material and economic gain and the Bildungsbürgertum's notions of individual honor and its maintenance. This goes a long way toward explaining the protracted quarrels that divided the DRB leadership. Those who were involved in the economic development of the sport(track owners, racing promoters, manufacturers) did not accept nor understand the idealistic conceptions of those who so zealously defended

the honorific component of cycling competition. Thus, the DRB's internal divisions reflected those that existed amongst the German middle classes at large.

Further evidence to support this view is revealed by the fact that the organizational structures of the modern economy were also reflected in the organization of bicycle racing-- and again, the methods and ideas used by the middle classes caused both their short term successes and their eventual demise. In the 1870's and 1880's the sheer cost of a velociped or bicycle made it exclusively the pursuit of the propertied classes. The leaders of the first bicycling organizations were an exclusive club in which all the members were aware of the spoken and unspoken rules. Honor and its preservation were of the utmost importance. Bicycling was no more than serious fun and amusement for them. They organized their leisure as they did their businesses-- with rules committees, boards of directors, and carefully crafted bylaws. They even went so far as to record the activities they engaged in, meetings, races, and records, to serve as a testament to their achievements and to spur them on to greater exertions-- just as they issued annual reports and diligently collected and collated economic data to improve next year's bottom line.

Finally, when the competitive, capitalist ethos the middle class leadership of the DRB had so forcefully developed and vigorously enunciated threatened to overwhelm them, rather than embrace it and make money with their

fellows the bicycle manufacturers, or share it with those who sought to make bicycle riding a profession, they fought back by attempting to create the cycling equivalent of a cartel. The DRB sought to become the dominant organization in the world of German cycling and control the sport as they saw fit. Just as the iron, coal, and chemical corporations sought to limit competition in times of heavy economic weather. Ultimately they failed because those who shared their values, the bicycle manufacturers, needed to introduce their product to the mass market; and a very powerful means of doing so was to sponsor professional racing. As demonstrated in the evidence presented above, the desire to make money, and the adoption of the economic structures, values, and behaviors that made making money possible enabled track owners, riders, and manufacturers to create Germany's first popular professional sport-- and to end the DRB's absolute control over German bicycle racing.

Notes

¹V.R. Berghahn, Modern Germany: Society, Economy and Politics in the Twentieth Century, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge UP, 1987) 278.

²Ibid.

³Ibid., 279.

⁴Ibid., 282.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid., 278.

⁷Ibid., 271.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰For a general discussion of the impact of demographic changes, especially as they impacted public health issues, see: Richard J. Evans, Death in Hamburg. Society and Politics in the Cholera Years 1830-1910 (New York: Oxford UP, 1987).

¹¹The most cogent argument in favor of this view is presented in: Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Das Deutsche Kaiserreich, 1871-1918 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980).

¹²For Bismarck's influence see: Wehler, Das Deutsche Kaiserreich, chap.1.

¹³Ibid., 44ff.

¹⁴Ibid., 179ff.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid., 176.

¹⁷On the rivalry between Wilhelm and Edward VII see: Robert K. Massie, Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War (New York: Random House, 1991).

¹⁸This is not to say that sports cannot, and certainly

they have, flourish under socialist or communist regimes. What is necessary, of course, is a reinterpretation of competition, rational organization, etc. so that they foster values and objectives deemed appropriate for socialist/communist societies. For more on this process see sections four and five below.

¹⁹See especially: Ute Frevert, "Bourgeois Honor: Middle-Class Duellists from the Late Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century," in D. Blackbourn and R. Evans, eds., The German Bourgeoisie (New York: Routledge, 1993), 255-293.

²⁰David Landes, The Unbound Prometheus. Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present (London: Cambridge UP, 1969) 244.

²¹Gustav Stolper, Karl Häuser, and Knut Borchardt, The German Economy 1870 to the Present (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1967) 47.

²²Ibid., 48.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., 49.

²⁵Ibid., 47.

²⁶See: David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany (New York: Oxford UP, 1984).

²⁷David B. Perry, Bike Cult: The Ultimate Guide to Human Powered Vehicles (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1995) 13. See also: Viktor Silberer, Sport Geschichten (Vienna, 1884).

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹Ibid., 14.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., 16.

³⁴Ibid., 21.

³⁵Robert Höser, Zwanzig Jahre Deutscher RadRennsport (Berlin: Rad-Welt Verlag, 1902) 1. This is an

especially valuable resource because Höser was a member of the Deutsche Radrennen Bund's Rules Committee; the committee was responsible for establishing the rules and procedures for conducting races. Thus, his history gives us not only a chronological view of the development of bicycling in Germany, but also insight into the attitudes of the DRB's top leadership. For more on the early history and techniques of bicycling in Germany and Austria, see: Viktor Silberer, Handbuch des Bicycle-Sport (Vienna, 1883).

³⁶Ibid., 6-7.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰For the wide variety of early bicycles and their social impact, see: Perry, Bike Cult, chap.2.

⁴¹Rudiger Rabenstein, Radsport und Gesellschaft: Ihre sozialgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge in der Zeit von 1867-1914 (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1991) 49.

⁴²Berghahn, Modern Germany, 288.

⁴³Höser, Zwanzig Jahre, 6-7.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Perry, 26. See also: Silberer, Handbuch des Bicycle-Sport.

⁴⁶Ibid., 29.

⁴⁷Rabenstein, 13.

⁴⁸Perry, 30.

⁴⁹Rabenstein, 17.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Höser, 8.

⁵²Ibid., 9.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Rabenstein, 228.

⁵⁵Frevert, "Bourgeois Honor," 259.

⁵⁶As quoted in Rabenstein, 227.

⁵⁷Ibid., 228.

⁵⁸Höser, Zwanzig Jahre, 12.

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid., 11.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., 12.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid., 15.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid., 16.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Ibid., 17-18.

⁷³Ibid., 18.

⁷⁴As quoted in Rabenstein, 234.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶The average annual salary for a worker in industry or the handicraft trades was 662 marks in 1885. See: Berghahn, Modern Germany, 288.

⁷⁷Ibid., 227.

⁷⁸Höser, 19.

⁷⁹Ibid., 24.

⁸⁰Ibid., 26-27.

⁸¹Ibid., 27.

⁸²Ibid., 28.

⁸³Ibid., 28-29.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Ibid., 30.

⁸⁶Ibid., 30.

⁸⁷Ibid., 34.

⁸⁸Ibid., 37.

⁸⁹Ibid., 35. Walker was most upset by what he saw as a willingness by some members to accomodate, even slightly, professionalism.

⁹⁰Perry, Bike Cult, 33.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid., 34; 70.

⁹³Höser, 44-45.

⁹⁴Ibid., 37.

⁹⁵Ibid., 38.

⁹⁶Ibid., 38-39.

⁹⁷As quoted in: Ibid., 46-47.

⁹⁸Ibid., 47.

⁹⁹Ibid., 48.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 60.

¹⁰²Perry, Bike Cult, 370.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., 355.

¹⁰⁵R. Doerry, "Das deutsche Radrennenjahr 1900", Sport im Bild Jan. 11, 1901: 24.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

¹⁰⁸Ibid.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Ibid., 55. In the same issue that contained Doerry's commentary, an article also reported the huge crowds and tremendous public excitement that attended the European Championships that had been held in Berlin in 1900.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

¹¹⁶Höser, Zwanzig Jahre, 70.

¹¹⁷Robert Hessen, "Radfahren und Radfahrersport," Sport im Bild Nov. 29, 1901: 764.

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Rabenstein, Radsport, 22-23.

¹²⁰B. Steller, "Nähmaschinen und Fahrradfabriken," Verein für SozialPolitik 1902: 51-58.

¹²¹Ibid., 53.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Ibid., 54.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Ibid.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid., 57.

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²The earnings of professional racers were certainly not grievously effected. In an article in Sport im Bild that appeared in 1903, the annual earnings of professional riders was reported as follows: Robl: 36,500fr., Ellegaard: 34,050fr., Bouhours: 29,600fr., Michael: 28,000fr.; Arend: 14,500fr. These figures did not include monies earned for endorsements and factory contracts.

¹³³Ibid., Jan. 11, 1901: 66.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Frevert, "Bourgeois Honor...", 277-282.

III. Science and Sports

Just as the sport of bicycling revealed the fissures and deeper tendencies of German society with regard to the relationship between amateurism and professionalism, a close consideration of science and medicine during the period also manifests a complex relationship with sports. The relationship between scientists, medical practitioners, and the adherents of sports was most often a symbiotic one. Both disciplines were ancient but had undergone rapid changes since the eighteenth century. Indeed, both had enjoyed remarkable breakthroughs and growth since the middle of the nineteenth century. Finally, both sports and science were at once embraced by the German public with great enthusiasm on one hand and circumspectly on the other. Essentially, science, medicine and sports were viewed as modern phenomena and treated with the same ambivalence as modern industrialization and its consequent boons and disadvantages. Thus, both science and sports as disciplines required time and effort from their proponents to gain a secure and influential place in German society.

The convergence of medicine, science, and sports in German society and culture can best be understood by considering the following areas: the place and prestige of science and medicine in Germany during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As science and medicine gained an

increasingly important and influential place in German society, doctors and scientists developed a strong voice in issues impacting personal health and, ultimately, social policy. In addition, the development of shared values and concerns among the scientific, medical, and sports communities helped each to further its claims over the minds and bodies of the German public. Finally, medical and scientific authorities used sports and athletes as a way of testing and developing new theories of the human body and its functions. For example, it will be shown that an examination of doctors' attitudes toward sports and exercise illustrates contemporary attitudes toward women and the issue of gender. It will be shown that some doctors views of sports for women challenged prevailing notions of womens' bodies and their ability to tolerate "exertion." Overall, this investigation will foster an understanding of the profound connections between sports and the medico-scientific communities and their ambivalent role in German society as manifestations of the modern world.

The scientific and medical communities began their ascent to national prominence in the middle of the nineteenth century, shortly after the collapse of the revolutions of 1848. Many doctors and scientists aligned themselves with the classical liberal agenda of the Revolution which called for a more open and expansive public sphere in the German states. With their political

aspirations frustrated by the collapse of the revolution, many attempted to associated themselves more closely with the various state governments as a means of enhancing their influence and public regard for their professions.¹

One of the most active scientists in this regard was the celebrated cell biologist and pathologist, Rudolf Virchow. Virchow outspokenly advocated classical liberal values like progress, laissez-faire government, and individual liberty. In addition, he sought a more open government with power extended to the educated elite; in other words, for himself and other men in the Bildungsbürgertum.² However, due to the resistance of the Junker establishment in Prussia and the entrenched nobility in the other German states, Virchow and like-minded liberals often turned their attention away from overt political action toward gaining greater influence in the shaping of cultural agendas.³ For doctors and scientists, this meant increasingly successful efforts to control and determine issues related to public health and hygiene-- realms which would eventually overlap with virtually all areas of public life. By the turn of the century, scientists and doctors had tremendous influence over social policy. A brief look at the evolution of the medical profession after 1848 illustrates how physicians came to occupy a prominent role in German society and their increasing influence in shaping public consciousness of health and hygiene issues. Prior to 1848, German doctors were part of an elaborate

paternalistic medical hierarchy: "The academic doctors(Ärzte) came above surgeons(Wundärzte) who were in turn subdivided into various grades."⁴ There were also so-called medical police(medizinische Polizei) who assisted doctors in segregating the ill and "removing public nuisances".⁵ In addition, there were, and would long remain, a vast array of local healers and naturopaths who were in (more or less) competition with the accredited medical community.

Many physicians objected to the rigid professional hierarchy and the invasion of unqualified health practitioners into the field and therefore linked a medical reform movement to the liberal political one at the turn of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth-century. This was especially important to physicians and scientists because they occupied a lower rank amongst those in the Bildungsbürgertum. Professions such as law and bureaucratic offices offered more honor and prestige. Thus, in an increased push for control over their profession, and greater influence and status in German society, the doctors hitched their star to experimental biology-- a field of inquiry that was in great ferment and promised new and important knowledge about the human body and its relationship to the environment. Using the insights gleaned from their biological research, doctors created for themselves a sphere which could not easily be penetrated by layfolk-- thus allowing doctors to serve as mediators and

guardians of new knowledge that they convincingly argued had vast public import.

With the rapid industrialization of the mid-nineteenth century, and the both positive and negative impacts that it had on public health, a number of important laboratory and theoretical breakthroughs heightened the public's recognition of doctors and scientists and made them more willing to entertain and heed their advice. Among the most influential innovations were: 1.) Darwin's theories regarding the evolution of species. 2.) The discovery of the fertilization process through the fusion of egg and sperm cells-- and the consequent belief that heredity and evolution could be manipulated through selective breeding or the improvement of environmental conditions. 3.) The development of a germ theory of disease through the study of bacteria that produced anthrax and tuberculosis.⁶

Using their newly developed knowledge, doctors and scientists also took advantage of the public's confidence in them to help advance social welfare schemes designed to use health as a means of integrating the society and economy. Bismarck introduced legislation to establish sickness insurance in 1883. Doctors and scientists immediately seized upon his program to advance their own claims regarding special knowledge and insight into public and individual health. In many ways Bismarck's introduction of sickness insurance catapulted the medical profession to prominence at the turn of the century.⁷

According to Weindling, in the 1860's and 1870's when liberalism still possessed some clout, doctors developed professional organizations that had not only a scientific, but political agenda. The new organizations lobbied for the creation of national medical bodies that pressed for measures the doctors deemed desirable-- such as checks on the expanding insurance industry.⁸

As a result of their agitation, the Reichstag passed a measure in 1887 that provided for the creation of provincial medical commissions, or Ärtzekammer. These official organizations aimed at offsetting the influence of the insurance industry over medical policies; in turn, they also allowed doctors to put forward, even more forcefully, their various claims for social and political influence.

The doctors' desired the power of greater self-regulation. By carefully controlling their membership and access to the profession, doctors sought to limit the influence of the insurance companies over their economic livelihood through the setting of fees and steering of patients to certain practitioners.⁹

In addition to the state sponsored Ärtzekammer, doctors also formed an independent lobbying organization called the "Hartmannbund."¹⁰ The members called for exclusive control over the medical profession, especially over economic decisions. In effect, the doctors demanded a monopoly over medical practice and policies. As Weindling points out, to obtain their demands the doctors employed tactics borrowed

from the socialists. Doctors engaged in, "strikes, blacklists and propaganda in protest against the control of the sickness insurance."¹¹ The result was a move, "towards the establishment of a monopoly of health by a scientifically educated profession."¹² Using such tactics, the doctors realized many of their objectives. They gained the right to certify medical claims for the insurance companies and to validate claims for sick pay. They also secured a mandate to oversee workplace hygiene and establish safety inspections of business and industrial concerns.¹³

After gaining ground against the insurance companies, the Ärtzekaammer turned their attention to issues of general public concern, such as midwifery, fertility, and most especially, public cleanliness and hygiene. Doctors became the arbiters of public health. But more importantly, they became agents of extending bourgeois economic, social, and cultural values. Increasingly, ". . . health was seen as a way of guaranteeing orderly behavior. Hygienic standards were imposed as a way of reforming lifestyles. In addition, public health offered a subtle means of social integration by civilizing the Volk. The doctor took on a leadership role as Führer to guide the nation to an industrious, clean and healthy lifestyle."¹⁴ In short, medicine became a mechanism of social control through attention to the care of the body and physical fitness.

The doctors' allies in the struggle for influence in German society and culture were the scientists. Like their

colleagues in the medical profession, scientists saw themselves as emissaries of a newer and better way of living that should be extended throughout the populace. The mission of scientists was to take their discoveries out of the laboratory and convince the public of their pressing nature and utility.

As mentioned, Virchow was a signal example of such an attitude and line of attack. Virchow's particular investigations into the structure and actions of animal cells decisively shaped all of his other thinking and Weltanschauung. He came to believe that just as cells behaved according to the dictates of natural laws that could be discovered and then manipulated, society and the state could be investigated, understood, and regulated. Following this "cell theory" of the state, Virchow believed that society must, "be constructed according to natural laws and the scientist should become a legislator."¹⁵ Virchow followed his own line of thinking to the end; he embarked on a political career to go along with his continued research interests. He thus helped to shape and extend the entrance of scientific and medical knowledge, and values, into the public arena.

Another important proselytizer of nineteenth century science, and an advocate of employing its insights in the crafting of social policy, was Ernst Haeckel. Haeckel, one of the most important scientists of his generation, served as the primary advocate and promoter of "Darwinian" ideas to

the German public. However, the variety of Darwinism that Haeckel offered to his students in his post as a professor at the University of Jena, and to the public through his well attended public lectures, was of a sort unfamiliar to Darwin himself. Haeckel chose not to emphasize the most distinctive and controversial component of Darwin's theory--the idea of natural selection.

According to Darwin, speciation, or variation in species, is the result of purely random events and occurrences that are a function of the environment in which a particular species lives; and, since no one or thing is in control of the natural world, speciation is not directed by the individual itself, but is purely a result of chance--a number of individuals within a species just happen to have the requisite characteristics which allow them to adapt to a changing environment, others do not. Thus, those who are, in effect, in the right place at the right time survive, all others perish. Darwin's theory of evolution thus places the onus of its explanatory weight on chance, random occurrence, events beyond the control of individual actors within a species. Most importantly, this lack of control and exposure to the vagaries of Nature holds for all creatures and organisms in Nature, including humans. It was the idea that change in Nature occurred without the possibility of control or direction by any force, human or divine, that the scientific community met with scorn and concern. Ernst Haeckel was no exception.

Haeckel and many of his fellows in the German scientific and medical communities saw Darwin's theory as important and opening up new avenues of inquiry; however, like the general public and religious leaders, they were uncomfortable with the idea of humans and higher animals being unable to influence their own destiny. Haeckel argued that Darwin had improperly, or too readily, accepted conflict between species as the primary agent of evolutionary change. Rather, he argued, one could see as much cooperation within species(although not necessarily between different species) as conflict. Weindling proposes that Haeckel and his supporters viewed Darwin's theory in this way because they recognized the fruits of conflict in their own society and sought to use biology and biological concepts not simply as a means of explaining conflict, but rather to ameliorate it. So it should not be surprising that German Darwinists, like Haeckel, adapted the master's evolutionary theories to fit with their own reading of society and its requirements.

Thus, German Darwinism was a fusion of Darwin's notion of conflict and environment as important components of existence, but tempered by the doctrines of Jean Baptiste Lamarck which argued for species directed adaptation. Haeckel was especially attracted to such ideas because they allowed him to infuse evolutionary theory with the breakthroughs that Virchow and others were making in cell biology; and, they enabled him to craft a coherent

Weltanschauung that had an ostensibly materialistic and scientific, rather than metaphysical, foundation. According to Bowler:

Haeckel welcomed Darwin's materialism because it allowed him to argue that the relations between species are the result of a natural process, not a metaphysical archetypal pattern. But his own approach blended natural selection with generous helpings of Lamarckism and the transcendental morphology of Goethe. To the extent that Haeckel accepted a role for adaptation, he tended to stress 'direct adaptation' brought about by the effects of habit, that is, simple Lamarckism.¹⁶

For my purposes Haeckel's program and personality are very significant. Because his personality was so charismatic and he came to exert such a profound influence on students and public audiences alike, he served as a transmitter of ideas that helped to do at least two important things: 1.) He helped to greatly increase the public perception of scientists as developing not just fantastic theories, but revolutionary ideas that had practical applications. In short, through the efforts of Haeckel and others it appeared that science could help to solve the many and difficult problems that the Industrial Revolution had spawned. 2.) Haeckel's prescription for society was a change in habits and lifestyle that would help to influence and positively create better human organisms. Thus, it is not too great a stretch to link Haeckel with the more specific programs of the medical men for social hygiene and practices that would improve the health of the nation as

a whole.¹⁷

In fact, Haeckel became a vigorous promoter of his variety of Darwinism for just such a purpose. Following the creation of a united Germany in 1871, Haeckel contended that his biological studies had revealed that evolution, far from promoting conflict and discord, was a process of organization and integration. He ". . . suggested that study of cellular organisms proved the existence of a natural religion based on duty, division of labor and the subordination of egoism to the social whole. . . The evolution of social instincts made it possible for the sense of duty to arise in higher organisms. Each citizen was a cell in the social organism. At the same time Haeckel took a stand against socialist materialism. Darwinism stood for order, differentiation and specialization in contrast to socialist egalitarianism."¹⁸

Although Haeckel's speculations were generally disproved in the laboratory and in the field by the end of the century, he continued to adhere to and enunciate his views. And he continued to attract a wide public following. Haeckel's success in "biologizing" social and political issues led, "other converts to biological values [to] promote concepts of individual and national health as in campaigns against alcohol, or for school education."¹⁹ Through the Monist League and its various journals, Haeckel's ideas helped to inculcate authoritarian attitudes and policies within the membership of the medical

and scientific communities. They began to see themselves as an elite that could use their knowledge to lead the nation out of the morass of the modern, industrial world-- or at least provide an antidote to its many perceived ills.

Haeckel's brand of Darwinism allegedly provided,

. . . an objective basis for nationalism and as an ideology of social integration. The centrality of biology in national political culture arose from the expectation that if one could understand the basic developmental laws for such primitive organisms as the Gastrea or the first germs of mental life in cell souls, then laws for higher and more complex mental and social organisms could be ascertained. Haeckel's monism resisted reduction to the categories of technological efficiency and mechanization, as monists envisaged a humane and civilized Kulturstaat. Haeckel's importance as a Darwinian demagogue lay in the shift away from party political activism to an organicist vision of a reformed society through applying in such areas as education and the anti-alcohol campaign. As the new breed of thrusting professionals in medicine, imbibed such biology, they also absorbed positivistic formulations of social concepts and a sense of mission to prescribe measures for the health of the social organism and future generations. Scientific positivism replaced civic freedoms.²⁰

And, one might add, greatly enhanced the promotion of physical development and sports. Drawing upon their knowledge of cellular biology and their cellular theories of the relationship between the individual and the state, the teachings of Haeckel and like-minded scientists and physicians led to the belief that exercise and sports could improve the health and performance of the individual-- and by extension of the larger society as well. Such

developments in biology and medicine were further bolstered by new theories from physics and the burgeoning discipline of psychology.

In physics, theories of energy were developed and then extended to other spheres-- especially psychology-- during the nineteenth and into the twentieth-centuries. In turn, the speculations of physicists and psychologists served as support for those doctors and scientists who sought to promote sports and exercise as a means of addressing the physical and social ills of Germany.

The most important and influential breakthroughs in physics during the nineteenth century were the discovery of the law of the conservation of energy and the discovery of the law of inertia. The former was the work of Hermann von Helmholtz; the latter of Rudolf Clausius. Each idea had a significant impact on research in all of the other sciences, but especially in biology and psychology. In turn, as the ideas of Helmholtz and Clausius were filtered through biology and psychology, they came to have an important role in shaping attitudes toward sports and exercise and their role in German life.

Of all the scientific innovators of the nineteenth century who cast a long shadow over German society and culture in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, one of the least mentioned and understood is Hermann von Helmholtz. In 1847, Helmholtz convincingly synthesized the theories of

motion developed by Issac Newton into an,

. . . overarching theory of the conservation of energy, which held that there was a single, indestructible, and infinitely transformable energy basic to all nature. Motion presupposed the existence of this energy as a primordial cause (Ursache) that could explain the dynamic properties of matter. Kraft[energy] then became an ontological concept basic to all matter and integral to the explanation of all mechanical causes.²¹

In short, Helmholtz posited that energy in nature was never created nor destroyed, rather it was recycled-- it merely changed its character or form. The conclusion that followed from such a notion was that, "The cosmos was essentially a system of production whose product was the universal Kraft[energy] necessary to power the engines of nature and society, a vast and protean reservoir of labor power awaiting conversion to work."²² Therefore, the job of scientists and engineers(and politicians) was to create and mobilize systems or organizations that could tap into this realm of primordial energy to better organize and transfer labor power, or energy, and utilize it for the good of society. As Helmholtz stated: "We cannot create any labor power for human purposes but can only appropriate it out of the great general storehouse of nature."²³

Helmholtz was immediately hailed as a genius. His work greatly influenced the generation of scientists that followed him, especially Emil DuBois-Reymond and Carl Ludwig-- pioneers in cell biology. From Helmholtz, they and others came to view the body as a field of forces or

energies that could be developed and exploited to increase the labor power and performance of the human organism.

However, shortly after Helmholtz's path breaking insight, another physicist, Rudolf Clausius, discovered that the principle of the conservation of energy was more complicated and had far less sanguine implications than Helmholtz had supposed. Clausius discovered the second law of thermodynamics, or entropy. The law of entropy states that, . . . "in any isolated system the transfer of energy from a warmer to a colder body is accompanied by a decrease in total available energy."²⁴ As a result, the optimism that had been fostered by Helmholtz's insight, was tempered by Clausius's discovery that Nature was not a perfect system of circulating energy and that, ". . . there was also an inevitable dissipation of force, that only a fraction of the total existing energy is available for conversion and that 'the entropy of the universe tends to a maximum.'"²⁵ Such a notion contributed directly to a growing pessimism among many at the turn of the century-- leading to the development of the concept of degeneration. Degeneration was the belief, ostensibly supported by scientific evidence, that human bodies, societies, and Western civilization in general, were in steep and irreversible decline. It was a concept that seemed to many to explain the chaos and disorder that European societies were undergoing at the turn of the century. And since it was such a general idea and had the theoretical backing of many within the scientific

community, it was given a great deal of credence amongst the general public.

The result was a dramatic tug-of-war between competing scientific and social theories-- each with strong scientific support. An interesting dialectic was revealed in science and worked out in a competition of social, economic, and political theories: on the one hand, many business people and industrialists continued to espouse an idea of progressive liberalism fueled by the ideas of progress introduced during the Enlightenment and justified by scientific breakthroughs built on Helmholtz's theory of the conservation of energy. On the other hand, the disciples of Clausius developed the theory of degeneration and maintained that progress was illusory, or at best, a mere blip on the screen in a system that was inevitably tending toward long term decline and decay.

It was in the face of such a paradox that scientists wrestled with a new phenomenon of the industrial age-- fatigue. Scientists and doctors began to report increasing instances of general bodily and mental fatigue brought on either by overwork or over-stimulation. Some scientists and doctors, following the Helmholtzian line, argued that what was necessary was a new model of the human being as homo faber, or "working human". The model would seek to penetrate into the origins of fatigue and hopefully ameliorate it by tapping into the reservoir of energy that existed in Nature. A vast array of new disciplines

concerned with the study and improvement of labor, bodily performance, and social productivity-- social statistics, social medicine and hygiene, and a science of work emerged.

Through such disciplines, around 1890 scientists and doctors began to concoct a new approach to issues of fatigue. Building on the foundations set by Helmholtz, the first breakthroughs in the study of fatigue occurred in Italy through the research of Angelo Mosso.²⁶ Mosso's lead was then followed by Kronecker in Germany. Mosso, Kronecker and their fellow researchers determined that fatigue was a product of the modern, urban environment. To defeat or diminish the deleterious effects of modern living, and reduce or eradicate fatigue, the researchers sought a vaccine for fatigue. Thwarted in that effort, they turned to the investigation of stimulants that could help to ward off fatigue and improve work performance.²⁷ It is no coincidence that many of these stimulant studies were done using athletes. They attempted to measure how caffeine, alcohol, strychnine, and other substances influenced athletic performance. For the most part these studies did add to the expanding knowledge of the body and its processes, but none uncovered a panacea that would eliminate fatigue and unleash inexhaustible energy and dramatically improve long term bodily performance.

Emil Kraepelin led psychologists in a similar direction at the University of Heidelberg.²⁸ Beginning in 1900,

Kraepelin focused on the individual variability of fatigue and the factors that contributed to it. He especially sought to understand the impact of fatigue on work performance. In his studies, Kraepelin developed an elitist attitude toward the problem of performance. Rabinbach contends that Kraepelin wanted to develop a system for evaluating fatigue so that the " ' unsuitable' would be left behind while the energies of the more capable could develop and be enriched 'so that the path would be open to a new species of men capable of performance.'"²⁹ Such a notion has ominous implications, especially considering the growing clamor of the social Darwinists, such as Haeckel, and their application of allegedly scientific knowledge toward insupportable doctrines of racial competition and superiority.

Another school of thought that stemmed from fatigue research was energetics. Rabinbach asserts that, "Energy conservation became the Continental answer to the Darwinian or Spencerian visions of society propelled by the natural laws of conflict and struggle."³⁰ Rather than surrender to the inevitable battle for survival in which someone was bound to suffer defeat and loss, the energeticists suggested the possibility that some sort of balance or equilibrium might be established between the desire for continued economic expansion and the real need for some measure of social justice and equality.³¹ The marketplace and its savage competition, in short, might not necessarily mark the

abandonment of concern for one's fellows and one might still preserve some semblance of social obligation and unity.

The champion of energetics in Germany was Wilhlem Ostwald. For him, "all of creation(and society) was governed by the 'laws of energy'"³² Ostwald, a Nobel prize winner in chemistry and a member of Haeckel's "Monist League", sought to implement the laws of energy to advance social progress. He maintained that, "All progress can thus be measured by the efficiency of energy conversion, by the elimination of waste, and by the coordination of energies to maximum efficiency."³³ Thus Ostwald maintained that a properly organized society could maximize its output of energy and achieve great productivity and unity of purpose. It is easy to see how Ostwald's ideas might be readily turned to political ends-- and not necessarily democratic ones at that.

In Germany the scientific crusade against fatigue and for the cultivation of individual and national Kraft(energy or strength) often adopted a nationalist agenda; thus, systems of energy cultivation or transmission appeared designed to cultivate or harness the Kraft of the individual and direct it toward a common, national aim. As a result, physics and psychology were often far from objective and disinterested disciplines-- they carried values and ideas permeated with political influences and destined to have political and social implications.

In the realm of sports and exercise, the issues raised

above led many physicians to conclude that participation in sports offered positive and lasting benefits to the individual and society at large. The formal organization of physicians interested in the medical and scientific implications of sports began to proceed apace. Initially, physicians who had played sports began to organize themselves to promote the collection of laboratory knowledge on sports and to preserve it from its harshest medical critics.

One of the leaders in the effort to promote the scientific and medical study of sports was Dr. Arthur Mallwitz. Mallwitz wrote his dissertation on sports, and continued to be a strong advocate for the sports and exercise programs of the day. In 1908, he published an influential treatise titled, Körperliche Hochleistungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des olympischen Sports (Physical High Performance with Particular Consideration of Olympic Sports).³⁴ He also helped to promote sports medical issues at the International Hygiene Exposition in Dresden in 1911. The following year Mallwitz helped organize the first official international sports medicine conference at Oberhof/Thüringen. Finally, in 1919 Mallwitz and August Bier taught the first university course on sports medicine, "The Hygiene of Sports and Performance."³⁵ He was typical of the dedicated physicians who sought to promote the hygienic and health benefits of sports for the individual and society.

The growing extent of such interests in the medical community was demonstrated with the publication of a two volume study on the state of medical research regarding the relationship between sports, exercise, and the operations of the mind and body. S. Weissbein's Hygiene des Sports offers an extensive collection of papers dedicated to the medical discussion of all aspects of sports and exercise. In addition, the two-volume work has been undiscovered or neglected as a resource by historians of sports. As a result, a careful examination of the types of discussion regarding sports and exercise that doctors were involved in, and the conclusions that they reached, is necessary. By examining the arguments and issues doctors advanced in Weissbein's texts a sense of the growing sentiment of the medical community that sports and exercise were an important agent in the improvement of individual and national health can be ascertained. Armed with such conclusions, many doctors and scientists in Germany came asserted that overturning the harmful effects of modern industrial society in Germany could be greatly enhanced through the cultivation of a regular regimen of sports and exercise.

Volume one begins with a highly laudatory introductory paragraph regarding the value of sports and their positive contribution to health. Weissbein's authors then turned to a specific discussion of the relationship between sports and the various components of the body's systems. Each of the

physicians considered the impact of sports on bodily hygiene, and the particular advantages and dangers of a variety of sports with regard to the proper maintenance of health and fitness.

The first article I will consider from volume I of Hygiene des Sports was by Professor Dr. Arnold Durig of Vienna. Durig's contribution was entitled, "Foundations of Metabolic and Energy Turnover in Sports."³⁶ In his article, Durig considered a number of the issues that preoccupied the scientists discussed earlier, and he continually employed the same images and symbols-- most notably the emphasis on energy and the notion of the male body as a machine.

Durig allied himself with the concerns of the fatigue researchers when he stated that, "The foundation of almost every sport is in work; that is, each sportsman tries to direct his performance, be it bicyclist, rower, or hiker, that is, the sportsman tries to marshal natural forces to his service, just like a balloon rises in the air, and a sail seeks to capture a breeze, or a motor car moves over the earth."³⁷ In attempting to direct their performance, athletes, according to Durig, are much like physicists or engineers who seek to shape their material in the best manner possible so that they can achieve their objectives. Like them, the sportsman is ". . . striving in his work to attain the best performance that his body will allow. He applies the same zeal as the engineer to building his organism and increasing his performance, striving for the

reduction of wear and the perfection of quality in his work."³⁸ The preceding decade's investigations into the realm of work, Durig maintained, provided a secure base for further inquiry.

Durig next considered the utility of the machine metaphor in the investigation of animal processes during work. Durig found that, for the most part, one can relate humans and machines through the performance of work-- or more succinctly, "Machines like men, perform work."³⁹ In addition, in both machines and humans a process of oxidation takes place-- fuel is introduced and burned to produce, or release, energy. And in each case the relationship between energy consumed and work performed is not in perfect equilibrium since the oxidation process produces heat, which is lost, and thus an element of inefficiency is present in each type of "motor".⁴⁰ In the remainder of the article Durig continued to utilize the human/machine analogy and revealed the assumptions discussed previously with regard to Helmholtz and Clausius-- only now their ideas are being related to sports and an analysis of the contribution or diminution of sports to the production and enhancement of performance. Thus, the athlete is used as a means of measuring the labor capacities of the human body. Sports, then, entered into and continued to play an important part in this most crucial scientific debate.

After his initial development of the human/machine analogy, Durig turned to a detailed description of his

research into the metabolic performance, and energy requirements, of those engaged in high performance sports and athletic pursuits-- such as bicycling and mountain climbing.⁴¹ Durig measured the amount of fuel provided through food intake(using the caloric scale developed by another German physiologist Ludwig Max Rubner) and then measured the amount of work performed through an analysis of the respiratory patterns of the participants and the amount of estimated heat that was lost during exercise. The result was an attempt to determine an economy of energy for the body that would help to hasten the development of a more efficient strategy for cultivating human energy and labor.

In addition to furthering that goal, Durig determined which types of fuel-- carbohydrates, fats, or proteins-- provided the most efficient means of powering the body. To test his own hypotheses and results, Durig introduced evidence from other physiological studies concerned with the measurement of work performance through physical activity and sports.

Finally, Durig considered the role of stimulants on work performance. Most notably he found that alcohol was not a suitable stimulant and retarded work performance in almost every instance.⁴²

Thus, Durig's study married the concerns of the researchers who built upon the ideas of Helmholtz and those who sought to study and promote sports and exercise as an area of valuable physiological research. He used Helmholtz's

model of the conservation of energy in constructing his research plan. He also sought to find a way to realize, in practical terms, the sort of efficient economy of energy implied by Helmholtz's first law of thermodynamics. In addition, Durig's study indicates his concern for a practical result from his laboratory and theoretical research. He clearly searched for an antidote to the crisis of fatigue and performance that he and his peers saw as plaguing their society; the Helmholtzian model provided the guide that he followed.

