

# Beyond Hitler: Alfred Baeumler, Ideology and Physical Education in the Third Reich

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Unprepared for power in 1933, the National Socialists had little more than a loosely formulated twenty-five point party plan which spelled out general objectives. There were as many National Socialist ideologies as there were National Socialists.<sup>1</sup> Many authors, even without the benefit of hindsight, have pointed to the lack of clear Nazi ideology. Stephen Roberts suggested in 1937 that 'even to-day there is no clearly analysable doctrine behind the Third Reich'.<sup>2</sup> David Carew, more recently, has suggested that the 'totalitarian' image of Nazi Germany derived more from the Nazi regime's own enduring 'ideological self-representations' than from any close analysis of National Socialism.<sup>3</sup> Lacking any systematic pre-existing national socialist theories,<sup>4</sup> there was no blue print for sport and physical education. Krüger has elaborated this point:

the Nazis [in 1933] did not have any clear-cut idea of how to manage the leisure-time activities of the population. As a fighting organisation they had spent so much time and effort on getting to power that many of their aims in 'minor' fields such as leisure and sport were not clearly defined.<sup>5</sup>

As there was no definite party plan regarding physical education, various personal interpretations of the role of physical education proliferated based on descriptions in the 'Nazi bible', *Mein Kampf*. If the practical implementation of physical education only vaguely conformed to the overall image of National Socialism, it was attributed to the National Socialist leadership. Many concepts, such as the exclusion of Jewish athletes from sports clubs, were willingly and hastily implemented by sports federations even before a directive was issued.<sup>6</sup> As Hitler had

limited involvement in physical education policies, it is imperative that the leading educators and theorists be identified and their theories analysed to decipher the origins and meaning of Nazi physical education. The most significant theorist was Alfred Baeumler, whom John Hoberman describes as the 'only Nazi sport theorist of note'.<sup>7</sup> Despite Baeumler's prominence in Nazi physical education, few sports historians have examined his career and philosophies.<sup>8</sup>

Alfred Baeumler is an important figure because while he shared some common ground with Hitler, he diverged from Hitler on a number of key issues. Baeumler is also significant because he developed his theories further than other pedagogues of the Third Reich. It was Baeumler who provided an historically and theoretically justified explanation of physical education. Baeumler established links between the different periods of German history and attempted to make the traditions of German physical education relevant to the present. His purpose was to help revive the bond between the individual and the *Volk* which he believed had suffered during the Weimar Republic. Baeumler's explanation demonstrates that a range of ideas emerged from examinations of the German past. When applied to Nazi society, these concepts were able to reinforce, if indirectly, developing ideas about the German *Volk* and how they differed from the populations of other societies.

### **Alfred Baeumler**

Baeumler's academic career and his intellectual environment provide a framework for an analysis of his work. Although Baeumler's academic interests originally lay in the humanities (he studied modern languages and art history from 1908 and later philosophy in Berlin, Bonn and Munich), he rapidly gained an interest and experience in education. He successfully completed his doctorate in 1914 which was entitled '*Das Problem der Allgemeingültigkeit in Kants Ästhetik*, [The Problem of Universality in Kant's Aesthetics]. After he was decorated for war service during World War I, he took up the position of private lecturer at the Technical College in Dresden in 1924. He was promoted to professor in 1928.<sup>9</sup>

Following his promotion, Baeumler began to take an active interest in education, and more specifically, physical education. He lectured to various groups and was extremely popular with his students.<sup>10</sup> Physical education became his central area of interest in 1933 when he was appointed Scientific Director of the German College of Physical Education in Berlin. He began publishing *the Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung (international Journal of Education)* in 1935, which was followed in 1936 by his publication of *Weltanschauung und Schule (Ideology and School)*.

From this period he began to develop his theories of physical education which were based on a number of organising concepts.

