
“Once the Olympics are through, we’ll beat up the Jew”¹ German Jewish Sport 1898-1938 and the Anti-Semitic Discourse

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Introduction

Jewish athletic participation in Germany has a very old and long established tradition. This paper will tell only a segment of this long history, the first 40 years of organized Jewish sport in Germany (1898-1938).² I think that it can be best understood when looking at the years of crisis and dissolution, 1933 to 1938; and to explain the peculiar development from there. Daniel Goldhagen’s book, *Hitler’s Willing Executioners*,³ has created quite a furor in the past years in promoting the idea that there was in Germany a direct progression from “exclusionist” to “eliminationist” anti-Semitism. Thus, for Goldhagen the brutal “eliminationist” anti-Semitism in Germany after 1933 can be explained by the “exclusionist” actions before that time. Although I will not go into the controversy about the book or the person, nor will I discuss any detail of the Goldhagen-Finkelstein argument,⁴ I will reflect upon the Goldhagen thesis on sport and the Jews in the first four decades of the 20th century.

Theoretically, anything that took place before 1933 could have had an effect on the time afterward. As with all discourse theory, one of the main questions here seems to be whether one can estimate the importance of a certain discourse at a given time.⁵ What does it mean that the exclusion of Jews from an organization is proposed—or the exclusion of non-Jews from a Jewish club,⁶ or the exclusion of poor people from a rich club?⁷ The potentiality of a discourse is not enough, there have to be actions as well to make a plausible case.

How many anti-Semitic actions and discussions have to take place to justify calling a given society anti-Semitic—or racist for that matter? Why did the German government organize the mass murder of Jews as a result of this “eliminationist” discourse; while the United States government or its citizens—which had a similar discourse—did systematically kill neither Jews nor Negroes—but did attempt to exterminate the Native Americans two generations earlier?⁸ Is the American racist discourse—e.g., in conjunction with the Ku Klux Klan—a problem similar to the one in Germany prior to 1933—or are there distinctive features about the anti-Semitism in Germany?⁹ I assume that if one understands the “eliminationist” discourse, a scholar may have a better chance to understand the *raison d'être* of the three separate Jewish sports organizations in Germany that existed when the Nazis came to power in 1933.

After the 1933 Nazi takeover, the Jewish sports organizations in Germany had achieved their highest membership ever. This can be attributed only partly to the general enthusiasm for sport prior to the 1936 Olympics. The Olympics had obvious influence on people who had some athletic aspirations. The main reason, however, lay more in the fact that the systematic exclusion of Jewish athletes from the general German sports movement brought many German Jewish athletes, for the first time, into Jewish-only clubs.

In Germany it had always been relatively unclear as to who was a “Jew” before the Nazis authoritatively defined it in the second half of 1935. Not even the Nazi rank and file knew in April 1933 who their superiors would eventually define as a “Jew.” A good example is Helene Mayer, who was kicked out of her Offenbach Fencing Club for which she had won an Olympic Gold Medal in the 1928 Olympics. In spite of the fact that under the 1935 Nuremberg Law she was 50 percent Jewish and single, she was admitted later to the German 1936 Olympic team.¹⁰

There had always been multiple interpretations as to what constituted Jewishness in cultural, religious, or ethnic terms. Scholars and scientists, who wanted to be considered scientifically “modern,” defined Jewishness in racial terms from about the time of 1870 onward¹¹—and spared no research efforts aimed of finding racial differences between Jews and Germans. However, despite decades of research,¹² looking for different shapes of head, feet,¹³ or nose,¹⁴ all research showed that Jews in Germany could not be differentiated by any anthropological means from Germans.¹⁵ In one of the largest anthropological enterprises, Robert Virchow measured 6.7 million schoolchildren in Germany, including 75,000 Jewish children. To everyone’s surprise, neither a typical German nor a typical German Jew emerged from this study. Virchow concluding that there was neither a distinct German nor Jewish race.¹⁶

In practice, however, whoever declared himself or herself as being Jewish, being part of the organized religious community, was considered one. On the other hand, there were many who were baptized Christians and did not consider themselves Jews any more—their status was unclear, but many remained “racially” Jewish, depending on one’s definition. Given the independence of almost 300 separate German states up to 1870, it was also not all that difficult to change citizenship and—in case of baptism—at the same time status. But for the majority

of Jews who gave up their religiosity but remained in the Jewish community, the Nazis still considered them to be “Jews.”

The Nazi Period

After the national-socialist's seizure of power, communist and socialist worker sports clubs were persecuted but the Jewish clubs were left untouched at first. The persecution of those clubs was not well organized, especially in the beginning of the Nazi regime. During 1933 and 1934, working class clubs that did not belong to either of the two organizations were not touched as well.¹⁷ In the summer of 1935 Catholic and Protestant sports clubs were forced into the Nazi sport movement or faced dissolution.

Things were different for the Jewish clubs and the Jewish members of bourgeois clubs. In 1933, there were 25 Maccabi clubs counting approximately 8,000 members, 90 Schild clubs with 7,000 members, and an unknown number of members in 18 Vintus clubs. For these Jewish clubs, the use of public sports fields was prohibited, and their teams faced the terror of the SA and the SS.¹⁸ The only opportunity for them to practice was to use their own fields and equipment, which was not explicitly prohibited. There were also some other limitations, which showed the perfidious character of the ban on public fields. Since Jews were supposed to be “smelly,” they were no longer permitted in public



Hitler in the opening ceremony of the 1936 Olympic Games accompanied by the President of the IOC, Count Henry Baillet-Latour, and Dr. Theodor Lewald, President of the German Olympic Committee. Courtesy of the National Archives.

swimming pools—even if this was nothing but a lake or river declared a swimming pool. It was also prohibited for Jews to go horseback riding, as the German horse could not be in physical contact with a Jew.¹⁹

The discussion around the hosting of the Olympics in Germany forced the German sporting authorities not to hamper the Jewish sporting life, as otherwise the International Olympic Committee (IOC) threatened to relocate the Games. Prior to 1933 there was no need to organize separate Jewish leagues.²⁰ Their sport was technically integrated into the general sport establishment. Following the Nazi takeover in 1933, however, Jewish teams were no longer organized under the *Deutscher Reichsbund für Leibesübungen*, the sport governing body of all German sports clubs. That made competitive meetings among Jewish teams rather difficult, as they had to drive long distances to find their opponents only among other Jewish clubs of the same federation.