The physicians who followed Durig in volume one of Weissbein's text echoed his endorsement of sports as a means to the improvement and maintenance of health and performance. In "The influence of Sports on the Muscular System, the Skeletal System, and the Joints", Dr. A. Hoffa of Berlin examined the effects of participation in sports on several of the body's other important systems.⁴³ In his introductory comments, Hoffa provided some interesting insights into the contemporary view of sports and the place of sports in the popular hygiene movement.

Hoffa contended that sports, despite being a much ballyhooed part of modern society, had heretofore received little systematic scientific attention. As a result, much of what passed for factual information regarding the role of sports in maintaining and improving bodily health was specious. Proponents of sports often overstated the benefits of sports and exercise, Hoffa counseled, while opponents

greatly exaggerated the possible negative consequences of the same. He found the popular press largely at fault for spreading misinformation regarding sports' benefits, and possible dangers, to health.⁴⁴ Sounding a hopeful note, however, he argued that since sports were such a growing social phenomenon they were becoming the concern of doctors and clinicians as part of an examination of the general ills of modern society and their possible remedies.⁴⁵

Thus, Hoffa's article reaffirmed the growing interest in, and devotion to, sports in Germany after the turn of the century. As Weindling suggests, physicians were seeking to claim control of the hygienic movement and responsibility for public health. One of the most visible and viable means for doing so, as these doctors' testimony affirms, was by allying themselves with the growing popular influence of sports. It is not improper to infer that the physicians' motives were mixed; they sought to promote health through their advocacy of sports, but they also sought to promote and extend their control over the public body and its health. In the realm of sports this was largely a popular and welcome intrusion; since not only did it increase the reach of science and medicine into society, it also gave a seal of approval, a stamp of legitimacy, to the sports movement as a whole.

Hoffa certainly met sports with a firm embrace. Like his fellows in the remainder of the volume, he cautioned against an excessive zeal in the pursuit of sports and

exercise of any stripe. Moderation was their clarion call. However, he wanted to clearly transmit a message to the public of the general safety, and indeed, desirability, of sportive pursuits. In discussing the outward appearance of the male athletes who came to his clinic, Hoffa maintained that a large percentage were, ". . . well proportioned and have beautifully developed bodies."⁴⁶

Hoffa and his fellow physicians constantly reiterated not only the physical benefits of sports, but also their enhancement of mental and spiritual faculties as well. Indeed, Hoffa goes so far as to claim that exercise was necessary to insure proper mental function.⁴⁷ The aim of every individual, he argued, should be to strike a balance between mental and physical activity. Not, he contended, that one must devote equal time to each area; rather, he counseled that one should find a balance between maximum mental effort and "minimal bodily maintenance activity."⁴⁸ The result would be, "general physical and mental well being and acuity."⁴⁹

After these affirmations of the value of sports and the importance of securing a fit body for both physical and mental tasks, Hoffa turned to perhaps the most pressing question of a person who wished to promote exercise and sports as a means to improving individual and public hygiene: How could the physician, and society, develop and encourage a life-long devotion to exercise as a means to good health? His response was to call for the creation of

youth sports and fitness programs. Hoffa argued that all citizens(he does not specify male or female) should begin an exercise program during their youth and learn to take care of their bodies. All must, he claimed, make time to exercise-- if only for a few minutes each day.⁵⁰ He argued that exercise needed to become as familiar and regular a part of peoples' lives as taking a few minutes out of their busy day to read the newspaper.

But are the young people(presumably men) of Germany to embark on this new lifestyle on their own? Hoffa argued that it is up to the adults and officials of the country to set an example that young people would embrace and emulate. He concluded this part of his article by restating his claim that, ". . . sports are the best means of creating an all-around harmonious and well-built body that will also serve to foster a superior intellectual culture and physically fit people in the future."⁵¹ Thus sports were seen by Hoffa as having not just an immediate, but a long term impact, on popular health and fitness.

In the remainder of his article, Hoffa continued to offer important insights into the nature of sports and their relationship with the medical community. To further bolster his support of sports, Hoffa maintained that they have practical therapeutic value as well. He suggested that physicians might prescribe sports and exercise to their patients as a way of recovering from injury. Light exercise would, he maintained, help to speed the healing and recovery

of damaged joints and muscles.⁵² Not only that, he maintained that exercise and sports could help to prevent injury in the first place by strengthening muscles, bones, and joints. Finally, sports and exercise could also increase joint flexibility which also helped to prevent injuries.⁵³ Clearly, Hoffa recommended that his peers view exercise and sports as more than fun and games; he advocated that they become as much a part of the physicians' presecryptives as drugs and other forms of therapy.

In the final section of his article, Hoffa focused on particular sports and their strengths and weaknesses with regard to their bodily impacts and effect on men's health. He covered a wide variety of sports, from Turnen to track and field; his greatest concern, which should come as no great surprise at this point, was the balanced and harmonious development of the body. Exercises that effected the body and its systems most widely and generally were given greater endorsement by Hoffa than others. Reaffirming what many saw as the classical ideal of a balanced and unified development of mind and body, Hoffa recommended the ancient sports of throwing the discus, the hammer, and tossing weighted wooden clubs. He also advocated the pursuit of the ancient pentathlon. Hoffa believed that they were the most desirable sports because they employed the most muscle groups at one time and because they were, he claimed, the most aesthetically beautiful.⁵⁴ Such an admission was important, for it fed into conceptions of beauty, manliness,

and the value placed on notions of balance, harmony, and unity that were then current in Germany. It is a concern, or preoccupation, that will appear in most of the articles in Weissbein's two volumes-- and in the larger culture and society as well.⁵⁵

Sports or activities that did not promote such aesthetic and ethical values were rejected by Hoffa as physically, as well as morally, destructive. The sole example of a destructive pursuit in Hoffa's article was billiards. He deemed billiards nefarious because it not only discouraged harmonious development of the body and mind, but also because of the milieu in which it took place. The dangers of the billiard parlor-- tobacco smoking, drinking alcoholic beverages, and being cooped up in close quarters, made it completely unacceptable from a medical (and social) perspective.⁵⁶

Thus, sports, as Hoffa readily admitted and advocated, served as a means of development and integration for not only individuals, but for German society as a whole. Hoffa made a claim that heretofore the Turnvereine had tried to reserve solely for themselves: that their exercises and activities transcended physical exercise and served even higher and more noble purposes-- the attainment of national, social, and racial unity. As doctors and scientists began to support a similar claim for sports, sports received an important stamp of approval. In effect, sports began to transcend their utility for establishing bodily health and

began to be considered as capable of fostering national health-- and not just in the bodily realm, but also in the psychic and spiritual realms.

In the remaining articles of volume one, physicians continued to examine various bodily systems and offered their assessments of the role of sports in their maintenance and function. At the same time, they also revealed important values and ideas of the larger society and culture. A fine example is the article, "Skin and Sport" by Dr. P.G. Unna of Hamburg.⁵⁷

Unna proposed that a rediscovery of the ancient emphasis on external beauty and the care of the skin was absolutely essential for the individual and German society as a whole.⁵⁸ Again, the experience and practices of the ancient world served as the baseline by which all other experience was measured. This is an indication of the degree of disenchantment with the modern world and what it stood for at the turn of the century in Germany. The romanticizing of the ancient world was but one way by which intellectuals, and in this case medical men, expressed their concern over the course of modern society and its future.

Unna also injected an elitist note. He claimed that the reason why skin problems and skin care had come to the fore was the discovery of sports and exercise by the upper classes in Germany and Europe.⁵⁹ The skin rashes and discomforts that accompanied the use of improper clothing,

ventilation, and other causes led the wealthy to seek medical attention, and thus brought physicians into yet another area of personal hygiene.

For Unna, the skin was the mirror of the soul-- or at least, the most prominent indicator of an individual's overall health. He maintained that the skin revealed the health and condition of the kidneys, lungs, and intestines.⁶⁰ Such an emphasis on the appearance was indicative of the continuing influence of physiognomy and the notion that such apparent features are indeed an indication of character, moral rectitude, health or fitness.

Finally, Unna spent a great deal of time extolling the virtues of outdoor exercise and exposure of the body to sunlight. He deemed sunlight to be extremely therapeutic and beneficial to the entire body.⁶¹ Certainly outdoor exercise, as Unna also suggested, was an important antidote to the overcrowded work and living conditions in the cities of Germany. However, Unna's enthusiasm smacks of sun worship rather than mere medical advice. Such extremes were not foreign to the medical and pseudo-medical community, nor to the sporting public. In either case, such emphasis on a "back to Nature" movement suggests a further reaction to the advent of urban, industrial society and its by-products. For Unna and many others, outdoor exercise, sports in the fresh air, and exposure to sunlight served as a means of rejuvenating the body and the spirit in the mode of their models, the ancient Greeks, Romans, and the pre-civilized

Germanic tribes.

One such back to Nature advocate was Prof. Dr. Willibald Gebhardt. In a two part article that appeared in the sports weekly, Sport im Bild, entitled, "Light is Life", Gebhardt claimed that sports were intimately connected to the ancient festivals that welcomed in the spring and the sun.⁶² Gebhardt argued that the youth of Germany needed to follow the ancient example and cultivate an interest in and dedication to, ". . . fresh, joyous, sunny sports."⁶³ He presented his discussion regarding the fundamental relationship between sunlight and human beings in the following manner: "We men are creatures of the sun just like the plants. They absolutely require light for their existence; the light nourishes the plants and we take our nourishment from the plants. We are, in a manner of speaking, plant parasites."⁶⁴ Thus, the sun and light are necessary for human existence and for the attainment of a healthy body and mind. After an extended paeon to the virtues of exposure to the sun, Gebhardt concluded with a call to the outdoors: "How wonderful is a fresh air bath or an occasional sun bath!"⁶⁵

The further benefits of Gebhardt's prescription were described in a second article in Sport im Bild the following week. Gebhardt claimed that not only sunbathing, but exposing the body to electric lights would enhance one's health. He claimed that he and other distinguished researchers like, "Downes, Arloing, Roux, Geisler,

Buchner"(all prominent physiologists), had studied the effects of light on a variety of diseases(tuberculosis, cholera, diphtheria and others) and had found that it acted as a disinfectant.⁶⁶ Regarding the body, he argued, " The light rays penetrate deeply into the tissues and 'wash' every corner of the body 'out.'"⁶⁷ He concluded that all practitioners of sports should avail themselves of sun bathing and exposure of the body to fresh air because it would eliminate toxins that had been built up in the body and thereby enhance strength.⁶⁸

Thus, some members of the medical community connected sports to their "scientific" pursuits and saw them as an integral part of their research programs and ultimate hygienic prescriptions. Also, Gebhardt's articles reinforced the notion that some scientists who were advocates of sports were also connecting it to a set of ideas that were radical in the extreme. Such studies pointed toward a dramatic return to an almost pagan variety of sun worship-- albeit wrapped in the garb of science to grant it legitimacy and to garner a popular audience. Similar sentiments, though never so directly expressed, appear and reappear in the pages of Weissbein's two volumes.

For the most part however, the physicians appearing in Weissbein's texts were interested more directly in sports and their effects on the body and mind. One of the most intriguing is that of Dr. A. Eulenberg who wrote on "Sport and the Nervous System."⁶⁹

In his article, Eulenberg reinforced several of the themes already mentioned. He provided further support for the connection between sports and performance first discussed by Hoffa. Eulenberg contended that training is an ideal way to improve performance; and, "only in this way can record results be attained with the least amount of time and effort."⁷⁰ And not only could training help to improve athletic performance, but it also went beyond the mere development and exercise of muscles. For Eulenberg, sports at a high level served to develop and train the nerves and mind as well. Sports became, in effect, a type of mental gymnastics.⁷¹

Before concluding with an enthusiastic endorsement of sports for their hygienic value, Eulenberg mentioned that the tactics and strategies required for success in sporting competition help to expand the athlete's mental capacities as well-- and not just for male athletes. Eulenberg was a great supporter of women's participation in sports. He maintained that the positive effects of sports for men are just as valid and applicable to women. He pronounced sports to be safe and good for the cultivation of a woman's physical and mental health.⁷² Notably, Eulenberg's statements in direct, open, support of women's participation in exercise and sports were the first to appear in the Weissbein volumes. Clearly most of the physicians who contributed either tacitly accepted that the effects of sports and exercise on women's bodies reflected those of

men-- thereby denying any need to recognize women's bodies as autonomous and worthy of study for their own sake-- or they failed to consider the health needs of women altogether. On the other hand, Eulenberg's arguments in favor of sports and exercise for women(supported by some of his colleagues; see below) marked a new departure and attitude in the understanding of the relationship between women, sports, and health.

The benefits of sports on yet another bodily system were considered by Dr. G.F. Nicholai of Berlin.⁷³ Nicholai considered the impacts of sports on the sensory organs and found that sports could significantly improve the performance of the body's sensory apparatus.

In part, Nicholai echoed the themes of earlier doctors that the modern world represented a new and significant threat to the body and its various systems. He argued that the constant exposure to loud noises that people encountered in the cities of modern Germany made it impossible for them to hear and enjoy the sounds of the natural world(notice again the emphasis on Nature and the experience of it as crucial and fundamental). Nicholai unfavorably contrasted the sensory acuity of people in remote and primitive societies with those of the modern metropolis. He argued that when the city dweller entered the natural world it was impossible for him or her to overcome the damaging effects of exposure to the loud and piercing noises of the city: "So through the forest goes the big city dweller, and the forest

is dead to him."⁷⁴ To ameliorate the negative effects of urban living, Nicholai offered sports. He maintained that they could regenerate the sensory organs that had been dulled by city life.

Like many of his colleagues, Nicholai offered a paean to the ancients and their ability to combine a healthy respect for the physical requirements of the body and the simultaneous development of the mind. Clearly the notion of a distant past that was far superior to the modern world was reflected here. Such comments served as one more slap at the modern city and all that it had come to represent.⁷⁵

The single most important organ that preoccupied physicians and others involved in the practice and cultivation of sports was the heart. In many of the articles that appeared in Weissbein's two volumes the athlete's heart was mentioned as an organ that had to be carefully monitored by the physician. As mentioned previously, there was a general concern that athletes and individuals who engaged in sporting activities would go beyond a moderate approach to exercise and sports and overexert the body and its systems. Such a concern was especially apparent with regard to the heart. Doctors and physiologists identified a phenomenon that they labelled, "Athlete's Heart." Many athletes who engaged in prolonged and vigorous training not only strengthened and increased the size of their biceps, triceps, quadriceps and hamstrings, but also the body's most important muscle, the

heart. The result was an "enlarged heart", whose effects on the functioning of the heart and body were largely unknown. Understandably, the continual refrain of the medical community was to engage in sports and exercise with moderation. By so doing, doctors hoped to forestall a dangerous increase in the mass of the heart muscle, while at the same time retaining the demonstrated benefits of physical activity.

In Weissbein's volume I, a Dr. Goldschneider discussed the effects of sports on the heart and its functions.⁷⁶ He too utilized the machine model in his description of the body's operation, claiming that the heart was like a machine that would continue to perform well and completely as long as there was enough material provided to keep it from wearing down.⁷⁷ He recognized that the heart was indeed a muscle and like other muscles it could be trained and through training strengthened to meet the body's increased demands.⁷⁸ Thus, "each increase in work performance for a healthy heart is at the same time an exercise and a strengthening."⁷⁹

Goldschneider then turned to a discussion of sports and their role in producing a healthy or unhealthy heart. He argued that sports stimulate the body to greater activity and force it to perform work, but at the same time, "the exercise of the heart and blood vessels keeps the entire body young and fresh."⁸⁰ For the heart, Goldschneider maintained that such a goal was extremely desirable.

Sports, ". . . through the favorable influence on the total metabolism, . . . proves to be a prophylactic against arteriosclerosis."⁸¹

As far as overexertion of the heart was concerned, Goldschneider realized that it was a concern, but not so much for normally healthy and active people; rather, it was especially problematic for those who already possessed weak hearts or some other medical condition.⁸² Regarding, "Athlete's heart," Goldschneider recognized the phenomenon, but did not believe it to be automatically harmful or dangerous; in fact, he suggested that it might be beneficial in many cases.⁸³ Just to be prudent, Goldschneider adopted the prevailing opinion and counseled his readers to pursue sports and exercise in moderation.⁸⁴

Like the circulatory system, the respiratory system garnered a great deal of attention by the physicians in the Weissbein volumes. In volume I, Dr. A. Moeller of Berlin examined the relationship between sports and the respiratory system, largely echoing the themes and concerns of the previous essays-- concern over the impacts of modern urban life on the human body, advocacy of exercise as an antidote to those ills, and the assertion that exercise and its benefits should be made available to all-- men, women, and children.⁸⁵

Moeller firmly fixed the modern, urban environment in his sights as a significant cause of respiratory problems and illness. He contended that city dwellers(of all classes

and genders) confined in shops, offices, and behind their desks-- and especially children sitting behind "bacteria infested desks" were particularly at risk for contracting respiratory diseases. He maintained that the lungs were especially susceptible to illness and that, "Most city dwellers neglect their lungs in the most blatant way."⁸⁶ In addition, those city folk who did not exercise were also in danger of losing their lung capacity or fitness. Their sedentary occupations and lifestyles did not allow for the proper exercise of the lungs in their day to day affairs. According to Moeller, "...each organ not employed following the principles of physiology will then waste away."⁸⁷ Further, he contended that lack of exercise would negatively impact not only the lungs, but the entire body and hinder its development in children.

Moeller's prescription for proper respiratory health was for men who sat at their desks all day and women who engaged in housework and other domestic duties, to get outside and exercise in the fresh air-- or at least exercise.⁸⁸ Moeller lamented the past "moral prejudice or prudery, especially against athletic activity for women. . . although that began to change in the last decade. One has come to understand that it is in the interest of the coming generation, women as well, to get fresh air and exercise the lungs in the various sports such as Turnen, exercising with dumb-bells, fencing, rowing, riding, etc."⁸⁹ Sports were invaluable in this regard according to Moeller, because they

encouraged deep breathing and complete exercise of the lungs. He maintained that such activities were especially necessary for "anemic women."⁹⁰

In keeping with his progressive stance on exercise and the importance of sports for women and their health, Moeller also recommended that girls should be allowed to shed their dresses and don clothes that would allow them the freedom to fully move and exercise their bodies. In fact, Moeller argued that they should be allowed to fully engage in the same running, jumping, and strenuous play as boys.⁹¹ The result, Moeller argued, would be healthier children and the prevention of illness.⁹²

Moeller also offered similar advice to those over fifty years of age. Advancing age should not mean a decrease in physical activity according to Moeller. Exercise, he offered, not only helped respiratory function, but could also (echoing Goldschneider above) help in the prevention of arteriosclerosis.⁹³

To Moeller, the type of sport one engaged in was really a function of individual preference. However, he counseled that one should consult one's physician before beginning a strenuous exercise regimen and, again, use moderation. He stated that professional athletes often manifested lung illnesses, ". . . which should come as no surprise given the excessive amounts of work that are required for great sports performances."⁹⁴

Moeller then offered a survey of the physiological

research undertaken on the respiratory system and evidence from the laboratory that supported his contention that sports and exercise are crucial in the maintenance of health and fitness. He ended his long article by describing several of the sports that he found were especially good for the lungs. He also advised that bicyclists especially, should be sure to breathe through the nose to prevent the inhalation of bacteria that could cause infection or illness. As always, moderation was offered as the proper approach to sports and exercise. For example, Moeller suggested a top speed of 15 kilometers per hour for bicyclists.⁹⁵

Moderation was also the primary message for women who wanted to participate in exercise and sporting activity. In his essay, "On Sport and Womens' Illnesses", Dr. P. Straßman of Berlin began his comments by noting past opposition to women's undertaking exercise and sporting activities.⁹⁶ He maintained that times were in fact changing: "Without a doubt, the most frequent objection raised against women engaging in athletic exercise was that the abdomen would be damaged, or that ailments would be aggravated by over-exertion brought on by sports. On the other hand, many championed the practice. We see women and girls take to sports and gymnastics with the greatest bodily and mental comfort, and often enough through bodily exercise patients gain great self-confidence and their complaints diminish."⁹⁷ As a result of such positive findings, Straßmann considered

the debate closed. For him, women had already won the right to exercise and play sports, even though, in fact that was far from the case.

Still, Straßmann did recognize that there were some legitimate considerations that needed to be addressed regarding the relationship between womens' health and participation in sports and exercise: "First, can sports help to prevent the development of female illnesses? Secondly, can sports improve female illnesses?"⁹⁸ Along with these two questions, he suggested that physicians should consider what type of sports and exercise were appropriate for women. Finally, Straßmann stated that doctors should evaluate whether there were any circumstances in which women should be dissuaded from engaging in vigorous exercise or sports.

To address these concerns, Straßmann argued that there was a much greater degree of individual variation in the development and action of womens' bodies than was the case in men. Thus, physicians should always be aware, he counseled, of the individual health and condition of their patients and proceed accordingly; he eschewed the prescription of blanket policies or programs for women.⁹⁹

Straßmann consistently maintained that for healthy women exercise offered tremendous benefits and posed no risk. That was especially the case for women who were not pregnant, or those who had experienced an easy delivery if they had already had children. Women who had recently

undergone child birth, or those who had experienced complications in their pregnancy were discouraged from participation in sports and exercise. Finally, women in the midst of their first pregnancy were ordered to refrain from participation in exercise and sports.¹⁰⁰

Like many physicians of his day, Straßmann also believed that women should avoid exercise while menstruating. He claimed that increased concentration of the blood in the uterus required rest and not activity.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, he continued to maintain that sports would help to build the muscles and gynecologists would see positive effects for those women giving birth who had engaged in an exercise program prior to their pregnancy.¹⁰²

Not only was exercise important for proper bodily health and function according to Straßmann, but it also aided the development of a healthy mental outlook-- especially for girls in their developing years. He prescribed fresh air, sunshine, and games like those practiced in the United States and Great Britain for the growing girls of Germany.¹⁰³ Further, he maintained that exercise and sports(if practiced throughout life) would help to preserve energy through the middle years of life-- and help to reduce obesity in women of all ages.¹⁰⁴

The type of sports women engaged in did not greatly concern Straßmann. He mentioned swimming and mountain climbing in the summer months as good forms of activity. Regarding bicycling, which some physicians believed could

damage womens' reproductive organs, Straßmann was unconcerned and supportive. He contended that, ". . . the small shocks that come from bicycle riding are not dangerous. The exercise is just as valuable for the female sex as it is for men."¹⁰⁵

Thus, with the exceptions mentioned above, Straßmann concluded that exercise and sports did not endanger women's health; in fact, sports both improved health and helped to restore it when women were ill.¹⁰⁶

Clearly the physicians in Weissbein's volume recognized the health benefits and hygienic value of sports and exercise for the German public. Their only caveat (one that is still advocated today) was that one engage in exercise and sports in moderation. Beyond that slight caution, they saw sports as benefiting every system of the body-- for both men and women-- and producing positive mental effects as well.

Not surprisingly, a similar degree of concord was evident in the second of Weissbein's volumes on the hygienic value of sports. In volume II, the contributors examined specific sports and evaluated their positive and negative impacts on the body and its health. Again, in every case the physicians found that the positive contributions of exercise and sports to the development of a healthy and vigorous mind and body far outweighed any possible risks.

But before any exercise regimen or sport could be

pursued, it was necessary to decide which one was right and proper for the individual concerned. Dr. Arthur Luerksen of Berlin tackled the issue in his essay, "The Selection of Individual Exercises".¹⁰⁷

The importance of choosing the proper sport or exercise program could not be overestimated according to Luerksen. He held that most people failed to maintain their exercise programs or to pursue their sports long and diligently enough-- and so they quickly lost their health benefits. Luerksen argued that many people begin to exercise or play sports with high hopes, but they soon grew frustrated and gave up because, "the exercises are too strenuous or boring, or because they didn't see enough positive results, or because they were too time consuming."¹⁰⁸ The unfortunate result was that the individual was then unlikely to resume or pursue any exercise or sports whatsoever-- even though they still desired the benefits and strength that could come from exercise.

To avoid such a fate, Luerksen suggested implementing the following criteria when considering a sport or exercise program: motivation, level of desired accomplishment, sex, age, present level of skill and fitness, time and opportunity to train; and the cost of the activity.¹⁰⁹ Once these issues had been considered, then a reasonable exercise program could be established and the objectives set could then more likely be realized.¹¹⁰

Not only did Luerksen maintain that such a prudent and

calculated course should be followed in the selection of a sport or exercise program, he also argued that once exercise was begun it should be pursued in a reasoned and responsible manner. Like his fellows, he advocated moderation in the striving for increased performance and fitness. He noted that it was only natural to seek a beautiful body that was capable of increased performance; however, he cautioned against over development of the body, or becoming "muscle bound". Rather, the beginning athlete should aspire to "the harmonious development of the musculature, as one would develop with home gymnastic programs."¹¹¹ By starting slowly, one could then build a strong foundation for more strenuous and prolonged exercise and sports. Luerksen mentioned two at home exercise regimes in particular, that of J.P. Müller-- a Danish fitness guru whose book, My System, was a long time best seller; and, the exercise equipment and routine of the early bodybuilder and vaudeville showman, Eugen Sandow. In either case, the purpose of exercise and sport was not, again, to build huge muscles. To Luerksen, such muscles were, ". . . all but worthless and even dangerous" because they encouraged people to try to lift more than they should.¹¹²

Luerksen's counseled moderation and dedication as the recipe for athletic success. He mentioned that time was the most important factor in building up the long term health of the body. The longer that one engaged in an exercise program or sport, then the greater and more effective would

be the development of the body and bodily performance. Luerksen maintained that the type of sport or exercise pursued was not so important. One should choose a sport that one enjoyed and found to be fun-- for that too would help in maintaining a healthy and appropriate exercise program.¹¹³

The physicians in Weissbein's second volume also analyzed a variety of individual exercises and sports. One of the first and most thorough studies was a discussion of home exercise programs by Dr. Georg Müller of Berlin.

Müller proposed that exercise could help to prevent deterioration of the body brought on by age and occupational illness.¹¹⁴ He also maintained that exercising at home had some distinct advantages. By exercising at home, one avoided the competition that sports encouraged, thus allowing for more peaceful exercise. Secondly, joining private clubs or associations was expensive. Thirdly, exercising at home, according to Müller, made it easier to develop the habit of exercising. And finally, exercising at home was accomplished more quickly than one might think-- in as short a time as fifteen minutes per day or session.¹¹⁵ Müller contended that anyone could manage to find that amount of time in even the busiest schedule-- even if they had to awaken fifteen minutes earlier in the morning.¹¹⁶

The beginning of the exercise regimen would be difficult, Müller admitted, but if the exercises were performed in a deliberate and smooth fashion, then muscle soreness subsided after a few days, ending the so called

"Turnerschmerzen"(Gymnastic pain).¹¹⁷ The brief period of discomfort the beginner experienced was well worth it according to Müller. The result of persistent exercise would be not only an improved figure and bodily performance, but also a refreshed and healthy mind.¹¹⁸

After his introduction, Müller offered seven exercises, and possible variations upon them, that might serve as an introductory exercise program. He discussed some of the exercise books and apparatus that were then on the market. He spoke well of the best-selling program of J.P. Müller(although he cautioned that some of the exercises might be too difficult for a beginner and to exercise caution in performing some of the routines).¹¹⁹

Apart from instruction manuals, Müller gave advice on types of home exercise equipment. He recommended "the Autogymnast" a harness and pulley system that a person put on much like a belt or girdle. Two cables moved through the pulleys and they were held to the floor when the individual stepped through straps on the cables; once that was accomplished, the individual then hooked the hands through the hand-straps on the cables. As a result, the apparatus allowed the individual to manipulate the muscles with varying degrees of resistance. Müller contended that the Autogymnast allowed the performance of countless exercises and thereby brought variety to exercise routines.¹²⁰

After his description of exercising with the Autogymnast, Müller maintained, again, that exercise was

becoming recognized as absolutely essential to the maintenance of good health. He closed with a cautionary note: "But without exercise in his life there is nothing for one other than digging oneself an early grave."¹²¹

Of course, many doctors advocated more extensive, formal exercise programs. Dr. F.A. Schmidt considered "The Hygiene of Gymnastics and Games".¹²² Schmidt began with a general consideration of Turnen and its uniquely German style in comparison with other gymnastic or exercise systems. To him, the unique component of German Turnen was the apparatus that it employed, allowing it to offer a vast array of exercises.¹²³ In addition to variety, Schmidt maintained that Turnen was an excellent exercise system for the entire body. On the other hand, he took sports(especially as practiced in the United States and Great Britain) to task for in some cases being too specialized; which Schmidt argued, could lead to overexertion of some parts of the body while simultaneously neglecting others.¹²⁴ In that vein, Schmidt counseled that young people who embarked upon an exercise program should be especially certain to devote equal attention to the development of all of the body's parts, from both the stand point of health and physical beauty. Schmidt asserted that a proportionately developed body was far superior to that of "the professionals" who over-develop specific parts of their bodies in the training and practice of their sports(e.g. bicyclists' legs).¹²⁵ For Schmidt, and many of his medical

peers, "The goal of bodily exercise exists in a general and moderate development of the muscular system without particular concentration on any select muscle groups."¹²⁶ Again Schmidt echoed the call to moderation that we have encountered time and time again. According to Schmidt, if conducted in a moderate fashion, sports and exercise would help to improve breathing, settle digestion, steel nerves, and generally help to make better use of the senses.¹²⁷ The latter was especially valuable according to Schmidt, for "Through the noise of the great metropolis we lose our ability to distinguish fine sounds with the ear and to observe."¹²⁸ The sort of attack that Schmidt made on the city and its impacts on the human body was certainly not a new one. And Schmidt maintained his assault on the city and all of its negative impacts throughout the essay.

Schmidt asserted the restorative powers of exercise that was conducted outdoors by claiming that outdoor activities were also good for the eyes. Sports practiced "under God's free skies" helped relieve the damage done to the eyes as a result of eye strain-- ". . . one of the greatest damages done to the eye as a result of the demands of our profession. The most rapid recovery comes in the fresh green of Nature."¹²⁹

To further assist in the rebuilding of the body, Schmidt examined a wide variety of exercise programs and sporting activities, offering his critical comments along the way. He first considered weightlifting. He found very

little value in it because it concentrated far too much, in his estimation, on the development of the muscles in the chest, shoulders and upper arms. As a result, "The bodies of such 'Musclemen' become heavy and disjointed."¹³⁰ He also found that weightlifters permanently shortened their muscle fibers, thereby making the muscles less elastic and flexible. Finally, Schmidt found that weightlifting dangerously overtaxed the heart-- which could ultimately lead to, "An odd contrast: such a weak or degenerated heart in a powerfully muscular body!"¹³¹ Thus, he recommended exercises and sports that, again, developed the overall physique.

Among Schmidt's recommended activities were Turnen, "Haus- oder Zimmergymnastik"(home or room gymnastics), like that of J.P. Müller(mentioned previously). According to Schmidt, home exercise programs enjoyed wide popularity because, "They help in the conservation of bodily vigor and the ability for regular work; therefore, the modern man strongly feels the need for daily and determined exercise of the body."¹³²

Schmidt also emphasized the maintenance of a regular exercise program. The great difficulty for many people, he argued, was dedicating themselves to the conduct of exercise and sports on a consistent and long-term basis.¹³³ To further that end, Schmidt offered numerous exercise programs-- from Jiu Jitsu to Turnen to a wide variety of sports.

Sports on the English and American model came in for particular consideration, though not always favorably. Schmidt recognized that sports like rowing, soccer, rugby and track and field could benefit the body in a great many ways. Running played a large part in track and field and soccer. Development of hand-eye coordination was praised in a variety of ball games-- e.g. cricket and baseball.¹³⁴ Lastly, he argued that sports did indeed help to foster values and behaviors that were favorable and necessary for men in modern German society; most notably, Schmidt recognized that sports encouraged one to obey the rules of the game and taught principles of teamwork and the overcoming of fatigue.¹³⁵

However, as was most often the case at the time in Germany, such "foreign" sports were not recommended without qualification. Schmidt complained that as useful and healthful as sports could be, they often placed a premium on strength and the use of crude and violent tactics.¹³⁶ Such claims were often connected to the emphasis on competition in sports-- as opposed to the non-competitive nature of Turnen. But Schmidt did not go so far; rather, he contended that despite some excesses, most sports were far more valuable than any apparent or imagined difficulties that they might initially present. For example, Schmidt argued that soccer was not so dangerous as some of its opponents maintained. He cited statistics for 1905 that indicated only ninety-five injuries reported by all of the 433 teams

of the German Football League.¹³⁷ Thus, the benefits of running and other exertions required in soccer and other competitive sports far outweighed their supposed dangers.¹³⁸

Schmidt presented only a cursory discussion of women and exercise. He favorably mentioned some home exercise programs for women, but especially recommended tennis for the development of womens' health. He contended that tennis was valuable because it was played outdoors in the fresh air and addressed the needs of a great many of the body's systems all at once. His only suggestion was that women adopt a more loose and comfortable garment to make the exertions required by the game easier to handle.¹³⁹ Other sports for women that received some mention were handball and basketball.

Schmidt closed with a stirring call for both sexes to take up sports and exercise: "Since the founding of the Central Committee for Peoples and Youth Games in 1891, the desire for play of our youth has undergone an unexpected expansion. Surely to the great advantage for both the bodily health and mental acuity of adolescents of both sexes!"¹⁴⁰

In a more detailed discussion of women's participation in sports, Dr. Leopold Steinsberg of Franzensbad made it clear that sports proved just as valuable for the care and maintenance of womens' health as that of men.¹⁴¹ In his introduction, Steinsberg claimed that women had greatly advanced in the social sphere during the period, and that

now they needed to participate in the discovery of exercise as a means to bodily and mental health. He held that: "The same sports used by men, reasonably adjusted for womens' physiques, can help to lead them out of the current physical decadence and to create a strong female sex."¹⁴²

Just as for men, Steinsberg prescribed moderation for women engaged in sports or exercise. Exercise and sports should create and maintain mental and bodily fitness, anything else was excessive-- especially professionalism: "As an end in itself or as a life's work sports is not appropriate for either sex, at least not for women. It should only serve as the impetus for untapped energies, the conduit for the development of energy and the cultivation of the woman's body, a means of social education for the creation of positive character and the realization of common goals."¹⁴³

To attain such lofty ends and insure the harmonious development of the body, Steinsberg recommended swimming. The motions required in swimming, especially in the breaststroke, were superior for the overall development of the body's musculature according to Steinsberg.¹⁴⁴ Similar results could be attained through rowing and mountain climbing. Also recommended, though not as highly because they did not develop the body as completely, were ice skating and skiing,

Bicycleye and horseback riding received mention and various degrees of praise. According to Steinsberg, both

produced positive "nervous energy" effects, and aided the development of the leg muscles and circulatory system.¹⁴⁵ He warned not to become so "fanatical" about bicycling as to go in for racing or one "would directly undermine the organism."¹⁴⁶

Steinsberg also viewed Turnen favorably. He deemed it a most effective overall exercise system, and recommended any of the varieties of gymnastics then in practice-- Turnen with apparatus, "ReformTurnen" (with fewer pieces of equipment and especially recommended for women), Swedish gymnastics, and especially gymnastics out of doors rather than in the traditional indoor Turnhalle.¹⁴⁷

Steinsberg also discussed lawn games, especially tennis. He argued that despite its relatively recent introduction from England, it had rapidly gained the favor of women in Germany and around the globe. To Steinsberg, tennis was a superior exercise and sport, "Its tremendous effects on the health of the human organism are uncontested."¹⁴⁸ Tennis engaged and exercised the legs, arms, and entire body.