### **The Jahn Concept**

Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, the founder of German gymnastics or *Turnen*, played a vital role in the development of Baeumler's theories. Jahn developed *Turnen* as a result of the French defeat of the Prussian army in 1806, which 'instilled in him a drive to help create a strong, vigorous youth'.<sup>11</sup> Baeumler was probably most influenced by Jahn's book, *Deutsches Volkstum* of 1810, which asserted the superiority of everything German over everything foreign.<sup>12</sup> Baeumler tried to mystify Jahn - even to the point of misinterpretation - crediting him with the origins of National Socialism: 'Everything of Jahn's points towards future events, which he himself no longer experienced, his words have a prophetic quality'.<sup>13</sup> Although Edmund Neuendorff,<sup>14</sup> has been heralded as the initiator of the 'Jahn Renaissance' following World War I,<sup>15</sup> Hajo Bemann suggested that Baeumler raised Jahn to a new historical-political magnitude.<sup>16</sup> Baeumler used Jahn to establish the continuity of National Socialism by developing the image of Jahn as a 'champion of National Socialism'. Baeumler tried to equate the German defeat of 1806 with the political and economic malaise that gave rise to the National Socialist movement in the 1930s. The Turner movement became an important foundation for Baeumler's theories:

German physical activities could not be created from the needs and habits of the bourgeois society. They developed as a result of the political movements of the time of the struggles for liberation and they will be renewed by the political movement of our day ... German physical activities are in a comprehensive meaning of the word, political.<sup>17</sup>

Baeumler suggested that the '*Turner* tradition underlies the notion that physical education and sport are not performed by the individual for individual fun, relaxation or prestige, but rather as a national duty in the service of the nation state'.<sup>18</sup>

Jahn, however, was not the only major influence on Baeumler. He identified similarities between his theory of a political physical education and ancient Greek society and, in so doing, provided historical legitimation for his theories.<sup>19</sup> He disregarded Greek intellectual movements and concentrated on the role of physical education:

This culture of the mind is no longer possible. A new Age has dawned. We call it the Age of the Culture of *Kraft*.<sup>20</sup> It is a strange misunderstanding to believe that one could educate people the ancient Greek way, by educating the mind. We are not allowed to start where the Greeks ended, rather we must begin at the same point where they began - not with the mind but with the body.<sup>21</sup>

Radical movements seek out historical legitimacy to gain greater acceptance, thus, by basing his theory on ancient Greek philosophies, Baeumler provided an historical foundation for National Socialism. Using history was a tactic approved by Hitler who argued that 'we do not learn history just in order to know the past, we learn history in order to find an instructor for the future and for the continued existence of our own nationality'?

Hitler hinted at a role that physical education could play in the new National Socialist society. He, too, rejected the intellectual movement of the Weimar Republic and sought to restore physical education to its rightful role of dominance within the National Socialist educational system. He stated that:

the folkish state must not adjust its entire educational work primarily to the inoculation of mere knowledge, but to the breeding of absolutely healthy bodies. The training of mental abilities is only secondary. And here again, first place must be taken by the development of character, especially the promotion of willpower and determination, combined with the training of joy in responsibility, and only in last place comes scientific schooling.<sup>23</sup>

This was a radical concept because physical education traditionally had a minor role in German schools. It functioned as a counterbalance to intellectual education. Physical education in the Third Reich was given the ‘seductive’ chance to become a pivotal factor in overall *völkisch* education?

### **Community**

The major principle underpinning Baeumler’s physical education theories, and the concept upon which National Socialism was founded, was the *Gemeinschaft* (community). In the tradition of Jahn and contrary to the Weimar Republic, Baeumler advocated that the community was more significant than the individual. The Weimar Republic was based on liberal and plural assumptions far removed from concepts such as the *völkisch* race. Individualism, much to the abhorrence of Baeumler and the National Socialists, dominated the Weimar period. They also believed that class created political divisions which destroyed the cohesion of the nation and therefore the *Volk*. Because of a perceived national disunity, Baeumler sought to re-establish the *Volk* to the central position of German society. Baeumler argued that physical education could lend itself to the revival of national unity: ‘The principle of physical activities is not a life of beauty, not the wish to keep oneself “healthy and slender”, but fresh happy life in the community of the Volk’.<sup>25</sup> Although Baeumler was a great exponent of the totality of the community, his theoretical basis differed from Hitler. He was never fully accepted by the National Socialists as his philosophy did not contain the necessary racial clauses. *Racial* superiority was not a fundamental component of Baeumler’s

philosophy. Although Hitler settled for an instrumental character of physical education, Baeumler pondered the *meaning* of physical education. The principle of community, the essence of Baeumler's philosophies, could thus be interpreted in various ways. Unlike Baeumler, many leading Nazis reinterpreted the superiority of the community as that of the *Volk*, from which they derived racial policies.