Consequently, the three Jewish sport organizations united, becoming the *Reichsausschuß jüdischer Sportverbände* (German Committee of Jewish Sports Clubs) to make at least the competitive side of their sporting life easier. The Nazis supported such unification as this gave the foreign nations the impression that Jewish sport was “separate but equal” and supposedly not hampered. The German Turner societies and sports clubs excluded their Jewish members long before any official order to do so was given. This eagerness to exclude Jewish athletes was solely the initiative of the “leaders” of the clubs.

The Schild, representing the Jewish veterans (*Sportbund des Reichsbundes jüdischer Frontsoldaten—RjF*), negotiated with the Nazis to get the official leadership of all Jewish sports.²¹ However, just as in the German sports federations, the Nazis were reluctant to favor any one of the old organizations and preferred to establish a new one. Nevertheless, from May 30, 1933, onward, the leadership of Schild adopted a policy urging its membership to adhere to the philosophy of patriotism. It announced that “not only the athletic activity of the Jewish Youth is to be supported, but it is also the explicit goal of the RjF, to create a German patriotic feeling among the Jewish Youths.” This, together with the secret negotiations, can be seen as a case of approaching the Nazis on their own ground while, at the same time, completely misjudging the situation in Germany. These mixed attitudes of the RjF towards the ideology of national socialism showed many similarities to the *Stahlhelm*, a conservative organization of the ex-soldiers of World War I. Both groups supported Hindenburg against Hitler in the election campaign of 1932, and both espoused similar ideological views, like the SA, except of course, on the question of anti-Semitism.²² Interestingly enough, Schild had the fastest rise in membership: 7,000 in 1933, 17,000 in 1934, 20,000 in 1935, and 21,000 in 1936. The number of Schild sport sections also rose to 90 in 1933, 156 in 1934, 197 in 1935, and 216 in 1936.²³

Maccabi also grew as a consequence of Nazi policies. In 1933, Bar Kochba Berlin hosted a Jewish sport meet in the Grunewald Stadium, drawing 2,500 Jewish athletes. A championship the following year in the (private) Berliner SC Arena attracted over 8,000 spectators. Robert Atlasz considered that to be the biggest Jewish sports meeting ever to take place in Germany. The mostly Berlin-

based Jewish rowing movement also peaked in 1934.²⁴

The exclusion of Jews from German bourgeois sports clubs meant a big increase in members for the Jewish sports organizations. Overall, the new *Reichsausschuß jüdischer Sportverbände* counted 30,000 members in 1934 and about 50,000 in 1936. After that, though, the number of members decreased again, as many young Jews opted for emigration to Israel instead. Because of the influence of Maccabi, the Zionist ideas had always been discussed in the Jewish sports movements. Thus, emigration was a serious option. Jewish sporting life in Germany came to a sudden end with the pogrom *Reichskristallnacht*, on November 9 and 10, 1938. Club houses and synagogues were burned, members were intimidated and thus did not show themselves in public. Some were dreadfully beaten and some were brutally murdered. The mayor of the Olympic city of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, where the Olympic Winter Games had taken place in 1936 and where the Olympic Games of 1940 were supposed to take place again, had all its Jewish citizens deported via Austria to Switzerland on four hours' notice. This made sure that the city was the first German city to become *Judenrein* (free of Jews). Of course, this also had the unplanned consequence that, at least, they had a good chance to survive.

The Kaiserhof Meeting

In July 1934, Avery Brundage, president of the U.S. Olympic Committee, traveled to Europe on the one hand to take part in a meeting of the executive committee of the International Amateur Athletics Federation (AAU), on the other hand to find out how Jewish sport was treated in Germany. The AAU, whose president Brundage used to be, had still not accepted Germany's invitation to the Games, instead they sent Brundage to investigate in Germany.²⁵ It's now common knowledge that Brundage had a preconceived idea and opinion, anticipating the result of his trip, and he gave the following statement to be printed even before he left:

International amity, still a deferred dream in the world of political affairs, is an accomplished fact in amateur athletics. The record of mutual understanding, sympathy and friendliness written by the sportive youth of many nations, will be augmented by another quadrennial chapter of the Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany in 1936... These games will mark one more step toward the goal of those leaders of amateur sports who carry the hope of developing a better human race through the influence of the Olympics.²⁶

During his six-day visit in Germany, Brundage visited sports grounds, saw his old friends—especially the President of the German track and field Federation, Ritter von Halt—and met with the executive committee of the Jewish sport organization in Germany in the Kaiserhof Hotel. The participants of the meeting included Ritter von Halt; Arno Breitmeyer (the vice president of the German sports governing body), who was known for his extreme anti-Semitic views and was also a member of the SS; Sigfried Edström (the Swedish vice president of the IOC); and the representatives of the three Jewish sport organizations. Robert

Atlasz, a representative of Maccabi, left a detailed account of this meeting.²⁷

Brundage brought along newspaper articles about the obstruction of the Jewish sport and questioned the representatives about that. Discrimination against Jews apart from sports was irrelevant to him as an American. His slogan was “separate but equal,” a rule with which racial discrimination was legalized in the U.S.A. by the Supreme Court. Thus, the separation of Jewish and German sport was no problem to him (“In my club in Chicago, Jews are not permitted either”); the only important thing to him was the question whether Jews would be allowed to qualify for German Olympic team in any discipline. The staging of a Jewish championship also reinforced the impression that a united German team was possible. Of course, the caveat that in Germany the national team had always been selected by a national selection and athletes did not qualify directly as in the U.S.A. was conveniently not mentioned to Brundage.²⁸

The following year, the campaigns supporting an Olympic boycott became visibly stronger, and Brundage drew up an extremely anti-Semitic brochure, using every possible argument to bolster his views for America’s participation in the Olympics. His main interest was not to improve the conditions for the Jews in Germany, but rather to be able to go through with the Games in Germany in a peaceful manner.²⁹ Nonetheless, the Kaiserhof meeting enabled the best Jewish athletes to take part in the pre-Olympic training camps in Ettlingen, and hope was given to them to be able to qualify for the Olympics as a part of Team Germany. Intimidated by Breitmeyer’s presence—wearing his black SS uniform and cavalry boots—and uncertain about Brundage’s true intentions, which were echoed also by Edström,³⁰ the Jewish representatives simply limited themselves to questions of sport.

