

The Renaissance of the History of School Sports: Back to the Future?

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Introduction

Having been neglected since the Second World War, the history of sports reestablished its position in the Federal Republic of Germany during the 1960s. From 1966 to 1980 the study of sports focused on the period of National Socialism (1933-1945) and on the working-class sports movement (1893-1932).¹ At the same time, these historical studies neglected institutionalized sports education in the schools. There are several reasons for this neglect. In the Nazi sports system the school as an institution was of negligible importance compared to the new organizations outside the school system, which incorporated sports, e.g., the Hitler Youth organization. The working-class sports movement, for example, developed outside the schools, and appealed to an older age group. From 1970 on even sports pedagogy and sports didactics neglected the history of school sports for more than a decade, and focused instead on the new development of sports outside of the school system and its repercussions on physical education (P.E.). As far as sports pedagogy and sports didactics were concerned at all with the historical foundations of P.E. in schools, their interest focused only on the two decades following World War II.² For a number of reasons studies in sports science neglected the history of sports education in schools after WW II, and this started to change only in the 1980s.

The underlying reason for this development has to be seen in the evolution of the German sports system. Due to the expansion of sports in Germany, starting after 1880 with the foundation of a number of sports clubs which formed regional and national sports associations, gymnastics, games, and sports were pursued increasingly outside of the school system until World War I. Despite economic difficulties, youth sports were accorded much attention by the new sports clubs. The situation of sports education in schools, however, was characterized by what Bernett called a permanent "emergency situation"³ even

1. See a survey: Hajo Bernett, *Nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung* (Schorndorf 1966), and *Der Weg des Sports in die nationalsozialistische Diktatur* (Schorndorf 1983); Hans J. Teichler, "Arbeitersport—Körperkultur—Arbeiterkultur," *Sportwissenschaft* 14 (1984), 325-347.

2. Among the many books on sports didactics published in the 1970s only Dietrich Kurz, *Elemente des Schulsports* (Schorndorf 1977), 14-42, covers this problem.

3. See H. Bernett, "Die permanente Notlage des preußischen Schulturnens," in Rolf Geßmann, ed., *Schulische Leibesübungen zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik* (Köln 1987), 15-45.

in the 1920s. The state institutions as well as many pedagogues recognized the contribution of sports education in the schools to general education, but in many cases the schools lacked the material resources and facilities to put into practice the goals posited by pedagogical theory.

The poor situation of school sports in the 1920s, despite much support given to youth sports in the sports clubs, did not significantly improve in the 1950s and early 1960s.⁴ Many students joined the youth divisions of the sports clubs. Compared to Great Britain and the United States, in the Federal Republic of Germany institutionalized P.E. in schools is much less important to the practice of sports by young people because of the strong emphasis on youth sports in the German, sports club system. The relative absence of school sports, especially compared to the United States and its highly diversified school sports programs, as well as the different structure of youth sports in Germany, explains why the historical study of sports education in schools has been neglected.⁵ It is because of these structural differences between the sports system in the United States and the Federal Republic, especially regarding sports in schools, that standard American works of sport history pay more attention to some of the well-known promoters of school sports in Germany than comparable German works.⁶ Given this situation, the neglect of American school sports history in Germany is quite understandable.⁷

The Renaissance of the History of School Sports

The beginning of the 1980s saw a large-scale historical reassessment of the sports sciences. Several disciplines, even the study of training,⁸ began to rediscover their own histories. The same applies to sports pedagogy.⁹ In the 1980s the new interest in the historical study of sports and P.E. in the schools occurred within the context of this boom in sports history.¹⁰ Refocusing on sports

4. Arnd Krüger was the first author to point out these conditions: "Turnen und Turnunterricht zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik: Die Grundlage der heutigen Schulsportmiserere" in Arnd Krüger/Dieter Niedlich eds., *Ursachen der Schulsportmiserere in Deutschland* (London 1979), 13–31.

5. After World War II the history of school sports was covered only sporadically. See Ludwig Mester, *Grundfragen der Leibeserziehung* (Braunschweig 1962), 36–86; Josef N. Schmitz, *Fachdidaktische Analysen und Grundlagen* (Schorndorf 1973), 31–56.

6. Fred E. Leonard, for instance, in *A Guide to the History of Physical Education* (Philadelphia 1923), 121–132, pays greater tribute to the achievements of Carl Euler and other sports pedagogues who promoted the training of P.E. teachers and P.E. education in schools than do B. Saurbier/E. Stähr, in *Geschichte der Leibesübungen* (Leipzig 1939), 172–173 and 182–183.