Unlike tennis, soccer did not hold such a fascination for German women-- although Steinsberg mentioned that it was a valid and valuable form of exercise and sport. He realized, as some argued, that soccer could lead to excess and overexertion; however, ". . . one must learn, here as everywhere, to exercise intellect and control ones energy."¹⁴⁹

And it is on that note of control that Steinsberg ended his comments on sports for women. He cautioned, again, that the path of moderation was the ideal: "Only the moderate and harmonious employment of the whole body during sports guarantees the total physical education of the organism and furthers the full development of the personality and mind."¹⁵⁰

Thus Steinsberg's essay presented a full discussion of women and their pursuit of sports and exercise. Clearly it represented an important step. The ideas Steinsberg advanced demonstrated that at least some of Germany's doctors and scientists considered women to be more than housewives and mothers. They could, and should, pursue sports in moderation for the benefits to body and mind that they provided. Certainly not all of the physicians were so enlightened, direct discussion of women's bodies and sports was relegated to a few articles. Still, the treatments proesented in Weissbein's volumes represent an important move forward.

Another subject that Steinsberg (and all of the commentators in Weissbein's volumes) failed to adequately address was how to realize the goal of harmonious and integrated development of the mind and body. Exercise might indeed improve the functionality and capacity of the body for work and increase its energy, but how could exercise and sports relieve mental fatigue or help to give meaning to the lives of individual Germans at the turn of the century? To

answer that question, researchers turned to the burgeoning discipline of psychology.

By the end of the nineteenth century, scientists, doctors and psychologists recognized other factors beyond the physiology of the body that contributed to performance and the onset of fatigue. As the sports historian John Hoberman has pointed out, they had also begun to realize that they could not discover further clues to human performance in the laboratory alone.¹⁵¹ Thus, scientific and medical interest in sports began to go beyond hygiene and individual health to a deeper discussion of sports and the insights that it could offer into physical and mental performance.

For the most part, scientific researchers in the nineteenth century were not interested in enhancing sports performance; rather, they sought to understand the basis of extraordinary physical feats and endurance. As Hoberman notes, "Their explanations relied for the most part on two ways of thinking about the human organism: theories of 'human constitution' or 'temperament'. . . and the study of extreme stimuli, or what the modern psychologist would call 'emotional arousal'."¹⁵²

Constitutional theories seek to classify human beings according to a few set characteristic or types. Such typologies have a long pedigree-- stretching back to Hippocrates and Aristotle in ancient Greece.¹⁵³ The "extreme

states" theorists sought to understand how apparently enervated and visibly ill patients, like the mentally ill, could on occasion perform extraordinary feats of strength and endurance. Often their explanations pointed toward the existence of some heretofore unknown life force or "will" that was hidden and untapped in the humdrum lives of ordinary citizens.

By the turn of the century, there was a veritable flood of such "will psychologies". Scientists and psychologists believed that if they could tap the reservoir of willpower then human energy and performance would be greatly advanced.

In Germany, the greatest advances in both the constitutional and will theories with respect to sports and performance came during the years of the Weimar Republic. Great breakthroughs occurred at that time because by the inter-war period Germany possessed a rich tradition of success in physiological research and had a very large and capable scientific establishment. In addition, with the surge in the popularity of sports in the 1920's, researchers came to realize that they had an unparalleled opportunity to investigate the fundamental bases of athletic performance.¹⁵⁴

At the same time, German researchers during the Weimar period were not interested, as are sports physiologists and psychologists today, in improving sports performance alone; rather, they sought to understand human performance in general. As Hoberman states, they proceeded in such a

fashion, "Because to them the harmonious development of the individual counted for more than technical innovation, these men often opposed the cult of performance to which modern sports psychology is primarily devoted."¹⁵⁵ Such notions correspond to my claims that it was Helmholtz's theory of the conservation of energy and the ambivalent attitude of Germans toward modernity that dominated scientific and sports thinking during the period under consideration. A holistic rather than instrumentalist view of individuals and their performance (and their relationship with the larger society) prevented the concentration of scientific and medical interest on the exclusive cultivation of performance for sports activities alone.

Four general approaches emerged during the inter-war period for the investigation of sports and performance from a psychological perspective:

1. Constitutional Theory
2. Pathological Physiology
3. Hypnotic Techniques
4. Psychological Testing

I will treat each of the theories in turn and relate them to my overall project.¹⁵⁶

Constitutional theory was most successfully advanced in the realm of sports, and in general, by the psychologist Ernst Kretschmer. In 1921, Kretschmer published Physique and Temperament; the book was a great success, and became the standard in the discussion of body types and how they

effected behavior until the end of World War II.¹⁵⁷

Kretschmer followed his earlier success with the publication in 1936 of The Personality of the Athletic Type.¹⁵⁸ Despite both books emphasis on body type as an behavioral indicator and determinative factor in personality, Kretschmer was not an advocate of sports or bodily training. To him, body type was a biological given and mere training would not alter ones fundamental character-- which was dependent on one's original body type.

The body types that Kretschmer identified were the "'pyknic', or short and fatty type; the "'asthenic'", the thinner and taller person; and finally, the "'athletic'" type who possessed a "'well developed skeleton and musculature.'"¹⁵⁹

However, when Kretschmer used the term "athletic", he described a particular constitution, not a preferred mode of recreation or behavior. According to Hoberman, Kretschmer viewed the athletic body as an aesthetic and practical flop: "He presents these people as physically clumsy and as intellectual and emotional dullards. Relative to other human types, they lack imagination, humor, and the capacity to be critical; even their gait and speech habits have a distinctively sluggish quality."¹⁶⁰

Kretschmer rejected the popular view of athletes as possessed of energy, ambition, and vigor: "'There is a widespread notion that the athletic individual is above all the active and energetic person, where the musculature is

regarded as standing for the will pure and simple. This idea does not stand up to scrutiny, but rather contradicts the conclusions we have reached. . . The energy of the athletic type is far more and predominantly passive, oriented toward calmness and tenacity.'"¹⁶¹

Other thinkers and researchers were not so convinced, nor so reticent, in seeking a connection between bodily fitness, beauty, and enhanced performance or skills. One of the most obvious of Kretschmer's disciples was Wilhelm Kohlrausch. Kohlrausch sought to solidify the connection between temperament and particular athletic events or bodily states.

After examining athletes who competed in the Deutsche Kampfspiele of 1923, Kohlrausch developed a typology of athletes that was determined by their body types and temperament. He fashioned his categories along the lines of athletic events: ". . . sprinter, middle-distance runner, long-distance runner, long-distance skier, ski jumper, high jumper, multievent athlete, swimmer, throwing athlete, weight-throwing athlete, wrestler, boxer, soccer player, gymnast."¹⁶² Of course, many skeptics questioned whether or not Kohlrausch could accurately gauge the specific body type of an athlete and their accompanying character traits.

Kohlrausch responded that by matching the characteristics of each event and the temperaments of the athletes, he could produce a reasonably reliable scale for the purposes of measuring body type and personal character.

For example, he claimed that sprinters possessed a generally "'sanguine'" temperament; while long-distance runners and weight throwers were more "'phlegmatic'" in personality.¹⁶³ Kohlrausch's ideal athlete possessed a combination of athletic ability, body type, and temperamental characteristics. The ideal athlete, then, represented a sort of "golden mean"-- thus, it should not be surprising that "the multievent athlete(pentathlete, decathlete)" was viewed most favorably.¹⁶⁴

Kohlrausch's conclusions are significant in several respects. To Hoberman, who is concerned with the development and application of sports medicine,

Kohlrausch's sports typology was. . . an applied constitutional psychology that looked for the foundations of performance within the body as it was naturally constituted. It was prescriptive only in that it proposed to match constitutional types with appropriate athletic challenges its function being rather to identify talent rather than to develop it further. This conservative approach was by definition an 'early' sports psychology as opposed to the more interventionist techniques that have become a familiar, if scientifically unproved, part of high-performance sport.¹⁶⁵

In my cultural context, Kohlrausch's ideas and typology are also instructive. His conclusions, identified by Hoberman as "conservative" in a sports medicine context, are also a reflection of conservative attitudes toward the body and performance in wider German society and culture. As such, Kohlrausch's ideas illustrated the attempt mentioned by many of the medical and scientific men to find some sort of

accommodation with modernity and its increasing demands on the body and spirit. Thus, Kohlrausch's search to identify the proper body type and character for success in a specific athletic event mirrored others efforts to identify the bodily and characterological keys for success in the new, fast-paced, modern society in general.

Also, as Hoberman suggests, Kohlrausch's approach was fundamentally conservative in that it sought to identify specific body types and accompanying patterns of behavior. He was not "prescriptive"; he did not seek to use the knowledge that he gained from his studies to manipulate or change peoples' behavior or character.

Not all scientists and medical researchers had such a sanguine view of the possibilities of the body-structure approach. By the end of the 1920's many researchers began to explore the mind-body connection in sports and sports performance more deeply. In his article of 1930, "Aptitude Testing(Eignungslehre)," Karl Krümmel argued that not enough research had been conducted and evaluated to confirm the body-structure hypothesis of Kretschmer and others. He suggested that a more encompassing view of human being be adopted-- one that would consider the influence of mental factors on performance, both athletic and otherwise. Krümmel maintained that "the will to win" was the key determinant in athletic success and personal transcendence. As a result, the goal of a nascent sports psychology "' . . . is to train a human being to transcend himself at a given

moment.' the value of sport lies in this experience rather than in competitive success."¹⁶⁶ Clearly for Krümmel, the end of sports was personal transcendence, not an emphasis on records or overall performance. Again, this was a fundamentally conservative attitude given the emphasis that encroaching modern attitudes and values placed on performance and its continual increase.

Dr. Walther Schulz provided another approach, or innovation, beyond Kretschmer's focus on body-structure. Schulz sought to abandon Kretschmer's emphasis on the body and its effect on temperament; rather, he focused on developing notions similar to those of Krümmel regarding the relationship between ability in sports and temperament or personality.¹⁶⁷ Schulz argued that the body-type method of Kretschmer and others flew in the face of demonstrated athletic performances and the personalities of groups of athletes. He quite rightly contended that ". . . body types varied widely within groups of elite sprinters and other performers. . . ." ¹⁶⁸ Most notably, he held out the example of the Finnish Olympic hero Paavo Nurmi. According to Finnish medical experts, the incomparable Nurmi had once possessed a body type that was completely different than the one he had created-- and it was one unsuited to high caliber track and field. According to the experts, Nurmi had been "'a heavy-limbed youth with a barrel chest' who transformed his body through training." Thus, his well formed and trained body of the 1920's could not be attributed to any

"specific constitutional type."¹⁶⁹

What contributed to Nurmi's spectacular success if not a specific constitutional type á la Kretschmer? According to Schulz environmental factors had the greatest significance on Nurmi and on all of us. To Schulz, the most important factors were ethnological and climatic. Thus, Schulz argued that the harsh climate of Northern Europe encouraged the development of

the toughness and endurance of the long-distance skier, the lively and impulsive Rhinelander differs from the more taciturn and self-willed Westphalian type, and so forth. But Schulz adheres to the constitutional model by claiming that these 'essential inner differences' are manifested in such outer (physical) traits as language, gesture, and movement. These differences become evident, say, in the contrasting physical styles of 'mechanical, almost machine-like' distance runners like Nurmi and the 'more temperamental, more elastic, more rhythmic' sprinters.¹⁷⁰

Schulz built his claims on the work of Professor Erich Jaensch-- a future leader of psychology in the Nazi era. Jaensch developed what he called a "structural psychology" that introduced two predominant types of human being: the disintegrated or D-type and the integrated, or J-type. The D-type was described as self-involved and capable of exercising great willpower. He lacked sensitivity for the needs and concerns of others. The J-type, on the other hand, was sensitive and caring, "and forms emotional ties to other people."¹⁷¹

Schulz built on Jaensch's ideas to suggest that a similar sort of typology was evident in the realm of sports. He contrasted the driven, willing athlete like Nurmi with the more sensitive and easily distracted type of athlete.

According to Hoberman, Erich Jaensch's brother, Walther, took Schulz's notion one step further. Walther Jaensch argued that the D and J-types corresponded to masculine and feminine personality traits. The former he represented as the "sportive man of power." While the latter was the realm of women, children, and artists-- "the unvirile multitude."¹⁷² Such dualistic and normative notions easily supported the conservative agenda in Germany and later contributed to racist thinking in the Nazi period.

Other thinkers in the 1920's saw the body typing and personality connection as essentially bankrupt as a means of explaining human behavior, and especially, extreme performance. Such thinkers contended that outstanding human performances were the work not of body type and personality, but rather a function of "extreme psychophysiological" states or stimulation. These researchers relied on the works of investigators into mental illness and the exceptional acts of physical strength or endurance that were sometimes produced by their mentally ill patients.¹⁷³ They also utilized the new science of ethnology to investigate similar feats of physical prowess recorded by observers of so called "primitive" peoples. In both cases, investigators

like Krümmel maintained that the acts of the mentally ill and "primitives" revealed the atavistic nature of extreme physical acts and prowess. To Krümmel, sports and its popularity were a reversion to human beings' ancient and primitive past. The question that then remained was: ". . . is there a link between physical performance and the most primitive level of human personality?"¹⁷⁴

Another prominent researcher, the surgeon August Bier, believed that there was a connection. Bier studied mentally ill patients and their extraordinary physical feats. He then applied his findings to the issue of fatigue and the attainment of high performance in general. Bier found that physical actions that were performed automatically were less fatiguing than actions that required an ordinary, conscious effort. Thus the psychological component of all physical activity rose to the forefront yet again. Bier argued that the ability to tap into the unconscious and release hidden stores of energy was a legacy of humans primitive past and not at all pathological. The route to such energy was, Bier believed, through the emotions. He did not, however, offer a program or plan to explore how precisely one might initiate such efforts to unlock the secrets of unconscious strength and improve performance.¹⁷⁵

On the other hand, the psychiatrist Johannes Heinrich Schultz believed that through the use of hypnosis and self-hypnosis one could promote a union of the body and the conscious and unconscious minds to further performance.

Schultz relied on the traditional practice of hypnotic suggestion for the foundation of his "autogenic" training.¹⁷⁶ Under proper medical supervision, Schultz claimed that a system of "'focused inner gymnastics' enabled the patient to control otherwise autonomic functions, calm himself down, eliminate pain, and improve his memory to an extent that traditional gymnastics exercises could not."¹⁷⁷ Such mental training could work, Schultz argued, because the emotional states of an individual and their bodily states were inextricably linked. Thus, a monistic or holistic view of the human organism was adopted that fit easily into much of the conservative scientific thought of the day. It should not be surprising that Schultz was a fellow traveler during the Nazi period.

The notion of an integrated body-mind connection was not the sole preserve of Schulz. Many other artists, philosophers, and scientists were also voicing similar opinions and ideas. To counterbalance the tradition of Enlightenment rationalism, many emphasized sports and exercise as a way to achieve a balance between the mind and the body. One author who was concerned with such a notion was Dr. Ernst Rothe, a Berlin psychotherapist. In his work Psychogymnastik, Rothe offered a system of mental training that drew upon the methods and manner of physical training, alá gymnastics and sports.¹⁷⁸

The purpose of the book, according to Rothe's introduction, was to increase the individual's performance

of daily tasks and secure a happier, more enjoyable life:

You wish to significantly increase your performance; you wish to shape your fortune(a significant performance!)?

Try Psychogymnastik and your wishes will be fulfilled. Performance and fortune are the keystones of success.

Try Psychogymnastik to magnify your performance, your success, and your fortune.¹⁷⁹

Yet, Rothe did not maintain that such rosy promises could be realized by any short and effortless program. He argued that there were short cuts to enhanced performance(for example, drugs), but that the shortcuts had deleterious long-term effects on health and the ability to perform. Therefore, he advocated an athletic-style approach to improving abilities and overall performance. Rothe argued that to improve long-term performance, "Slow but continually stimulating works are the appropriate exercise. One could object that performance increases gained in such a fashion are negligible. However, we need only consider the value of athletic training and the objection is refuted."¹⁸⁰

But Rothe did not stop there; he held that many of the ills of modern life could be remedied by adopting his program. Forgetfulness, fatigue, and generally poor efforts in work and everyday life could be overcome through the employment of a "Taylor-System of the Soul." The goal, Rothe argued, was to employ a rational means of training the body and mind to tap into and unleash one's full potential for any endeavor that one might engage in: "With the right

means and with the tools suited for the job one can extract very deep roots. Or you could say: the latent performance possibilities become manifest productive power and effective performance."¹⁸¹

What system or training did Rothe offer to realize such bold claims? His psychogymnastik system was meant not to train the body or the mind alone, but to allow the two to coexist peacefully and maximize the potential of each. To Rothe, the mind and body were inextricably linked, but the mind had to lead and the body had to follow: ". . . mental power has a strong influence on performance and the power of the body. The exercise of bodily power is, in truth, unthinkable without the exercise of the mind. . . The Psyche determines performance. . . When a man is greatly successful, that success is an indication of his strength of mind and strength of soul."¹⁸²

In addition, Rothe mentioned the teachings of Kretschmer and his fellows by recognizing a connection between body type and character. However, Rothe was not a determinist. He maintained that character might indeed be changed. To him, experiences could help to influence changes in character that might be either positive or negative:

To sum up: Character is dependent on ones predisposition, and especially from the glands and the blood. But character is subject to natural development. It changes in the course of life. The environment influences the inner world and each can change his character; he can shape the various environmental influences at work on

him-- and besides, a person can will changes in the environment to a certain degree through a strong personality. . . A character change cannot be forced, but with the right methods can be brought about. A basic law of Psychogymnastics goes: Everyone can change their character.¹⁸³

Sports could assist in the process of character reformation according to Rothe: "Every sport employs psychogymnastics. Fencing helps cultivate self-consciousness. Swimming focuses on endurance. Tennis teaches the fine nuances, expression, muscular feeling, leadership. . . Each measure and each sport has a psychogymnastic effect."¹⁸⁴

Thus Rothe created a system of behavior modification that relied heavily on sportive imagery, the various techniques and values espoused by sports, and popular interest in sports and exercise. Although one may find much lacking in Rothe's system, it was not far away from such practices as meditation and guided imagery that are still very much embraced by sports psychologists and athletes today.

For my purposes, Rothe's work illustrates the growing concern for the body and health in modern German society and popular culture. One of the avenues for expression of such concerns was sports and exercise. Also, the popularity of sports as a guide and model for other sorts of behavior-- and as a conduit for particular social and cultural values is also indicated. Finally, Rothe demonstrated the growing preoccupation of German society with performance-- both

physical and mental.

A more academic approach to the question of the relationship between the mind and the body in sports and everyday life was developed by Herbert Herxheimer. In his Grundriss der Sportmedizin (Foundations of Sports Medicine), Herxheimer offered an update to the survey of sports medicine presented by Weissbein just after the turn of the century.¹⁸⁵ Herxheimer treated the various bodily systems and the impact of exercise on each in a concise and easily assimilable fashion. He was, much like Rothe and others, especially concerned to communicate the lacunae in sports medicine and to give plenty of room to psychic factors as a mechanism for explaining athletic and bodily performance.

One of the areas in which Herxheimer's concern for psychic factors was most apparent was in his discussion of overtraining (a constant concern of many of the contributors to Weissbein's volume-- remember, they were so concerned because of Helmholtz's first principle and, because of the second law of thermodynamics, the law of entropy. If energy wasn't fully conserved, you wouldn't want to exert yourself and dissipate your bodily and psychic energies for good would you? (Thus the importance of energy conservation to Weissbein, et. al.)

Herxheimer, always very careful and circumspect in his comments, recognized from the outset the boundaries and caesuras in the area of sports medicine; however, he was willing to speak out about matters that he felt were

important and more or less well trodden by the research and medical community. One of those well worn subjects was overtraining and its effects on the body. Did participation in sports necessarily lead to enervation and the eventual collapse of the body if one were not moderate and restrained in the pursuit of sports? To Herxheimer, that was not a simple question to answer: "The reason why we cannot easily find an answer to the condition of overtraining, in my opinion, is that it deals much less with somatic-humoral conditions than with psychic ones."¹⁸⁶

To illustrate his point, Herxheimer began with a description of the traditional symptoms of overtraining and why they were inadequate. The traditional description maintained that the overtrained athlete looked fine externally, but suddenly could no longer attain his or her previous performance results. Occasionally, the athlete might even appear awkward or clumsy.¹⁸⁷ Secondly, the athlete might appear irritable and unconcerned with their performance or that of their teammates. If the situation continued unaddressed, the athlete's performance began to noticeably deteriorate. When their performances began to suffer, the athletes then began to lose their enthusiasm for training at all, and/or sought far afield for the causes of their poor performance. Finally, the external appearance of the athletes began to show the strain of overtraining: they appeared pale and lean, began to lose sleep and suffered from decreased appetite, withdrew from the company of

others; and, demonstrated a considerable weight loss.¹⁸⁸

Herxheimer raised a number of very plausible objections to the traditional notion of overtraining. He argued that the symptoms described above were not isolated to sports and athletes and might plague people of many interests and occupations. He maintained that even "strictly intellectual professions can lead to such conditions as well."¹⁸⁹ Of weight loss, Herxheimer contended that it was not restricted to athletes and the realm of sports; in fact, he posited that weight loss was common in a variety of depressive cases. Next, he argued that an elevated pulse rate or elevated cardiogram reading was not necessarily an indication of fatigue or any impending danger. In effect, he maintained that during exercise (and after) an elevated pulse was a normal training effect. Lastly, he argued that irritability and a diminished sex drive were hard to monitor and were difficult symptoms to judge. In his own observations of long-distance bicycle racers, Herxheimer contended that he often witnessed cases of irritability, but that it did not appear to impinge upon the riders' performances. Nor did he see any loss of "vital capacity" in those participating in high levels of training. He concluded that, "one cannot rely on all of these signs" as indicators of fatigue brought on by overtraining.¹⁹⁰

What then did effect an athlete's mood and performance? To Herxheimer, the answer had to rest within the psyche of the athlete. As mentioned previously, Herxheimer and other

researchers pointed to the performance of Paavo Nurmi as an example of the power of mind over body. Nurmi had dominated the track for years and was able to do so through the adoption of a fierce training regimen. He was, according to Herxheimer, a living testament against the notion of overtraining.¹⁹¹

Herxheimer also mentioned his own observations of athletes who had experienced the death of a family member or the break-up of a romance. Often, he contended, such athletes performed better than they had previously; in fact, they often greatly improved their performances despite their grief by channeling their energies into their training or competition.¹⁹²

Finally, Herxheimer mentioned the rigorous training schedule of professional athletes. Clearly professional athletes trained longer and with greater intensity than their amateur counterparts; yet, the incidence of "overtraining" amongst professional athletes of all types was minimal. Thus, Herxheimer again concluded that the idea of an overtraining syndrome was unwarranted. He concluded his discussion of the issue with the statement: "Under these circumstances, one can only conclude that overtraining is not a product of training. It is solely a condition of decreased performance as a result of psychic and nervous causes that can come and go at any time."¹⁹³ Thus, as many in Germany sought to argue, matter could and should be overcome not only through muscle, but also through the

strength of mind and will. At that point, Herxheimer and those physicians and scientists of a like mind, in many ways passed beyond the realm of scientific research and medical opinion grounded on objective fact and reasoned diagnosis and entered the realm of popular culture and sentiment. The notions of "overcoming" and "struggle" were ones that permeated German culture as well as German sports. It is to a consideration of the place of sports in German culture, especially in literature, that I will now turn.

The scientists and physicians of Germany certainly provided the medical and scientific foundation for the linking of sports and some of the most pressing concerns of German society as it sought to adapt to the pressures of industrialization and modernization. The governing paradigms in science and medicine: Darwin's notion of evolution and the survival of the fittest, Haeckel's adaptation of Darwinian theory and embrace of Neo-Lamarckism, von Helmholtz's first principle of thermodynamics; and Clausius' law of entropy were all played out in German society, as was indicated, in a number of profound ways. One of the most notable was the forging of a relationship with sports. For as doctors and scientists sought to extend their influence over society and social policy and extend the paradigms listed above as interpretive frameworks for social, economic, and political life, sports became a powerful weapon for penetrating into, and capturing, the popular consciousness.

The changing attitude of scientists and doctors toward sports, and the possibilities that sports offered for helping to resolve the dilemmas of German society and culture, have been demonstrated. In the early years of medical and scientific interest in sports there was either outright rejection of sports as a "modern phenomenon" that promoted values (like competition and performance) that were deemed dangerous to human health, or a measured response that counseled the value of sports for fostering health-- but only when conducted in moderation.

Thus sports were, initially, not offered as a means of resolving, or transcending, the binary tensions that existed in German society and culture. Sports were viewed, for the most part, conservatively. They could help one to weather or withstand the onslaught of industrialization and modernization-- or better yet, using Helmholtz's model-- they could help to "conserve" ones vital energies.

However, as the evidence presented indicates, by the end of the First World War sports began to be viewed, especially by psychologists, as a means of integrating the mind and body. The process of integrating mind and body through sports and exercise also suggested that they believed that sports and exercise could serve to resolve some of the binary tensions that existed in German society and culture as well; in effect, it is in the 1920's, as the work of the Jaensch brothers, Rothe, and Herxheimer suggests, that the idea that sports might serve as a model

for overcoming, or transcending the binary relationships that had so gripped the German consciousness is developed.

As described, sports came to be seen as a means of at once increasing energy, revitalizing the individual in body and spirit, and improving performance. Thus, they served as a general propaedeutic for the ills and ailments of the modern world. In addition, because sports were largely a new and recent phenomenon in German society and culture, they possessed no intrinsic meaning. As a result, and as the evidence presented above indicates, their meaning was fluid and they could be bent to serve the purposes and programs of a wide variety of scientific, social, and political interests. A consideration of the meaning of sports in German literary and intellectual culture will demonstrate similar patterns of understanding and interpretation of sports and their place in German culture.

Notes

¹Paul Weindling, "Bourgeois values, doctors, and the state: the professionalization of medicine in Germany 1848-1933," The German Bourgeoisie, eds. David Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans (New York, NY: Routledge, 1993) 202. And, Weindling, Paul. "Theories of the Cell State in Imperial Germany" in C. Webster, ed. Biology, Medicine and Society, 1840-1940. London, 1981.

²Ibid.

³According to Weindling, Virchow(1821-1902) sought to gain political power through the use of medical and scientific knowledge and advocacy of public health reform: "The science of hygiene provided a rationale for the substitution of policing authorities by scientific professionalism. This was not just an example of liberal politics in action, it was also the plan of a new breed of power-hungry professional men, seeking a share in the running of the state." Ibid.

⁴Ibid. , 201.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Paul Weindling, Health, Race and German Politics Between National Unification and Nazism 1870-1945, (New York, NY: Cambridge UP, 1989) 16.

⁷Ibid. , 16-17.

⁸Ibid. , 17.

⁹Ibid. , 18.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Weindling, "Bourgeois Values. . .", 203.

¹⁶Peter J. Bowler, The Non-Darwinian Revolution: Reinterpreting a Historical Myth (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1988) 83.

¹⁷Daniel Gasman, The Scientific Origins of National Socialism: Social Darwinism in Ernst Haeckel and the German Monist League, (London and New York: American Elsevier, 1971) xiii-ivx.

¹⁸Weindling, 43.

¹⁹Ibid., 45.

²⁰Ibid., 47.

²¹Anson Rabinbach, The Human Motor, (New York, 1991), 53. My study owes a great deal to the ideas and inspiration of Rabinbach, Gasman, and Hoberman (as is apparent throughout the text. Each helped lead me toward a consideration of sports through the eyes of the medical and scientific communities and the importance their findings had on the popular understanding and embrace of sports.

²²Ibid., 3. And, Helmholtz, Hermann Ludwig von. Über die Erhaltung der Kraft. Berlin, 1847.

²³Rabinbach, 53.

²⁴Ibid., 3.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., 129.

²⁷Ibid., 142.

²⁸Ibid., 150.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Ibid., 179.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid., 182.

³³Ibid. See especially: Ostwald, Wilhelm. Grundrisse der Naturphilosophie. Leipzig, 1908. And, Ostwald, Wilhelm. Die energetische Grundlagen des Kulturwissenschaften. Leipzig, 1909.

³⁴John Hoberman, "The Early Development of Sports Medicine in Germany," in Sport and Exercise Science: Essays in the History of Sports Medicine, Jack W. Berryman and

Roberta J. Park, eds. (Urbana, Ill.: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1992) 240.

³⁵Dr. Arnold Durig, "Grundzüge des Stoff- und Energieumsatzes beim Sport," in Hygiene des Sports, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 58.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid., 59. See also: Durig, Dr. Arnold. Die Ermüdung. Vienna, 1916.

³⁸Ibid., 59.

³⁹Ibid. For a later treatment of a similar theme, see: Oppenheimer, C. Der Mensch als Kraftmaschine. Leipzig, 1921

⁴⁰Ibid., 63ff. For the impact of nutrition, see: Rubner, Ludwig Max. Kraft und Stoff im Haushalte der Natur. Leipzig, 1909.

⁴¹Ibid., 82. See also: Berg, W., du Bois-Reymond, R., and Zuntz, L. Über die Arbeitsleistung beim Radfahren. Berlin, 1904.

⁴²Dr. A. Hoffa, "Der Einfluss des Sports auf Muskulatur, Knochensystem und Gelenke", in Hygiene des Sports, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 93.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid., 94.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid., 95.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., 96.

⁵³Ibid., 99.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Dr. P.G. Unna, "Haut und Sport", in Hygiene des Sports, S. Weissbein, ed., (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 106.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., 135.

⁵⁸Ibid., 144.

⁵⁹Dr. Willibald Gebhardt, "Licht ist Leben", in Sport im Bild, (Berlin, April 18, 1902).

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Dr. Willibald Gebhardt, "Licht ist Leben", in Sport im Bild, (Berlin: April 25, 1902).

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Dr. A. Eulenberg, "Sport und Nervensystem", in Hygiene des Sports, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910). 150.

⁶⁷Ibid., 159.

⁶⁸Ibid., 160. See also: Offner, Dr. Max. Die geistige Ermüdung. Berlin, 1910.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Dr. G.F. Nicholai, "Sport und Sinnesorgane", in Hygiene des Sports, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 164.

⁷¹Ibid., 169.

⁷²Ibid., 193.

⁷³Dr. Goldschneider. "Sport und Herz", in Hygiene des Sports, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 194. See also: Hueppe, Ferdinand. Hygiene der Körperübungen. Leipzig, 1922.

⁷⁴Ibid., 198.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid., 199.

⁷⁹Ibid., 200.

⁸⁰Ibid., 201.

⁸¹Ibid., 202.

⁸²Dr. A. Moeller, "Sport und Atmungsorgane", in Hygiene des Sports, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 217.

⁸³Ibid., 224.

⁸⁴Ibid., 225.

⁸⁵Ibid.

⁸⁶Ibid., 226.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Ibid., 226-227.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid., 229.

⁹²Ibid., 237-238.

⁹³Dr. P. Straßmann, "Über Sport und Frauenkrankheiten", in Hygiene des Sports, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 277. For further discussion of women and sports see: Gertrud Pfister, Frau und Sport (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1980); Sabine Kröner and Gertrud Pfister, eds. Frauen Räume: Körper und Identität im Sport (Centaurus, 1997); Gabriela Wesp, Frisch, Fromm, . Fröhlich. Frau: Frauen und Sport zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik (Ulrike Helmer, 1998).

⁹⁴Ibid., 278.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid., 279.

⁹⁷Ibid., 280.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Ibid., 281.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., 282.

¹⁰¹Ibid., 289.

¹⁰²Ibid., 282.

¹⁰³Ibid., 290.

¹⁰⁴Dr. Arthur Luerssen, "Wahl der einzelnen Übungen", in Hygiene des Sports, vol.II, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 5.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., 6.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 8.

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¹¹⁰Ibid., 11.

¹¹¹Dr. Georg Müller, "Leibesübungen im Hause", in Hygiene des Sports, vol.II, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 12.

¹¹²Ibid., 12-13.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid., 15.

¹¹⁵Ibid., 14.

¹¹⁶Ibid., 27.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 28.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 36.

¹¹⁹Dr. F.A. Schmidt, "Die Hygiene des Turnens und Spiele", in Hygiene des Sports, vol.II, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910) 50.

¹²⁰Ibid.

¹²¹Ibid., 51.

¹²²Ibid., 52.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴Ibid.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Ibid.

¹²⁷Ibid., 54.

¹²⁸Ibid.

¹²⁹Ibid., 56.

¹³⁰Ibid., 57.

¹³¹Ibid., 72.

¹³²Ibid.

¹³³Ibid., 74.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid., the sole exceptions being rugby and American football., 75.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Ibid., 76.

¹³⁸Dr. Leopold Steinsberg, "Frauensport", in Hygiene des Sports, vol.II, S. Weissbein, ed. (Leipzig, Berlin, Frankfurt, Paris: Grethlein, 1910). 326. For a general survey of women's sports in Germany see: Pfister, Gertrude, ed. Frau und Sport. Frankfurt, 1980.

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., 330.

¹⁴¹Ibid.

¹⁴²Ibid., 337.

¹⁴³Ibid., 338.

¹⁴⁴Ibid., 339.

¹⁴⁵Ibid.

¹⁴⁶Ibid., 340.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., 342.

¹⁴⁸John Hoberman, Mortal Engines: The Science of Performance and the Dehumanization of Sport. (New York: Free Press, 1992) 155.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., 160.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

¹⁵¹Ibid., 177.

¹⁵²Ibid.

¹⁵³Ernst Kretschmer, Physique and Temperament, (New York: Harcourt, Brace: 1925).

¹⁵⁴Ernst Kretschmer, Die Persönlichkeit der Athletiker (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1936).

¹⁵⁵Hoberman, Mortal Engines, 177. See also: Kretschmer, Physique and Temperament, (New York: Harcourt, Brace: 1925)

¹⁵⁶Ibid., 177-178.

¹⁵⁷As quoted in Hoberman, Mortal Engines, 179.

¹⁵⁸Ibid.

¹⁵⁹Ibid.

¹⁶⁰Ibid. See especially: F. A. Schmidt and Wolfgang Kohlrausch, Physiology of Exercise, (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1931) 203-206. All of chapter twelve offers a detailed discussion of Kohlrausch's understanding of the relationship between body type and personality.

¹⁶¹Ibid., 179-180.

¹⁶²Ibid.

¹⁶³Ibid.

¹⁶⁴Ibid.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., 180-181.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 181.

¹⁶⁷Ibid. For a fuller treatment of Erich Jaensch's structural psychology and its radical character (and racist implications), See: Der Gegendtypus: Psychologisch-anthropologische Grundlagen deutscher Kulturphilosophie, (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1938) 101ff.

¹⁶⁸Ibid. See also: Walther Jaensch, Grundzüge für Physiologie und Klinik der psychophysischen Persönlichkeit, (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 19260.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 183.

¹⁷⁰Ibid.

¹⁷¹Ibid., 184.

¹⁷²Ibid., 185.

¹⁷³Ibid.

¹⁷⁴Ernst Rothe, Psychogymnastik, (Berlin: Max Hesse Verlag, 1928).

¹⁷⁵Ibid., 1.

¹⁷⁶Ibid., 2.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., 5.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., 17.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., 52-53.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., 282-283.

¹⁸¹Herbert Herxheimer, Grundriß der Sportmedizin (Leipzig: Georg Thieme, 1933).

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¹⁸³Ibid.

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¹⁸⁵Ibid., 115.

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¹⁸⁷Ibid.

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., 116.