The relationship between the Jewish sport establishment and the Nazi authorities was rather complex. On the one hand, anti-Semitism in its brutality was condemned by Jewish organizations. On the other hand, patriotism for a country for which one would have gone to war and died, and which the athletes would have loved to represent in the Olympics, could be observed by another event as well. On September 26 at their convention in Brünn, the representatives of the Maccabi World Union, Maccabi Germany abstaining, passed a resolution demanding all Olympic committees refrain from sending any Jewish athletes to the Games because of how the atrocities committed against their coreligionists were treated in Germany. Of course, one cannot discount the fear of reprisals, which might have influenced its abstention from voting for the resolution. More important, however, Maccabi Germany clearly wanted to participate in the Olympics. For German Jews, at least on the psychological level, participation in the Olympics would signify integration into the German people—to be compared only with the wartime heroes of World War I.³¹

The Helene Mayer Case

Helene Mayer, nicknamed “the blond He,” was Germany’s sport heroine in the Weimar Republic. Olympic champion in 1928 in fencing, at the age of 18; fifth in the 1932 Olympics; she was at the center of interest in the sports scene in

Germany. Being the daughter of an Aryan mother and a famous Jewish father, she was a symbol of Jewish integration into the German society. She was an example of the legal problems that were created by the adoption of the Nuremberg Laws. As long as the regulations defining a “Jew” were not explicitly stated, she was not invited as a member of the Olympic team, especially since she studied at Scripps College, in Claremont, California at that time. Moreover, she was in the center of a rather muddled controversy that weakened the boycott movement. Internationally she was considered the most prominent victim of the persecution of Jews. She had been thrown out of her Offenbach Fencing Club because of her



Ettlingen training camp for German Jewish athletes that was organized by the Nazi authorities to mislead world opinion. Courtesy of George Eisen

Jewishness in spring of 1933, at the time when there were as yet no rules about who was considered Jewish and who was not.

On August 24, 1935, American IOC executive board member General Charles H. Sherrill traveled to Munich for a 60-minute interview with Hitler.³² During this talk, two entirely conflicting points of view clashed. General Sherrill insisted on at least one Jewish member, male or female, on the German team (e.g., Helene Mayer), comparing this to the American tradition of the “token Negro.” Hitler, on the other hand, insisted that the agreement with the IOC simply meant that the foreign teams were allowed to have Jews, and that the German team would in no way change their position or lineups. If the IOC insisted on Jews being placed on the German team, Germany would stage their own purely German Olympics.³³

Sherrill was shocked and wrote a confidential letter to Henri de Baillet-

Latour, president of the IOC.³⁴ The German government was uncertain as well. In the end, the following interpretation was accepted: The *Reichssportführer*, the leader of sports operations in Germany, was responsible for the lineup of the Olympic team. Jews would not and could not qualify as they lacked the “moral” qualities to represent Germany. On his following visits, General Sherrill was treated with all honors accorded only to diplomats. Simultaneously, the IOC was reassured by the interpretation that Jews had a chance to qualify—the secret understanding that in reality they could not. After the Nuremberg Racial Laws were passed, and Helene Mayer was invited to compete for Germany as a half-Jew, the foreign countries believed Germany had given in to international pressure, and allowed Jews on their team, unknowing the not-so-subtle differences that were made in Germany.

In any case, according to Jewish law Mayer was not Jewish, her mother being Christian. On the other hand, the Jewish sport organizations did not want to have to deal with her as they did not consider her Jewish in the first place.³⁵ The question of a team membership was not relevant either, as she came directly from the U.S.A., where she had just become national champion for an American club. At the Olympics, she finished second behind the Hungarian Ilona Elek-Schacherer, who herself was “half Jewish”. Curiously enough, the third place finisher from Austria, Ellen Preis, was “half Jewish” as well.

The Gretel Bergmann Case

The case of the Jewish high jumper Gretel Bergmann was different. She competed for Schild Stuttgart. Due to the international pressure, she was one of the few Jewish athletes to be admitted to the practice courses of the German sports association in 1935–36. This was probably due to her experience on the international stage; she was successful in England in 1934 and won the Wuertenberg regional championships in 1936, mastering 1.60 meters, a height that would have ensured her a medal at the Olympics. Unfortunately for her, she was not admitted to the following German national championships because her club was not a member of the *Reichsbund für Leibesübungen*, the German athletic association. The international sporting community accepted this technical explanation promoted and exploited by the Nazi authorities. In short, since no Jewish clubs were admitted as member in the sports federation, technically their members could not qualify for the Olympic trials in the first place. On the other hand, Brundage and other Americans naively believed that the German team was selected based on trials open to all German athletes—Jews or non-Jews. In fact, the selection of the German team was conducted by the *Reichssportführer*, who based his decision on the qualifying rounds. Not in every case was the German champion taken; the performance of the athlete over the course of the entire season was also given consideration. In women’s high jump and the 50k walking competition, the Germans did not fill all their allotted spots. It seems obvious that as an Aryan, Gretel Bergmann would have been awarded a place on the team immediately but as a Jew, she was systematically excluded.

After the American team had already been sent off to Germany, Gretel

Bergmann, who strongly believed that she had gained a place on the German team, was given the news of her non-selection. During the Games, Bergmann applied for a visa to the U.S.A., making sure to leave the country that robbed her of her athletic dreams, and threatened and sent her Jewish friends and family to jail or concentration camps.³⁶

Jewish Sport in Nazi Germany

The relationship of Jews to the 1936 Olympics was rather complex everywhere. Whereas in the U.S. the majority of Jews supported a boycott, in Germany they were more ambivalent about it. The most assimilated and integrated of Europe's Jews, the German Jews thought for a long time that the Nazi horror would pass and that they could resume a normal life and existence. The figure of Dr. Theodor Lewald, president of the German organizing committee and longtime IOC member, accurately reflected this German-Jewish ambivalence. He was considered a "half-Jew" according to the Nuremberg laws. His American friends wanted him to step down to embarrass the Nazis, but to him the Nazis formed the legitimate government of his country and sport was a good way to represent one's country.³⁷ Furthermore, because of the baptism of his father and the Protestant background of his mother, he felt more drawn toward his country than to Jewry. After the Olympics, he was emphatically asked by the German sports leaders to step down



Goering, Goebbels, and Hitler during the competition of the 1936 Olympic Games. Courtesy of the National Archives.

from his office in the IOC, officially because of his age.³⁸

Captain Fürstner, who was commander of the Olympic village during the time of preparation and mayor during the Games, committed suicide in the same situation as Lewald, because he was to be excluded from the army as he was not

purely Aryan. On the whole, competitive sports followed the dictates of the Nuremberg laws. “Semi-Jews” such as the ice hockey player Rudi Ball and the fencer Helene Mayer were allowed to participate; Jews like Gretel Bergmann were not. Quite a large number of prominent Jewish athletes who qualified for other national teams refused to represent Germany, since they did not want to support national socialism with their presence. The *Kristallnacht* pogrom, the night of the severest Jewish persecution in November 1938, ended all German-Jewish sport. A generation of German Jewish athletes were prevented from fulfilling their athletic dreams. The Olympic Games covered up the true situation in Germany. For a little while the German Jews had the chance to take a last deep breath. Once the Games were over, the German government initiated its full-scale program. From then the SA slogan became a reality: “Once the Olympics are through, we’ll beat up the Jew.”³⁹ The course, as systematically planned by the Nazis, had indeed begun to move from exclusion to elimination.