7. Even before 1900 specialized journals in Germany featured sporadic reports on the development of P.E. at American schools and universities. A more detailed description was made available by Carl Diem's report on his journey to the U.S., *Sport und Körperschulung in Amerika* (Berlin 1914). In addition to Carl and Liselott Diem, who regularly covered school sports in America during the following decades, the most detailed source of information on the developments since World War II was Herbert Haag's study, *Die amerikanische Gesundheits-erziehung* (Schorndorf 1971). Only during the last few years interest in studying the impact of American sports on P.E. in Germany has reemerged; see Dietrich R. Quanz, "Studien zu Bild und Funktion des amerikanischen Sports in der deutschen Sportentwicklung" in G. Spitzer/D. Schmidt, eds., *Sport zwischen Eigenständigkeit und Fremdbestimmung* (Bonn 1986), 129–144. Furthermore, a comparative study of the development of P.E. in the U.S. and in the Federal Republic of Germany is forthcoming.

8. See Klaus Carl, *Training und Trainingslehre in Deutschland*, (Schorndorf 1983), 109–162.

9. For more detail, see Roland Naul, "Schulsportgeschichte—Sportföhlgeschichte im Schulsport," *Sportunterricht* 35 (1986), 445–447.

10. This was due in part to two of the volumes on the history of P.E. in Germany, containing several articles on this topic; see H. Ueberhorst, ed., *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, Vols. 3.1, 3.2 (Berlin 1980, 1982). Bernett has supplemented his numerous studies of the sports system under National Socialism by a study dedicated to P.E.

and P.E. in the classroom represented such a complete reversal from past practice that it may be called a renaissance; historical studies on school sports dating back to the nineteenth century were rediscovered¹¹ and showed that no comparable newer studies on the history of school sports existed. Despite many publications during recent years the same is true today. Seen as a whole, the historical study of school sports in the 1980s has become quite diversified. Different periods and a variety of problems have been recognized. And yet there are some common trends.

Almost all of these studies are regional in nature. For instance, the introduction, starting in 1838, of gymnastics at the primary and secondary school levels in the state of Württemberg has been studied,¹² the development of gymnastics in sports education in Bavaria has been documented from its beginnings to WW II,¹³ and sports education in the province of Westphalia in the period of National Socialism has been analyzed.¹⁴

Apart from this strong regional trend oriented on older German states and provinces, however, there has also been a shift in interest regarding the study of the different periods. The publications of Bernett¹⁵ (1985) and Peiffer¹⁶ (1987) show that the Third Reich was an important period for German school sports and that this subject needs further study. The studies in the 1980s however, generally prefer to analyze school sports in other periods of Germany history, especially those preceding National Socialism and contributing to the founding of school sports. This is particularly true of P.E. in the German Empire (1871-1918) and in the Weimar Republic (1919-1933). There are numerous publications on the development of and the changes in school sports during these two periods.¹⁷ The decades before and after the turn of the century are, however, interesting not only in relation to their importance for National Socialism and its reform of school sports. The last years of the German Empire (1900-1914), as well as the early years of the Weimar Republic (1920-1926), can be seen as the most seminal period of German school sports, since most of the structural traits evident in P.E. today have their roots in these periods.

The changes in the typical sort of German gymnastics education and its supplementation by games and sports are a case in point. Foreign influences, especially from Great Britain,¹⁸ the United States,¹⁹ Sweden and Denmark²⁰

at that time; see H. Bernett, *Sportunterricht an der nationalsozialistischen Schule* (St. Augustin 1985).

11. This is true especially in the following: Carl Euler, *Geschichte des Turnunterrichts* (Gotha 1891); Justus C. Lion, *Statistik des Schulturnens in Deutschland* (Leipzig 1873) and Carl Rossow, *Zweite Statistik des Schulturnens in Deutschland* (Gotha 1908).

12. See Christa Kleindienst-Cachay, *Die Verschulung des Turnens* (Schorndorf 1980).

13. See Gertrude Krombholz, *Die Entwicklung des Schulsports und der Sportlehrererbildung in Bayern von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges* (München 1982).

14. See Lorenz Peiffer, *Turnunterricht im Dritten Reich: Erziehung für den Krieg?* (Köln 1987).

15. See footnote 10.

16. Peiffer, *Turnunterricht im Dritten Reich*.

17. See Roland Naul, ed., *Körperlichkeit und Schulturnen im Kaiserreich* (Wuppertal 1985); Rolf Geßmann, ed., *Schulische Leibesübungen zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik* (Köln 1987); Hans G. John/R. Naul, eds.; *Jugend sport im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Clausthal-Zellerfeld 1988).

18. See Joachim K. Rühl, "Außerschulischer Sport an englischen Public Schools im 19. Jahrhundert," *Kölner Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft* 15 (1986), 148-149, and "Der Einfluß der englischen Public-School-

were instrumental in transforming and expanding the *mechanistic character* of gymnastics education in Germany. Without these foreign models, the development from a monotonous gymnastics education to a diversified sports education in just two or three decades after the turn of the century would have been unthinkable. But it was not only the content, method, and organizational forms of today's P.E. that were formed during these years, but also festivals and celebrations, systems of evaluation and grading in sports, and even the training of P.E. teachers.