IV. Sports and the Intellectuals

One epoch of history is unmistakably in its decline, and another is announcing its approach. There is a sound of rending in every tradition, and it is as though the morrow would not link itself with to-day. Things as they are totter and plunge, and they are suffered to reel and fall, because man is weary, and there is no faith that it is worth an effort to uphold them.¹

Many agreed with Max Nordau's diagnosis of European society at the fin-de-siècle. Scientists, doctors, artists, and intellectuals perceived a general lack of energy and sense of decline around them. The most common term and concept used to describe the situation was "degeneration". To many, what had once been strong and vital in European life and society had been lost, or at least corrupted. Whether or not a recovery was possible was an open question. Nordau first published his famous treatment of the subject, Degeneration, in 1892. From that time forward degeneration remained a subject of discussion when the last German edition was published in 1909.² As mentioned in the previous section, some members of the scientific and medical communities saw some prospect for optimism. Through hygiene and sports, they argued, science and medicine could help lead the people of Europe to a renewed vitality and energy. A survey of the ideas and opinions of artists and intellectuals regarding their attitudes toward sports reveals an ambivalent attitude about sports, modernity, and

the prospect of recovering from the perceived processes of degeneration.

Just as in science and medicine, sports came to have an increasingly important place in modern German art and thought. However, because sports were variously identified as a "modern," "foreign," and sometimes "un-German" phenomenon, they could be put to a variety of uses. A detailed survey of German culture during the period illustrates the increasing importance of sports as a metaphor, mirror, and concern of modern German culture.

One of the earliest treatments of sports to appear in German fiction was Der Schwimmer by John Henry MacKay. Mackay's novella appeared in 1901 and in many respects echoed prevailing attitudes toward sports.³ The story revolved around the prodigious swimming talents of the fourteen year old Franz Felder. Felder used his athletic ability to ascend beyond his impoverished upbringing in Berlin. He was then accepted into the upper crust Schwimmklub Berlin von 1879, and trained in the club's pool. Afforded better coaching and facilities, by age eighteen Felder became the national champion at 1000 meters.⁴

Alas, Felder's ascendance did not last. Having tasted so much success so soon, the young champion became even more determined to achieve. Mackay described him as growing hard and callous in his relationships with others; he was driven to attain ever increasing accomplishment.⁵ Yet, despite continued victories at both the national and international

levels, Felder remained unsatisfied. Seeking new challenges and stimulation, he undertook a change from swimming to diving. After strong-arming the club's leadership into making him the club's lone competitor in a major diving competition, Felder failed miserably. Unable to face himself and his own failings in the disaster, he dropped swimming and engaged in another all consuming pursuit, love.

The young athlete fell for the charms of the beautiful and seductive Georgette. Felder eschewed everything else in his pursuit of the mysterious beauty. Neglecting his training, Felder began to lose races for the first time. As a result, Georgette lost her interest in him and dropped her devoted suitor. Shattered, Felder left the club and began once again to train alone. Remarkably, he won the European championships. Redemption appeared secure. However, his former colleagues and friends at the club shunned him. Alone, dejected, Felder slit his wrists and swam out for the last time into the waters that had for so long been his refuge.⁶

Mackay's story offered an important early commentary on sports and its relationship to the larger society. He appeared to suggest that sports can offer important possibilities of personal transcendence; however, sports could also lead to destruction once they lost their original purpose and meaning. When sports become instrumental, rather than integral, to the individual, then they became dangerous. Felder excelled as long as sports remained an

innocent boyhood pursuit. When they became a vehicle for social advancement and personal aggrandizement he fell to his ultimate destruction.

One important commentator on German sports history, Allen Guttman, has argued that Mackay's character sets the standard for the depiction of athletes in German fiction.⁷ He maintained that far more frequently than sports fiction in other Western cultures and societies (namely the United States, Britain, and France), German sports fiction offered characters who did not find redemption or moral victory through sports; rather, they were what he calls "Faustian athletes"-- through sports the character's tragic flaw emerged and they overextended themselves and were ultimately destroyed.⁸

However, as persuasive as Guttman's thesis may be generally, I contend that it does not tell the full story in the case of Mackay's Der Schwimmer. One must recall that Mackay was an important member of the German, and international, anarchist movement. I would argue that his fictional work, including Der Schwimmer, was greatly colored by his anarchist principles. Therefore, rather than read Franz Felder as a tragic, Faustian figure, I view him as a symbol of the individualist anarchist who was trapped in the unforgiving conformity of his society. As long as Felder remained true to himself and his personal pursuit of swimming he was successful and free; however, when he literally "joins the club", his freedom and his passion for

swimming were corrupted. The individual and their pursuit of freedom of expression and, in this case, freedom of the body was lost. Ultimately, Felder lost his freedom, his identity, and his life. In short, Mackay's story was an allegory designed to transmit his anarchist notions of freedom and his criticisms of Germany's rigid society.

Regardless of one's interpretation of the tale, Mackay's Der Schwimmer was an important introduction of sports into modern German fiction, and sadly, it is far too often forgotten and ignored.

Another of the ways in which sports were treated in German literature was to view them as a manifestation and conduit of everything modern in German society and the world. Sports promoted the virtues of speed, performance, and energy which the modern industrial society demonstrated and demanded. A vivid example of this perspective on sports was illustrated in the work of the novelist Theodor Heinrich Mayer.⁹ In his novella, Schnelligkeit(Speed), Mayer told the tale of Paul Dittreich. Dittreich was the consummate athlete. He triumphed over all-- every opponent, every obstacle. In every sport that he attempted Dittreich was an immediate and overwhelming success. Yet, he was never satisfied. He always faced new challenges and obstacles. Among them, the conquest of the opposite sex and the satisfactions of love.

Following a resounding victory in a championship tennis match, Dittreich played against the reigning women's

champion from England, Diane Thommason. After a grueling match, Dittreich was smitten and declared his desire for her. Thommason, herself overwhelmed by her first defeat by either a man or woman, was similarly carried away. She met Dittreich's declaration of love with, "I am so fortunate, so unbelievably fortunate, that you are the first one to defeat me. . . so entirely conquer me."¹⁰ He apparently conquered the amazon queen totally and utterly; however, the following day Thommason declared that she was not ready to relinquish her athletic pursuits and independence and become his companion:

"After today let us remain as we are now. Today I'm going away, and in a month we can write, like good friends. But that is all we can say. I am twenty-five years old and strong and I had remained unconquered. . . until today. . . you have conquered me. . . but I am still strong enough that in the future no one else will conquer me. . . I will remain strong. . . but I can't remain so if you are near. . . I will love you from afar."¹¹

She would not relinquish her independence. She would conquer, as it were, her love for him just as he had defeated her.

Dittreich accepted her declaration with apparent equanimity; of course, he could not get her out of his head. He grew unhappy with his life; he was bored. He decided that he needed new challenges to overcome his state of mind. In his search for some greater and enduring meaning to his current state, Dittreich offered a telling commentary on his time and its attitudes toward the modern world:

Yes, yes, yes, there it is the great goal:
Speed, speed in all its forms, through it Man
becomes conscious of himself. He conquers
through speed, glides easily over the weak. .
. He conquers space. He is a man to be
reckoned with-- his age follows him. . .
Sport becomes a faith for him, pure joy,
through deeds and actions not through words
does the sportsmen preach.¹²

Clearly, this internal monologue revealed many important ideas regarding the ethos of the time and how sports helped to foster it. The emphasis on speed and the constantly increasing pace of life characterized both the advocates and detractors of modernization in Germany. Echoing the manifestos of the Futurists, Mayer suggested that speed promised vitality and energy; he appeared to suggest that it was a harbinger of progress and an agent of prosperity.

Also evident in Dittreich's monologue was the notion of some triumphal and all consuming force of "Will". Mayer suggested that some greater force than the mere physical was necessary to gain the upper hand in such exciting and chaotic conditions. Paul Dittreich prevailed against all comers because of his ability to command himself and others. His will was strong enough to discipline and steel his body; thus, he was able to assure that he would perform and prevail in the most difficult of circumstances. By contrast, he had contempt for the "Alltagmenschen", the average men, who are bowled over by the pace and challenges of modern existence. According to Mayer, only the man of action and extreme self-possession could conquer speed and space and

dominate the forces of his time.¹³ Sports was the royal road to such command. Sports became a religion through acts and deeds, not words; sports became, according to Mayer, a faith of action, speed, and energy.

The means to such worship, it seemed, was the body. Mayer described Paul Dittreich's form of "worship": " The next morning he stood before the mirror and observed the symmetry of his trained muscles. They were all capable of effort and they were all trained by virtue of pursuing one goal: speed, speed in all its forms."¹⁴

Yet, despite such sentiments, Dittreich reflected yet another concern of Mayer and his contemporaries. His training of his body did not lead to a sense of completion and accomplishment. Dittreich did not experience a harmonious and equitable sense of development in his life. Rather, his training and athletic accomplishments led to a sense of unease and dis-embodiment. He sensed that new conquests lay ahead: "Paul examined his body as though it was not his own and this is what he saw: that he had done all that he could do as a human being. He needed to extend his ideas--go beyond the speed of the body to the speed of the machine. There shimmered the final victory, the greatest triumph, there, so near lay the boundaries of human experience."¹⁵ Thus Dittreich reached his limits; his body can go no further.

Or so it seemed. Dittreich could not believe that he had attained his body's maximum potential. Revealing yet

another glimpse into the popular consciousness, Dittreich turned to science as a means of improving his body and performance: "The practical knowledge of the club's coaches was no longer serving to broaden his knowledge and purposes. But two of his friends at the university, an anatomist and a physiologist, had given him new knowledge of muscles and their processes. They helped him to understand how to wrest even greater performances from his entire body through each individual muscle group. Paul worked tirelessly on the latest laboratory research to prepare himself for ever greater exertions."¹⁶ In two sprint races against his younger foe, Otto Prell, Dittreich won; however, he set no world records and therefore went away with what he disparagingly called his, "apparent victory".¹⁷(67)

Thus, Mayer offered an interesting commentary on the science of performance that was prominent during the period. Like many of the researchers discussed in the previous section, Mayer's character Dittreich found that the mind greatly influenced performance and success. The psychologists and philosophers had trumped the physiologists in the effort to defeat fatigue and stretch the bounds of human capacities.

Dittreich still sought new challenges. He continued to rack up an impressive array of victories and awards: 100m sprint records, Olympic swim titles, tennis championships, but he still felt the need for more speed. At that point he began to seek fulfillment through the latest in modern

devices, machines.

Paul Dittreich built a speedboat and piloted it to a second place finish at an important competition. Disappointed, he learned to fly and bought a plane for his company. Airplane racing and speed records became his new, and ultimately fatal, obsession. Yet, Mayer did not give his protagonist a moment to reflect upon his obsession with speed before he dispatched him to the hereafter. After visiting a museum and viewing the works of the Old Masters, Paul grew restless. The artists' ability to create balance and harmony gnawed at him. He realized that he was one dimensional, manic, in his quest for records and speed.

Unable to determine the aim and direction, the purpose, of his quest for speed, Dittreich visited a medium to seek answers from the spirit world. When he addressed the medium at a seance regarding the ultimate aim of his activities, he received a cryptic answer that, " He who is the measure of speed and the highest of wills. . . He who at once triumphs over speed and at the same time is at rest-- and this rest is without boundaries, eternal and never ending. . . soar, overcome, rest!"¹⁸ But the meaning of the medium's message baffled Dittreich; he soon forgot all about it and returned to his quest for speed. He prepared both a boat and a car for attempts at world speed records-- he eventually set a world record for the fastest sea mile.¹⁹

Dittreich ultimately discovered the secret of the Medium's message. After another day of record setting, he

received a telegram "with just three words: 'Come and Stay'."²⁰ It was a message from Dittreich's true love, and anima, the Englishwoman Diane Thomasson. He flew to her and they spent a night of love, through which they finally find a sense of fulfillment and completion.

Dittreich had realized the end and aim of his quest, love. Through his love for Diane Thomasson he found the sense of personal fulfillment that his quest for speed had never given him:

"She was the most perfect woman. He, the man, had seen her and must take and control her. And he must possess her always. . . she was there below. . . soon he must return to her. He realized that returning was what life was really all about, returning home, where a man could hurry to find rest after grappling with his troubles."²¹

Just as an overwhelming sense of peace began to descend upon him, Dittreich's aircraft failed. With his plane hurtling toward the ground far below, Dittreich reveled in his newfound sense of peace and tranquility; his love had saved him, given him peace. Mayer ended the tale by describing Dittreich's death as akin to a powerful meteor crashing into the sea. He had burned, burned, burned until he had crashed and burned no more. Dittreich had, like Icarus, attempted to exceed the proper limits of earth-bound humans. Only too late had he realized the power of the quotidian and the fulfillment of love.

Thus, Mayer's novella developed one of the main currents and responses toward sports by artists and

intellectuals of the period. He presented sports and their pursuit as a modern phenomenon. Clearly, to him sports were a means of inculcating and transmitting the values of the modern world: speed, performance, strength, energy, achievement. And at the same time, Mayer offered a powerful criticism of such values and goals if pursued exclusively for their own sake. He suggested that such a one-dimensional concern led to a kind of soullessness, or emptiness. The world of the spirit and the world of love and human relationships is shut out if we become mere machines ever in search of greater power, speed, and performance. Mayer's assessments of sports and their place in German culture, I would argue, were typical. He was ultimately ambivalent. Like many of his contemporaries he sought to establish proper boundaries for the new practices, values, and possibilities of modern life-- without them he seemed to suggest that his fellow Germans could only face ultimate ruin. Mayer's was not a new theme. As Guttman suggested regarding John Henry Mackay, Mayer offered his contemporaries an updated Faust-- a sporting Faust, a Faust of the body.

Mayer also presented an interesting angle on the binary relationships mentioned in the Introduction. He certainly outlined in detail the existence of such binary concepts as a way of understanding the modern world-- and the dilemmas that resulted. He also sought a way to fuse, or transcend, that same bifurcated condition. Ultimately, he suggested

that only an irrational state or condition, love, could do so. Sports, to Mayer a modern phenomenon, did not offer a way beyond them. As a result, one would have to consider him to be, despite his enthusiasm for sports, a cultural conservative. To Mayer, modern values and practices led not to progress and happiness; rather, they offered only a dead end without the traditional antidote to the difficulties and trials of life-- love.

Other authors, artists, and intellectuals far more celebrated(and deservedly so) than Theodor Heinrich Mayer were interested in sports, sportive themes, and sportive imagery in their works. One of the most notable was Bertolt Brecht.

Brecht was very much interested in sports and the life of the body. He saw sports as the perfect metaphor for modern life with all of its concern for speed, power, and competition. He was especially enamored of boxing. He contended that the desperate struggle between two boxers in the ring mirrored the struggles that unfolded in the streets of modern Berlin. Not surprisingly, then, boxing featured in several of Brecht's works.

In Brecht's drama, "Fat City", he utilized boxing as the central metaphor.²² And in the short story "Hook to the Chin"(written with the boxer Paul Samson-Körner), Brecht offered the tale of Freddy "the Hook" Meinke-- a second-rate fighter who journeyed to America and returned to Berlin with his nickname, a penchant for bizarre self-promotions(he

advertised one fight by having his picture taken in women's underwear), and a crushing right hook. Rejuvenated by his trip to America, Freddy won fight after fight and was finally able to line up a championship bout. Shortly before the big fight, Freddy and his trainer visited a bar to while away a bit of time before the match. When the narrator and Freddy's trainer, Fat Kampe, ordered beer Freddy became preoccupied with the thought of ordering a beer for himself. He knew that he shouldn't, but the temptation was killing him. He motioned to a waiter, but Kampe scolded him and Freddy, disgusted, sent the waiter away. Still, he considered having a glass. He wandered to the bar, pondering whether he should or shouldn't indulge himself: "He couldn't stand sitting here without drinking just because he wasn't supposed to weaken himself. He wanted to ingest that lake of typhus, but he didn't have the guts. At the same time, he probably pictured his girl with her engagement face, the walnut bedstead, and the walnut bookcases."²³ The result? Freddy was knocked-out in the second round. When asked what had happened, the narrator of the story replied:

" . . . As we left the bar, I knew that Freddy had lost his confidence."

"O.K.," I said, "but what should someone in Freddy's situation have done? The man emptied his glass and said: "A man should always do what he wants to. In my opinion, caution is the mother of the k.o."²⁴

The temptations of the world, or society, overrode Freddy's vital instincts, sapped his confidence and will to win.

Society had subdued Nature and subverted the body. Unable to overcome himself, how could he expect to overcome others?

Brecht also employed sportive language and imagery in his criticism. In an article that appeared in the Berliner Börsen-Courier, he called upon those involved in the theater to recognize the modes and practices, and the success, of sports in attracting a wide popular audience. If the theater wanted to be successful, Brecht claimed, it had to become more like sports:

We pin our hopes on the sporting public. Make no bones about it, we have our eye on those huge pans of concrete filled with 15,000 men and women of every variety of class and physiognomy, the fairest and shrewdest audience in the world... When people in sporting establishments buy their tickets they know exactly what is going to take place; and that is exactly what does take place once they are in their seats: viz. highly trained persons developing their peculiar powers in the way most suited to them with the greatest sense of responsibility yet in such a way as to make one feel that they are doing it primarily for their own fun. Against that the traditional theater nowadays is quite lacking in character.

There seems to be nothing to stop the theater from having its own form of sport. If only someone could take those buildings designed for theatrical purposes, which are now standing eating their heads off in interest, and treat them as more-or-less empty spaces for the successful pursuit of sport, then they would be used in a way that might mean something to a contemporary public that earns real contemporary money and eats real contemporary beef.²⁵

For Brecht, the theater needed to make the type of connection that sports had obviously come to make with the German public. The fun and entertainment of sports had to

infuse drama and the theater in general if it was to have contemporary relevance and attract an audience beyond the high-brow. Thus, he clearly viewed sports as a vital and positive force in German culture, one that he sought to capture and emulate in all of his work.

The former heavyweight boxing champion Max Schmeling also gave testimony regarding the degree to which sports and athletes were an important part of the Weimar cultural scene. In his memoirs Schmeling talked at length about his introduction into Weimar society and how as an athlete when sports were beginning to be widely embraced, he was welcomed in a wide variety of circles. Schmeling's introduction into the social whirl of German high society came when he first visited the home of the art dealer and publisher Alfred Flechtheim. Flechtheim was a big fan of Schmeling's; he told the young fighter that he closely followed all of his fights in Berlin and throughout Germany. Flechtheim even travelled to Leipzig with the sculptor Rudolf Belling and the conductor Leopold Stokowski to see one of Schmeling's fights.²⁶

Schmeling's visits with Flechtheim led to further social engagements. Flechtheim even considered Schmeling, "the show-piece of the Soirées."²⁷ But why? Why was a humble boxer now a figure with whom the leading lights of German culture sought to associate? Schmeling attributed his new found celebrity to the Zeitgeist. He contended that,

since social conventions had lost their
force, the Natural triumphed, corsets and

stand-up collars gave way to a mildly eccentric cult of the body: [there was] a glorification of the body and a cult of nudity that extended from variety shows to nudism. No intellectual magazines shrank from publishing nude photos. The Haller Revue brought dozens of naked girls on the stage. "Der Querschnitt" published pictures of nude boxers in various poses. The sculptures of the Ancient world and Renaissance were rediscovered, and the UFA film of 1925 "Ways to Strength and Beauty" offered a cultural history of the nude body from the beginning of Man to the present.²⁸

It was a time, Schmeling argued, when sports were part of the cultural ethos of the age: "For the first time since the ancient world artists turned to people engaged in games and competition as the objects of their art."²⁹ Schmeling mentioned George Grosz's paintings of boxers and wrestlers, Walter Mehring's poetry, Max Liebermann's paintings of riders and polo players, Raoul Dufy's paintings of horse racing and regattas, and Max Beckmann's racers and rugby players as evidence of how sports had been embraced by the artistic community.

Popular culture was just as affected, Schmeling claimed. He noted that boxing became a cement between the high and the low brow in German culture. The sculptor Rudolf Belling told Schmeling that, "to many, the boxer is the ideal figure of the time."³⁰

The two great newspapers of Weimar Berlin, the "BZ am Mittag" and the "Morgenpost", lent credence to Schmeling's claim by organizing courses for individuals and groups to learn boxing in the hopes of creating dozens of teachers and

physical fitness instructors who could teach the sport. They believed that, "through a 'Volksboxsportkurse' (People's Boxing Course) that people would be better prepared for the realities of life; that hard training and becoming better boxers would help them to be able to handle the demands of reality."³¹

Thus, Schmeling's experience demonstrated the degree to which Germans during the Weimar period embraced sports and saw them as an elemental expression of both the past and the present. Sports were, as Schmeling indicates, part of the modern world and a preparation for it-- and at the same time were seen to be harnessing or tapping into old cultural and natural energies.

Schmeling made the binary character of sports and Weimar culture even clearer when he discussed his relationship with the painter George Grosz. Grosz met Schmeling through Alfred Flechtheim. Flechtheim arranged for Schmeling to sit for a portrait with Grosz in his studio. According to Schmeling, Grosz wanted to paint him because he best symbolized the human condition. Through his portrait, Grosz wanted ". . . to show the idea of Man in the ring."³² At one of their sittings, Schmeling reported that Grosz compared boxing and painting: "I go straight for the head, . . . that the boxer and the painter have in common: both must take the unknown, a stranger, and with a glance determine what they are about. What is this man? What is his life? What is his character? From this I must make a

painting, you must understand how he will fight."³³ Grosz was so interested in the thought and theory of boxing-- what it meant in a larger context-- that Schmeling concluded: "I had the impression that for him the theory of boxing was more interesting than the actual fight itself."³⁴ Grosz's interest in boxing as a metaphor or symbol of German society clearly illustrates how deeply sportive imagery had penetrated into German culture-- and the union of the high and low, the natural and the intellectual, or rational and irrational.

Another artist who embraced the sportive motif and the supposed values of sports was one of Brecht's contemporaries, the Dada poet Walter Mehring. In his "6 Tage Rennen" (Six Day Race) of 1918, Mehring captured the essence of one of Berlin's great passions, the six-day bicycle races that were held at the Sportpalast. His words echoed the pace of the riders and celebrated the marriage of muscle, steel, and speed:

Hard
at the start
Muscles poised to go
Two times a hundred thousand
eyes
gazing from the human wall
Noah's ark filled to bursting!
Tightly
pressed thighs on the crossbar
Naked and bare--
The Starter, tuxedo clad, raises his gun
flash and shot
Go
Pedal, pedal, pedal
Brains on the pedal!
Steel
and tire
grab fresh wood on the curve

rolling, squealing
where once were forests. . .
now only a breath
tires fully pumped!
Through forests stalked in green disguise...
Where bells ring: praying
Praying, Praying-- Pedaling, Pedaling
Where there's the peace of
the Starter's bell!
--always the man in the tux--
Where the peace
of the riders circling
Circling, circling
Big hand!
Little hand!
Why...why...
Starting bell of the first day!³⁵

Mehring continued describing the race and the crowd for all six days of the race. His poem truly captured the grim determination of the rider and the mood of the spectators. Mehring was also able to capture the ambivalence of the modern that was prominent during the period. His language and imagery alternate and intertwine from modern hardness, effort, and intensity to the primordial calm and peace of the forests and the call of the church bell. In many ways it is one of the most concise testimonies of the complicated reception of sports as a modern phenomenon in Germany.

Mehring's recognized and captured the complex nature of sports in modern society. For him, the human body was something at once young and old. The emphasis on the human body-- both its aesthetic beauty and health-- looked back to ancient Greece and the classical ideal that was so important in German culture. Yet the body was also understood by many to be a far darker and more atavistic site. The raw animal power of Brecht's boxers symbolized for many the life of

humans before history; they represented the ferocity of the ancient Germanic tribes. Athletes were warriors who could reintroduce the vitality and energy that was deemed necessary to regenerate German society in the face of decadent Zivilization. Clearly, there was no one way to envisage and understand sports in modern German society and culture. Their meaning was fluid and could be easily expropriated to fit just about any cause. To echo the title of one early Dadaist manifesto, "Jedermann sein eigener Fussball" (Everyman his own football). Sports, in some measure, belonged to everyone-- and everyone could supply their own meaning and significance to them. And in the vast and varied culture of modern Germany, that is precisely what they did. The bottom line, nevertheless, was that sports became a part of the popular consciousness and played a significant role as a sort of cultural currency.

Similar sentiments were trumpeted by the Expressionist dramatist, Ludwig Rubiner:

What matters is the transformation of energy.
It is moral that movement should dominate;
intensity that frees our life from gelatinous
monadism proceeds solely from the liberation
of psychic forces. Transformation of inner
images into public facts, lines of force
erupt into view, stage backdrops are
overturned, spaces become visible, space, new
abodes of thought until the next catastrophe.
Our catastrophes alone give us life. The name
of disturber is an honorary title for us;
for us destroyer is a religious concept,
inseparable for us today from creator. And
therefore it is right that literature explode
into politics.³⁶

Mehring was not the only poet interested in bicycling

and the experience of modern sports. In 1926, Die Literarische Welt (Literary World) conducted a contest to discover talented young writers. Bertolt Brecht judged the poetry division. After reviewing the entries that had been received Brecht rejected them all. As the victor, Brecht offered a poem by a young sports enthusiast named Hannes Koppers that had not been officially entered in the contest at all. Brecht explained that Koppers' poem was a much more apt expression of the times-- it was dedicated to a bicycle racer.

Hey, Hey! The Iron Man
About him circles a legend
That his arms and hands and legs
were formed from a smithy's iron
In Sydney on a night bright as day.

Hey, Hey! The Iron Man!
A mainspring of steel in his heart,
free from feeling and human pain,
his brain a bank of switches
controlling the dynamos.

Hey, Hey! The Iron Man!
Thick cables are his nerves
Charged with volts and amperes

For
This artificial man was not
intended to be a Six-Day Racer.
He was to be the new Caesar
which explains his iron strength

Hey, Hey! The Iron Man!

And
If all this is legend,
there is also the truth:
There is a human miracle:

Reggie McNamara

Hey, Hey! The Iron Man!³⁷

Again Brecht revealed a penchant for the speed and power that the athlete represents. In this case, the imagery of the athlete as a machine is unmistakable. It is a Futurist

paean to power and a modernist call to speed.

But not all of those who used the motif of bicycling as an expression of the modern world were as sanguine and approving as Brecht, Mehring, and young Hannes Koppers. The Expressionist playwright Georg Kaiser adopted sportive language and imagery in his theory of human existence and drama; he also used bicycling as a prominent feature in his play "From Morn to Midnight".

In his essay on Expressionist theater, "Man in the Tunnel," Kaiser used sportive language and imagery and echoed approvingly the aim and purpose of many an athlete: "The purpose of being is the attainment of record achievements. Record achievements in all areas. The man of record achievements is the dominant type of this age, which will begin tomorrow and never end."³⁸

However, in "From Morn to Midnight", Kaiser offered a much less supportive attitude toward sports and what they represent in modern society. In the play, Kaiser's protagonist was a bank teller, or cashier, who was bored with his stolid, lower middle class life and family. One day, entranced by the aspect of a wealthy patron, the cashier decided to chuck it all and embezzled a huge sum of money-- 60,000 pounds-- from the bank.³⁹ He sought excitement and fulfillment, not internal or spiritual fulfillment, but sensual fulfillment-- excitement! The money was his ticket to the ideal modern life of affluence and enjoyment.

After a brief visit home to confirm the desultory unattractiveness of his domestic life, the cashier goes out into the world to enjoy his new found wealth. One of the stops that he made in search of deep and satisfying excitement was the sports stadium and the six-day bicycle races.

Through his cashier, Kaiser tellingly ridiculed the bicyclists. To the clamor of the howling mob they circled the track time and time again. Exhaustion, both in the crowd and amongst the bicycle racers eventually set in; however, before their energy completely failed them, a new prize was offered-- one hundred more marks for the winner of the next stage! The crowd roared its approval and goaded the riders on to more effort, more speed, demanding that they exceed and extend the limits of their tired bodies. The riders hurled themselves at the track once again as the race official waved the money, like a carrot before a beast, before them. In this instance at least, Kaiser sneered at professional athletes, sports in general, and at German society. The bicycle race was not a noble affair, nor was it an expression of the modern desire for speed, power, and performance; rather, it was a simple transaction-- a morbid example of Marx's "cash nexus". The crowd and the riders would do whatever it took to cash in-- it was money that excites and intoxicates them, driving them to a frenzy. In Kaiser's play, the virtues of sports were washed away in a tide of greed and lust for wealth and luxury.

Final confirmation of Kaiser's use of sports as a symbol of the overly body conscious and worldly preoccupations of society came at the end of the play after the cashier met a girl from the Salvation Army and was gradually coming to realize the grievous error that he committed. At the Salvation Army hall a meeting was being held and sinners were being given an opportunity to present themselves and their sins to the group as a means toward redemption. One of the "penitents" was a young man who climbs a platform at the front of the hall and addresses the crowd:

This city of asphalt has erected a stadium. I was a rider in that stadium. I am a professional cyclist. In the Six-Day Cycle Race. On the second night I was rammed by another cyclist. I broke my arm. I had to scratch from the race. The race rages on-- I have peace. I have time to think things out in peace. I have been racing all my life without pause for thought. I want to think everything out-- everything. I want to think of my sins at the stool of repentance.⁴⁰

Clearly Kaiser used the bicyclist to represent each and every person in the modern world. "The asphalt city" represented the modern industrial world. The rider was the modern individual forced to scramble and scratch at an ever increasing pace to try to maintain their place in the world. The bicycle track itself was a symbol of the modern rat race-- round and round it goes without any apparent end in sight.

And yet, Kaiser's rider also promised some possibility

of redemption and transcendence of his(our) condition. After his injury(notice it comes at the hands of one of his fellow competitors-- the world is definitely a struggle for survival according to Kaiser), the rider was given a moment to pause and reevaluate his life and its meaning. Thought and introspection are the ways out of the modern predicament according to Kaiser. In "From Morn to Midnight" the life of the mind and spirit needs to be re-discovered. Therein lies our salvation according to Kaiser. Once we can pause and reconsider our place in the world, and the price that living in the world exacts from us, then we can make reasoned and careful judgments about how to conduct our lives. The cashier in the story did just that after hearing the confession of the rider, the Salvation Army girl, and others. He began to face the deed that he had done and his need for reflection and redemption. He made his confession, but was accidentally killed by the police who were sent to track him down. The cashier was forgiven, Kaiser seemed to suggest, but he was nevertheless a victim of the pace and demands of modern life. He lost his bearings, his spirit, and ultimately his life.

Georg Kaiser, one of the leading voices of Expressionist drama, used sports as a central theme and vehicle in one of his most telling commentaries on modern life and society. Sports figured, in both his theoretical comments and in "From Morn to Midnight." They represent the values and behaviors that Kaiser identified in his own time

and society. In one instance he spoke positively of the ethos of performance and the desire for record achievement. In the other he offered sports as emblematic of the kind of superficial, bodily, non-spiritual concerns of the modern citizen.

Why did Kaiser at once embrace and shun sports and what they represent? I think that it is important to note that in "From Morn to Midnight" the bicyclists in question were professionals-- paid to ride and win. In large measure, Kaiser's commentary on the cash nexus in modern sports and society echoed the criticisms against professional cyclists and athletes that had existed since before the turn of the century: their purpose was not the development and cultivation of the body for health or overall personal growth; rather, they made their body and its talents an instrument of the larger capitalist society and its desire for excitement and profit. In that regard, Kaiser and the traditional critics of sports agreed. However, the traditional critics of sports, especially the leaders of the Turnvereine, still favored training the body for health and the health of the nation. Kaiser balked at that idea. In "From Morn to Midnight" the cashier lamented the arrival of the king in the royal box at the bicycle races and the respectful silence of the crowd in the face of the royal visit. For Kaiser, the body and its cultivation were not to be undertaken for any purposes beyond individual enjoyment and health. Individuals, their body and spirit had to be

free to follow their own reasoned understanding of who and what they are. It was the press toward conformity and the instrumentalization of the individual that Kaiser appeared to be striking out against-- in sports and in the larger society.

Marieluise Fleisser's novel, Mehltreisende Frieda Geier presented another critical view of sports.⁴¹ For a time a friend and intimate of Brecht, Fleisser was ambivalent about sports and the values it propagated. In her novel, her characters offered a view of sports as agents of violence and brutality. However, in other writings she recognized sports as the epitome of the modern experience and for a time advocated their pursuit.

The story revolves around the relationship between Frieda Geier and Gustl Gillich. The athlete of the two was Gustl. He was a champion swimmer for the Ingolstadt Schwimmverein. However, Fleisser's view of the provincial athlete was not tragic nor celebratory. Despite his finely trained body and athletic successes, Gustl was ultimately unable to satisfy Frieda in every respect. Fleisser wrote in a satiric manner, and the athlete in her tale was not portrayed as an expression of the power of the natural body, but rather as a narcissistic oaf so preoccupied with his athletic training that he had little energy for anything else.⁴²

Later in the story, when Gustl lost a race and then decided to give up competitive swimming, one might suspect

that Frieda would be overjoyed; instead, she viewed Gustl as a sore loser and quitter and rejected him as a suitable candidate for matrimony. Despondent, Gustl tried to drown himself. Frieda jumped in to save him, foundered herself, and Gustl ended up saving her. He was still far from able to save their relationship. She remained unconvinced, despite his bodily attainments, that he was an acceptable match.

The novel concluded with Gustl rescuing his swimming career with new and great triumphs in the pool. After his rejection by Frieda, he pored his energy into his training and won race after race. Yet, Fleisser did not allow Gustl's physical and athletic prowess to redeem him. She closed with a scene in which Gustl sparked a violent barroom brawl. After the fight, Gustl, sporting four missing front teeth, announced proudly that it was "lots of fun". For Fleisser, Gustl could not for the life of him transcend the realm of the physical and its connection to atavistic brutality and violence.

Fleisser's novel is important because it illustrates , albeit negatively, the growing understanding of the centrality of body culture and sports as an agent of primitive energy(for good or ill) in modern Germany. Gustl was an athlete, but in Fleisser's novel that was not necessarily a sign of modern progress and health. He represented the segment of the German populace that was preoccupied with the body and the desire to restore or

rejuvenate some primordial connection to the natural world. Much like Kaiser's play, Fleisser's novel depicted a showdown between those who supported the path of reason and the life of the mind against those who advocated the Dionysian recovery of the body and its non-rational power.

Yet Fleisser did not condemn sports in all of her writings. In her essay, "Sportgeist und Zeitkunst. Essay über den modernen Menschentyp," (The Spirit of Sports and Contemporary Art: An Essay on the Modern Type) Fleisser echoed Brecht's embrace of the athlete as the representative of the age:

When people today are asked to name the type of person they consider the representative of the modern sentiment, those in the know name the athlete. The facts justify the claim. Yet it would be sad if this judgment of the culture of our time were to remain conclusive in its one-sided limitation to the physical. Considered precisely, the essence of the athlete is that which distinguishes him from a well-drilled recruit: his athletic spirit and his competitive orientation toward life. If it is true that this athletic spirit, in its resolute and deliberate activity, comprises the peak of contemporary sentiments, no reason remains for confining its effects one-sidedly to the body. Perhaps the person devoted to mental work can learn from the methods applied by the athlete.⁴³

Fleisser recognized the importance of sports and sought to extract, much like Brecht regarding the theater, lessons from sports that could be applied to art-- and life in general. She argued that:

The genuine spirit of sports is the aggressive orientation of an individual toward his own body, whereby, given the prospect of certain difficult accomplishments, he attempts to

repress his body's natural reluctance through an exercise of will. Once gained, an athletic achievement is not something that simply remains; rather, it constantly must be reasserted against the body's own unwelcome laws of inertia, against its tendency to let up. The neural pathways by which will is translated into physical movement are trained until they react to the slightest impulse. The result is determination. ⁴⁴

Fleisser utilized language and imagery that reflected a profound concern with the body and its processes. The body, especially the athletic body, and its operations symbolized society and its actions:

Tendons, muscles, nerves, and bones are accustomed to delivering force and accustomed to cold-bloodedness, control, speed, endurance, intensification, coiled concentrations of will, and those sudden explosions that go into a spurt. Yet once the highest form has been achieved, the will is not the only effective force responsible for exceptional accomplishments. The body, drawing on the very last of its reserves, seems suddenly to have been seized by an alien power, permeated with fantastic abilities that make the accomplishment visible. The athlete enters, so to speak, into a temporary chemical compound with a being of a different dimension. This blending can be achieved by a body operating in top form, like the flash of lightning attracted by a rod. It is the highest natural form of activity known in man. It is the business of athletes to approximate as nearly as possible the flash through the energy in their bodies. To drive oneself toward the flash, to conjure the tension required, is the passion that makes up the driving nerve of the modern human type. ⁴⁵

Fleisser succinctly and persuasively presented all of the components of sports as a modern phenomenon. She also utilized language that firmly identified sports as an

expression of the scientific, body and biology conscious, mood and mindset of the german intelligentsia and educated public. The themes that she drew upon were clearly those presented by Helmholtz and Ostwald(energy), Clausius(inertia), and Haeckel(his monistic idea of the body and nature as a route to spiritual transcendence). Thus, Fleisser's essay serves, for my purposes, as a profound support for the idea that sports was viewed as a mechanism for overcoming the binary tensions of modern existence. Fleisser held sport to be both the epitome of modern existence, but also the model for how to overcome its many difficulties.