The Anti-Semitic Discourse in Turnen and Sport

Although anti-Semitism has always been a permanent feature of German and Austrian life and culture, there has also been a broad consensus that membership in a sports club should be open to anyone, independent of creed, ethnic origin, or political conviction. With some sports, such as tennis, field hockey, or golf, there went a social exclusiveness—but not an ethnic one. Sport, with its British origins, always meant international orientation. It tolerated foreign athletes competing or working in Germany as rowers, sprinters, professional jockey (English), golf pro (Scottish), and fencing master (Italian and French). The young German sports movement actively pursued a role in the international sports federation and the International Olympic Movement from the beginning. But at the turn of the century, the Turner movement had six times as many members as all “sports” combined, as the sports movement was young—although some of the activities, like riding and fencing, have of course been around since the middle ages.

We have to differentiate here between Turnen and sport, both practice and ideology. The German Turners, founded by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778-1852) in the War of Independence to prepare a German guerilla army against Napoleonic occupation, has always been nationalistic. The Turners later favored their kind of gymnastics for the preparation of the German youth for warfare. In the second half of the 19th century this meant mainly the war against France. In their Germanness, the Turners favored the larger Germany, with the inclusion of Austria, as had been decided after the Revolution of 1848—but it did not materialize. When the German Empire—the smaller Germany without Austria—had grown out of the War of 1870 to 1871 against France, the Turners kept the Austrian members within their organization. This made decisions in Austria relevant for the German Turners.

Although there had been some exclusionist discourse, no practical step had been taken by the Turner and sport movement in Germany proper to exclude Jews from its ranks. It can be safely said that anti-Semitic policies were initiated directly by Austrian clubs. The discourse really started when, in 1889, the Vienna

Turners excluded their Jewish members from their clubs. Like all German Turners, the Vienna clubs were part of the *Deutsche Turnerschaft* (DT), the organization that comprised the Turners in Germany and Austria. This exclusion resulted in a split within the German Turner organization, as the majority of the DT resented this exclusion of their members. An anti-Semitic *Deutscher Turnerbund* (DTB) was set up with Vienna as its center but with the same territorial extension as the DT. Their most significant difference, perhaps the only one, was that the DTB had an Aryan paragraph and the DT had not. To keep the anti-Semitic Turners inside the DT, the DT leadership had already permitted, in 1887, each club to have an Aryan paragraph in its statutes, but it strongly resisted that a district or even a *Gau* (region) should have such a paragraph in its bylaws. This was a result of the rule that all Turner clubs in a certain area should be members of the same area Turner association to avoid competition between rival organizations.

Eventually, a majority of the whole Austrian district of the DT (by 120 to 15 votes) came up with an Aryan paragraph by 1901. Three years later, the DT safeguarded the interest of the 40 clubs that did not want to exclude their Jewish members. It, therefore, set up a parallel district in Austria so that from 1904 onward there were two parallel Turner organizations in all of Austria, as the DTB voted 97 to 34 to quit the DT. By the same token, the DTB expanded into all of Germany and set up regional organizations there, too.⁴⁰

In discussing the Goldhagen thesis, we might keep in mind that the strongest German Turner organization thoroughly discussed the question of exclusion of Jews. Organizations often tend to make pragmatic decisions more for the benefit of the maintenance of the organization than on moral grounds. A large majority of the DT was, however, willing to keep its “handful” of Jewish members, even if it was losing about fifteen percent of its membership over the question of an Aryan paragraph. In the case of the Turners at the turn of the century we can, therefore, see that the exclusionist discourse was present, but the forces of liberalism, humanity, and sanity were dominating.

The Weimar years give a mixed picture. On the one hand the anti-Semitic sentiment in the population rose. A good example is the discussion about the anatomy of the Jewish foot, after World War I, which showed that, particularly in the field of physical culture, differences between Jews and gentiles were on the agenda.⁴¹ In this case it was postulated that more Jews than their proportion in the population avoided serving in the Great War and received a diagnosis from a fellow Jewish doctor that they had flat feet and could, therefore, not be drafted—or at least not for front-line duty. It was shown, however, that the percentage of Jews in the military was as big as that of any other group and that the assumption had been nothing but a form of anti-Semitism. The same can be seen with the struggle between the DT and the DTB. The anti-Semitic DTB was a small minority in Germany of less than one percent of the clubs in 1931.⁴² But in both cases the discourse was there.

A typical case of Nazism can be seen in the “Geissow affair” in 1930. Hans Geissow, an ardent Nazi and member of the executive board of the German Swimming Federation (DSV), made an attempt to convince the delegates of the

national assembly to stop international competitions and go national.⁴³ In his motion to leave the sports federation with international contact (DRA), he did not allude to its “half-Jewish” president (Theodor Lewald⁴⁴) and did not ask to join the DTB but the DT. So, in spite of his Nazi sympathies, which became quite obvious in his books on the spirit of the athlete, he is not an open anti-Semite. The assembly did not follow him in his application, and he could maintain a leadership position only in the regional association of Thuringia—a state that had, the same year, the first right-wing coalition government including the Nazis, too.