A third trend in historical studies about school sports, apart from regional studies and the concentration on the decades before and after the turn of the century, is in the field of historiographical methodology. After the Second World War, sports history was dominated by structural, problem-oriented or motif-oriented approaches.²¹ The renaissance of school sports history during the 1980s was accompanied by a stronger emphasis on approaches taken from social history. These were especially concerned with the everyday conditions. Most studies on the history of school sports published today use a social history approach. However, there are no methodological standards yet, and there is no consensus on which criteria have to be met in order to be able to classify a study as social history.

Studies of school sports employ concepts such as, economic-political determinism of social developments on the one hand, or the behavioral repertory of the "little man" within various social contexts, and both are included under the heading of social history.

In order to clarify this situation scholarly analysis is required. Social historical approaches including empirical methods that permit the reconstruction of historical data have to be used. In recent years some studies in the history of P.E. have made use of diverse methods of interviewing witnesses of historical events ("oral history")²² or have reconstructed statistical data by analyzing historical resources.²³

Four major thematic concerns regarding the history of P.E. can be distinguished:

1. Gymnastics and sports education at secondary schools for boys has come under the greatest scrutiny, partly because it has the advantage of being best documented in their form of annual school reports to the education ministry. The reconstruction of sports education at the primary school level is much more

Erziehung und des Sports auf den Zentral-Ausschuß zur Förderung der Volks- und Jugendspiele in Deutschland (1891-1922);" in HISPA, ed., *VI. International Congress* (Dartford 1977), 272 and 274-276.

19. See Diebow, "Das deutsche Schulturnen und der Sport," *Monatsschrift für das Turnwesen* 33 (1914), 249-258; Quanz, "Amerikanischen Sports in der deutschen Sportentwicklung," 134-37.

20. See Karl Gaulhofer, "Schwedische Gymnastik und österreichisches Schulturnen," *Die Leibesübungen* 45 (1926), 531-535; Roland Naul, "Von Postdam nach Weimar: Schulsportwirklichkeit zwischen pädagogischer Reform und politischer Indienstnahme," in John/Naul, eds., *Jugendsport*, 88 and 93.

21. See L. Peiffer, "Sportgeschichte," in Hans J. Schulke, ed., *Kritische Stichwörter zum Sport* (München 1983), 36-43.

22. See Peiffer, *Turnunterricht im Dritten Reich*, 14-19.

23. See R. Naul, "The Development of Physical Education in German Secondary Schools during the Period of Industrial Revolution," in N. Müller/J. K. Rühl, eds., *Olympic Scientific Congress 1984, Official Report. Sport History* (Niedernhausen 1985), 457-467.

difficult, because sources are lacking and the data are incomplete. Considering the permanent underfunding of school sport at the primary school level, the study of this type of school sport is not very promising. Nonetheless, it is part of sport history. Comparatively little is known about the historical development of P.E. for girls.²⁴

2. These studies concentrate on the factual content of P.E. (e.g., gymnastics, athletics, games, etc.), on the methodological approaches used in different forms of P.E., and on the facilities, equipment, qualifications of teachers, etc. They also focus on the extra-curricular sports activities of students in gymnastics or school sports clubs.²⁵ Administrative regulations for sports education (curricula, duration of classes, etc.) are compared to actual conditions in the classroom in order to establish the discrepancies between the administrative ideal and the actual situation of everyday sports education.²⁶

3. Another topic is the sports instructor. Their recruiting, training, and qualification profiles are analyzed, as is the history of the training and educational facilities for sports teachers and teachers' service in sports education as well as in extra-curricular sports events.²⁷

4. One practical concern for P.E. today is the systematic recovery of exercises that have been forgotten in school sports, especially old German gymnastics games. Especially at the upper secondary level, students have also learned something about sports history.²⁸

The new trends in recent research described above are illustrated by the following example of a regional study of the Rhine Province of the State of Prussia, exploring the situation of P.E. at secondary schools for boys during the period 1865–1930.²⁹

Social History of P.E. at Schools

The following analyses of P.E. rely on the histories of nine secondary schools in the cities of Duisburg, Düsseldorf, Essen, and Krefeld. These cities are situated in the Rhine-Ruhr area that is part of the former Prussian Rhine Province. A tenth school, situated in Berlin, was included as a standard of comparison in order to find possible regional peculiarities. In order to compare

24. See Gertrud Pfister, "Der Turnunterricht an den höheren Mädchenschulen Berlins am Ende der Weimarer Republik: Eine Analyse der Schuljahresberichte," in R. Geßmann, ed., *Schulische Leibesübungen*, 97–118.