The basis of Hitler's National Socialist ideology was the concept of racial superiority of the Aryan race and the preservation of the German *Volk* was the most important principle. A contempt of the 'inferior' eastern European races, such as the Jews and Slavs, developed into an intense fear of possible racial mixing and diversity. To preserve the purity of the Aryan race, Hitler seized upon physical education as an element that could help cleanse and preserve the *Volk*. Physical education, according to Hitler, possessed the necessary factors to revitalise the most favoured Aryan characteristics, which would ensure the future of the Aryan race. Hitler stated in *Mein Kampf* that:

if as the first task of the state in the service and for the welfare of its nationality we recognise the preservation, care, and development of the best racial elements, it is natural that this care must not only extend to the birth of every little national and racial comrade, but that it must educate the young offspring to become a valuable link in the chain of future reproduction?

*In Mein Kampf*, Hitler developed a notion of *Gemeinschaft* in which he advocated a return to an almost primitive society, that is, a society that celebrated basic physical and animalistic instincts: 'the free, magnificent predator must flash out of their (the youth's) eyes again ... Only then can I eradicate the thousands of years of human domestication'? Baeumler, by contrast, had a more intellectual concept of physical education.

The most striking characteristic of Baeumler's philosophy was the constant reference to *Gesamtheit*, the 'whole'. He did not restrict the term to a particular concept referring to several areas, such as *the Volk* and the body, which he thought were closely related. Based upon the

notion of community, Baeumler promoted the concept of the individual as part of the overall *Volk* to which he was bound. Individuals, according to Baeumler, had to consider the *Volk* first in all of their actions: 'it is revealed from the *völkisch* thought that we cannot speak of the body per se, or of the body of the individual as an *individual*, but rather of the body of the individual in relation to the total-body of the *Volk*'.<sup>28</sup>

Baeumler zealously opposed the emphasis on the individual in the Weimar Republic, which led to his disdain for the privately organised sport of the Weimar Republic. As a result of his theories of community, Baeumler rejected the idea that physical education was a private affair, and instead supported state control. He argued that during the Weimar Republic 'physical education and sport were characterised by a multitude of separate sports federations',<sup>29</sup> leading to many divisions within sporting movements which were more often than not a reflection of ideological differences, political instability and rivalry of the time.<sup>30</sup> Baeumler criticised the political 'neutrality' of Weimar Republic sporting organisations and emphasised the need for the state to play a dominant role in physical education. To achieve this, the Weimar attitude towards education, including physical education, had to be reformed. Thus, Baeumler rejected the past view that the citizen was defined by private property and his/her own body was also private property<sup>31</sup> because it was opposed to the *Volk* concept. Baeumler preferred the concept of a '*Volksbürger*',<sup>32</sup> who was individually bound to the complete body of his *Volk*.<sup>33</sup> As the representative of the *Volk*, the state had the task of furthering the totality of the *Volk* by actively encouraging physical education. Baeumler argued that the first step towards 'the final destruction of this individualistic, narrow, egotistical care of the body',<sup>34</sup> was to declare physical education an affair of the state: 'Neither individuals nor private clubs can conduct physical exercises. Physical exercises are a public matter'.<sup>35</sup> Baeumler re-emphasised the National Socialist claim on physical education by repeating Hitler almost word for word:<sup>36</sup>

Caring for the body, physical education and physical breeding of the individual are no longer the affair of the private

## SPORTING TRADITIONS

person, who is concerned about his personal well-being, but rather comes under the jurisdiction of the health and strength of the whole.<sup>37</sup>

Baeumler recognised the *Turnplatz* as a physical or symbolic expression of German community. He believed that the *Turnplatz*, as the public institution for education, should be ‘the centre of the culture and the state’.<sup>38</sup> Joch recognised that ‘physical education, as education in general, is . . . characterised by the bond to the “whole”, that is to the “*Volk*”. The *Turnplatz* is the place where this alliance becomes visible.’<sup>39</sup> Baeumler believed that during the ‘New Age’, the *Turnplatz* would stand side by side with the Hitler Youth and Storm Troopers at the centre of the state.<sup>40</sup> The emphasis on *Turnen* as opposed to sport was significant. Baeumler rejected the notion that sport was primarily an individual matter. Sporting specialisation to promote the individual was far removed from his notion of physical education to support the community: ‘The principle of the community which underlies physical activities develops in view of the peculiarity of sport. Sport is lacking the principle of the community as a fundamental and organising principle. Sport is individualistic.’<sup>41</sup>