It can be seen that before 1933, the exclusionist discourse is present, but it is in a minority position in Germany.⁴⁵ The proportion is somewhat larger in the multinational Austrian Monarchy.⁴⁶ The exclusionist discourse is not sufficiently strong to forge the Jewish sportsmen and women together into one organization—but many left their original German clubs and joined a strictly Jewish club. As it was already noted, there were three separate Jewish national sports organizations in Germany: the *Zionist Maccabi*, the sports sections of the German national Schild (the organization of the German front fighters of World War I of Jewish faith), and the politically neutral Vintus sports organization. In spite of the freedom to chose a Jewish club of one’s preference, there were more Jewish athletes in the regular German bourgeois or workers’ Turner and sports clubs than in the Jewish organizations. And in these clubs they were not separated from the rest of the athletes either.⁴⁷

A good example is the second string Jewish sprint relay of the best German track and field clubs of SC Charlottenburg Berlin (SCC). The first relay of the SCC was world record holder, and so it was extremely difficult to make first team. The second team, nicknamed the “prophets’ relay” because all of the sprinters were Jewish, was, however, not separated. On various occasions some of their runners were included in the first-string team, as the separation was not done on the basis of race but of speed.⁴⁸

The Jewish Turner and Sports Organizations in Germany

At the Second Zionist Convention in Basle, in 1898, Max Nordau gave meaning to the words “Muscular Jewry.” The thought of being able to be master of their own fate, of being able to fight the latent anti-Semitism of the other Turner clubs, lead to the formation of the Bar Kochba Turner and sports club in Berlin. This was the beginning of the *Jüdische Turnerschaft* (Jewish Gymnastic Association) in Germany. Its monthly magazine, the *Jüdische Turnzeitung*, was the best source for the prospering of the Turner and sports clubs between 1900 and 1921. Neither the exact number of members in Jewish clubs nor the number of Jewish members in the bourgeois or worker’s societies and sports clubs is known. Robert Atlasz estimates approximately 2,000 members of the Jewish sports movement in 1903.⁴⁹

As a consequence of the creation of clearly Zionist Maccabi, Vintus, the union of neutral Jewish Turner and sport clubs, remained steadfastly neutral, rejecting the possibility of eventual emigration to a newly founded Jewish country, Erez Israel (Palestine). Instead, the organization identified with Germany. In

addition, there were two regional nonpolitical Jewish Gymnastics and Turner organizations in Bavaria and in the German southwest.⁵⁰ In athletic terms, eventually Schild, which was the organization of Jewish soldiers in World War I, became quite strong. Schild was quite elitist in that it accepted only Jewish soldiers who had actually done active front-line service for some time. By its setup, this organization was losing members every year without the chance to get new ones. The leadership, therefore, decided that youth sufficiently fit could join. This provided the basis for their sport section. Eventually, boxing and judo were emphasized as the Schild actively worked in the protection of the Jewish community against anti-Semitic aggression.⁵¹ In Germany, a country of organizations, this diversity of Jewish associations was not unusual. In Prussia, the largest of the German states, there were also three different societies of the Jewish communities: *Landesverband jüdischer Gemeinden* (656 communities in 1926), *Bund gesetzestreuer jüdischer Gemeinden* (in 1921 about 17,000 orthodox members), and the *Deutsch-israelischer Gemeindebund* (founded in 1869, trying to include all). A separate Jewish workers' sport movement had never caught on as it did in neighboring Poland.⁵² Jews were prominent members of the regular German workers' movement, so they did not feel discriminated against in German workers' sport.⁵³

When Bar Kochba was founded as the first German Jewish Turner club, the founding members discussed vividly whether this should be a Zionist club or a German (national)-Jewish one. Eventually, a compromise definition was included



Participants at the Ettingen training camp for German Jewish athletes. Courtesy of George Eisen.

in the bylaws. It decreed that the Jewish members were unanimous in that they were "linked by a bond of common racial origin and heritage, not only by religion, endowed by a characteristic intellectual and spiritual quality, linked by a strong fraternal sense of community until the present time."⁵⁴ With this compromise of a racial definition, without including the political consequence of the demand of a separate Jewish state, the membership could be kept together. The first disappointment came when the club applied to the Jewish community, owner of the Jewish Boys' School, to use its gym hall after school hours. The school turned down the application. In this situation, the

local DT organization and the city of Berlin stepped in and helped the club with the gym hall of a local high school.⁵⁵ As most of the 45 founding members were university students, the club was predominantly a university club at the beginning.

It should be noted also that the German university clubs, on the whole, accepted Jewish members. But the Catholic and the Jewish members considered it discriminatory that their religion was added in all membership lists, German university life was strongly influenced, in fact governed, by a wide selection of student fraternities. The psychological pressure to belong to one was immense. Also, fraternities provided a home and helped the students, who frequently changed from one university to the next, to integrate themselves into their new surroundings. The alumni of the fraternities also helped the young graduates professionally. Many student fraternities that emphasized drinking, singing, fencing, and other forms of communal living did one of three things: not admit Jews at all, had only one token Jew, or admitted only a limited number of Jews according to a "Jewish quota." As a result, the *Kartellkonvent der Tendenzverbindungen deutscher Studenten jüdischen Glaubens* (K.C. or Union of Fraternities of German Students of Jewish faith) was formed, which stressed its Germanic relation and copied the habits of the other fraternities.⁵⁶

The *Akademischer Turnbund* (ATB), the academic gymnastic federation, concluded in 1901 that fencing duels were accepted to reestablish one's honor, while duels just for the benefit of getting scars to show that one belonged to a fraternity that carried weapons were outlawed.⁵⁷ Both forms of fencing had completely different rules and trained behavior. While for a duel you should make sure that you were not getting caught and cut up, for the ornamental scars (*Mensur*⁵⁸) you were not supposed to move while somebody would strike you in the face with his saber. As regular fencing was done in a sporting way in the ATB, its members had the reputation of being expert duelists.⁵⁹ In Germany, in contrast to other European countries, Jewish students were considered to have honor. This meant that Jews were included into the duels for personal feuds, while a duel with a nonstudent or nonmilitary person was out of the question.⁶⁰ Theodor Herzl, the founder of the Zionist movement, believed in the case of Austria that "half a dozen duels would very much raise the social position of the Jews."⁶¹ There were, however, also Jewish student fraternities (*Verbindungen*) which belonged to the *Kartell jüdischer Verbindungen* (K.J.V.). Some, like the Berlin *Ieria*, were also active in rowing, track and field, and alpinism.⁶²

The fraternities differed on the principle of "satisfaction." If one felt "insulted" by a fellow student there were basically three different paths to restore one's honor. The first one was a duel with no chance for an excuse (absolute satisfaction—normally with swords). Another option was a chance for a public excuse and, in case there was none in due time, a duel—conditioned satisfaction. Finally, the third alternative was to go to court and sue. In the last case, there were little chances for success as the judges on the whole were members of duelling fraternities and preferred satisfaction to a court case.⁶³ While the ATB had the conditioned satisfaction, the *Berliner Jüdisches Corps* (B.J.C.), the large Berlin Jewish fraternity, introduced the absolute satisfaction in 1913. In this way, the