The final novel, Sport um Gagaly, by Kasimir Edschmid, offered a more important role for female athletes than any other work of German sports fiction. It also presented a very positive view of the joys of sports and the athletic lifestyle.⁴⁶ The protagonist in the novel was Cesare Passari, a former diplomat and scholar who tired of the life of the mind and theory and craved action. A wealthy industrialist, Passari abandoned his diplomatic career and adopted a life devoted to athletic pursuits and bodily stimulation. He believed the human body was a work of art and cultivated his own as such. He was a champion runner and tennis player, as well as a race car driver for Fiat. In many respects he was the epitome of the Futurist man of energy and action. Passari was also, like many of the Futurists, a fascist. Edschmid stated that Passari's

attitude toward sports, ". . . resembled that of Mussolini's view of the State."⁴⁷

The characters in the book exemplified the bored European aristocracy seeking new thrills, be they in politics or on the athletic fields. The most important relationship in the novel was a triangular one. Passari was attracted to two sporting women: Gagaly Madosdy and Contessa Pista Tossuth. Gagaly was an accomplished athlete; she excelled in every sport that she played. Edschmid described her as "an Athena in tennis shoes". Passari was smitten. She embodied his "athletic and feminine ideal."⁴⁸

Yet, Passari also fell in love with the young contessa. Pista was young and unformed and became Passari's Pygmalion. Demonstrating his world-view, he contended that "laws which can perfect this child are the laws of sports."⁴⁹ He trained Pista to become a champion athlete and challenge his beloved Gagaly. He wanted to humble Gagaly for not publicly admitting they were lovers. At the showdown tennis match between Pista and Gagaly, Passari found himself overcome by his love for each of the competitors.

Pista and Gagaly formed their own friendship based on competition and their mutual interest in Passari. The three admired one another's bodies and athletic, body conscious personalities. Their bodies are their constant preoccupation. Gagaly's legs are described as "perfectly beautiful, muscular, curved and firm but nonetheless graceful."⁵⁰ For her part, Pista is described by Passari as

having " a steel slim body" that has about it "a wonderfully elastic form."⁵¹ They present a new body consciousness and aesthetic that came into fashion as sports took off in the 1920's.

The novel culminated with a complicated resolution of the relationships between the three. The came to love one another as well as Passari. They did not, however, consummate their love. Instead, Gagaly(who was married and unwilling to undergo the social scrutiny of divorce) encouraged Pista to marry Passari and continue their love triangle. The passion that they shared brought them ever greater bodily strength and accomplishment. The novel ended with the three happily cavorting and continuing to enjoy their athletic lifestyle.

Edschmid's novel was significant in a number of respects. It offered a glimpse of the growing prominence of a body aesthetic and athletic lifestyle that began to emerge in the 1920's. He also vividly described women passionately involved in sports and a sportive lifestyle in a manner that was heretofore unknown. In each case, Edschmid allowed an important glimpse at the ways in which sports were beginning to change cultural attitudes toward the body and how they helped to forge new ways of understanding and living in the modern world.

Authors and dramatists were not the only ones to comment on sports and their growing importance in Germany.

Intellectuals of all stripes began to speak out on the sporting phenomenon-- many of them negatively. Most of these critics found sports objectionable because of its characteristically modern features.

Wolfgang Graeser, best known as a music critic, argued that sports furthered the modern world's emphasis on technology and the body at the expense of the mind in his Body, Gymnastics, Dance and Sports. He contended that, "-- today all of one's daily life is governed by them(sports)." ⁵² And not only had sports and the emphasis on the body usurped the role formerly accorded to the mind and reason, they had also, much to Graeser's disdain, helped open the path for women to participate in everyday life as well.

Graeser maintained that sports introduced new types, or ideals, of masculine and feminine beauty-- thereby breaking down old barriers: "It appears that a new type has emerged: the thin, lithe, highly developed body of the youth. And in general the ideal womanly type-- is to be realized in the assimilation of the male form. How far this has become true can be seen in the examples of America and on the streets of any modern great city." ⁵³ Such unabashed challenges to traditional conceptions of contemplation and reason, beauty, and relationships between the sexes would lead, Graeser believed, to the eventual collapse of the Western world through the development of fascism and bolshevism. To Graeser those two ideologies were most closely connected to

the primitive and bodily energies of human beings. They were fueled by the same drive and ethos as sports and the modern world. To him they would, as a result, prevail.⁵⁴ Thus, for Graeser, sports operated as both a symptom and agent of modernity and all the pernicious effects that it augured for German society.

Dr. Alfred Peter's echoed Graeser's negative view of sports in his Psychologie des Sports. Seine Konfrontierung mit Spiel und Kampf (The Psychology of Sports. The Confrontation between Play and Competition).⁵⁵ Peters presented an unrelentingly bleak view of sports as a marker of the depths to which Western culture had sunk. To him, sports reflected the anti-Enlightenment tenor of the times. Sports, he contended, served no humanistic purpose; rather, they were indicative of a society and culture dominated by technology and empty of genuine, soulful, experience.⁵⁶ In fact, Peters maintained, sports encouraged athletes to equate themselves with machines, thus indicating how far they had fallen from a more spiritual existence. In the search to find a more meaningful existence the modern individual sought ever new and stronger sensations, sports among them; yet, according to Peters, a satisfactory conclusion to such a quest using sports as the vehicle was fruitless. He maintained, "The pleasure of sports is limited. Ultimately, the individual discovers their internal 'horror vacui', a void, beyond despair and the reason of the mind." And sports only supported this condition, fostered

it, by distracting the individual from contemplation of the true state of their being and their need for some sort of internal spiritual healing.⁵⁷ In short, sports offered no meaning to existence, and therefore, they had no deep and lasting value.

The epitome of the meaningless and unsatisfactory nature of sports, according to Peters, was the mania for records⁵⁸. To him, records offered no deep and intrinsic joy-- nor lasting meaning to the athlete; instead, they provided an extrinsic, socially determined, ranking of performance that offered, at best, only fleeting satisfaction to the athlete(see Mayer above).

Peter's mentor, the noted philosopher Max Scheler, did not fully support his pupil's scathing indictment of sports. was not fully supported by his mentor, the noted philosopher Max Scheler. Scheler offered, in an introduction to Peters' work, and in his own writings, a more measured and sympathetic attitude towards sports. In the introduction to Peter's monograph, Scheler endorsed the idea that sports were a recent and important phenomenon, far outstripping the traditional cultural disciplines. He maintained that, "Scarcely any contemporary international phenomenon earns so very little sociological and psychological investigation as the immeasurable extent of the increased appreciation of sports. . . . In unprecedented numbers sports has come to displace appreciation and pursuit of art, philosophy, science, theater, and higher education--it is an abrupt and

explosive reaction to previous ages."⁵⁹ Scheler suggested that the rage for sports amongst the German public reflected other attitudes that fostered (especially by the youth) a renewed importance on the body, strength and beauty, and the erotic. All of these attitudes comprised a strong reaction against the ascetic and spiritual practices adopted by Western peoples under the influence of Christianity. Scheler, unlike his student Alfred Peters, approved of sports' role in such an undertaking. He maintained that the re-directing of psychic and bodily energy from the mind toward the cultivation of the body, and the attempt to attain maximum bodily performance, to be good necessary. He endorsed sports if they aimed at achieving a balance between the mind and the body for the purposes of individual health and enjoyment and not for purposes of reviving the body for extrinsic (especially labor and social) purposes.⁶⁰

However, Scheler agreed with Peter's negative view regarding the use of sports for extrinsic, socially utilitarian purposes. In that respect, Scheler held that sports served as a recreation from, and rehabilitation for, work, not individual fulfillment. Sports offered a "narcotizing effect against feelings of fatigue and emotional emptiness."⁶¹ The "infantile" mania for records that Peters despises, Scheler identified as an expression of the corruption of sports.

In some of his earlier works Scheler had also advanced his view of sports as valuable tool for developing the

individual body and spirit; but, he saw sports all too often corrupted in their modern form. In his influential treatise Ressentiment, Scheler developed a worldview and explanation for modern social behavior that was predicated on a division of society into an elite of noble bearing and character who placed themselves in accord with a set of universal values, and the great masses who were incapable of exercising control over themselves and their lives-- and who therefore created a subjective world governed by their personal values of resentment and powerlessness.⁶² Such "bourgeois values", as Scheler described them, were antithetical to a vital and integrated life of the mind and body.

It was at this juncture that one could locate Scheler's ideas regarding sports and the role that they should play in the lives of individuals and society at large. Scheler argued that the modern West had wholeheartedly adopted the ethos of the market and the notion of utilitarianism. As a result, "the ability to treat life as an intrinsic value disappears in theory and practice. Therefore we also lose all understanding for a technique of life-- be it a technique of propagation, be it a social and individual technique for the intensification of vital forces."⁶³ Scheler identified such techniques in a variety of historical societies and practices; among them, he listed, ". . . exercise, contest, knightly tournament; . . . the estate system, races, games, and the Gymnasium of ancient Greece; . . . all these embody the same idea: that a dead

mechanical technique stands below a vital technique, that life and the abundance of its forces deserves to be developed for its own sake-- without reference to professional usefulness!"⁶⁴ To Scheler, all notions of hierarchy and selection based on standards of superiority, or goodness, had been abandoned in the modern world-- or better yet, had been sacrificed,

to free the forces required for doing better business. The 'estate'-- a concept in which noble blood and tradition determine the unity of the group-- is replaced by the mere 'class,' a group unified by property, certain external customs ruled by fashion, and 'culture.' Bodily training in all its forms is nothing but 'recreation' from work or the gathering of strength for renewed useful labor--it is never valuable in itself as a pure play of vital forces. There is no longer the slightest understanding for the exercise of vital functions for the sake of life. . . everything is done for the sake of work. . . Mechanical chance governs everything. 'True seriousness' pertains to business and work alone, and all the rest is only 'fun.' Even modern 'sports' are nothing but recreation from work, and by no means a manifestation of free vitality at whose service work itself should be.⁶⁵

Despite such a negative and categorical statement regarding sports, Scheler was not so bleak elsewhere in his comments regarding sports and their place in the life of the individual and society. In a footnote to his statements above, he remarked, "But I must say that our 'youth' is in process of rediscovering this idea. In this I see one of the surest signs that the modern bourgeois spirit is being gradually overcome."⁶⁶ Clearly, Scheler saw in sports not just a means of recuperation and preparation of the body for

the next day's labor. He also viewed them as at least offering the possibility of individual development and discovery-- and quite possibly, social regeneration through the recovery of the realm of intrinsic values and vital energies.

Such arguments against the inroads of market capitalism and its effects on society are already familiar to us; yet, Scheler's critique was instructive because of the venom of its attack and the place that it carved out for sports as a technique and practice to revive modern culture. His sentiments, as conservative as they might be, were echoed by many other critics of the modern Western world. Scheler's desire to create an integrated individual, one who united mind and body, was often heard and transmogrified by others into a call for the dominance of the body and the biological. Thus, it mirrored in many important ways the conceptions of the body, the individual, and sports that were embraced by fascism and the National Socialists.

Oswald Spengler echoed Scheler's critique. In his Decline of the West, Spengler mentioned sports on several occasions. He identified sports with modernity and his bete noir, civilization.

In the introduction to his work Spengler stated that, "Every culture has its own civilization."⁶⁷ For him that idea was extremely important; to Spengler, "civilization" meant the culmination of human efforts and energies-- and once that apex was reached, then decline must surely

followed: "Civilizations are the most extreme and most artificial achievement. . . They are a conclusion; . . They are an end, irrevocable, but they are attained with an internal necessity, again and again."⁶⁸ Spengler located sports within the process of a civilization's decline.

More specifically, Spengler placed sports within the development of the modern world and the "Weltstadt"(metropolis). Since the Weltstadt resulted from civilization, Spengler despised it: "The metropolis' cosmopolitanism replaces a sense of 'homeland', the cold sense of Reason and Facts stands in lieu of reverence for tradition and organic development, the scientifically influenced irreligion appears as a petrified substitute for the religion of the heart, 'society' stands in lieu of the state. . . the panem et circenses(bread and circuses) of today are disguised as wage disputes and sports fields-- everything marks the end, the completion, of culture, we have entered a wholly new, late, futureless territory, but it is an inevitable part of human existence."⁶⁹

Why did Spengler consider sports a part of the modern metropolis and a measure of its decline? He viewed them as inorganic and foreign to German culture; they also created a distraction from the life of the spirit and mind-- they offered mere entertainment; sports did not promote an approach to integrated personal development and growth. Spengler contended, "To culture belongs gymnastics, the tournament, the struggle for excellence(der Agon);

civilization has sports. Art has become a sport-- through the idea of 'art for arts sake'. . . "70

Finally, Spengler identified sports as a peculiar physic for the "intellectual tension" in modern civilization. But he couched his understanding of sports' place in such a metropolis in the most negative terms: ". . . the relief from mental strain through the body and sports, relief from bodily tension through sensual 'Joy' and mental tension through the excitement of the game and the bet, . . . Movies, Expressionism, Theosophy, Boxing, Niggertänze, Poker and Racing-- one finds all of these in Rome, and an expert should expand the investigation into the metropolises of India, China, and the Arabic world."71 Decline was a feature of all civilizations in all periods of history. Still, the end of the West would not be forestalled through knowledge. For Spengler no regeneration seemed possible-- and the end was nigh! Sports were implicated in the arrival of civilization and seen as both one of the symptoms and causes of the decline of Western civilization. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Spengler did not see sports as regenerative; rather, they were a corrosive and corrupting influence on the German public.

Conservative intellectuals and critics were not alone in recognizing the increasing visibility and role of sports in German society. Many intellectuals on the Left saw sports as an interesting phenomenon as well-- one that deserved consideration and careful comment. Many observers

on the Left identified sports with the military and economic hierarchies in Germany. In a collection of essays entitled Der Sport am Scheidewege (Sport at the Crossroads), Egon Erwin Kisch argued that two predominant views of sports were offered by critics on the Left: one, that sports represented "another form of military training and preparation for war. . . with modern means the people are trained for future time in the trenches."⁷² And two, that sports served as a means of creating a fit and docile workforce for the great industries and their owners in Germany. Kisch maintained that those who advanced such a thesis ultimately contend that, "Sports are in reality a strategy and tactic of the industrial barons."⁷³

Kisch agreed with such notions. His own observations led him to believe "that the passionate sportsman and the passionate worker seldom meet. And the Workers Sports Association, with its subsidies from the employers for playing fields and competitions, all too often leads the worker to not desire a change in his condition."⁷⁴ Kisch considered sports an antidote to workers' revolutionary agitation. For him, sports were, as Spengler suggested, mere bread and circuses-- a distraction from the world and the serious need for social, political, and economic change.

In the same collection, the champion ski, hockey, and tennis player Dr. Heinz Landmann lamented that enthusiasm for sports and its heroes far outstripped that of revolutionary martyrs: ". . . it appears that if left to

wholly follow their own feelings the proletariat holds the successful boxer in higher regard than the revolutionary who is shot dead or hung."⁷⁵ Landmann was concerned about such a situation. He argued that the achievements of athletes and sportsmen ultimately amount to nothing. No matter what the record set or the feat performed, he held that they did not transcend the mundane; they did not change the world.⁷⁶ And yet, despite recognizing the situation, working class leaders ignored the danger of sports. Landmann maintained that the uninterrupted desire by the masses for more effort, more championships, more records would continue to spur athletic heroes on to ever greater deeds and efforts. But, he asked, would it ever cease? "Or will the Champion continue to overestimate the importance of his athletic performances and continue, thereby, to feel his sport is his real business-- while at the same time the sport demands so much physical and psychic effort, can any strength, energy, and interest remain for his other business?"⁷⁷ In short, sports lured the athlete and the spectator away from real life and its demands. To critics like Landmann, athletes and spectators engaged in an elaborate delusion-- what appeared to bring them joy, comfort, and freedom in fact kept them firmly shackled to the great wheel of industry and the economic, social, and political status quo. As a champion himself, Landmann's comments carried great power. He wanted his comrades to profit from his own experience: one cannot change the world while singlemindedly dribbling a football

or carrying a tennis racket.

Other intellectuals profoundly disagreed with Landmann and his supporters. Arguments in support of sports as a conduit of the new, modern, industrial world-- and a positive force-- appeared in a landmark issue of the periodical, Der Querschnitt. The entire issue addressed sports and their place in modern German society. Some of the leading minds of Germany contributed to the volume, thereby confirming the widespread impact of sports that was being registered throughout the length and breadth of German society and culture.

In his "Weltreligion des 20. Jahrhunderts" Hans Seiffert posited that throughout the Western world the commonly accepted religion of the masses, Christianity, had given way to the worship of sports.⁷⁸ He contended that all segments of society, from the cultured elites to the masses, had fallen under its sway. The symbol and object of worship of their new faith was the ball. However, despite their common symbol of reverence, sports did mirror the class divisions in society. Capital, property, and income helped to determine who participated in which sports. Thus, sports became a means of display and confirmation of one's social standing.⁷⁹

To illustrate his point, Seiffert listed some of the sports that social groups pursued and described how they were class exclusive. For example, he contended that the most popular sports, those enjoyed by the lower classes in

society, were those which required body to ball contact: soccer, rugby, and handball.⁸⁰ He suggested that such "primitive" sports hearkend back to the days of prehistoric nature worship and the battles of the gods of Summer and Winter.⁸¹

The upper middle class favored a different variety of sports, Seiffert argued. They also played sports with a ball, but used an intervening piece of equipment. Tennis and hockey were their favorites. The use of a smaller ball and "cultish" weapons, the racket and hockey stick, indicated the increasingly difficult and prestigious character of sports enjoyed by a higher socio-economic group.⁸²

The highest classes embraced the most elaborate and expensive sports, golf and polo. Each required space, expensive equipment, and arcane knowledge. Seiffert also considered them to be the most difficult sports because they utilized small balls and possessed other variables (like the horse in polo) that made them more difficult and expensive to master.⁸³

But in all cases, Seiffert concluded, the participants worshipped the ball and shared a common veneration for it. Their fanaticism was evident in the ability of sports to gather one hundred thousand believers to witness some of their "ceremonies"-- which was a final indication to Seiffert of the power of the new "world religion."⁸⁴

A psychological study of sports and their attraction

for players and spectators was offered by Richard Wiener.⁸⁵ In his article, "Empfehlung eines neuen Sports" (Recommendation of a New Sport), Wiener appeared to be develop a variant of Sigmund Freud's understanding of the psychic drives he summed up as Thanatos and Eros-- the death drive and the pleasure drive.

Wiener began his analysis by suggesting that sports could be divided into two rough categories: those that dealt primarily with space(Raum) and its conquest(sports such as hitting or throwing balls, javelin, discus; and sports such auto racing and running). Such sports, Wiener contended, were described by their followers as exciting because of the space that was conquered(e.g. the distance a javelin is thrown, etc.). Athletes and fans claimed that such events energizedthem and gave spice and vitality to life. But to Wiener, such events and desires masked a drive toward death(Selbstmord). What gave sports their allure, according to Wiener, was the opportunity they afford the athlete to push themselves to the brink of death. In essence, they offered a means of "welcoming" the death instinct-- the approach of the possibility of death made sports exciting.⁸⁶

Time comprised a second component of sports that Wiener contended underpinned the athlete's drive toward self-destruction-- time.⁸⁷ To explain, he offered an analogy of an individual purchasing a piece of ancient sculpture and then displaying it in their home. When they looked at it what did they feel? Wiener argued that consciously or

unconsciously the owner/observer felt the timelessness or antiquity of the piece-- and thereby acknowledged their own mortality.⁸⁸ Sports fueled such a process through the pursuit of record performances. In effect, athletes attempted to capture immortality by having their efforts become recorded and historical-- but at the same time all records are made to be broken and thus no certain and stable immortality(as in the case of the ancient statue) can be attained. Wiener suggested that it was the tragic drama of sports that explained its fascination and the fervor of its supporters and practitioners.

Whether or not we agree with his conclusions, Wiener's ideas gave testimony to the degree to which sports had been recognized as an area fit for such intellectual speculation and consideration.

In his "Fußball und Nationalism"(Soccer and Nationalism) the novelist Franz Werfel offered his observations on the connection between sports and nationalism.⁸⁹ Wurfel assumed that his readers had been spectators at a soccer match and claimed that such matches, "offer an extremely instructive spectacle. A mass of 60,000 people neck and neck, melted down into a whirling monster."⁹⁰ Wurfel's "monster" stared down into the arena where the two teams played. The teams represented the crowd's city or country. When their team scored, they roared their approval. If the referee failed to recognize a penalty by the opposing team, the crowd booed with "the

force of twenty ocean giants. . . No generosity could be shown to the enemy!"⁹¹ At any large international sports competition, Werfel claimed that one could experience firsthand the "grandiose" nationalism of the crowd. To him, the behavior of the spectators at an international soccer match proved beyond doubt the power of nationalism. He contrasted the mania that national feeling inculcated in the crowd with that of the supposed "demon" of proletarian class consciousness. He ventured that most workers wore their class consciousness very lightly and it was less to be feared than the raving "monster" of nationalism that he saw unleashed at the soccer match.⁹²

Der Querschnitt thus demonstrated the wide variety of concerns and issues that sports had begun to raise in the minds of some of Germany's most prominent critics and intellectuals. Without a doubt it indicated the degree to which sports had arrived in German society and the great role they played in the popular consciousness. In all of the instances above, the themes of energy, effort, conflict, and competition are demonstrated again and again. As in the discussion of medicine and science, it is apparent that sports had penetrated the popular consciousness and served as a means of helping to shape and inform the experience of modern life for the German people.

Cultural conservatives like Peters, Spengler, and Scheler sports closely connected sports to the development of rationalism and the ideas of the Enlightenment. Sports,

they argued, provided soulless training for pursuit of the modern ideals of individualism, competition, and performance without the tempering values of service to the people, or some higher, more noble purpose other than individual enjoyment. Through such arguments, it is apparent that they agreed with the leaders of the Turnvereine and their critique of the "rootlessness" of modern sports.

On the other hand, a more progressive-- and in many ways ultimately more dangerous-- view of sports was provided by critics like Brecht, Mehring, and Seiffert. They identified sports with modern civilization and embraced them as a result. They saw sports and their popularity with the German public as a sign of the utility and value of sports and what they had come to represent. Sports spoke to the needs and desires of the public and therefore they were to be fostered and mimicked as a way to plumb the public mentalité, manipulate it, and win public support.

Such a view of sports did, of course, help to popularize sports amongst the intellectual elite(as suggested by Max Schmeling and his expanded circle of artistic and intellectual friends). Yet, the recognition that sports could be used to foster bodily health and improve work performance-- along with providing access to popular enthusiasm and support-- were ideas that could be twisted to harmful purposes. In a rather interesting way, Brecht, Mehring, and George Grosz aided in the use of sports for such nefarious ends. The artists and intellectuals who

supported the idea of sports as a symbol of modern life and all of its speed, strength, and excitement helped to create an aesthetic image of sports that served to unite the image of the strong body, or athlete, with that of beauty, power, and success. Such an image could be used for progressive purposes: to improve public health, quality of life, and provide enjoyment in a difficult world. On the other hand, such an aestheticized image of sports and the athletic body could also be turned in dangerous directions. It is to a consideration of the aesthetic dimension of sports and the athletic body-- and how it was used for political purposes that I now turn.

Notes

¹Max Nordau, Degeneration (New York: Appleton, 1895) 5-6.

²For two of Sander Gilman's many valuable treatments of the subject see: J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander Gilman, eds., Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress (New York, 1985). And, Sander Gilman, Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness (Ithaca, NY, 1985).

³John Henry Mackay, Der Schwimmer in Gesammelte Werke, vol. VII (Treptow: Zacks, 1911).

⁴Ibid., 160.

⁵Ibid., 170.

⁶Ibid., 370.

⁷Allen Guttman, "Faustian Athletes? Sports as a Theme in Modern German Literature" in Modern Fiction Studies, vol. 33, No. 1 Spring 1987. 22.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Theodor Heinrich Mayer, Sport. Novellen. (Leipzig, 1920)

¹⁰Ibid., 48-49.

¹¹Ibid., 49.

¹²Ibid., 52-53.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., 54-55.

¹⁶Ibid., 66.

¹⁷Ibid., 67.

¹⁸Ibid., 108.

¹⁹Ibid., 117.

²⁰Ibid., 134.

²¹Ibid., 135.

²²Bertolt Brecht, "Im Dickicht der Städte", in Gesammelte Werke, vol. I (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1967)

²³Bertolt Brecht, Gesammelte Werke, vol. I: Prosa (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1965) 132-134.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Bertolt Brecht, "Mehr Guten Sport", Berliner Börsen-Courier (February 6, 1926).

²⁶Max Schmeling, Erinnerungen (Frankfurt, 1995) 83.

²⁷Ibid., 87.

²⁸Ibid., 85.

²⁹Ibid., 86.

³⁰Ibid., 96.

³¹Ibid., 86-87.

³²Ibid., 89.

³³Ibid., 93.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Walter Mehring, Das Neue Katzerbrevier (Cologne and Berlin: Keipenheuer & Witsch, 1962) 25.

³⁶Ludwig Rubiner, "Man in the Center" in Anthology of German Expressionist Drama, Walter Sokel, ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1984) 5.

³⁷As quoted in Wolf von Eckardt and Sandler L. Gilman, Bertolt Brecht's Berlin (Garden City, NY: Anchor/Doubleday, 1975) 135-136.

³⁸Georg Kaiser, "Man in the Tunnel" in Anthology of German Expressionist Drama, Walter Sokel, ed. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1984) 13.

³⁹Georg Kaiser, "From Morn to Midnight" in German Expressionist Plays, Ernst Schürer, ed. (New York: Continuum, 1997) 156.

⁴⁰Ibid., 190.

⁴¹Marie Luise Fleisser, Gesammelte Werke, vol. II (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1972). Fleisser, a novelist and playwright, met Brecht as a student and became his friend. He, along with Lion Feuchtwanger, helped to further her career by negotiating the performance of her play, "Fegefeuer in Ingolstadt," in 1926. Fleisser was an advocate of feminist causes. Her writing reflected the relationship between urban life, sexuality, and their impact on women. She left Berlin after her relationship with Brecht ended. She was prohibited from writing by the Nazis, but continued to work after the war until her death in 1974.

⁴²Fleisser was often much more harsh in her judgement of Gillich, and by extension the effect of sports on men. In the first version of the novel. Gillich contemplated raping Frieda's sister, but did not do so. In a later version, he does rape her. Thus, Fleisser's depiction of the athlete as a brute extended to sexual violence against women. See: Ibid.

⁴³Marie Luise Fleisser, "Sportgeist und Zeitkunst. Essay über den modernen Menschentyp," Germania (Sept. 12, 1929). I have also relied, in part, on the translation of an excerpt of the essay in: A. Kaes, M. Jay, and E. Dimendberg, eds, The Weimar Republic Sourcebook (Berkeley, CA., 1994) 688-89.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Kasimir Edschmid, Sport um Gagalv (Berlin: Zsolnay, 1928). I am also much indebted to Guttman's essay, "Faustian Athletes." for his discussion of the novel.

⁴⁷Ibid., 58.

⁴⁸Ibid., 136.

⁴⁹Ibid., 31.

⁵⁰Ibid., 94.

⁵¹Ibid., 176.

⁵²Wolfgang Graeser, "Körpersinn. Gymnastik- Tanz-Sport." (Munich, 1927) 125.

⁵³Ibid., 126.

⁵⁴Ibid., 125-126.

⁵⁵Alfred Peters, Psychologie des Sports. Seine

Konfrontierung mit Spiel und Kampf (Leipzig, 1927) in Hajo Bernett, ed. Der Sport im Kreuzfeuer der Kritik (Schorndorf: Karl Hofmann, 1982) 146.

⁵⁶Ibid., 150.

⁵⁷Ibid., 151.

⁵⁸Ibid., 152.

⁵⁹Max Scheler, "Begleitwort" in Alfred Peters, Psychologie des Sports (Leipzig, 1927) i.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., ii.

⁶²Max Scheler, Ressentiment (New York: Free Press, 1972) 12.

⁶³Ibid., 159.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid., 159-160.

⁶⁶Ibid., see footnotes 34 and 35, 194.

⁶⁷Oswald Spengler, Der Untergang des Abendlandes (1919). in Hajo Bernett, ed., Der Sport im Kreuzfeuer der Kritik (Schorndorf, 1982) 175.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid., 177.

⁷⁰Ibid., 178.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Egon Erwin Kisch, "Der Sportsmann als Schiedsrichter seiner selbst." in Willy Meisl, ed. Der Sport am Scheidewege (Heidelberg, 1928) 10.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Heinz Landmann, "Heroenkult", in Willy Meisl, ed. Sport am Scheidewege (Heidelberg, 1928).

⁷⁶Ibid., 152.

⁷⁷Ibid., 153.

⁷⁸Hans Seiffert, "Weltreligion des 20. Jahrhunderts" in Der Querschnitt, XII (Berlin, 1932) 385.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid., 386.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵Richard Wiener, "Empfehlung eines neuen Sports", in Der Querschnitt, XII (Berlin, 1932).

⁸⁶Ibid., 403-404.

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Ibid., 404.

⁸⁹Franz Werfel, "Fussball und Nationalismus" in Der Querschnitt, XII (Berlin, 1932) 435.

⁹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

V. Sports and Politics

The new age of today is at work on a new human type. Men and women are to be more healthy, stronger: there is a new feeling of life, a new joy in life. Never was humanity in its external appearance and in its frame of mind nearer to the ancient world than it is today.¹

The quotation above illustrates in a very clear fashion the answer to the enigma of the director Leni Riefenstahl and her relationship with Adolf Hitler and the National Socialists. Riefenstahl continually claimed that her films were not propaganda for National Socialism; she maintained that her work aimed at satisfying her own aesthetic and artistic concerns-- and those alone. However, in the final section of this paper I will argue that Riefenstahl was mistaken in her belief that her films, especially her great documentary of the 1936 Summer Olympics in Berlin, were politically neutral and non-ideological. She shared in many ways the belief in the body and the classical past proposed by Adolf Hitler. And, more importantly, she created an aesthetic vision of the athletic body and of sports that was both popular and easily assimilated by the National Socialists. The National Socialists appropriated that aesthetic to advance their political and ideological interests.

Riefenstahl made, I contend, the grave error of believing that one could separate life and art. Her case is instructive and useful in at least two respects. First, her Olympic film served as an example of how highly polished and capable German cinema and cinematic techniques had become-- and just as successfully served as a popular means of transmitting (and reflecting) particular values, beliefs, and ideologies.

Riefenstahl's films also vividly illustrated the tremendous growth in the popularity and importance of sports in Germany and the world. Thus, a study of her works focusing on "Olympia", the film of the 1936 Summer Olympic Games, will indicate the depth and extent of sports' penetration into German culture-- and reveal the political and ideological content of sports and their meaning in modern German culture.

Along with an investigation of Riefenstahl's films, I will consider how sports had become politicized before the filming of "Olympia". A discussion of the modern Olympic movement in Germany, the attitude of the Social Democratic Party towards sports and their formation of sports organizations; and the National Socialists' understanding of sports, will demonstrate how the idea of sports and what they stood for was manipulated to fit particular ideological purposes by the various parties. The discussion of Riefenstahl's films will illustrate the high degree to which the politicization of sports had already

occurred in Germany and sports' strong connection to themes, ideas, and values that were deeply entrenched in German culture.

At this juncture the depth of the relationship between sports and politics in Germany should be patently clear. Recall that in chapter one the rise of a physical culture movement in Germany was championed by "Turnvater" Jahn in the days of the French occupation of the German states. Jahn did not see the development of an individual's physique as a legitimate end in itself; on the contrary, the individual and the development of the individual's bodily powers were means to the greater good of Germany; first by ousting the French from German soil and second, in forging a unified German state. Thus, from the very outset nationalists saw exercise and the development of the body as politically significant concerns.

Recall too that when sports arrived from abroad in the latter years of the nineteenth century the leaders of the Turnvereine and conservative critics viewed them with suspicion-- not only because they might challenge the monopoly on exercise that Turnen enjoyed-- but because they were believed to represent "foreign," "non-German," principles and values. The critics of sports were especially incensed because in their view sports championed individualistic, competitive values that were contrary to their notions of social hierarchy and cohesion.

Scientists and doctors also politicized sports on at

least two fronts. One was in their use of sports and a concern for the healthy body as a means of increasing their access to the German public and control over their bodies(i.e. through the hygiene movement). And second, in the acceptance by the military and political leadership of the increasingly positive medical and scientific opinion regarding the need for exercise and bodily hygiene. As generals, legislators, and even the emperor himself, came to be persuaded that a physically fit nation would improve Germany's chances of extending its power and influence at home and around the globe, official support significantly increased for the initiation of exercise programs, the construction of sports facilities, and sports competitions. The culmination of the politicization of sports will be examined through a discussion of National Socialist attitudes toward sports and the body, the Olympic Games of 1936, and Riefenstahl's film Olympia.

Germany's involvement in the Olympic movement perfectly illustrates the political battles that sports prompted in the country at the turn of the century and after. Baron Pierre de Coubertin, a French aristocrat, engineered the revival of the Olympic Games. Coubertin was persuaded by the arguments of the degeneration theorists that Europe and Europeans were in decline-- physically, morally, and spiritually. He believed that degeneration was particularly evident in France(using the disastrous defeat at Sedan in 1870 at the hands of the Prussians as a chief sign of French

weakness and decline). After a visit to England, he saw sports on the English public school model as the remedy to the situation. However, a visit to the exhibits on classical Greece at the World Exhibition in Paris in 1889 led de Coubertin to consider extending his notions for a revitalization of France through exercise and sports to all nations and across all boundaries. His efforts led to an international conference which convened at the Sorbonne July 16-25, 1894. Representatives from Australia, Belgium, Bohemia, England, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, Sweden, Spain, Hungary, and the United States decided to hold the first modern Olympic games two years later in Athens and every four years thereafter.²

Germany did not have a delegate at the Paris conference. De Coubertin had invited the head of the Berlin Union Club, General von Podbielski, to participate, but he refused. The publication of the new Olympic movement's program in the Berlin newspaper "Sports and Games," fueled nationalist sentiment amongst the leaders of the gymnastic groups. As a result, leaders of the Turn und Sport clubs joined Podbielski and refused attend the meetings.³

Hence, when an Olympic organizing committee gathered in 1894 to discuss plans for the first Olympic games, no Germans were named or consulted. The nationalists in Germany, despite their opposition to participation, saw such actions as a slight and a deliberate attempt to further isolate Germany from the rest of the Western world.⁴ To

remedy the situation, the International Olympic Committee named Dr. Willibald Gebhardt to educate the various segments of Germany's sporting community regarding the principles and agenda of the Olympic Games.⁵

Gebhardt called a meeting to organize, select, and finance a team for the fast approaching Athens games. Gebhardt's worked diligently, but to no avail. On December 13, 1895 at the Four Seasons Hotel in Berlin, Gebhardt gathered together many of the leaders of Germany's gymnastics and sports associations. The joint message released by the group testified to Gebhardt's success. It stated that the leaders of Germany's Turn and sports groups had decided that the Olympic Games were to be an important demonstration of the brotherhood of peoples through friendly competition, and therefore, they authorized Gebhardt to set up committees throughout the country to prepare a German team for the Athens games.⁶ Still, there was much work to be done in a very short time.