The sport, which was practised in the Weimar Republic, was not the same as physical education according to Baeumler. He preferred the notion of ‘*Leibesübungen*’ [‘physical exercises’]:

Physical culture does not have the community principle and is therefore not alive; because when fifty people care for their bodies together, each his own, then this is not communal living, but individualism in a herd.<sup>42</sup>

Baeumler defined differences between the tasks of physical education and sport. Whereas the political physical education was implemented to educate the *Volk* according to the National Socialist ideals, sport merely revolved around achievements, specialisation and individualism.<sup>43</sup> In addition, Baeumler equated training with the mechanised actions of machinery. Continued practice and training in his opinion did not

cultivate the courage of the participant, a necessary prerequisite for physical education, but rather served to reduce the exercise to a motorised ability.<sup>44</sup> Baeumler's major problem with sport was the principle of achievement. It was not conducive to a unified society, as it isolated athletes, who became purely interested in their own personal achievements. Rather than competing for the good of the *Volk* they concentrated on their own abilities: 'In competition abilities compete against each other, seek to outdo each other. Man doesn't compete with man, but rather achievement versus achievement, number versus number.'<sup>45</sup> An individual competed against the clock or a mark which also isolated them from the true value of physical activity:

The quantity has, with help of the record, conquered sport: the jumper disappears behind the distance, he jumped, the runner, behind the time, which he needs for the distance. The boyish, playful game is killed by the seriousness of the number ...<sup>46</sup>

In contrast to this was *Turnen*, which encouraged people to compete against each other in joyful competition which, Baeumler concluded, was a form of community life.<sup>47</sup> Although Baeumler probably would have preferred to dispense with quantitative competition altogether, he recognised its importance within society. During the 1936 Olympic Games at Berlin, Baeumler's idealistic aims for physical education and his attacks on competitive sport were largely ignored.

### **Political Physical Education**

Jahn, who recognised people as primarily political citizens of the state which should be activated by *Turnen*,<sup>48</sup> had a significant influence on Baeumler in the area of political physical education though Baeumler's interpretation was also a reaction to the politically neutral physical education system of the Weimar Republic.<sup>49</sup> According to Baeumler, politics was an integral component of education:

it is the 'real person' who is the object of this political pedagogy ... and this 'real' person is a part of 'community

and history' and therefore a political creature. If the object of physical education is the 'real' person, then it must always be 'political physical education'.<sup>50</sup>

Baeumler believed that anything which affected the overall good of the state must be of primary concern to the state. Although Jahn advocated *Turnen* as a political tool for achieving national unity, he did not identify the state as having a powerful role in the implementation and control of these physical activities. Baeumler, by contrast, argued that the state, the representative of the Volk, should assume a powerful role in the education of its citizens. Baeumler stated that: 'One of the most important tasks of the state leaders is to improve the physical strength and ability of the German Volk . . . Thus, sport becomes political.'<sup>51</sup> He reiterated this point by clearly linking physical education with the community: 'If physical education as a serious, meaningful activity cannot be separated from the community and if this community is the *Volk*, then we must call the last meaning of physical education a political meaning'.<sup>52</sup>

Although Baeumler's objectives concerning physical education were ambiguous on occasion, several concepts stand out including the relationship between physical education and general education. Baeumler believed that physical education could produce desirable social characteristics:

Physical education itself is a part of the national education system. All true education, however, is character education. Political physical education is therefore not just education of the body, but rather education of the whole person, from the point of view of the body. The character proves itself worthwhile only in service of and in sacrifice for the community. Character and community education are one and the same.<sup>53</sup>

The character traits which Baeumler wanted to encourage were courage as well as a willingness to act. His ideas drew on the work of Konrad Koch, published in 1900, which stated that 'every physical activity should be an activity in courage'.<sup>54</sup> Baeumler regarded drill exercises as

deficient in this respect. Pure repetition of activities induced familiarity which diminished the difficulty of the activity reducing the amount of courage needed to perform the skills. To prevent the automation of physical education, he argued that all activities must emphasise the capabilities of the performer thereby promoting courage in performance.