Berlin Jews wanted to show that in terms of honor, they would not negotiate and were among the toughest. But most duels were among Jews, as many German students resented dueling with a Jew. After the Great War, this changed. It was then argued that the whole satisfaction business was nothing but a form for social exclusion—that for the Zionists, going to Palestine as a worker (and thus as a person from whom satisfaction could not be demanded) was out of the question.⁶⁴ The K.J.V., which had 17 regular chapters in Germany after the war, gave up all duels either for the coveted ornamental scars or for satisfaction of any kind.⁶⁵

It should not be overlooked that most Jews who were interested in Turnen and sports were members of the general Turner and sports movement. It is with their help that the young Bar Kochba got things organized at first. They helped with securing a gymnasium for the fledgling Jewish society provided the first coaches, and helped in administrative matters. Alfred Flatow (1869-1942), German triple Olympic champion in 1896, was one of the best German gymnasts at the time and the youngest ever to pass the Turner teacher exam—and a Jew. The DT did not want to participate in the Athens Olympics, as this was considered an un-German event, invented by the French and thus by an arch-enemy. As a result of their vigorous campaign, it was quite difficult for a Turner to compete in Athens, while the young sport movement considered itself internationally minded and thus different from the narrowly German Turner movement.⁶⁶ A group of 10 Berlin Turners went, in spite of the official opposition of their superiors. They included Alfred and Gustav Felix Flatow—two cousins. Alfred Flatow won three gold medals in Athens: the team high bar, team parallel bar, and individual parallel bar. He later published extensively on the technical side of gymnastic theory, Flatow competed for a non-Jewish Berlin club that expelled him in 1933. He died in the concentration camp of Theresienstadt in December 1942.⁶⁷ His cousin, Gustav Felix Flatow (1875-1945) was double Olympic Champion in Athens with the two teams and participated in the Paris Olympics of 1900. In 1933, he emigrated to Holland, then was deported to the concentration camp of Theresienstadt, where he starved to death in January 1945.⁶⁸ Both Flatows had never been members of the Jewish Turner clubs but showed that Jewish Turners were among the best and most competitive in Germany. It might be that this was the reason that they did not join Jewish clubs, which were, at the time, quite modest in the training and coaching conditions.

After the first public gymnastic exhibitions of Bar Kochba, in the year 1900, the membership increased to more than 200. They were organized in men's, women's, apprentices', and girls' sections. As the membership included about 40 Jewish refugees from Poland and Russia, the club also started a section for non-Germans, for which it added German language classes to the club's program. In the context of inclusion and exclusion it is, however, interesting to note that the Berlin upper-class Jews admitted the Jewish refugees in the club, but would not have close contact with them.⁶⁹

With the publication of the *Jüdische Turnzeitung*, the promotion of Jewish gymnastics and sports became more and more important. The second club was founded in 1900 in Halberstadt, later the seat of *the Bund gesetzestreuer jüdischer*

Gemeinden. Most of the old Jewish Turner clubs were founded in 1902 as reaction to the intensification of anti-Semitism in the German Turner movement and anti-Semitic activities of the DTB all over Germany. Clubs in Cologne, Hamburg, Mannheim, Frankfurt/O., Freiburg, Leipzig, Munich, Breslau, and Frankfurt/M. were started. In 1903, they had about 2,000 members, of which 750 came from Berlin. But the Jewish clubs in Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria were also members of the German federation.⁷⁰ Alfred Maul (1828-1907), honorary president of the DT, concluded that it was perfectly legitimate for German Jews to found their own Turner clubs in towns where anti-Semitism was pervasive.

It should be noted that the Zionist and the national German-Jewish position often conflicted and a diversity of opinions within the Jewish gymnastic and sport establishment was also evident. Thus, in Karlsruhe (in the German southwest), the Jewish club had no political, national, or religious tendency at all. The club contained many orthodox Jews who were concerned neither with a Jewish state nor with any other state for that matter. It is interesting to note that the Jewish Turner clubs in Vienna, where the anti-Semitic DTB had its home, did not join the Jewish Turner Federation but stayed with the DT that had forced the anti-Semitic clubs out because of them.

In terms of content, Turnen at first meant gymnastics with apparatus, free mass exercises, and also running, jumping, swimming, and fencing. With the increase in membership without more space in the gym hall and the general rise in track and field, one can see in the Jewish clubs just as much as in the others a shift in emphasis, away from free mass exercise and drill toward track and field. In 1912, the track and field section of Bar Kochba joined the Berlin and thereby the National Track and Field Federation. It should not be overlooked, though, that while gymnastic and sport were on an ideological collision course from the beginning, the Jewish Turners accepted competitive sport for men of 18 to 30 years of age as a natural thing to do.⁷¹ The Jewish gymnastic societies eventually became the first Turner organization that officially opened itself up to the sports movement.⁷² In 1913, the *jüdische Turnzeitung* officially changed its name to *Jüdische Monatshefte für Turnen und Sport*, showing that they, as the only German organization at the time, wanted the union and not the separation of the two.

In addition to those persons who preferred a competitive element, sport in the sense of alpinism and hiking also presented viable option in Germany. On the whole, there were the same political and ethnical divisions in these organizations as in all other spheres of public life. As many of these alpinist clubs had their own lodges in the mountains, many would not permit Jews to sleep and eat inside. Only the *Naturfreunde*, the workers' alpinist society, admitted Jews.⁷³ Jewish youth, therefore, founded its own alpinist and hiking clubs, as they were part of the same philosophy of life that resented competitive sport, but went out for the physical pleasure of athleticism.⁷⁴

The Weimar Years

The First World War had destroyed much of the infrastructure of the Jewish as well as most other Turner and sports movements. The Berlin Jewish rowers of

the Ivria fraternity were the first to call for German-Jewish unity in the physical exercise movement. It brought Jews together from Germany and its allies in the Great War. At the Zionist world-convention in Karlsbad 1921, the Maccabi World organization was founded, which was soon to become head of many gymnastic and sport clubs. While gymnastic movements adhered internationally to many different styles, the Jewish gymnastic movement was organized along the German model. In 1927, the Maccabi World Union had 26 districts with about 400 clubs and 120,000 members. Its seat was Vienna (Austria). It published a journal *Hamakkabi*, the successor to the *Jüdische Turnzeitung*, in three languages: German, Hebrew, and Yiddish.⁷⁵ As soon as this journal was started in 1921, the German *Jüdische Turnzeitung* ceased publication.