Gebhardt established Germany's first Olympic committee. Philip Ernst Erbprinz zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, son of the Chancellor and Minister President of Prussia, became its first president.⁷ Clearly the leaders of the fledgling German Olympic movement wanted to give their organization the instant legitimacy and support of such an august and well connected figure. The vice-president, Prince Albert zu Schleswig-Holstein(who was also the president of the Officers Lawn Tennis Association)was similarly chosen;

Gebhardt became the committee's General Secretary.⁸ Still, despite such heavyweights in both the nobility and the army, the committee's aims were frustrated by the leadership of the Deutsche Turnerschaft(DT). The leaders of the gymnastics association ultimately could not abide by the cosmopolitan aims and agenda of the Olympic Games. The DT viewed the internationalist message of the Olympics as nothing more than a plot hatched in France, the traditional enemy, to undermine German nationalism for their own revanchist purposes.

To compound the German Olympic Committee's difficulties, the sports associations were not truly strong enough to stand against the DT, and some, like the bicycling and weightlifting associations were unable to send their best competitors to Athens because of the stringent amateur code that had been adopted by the International Olympic Committee. Nevertheless, Gebhardt pressed on. In the face of continued public criticism by the DT that the games represented a French inspired plot to besmirch German honor, Gebhardt secured a meeting with Chancellor Hohenl  he himself and learned of the Kaiser's support for the Olympic program and the prospect of its furthering German international interests.⁹ Despite some frustration, Gebhardt had made headway in the highest circles. And clearly sports had gained increased political exposure with the continued approach of the Olympics and their embrace by the Kaiser.

Only twenty-five German athletes travelled to Athens

for the inaugural modern games. Gymnasts who flouted the DT's ban found themselves ousted from their local clubs when they returned. Despite the tension caused by the opposition at home, the German gymnastic team did come away with a team championship in the parallel bars.¹⁰ Perhaps most importantly, an organization was now in place to advance the Olympic and sporting cause. In the face of mounting international popularity and continued support from the Kaiser, the DT found it increasingly difficult to maintain its obstinacy; however, in the short run the dominance of the DT proved a continuous obstacle for Gebhardt and the fledgling Olympic movement.

The second Olympiad gave further proof to the claims of the DT and evidence of the political implications of Olympic sports. A German team assembled more readily for the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris. Once again the athletic competitions were held in conjunction with the World's Fair. The arrangements proved to be a disaster. The athletic competition took a back seat to the other programs and exhibitions. In addition, they were very poorly managed. The German team constantly received bad calls and rulings by the French referees and judges. French nationalism reached its apex when chauvinistic Parisians "stormed" and ransacked the German teams quarters.¹¹

Clearly the Olympic Games had some distance to go before they could become an international platform for peaceful athletic competition between nations. And the

German Olympic Committee's preparations and ability to attract top athletes still lagged far behind that of the United States and Great Britain. Yet, a great step forward occurred in 1905 with the creation of the Deutsches Reichsausschuß für Olympische Spiele(Imperial German Committee for the Olympic Games). The organization was staffed with new officers who brought more vigorous and capable leadership. Chief among them was the new president, Graf Egbert Hoyer von der Asseburg. Von Asseburg was a retired Prussian officer and proponent of track and field sports.

Von der Asseburg set high goals for the new committee: ". . . the goals we will seek to accomplish are the advancement of all forms of bodily exercise in Germany, the creation of uniform rules for international competitions, and to have an influential position in the eyes of the public."¹² The committee achieved many of its aims. Proof came during the 1908 Olympics in London. Germany sent a team of over one hundred athletes-- among them gymnasts from the DT.

Still, at the 1912 Games in Stockholm, the DT reversed course and refused to attend, thereby dashing Germany's best hopes for medals. In the track and field sports Germany had only begun to compete on an international level(they were nowhere near on par with the United States and Great Britain). Nevertheless, one hundred and eighty-five athletes competed for Germany and they succeeded in bringing

home five gold, fourteen silver, and six bronze medals.¹³

The man who was largely responsible for the continued modest success of the German track and field team was Carl Diem. In 1901 Diem became a member of the executive committee for the Deutsche Sportbehörde für Athletik (German Sports Authority for Athletics). He possessed youthful vigor and ambition and used his energy to advance the cause of track and field amongst the officials of the empire and the upper middle class.¹⁴ He did so through tirelessly promoting the sport in German sports newspapers and publications. In 1910 Diem became the head of the DSBfA. Immediately he launched a campaign to have track and field training become a part of the regular regime of physical exercise followed in the army. To achieve his goals he campaigned hard amongst the army's high command and in the circles of upper middle class politicians. He convinced the leadership of both the army and the navy to institute a program of training in track and field sports-- the guidelines for which Diem himself was largely responsible.¹⁵ Thus, in one fell swoop Diem greatly furthered the exposure of Germans to track and field sports, thereby setting the stage for their widespread popularity after the First World War.

The successful efforts of the German Olympic Committee and Diem's DSBfA (Deutsche Sportbehörde für Athletik) were acknowledged when Germany was awarded the Olympic Games for 1916. Diem, tapped as the General Secretary for the Games

of 1916, began to prepare in earnest. In 1913, Diem, a representative of the DT, Josef Waitzer; and a young coach, Martin Berner travelled to the United States to study the training regimens and facilities of U.S. athletes and associations. They reported that the United States enjoyed superior results in Olympic competitions because they employed a more systematic course of competitions in the schools, had better high school and association facilities and programs, and had better coaching and training advice than anyone else.¹⁶ The outbreak of war in 1914 led to the cancellation of the Olympic competition and the implementation of Diem's initiatives to improve Germany's track and field programs.

During the war the need for fit and strong troops allowed both the Turnvereine and the sports groups to benefit. They gained the ear of the country's military leadership and convince them of the practicality of exercise and sports programs for the nation's soldiers-- and school boys. Thus, the war helped to further the penetration of sports and physical fitness in the ranks of the armed services. In addition, through the transformation of the Olympic Committee into the Reichsausschuss für Leibesübungen (Imperial Committee for Physical Fitness), the DT and the sports organizations began to work together more closely and effectively. By the end of the war they had formed much more cooperative relationships and the popularity of each continued to remain strong.¹⁷

In the years that followed the amity between the DT and the sports movement did not hold. In large measure the leadership of the DT could not accept the emphasis sports placed on competition. Carl Diem continued to fight against the hostility of the DT and its leaders. He ably assisted by a new leader of the sports movement, Theodor Lewald. Lewald proved to have the political savvy and connections that would allow the sports movement to weather the criticisms of the DT, and win greater political recognition and support.

Lewald was well educated and well connected. Trained in law, he pursued a career in the imperial bureaucracy. As a German representative at the world exhibitions at Chicago, Paris, and St. Louis, he became involved with the Olympic movement and the financing of the German teams. Before the war he became a liaison for the empire in the Reichstag's budget committee. Once there, he championed greater financial aid for the extension of sports in German society. Lewald believed that the cultural and total social benefits of sports were real and sports should be extended throughout Germany.¹⁸ In doing so he was able to build bridges between the middle class sports groups and the Arbeiter-Turn und Sportbewegung (Workers Gymnastic and Sports Movement, or ATB), despite the fact that he became a member of Gustav Stresemann's Liberal Democratic Peoples Party (DVP).

In 1919 Lewald took over the presidency of the DRA. He successfully persuaded the army to adopt sports as a means

of training is first great success was to see sports adopted and recognized by the army. Not only was he successful, he succeeded in persuading the army that sports, in the face of the strictures placed upon the country by the Versailles Treaty, could serve as a suitable substitute for military service. Thus, to Lewald sports were a means to a greater end-- service to the Fatherland. From this perspective he could never understand the tension between the sports movement and the DT. Throughout his tenure as a leader of the DRA Lewald sought to mitigate tension between the two as best he could.¹⁹

Following the Kapp Putsch in 1920, Lewald rose to the office of State Secretary of the National Service. Using his influence, like his friend Gustav Stresemann, Lewald helped to break down barriers and establish closer connections with the DT at home and the various national Olympic committees abroad.²⁰ Lewald helped arrange Germany's return to international competition at the Amsterdam Olympics in 1928.

At the same time that Lewald worked to improve the status and standing of sports amongst the public and politicians, Carl Diem attempted to engage the support of legislators for his wide ranging programs to advance sports and physical fitness. By the end of the war Diem had devised a seven point program that he tried to see enacted by Germany's newly created Reichstag. His seven points included:

1. The passage of a national playground law.
2. The passage of a gymnastics and sports law for youth after they have left school until they reach adulthood.
3. The introduction of mandatory gymnastics exercises in advanced training schools.
4. The introduction of daily gymnastic exercises in peoples and high schools.
5. Retention of daylight savings time.
6. Support the gymnastic and sports associations(through public subsidies, fare reductions, and exemption from taxes.)
7. The establishment of offices for physical education at the imperial, state, and local levels.²¹

By no means did Diem and his supporters realize all of the aims on their agenda; yet, their ability to lobby members of the Reichstag and make their voice heard served to greatly extend the influence of the sports and physical education movement. The increase in the numbers of people joining sports and athletic organizations led to pressure on all levels of government to support their cause. Increased monies allotted by the national, state, and local governments for the support of sports and physical education activities demonstrated their success. In addition, private industry also became a significant supporter. Lewald, Diem, and others persuaded factory owners that the workers who participated in company sponsored sports programs were less likely to turn to the Social Democrats and their sports programs.²² In 1920, Diem helped found the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen(German College of Physical

Education). It trained physical education teachers and coaches for a wide variety of sports. In large measure thanks to the leadership of Diem, in its first decade the school graduated 221 students.²³

By every measure sports loomed large in the public consciousness by the 1920's. In addition, the penetration of sports into the Reichstag chamber and the municipal councils of Germany was apparent. Sports leaders and participants succeeded in persuading their legislators that sports and exercise deserved public funding, support, and legislative consideration.

The political impact of sports was even more important when one considers the emergence and development of the Arbeiter Turn und Sportbewegung (Workers Gymnastic and Sports Movement). Sponsored by the German Social Democratic Party, the ATSB aimed to offer an alternative to "bourgeois sports" as practiced by the DT and the DRA and its associates in the sports associations.

Originally founded as the Arbeiter Turnerbund (ATB) in 1893, the organization provided an alternative to the conservative and nationalist leadership of the DT. The stated aims of the founders of the ATB were: " 1.) To no longer follow reactionary leaders. 2.) To preserve and strengthen the workers' class consciousness. 3.) To threaten the possessing class and defend workers' rights. 4.) To resurrect the historical ties of the Turner to the struggle for rights and freedom of 1848."²⁴ The rallying cry of the group became,

"Nicht länger Reaktionären Gefolgschaft leisten." (No longer follow reactionaries!)²⁵ From humble beginnings (approximately 4,000 members in 1893) the movement grew rapidly.

A number of important factors contributed to its growth. Bismarck's anti-Socialist laws, the official proscription of the Social Democratic Party, led party officials and those angered by the imperious leadership of German industry to rally together and create their own organizations to promote and maintain socialist values in all realms of workers' lives. A second impetus to the growth of the ATB was the industrialization of the country and the migration to the cities. Increasingly, the only way to fashion a secure life for oneself and one's family was to travel to the cities and go to work in a factory. Once there, young men and women became attracted to the agenda offered by the Social Democrats and the possibility of playing sports and exercising leisure on their day off.²⁶ By the turn of the century the ATB numbered nearly 30,000 members.²⁷ By 1914, the number had increased to 190,000.²⁸

In 1912, the umbrella organization for workers sports the "Central Commission for Workers Sport and Personal Hygiene" convened for the first time .²⁹ Cornelius Gellert and Fritz Wildung led the Central Commission: "What Lewald and Diem were for the DRA, Gellert and Wildung were for the ZK(Central Commission)."³⁰ Together they helped to greatly increase sports opportunities for workers and, consequently,

saw an explosion in the number of workers participating in their sports organizations. As many as several hundred thousand to one million workers engaged in sports during the Weimar period.³¹

Still, the contributions of the two were also important in refining the ideological and political battles that could and could not realistically be fought (and won) by those interested in advancing the workers' cause. For example, Wildung recognized that the workers sports movement was much smaller and their competitions attracted far fewer spectators than did "middle class sports". Wildung was not surprised. He realized that the public showed little interest in the uplifting and educational aspects of sports. Instead they sought "the athletic sensation of competition; one thinks, for example, of the boxing match and the six day bicycle race."³² And, he admitted, most of the workers fit into the same mold as their middle class counterparts. Why was this the case? According to Wildung, they still lived in a bourgeois society that successfully transmitted bourgeois values. The workers were clearly not immune to those same bourgeois values.³³ They were prey to the attractions and dangers of money, which led to the corruption of sports and athletic competition and to the enchantment of the public as spectators. To Wildung, the workers' sports movement needed a dramatic and decisive break from such behaviors and attitudes: "Because the workers sports movement has always struggled against such mischief, because it does not

grant distinctions and prizes at its competitions, for that reason it is at a quantitative disadvantage against the middle class associations. The sports organizations today require a great deal of means. Money is required to rent a field or stadium, hire coaches, and to travel to games with other teams"³⁴ Wildung continued, "Without the knowledge and opportunities such money brings, the team or individual will not be able to attain the record performances that they desire."³⁵ Again, such facts did not bode well for the workers sports movement. Still, Wildung counseled that they should redouble their efforts to attract German youth to their ideas and values through sports and increase the still impressive number of young men and women who joined the workers sports associations.³⁶

In another article Wildung developed his criticisms of bourgeois sports even further, maintaining that "The distaste that many people and the leadership of the workers sports movement have for sports is located in the desire for records and the inevitable corruption that accompanies it."³⁷ Wildung saw the single-minded striving for record performance in sports and athletics as ultimately dangerous because it promoted unhealthy and anti-social behavior that in the end harmed not only the individual, but society as a whole.³⁸

The pursuit of records was also dangerous, Wildung contended, because it may led the athlete to compromise his or her health in order to exceed their best performances.³⁹

Such cases were particularly rampant among young athletes who trained and pushed themselves too hard without proper supervision by knowledgeable coaches, he argued. Above all Wildung criticized bourgeois sports because he believed they prized far too highly the pursuit of bodily performance and perfection. When that occurred, he argued, then inevitably young people were left with the impression that intellectual ability and attainments were less desirable and important: "The youth are seduced with it[sports], they pay little attention to mental pursuits. The pleasure of mental work is no longer prized. The playing field triumphs over the school. We Germans, who have overestimated the value of intellectualism for so long, may now go to the other extreme and deteriorate into the worship of the bicep."⁴⁰

But what could be done about the degeneration of sports and exercise in modern bourgeois society? Wildung responded-- Arbeitersport(workers sport): "The most effective protection against the decay of bodily exercise through pursuit of the record is worker sports."⁴¹ Sports would be preserved as a viable and vital activity because of the context of the workers' movement and their goals: "The workers movement drives all things with the objective of improving their class situation; so too with sports, for the workers it is only a particular form of their struggle for independence."⁴² Sports and exercise had to be politicized so that they were not ends in themselves, nor could they be allowed to unconsciously serve the ends of bourgeois

capitalism. Workers sports had to aim at the furtherance of socialism in Germany. As a result, "For the young [athlete], an awakened class-conscious workers movement is the aim of socialism, it will protect them from all errors."⁴³

Wildung's critique of modern sports was echoed and expanded by the Austrian socialist, Dr. Julius Deutsch.⁴⁴ He argued that the supposed political "neutrality" of sports was a farce. Those who argued that sports were ". . . a pure manly activity that had nothing to do with politics and parties. . ." were attempting to deceive the unenlightened.⁴⁵ Deutsch's essay carefully developed the areas where sports and politics intersect-- in all cases to the detriment of the worker and the socialist cause.

Deutsch echoed the criticisms of Wildung regarding the pursuit of records, but was even more pointed in his remarks regarding the role of individualism and the pursuit of big money in sports. To illustrate his point Deutsch used the example of the world championship boxing match between Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney in Chicago. He argued that media coverage and the prospect of the winning fighter taking home one million dollars has whipped the public into a frenzy. Deutsch saw the advertising as shameless. It insured that whatever athletic value the event might have had would be drowned in the "spectacle" of the two fighters locked in bloody combat-- and it was carried blow by blow around the

world by the blare of the radio. After outlining the nature of the fight, Deutsch contended that, ". . . bourgeois sports competition is based on individuals striving for high performance."⁴⁶ The result is the push for ever increasing records. And, he argued, record mania was fueled, "by the cry of the market."⁴⁷ Thus, " We come to the conclusion that bourgeois sports leads to record mania and to the professionalization of sports-- and as an expression of the capitalistic path it must be fundamentally rejected by the working class. It is not true that they[sports] are neutral; they are rather a piece of that social order and cultural view, the historic task of which it is the moral duty of the proletariat to destroy."⁴⁸

For Deutsch, then, sports were a reflection of the dominant economic, social, and political system of the time. They could not, as a result, be anything but political. They served to perpetuate the system of which they were a part. Did Deutsch argue, therefore, that sports had to be abandoned? No. Rather, the system of which they were a part had to be changed. Presumably, once a socialist revolution occurred then sports would reflect the dominant mode of economic, social, and political relations-- they would be, in effect, socialist sports. Sports would then be infused with the ideas, attitudes, and politics of socialism. The important thing for Deutsch was that sports were not value neutral as far as politics were concerned. Far more than idle pursuits, they transmitted the economic and ideological

content of capitalism; therefore, they had to be held at arms length.⁴⁹

Significantly, Deutsch identified bourgeois sports as agents of nationalism. Deutsch found rampant nationalistic fervor amongst the Turnvereine, the national soccer teams, and virtually all sports associations that conducted, and participated in, international competitions. He even went so far as to suggest that the bourgeois sports associations were more prominently featured in nationalist political festivities than almost any other group.⁵⁰ For Deutsch that meant that the good worker had to be wary of the national sports associations and their motives: "There can be no doubt that all national sports clubs are-- as are those under them, even those that do occasionally manage to be politically neutral-- among the most dangerous and hateful enemies of the aspiring working class."⁵¹

Paul Franken extended Deutsch's attack on the political character of bourgeois sports. A socialist representative in the Prussian Landtag, Franken was particularly outraged by the degree to which individual athletes were held up to be heroes, literally worshipped, by the working classes in Germany and abroad. He contended,

With their cult of sports heros, the bourgeoisie wants to revive the shaken belief in the omnipotence of the 'personality.' The agitation of the masses will be kept in check so long as they uncritically go on living day to day following personalities instead of taking affairs into their own hands. Understandably the worker wants to experience sensations to distract him from the difficulties of daily life, but once

distracted he finds the aspirations of his own class foreign to him. He is entangled in bourgeois views.⁵²

For Franken, bourgeois sports aped the rise of the cult of personality in politics. By 1930, he looked about him and saw Ludendorff, Mussolini, and Hitler. He identified the adulation with which the heroes of boxing and bicycle racing were held by the German public with the same esteem they evinced for these political personalities. Not surprisingly, Franken argued for the abandonment of bourgeois sports by the working class. Sports only supported the sentiments and ideas of their sworn class enemies.

Perhaps the most interesting discussion of the political role of sports from a socialist perspective appeared in an essay by one H. Hoffmann, "Sport und Wirtschaft. Der Werksport im Dienste kapitalistischen Gewinnstrebens." (Sport and Economy. Workers Sport in Service of the Capitalistic Pursuit of Profit.)⁵³ Hoffmann began by offering Marx's labor theory of value as the basis for the accrual of profits for the modern capitalist; i.e. that profits for the capitalist come only through the expropriation of the surplus labor value that workers pour into a product. Hoffmann claimed that the overriding concern of the modern capitalist was profit to the exclusion of all else. Thus, the capitalist boss's most pressing concern regarding his labor force was how to increase its labor power and the value of the labor it performed.⁵⁴

The leader in such endeavors, according to Hoffmann,

was America: "America is not only the land of democracy and unlimited possibilities, but also during the War it became the most highly developed country in the heyday of capitalism. And the American entrepreneurial type is even more grandiose (less inclined to suffer from "backward" and "sickly" theories and scruples than his European counterparts) when it is necessary to raise profits through the greater exploitation of labor power through a seemingly harmless mask. Thus the Taylor system emerged, Ford introduced the assembly line, and so too would they put workers' sport in the service of capitalistic profit seeking."⁵⁵

How did sports figure in such a scenario? According to Hoffmann, American capitalists discovered that a healthy, relaxed, and distracted labor force was a more productive labor force:

Workers' sport, which is viewed by the German entrepreneur as mainly a means of forming character, is treated by the Americans as an element of diversion from the monotony of the streamlined work process. It is an element of the cure and recovery of bodily and mental ability. And first and last it is a means of diversion from class struggles. . . The period of rationalization in Germany meant the 'Americanization' of economic processes with the above mentioned methods, which could lead to a sharper mobilization of labor power for the purposes of production.⁵⁶

Finally, Hoffmann identified workers sports as a mechanism for training or transmitting the basest tenets of Social Darwinian conceptions of survival of the fittest. He quoted from a speech by Dr. Fr. Bartels of the Ausschuß für

Sport und Leibesübungen der Gesellschaft für Deutsche Wirtschafts und Sozialpolitik(Committee for Sport and Exercise of the Society for German Economic and Social Policy). Bartels condemned the social welfare system for coddling the weak and incapable and not allowing "the natural process of purification to unfold unhindered in which less valuable elements are eliminated through death, etc." Bartels then recommended sports and exercise as a means of toughening and training the young for the harsh realities of existence: "Great emphasis must be placed on competitive [team] matches. They teach determination, subordination, and integration in a group striving for a common goal. . . single competition rouses the ambition of the individual, gives him consciousness of his particular value, and gives the entire group the incentive to follow their lead. . ." ⁵⁷

Hoffmann's reacted to Bartel's essay with shock and outrage: "Rarely is the meaning and purpose of 'increasing the productivity' of human power through exercise so boldly and brutally stated as in these guiding principles of Dr. Bartels." ⁵⁸ He recognized in such arguments the complete antithesis of the platform and purpose of socialism. The purpose of workers sports and exercise was not to encourage the development of a stronger body that would be harnessed to the capitalist machines dedicated to increasing profits. Nor should workers sports be a means to train a more competitive, yet compliant, workforce. Yet, Hoffmann did

not call for the abandonment of sports altogether. He contended, like the other authors above, that a workers sports movement with the appropriate political consciousness and purpose could still be a valuable tool in extending the fight for a socialist society: "The workers gymnastic and sports movement still has much educational work to undertake; and in association with the labor unions and the entire modern labor movement they must continue to fight for a socialist social order in which a true body culture will not be subservient to private interests."⁵⁹

Thus, Hoffmann confirmed the political utility of sports and the need to regard them not as "politically neutral" but as charged with political and social significance. Hoffmann's ideas are particularly enlightening because he recognized and confirmed the increasing tendency in Germany to place the body at the very center of a whole host of social and cultural processes. Hoffmann paid particular attention to the idea of the body as an agent of labor power or energy. When the body was recognized as a source of potential energy, limitless or no, it soon became incumbent on the leaders of social, political, and cultural movements to try to harness, control, and extend those same bodily energies. Certainly it is apparent that the leaders of the socialist sports and exercise movement recognized the efforts of their capitalist opponents to do so and they responded in kind. The ability to train, extend, and mobilize the power and energy of the

human body clearly became an urgent political problem, one which the National Socialists would even more directly address than their socialist opponents.

In Mein Kampf, Hitler bewailed the lack of energy that he saw in the German bourgeoisie. To redress the supposed lack, he argued that Germany had to shift the focus of the German educational system from the exclusive training of the mind and move toward training the body and "will" as well: ". . . education in particular must first of all consider and promote physical health; for taken in the mass, a healthy, forceful spirit will be found only in a healthy and forceful body."⁶⁰ Hitler advocated daily physical exercise for training the body to be healthy and vigorous: "Not a day should go by in which the young man does not receive one hour's physical training in the morning and one in the afternoon, covering every type of sport and gymnastics."⁶¹ Hitler advocated boxing for cultivating the type of bodies and ideals he desired:

And here one sport in particular must not be forgotten, which in the eyes of many 'volkisch minded people is considered vulgar and undignified: boxing. It is incredible what false opinions are widespread in 'educated' circles. It is regarded as natural and honorable that a young man should learn to fence and proceed to fight duels right and left, but if he boxes, it is supposed to be vulgar! Why? There is no sport that so much as this one promotes the spirit of attack, demands lightning decisions, and trains the body in steel dexterity. It is no more vulgar for two young men to fight out a difference of opinion with their fists than with a piece of whetted iron. . . But above all, the young, healthy body must also learn to suffer blows. . . But it is not the function of the

folkish state to breed a colony of peaceful aesthetes and physical degenerates. . . And so sport does not exist only to make the individual strong, agile and bold; it should also toughen him and teach him to bear hardships.⁶²

From the very beginning of their movement, the pursuit of a healthy and fit body featured prominently in the propaganda of Hitler and the National Socialists. However, despite Hitler's paen to boxing and the values that he believed it taught, Hitler and his lieutenants descried modern sports and the values that they promoted. National Socialist sports leaders voiced criticisms similar to those of the socialist leadership. They lamented the individualistic attitudes fostered by some sports; they disdained the internationalist values of the Olympic Games; and above all, they rejected the notion of sports as being somehow neutral and "unpolitical". Since all areas of life fell under the purview and sway of National Socialist theory, sports were no exception.

Bruno Malitz spared no venom in his critique of sports. A former sprinter who enjoyed national success, Malitz became an important figure in National Socialist sports circles. He maintained that unlike bourgeois conceptions of sports, "National Socialism considers sports to be a form of service for the Volk, just like military service is devoted to the Volk. We National Socialists want to use sports to raise men. The goal of National Socialist sports is to strengthen the Völkisch body through the thorough remaking

of the individual's body."⁶³ For Malitz, no individual purposes or pleasure could be pursued or derived from participation in sports and training the body. Rather, sports were to be undertaken for the good of the people, "Sport may not be for the pleasure of a select few. Sport is the duty of the people. A healthy body of the Volk is the aim of National Socialism."⁶⁴

When he looked at the contemporary sports scene, Malitz was highly critical. To him, sports represented the worst of foreign, degenerate, commercial and so called "Jewish" values. Athletes competed not for some greater good, but played only for the basest of motives: "The degenerate sportsman of today in a very real sense is only concerned with money and profit. He asks: What did I win? Which prize is mine? How many championships have I won already? . . . The sportsman of today measures other people only by the stopwatch and the tape measure."⁶⁵ Malitz also criticized what he called "liberal sports". According to his definition, liberal sports were concerned solely with the enjoyment and health of the individual and not with any political party or program. Such a notion was anathema to Malitz and the National Socialists. To them, all sports and all activities necessarily had to be a part of politics. National Socialist ideology and policies politicized and racialized all activities, sports included.⁶⁶

Malitz went on to criticize the "abstract" nature of sports; that is, that they had no larger purpose or no

tangible worldly purpose other than the enjoyment of the individual athlete. He railed against the internationalist, cosmopolitan character of sports. Sounding the same note, Malitz maintained that, "National Socialist sports serve the Volk, the heart of the Fatherland, the homeland, the people, where a man stands-- we will plant sports and physical education in the emotional soil of the Volk." ⁶⁷

Not surprisingly, Malitz held that international sports competitions served no useful purpose for Germany:

According to the teachings of the so-called Liberals sport is supposed to be a uniting link between nations. International sports meets are sponsored in the spirit of reconciliation. Frenchmen kiss the cheeks of German girls, roses and flags are exchanged, national anthems are played and 'clever' words of peace are spoken-- but all the sport in the world cannot cancel those shameful paragraphs in the Versailles Treaty regarding the war guilt.

Frenchmen, Belgians, Polacks and Jew-Niggers run on German tracks and swim in German pools. Good money is thrown away and nobody can truthfully say that international relationships between Germany and its enemies have been bettered. Only a few treasonable persons and anti-German pacifists claim such accomplishments when speaking in Geneva and Prague. ⁶⁸

Malitz presented a number of prominent themes in the National Socialist program in his diatribe against sports. He illustrated the racist, phobic nationalist, anti-cosmopolitan and anti-internationalist position of the Nazis; he demonstrated their antagonism toward their "enemies" and those who sought to make peace in Europe after

the war; and, he mentioned prominently the National Socialists' rejection of Article 231 and the provisions of the Versailles Treaty. And that only in the first paragraph!

Malitz presented the always prominent racism of National Socialist ideology. He also offered an intimation of the difficult economic climate that Germany confronted during the Depression. Finally, he indicated the all-or-nothing character of National Socialist ideology-- one was either with them or against them, no middle ground was allowed("Only a few treasonable persons and anti-German pacifists. . . ")

Sports were readily incorporated into the ideological formulas and programs of National Socialism. Sports were malleable enough to become material and fodder in the National Socialists' efforts to politicize and control all aspects of German life.

Malitz was not alone in his analysis of modern, bourgeois sports. Similar sentiments were offered by the National Socialist intellectual and member of the faculty at the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen(German College of Physical Exercise) in Berlin, Alfred Baeumler. Baeumler echoed Malitz' criticisms of the individualistic nature of sports. He argued that individualism signaled a decaying liberal ideology. The sports movement featured only empty, purposeless performance: "High performance is an individual goal. But this goal is purely formal. It has no value, no intrinsic content. And characteristically, it is expressed

by means of numbers. It is the symbol in this area of naked quantity."⁶⁹ To Baeumler, sports did not have value or meaning when practiced in an individualistic context. As with Malitz, Baeumler held that sports had to be infused with National Socialist ideology in order for them to transcend the realm of "naked quantity."

Thus, the leaders of the National Socialist sports and exercise organizations vehemently opposed the character and conduct of sports prior to the advent of the National Socialist seizure of power. However, after they assumed power in January of 1933, there an immediate effort ensued to co-opt and manage bourgeois sports organizations and to disband socialist and communist ones. Hence sports became part of the overall policy of Gleichschaltung(coordination or synchronization) in the early months of 1933.⁷⁰

Soon after the National Socialist takeover, the DRA was absorbed by a National Socialist sports organization headed by Hans von Tschammer und Osten, the Deutschen Reichsbund für Leibesübungen(DRL or The Imperial German League for Physical Exercise).⁷¹ The DRL gained control over all bourgeois sports and gymnastics associations. Von Tschammer und Osten, assisted by regional(Gau) leaders, presided. The looming question was whether or not the National Socialists, who were clearly ideologically opposed to many of the ideas of the Olympic movement, would continue to support and host the Olympic Games that had been awarded to Berlin and Garmisch-Partenkirchen in 1931 and were to be held in 1936.

Malitz expressed the general feeling of Hitler and the National Socialist leadership regarding the Olympics. They did not ardently support the values and principles of the Olympic movement, but they did see the Games as valuable nonetheless: "As a matter of fact we consider them to be [the Olympics] necessary, due to international propaganda. The difference with us will be that no private clubs or associations will name the teams in the name of Germany and put Germany to shame. The state will name the teams."⁷² Propaganda and the opportunity to spread it were the chief reasons why Hitler and the National Socialists agreed to host the Games. Once they determined the Olympics would be an opportunity to demonstrate the power and ability of the regime they committed themselves wholeheartedly. Massive construction of new stadia and other facilities led to an enormous sum of money being expended by the regime in preparation for the Games in both Garmisch-Partenkirchen and Berlin. Overall, the National Socialists spent nearly \$30 million dollars to host the most lavish Olympic spectacle the world had ever seen.⁷³

Yet, at the same time that they laid plans to host the Olympic Games, the National Socialists implemented their anti-Semitic policies in German society and in German sports. The systematic exclusion of German Jews from almost every sphere of German public life began in 1933. It was bound to impact Jewish athletes. The politicization of

German sports began with the removal of both Drs. Lewald and Diem from positions of power. Lewald lost his position on the International Olympic Committee and his presidency of the DRA. Diem was removed from the German Olympic Committee and his post as General Secretary of the DRA. Both were excluded because of their "Jewish" background. Lewald's father was a Jew who had converted to Protestantism. Thus, Lewald was considered half-Jewish according to the Nazi system of racial classification. Diem, although his family tree was "pure", was married to a woman who was "one-quarter Jewish."⁷⁴

Von Tschammer und Osten moved to exclude Jewish athletes from participation in all areas of sports. In April of 1933, Dr. Daniel Prenn, one of Germany's best tennis players was excluded from participating in the international Davis Cup competition because he was Jewish. In the following month, the DRL ousted Jews Germany's 13,000 gymnastic clubs. In June, it excluded Jews from all public youth and welfare associations, many of which promoted sports teams and activities. Finally, in the autumn of 1933, the DRL informed Jewish athletes that they could no longer compete against other German athletes, but only against one another. Julius Streicher summed up the National Socialists policies toward Jewish athletes in one of his newspaper editorials: "'We need waste no words here, Jews are Jews and there is no place for them in German sports.'⁷⁵

The reaction abroad to the events unfolding in Germany was immediate. Many in the Olympic movement raised a hue and cry. Especially in the United States, sports leaders and politicians railed against the National Socialist policies excluding Jews and Jewish athletes.

The removal of two of the driving forces in German sports, Lewald and Diem, by Hitler and his ministers incensed the president of the International Olympic Committee, Count Henri Baillet-Latour. He ordered Hitler to reinstate them to their offices or lose the opportunity to host the Games. Meetings were held to iron out the differences between the parties at Vienna on June 6, 1933.⁷⁶ The negotiations were tense and bitter. One of the American members of the IOC, Brigadier General Charles E. Sherill described the negotiations in a letter to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York:

It was a trying fight. We were six on the Executive Committee, and even my English colleagues thought we ought not to interfere on the internal arrangements of the German team. The Germans yielded slowly-- very slowly. First they conceded that the other nations could bring Jews. Then, after the fight was over telephones[sic] came from Berlin that no publication [sic] should be given to their Governments[sic] back-down on Jews, but only the vague statement that they agreed to follow our rules. . . Then I went at them hard, insisting that as they had expressly excluded Jews, now they must expressly declare that Jews would not even be excluded from German teams. All sorts of influence was exerted to change my American stand. Finally they yielded because they found that I had lined up the necessary votes.⁷⁷

The following day, June 7, 1933, Lewald was authorized to release a statement assuring the Olympic community and the world that "as a principle" German Jews would not be excluded from German teams or the Olympic Games.⁷⁸ Lewald and Diem were at least nominally restored to their positions within the German Olympic administration. However, von Tschammer und Osten remained as the new president of the German Olympic Committee; Lewald and Diem were officially listed as "advisers" to the Committee.⁷⁹ Five days later, von Tschammer und Osten admitted to a meeting of German officials: "'You are probably astonished by the decision in Vienna, but we had to consider the foreign political situation.'"⁸⁰ At the same meeting, von Tschammer und Osten expressed his approval of the pace and extent of the policies enacted to remove Jews from sporting facilities and clubs. Thus, the Nazi's "agreement" was merely window dressing. They made nominal changes to appease Olympic officials, but had no intention of fundamentally changing their policies or programs.