Hitler expounded similar views: 'Of the highest importance is the training of willpower and determination...'<sup>55</sup> Unlike Baeumler, Hitler believed that character education was secondary to physical education: '*Only secondarily* must the folkish state promote the development of the *character* in every way'.<sup>56</sup> This 'transfer' concept also featured in *Mein Kampf* where Hitler suggested that the 'spirit of attack' and the 'winner' mentality, developed in boxing, could be transferred to other situations:

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 . . . 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.<sup>57</sup>

## Health

Whereas Baeumler reflected about the essence of physical education, Hitler categorically stated that physical education was merely the means to an end. Although the National Socialist party had no definite plan for physical education, Hitler's general intention concerning physical education was outlined in the twenty-five point party program from 24 February 1920 which formed the theoretical guidelines for the new state:

The state must care for the improvement of the health of the *Volk* . . . by introducing physical strengthening with a legislated compulsory *Turnen* and sport, by fully supporting all clubs which concern themselves with the physical education of the youth.<sup>58</sup>

Baeumler completely dismissed Hitler's physical education program which was based on three main assumptions: superiority, national health, and military education. Baeumler rejected this instrumental character of

physical education stating that ‘the exercise is definitely not performed in order to improve the health of the individual or increase his dexterity. That is only the (coincidental) success towards which we do not strive.’<sup>59</sup> He re-emphasised this point by rejecting Hitler’s military objectives:

Turnen does not have the purpose of physical training . . . it should also not . . . be a ‘preparation’ for military service . . . but rather is purely an expression of manly joy of life (zest for living), which only unfolds as a result of activities which are full of strength and comradely coexistence.<sup>60</sup>

Baeumler believed that physical education should be more than the means to an end if a philosophical rationalisation of physical education was to be achieved. He argued for a larger role for physical education in society, that of improving the collectivity of the community. If physical education was usually encouraged to improve the health of the individual, then it *was* detrimental to the good of the *Volk*:

Physical culture – or better: discipline and care of the body is therefore not only a demand from the standpoint of the individual, but rather also from the standpoint of the community. This reasoning lifts us out of the narrow sphere of individualism. But the demand still retains its instrumental character: the physical culture is also seen as just a means for something else – for the preservation of the health and strength of the *Volk*.<sup>61</sup>

The preservation of national health through sport was an interesting concept as it highlights a major difference in emphasis between Baeumler’s and Hitler’s programs. The maintenance of public health was a feature of the Weimar Republic’s sporting policy and therefore had no real place in the program of the National Socialist party. Sport was finally recognised for the contribution it could make to social hygiene.<sup>62</sup> Although Hitler had included national hygiene in his policy, it must be emphasised that Hitler regarded health as a racial rather than a medical issue.<sup>63</sup> When Hitler called for the improvement of public health, his concern was with the health of the Aryan race. Baeumler, by contrast, considered health an intellectual matter, not a biological phenomenon.

In the original German passages Baeumler referred to *Leibeserziehung* (physical education) or *Leibesübungen* (physical activities) in contrast to *Körpererziehung* (physical education). The difference appears slight in translation as the German words, *Leib* and *Körper*, both translate into English as ‘body’, however, the two words have different connotations. *Körper* ‘excludes any implication of human feelings, sentiments and life in its non-physical aspects’.<sup>64</sup> By contrast, *Leib* ‘conveys this suggestion and is conceived as the vessel of the soul’.<sup>65</sup> These subtleties of language must be taken into account. Baeumler used this terminology to illustrate the concept of the totality of the *Volk*:

If the hand is separated from the *Leib*, then it is no longer a member,<sup>66</sup> but rather an inanimate *Körper*. And when the *Leib* detaches itself from the total *Leib*, then it is no longer a *Leib* [overall body of the *Volk*] but rather an isolated *Körper*. Thus the individual is merely an inanimate *Körper*, which detaches itself from the living *Leib* of its *Volk*.<sup>67</sup>

Health, according to Baeumler, could not be reduced to mere biology just as *Leibesübungen* is not *Körperübungen*.<sup>68</sup> As the *Leib* contains the soul then *Leibesübungen* cannot be judged merely biological.