That ideological conflicts existed within the Jewish sport establishment has been shown. In addition, the main differences in the period before the war can be seen in the large influx of Jews from Eastern Europe to Germany. This influx of the "Ostjuden" split the German-Jewish movement. While some preferred to move even closer to the German position, resenting such "foreigners" and engaging in sports for the benefit of athletic prowess and fun, others accepted their coreligionists in the Zionist spirit of one Jewish race. They also politicized sport for preparation to final immigration to Palestine (Israel).⁷⁶

In spite of these ideological and political controversies, some of the sports clubs, like Bar Kochba Berlin, continued to improve athletically. In 1928, the 4x100 meter relay team became the most successful Jewish team during the Weimar period. It captured the fourth place in the German championships in Düsseldorf with a remarkable 42.4 seconds. Eli Katz, the Finnish 1924 Olympic champion, was also training in Berlin with that Jewish club. He, however, could compete only in open competitions and not in German championships, as he had had represented Finland.⁷⁷ Most of the better-known Jewish athletes competed for non-Jewish clubs, since, on the whole, training conditions were much better there.⁷⁸

In addition to the problems already discussed, there were three other issues that occupied much of the ideological and philosophical interest of Jewish sports organizations. For example, most of the competitions with non-Jewish clubs were on Saturday. For a religious Jew physical exertion on the Sabbath was out of the question. For some, the honoring of the Sabbath was a question of national Jewish identity. On the other hand, there were also many others who preferred competing instead of staying home. Although some of the dividing lines went along the lines of national Jewish or national German identity, the question went much deeper. Reminiscent of the arguments raging within the Christian community, the question came naturally: why can't one praise the Lord with an active body? This thorny issue remained unresolved for the organization, leaving this decision to the individual athlete.⁷⁹

To counteract the opposition by Zionists and orthodox Jews against those who gravitated toward German-national identity within the Jewish sports movement, the German group adopted Haifa as their partner community in Palestine and started to work for an athletic "protectorate." The city of Berlin

started to finance a gymnasium in Haifa, coaches were sent and a summer holiday bicycle tour was organized. This was obviously a compromise position, furthering the Zionist aims without identifying oneself necessarily with political Zionism.⁸⁰

Football Club Hakoah Vienna had become the Austrian football champion. They had even beaten West Ham United and were, in football terms, on top of the world. Austrian football, in contrast to the German league, had become fully professional. In Germany you could make a living as an athlete, but payment was done under the table, and one could receive a decently paid job without much work being done. Ideologically the Maccabi condemned professionalism, but the whole organization was extremely proud that one of their clubs was the Austrian champion and strongly influenced the Vienna style of the game. Eventually, the Maccabi World Union came up with a compromise; it officially condemned professionalism but left it to the individual district on how to cope with the problem. Therefore, nothing changed in Vienna.⁸¹

Conclusion

On the whole, Jewish sport added to the variety so typical of German society in the Weimar years. This was a time when the boundaries of new freedoms were tested. Democracy was not yet firmly established but was being experienced and enjoyed by many. On the other hand, as soon as the economic crisis of 1929 hit Germany, an inevitable crisis of the institutions followed. In terms of the different Jewish Turner and sports organizations, these clubs became a faithful mirror of the rest of the Turner and sports movements of the time with very little notable difference from the rest—save their Jewishness. There was not much of an exclusionist discourse, less than, that is, in the U.S.A. at the time concerning Afro-Americans or Jews in some parts. If we accept the axiom that sport, as a social institution is a good guide of a society's mental and psychological health, historical evidence shows that exclusionist sentiments were neither weaker nor stronger in Germany than in other European countries. We might also add, as recent studies so amply proved, the fact that athletes and athletic organizations are more conservative in their politics and world outlook than society at large. It is difficult to conclude what made the change in the anti-Semitic discourse and in the action. It can certainly be shown that it was not only the war, but that this discourse started earlier. Contradicting Goldhagen's arguments, they were not the attitudes of the majority in Germany prior to 1933. Just as much as the German people welcomed Nazism wholeheartedly as a savior from all evils, so did the sport movement, which was also willing to exclude its Jewish members—if that was the price to be paid for being a good citizens.⁸²

I presume that one does not have to look only for the exclusionist discourse to put this text into the context of the emerging Germany in which many things, including sports, were placed under a much closer scrutiny by the state than were such social institutions elsewhere. Only in this context, when such private activities as sport had become a matter of acute interest to the central government and parliament, as early as 1913,⁸³ that the private discourse in matters such as sport could develop into a totalitarian state related issue. This diabolical dictatorial

regime, supported by the majority of its people, not only regulated sport and other sociocultural institutions, but also decided whether sick people should survive or be killed, or whether and how entire ethnic (Jews) and other groups (psychiatric patients, mentally retarded, gay-lesbian) could be excluded and later systematically exterminated.⁸⁴

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1. *Neues Tagesbuch*, Paris, May 2, 1936, 431 (This was a paper of the Germans in exile.)
 2. I am not concerned here with such activities as chess—see E. Meissenburg, “Juden im Schachleben Deutschlands 1830-1930,” *Menora, Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* 7 (1996), 167-193—nor with the new formation of the German Maccabi, after World War II, in 1965.
 3. D. J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (London: Abacus, 1997).
 4. N. Finkelstein, “Goldhagen ein Quellentrickser?” *Der Spiegel* no. 34, Aug. 18, 1997.
 5. R. Harré and G. Gillett, *The Discursive Mind* (London: Sage Publications, 1994); D. Chancy, *The Cultural Turn: Scene-Setting Essays on Contemporary Cultural History* (London: Routledge, 1994); C. C. Aronsfeld, *The Text of the Holocaust: The Nazis' Extermination Propaganda from 1919-1946* (Marblehead, Mass.: Micah Publications, 1985); S. Hall, “The Work of Representation,” in S. Hall, ed., *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage, 1997), 13-74.
 6. A. Krüger and A. Sanders, “Jewish Sports in the Netherlands and the Problems of Selective Memory,” *Journal of Sport History*, this issue, 271.
 7. A. Krüger, “The German Way of Worker Sports,” in A. Krüger and J. Riordan (eds.), *The Story of Worker Sport* (Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics, 1996), 1-25. I will not deal with the special situation of women, who were not always welcomed in sports clubs prior to World War I. However, they were, on the whole, better treated in any club in Germany, Jewish or not, than in most of the neighboring countries or the U.S.A. for that matter; see G. Daum, *Die Frau in der jüdischen Turnbewegung* (Dipl. DSH Cologne, 1982).
 8. I am not trying to de-emphasize the German guilt by putting it into comparison with other genocides, but I am concerned with the validity of the Goldhagen argument, fully acknowledging that what Germany did after 1933 was uniquely inhumane; see, e.g., K. A. Schleunes, *The Twisted Road to Auschwitz: The Nazi Policy Towards German Jews*. (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1970); G. Hirschfeld, ed., *The Policies of Genocide. Jews and Soviet Prisoners of War in Nazi Germany* (London: Allan & Unwin, 1986); A. Mayer, *Why Did the Heavens Not Darken? The “Final Solution” in History* (New York: Panteon Books, 1988); R. Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der Europäischen Juden 1933-1945* (Frankfurt/M: Fischer, 1992); P. Burrin, *Hitler and the Jews, The Genesis of the Holocaust* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994).
 9. S. Kühl, *The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).
 10. A. Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 und die Weltmeinung: Ihre außenpolitische Bedeutung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der USA* (Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz, 1972).
 11. Cf. W. Marr, *Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum: Vom nicht confessionellen Standpunkt aus betrachtet* (Bern: np., 1879), 8th ed.
 12. F. von Luschan, “Die anthropologische Stellung der Juden,” *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 56 (1892): 816-818, 628-630; J.M. Judd, *Die Juden als Rasse. Eine Analyse aus dem Gebiete der Anthropologie* (Berlin, 1903); I. Zollschan, *Das Rassenproblem unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der theoretischen Grundlagen der jüdischen Rassenfrage* (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1910). One of the practical consequences in 1942 was that Franco claimed