Many in the U.S., General Sherill among them, were unappeased. The pace of protest against German policies regarding Jewish athletes increased. On November 21, 1933 the leaders of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States convened and passed a resolution declaring that Germany must change its policies regarding Jewish athletes or the United States track and field athletes would boycott the Games.⁸¹

As the pressure for a United States-led boycott of the Games continued to build, National Socialist leaders felt it necessary to make some "concessions". In June of 1934, with a big media splash, they agreed to "nominate" twenty-one Jewish athletes to attend German training camps and facilities.⁸² Understandably, officials in the U.S. were suspicious, so the president of the American Olympic Committee (and an official of the AAU), Avery Brundage, travelled to Germany to evaluate the situation.

On his visit Brundage saw everything that his hosts wanted him to see: a Germany that was rebuilding, orderly, and energized by the National Socialists. He even met with Jewish officials (albeit with Nazi chaperones) who assured him that Germany adhered to Olympic rules and regulations.⁸³

Brundage wanted the boycott movement to fail. He believed that the Olympic movement was bigger than politics and the question of the treatment of Jews in Germany. Thus, he viewed the situation in Germany as he desired it, not as it really was. Upon his return to the U.S., Brundage endorsed American participation in the Games. The American Olympic Committee followed his lead and voted to participate in Garmisch and Berlin.⁸⁴

Still, the AAU held out. And without the acquiescence of the AAU, no American team could be selected or sent to the Games. The leader of the boycott movement within the AAU was a former judge, Jeremiah T. Mahoney. A Catholic, Mahoney was outraged by the actions of the National

Socialists and their demonstrated "paganism."⁸⁵ Mahoney helped to form a "Committee on Fair Play in Sports" that solicited support from prominent members of the intellectual community and public figures-- among them Dr. Franz Boas, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Heywood Broun, and Gov. James M. Curley.⁸⁶

In 1935, Mahoney's committee published a pamphlet, "Preserve the Olympic Ideal: A statement of the Case Against American Participation in the Olympic Games at Berlin."⁸⁷ In the pamphlet they offered a rejoinder to the claim made by Brundage and the American Olympic Committee that the Games should not be halted because of Nazi treatment of Jews:

The American Olympic Committee has appealed to every passion and prejudice which in their low opinion of the American athlete he might conceivably possess. By attempting to make the opposition to American participation appear as an attempt by Jews to use the Olympic Games to serve their own purposes to the detriment of athletics and athletes, they seek to appeal to and to arouse prejudice against the Jew. Indeed, to their everlasting shame, some members of the American Olympic Committee have gone so far as to threaten the Jews of America with retaliatory anti-Semitic measures if the opposition should be successful. By trying to make the opposition appear as an attempt by Communists to destroy the Olympic Games themselves, they seek to appeal to prejudice against Communism and Communists, although they know. . . that such American leaders as Hugh S. Johnson, Alfred E. Smith and William Green, such sports writers as Westbrook Pegler, Paul Gallico and John Kieran, and such athletes as James Bausch, Jack Shea, Carmen Barth, Evelyn Furtsch, who are opposed to American Olympic participation, are no more communistic than the members of the American Olympic Committee themselves.⁸⁸

Clearly, the advocates of joining the Games in Berlin would stoop to any measures to succeed in their endeavor. Without a doubt politics and anti-Semitism featured as much in the American debate about whether to attend the Games as they did in Germany itself.

The climax of the controversy came in December of 1935, when the executive committee of the AAU met to cast a final vote for or against participation in the Games. Mahoney argued forcefully for the boycott, but Brundage (a past president of the organization) had been operating behind the scenes and had seriously undermined enthusiasm for abstention. When the votes were counted the executive committee, by a slim margin, voted to send the team to Germany. Shortly thereafter Mahoney resigned his post and was replaced by Brundage. With Brundage firmly in control of both the American Olympic Committee and the AAU, the chances of a boycott were virtually eliminated.⁸⁹

As Brundage steered the U.S. Olympic Committee through the boycott controversy, preparations continued in Germany. Hitler continued to push his organizers, especially Diem. He wanted to host the most lavish Olympic spectacle ever: "'Preparations,'" he stated, "'must be complete and magnificent.'"⁹⁰ By all accounts they were. When the last brick had been laid and the last coat of paint had dried the facilities in Berlin and Garmisch-Partenkirchen were the best in the world.

Hitler himself had a hand in the design of the great Olympic Stadium in Berlin. The old facility that had been built for the 1916 Games he deemed too small. The architect Werner March, whose father had built the original stadium, was commissioned to renovate and enlarge the old facility. When Hitler viewed the model and plans that March had created, he was greatly displeased. Accusing March of "architectural timidity" he ordered that the old stadium be torn down and replaced with a new and larger one.⁹¹ The outcome was the largest sports facility of its time. Built of steel and stone, the Olympic stadium could hold 100,000 spectators. Facilities for gymnastics, swimming, tennis, and equestrian events were constructed outside the confines of the stadium. Adjacent to the stadium lay the Maifield(Mayfield) which could hold mass demonstrations of upwards of one-quarter of a million people. In addition, an Olympic Village was built for the men in Gr newald and new facilities were constructed at Gr nau for the rowing events and in Kiel for the yachting competitions.⁹² By the opening of the Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen on February 6, 1936 all was ready.

The Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen served as a tune-up for the more highly anticipated summer contests. Right from the beginning Hitler, Goebbels, and the rest of the National Socialist hierarchy demonstrated that they were prepared to host, and impress, the world. As in Berlin, the architects and laborers had created marvelous facilities. And, the

agents and emissaries of Goebbels' propaganda machine made sure that journalists from around the world were provided with all of the tools and assistance that they needed to write glowing reports to their home newspapers of the revived German nation.⁹³ Hitler himself was often in attendance, travelling from event to event in his Mercedes limousine and with his S.S. bodyguards. In the evening, grand parties were held in Munich for visiting notables.

The athletic competitions themselves were unanimously accounted a success. More athletes competed in the IVth Winter Olympics at Garmisch-Partenkirchen than had ever competed at any previous winter Games-- over one thousand athletes from twenty-eight countries.⁹⁴ The crowds that came out to Garmisch-Partenkirchen were also huge by winter Games standards. As many as 75,000 spectators clogged the streets and venues of the tiny alpine villages.⁹⁵ The National Socialist regime won world-wide accolades and approval. The true test, however, awaited the Summer Games in Berlin.

The pomp and pageantry of the Berlin Games actually began a short time before the August 1st starting date with the beginning of the torch run from Olympia in Greece. Carefully following the elaborate plans of Carl Diem, on July 20th at Olympia, the ancient site of the original Olympic Games, a Zeiss lens focused the fire of the sun on a specifically designed magnesium torch; a young woman dressed

in the robes of a priestess, and escorted by thirteen young women in classical garb, lit the torch-- thus offering a tribute to the symbol that was so powerful in ancient Greek and Teutonic lore-- which was then used to light a larger fire on a nearby altar.⁹⁶ A German official read a short passage: "'O fire, lit in an ancient and sacred place, begin your race, and bring greetings to the youth of all the world, gathered together in my country. Bring greetings also to my Führer and to the whole of the German people.'" A scantily dressed Greek youth then lit the torch and began the eleven day, 2,000 mile run to Berlin. It was the first such ceremony in modern Olympic history.⁹⁷ A German radio truck followed the progress of the flame and sent reports back to listeners in Germany. A second van carried Leni Reifenstahl and her camera crew; they filmed the run to provide footage for her documentary "Olympia."⁹⁸

The torch run and its attendant ceremonies proved significant in a number of respects. First, they indicated again the degree to which Diem, supported by the National Socialist regime, promoted and propagandized the Olympic Games. Secondly, they revealed that peculiar brand of paganism evident in the Germany of the day. Drawing on classical Greek symbolism and prestige, the National Socialists fostered a spiritual connection between themselves, their supposed Teutonic past, and the ancient Greek world. Finally, the very nature of the torches, lens, and ceremony that went into the torch run revealed the

profound tension between the modern world of technology and the deep longing for and reverence of the past that was expressed in Völkish ideology.⁹⁹

The public enthusiastically followed the progress of the torch. All along the route enthusiastic crowds strained to get a glimpse of the flame. As the torch entered Berlin, a crowd of 30,000 gathered at the Lustgarten to pay homage to the Olympic flame in a special youth festival.¹⁰⁰

Goebbel's Propaganda Ministry sponsored the event. It provided the perfect opportunity to demonstrate to the world the degree of youth support for the regime. To the assembled crowd Goebbel's solemnly intoned, "'Holy flame, burn, burn, and never go out!'" A runner bearing the flame entered the throng and a loud roar followed him, along with thousands snapping a Nazi salute.¹⁰¹ After a pause of a few hours, runners conveyed the flame from the Lustgarten to the Olympic stadium itself: "The runners followed the city's main thoroughfare, broadened and given the name Via Triumphalis for the Games. The last runner of all was an embodiment of the Germanic ideal. Dressed in white, he was tall, slender, and flaxen-haired, a vision of athleticism and chiseled virility. He did not run alone: A V-shaped formation of seven runners accompanied him, providing a kind of living frame for his Nordic splendor."¹⁰² The opening ceremonies and other events were just as carefully orchestrated to ensure that the proper degree of pomp, ceremony, and political effect would be produced.

The most lasting testimony to the propaganda and political success of the Berlin Games is Leni Riefenstahl's film "Olympia." Chosen by Diem, and officially commissioned by the IOC, Hitler himself ordered her to direct the film.¹⁰³ Riefenstahl alleged that the Tobis Film Co. provided financing for the undertaking; however, it was actually directed through Goebbel's Propaganda Ministry.¹⁰⁴ Despite a life-long passion for sports and athletics, Riefenstahl contended she did not wish to accept the assignment.¹⁰⁵ However, after Diem and the head of the IOC, Otto Mayer, prevailed upon her, she accepted the assignment of filming the Berlin Games.

Riefenstahl claimed that the challenge of creating a work of art out of such a complex and sprawling subject as the Summer Olympics persuaded her to undertake the project. She began to think about the likely possibilities for making ". . . a film that would combine the Olympic idea with the most important Olympic contests."¹⁰⁶ The result was an emerging theme and image:

In my mind's eye, I could see the ancient ruins of the classical Olympic sites slowly emerging from patches of fog and the Greek temples and sculptures drifting by: Achilles and Aphrodite, Medusa and Zeus, Apollo and Paris, and then the discus thrower of Myron. I dreamed that this statue changed into a man of flesh and blood, gradually starting to swing the discus in slow motion. The sculptures turned into Greek temple dancers dissolving in flames, the Olympic fire igniting the torches to be carried from the Temple of Zeus to the modern Berlin of 1936--a bridge from Antiquity to the present. That was my vision of the prologue to my Olympia.¹⁰⁷

The prologue in the final cut of the film captured Riefenstahl's vision exactly. It also reflected one of the overriding messages of the film--the connection between the mythic past and the modern present. It was, as we have seen, one of the great paradoxes of German life-- how to recognize and reconcile past and present. Riefenstahl's film seemed to suggest that one of the most effective ways to do so was through the power of sports.

Further confirmation of her desire for fusion, or the unification, of past and present was offered in Riefenstahl's introductory note to her volume of still photographs taken during the Berlin games:

The Olympics-- festival of youth, festival of beauty. Seldom has there been so much beauty combined with grace and strength as in those sixteen days of the Olympic Games in Berlin. Everything was beautiful: the Olympic idea, the torch-bearer, the stadium-- and the athletes: the rapture of Glenn Morris, the stride of Jesse Owens, the controlled power of our Karl Hein; the inward absorption, the near-religious devotion of the Japanese; the looseness of the American athletes; and the men of iron-- the Finns. When the Finns ground down the Japanese runner, Murakoso, in the ten thousand metres, when the Finnish team fused into a single entity and overtook the other runners, one by one, with uncanny rhythm, they became the most perfect symbol of mental as well as physical beauty.¹⁰⁸

The last sentence of Riefenstahl's preface in many ways summed up her aesthetic view; it illuminates precisely why she was embraced by Hitler and the National Socialists and became their preferred filmmaker. Riefenstahl created an

aesthetic vision that reflected the ideals and attitudes of National Socialism. In addition, her films imbued sports and the human body with that dubious aesthetic and thereby helped to advance Nazi ideas and ideology. A consideration of Riefenstahl's formative years illustrates how she came to create her aesthetic vision and the path toward its ultimate corruption.

Riefenstahl's aesthetic ideas originated in her experiences first as a dancer and then as an actress. She briefly trained in the dance of the Expressionist pioneer Mary Wigman. Wigman specialized in abstract, emotionally charged performances that were designed to elicit the deepest feelings and emotional states. Hers was a dance of the "unconscious" made manifest. Riefenstahl, however, could not fully accept the austerity of Wigman's style: "I had a very hard time integrating into the group dancing of the Wigman School. I found the style too abstract, too rigorous, and too ascetic, where my own urge was to surrender completely to the rhythms of the music."¹⁰⁹ She dropped out of Wigman's school in Dresden and returned to her parent's home in Berlin; there, she began to develop her own version of Wigman's project.¹¹⁰ For her efforts, Riefenstahl won some acclaim as a dancer. However, a knee injury forced her to abandon her first love and embark on a career as an actress-- most notably in the mountain films of Dr. Arnold Fanck.

Riefenstahl's aesthetic and artistic concerns as a

dancer demonstrated that at an early age she had already greatly shaped her view of the world and how she chose to experience it. In the passage above where she related her differences with Wigman's ideas, she remarked that she preferred "to surrender completely to the rhythms of the music."¹¹¹ Similar notions of the power of music, and especially rhythm, would appear again and again in her films-- most notably in "Triumph of the Will" and "Olympia".

Riefenstahl's film career began when she joined the cast of Fanck's, "The Holy Mountain"(1927). She was much taken by the aesthetic ideas of Fanck and his ability to combine so artistically her own interests in nature, sports, and Expressionism. He became her "intellectual mentor."¹¹² Fanck's ideas and aesthetic, however, contained elements that were identified by the noted critic Siegfried Kracauer as similar to those of National Socialism. Commenting on Fanck's dramatic scenes of mountains, snow, ice, and clouds, Kracauer stated: ". . . the idolatry of glaciers and rocks was symptomatic of an antirationalism on which the Nazis could capitalize."¹¹³

That Riefenstahl absorbed and advanced such ideas was evident in her directorial debut, "Das Blaue Licht"(The Blue Light) of 1932. The film was set in an Italian mountain village. On moonlit nights the peak of Mount Cristallo was bathed in an eerie blue light that seduced the young people of the village to approach it. Despite the best efforts of their parents to shield them from the mysterious light, the

young men and women of the village were drawn to pursue it--when they did, entranced by the blue light, they inevitably fell to their deaths in the chasms of the mountains. Only one person, Junta(played by Riefenstahl), tracked the light to its source and lived; as a result, the villagers believed she was a witch.¹¹⁴ Fearful of her power, the villagers shunned her and stoned her whenever she entered the village. A young painter visiting from Vienna saw Junta during such an incident and was swept away. He went to live with her in the mountains. One night when the moon was full and the mountain was shining brightly, Junta left him and ascended the peak. Secretly, the young painter followed her. He discovered that the source of the strange blue light was crystals embedded in the mountaintop. Excited about the prospect of growing wealthy, he told the villagers. Together they removed the crystals. On the next full moon Junta attempted to ascend the peak once more. But with the crystals gone, the moonlight was not reflected and Junta lost her way. She ended by plunging to her death in a chasm.¹¹⁵ Thus, the curiosity and greed of the young painter costs him his beloved.

Throughout the film Riefenstahl revealed her aesthetic debt to Arnold Fanck. Marvelous vistas "stress the insoluble ties between the primitive people and their natural surroundings."¹¹⁶ The celebration of landscape and soil were staples of volkisch ideology. Riefenstahl built upon an extant symbolic language in her treatment of the

mountain landscapes, peasant beliefs and practices, and the mysterious powers attributed to Junta. Ultimately, as Kracauer pointed out, Riefenstahl's film was about the power of reason to debunk, demystify, and ultimately demolish, the power of nature and the non-material world.¹¹⁷ When the secret of the Blue Mountain was discovered, greed and reason prevailed over Junta's natural (and irrational) powers. To Kracauer, the attitudes and ideas portrayed in the film "conform to a political regime which relies on intuition, worships nature and cultivates myths."¹¹⁸

Riefenstahl's own testimony regarding the origins of the film served to highlight not only her concerns, but the cast of mind that Kracauer described above:

Almost against my will I was diverted more and more to the actual process of film-making. At first I resisted. I was an actress and I didn't want to be side-tracked, but now I couldn't help seeing everything with a film-makers eyes. I translated every room, every face, into images and movements. I longed more and more to create something of my own.

I was dissatisfied with the part I had played in my last mountain film["Storms Over Mont Blanc"], for it wasn't a real part at all. My work had been extremely arduous and dangerous, but now I felt that I'd had enough of the icy cold, the storms and glaciers. I yearned for the mountains, but without the ice and snow. I began to dream and my dreams turned into images of a young girl who lived in the mountains, a creature of nature. I saw her climbing, saw her in the moonlight; I watched her being chased and pelted with stones, and finally I dreamed of this girl as she fell away from a wall of rock and slowly plunged into the depths.

These images seized hold of me and, as they grew ever more vivid, I wrote everything down as a treatment, . . . which I named "The Blue Light". I called the girl "Junta" but I

don't know how the name came to me since I had never consciously heard it before.¹¹⁹

Intuition, nature worship, myth, reveling in the inner mysteries of the will and the irrational or unconscious-- Riefenstahl's own words served as testimony to the mood and mind, conscious and unconscious, that had developed in Germany during the pre-Hitler years. She also demonstrated the apparent depreciation of rational thought and activity. She did not undertake the film project because she came up with an idea that she thought would make a good film; rather, she felt drawn to it "Almost against my[her] will. . ."¹²⁰ Riefenstahl's story is the story of Germany during the Weimar Republic and the years of National Socialism. It is not surprising that her films capture so well the mood and mind of much of the country. It is also not surprising that she became the favorite director of Hitler and the Nazis. Her ideas, attitudes, and artistic sensibilities were part of the same stream of conscious and unconscious life.

Hitler was entranced by "The Blue Light". Riefenstahl was entranced by Hitler. In February 1932, after touring the country to promote her film, Riefenstahl attended one of Hitler's rallies at the Berlin Sportpalast. During her tour, Riefenstahl claimed that she heard much debate and discussion regarding Hitler and his policies. Allegedly a political neophyte, she stated that she wanted to form her own opinion of the man.¹²¹ She packed herself in among the

party faithful. She was repelled by the crowd, "so excited and noisy that already I regretted coming; but it was almost impossible to leave, for the crowds blocked the exits."¹²²

At last Hitler arrived,

The spectators jumped from their seats, shouting wildly for several minutes: 'Heil, Heil, Heil!'. . . I heard his voice: 'Fellow Germans!' That very instant I had an almost apocalyptic vision that I was never able to forget. It seemed as if the earth's surface were spreading out in front of me, like a hemisphere that suddenly splits apart in the middle, spewing out an enormous jet of water, so powerful that it touched the sky and shook the earth. I felt quite paralysed. Although there was a great deal in the speech that I didn't understand, I was still fascinated, and I sensed that the audience were in bondage to this man.

Two hours later I stood freezing on the Potsdamer Strasse. The rally had such a profound impact on me that I felt unable to hail a cab. No doubt about it, I was deeply affected. New and unexpected thoughts shot through my mind. Would this man play a role in Germany's history, and would the results be good or bad? As I slowly walked towards Hindenburgstrasse, my mind was in a turmoil.¹²³

After her experience at the Sportpalast, Riefenstahl met Hitler. He had seen "The Blue Light," embraced its aesthetic, and wanted Riefenstahl to make a film for the Party. The result was "Triumph of the Will." The origins of the relationship between Hitler and Riefenstahl are important in a number of respects. Firstly, they indicate a shared sensibility and common ground between them. He admired her films and the ideas and visual expression that she employed in them. For her, Hitler's personality and charisma were apparently enough to override her alleged

concerns about his ideas and proposed policies. Each admired the non-rational, emotive, qualities of the other. They continued to have a personal relationship thereafter. It was through this initial encounter that Riefenstahl became the director of her most famous and influential films-- and Hitler became not only her patron, but her protector and friend.

Riefenstahl made what is generally considered the world's finest propaganda film. It captured the essence of what National Socialism was all about. From the opening shots of the gathering clouds to the mass rallies and spectacles of the formal ceremonies, Riefenstahl created a grand and sweeping epic that depicted Hitler and National Socialism as almost a force of Nature-- albeit one that was carefully organized and meticulously orchestrated. Kracauer commented that Riefenstahl's "Triumph of the Will" was a tour de force in propaganda and the creation of popular enthusiasm: "Through a very impressive composition of mere newsreel shots, this film represents the complete transformation of reality, its complete absorption into the artificial structure of the Party Convention"¹²⁴ By carefully organizing and orchestrating every aspect of the rally, ". . . the Convention could evolve literally in a space and time of its own; thanks to perfect manipulation, it became not so much a spontaneous demonstration as a gigantic extravaganza with nothing left to improvisation."¹²⁵

The most important act of manipulation was that of the participants' emotions. As Kracauer pointed out, Riefenstahl did not focus on the speeches in the film. Instead the intellect was diminished and physical and emotional appeals were emphasized: "At Nuremberg, . . . steps were taken to influence the physical and psychological condition of all participants. Throughout the whole Convention masses already open to suggestion were swept along in a continuous, well-organized movement that could not but dominate them. . . Symbols chosen for their stimulative power helped in the total mobilization: the city was a sea of waving swastika banners; the flames of bonfires and torches illuminated the nights; the streets and squares uninterruptedly echoed with the exciting rhythm of march music."¹²⁶ To record and memorialize such an emotional and physical production Riefenstahl was the perfect instrument. She was in large measure attuned to just the sort of emotional and symbolic content that Goebbels and Hitler sought to transmit. In effect, the rally offered a gigantic set waiting for Riefenstahl to utilize it and exploit its fullest propaganda potential.

To produce the film Riefenstahl used thirty cameras and a staff of one hundred and seventy.¹²⁷ The shots gathered and edited by Riefenstahl into the film transform a mere documentary into an experience of the National Socialist movement. The most pronounced aspect of the film was its energy or movement. The cameras constantly moved or focused

on movement and activity in the events that they depicted. Mass parades, multitudes of waving banners, waves of flickering flames, action and energy were the constant refrain of the film.

The energy of the smiling Hitler Youth and marching columns was further contained in the bodies of the young men and women. Riefenstahl filmed them while they engaged in play and athletic competitions. Those lithe, muscular bodies represented the energy of the movement. They appeared as ideal types in the film-- offering a standard, the film suggests, to which all should aspire and attempt to realize. This was Riefenstahl's bodily aesthetic. The bodies of the young men and women at Nuremberg were the energy and future of Germany-- they "embodied" National Socialism-- and they were athletic bodies. In "Triumph of the Will", Riefenstahl created the aesthetic vision that linked sports, the athletic body, and National Socialism. She would further develop, and exploited, that aesthetic in "Olympia".

Nowhere in the film, apart from Hitler himself, was individual energy and vitality praised or singled out. Instead, the energy and effort of the individual was subsumed in the whole. Clearly the message was one of unity-- or better totality. The great mass parade in the arena manifested the united energies of the movement, the sum of many individual parts. One may also see them as Riefenstahl presented them from above-- as a depiction of

the energy and strength of the timeless Volk. From above, as columns wheeled and marched far below, Riefenstahl captured the essence of Nazi racial doctrine. From above the marching columns weaving through the saluting masses surrounding them appear almost as though they were blood coursing through the body of the Volk, providing the very energy and vitality of the movement. "Blut und Boden", blood and soil, was the catch phrase of the volkisch and Nazi movement. Purity of race would be achieved through attention to the "blood". Purity of soul would be attained through connection to the German landscape. Riefenstahl's images advanced both of those nefarious ideas and yoked them to the image of the athletic body.

"Triumph of the Will" was a smashing propaganda and cinematic success. Hitler and the National Socialist Party loved it. The critics loved it. It won international acclaim and honors for Riefenstahl. For my purposes it is important because it illustrates the relationship that Riefenstahl had formed with Hitler and the ideology of National Socialism. The film also prefigured the types of images and symbols that she would utilize in developing the aesthetic concepts in "Olympia".

The similarities between the two films are immediately apparent. The irrational and mythic nature of Riefenstahl's "Olympia" was revealed in the very beginning of the film. She offered numerous shots of the ruins of ancient Greek temples-- capped by some dramatic footage of the Acropolis.

The ruins were succeeded by footage of ancient Greek sculpture. Close ups were used to show the contained power and beauty of the athletic bodies. The treatment culminated with a shot of the Discobolus statue that dissolved into a contemporary human athlete crouched in the same position and ready to let the discus fly. Accompanied by slow, dramatic music, the entire piece formed a bridge between the grandeur and glory of ancient Greece and the modern world. The pagan, non-rational, and physical(bodily) character of the film was set. From that point on Riefenstahl developed similar themes throughout the film.

The next important segment in the first of the two "Olympia" films were the scenes inside the Olympic Stadium in Berlin itself. The viewer was offered their first glimpse of the stadium from high above through an aerial shot. It was reminiscent of the type of shot that Riefenstahl utilized to such great effect in "Triumph of the Will." As in that film, the dramatic perspective served at least two purposes: first, one was awed by the extreme size of the stadium and the crowd gathered within it. And, two, it situated the entire event outside the mundane realm of the day to day and familiar. It gave an almost sacred and extraordinary dimension to the events unfolding inside the stadium. Riefenstahl sought, and achieved, the removal of the athletes from quotidian tasks-- the athletic body and performance became something extraordinary and transcendent.

As the camera left its perch high in the sky above the

stadium and panned through the crowd, one is again struck by the parallels with the techniques in "Triumph of the Will." The shots of ecstatic spectators, often with their arms outstretched in the Nazi salute, echoed the rallies of Nuremberg. And, just as in "Triumph of the Will", the camera captured the various emotions of the dignitaries present-- especially Hitler and his coterie.

The images of the opening ceremonies of the Games offer an interesting perspective as well. As the teams marched into the stadium and presented themselves before the VIP box where Hitler and IOC chairmen Baillet-Latour were seated, many of them offered the straight-armed salute of the National Socialists. Those that did received a roar of approval from the German crowd. The effect was almost one of obeisance before a conquering potentate. The gesture appeared to offer great respect and honor to Hitler and the Nazis as hosts of the games. In terms of sheer propaganda value, it was a gesture that confirmed the thoughts of Goebbels and Hitler regarding the value of hosting the Games.

The shots of Hitler are especially intriguing and informative. He was captured solemnly opening the Games with a brief call to the athletes of the world. He then became a spectator, enjoying the competitions much like the other spectators in the stadium; he laughed, cheered, clapped his hands and genuinely looked excited. In many ways "Olympia" offered a much warmer, more human, portrait

of Hitler. He was not the stern leader of the movement as in "Triumph of the Will"; instead, Riefenstahl made him appear as a man of the people who was as excited and thrilled by a great toss of the javelin as the next person.¹²⁸

As the coverage of the contests themselves began in earnest, Riefenstahl again presented an interesting perspective. She celebrated the element of struggle and competition in the various events that she offered in the film. Her coverage of the events paid careful and loving attention to the give and take of the competitions; her camera work manifested the effort etched on the faces of the athletes and the strain that competition placed on their minds and bodies. In slow motion shots she traced the force lines that appeared on their bodies as they rowed, ran, or jumped. The result was a glorification of struggle, competition, and human energy that was unrivaled. The athletes as she depicted them in the film embodied the ideas and aesthetic emphasis on force, speed, and power of the Futurists.

In no small measure, the emphasis that Riefenstahl placed on recording the competitive aspects of the Games reflected the National Socialists' own attitudes and preoccupations. Struggle, conflict, the battle to overcome the Volk's enemies and to make a new future for Germany were the constant refrain of Hitler and his lieutenants.¹²⁹ The athlete as a heroic "warrior" was another important image

that connected Riefenstahl's film with National Socialist ideology.

One further means of demonstrating the common aesthetic ideas of Riefenstahl and the National Socialists is to compare the still photographs that Riefenstahl produced from "Olympia" with works by other artists that the Nazis embraced. In 1937, before the release of the two films that comprised "Olympia", Riefenstahl produced a volume of photographs taken from the footage collected for the film. The book is useful for my purposes because it further illustrated her particular aesthetic ideas and their similarities to those of Hitler and the National Socialists.

For example, the hearkening back to ancient Greece as the foundation for National Socialist conceptions of existence was patently demonstrated in the photographs chosen by Riefenstahl to open the book. She drew upon shots from the opening of the film to establish the connection between the past and the present. As mentioned above, the scenes of Myron's Discobolus and the dissolve into the form of the modern decathlete Karl Hein presented the most palpable demonstration of the connection.(See p. 335-336) Notice the attempt Riefenstahl made to recapitulate not only the pose, but the musculature of the statue as well.

The next photograph is of Karl Hein preparing to hurl the javelin(p.337). Riefenstahl's shot further emphasized the connection between the Greek past and the present through the revival of javelin competitions(and all track

and field sports) under the aegis of the Olympic Games. The choice of the javelin was important because it is one of the events that we know for sure was practiced in the ancient Olympic Games. As a result, the javelin, as well as the depiction of Hein's well-muscled body poised for action, served as a bridge to the past.

Riefenstahl herself appeared in the following photograph, entitled "Poise"(p.338). In the film Riefenstahl presented herself in several scenes as a sort of ideal female type engaged in a variety of activities--dancing, exercising with hoops(eurhythmics), and participating in a sort of pagan religious ceremony surrounding the games at Olympia. The presentation of the nude body offered yet another connection between the ancient Greek world and the modern one. As mentioned previously, a cult of the sun and the nude body developed in Germany even before the turn of the century. The freeing of the body and its regeneration through exposure to the sun, devotees claimed, would bring the revitalization of the modern world. Whether or not one agreed with such notions, they helped to launch a more profound respect for the body and the depreciation of reason in Germany. Riefenstahl's inclusion of nudity and the careful treatment of the nude body in the opening of her film manifested her embrace of the new "body cult" and the liberating ideas for which it ostensibly stood.

The manner in which Riefenstahl presented her own nude

body was also similar to the presentation of female nudes by a number of artists favored by the National Socialists. Compare the photograph of Riefenstahl from "Olympia" with Ernst Liebermann's, "By the Water"(p.339). The proportions of the women are nearly identical. In addition they were treated as ideal types; their bodies were not rendered completely faithfully. The photograph and the painting were intended in each case to represent a certain type of feminine beauty-- lithe, athletic, graceful and youthful. They were not intended to demonstrate a traditional maternal ideal, nor did they offer an unvarnished depiction of the female body as was more prevalent amongst the various modernist schools which the National Socialists rejected.

Riefenstahl and the National Socialist artists also celebrate the heroic ideal. Two stills from "Olympia" reveal Riefenstahl's concern with the depiction of the heroic and the attainment of it through sports. In two photographs of the American champion in the decathlon, Glenn Morris, Riefenstahl captured the image of the heroic ideal in almost precisely the same manner as the sculptors of ancient Greece and the favorite sculptor of Hitler and the Nazis, Arno Breker.(p.340-341) Compare the photographs taken of Morris with the sculptures of Breker.(p.342-343) In each the chiseled features and classical aesthetic were prominently displayed. In each the rugged power of the athlete cum warrior was valorized. Each also attempted to draw upon the evocative power of the past as a means of legitimizing and

celebrating the present. In the case of Morris, he was portrayed by Riefenstahl as a conqueror and hero akin to those of the ancient Greek world. In Breker's sculpture he tried to evoke the power and grandeur of the past as a means of glorifying and legitimizing the National Socialist regime and its supposed revitalization of Germany through a return to classical models.

The depiction of the athlete as a model of competition and struggle was also common ground in the art of Riefenstahl and the National Socialists. Clearly, all of "Olympia" was a paen to the virtues of sports and athletic competition. A direct comparison can be made through the photographs Riefenstahl presented of the German rowing team.(p.344-345) They illustrated the sense of motion, strength, and energy that comprised a central part of National Socialist ideology. Similar ideas and themes were presented in the painting "Water Sports" by Albert Jaensch.(p.346) The same spirit of competition and struggle to overcome bodily limitations, and one's opponents, in the pursuit of victory was vividly captured in his painting.

Finally, in a still photograph taken from the opening of part two of "Olympia", Riefenstahl offered pastoral and prosaic images of the athletes in the Olympic Village in the Gr newald forest outside Berlin. The athletes relaxed, trained, and rejuvenated themselves in the shelter of the wooded groves.(p.347) Echoes of the pagan worship of nature and its power were evident as was the volkisch emphasis on

"Blut und Boden"-- the connection between "blood and soil". Profound reverence for the German landscape and its supposed mystical significance for the German people was suggested in Riefenstahl's loving treatment of scenes in the Gr newald forest. Common themes were manifested in the shot of the nude dancer against the backdrop of the clouded sky-- and in the shots of divers framed against the seemingly endless sky and clouds.(p.348) Each not only offered another version of the Nature theme, but they also drew upon the aesthetic of Fanck's mountain films and the treatment of clouds that Riefenstahl presented in "The Triumph of the Will". In every case they evinced a sense of the timeless and primordial power and energy of Nature-- and the special powers of those humans who could achieve a mystical union with it.

Similar sentiments were demonstrated in the paintings of farmers toiling to wrest a living from Nature. Much like athletes, the Nazis idealized farmers as the backbone and sinew of the Volk. Farmers enjoyed an intimate and sometimes antagonistic relationship with the natural world; but as the paintings below seem to suggest National Socialist artists(if not farmers themselves) believed that a sense of overcoming, power, and perhaps mystical spirituality could be realized by the farmer. Intimately bound to the soil, the artists suggested that the farmer provided food not only for the bodies of Germany, but for its spirit as well.(p.349-350)

Thus in a wide variety of ways the aesthetic notions of Riefenstahl found similar expression in a number of other media and artistic disciplines in Nazi Germany. In all the cases mentioned above the similarities are pronounced and striking. After careful examination it is difficult not to condemn Riefenstahl's aesthetic notions and ideas. Certainly such aesthetic notions were not necessarily National Socialist alone; but because Riefenstahl placed herself, her art, and her ideas in service to Hitler and his regime, one can only conclude that her art and ideas served as weapons in the advancement of National Socialism and its agenda in Germany and abroad.¹³⁰ Hajo Bernett, a noted German historian of sports, summed up the relationship between Riefenstahl's works and National Socialist ideology as follows:

For the first time in the history of the modern Olympic games athletic performance was motivated and employed as a means of ideological struggle. The Olympic documentary depicts the ideological background by artistically treating the theme of increased struggle(conflict) as an heroic occurrence.¹³¹

Clearly sports had become more than just games and the pastimes of children; they had become a means and mechanism for advancing political agendas. Athletic bodies were no longer pictured as mere images of health and well-being by Riefenstahl and other artists, but as a symbol of, and requirement for, national success. To the degree that Riefenstahl's films advanced such views and perspectives of

the human and athletic body, one must place her firmly in the camp of fellow travelers like Josef Thorak and Arno Breker. Her films captured the essence of the National Socialist aesthetic of the body and the anti-rational, anti-Enlightenment message that it contained; therefore, Riefenstahl made films that mimicked the symbols and ideas, and served the purposes, of National Socialism. She created an aesthetic bridge that spanned, and joined, the values of the ancient and modern worlds through the medium of sports and the athletic body; she provided Hitler and the National Socialists with an aesthetic and visual language that reinforced their own.