25. See the relevant contributions in Naul, ed., *Körperliche und Schulturnen im Kaiserreich*; Geßmann, ed., *Schulische Leibesübungen*; John/Naul, eds., *Jugend sport*.

26. This is true especially of the contribution by Naul in the volumes mentioned in n. 25.

27. See Hans Langenfeld, "Die Entstehung der Deutschen Turnlehrerschaft," in R. Naul, *Körperlichkeit und Schulturnen im Kaiserreich*, 164–201; R. Großbrömer/M. Murmann, "Schulsportalltag heute—Schulturnalltag gestern," *Sportunterricht* 35 (1986), 448–454.

28. Compare the examples of exercises given by L. Jonischeit, "Historische Turnspiele: Alternative für den Schulsport heute?" *Lehrhilfen für den Sportunterricht* 35 (1986), 179–184; Reinhard K. Sprenger, "Päppeln erlaubt," *Lehrhilfen für den Sportunterricht* 35 (1986), 185–188. See also the first textbook for instruction in sports history at the upper secondary level: Reinhard K. Sprenger, *Geschichtliche Aspekte des Sporttreibens* (Düsseldorf 1988).

29. This study is part of a broader research project (1987–1990) on "Jugend sport im deutschen Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik" ("Youth sports in the German Empire and the Weimar Republic") sponsored by the Alfred Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach Foundation. Thomas Hellmich, Rainer Grossbrömer, Ludger Jonischeit, Michael Murmann, and Jürgen Winkelmann have assisted in reconstructing the data material found in the archives. I would like to thank the Alfred Krupp von Bohlen and Halbach Foundation for its financial support

the years 1870 and 1905, existing statistical material on P.E. in schools was used, including voluminous data collections for some of the valid indicators from different provinces of Prussia and other German states.³⁰ By correlating the data sets of the ten schools with this rich statistical material, special regional peculiarities and other deviations from the general average will be pointed out. Not all of the ten schools offer the same degree of documentation since the schools have different traditions and because the ministry of education only started to require a detailed documentation of gymnastics and physical education in the 1880s.

The most important sources for reconstructing data are the annual reports published by the schools. Every secondary school in Prussia had to produce a detailed teaching plan for all classes and subjects and record the number of lessons for teachers, individual classes, and subjects; the number of students, their participation in P.E. classes as well as other data relating to the school year and the subject. This usually took the form of a small booklet, published annually, which was also sent to the parents of the students. Additional information on the facilities used for P.E. and on equipment is available in the administrative files of the city archives and in the central state archive in Koblenz where the administrative files of the office of the state superintendent for school and the correspondence with the schools in the survey are stored.

P.E. Students and P.E. Classes

Table I shows the number of students, their participation in P.E., the number of school classes and sports classes, and the average sizes of sports classes.

Before 1880 roughly 20 to 25% of the students did not take part in physical education. Out-of-town students were frequently exempted from participating in P.E. Only in the 1880s and 1890s were stricter regulations concerning exemption from P.E. enforced at the state level. By World War I the number of students exempted from P.E. dropped to 10 percent, also well within the average for the whole of Prussia.³¹ In the twenties the number dropped further to between 3 and 4 percent.

The sudden increase of the number of students and the higher rate of participation in P.E. in the 1870s and 1880s require more P.E. classes. Otherwise, the average number of participants in P.E. classes would have risen far above one hundred. This form of gymnastics with a large number of students was in line with Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's idea of "Abteilungsturnen" ("departmental gymnastics").³² While the number of students increased only by about 20 percent between 1890 and 1910, the number of gymnastics classes almost doubled, with the rate of exemption staying at the same level. These years saw a remarkable increase in support for gymnastics and P.E., much higher than the

30. See the two statistical publications by Lion and Rossow mentioned in footnote 11 as well as K. Brandt, ed., *Turn- und Sportstatistik* (Berlin 1926).

31. See Rossow, *Zweite Statistik des Schulturnens in Deutschland*, 25, 28.

32. For more detail see R. Naul, "Turnen nach Jahn oder Spieß? Die Organisationsformen des Turnunterrichts an den höheren Schulen im deutschen Kaiserreich," in J. A. Mangan, ed. *Proceedings of the XI HISPA International Congress* (Glasgow 1987). 235-238.