### **Reconciliation of the Mind and Body**

A final feature of Baeumler’s theory was his strong conviction that the mind and the body should not be considered separately. He characterised the Weimar Republic as a divided one: both in its political sporting movements and its physical and intellectual education. The body and the mind were considered separate entities and Baeumler considered Descartes as the founder of this dualism: ‘Here for the first time in philosophical terminology, the mind has been sharply separated from the body’.<sup>69</sup> Baeumler shunned this dualism and was determined to reconcile the mind and body within his physical education theories, as the physical-intellectual polemic could not provide an adequate philosophical justification of physical education.<sup>70</sup> Baeumler rejected the liberalism of the Weimar Republic and supported the anti-intellectual movements of

the National Socialist party. Instead of relegating the intellectual education to the periphery of his educational theories, however, Baeumler tried to portray the importance of a balance between these two areas which was most likely a result of his theories regarding the unity and totality of the *Volk*:

It was once necessary to defend the body from a false spiritualisation. However, a rejection of intellectualism cannot lead to contempt for the intellectual work. Say the old proverb *mens sana in corpore sano*. We want to translate that into our language. Then it is not aimed at the individual, but at the nation and it means: one body-one soul!<sup>71</sup>

Baeumler's expression of the relationship between the body and the soul is also highlighted here. As the *Leib* contains the mind then it is impossible to educate one and not the other: 'The body is bound by the soul, the soul is bound by the body. The expression of their unity is life and movement.'<sup>72</sup>

### **Baeumler's Significance in German Sports and Physical Education History**

There is a tendency to dismiss abstract theories, which have not been implemented in one form or another, as redundant. Practical implementation demonstrates the acceptance of a theory by a society or group and enhances the credibility of a theorist. In the case of Baeumler, this is an inappropriate method of analysing his contribution.

It must be reiterated that the National Socialists were unprepared for their elevation to power, and therefore had no specific idea of how to begin their reign.<sup>73</sup> They had a loosely formulated twenty-five point party plan which provided general objectives rather than a tangible system of operation, as well as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* which was heralded as a handbook to the Thousand Year *Reich*, however it was essentially an 'inspirational guide', not a 'practical lexicon of conduct'.<sup>74</sup>

Wilhelm has noted that people have accused the National Socialists implementing theory with violence and brutality.<sup>75</sup> This suggests that

theory led and action followed. In some circumstances, however, it is quite possible that there was inadequate theory to inform appropriate action for particular events. It has even been suggested that ‘with such a dynamic movement, the theory may follow rather than precede the events’.<sup>76</sup> It is at such points that Baeumler’s subtle differences from Nazi orthodoxy become relevant.

As Baeumler was an intellectual who worked through abstract hypotheses, he did not enjoy an established position, in the political sense, in National Socialist Germany. Consequently, Baeumler has often been dismissed as one of a myriad of theorists who merely supported the Nazi regime. Several points, however, differentiated Baeumler from those pedagogues who supported the Third Reich without reservation. Firstly, Baeumler was the only educationalist who had firmly integrated physical education into his theory of an overall political education.<sup>77</sup> Secondly, Baeumler was the only theorist who attempted to justify historically and theoretically physical education’s central role in education.<sup>78</sup> Other pedagogues merely reiterated Hitler’s statements concerning physical education and few went beyond accepted or standard concepts of National Socialism. Baeumler was innovative in his concepts as well as supportive of the National Socialists. Although his theories often diverged from Hitler’s, they were generally the result of Baeumler attempting to rationalise and to amplify Hitler’s doctrines. Baeumler went beyond the basic concepts expressed by Hitler to develop wider theories for political education.

It has been argued that Baeumler, despite some equivocation, did accept an active role in the implementation of his physical education theories in National Socialist Germany.<sup>79</sup> Baeumler had been approached by Hans von Tschammer und Osten<sup>80</sup> to help compose the ‘Guidelines for the Restructure of German Sports’.<sup>81</sup> Von Tschammer und Osten had hoped that Baeumler, as an expert on Jahn, would be able to integrate the revived concept of Jahn in these new guidelines. As Baeumler was a friend of von Tschammer und Osten’s,<sup>82</sup> it has been suggested that he

was well acquainted with von Tschammer und Osten's political aspirations for physical education.<sup>83</sup> It is, therefore possible that Baeumler did not impose his own personal convictions on these new guidelines, but simply reiterated von Tschammer und Osten's beliefs. It has also been suggested that Baeumler 'radically indoctrinated the student body'<sup>84</sup> and used this position to incite the students to burn books at a demonstration in Berlin in 1933.<sup>85</sup> This, too, confirms that Baeumler was politically active on occasions. Such incidents were relatively isolated and possibly the result of necessary political compromise.