As the evidence above indicates, Riefenstahl's works were not the only contributors in the effort to politicize sports. With the upsurge in popular enthusiasm for sports in the 1920's sports were readily understood by thinkers and leaders in all political camps to be an effective means of influencing public opinion and effectuating their political programs. No matter how critical they were of sports, political leaders saw that sports offered a means of dissolving the contradictions and tensions (the binary relationships) in German society and culture. They could be used, politicians argued, to foster the regeneration of Germany. Sports, it seems, could not avoid being political in some sense of the term. Sports could create healthy bodies, transmit values, and stir the emotions that politicians could not ignore. Thus, sports became a

political battleground that occupied the leaders of all parties across the political spectrum. Truly, sports had become too important, and too prominent a part of German culture, to ignore. Hitler and Goebbels realized this. Leni Riefenstahl aided them through her development of a visual, symbolic language and embodied aesthetic that greatly advanced the National Socialist cause in the mind and eye of the German public. Through her treatment of the athletic body she developed a means of transcending the binary tensions that had dominated German social, cultural, and political life.



Fig. 1

335



Fig 2
336

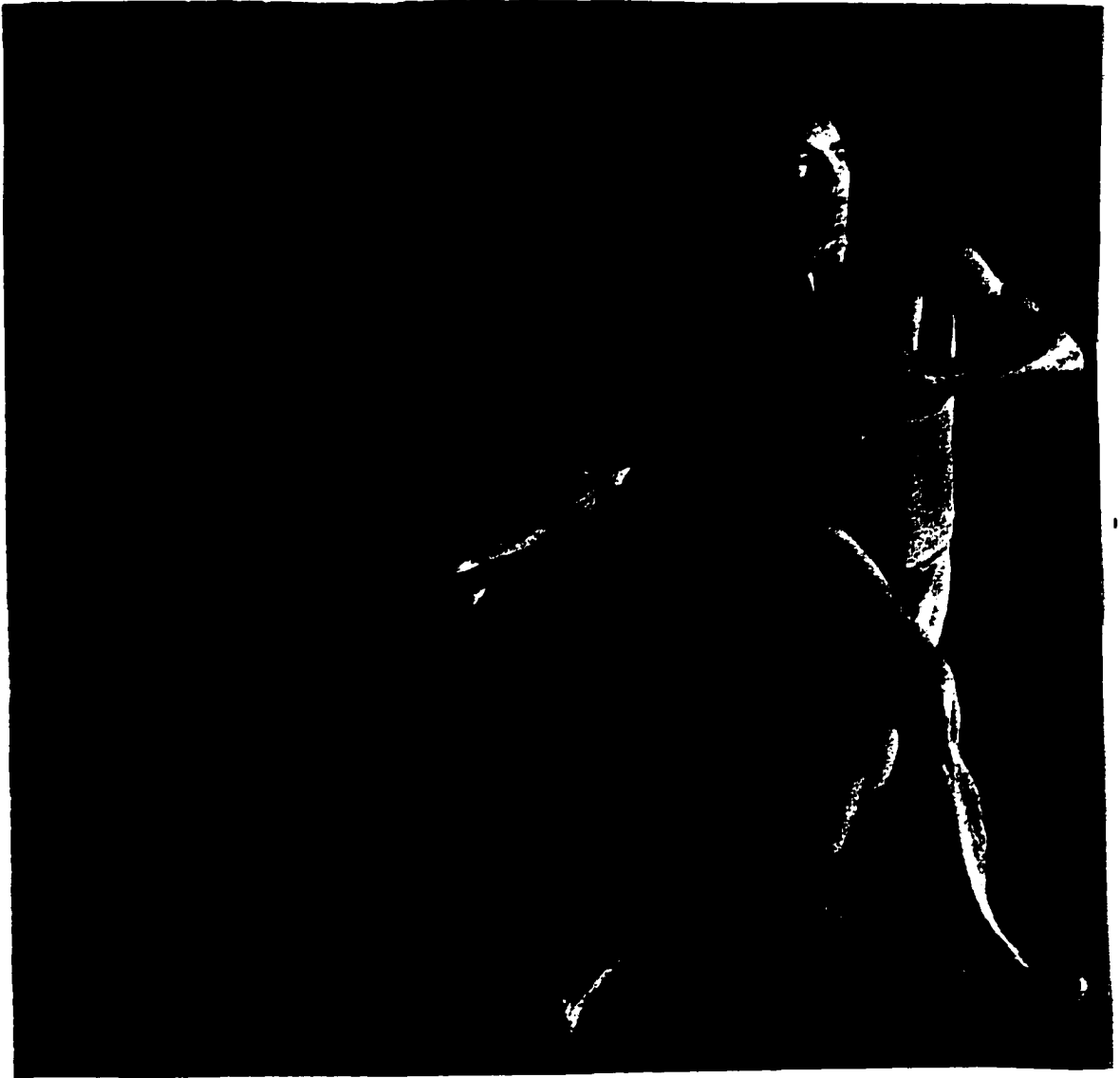


Fig 3



Fig 4

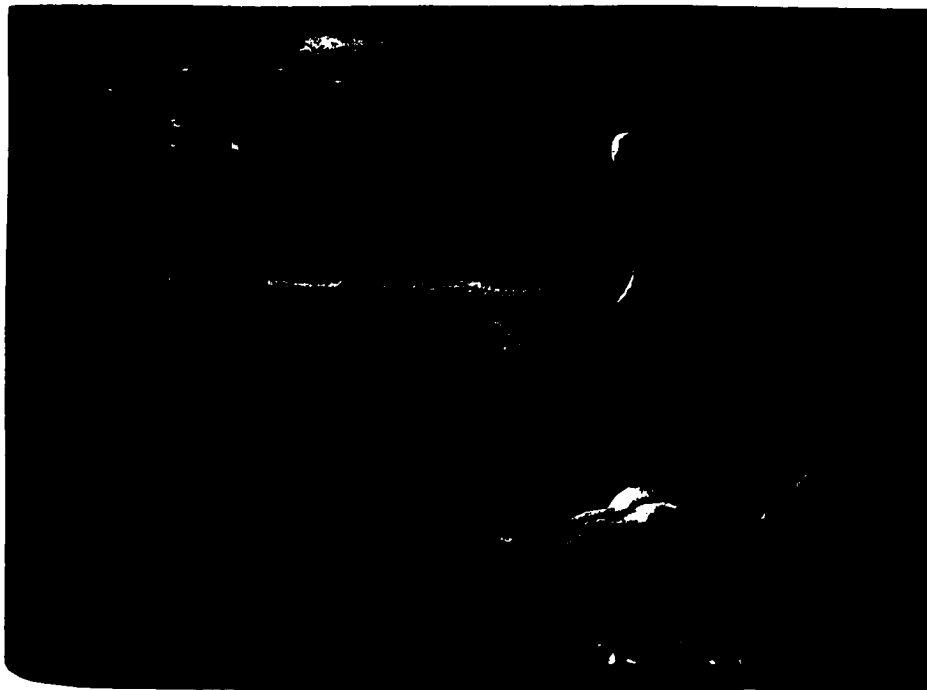


Fig 5



Fig 6



Fig 7



Fig 8



Fig 9



Fig. 10

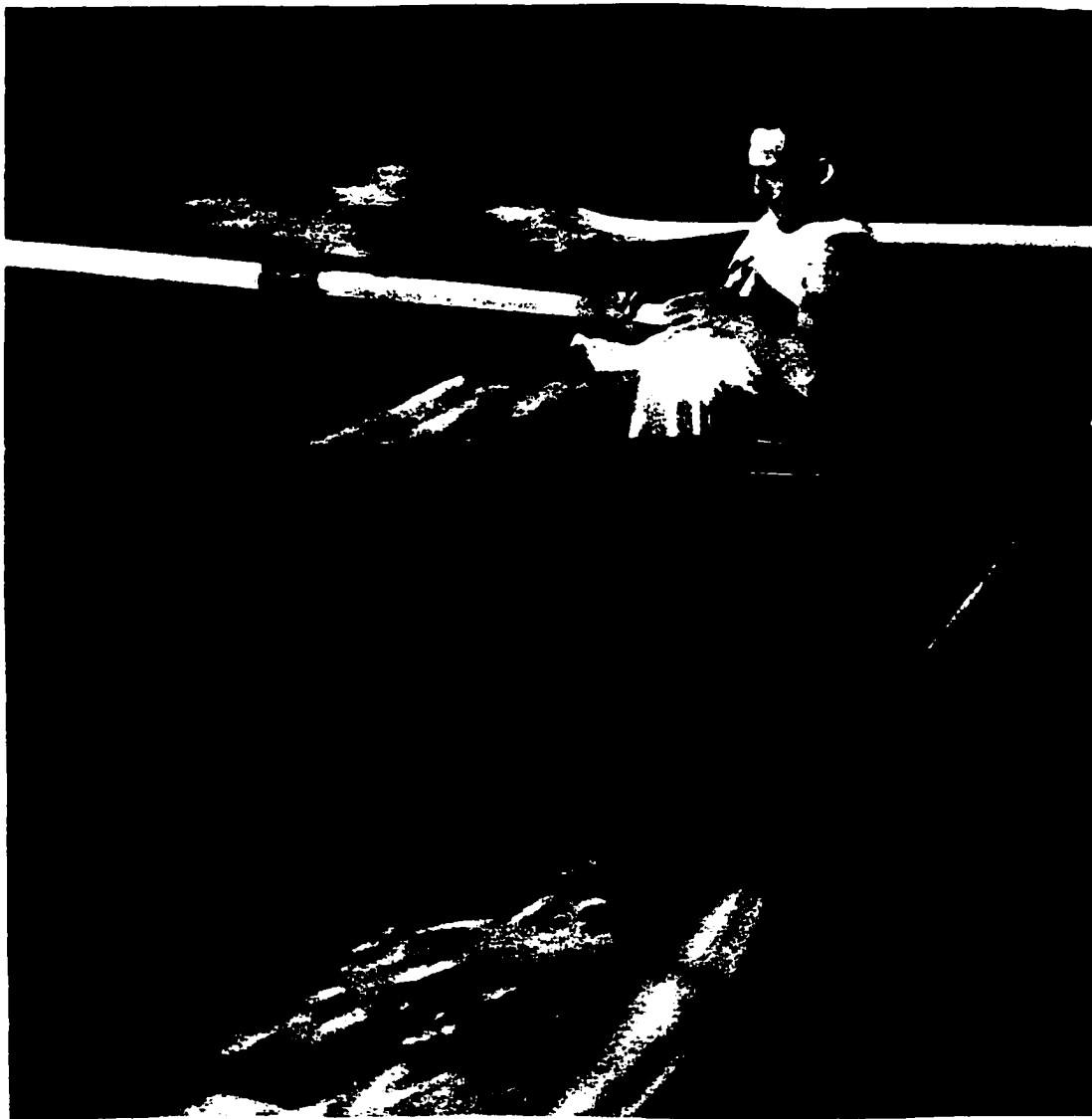


Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14

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Fig. 15



Fig. 16

Notes

¹Adolf Hitler, Speech at Munich July 18, 1937, in Norman H. Baynes, ed. The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922- August 1939 (New York, 1969) 590-591. For a full introduction and discussion of the political aspects of sports, to which I am much indebted, see: John Hoberman, Sport and Political Ideology (Austin, TX: Texas UP, 1984).

² Pierre De Coubertin, Olympische Erinnerungen (Frankfurt/M: Ullstein, 1996) 19. See also: Arnd Krüger, Sport und Politik: Von Turnvater Jahn zum Staatsamateur (Hannover: Fackeltrager, 1975) 29.

³Ibid., 21-22. Also, Krüger, *ibid.*

⁴Krüger, 30.

⁵De Coubertin, 39-40.

⁶Ibid. 98.

⁷Krüger, 30.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid., 31.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid., 32.

¹²Ibid., 33. See also: De Coubertin, 75-76.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Carl Diem, Dokumente zum Aufbau des deutschen Sports (Sankt Augustin: Hans Richarz, 1984) 48ff. Also: Krüger, 35.

¹⁵Krüger, 35.

¹⁶Diem, 95-97.

¹⁷Ibid., 104-105. Also: Krüger, 38.

¹⁸Krüger, 39.

¹⁹Ibid., 40.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Diem, 110-112.

²²Krüger, 43-44.

²³Diem, 119-124. Also, Krüger, 49.

● ²⁴Horst Ueberhorst, Frisch, Frei, Stark und Treu: Die Arbeitersportbewegung in Deutschland, 1893-1933 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1973) 18.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Hans Joachim Teichler, "Nicht länger Reaktionären Gefolgschaft leisten" in Teichler and Hauk, eds. Illustrierte Geschichte des Arbeitersports (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1987) 18.

²⁷Ueberhorst, 22.

²⁸Teichler, 24.

²⁹Ibid, 49.

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Fritz Wildung, "Die Arbeitersportbewegung nach der Revolution" reprinted in Teichler and Hauk, eds. Illustrierte Geschichte des Arbeitersports (Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz, 1987) 29.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Fritz Wildung, Arbeitersport. (Berlin, 1929) 67.

³⁸Ibid., 68.

³⁹Ibid., 69.

⁴⁰Ibid., 70.

⁴¹Ibid., 71.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Julius Deutsch, Sport und Politik. (Berlin, 1928).

⁴⁵Ibid., 20.

⁴⁶Ibid., 23.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid., 24.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹Ibid., 25.

⁵²Paul Franken, Vom Werden einer neuen Kultur. Aufgaben der Arbeiter-Kultur und Sportorganisationen (Berlin, 1930) 58.

⁵³H. Hoffmann, "Sport und Wissenschaft. Der Werksport im Dienste kapitalistischen Gewinnstrebens" in Sportpolitische Rundschau 1928, Nr.1.

⁵⁴Ibid., 7.

⁵⁵Ibid., 8.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid., 9.

⁵⁸Ibid.

⁵⁹Ibid., 10.

⁶⁰Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1971) 407.

⁶¹Ibid., 409.

⁶²Ibid., 410.

⁶³Bruno Malitz, Die Leibesübungen in der nationalsozialistischen Idee (Munich, 1933) 14.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid., 15.

⁶⁷Ibid., 21.

⁶⁸Ibid., 21-22.

⁶⁹Alfred Baeumler, Sinn und Aufbau der deutschen Leibesübungen (Berlin, 1932) 64.

⁷⁰Krüger, Sport und, 62.

⁷¹Ibid., 66.

⁷²Malitz, 16.

⁷³George Constable, The Olympic Century: the Official 1st Century History of the Modern Olympic Movement. The XI. XII. XIII Olympiads. Berlin 1936 and St. Moritz 1948 (Los Angeles: World Sport Research & Publications, 1996) 7.

⁷⁴Michael Krüger, "Olympische Spiele in Deutschland: ausgefallen, mißbraucht, überschattet, gescheitert," in Olympischer Sport: Rückblick und Perspektiven, Ommo Gruppe, ed. (Schorndorf: Karl Hofmann, 1997) 73-74. Also: Constable, 24-25.

⁷⁵Constable, 26-27.

⁷⁶Michael Krüger, 74. See also: Richard Mandell, The Nazi Olympics (New York: MacMillan, 1971) 70.

⁷⁷As quoted in Mandell, 70.

⁷⁸Michael Krüger, 74.

⁷⁹Mandell, 71.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Constable, The Olympic Century, 27.

⁸²Mandell, 73.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Constable, 27.

⁸⁵Mandell, 74.

⁸⁶Stan Cohen, The Games of '36 (Missoula, Mont.: Pictorial Histories Publishing, 1996) 4.

⁸⁷Committee on Fair Play in Sports, "Preserve the Olympic Ideal: A statement of the Case Against American Participation in the Olympic Games at Berlin" (New York, 1935).

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Constable, 28.

⁹⁰Ibid.

- ⁹¹Ibid.
- ⁹²Ibid., 31-32. Also, Diem, 170-171.
- ⁹³Mandell, 96.
- ⁹⁴Ibid., 98.
- ⁹⁵Ibid., 95.
- ⁹⁶Ibid., 102.
- ⁹⁷Constable, 9. See also: Diem, 175.
- ⁹⁸Ibid., 9-10.
- ⁹⁹Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., 11.
- ¹⁰¹Ibid.
- ¹⁰²Ibid., 11.
- ¹⁰³Leni Riefenstahl, A Memoir (New York: St. Martin's, 1993) 177.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid., 5-6.
- ¹⁰⁵Ibid., 176.
- ¹⁰⁶Ibid., 171.
- ¹⁰⁷Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸Leni Riefenstahl, Olympia (New York: St. Martin's, 1994) 10.
- ¹⁰⁹Riefenstahl, A Memoir, 34.
- ¹¹⁰Ibid., 33.
- ¹¹¹Ibid.
- ¹¹²Ibid., 46.
- ¹¹³Sigfried Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of German Film (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1947). 113.
- ¹¹⁴Ibid., 258.
- ¹¹⁵Ibid., 259.

- ¹¹⁶Ibid.
- ¹¹⁷Ibid.
- ¹¹⁸Ibid.
- ¹¹⁹Riefenstahl, A Memoir, 89.
- ¹²⁰Ibid.
- ¹²¹ibid., 101.
- ¹²²Ibid.
- ¹²³Ibid.
- ¹²⁴Ibid., 102.
- ¹²⁵Ibid., 103.
- ¹²⁶Ibid., 105.
- ¹²⁷Ibid., 106.
- ¹²⁸Ibid.
- ¹²⁹Ibid.
- ¹³⁰Ibid., 107.
- ¹³¹Ibid., 136-137.
- ¹³²Ibid., 144.
- ¹³³Ibid., 146.
- ¹³⁴Ibid.
- ¹³⁵Ibid., 147.
- ¹³⁶Ibid., 158.
- ¹³⁷Ibid.
- ¹³⁸Kracauer, 300.
- ¹³⁹Ibid.
- ¹⁴⁰Ibid., 301.
- ¹⁴¹Riefenstahl, A Memoir, 159.

¹⁴²Hajo Bernett, "Leni Riefenstahl's Dokumentarfilm von den Olympischen Spielen in Berlin 1936" in Hajo Bernett, Untersuchungen zur Zeitgeschichte des Sports (Schorndorf: Karl Hofmann, 1973). 117.

¹⁴³Ibid.

Conclusion

From their humble beginnings in the late nineteenth century to the great triumph of the Olympic Games in 1936, sports conquered Germany. By 1936, the popularity of a wide variety of sports was unquestioned. In addition, Germany demonstrated that it was a sporting nation of the first rank with its victories in the 1936 Summer Games. More importantly, sports, as a social and cultural phenomenon, revealed a great deal about the history and cultural practices of Germany from the end of the nineteenth century to the National Socialist period.

Certainly, the introduction of modern sports on the British model in Germany illustrated German attitudes toward the modern world and the values that were associated with it. The ideas and values that sports like soccer, rugby, and bicycling fostered were immediately contested by leaders of the native German physical culture movement most closely associated with Turnvater Jahn and the Turnvereine. Jahn and his followers vehemently maintained that exercise and concern for one's body had to be understood as an effort not to secure health and fitness for the individual alone, but as a means for furthering national and cultural ambitions; first the expulsion of Napoleon and the French from German soil, and then the creation of an independent, unified, and powerful Germany comprised of pure Germans. After the

unification of the nation in 1871, the Turnvereine focused on training German citizens for participation in the armed services of the Reich and for the recognition of German Kultur and prowess around the globe. As always, the ethic of self-sacrifice and service took precedence over those of individual enjoyment, health, and competitive or economic advantage associated with the value system of modern capitalism in general and modern sports in particular.

The antagonism and hostility of the leaders of the Turnvereine towards sports and what they represented was certainly a marker of the deeply held animus against the modern world and what it signified in Germany during the period under consideration. The rapid changes fostered by the industrialization of the German economy and the modernization of society placed great strains on the social fabric and cultural practices of Germany-- and those strains and protests were contained in the strong criticisms of sports unleashed by the leadership of the Turnvereine. Their concerns and criticisms echoed those voiced in important segments of German society at large. In my discussion of the development of bicycling as Germany's first truly popular and professional sport, the tensions mentioned above are fully exposed and explored. It was apparent that bicycling, which began as an exclusive pursuit of the wealthy and the comfortable middle classes, came to represent all that was popular, vulgar, and modern in Germany. When the price of bicycles finally began to come

within reach of the average German worker, and the professionalization of bicycle racing began to emerge, the founders of the elite bicycle clubs and associations in Germany saw it as the death knell of aristocratic dominance of not only sports, but in some measure of the larger culture as well. When money rather than honor served as the great motivator for athletes and promoters of bicycling competitions, mass sports and mass culture-- and the values that they championed-- had arrived. The struggle over sports, then, manifested the class struggles which unfolded in the society at large.

Yet, if Germans were so hostile to the modern world, and to modern sports as a symbol of it, then how and why did modernization and industrialization succeed? My response to that question is developed in the discussion on science and the models, or paradigms, that it provided for understanding the operations of Nature and human behavior. The development of a binary, or dichotomous, conception of German culture and society in the midst of the process of industrialization and modernization served as a means of understanding what German culture had stood for in the past and how those values and practices had come under assault during the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. As suggested, the work of Nordau, Spengler and a host of others offered their understanding of these binary relationships and how they would impact German culture. Scientists and doctors especially, offered paradigms that helped on one

hand to develop and, on the other hand, to defuse the tensions of the binary dilemma.

Utilizing ideas advanced in Anson Rabinbach's study, The Human Motor, it is apparent that the model provided by Helmholtz's law of the conservation of energy seemed to offer the prospect of resolving the tensions that resulted from the clash of old and new ways of interpreting and living in the world. The idea that energy might be conserved and transformed rather than completely lost served as a spur and a guide for scientists and doctors. Perhaps, they argued, the psychic and bodily energy and tensions that the modern world produced could be sublimated or transformed in subtle but important ways; in medical terms that meant the pursuit of exercise and sports as a means of rejuvenating the individual body-- and by extension, the body politic as well. Sports as an agent of modern values and attitudes might, doctors argued, help Germans and Germany better cope with the stresses and strains of modern life and create a healthier, happier, and more powerful German nation. Thus, doctors and scientists sought to harness sports and the positive effects it might create for, in their minds, a greater social and cultural benefit.

On the other hand, the opposite pole of the binary complex was Clausius' second law of thermodynamics-- the principle of entropy. Those who seized upon Clausius' insight that energy could not be conserved nor transformed but was inevitably lost were persuaded by the degeneration

thesis advanced by Nordau and many others. They argued that the modern world was in the process of a long decline that might end in complete collapse without rapid and thoroughgoing measures to restore the bodily and mental health of Germany and the West. As noted, proponents of the degeneration thesis saw sports as a symptom of their declining moral and physical universe. Sports, as agents of the modern value system that promoted unbridled competition and performance for the purposes of individual enjoyment or profit alone, were anathema to them. Following Clausius' model, such critics argued that sports sapped the bodily and vital energies of German citizens; as a result, they had no energy left to engage in the pursuit of national or cultural programs geared toward regeneration. Thus, sports hung in the balance between those who believed the industrialization and modernization of Germany offered positive material, social, and cultural benefits and those who held that everything modern led only to decay and ultimate collapse. It is no wonder that German doctors and scientists, caught in the binary twist between the interpretive models offered by Helmholtz and Clausius, chose to advocate moderation as the proper path in sports and in life. Better to hedge one's bets and gain a little energy and health benefit through moderate sports and exercise, than to court disaster if the advocates of Clausius and the theorists of degeneration turned out to be correct.

But physicists were not the only scientists to offer

explanatory paradigms during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Perhaps even more influential were the theories and popular teachings of physiologists and biologists--among them Rudolf Virchow and Ernst Haeckel. Virchow's advocacy of cell theory and its extension to social and political issues, and Haeckel's popularization of pseudo-Darwinian ideas through his speeches and the Monist League, attracted a great many supporters amongst the scientific community and the public as a whole.

In many ways the ideas of Virchow and Haeckel reinforced one another. In cell theory as applied to social and political problems, the individual was viewed as a microcosm of the larger society; thus, whatever pathologies, or talents, that the individual possessed, those same attributes or pathologies could be found in the larger social body. Hence, degeneration theorists saw pathological behaviors and attitudes in individuals as indicators of deep problems in their society as a whole.

Haeckel's advocacy of pseudo-Darwinian ideas could be used to substantiate the fears of the cell theorists. In a world where the struggle for survival was believed to be the guiding principle, those who identified individual degeneracy with social decay believed that they had cause for concern. However, because Haeckel and his supporters believed that the genetic material of individuals was malleable and not fixed, they were not necessarily so pessimistic as the most entrenched believers in the

degeneration thesis. For if individuals could change their behaviors and habits they could promote positive changes in their genetic material, then they could (according to Haeckel's neo-Lamarckian views) pass those same changes on to their children. Thus, according to Haeckel's combination of Darwinian and neo-Lamarckian thought, individuals and German society could, through the proper measures, reverse the process of degeneration and build a stronger, healthier, more vital German people and culture.

The doctors discussed in chapter three clearly embraced such models. They recognized the deleterious effects that living in a modern industrialized society had on the human body-- and the consequent impact on the health and abilities of the society as a whole. Their prescription for proper hygiene was sports and exercise that would help to alleviate and, for most of the physicians considered, reverse the negative effects of modern lifestyles on the human body. They counseled that moderate exercise could greatly improve people's energy level, resistance to disease, and mental outlook. Thus, despite recognizing the dangers that the degeneration theorists posited, the physicians in Weissbein's volumes were not ready to accept an inevitable decline in individual and social health. They viewed sports as a positive prescription for the of the ills of society as described by the degenerationists; and, they saw sports and exercise as a possible mechanism for creating a much more vital and vigorous Germany in the future. In addition, the

increased respect and prestige with which scientists and doctors were held in Germany during the period meant that their widespread endorsement of sports and exercise carried a great deal of weight with the public. Without question, the authority of the medical and scientific communities helped foster the acceptance of sports as a legitimate aspect of German culture.

The degree to which sports penetrated German culture is also indicated by the evidence provided by authors and intellectuals. That sports and exercise elicited consideration from the likes of Brecht, Kaiser, Spengler, Scheler, Grosz, et. al. confirms that they had become a cultural phenomenon of some weight. In addition, it is clear that for artists and intellectuals, the meaning of sports and the place that they should occupy in the cultural spectrum was just as problematic as it was for the medical and scientific communities.

Many artists and intellectuals were supportive of sports and the modern values that they were deemed to represent. Brecht, Mehring, and Grosz-- all members of the avant-garde-- viewed sports as emblematic of modern industrial society. To them, sports embodied speed, power, competition, and performance-- values that were essential for success, or even mere survival, in the modern world. Recall that Brecht called upon sports and the values he saw located in sports to create what one might call a "muscular theatre". He envisioned a theatre that would embrace the

values of modernity: it would be raw, tough, and would reflect the experiences of the people as they navigated through the turbulent currents of modern life. In addition, in his dramatic, poetic, and critical works Brecht continually drew upon sports and sportive imagery in an effort to communicate his ideas. Mehring, Grosz, and a host of others followed his lead.

On the other hand, conservative critics continued to recognize the role of sports in modern society, but they held sports at arms length. For Spengler, Peters, Graeser, and others of like mind, sports were clearly a powerful and popular mechanism for inculcating the values of the modern world-- values that they argued were not positive, but decadent. At the same time, however, most conservative critics did embrace a new emphasis on the body and an embodied aesthetic. For example, in his Decline of the West, Spengler described his ideal leader using sportive imagery and terms:

The born statesmen is above all a knower, a knower of men, situations, things. He has the 'look which, without a moment's hesitation and with absolute certainty, grasps the circle of possibilities.' The master equestrian assesses the bearing of the horse with one look and knows its prospects for the coming race. The sportsman casts a look at his opponent and knows what his next move will be. To act correctly without 'knowing,' the sure hand, which imperceptibly tightens or eases the reins-- this is the opposite of the theoretical man's talent. The secret pulse of all becoming is in him and in the substance of history. They sense each other, they are there for each other.¹

Not only did Spengler demonstrate his own use of sports and sportive imagery in the above passage, he also presented powerful evidence for the existence of the degree to which the body had come to dominate the concerns and ideas of German(and Western) intellectuals. Spengler suggested that the body was a more true and accurate, a more "knowing", path to truth and an authentic existence-- and in doing so he both denigrated and subjugated the mind and reason to the command of the body. The body rules and determines all and the ruler who can command the body politic as he or she is commanded by his or her body will prevail. They will rule not by reason, but by instinct, and they will be right, Spengler suggests, to do so. Such notions are clearly similar to the ideas trumpeted by Hitler and the National Socialists and their call for an embodied, racial politics.

Hence, Spengler and his fellow critics of modern sports were not critical of sports and the cultivation of the body; rather, they were opposed to the values that modern sports transmitted. If the values and meaning of sports were changed, if sports were not a school for perpetuating the values of the rationalistic capitalist economy and the society that it produced, but a training ground for the production of strong, vital, and "knowing" bodies, then Spengler(as the passage suggests) would embrace them. It was Hitler and the National Socialists, themselves, initially opposed to sports and the values that they were believed to foster, who reinterpreted sports to fit their

own ideological program and political mission.

Also, the passage indicated Spengler's adoption of the language and concepts of science-- most notably Haeckel's biogenetic law.² Haeckel's language emphasized the notion of "becoming" which means a recovery, not of rational memory, but of a memory of the "body". The truth of our existence is, as it were, a recovery of knowledge that resides within our bodies, our cells, our genetic material. Sports, by training and disciplining the body, could then become a path to that truth.

Politicians and political theorists engaged in a similar approach toward the body and sports. As indicated, Hitler and the National Socialists engaged in fierce polemics with Socialist theorists as each tried to claim that their politics offered the best way to defuse the crises of modernity and restore physical and cultural health. Both socialists like Wildung and the National Socialist Malitz contended that sports were modern phenomena that fostered values contradictory to their own. To Wildung and the socialists, sports had to be reprogrammed to encourage class consciousness and the cultivation and performance not of the individual athlete, but the working class as a whole. Malitz criticized sports in a similar vein; he contended that bourgeois sports that focused only on individual achievement were unacceptable. Like his socialist opposite, Malitz called for the politicization of sports so that they would then serve the aims of National

Socialism.

The National Socialists assumption of power in 1933, and the Olympic Games of 1936, allowed them to construct the type of politicized sports system that they desired. The organizations and structures of German sports were co-opted and absorbed by the National Socialists through their policy of Gleichschaltung. The organizations, training, and competitions of German athletes were infused with National Socialist rhetoric and values. Sports, so popular with the German public, came to serve as another mechanism for transforming German society and culture in accordance with the ideas of Hitler and the National Socialists. They were able to harness the modern values and practices that sports represented, even in the mind of their own theorists, and put them to use to further their political agenda.

A large part of the process of convincing their own members and the German public that sports could be "rehabilitated" in such a fashion came through the creation of a new aesthetic of the athletic body. In discussing the work of Leni Riefenstahl and her involvement with Hitler and the National Socialists, I attempted to show how her aesthetic ideas were shaped through her own intellectual and artistic experiences and how they were further refined through her projects for the National Socialists. Riefenstahl created works of art throughout her career that were drawn from a similar matrix of cultural and intellectual ideas as those of the National Socialists. She

denigrated the importance of reason as both a source and inspiration for her art and life. As she attested, she operated on the level of dreams and the unconscious in the creation of her art. Her film of the Olympics, as discussed above, is preoccupied with an emphasis on irrational and unconscious forces. Through her film and the way in which she shot and depicted the athletes, Riefenstahl created an aestheticized image of the athlete that precisely corresponded to the National Socialists denigration of the mind and reason and their celebration of the body as the route to physical, racial, and national power. In effect, she created the most powerful visual and aesthetic testament to the National Socialists ability to transform sports and the body into mechanisms that advanced National Socialist values. Riefenstahl's own words and career, her films, and the photographs presented from "Olympia" indicate the common aesthetic she shared with Hitler and the National Socialists. Hitler recognized Riefenstahl's talent and the aesthetic vision that they shared. Riefenstahl, despite her protests to the contrary, created an aesthetic of the athletic body that helped convince the German and world public that Hitler and the National Socialists offered a vital and powerful set of ideas and values that would transform the country and set it on a new course-- just as the athlete, through training, discipline, and will could transform his or her body and attain greatness in the sporting arena. The image of the National Socialist as

athlete was a very powerful one. And one that carried a great deal of currency in Germany and other countries where sports and images of the athletic body had come to play such a large role in popular entertainment and the popular imagination. Sports, it appeared, might be the means of transcending the difficulties of daily life and the harsh necessities of the modern world. They represented both the speed, power, and success desired in the modern world and the poise, grandeur, and romance of the ancient past. Sports, to many, were a part of the "third way" that promised to bridge the gap between the past and present, to transcend the binary complexes of modern culture and society, and lead Germany to a new and more unified sense of its place in the world. That appeared to many to be the promise of Riefenstahl's aestheticized athletes carrying Germany to Olympic glory-- the athlete as Nietzschean Übermensch-- overcoming all. Unfortunately, that was also the promise that attracted many to Hitler and National Socialism.

Thus, as I hope I have demonstrated, a study of the meaning of sports during the period 1880 - 1936 does more than just provide insight into the progress and penetration of modern sports into German culture and society. It demonstrates, from a unique perspective, the tremendous concern and commentary that Germany's transformation from a rural, agrarian, and traditional economy, society, and culture to an urban, industrial, and modern one elicited

amongst Germany's medical, scientific, intellectual, and political communities. Sports, as indicated, were identified with the values, ideas, and attitudes of the modern world. As a result, the contest between sports and Turnen was a reflection of the struggles taking place in the larger society and culture. The deep seated antipathy to sports and its intensity vividly describe the antagonism that many Germans-- and especially conservative intellectuals-- felt toward the modern world and all that it represented.

Those antagonisms were often described by the critics and participants themselves as binary in nature. The values and ideas represented by the modern world were so vastly different than those that they came believe were truly German that no accommodation with them could be tolerated. Progress, industrial capitalism, and Reason occupied one pole of the binary complex: tradition, feudal agrarianism, and Will occupied the other. The efforts of scientist, doctors, artists, intellectuals, and politicians to overcome or meliorate the divisions appeared fruitless. For every Helmholtz there was a Clausius, for every Virchow a Nordau, no resolution of the binary tensions that gripped German society and culture seemed possible.

However, in the wake of the debacle of World War I, new prospects and possibilities emerged in the Weimar Republic. Art, mass culture, and a new politics might provide a way out of the old dilemmas left over from the nineteenth

century. Reason, it appeared, had failed. The country, the economy, society and culture were in a shambles. And yet, perhaps a new day could dawn. To quote Nietzsche again: "Our most sacred convictions, the unchanging elements in our supreme values, are judgments of our muscles."³ The body, not the mind, appeared to be the way out. Train the body, discipline the body, and marshal the power of the body to change Germany's fortunes. That message, that meaning for the body, became the one of Hitler and the National Socialists. Thus sports, through the aesthetic of the athlete presented by Riefenstahl and others-- and reinterpreted to align its meanings and values with those of National Socialism-- presented an opportunity for transcendence. Sports, which could hearken back to the values, power, and aesthetic of ancient Greece-- but at the same time represent and embody all that was industrial, modern, and urban-- could dissolve the binary divisions plaguing Germany. In short, sports offered a new synthesis that promised health, vigor, and unity. Both Hitler and the leaders of the SPD recognized the importance of sports-- properly understood; that is, in service to their ideological program. It was the National Socialist conception of sports that prevailed. It was the German "athletes" of 1936 who plunged the world into darkness in 1939.

Notes

¹As quoted in: John Hoberman, Sport and Political Ideology (Austin, TX: Univ. of Texas Press, 1984) 59-60.

²In his biogenetic law, or theory of recapitulation, Haeckel argued that embryos underwent the entire evolutionary process of the particular species during their development. Some organisms failed to fully develop during this process; thus explaining the "backwardness" of some organisms (and for Haeckel and his followers, some races, ethnic, and social groups). See: Gasman, Ernst Haeckel; Bowler, Evolution; Bowler, The Non-Darwinian Revolution.

³Nietzsche, 173.

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