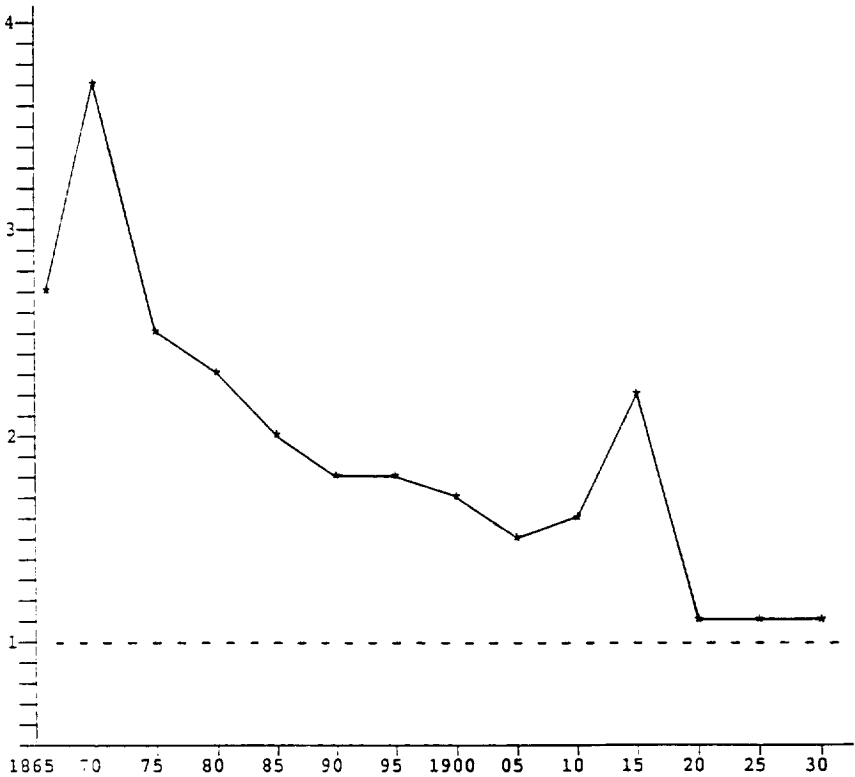
Table 1: Students Participate in P.E. Classes

Year	Schools	Students	Sports- Students (%)	School- Classes	Sports Classes	Students per Sports class (x)
1865	6	1813	71.7	47	18	72.8
1870	7	1958	78.9	59	19	104.8
1875	7	2466	74.4	72	33	54.5
1880	8	3013	83.5	91	40	55.9
1885	8	3599	83.6	108	56	53.4
1890	8	3925	89.7	116	66	53.9
1895	9	3975	93.3	128	74	50.6
1900	9	4261	92.4	138	81	49.2
1905	9	4506	91.5	138	99	42.2
1910	10	4745	89.7	161	107	41.0
1915	10	4878	94.3	166	117	42.9
1920	4	2344	94.9	81	55	43.9
1925	7	3994	96.4	124	114	33.7
1930	7	3886	96.4	124	111	34.1

need to increase capacity on account of the greater number of students. This resulted in smaller classes, thereby allowing the P.E. teachers to work more effectively. Only in the 1920s, however, was the number of students per sports class brought down to the level of the school classes.

The success and failure of educational policies can be measured using statistical data. For instance, the Prussian ministry of education had already called for gymnastics in school class units in 1844. It was proposed that every school class should practice P.E. as a group. The secondary schools usually had nine classes for the ten-to-eighteen-year-old students. In many schools these classes were divided into two groups, forming eighteen school classes. Often the students from these eighteen school classes received their physical education in fourteen or twelve sports classes because a lot of schools had to merge their P.E. classes due to a lack of facilities and personnel. In this case—12 sports classes versus 18 school classes—the proportion was 1 to 1.5. Figure 1 shows the degree to which the principle of P.E. as a school class unit was realized. The horizontal line indicate the proportion 1.0, the realization of P.E. in school class units for all school classes.

Around 1870 one sports class was formed from almost four school classes. Twelve- and thirteen-year-old students joined their sixteen- or seventeen-year-old co-students in P.E., just as Jahn had done, but not in accordance with the principle called for by Spieß and the ministry of education. Due to the lack of material facilities and financial resources, the situation at the schools shown in the survey was typical of other schools in Prussia. Twenty years later, in 1890, one sports class was formed from only two school classes. Usually two school



classes of the same grade were merged for P.E. in order to ensure an even age distribution. However, the number of students in one sports division did not significantly diminish between 1875 and 1890, as we have seen. Only in the Weimar Republic was the ideal of sports instruction in school class units—and thus with a reduced number of students—actually realized after 1920.³³

Subjects of P.E.: Curricula and Lectures

The actual content of P.E. in the schools is of special interest. Table 2 shows the relative prominence of the different disciplines in P.E., classified in the categories gymnastics, athletics, games, and other kinds of sports, at four different points in time. The table represents the canon of P.E. as it was prescribed in the official curricula.³⁴

In the period of the German Empire the regulation of P.E. are dominated by formation and free exercises and apparatus work in accordance with the popular

33. Regrettably, there are no statistics on P.E. for the twenties comparable to those by Lion and Rossow. However, the trend towards P.E. as a class unit is typical for the whole of Prussia.