What was Baeumler's importance to the National Socialist regime? Despite the differences between his theories and those of the National Socialist party, Baeumler was an important figure during this era, though not in the traditional sense. An understanding of Baeumler's philosophies cannot be described as essential for an overall comprehension of the National Socialist system, nevertheless it is important to consider Baeumler for another reason. This case study of Baeumler's theories demonstrates that not everyone strictly conformed to Hitler's ideals. Although people such as Baeumler may have been accepted or even encouraged by the National Socialists, not all of them strictly reiterated or even supported all official opinions. A summary of his theories reveals that Baeumler successfully supported the National Socialist physical education program without promoting the wider spectrum of National Socialist theories.

#### NOTES:

- 1 Hans Frank, *Im Angesicht des Galgens*, München, 1953, p. 184.
- 2 Stephen H Roberts, *The House that Hitler Built*, 4th ed., Methuen, London, 1937, p. 45.
- 3 David Crew, ed., *Nazism and German Society 1933-1945*, Routledge, London, 1994, p. 1.
- 4 Carl-Ludwig Furck, *Das Pädagogische Problem der Leitung in der Schule*, 3d ed., Weinheim, 1967, p. 86.
- 5 Arnd Krüger, 'Sieg Heil to the Most Glorious Era of German Sport: Continuity and Change in the Modern German Sports Movement', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 4, no. 1, pp. 12-13.

- 6 As early as April 1933 various organisations had begun to integrate Ayran phrases into their constitutions. Bennett notes that it was 'quite pathetic how quickly the representative cross section of the clubs showed their eagerness to welcome their new rulers', Hajo Bennett, *Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich*, Hofmann, Schomdorf, 1971, p. 27.
- 7 John Hoberman, *Sport and Political Ideology*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1984, p. 78.
- 8 Only two extensive works have been done on Baeumler, namely Winfried Joch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik. Alfred Baeumler's Beitrag zur Pädagogik im Nationalsozialismus*, H & P Lang, Bern, Frankfurt, 1971 and Winfried Joch, *Politische Leibeserziehung und ihre Theorie im Nationalsozialistischen Deutschland: Voraussetzungen-Begründungszusammenhang-Dokumentation*, H & P Lang, Bern, Frankfurt, 1976.
- 9 Winfried Joch, 'Sport und Leibeserziehung im Dritten Reich', in Horst Ueberhorst, ed., *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, Bartels & Wernitz, Berlin, 1981, p. 715.
- 10 Joch, 'Sport und Leibeserziehung', p. 715.
- 11 Robert G Glassford and Gerald Redmond, 'Physical Education and Sport in Modern Times', in Earle F Ziegler, ed., *History of Physical Education and Sport*, Stripes, Illinois, 1988, p. 112.
- 12 J G Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education', in P C McIntosh, J G Dixon, A D Munrow, & R F Willetts, eds, *Landmarks in the History of Physical Education*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1981, p. 119.
- 13 Alfred Baeumler, *Politik und Erziehung*, Berlin, 1939, p. 159.
- 14 Edmund Neundorff was the leader of *the Deutsche Turnerschaft*, however, he gave up his position to Hans von Tschammer und Osten, the Reich's Sport Commissioner.
- 15 Edmund Neundorff, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Leibesübung*, vol. 4, Dresden, n.d., cited in Hajo Bennett, 'Das Jahn-Bild in der nationalsozialistischen Weltanschauung', *Stadion*, vol. 4, 1978, p. 229.
- 16 Bennett, 'Das Jahn-Bild', p. 240.
- 17 Alfred Baeumler, 'Die weltanschaulichen Grundlagen der deutschen Leibesübungen', in *Sport und Staat*, vol. I, Hilfsfond für den Deutschen Sport, Berlin, 1934, pp. 31-2.
- 18 Krüger, '*Sieg Heil*', p. 8.
- 19 Alfred Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau der deutschen Leibesübungen', in Alfred Baeumler, ed., *Männerbund und Wissenschaft*, Junker und Dünhaupt Verlag, Berlin, 1934, p. 58; Baeumler, 'Die weltanschaulichen Grundlagen', p. 20.
- 20 *Kraft* is best translated as strength, although this does not convey its philosophical meaning. *Kraft*, in this case, not only means the external strength, but also the internal strength of the nation, of the *Volk*.
- 21 Baeumler, 'Die weltanschaulichen Grundlagen', p. 20.
- 22 Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, R. Manheim, trans., Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1961 (Originally published in 1925), p. 421.
- 23 Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 408.
- 24 Hajo Bennett, *Nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung*, Hofmann, Schorndorf, 1966, p. 20.