34. This analysis relies on the curricula for P.E. at Prussian primary schools dating from 1868, 1895, and 1909, as well as curricular material for secondary schools in Prussia dating from 1892, 1901, and 1925. The curriculum of 1868 influenced P.E. at the secondary schools, since there was no curriculum for P.E. at secondary schools at that time. The curriculum of 1895 was adapted by secondary schools in 1901.

Table 2: Disciplines in the P.E. Curricula

Year	Gymnastics	Athletics	Games	Other Sports
1870	formation free exercises apparatus work exercises on climbing apparatus	spot-running endurance run deep jump	running events stickball	—
1895	formation free exercises exercises with sticks apparatus work	sprints endurance run	running events stickball	—
1910	formation free exercises posture exercises exercises with sticks apparatus work	sprints endurance run long, high, triple jump ball, stick throwing putting a stone	running events stickball	rambling
1925	body styling (posture exercises) competitive gymnastics (floor exercises apparatus work)	dash long distance run hurdles discus throwing long, high, triple jump javelin throwing shot put	stickball fistball handball soccer	rambling swimming rowing skating

didactic systems of Spieß and Maul. The exercises on the climbing apparatus in 1870 have to be seen as remnants of Jahn's ideas. Starting in 1895 exercises with sticks gained in importance. The clear influence of Swedish gymnastics can be seen in the posture exercises listed for 1910 that, under the name of body-styling ("Körperschule") had completely supplanted formation exercises by 1925.

Other exercises like the deep jump are also based on Jahn's ideas. *Taktlaufen*, running in place, is just a different kind of gymnastics exercise. Except for the endurance run, which was supplemented by sprints in the 1890s, new elements from track and field were reported only as late as 1910. These exercises took shape during the 1920s. The same was true of games and other kinds of sports. Except for the many running events and the German game of stickball, a gymnastics game and German kind of baseball, other sports games like handball or soccer were not proposed until the 1920s.

A somewhat different impression of the actual content of P.E. lessons emerges, however, if these curricula for P.E. from the education ministry are compared to the reports by the schools in the survey.

The analysis of school reports on the content of P.E. classes puts the difference between the curricula and actual sports instruction into better perspective. Only in track and field were all the exercises prescribed in the curriculum put into practice, a trend that was typical of other schools. At almost all of the schools in Prussia, the new and modern posture exercises reported in 1910 were not included in the P.E. instructions during the last years before World War I.

Except for running, all remnants of the exercises introduced by Jahn, especially his gymnastic games, had been deleted by 1870. However, by 1895 throwing and putting were added to the competitive running events and stickball

Table 3: Subjects of P.E. Lessons

Year	Gymnastics	Athletics	Games	Other Sports
1870	formation free exercises apparatus work exercises on climbing apparatus	running	—	—
1895	formation free exercises exercises with sticks apparatus work	sprints endurance run stone putting javelin throwing	running events stickball fistball soccer	rambling
1910	formation free exercises exercises with sticks apparatus work	sprints endurance run long, high, triple jump ball throwing shot putting	running events stickball fistball soccer leatherball hurling tambourin ball	rambling rowing
1925	body styling (posture exercises) formation competitive gymnastics (floor exercises apparatus work)	dash long distance run long jump high jump long, high, shot putting javelin throwing discus throwing	running events fistball handball soccer field hockey	rambling rowing swimming

and other gymnastic games were included as well. Many schools in the survey used soccer and had regular rambling events.

All the track and field exercises appeared as P.E. subjects in 1910, where even shot-putting was included. The list of games was extended. In the 1920s the subjects as they were reported by the schools conformed to the curricula. An additional game, field hockey, was introduced. After World War I rowing took a long time in reestablishing itself because boats had been destroyed or were missing and funds were lacking. Many schools were able to organize swimming instruction in open-air pools.

Games and athletic exercises were often first introduced in the schools, before the official curricula stipulated them, as a comparison of the curricula and the school reports shows. The popularity of soccer as a P.E. discipline in the Rhine-Ruhr area is not at all typical of other Prussian provinces or other German states.³⁵ The track and field exercises, however, were used in many schools in other provinces.

Pitches and Gymnasias

If the 1890s saw the emergence of a relatively diversified body of exercises, especially in the fields of track and field and games—as compared to the indigenous gymnastics—this development would not have been possible without the proper material resources. Pitches were needed for the games, and gymnasias were required in order to continue P.E. instruction in gymnastics during the winter months.

Table 4 shows the number of pitches (P) and gymnasias (G) as well as their size in square meters. The average space that was available for each student has also been calculated.

Table 4 shows that for most schools pitches were only available after 1890. Sometimes these pitches were part of the school grounds, but for the most part schools were allowed the use of public facilities. Only after 1900 did the majority of schools have a gymnasium available. The availability of facilities like pitches and gymnasias cannot be described as sufficient, as the data make clear. The same was true for other regions. However, the size of the individual pitches is surprisingly large. [In relation to the averages given by Rossow, it is disproportionate.³⁶]

In 1865 two large-scale gymnastics pitches were available—all in the spirit of Jahn. Due to the industrialization and urbanization of the region there was less space. Only after municipal support, especially funding for pitches, was secured did the situation start to improve. For that reason, pitches, relatively large by contemporary standards, were available to the schools after 1895. Therefore, games needing a lot of space like stickball and soccer could be included in P.E. In addition to larger pitches, another development contributed

35. See Rossow, *Zweite Statistik des Schulturnens in Deutschland*, 95: R. Naul, "Fußballspielen in der Schule," *Sportpädagogik* 10 (H.5/1986), 14-25.

36. See Rossow, *Zweite Statistik des Schulturnens in Deutschland*, 33. In this respect the schools are more in line with the higher average for Prussia as a whole.

Table 4: Pitches and Gymnasias for Students

Year	Schools		m ² (x)		m ² /Stud	
	P	G	P	G	P	G
1965	2	-	2863	-	36.6	
1870	3	-	1766	-	17.1	
1875	3	-	2200	-	34.3	
1880	3	1	1733	200	28.3	3.9
1885	3	2	1733	232	34.9	4.9
1890	5	2	2090	232	36.0	4.7
1895	7	4	2598	263	50.3	5.1
1900	7	6	2618	309	51.9	6.1
1905	7	6	2618	309	60.0	7.3
1910	7	7	2827	298	67.6	7.6
1915	7	7	2827	298	70.9	7.8
1920	4	5	3830	327	102.5	8.5
1925	6	6	3570	318	105.9	9.6
1930	6	6	3570	318	103.4	9.4

to the increasing amount of space available to each student. The trend to make the school class a unit of instruction in P.E., instead of the larger sports classes formed from two or more school classes, was a factor in raising the average amount of space for each student to 50.3 m², greatly exceeding the official average of 35 m² per student.³⁷ The 1920s witnessed another improvement of the space-per-student ratio.

In 1880 just one school had a small gymnasium, but only two decades later six schools had a gymnasium each with an average size of more than 300 m². This was much higher than the official norm of 250 m² for gymnasias at higher level schools. The level same was true for the space-per-student ratio in the gymnasias, which averaged 5 m² per student before World War I.³⁸ Due to the gloomy financial situation and the high costs of construction, the average space available in gymnasias could only be improved slightly in the 1920s.

On the whole, the facilities for sports instruction at schools in the big cities in the Rhine-Ruhr area were only markedly improved during the fifteen-year period from 1885 to 1900. Within a very short time the subpar facilities were raised to a standard far above the average in other Prussian provinces with significant urban populations. The economic prosperity of the region, a result of large-scale industrial expansion, filled the municipal coffers and enabled local governments to pour money into improvements of sports facilities. The schools,

37. This number was calculated on the basis of the information given by Justus C. Lion, "Turnanstalten, Turnplätze, Turnsäle," in C. Euler, ed., *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch des gesamten Turnwesens und der verwandten Gebiete*, Vol. 3 (Wien/Leipzig 1896), 165.

38. See the Administrative Order by the Prussian Education Minister, repr. in C. Euler/G. Eckler, eds., *Verordnungen und amtliche Bekanntmachungen des Turnwesens in Preußen betreffend* (Berlin 1902), 29.

which were among the greatest beneficiaries of this development, were thus put in a position to supplement gymnastics by a diversity of games and athletic exercises.

P.E. Teachers

Perhaps the most important factor influencing the quality as well as the organization of P.E. instruction is the P.E. teacher. Often his personal commitment and enthusiasm were instrumental in improving the general conditions for sports instruction. The qualification required of a teacher is an indicator of the relative prestige of his subject in relation to other subjects. P.E. was obviously regarded as relatively unimportant, since no academic credentials were required to become a sports instructor. Most P.E. teachers attended courses lasting several months at central P.E. teacher institutes (as in Berlin), or sports instruction was part of their training as primary school teachers at seminars where gymnastics was a mandatory course. Eligibility to attend a university was not required, nor was there a university offering a course in sports studies.³⁹ Teacher courses were introduced at the universities only in the twenties, when students could get an additional diploma in sports as part of their studies in philology. Table 5 presents data on those teachers who were responsible for P.E. instruction at the schools covered by the survey. The qualification profile presented by these data is sobering. During the 1890s the number of P.E. teachers increased. In the 1920s almost seven out of eight teachers, that is one