- 25 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 55.
- 26 Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 407.
- 27 Hermann Rausching, *Gespräche mit Hitler*, Zürich, 1940, pp. 236-7.
- 28 Alfred Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', in A Breitmeyer & P G Hoffmann, eds, *Sport und Staat*, vol. II, Verlag des Reichssportblattes, Berlin, 1937, p. 140.
- 29 Krüger, 'Sieg Heil', p. 8.
- 30 Krüger, 'Sieg Heil', p. 8.
- 31 Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 139.
- 32 A *Volksbürger* is a citizen of the *Volk*.
- 33 Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 139.
- 34 Baeumler, 'Die weltanschaulichen Grundlagen', p. 33.
- 35 Baeumler, 'Die weltanschaulichen Grundlagen', pp. 32-3.
- 36 Hitler, *Mein Kampf* p. 409. 'Physical training in the folkish state . . . is not an affair of the individual, and not even a matter which primarily regards the parents and only secondly or thirdly interests the community; it is a requirement for the self-preservation of the nationality, represented and protected by the state.'
- 37 Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 140.
- 38 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 74.
- 39 Joch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik*, p. 242.
- 40 Baeumler, 'Die weltanschaulichen Grundlagen', p. 34.
- 41 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 54.
- 42 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 56.
- 43 Joch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik*, p. 265.
- 44 Joch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik*, p. 264.
- 45 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 55.
- 46 G Nebel, 'Hier Stumpsinn – dort Askese. Die Kehrseite der Medaillen', *Der Spiegel*, 7 Sept. 1960, cited in Joch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik*, p. 267.
- 47 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 55.
- 48 Bernett, 'Das Jahn-Bild', p. 241.
- 49 Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 140.
- 50 Joch, 'Sport und Leibeserziehung', p. 716.
- 51 Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 143.
- 52 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 58.
- 53 Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 144.
- 54 Konrad Koch, *Die Erziehung zum Mute durch Turnen, Spiel und Sport*, 1900, cited in Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 144.
- 55 Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 416.
- 56 Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 414.
- 57 Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 410.
- 58 Walter Hofer, *Der Nationalsozialismus Dokumente 1933-1945*, Fischer Bücherei, Frankfurt, 1957, p. 30.
- 59 Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 147.
- 60 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 73.
- 61 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 49.
- 62 Dixon, 'Prussia, Politics and Physical Education', p. 140.
- 63 Friese, *Anspruch und Wirklichkeit*, p. 13.

- 64 R B Farrell, *Dictionary of German Synonyms*, CUP, Cambridge, 1955, p. 51.
- 65 Farrell, *Dictionary of German Synonyms*, p. 51.
- 66 The German word has a double meaning here, which is unclear in English. *Glied* can be translated as either 'limb' or 'member'. Although it sounds incorrect, 'member' more accurately conveys the meaning of the passage.
- 67 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', pp. 55-6.
- 68 Joch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik*, p. 255.
- 69 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 51.
- 70 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 52.
- 71 Baeumler, 'Politische Leibeserziehung', p. 143.
- 72 Baeumler, 'Sinn und Aufbau', p. 52.
- 73 Krüger, '*Sieg Heil*', p. 12.
- 74 Roberts, *The House*, p. 46.
- 75 Theodor Wilhelm, 'Rasse als Grundbegriff der Erziehungswissenschaft -Nachwort', *Internationale Zeitschrift für Erziehung*, vol. 9, no. 1, p. 59.
- 76 Roberts, *The House*, p. 45.
- 77 Joch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik*, p. 34.
- 78 Joch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik* p. 34.
- 79 Hajo Bemetz, 'Book review of Joch', *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik, Sportwissenschaft*, vol. 1, 1977, p. 102.
- 80 Hans von Tschammer und Osten was the *Reichssportkommissar* (the Reich's Sport Commissioner) from 1933 until his death in 1943.
- 81 Lorenz Peiffer, *Die deutsche Turnerschaft Ihre politische Stellung in der Zeit der Weimarer Republik und des Nationalsozialismus*, Czwalina, Ahrensburg, 1976, p. 154.
- 82 Peiffer, *Die deutsche Turnerschaft*, p. 154.
- 83 Peiffer, *Die deutsche Turnerschaft*, p. 154.
- 84 Bernett, 'Book Review', p. 102.
- 85 Alfred Baeumler, 'Speech in 1933', in Gerhard Sauder, ed., *Die Bücherverbrennung*, Carl Hanser Verlag, n.d., p. 175.