Table 5: P.E. Teachers and their Degrees

Year	School	P.E. Teachers per School	% of all Teachers	P.E. Teachers with degree in P.E. (%)
1865	5	2.8	13.9	65.0
1870	6	2.3	11.9	54.8
1875	7	2.3	11.0	88.9
1880	8	2.0	8.9	66.1
1885	8	2.6	10.4	68.2
1890	8	3.0	12.3	61.5
1895	9	4.7	19.3	47.7
1900	9	5.1	20.6	47.9
1905	9	6.3	22.8	44.3
1910	10	7.1	26.0	50.4
1915	10	4.8	16.9	49.8
1920	5	6.8	26.1	36.4
1925	7	9.3	31.6	43.1
1930	7	6.7	25.4	38.6

39. For more detail see Edmund Neuendorff, *Die Turnlehrer an den höheren Lehranstalten Preußens und der Geist des Turnlehrerams* (Berlin 1905).

teacher out of four per school, were responsible for P.E. instruction. However, this cannot be interpreted as a qualitative improvement. The number of teachers who had some training as P.E. teachers almost never rose above two or three per school, and the increase in teachers responsible for P.E. coincided with a lower ratio of trained and qualified sports teachers. These disillusioning data indicate the dilemma of German P.E. teachers. No real improvement can be seen in this period. In most schools, and not only those in the survey, one teacher with P.E. training but without any other academic credentials was responsible for sports instruction until he reached retirement age, while younger teachers with degrees in philology taught sports for only one, two, or three years after they left the university. As soon as a younger philologist joined the staff, he had to take over the sports classes for a few years. This administrative organization indicates the low regard for P.E. at many secondary schools before the turn of the century. Partly this was due to restrictive measures taken by the education ministry. For example, those few philologists qualified as P.E. teachers were not allowed to teach more than six hours of sports per week (after 1896). As a result of this administrative order, the remaining sports classes had to be taken over by teachers without any formal training in P.E.

What does the future hold?

In spite of the tremendous increase in research over the past years, some periods have not been worked on. One of these is the establishment of P.E. in the decade following 1810 and the reactivation of school sports between 1830 and 1848. The years following World War II and until 1960, their adoption of the heritage of the Weimar period, could be a rewarding topic for studies in the history of P.E.

In addition to research on the periods which have been neglected so far, the different regional studies have to be integrated within a comprehensive research framework, and how representative they are of Germany as a whole will have to be examined. There are enormous problems, however, associated with securing the funds necessary for a project of that scale.

Some aspects of P.E. have received marginal attention or no attention at all. The development of festivals and celebrations,⁴⁰ the forms and changing uses of sports equipment, the architecture of sports grounds and gymnasias, the leisure sports of students in sports clubs, in associations or in the street⁴¹ have not been explored as to their historical roots. The collection of historical data must be supplemented by the personal recollections of students and teachers. Biograph-

40. In addition to the annual sports display at the end of the school term, the Sedan Celebrations encompassing popular exercises influenced the development of sports celebrations at schools. See R. Naul, "Gymnastics, Athletics, Games: Sedan Celebrations in Imperial Germany," in M. Lämmer et al., eds., *Proceedings of the XXIIIth HISPA Congress (St. Augustin; 1989)*, 131-36.

41. As initial studies on the topic see L. Jonischeit/J. Winkelmann, "Das außerunterrichtliche Bewegungsleben der Schüler in Schülervereinen für Turnen, Spiel und Sport," in H. G. John/R. Naul, eds., *Jugend-sport*, 131-154; G. Pfister, "Spielplatz oder Hinterhof—Spiel—und Bewegungsmöglichkeiten proletarischer Kinder im deutschen Kaissereich," in ADL, ed., *Schüler im Sport—Sport für Schüler* (Schorndorf 1984), 312-313.

ical material and documents have to be used. Another question is the didactic methodology for instruction in sports history at the secondary level.

Finally, research in all of these topics cannot be limited to work on single periods, but rather each topic has to be studied in its historical context. Although we are still at the beginning of our research in this respect, a few projects are already under way.⁴² Furthermore, regardless of the topic or the researcher's synchronic or diachronic approach, a discussion of the standards for a social history of sports is long overdue.

A last point is whether a renaissance in the history of P.E., a reevaluation of old sources, represents a meaningful step. In my opinion, the answer is yes. The rekindled interest in the history of school sports gave back to sport pedagogy a sense of its own history which may well be an inspiration solving today's problems, and it integrated the long-neglected field of students' sports into sport history. Adapting approaches from social history and empirical methods to the history of P.E. has given new stimulus to further research in sport history. Only the future will show the results of this work.

42. See H. Bernett, "Das Kraftpotential der Nation: Leibeserziehung im Dienst der politischen Macht," *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik*, 22. Beiheft 1988, 167-192; R. Naul, "Von Potsdam nach Weimar: Schulsport-wirklichkeit zwischen pädagogischer Reform und politischer Indienstnahme," in H. G. John/R. Naul, eds., *Jugend-sport*, 84-130.