- “his” Jews back, while the eastern Jews were deported to the concentration camps; see A. Krüger, “Strength through Joy: The Culture of Consent Under Fascism, Nazism and Francoism,” in J. Riordan and A. Krüger (eds.), *The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century* (London: Spon, 1999), 67–89.
13. Cf. S. Gilman, “The Jewish Foot. A Foot-Note to the Jewish Body,” in id., *The Jew’s Body* (London: Routledge, 1991), 38–59.
 14. G. Lilienthal, “Die jüdischen ‘Rassenmerkmale’: Zur Geschichte der Anthropologie der Juden,” *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 28 2/3 (1993): 173–98.
 15. For the best overview, cf. M. Fishberg, *Die Rassenmerkmale der Juden* (Munich: E. Reinhardt, 1913).
 16. R. Virchow, “Gesamtbericht über die von der deutschen anthropologischen Gesellschaft veranlassten Erhebungen über die Farbe der Haut, der Haare und der Augen der Schulkinder” in *Deutschland, Archiv f. Anthropologie* 16 (1886): 275–466.
 17. Krüger, “The German Way of Worker Sport,” 19.
 18. Krüger, “Wenn die Olympiade vorbei, schlagen wir die Juden zu Brei’: Das Verhältnis der Juden zu den Olympischen Spielen von 1936,” in *Menora, Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte* 5, (1994): 331–348.
 19. A. Krüger, “A Horse Breeder’s Perspective? Scientific Racism in Germany, 1870–1933,” in D. Schirmer and N. Finzsch (eds.), *Identity and Intolerance: Nationalism, Racism, and Xenophobia in Germany and the United States* (Cambridge: University Press, 1998), 371–96.
 20. P. Y. Mayer, “Equality Equality: Jews and Sport in Germany,” in *Year Book XXV: Leo Baeck Institute* (London: 1980), 221–41.
 21. Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, 165.
 22. A. Krüger and F. v. Lojewski, “Ausgewählte Aspekte des Wehrsports in Niedersachsen in der Weimarer Zeit,” in H. Langenfeld and S. Nielsen (eds.), *Beiträge zur Sportgeschichte Niedersachsens: Teil 2—Weimarer Republik* (Göttingen: Mecke, 1998): 124–48.
 23. Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten*, 166.
 24. R. Atlasz (ed.), *Bar Kochba: Makkabi—Deutschland, 1898—1938* (Tel Aviv: Atid, 1977), 116.
 25. Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); A. Engelbrecht, *Avery Brundage: “The All-American Boy”; Die amerikanische Antwort auf die olympische Frage?* (Göttingen: Cuvillier, 1997).
 26. A. Brundage, “For Honor of Country and the Glory of God,” in *American Olympic News* August 1934; see *New York Times*, August 11, 1934, 10:6.
 27. Atlasz, *Bar Kochba Makkabi*, 141.
 28. The only times when there were direct qualifications was for the Olympic Games of 1956, 1960, and 1964 when Brundage solved the German quarrel as to who should qualify for the united German team by this American way; see A. Krüger, *Sport und Politik: Vom Turnvater Jahn zum Staatsamateuer* (Hannover: Fackelträger-Verlag, 1975), 115ff.
 29. A. Krüger, “‘Fair Play for American Athletes’: A study in Anti-Semitism,” in *Canadian Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education* 9 (1978), 1, 42–57.
 30. His Swedish brand of anti-Semitism was expressed by him in a letter to Brundage (December 4, 1935): “As regards the persecution of Jews in Germany I am not at all in favor of said action, but I fully understand that an alteration had to take place. As it was in Germany, a great part of the German nation was led by the Jews and not by the Germans themselves. Even in the USA the day may come when you will have to stop the activities of the Jews. They are intelligent and unscrupulous. Many of my friends are Jews, so you must not think that I am against them, but they must be kept within certain limits.” (Avery Brundage Collection, University of Illinois, Box 42, Edström.)

31. H. Bernett, "The Role of Jewish Sportsmen During the Olympic Games in 1936," in *Proceedings of the International Seminar*, ed. Uriel Simri (Netanya, Israel: Wingate Institute, 1973), 102.
32. Two different minutes exist of that meeting, one by the interpreter of the German Foreign Office and the other by Hitler's private aide: Dolmetscher Schmidt, Political Archives of the Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn, Ref. Deutschland, Olympiade 1936, vol. 1; the other by Staatssekretär Meissner, Bundesarchives Koblenz, Reichskanzlei R 43, Akten betr. Olympiade 1936, II/729.
33. A. Krüger "Dann veranstalten wir eben rein deutsche Olympische Spiele': Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 als deutsches Nationalfest," in H. Breuer and R. Naul, eds., *Schwimmsport und Sportgeschichte: Zwischen Politik und Wissenschaft* (St. Augustin: Academia 1994), 127-49.
34. Aug. 30, 1935 (handwritten), IOC Archives, Jeux Olympiques 1936, Question juive.
35. Atlasz, *Bar Kochba. Makkabi*, 142.
36. National Archives, Washington, D.C., RG 59 Department of State, Olympic Games 122, Report from the Berlin Embassy, Aug. 19, 1936. She gave her best performance as 1.64 m (when the world record was 1.65). This performance could, however, not be verified and might have been done in practice; see Werthheimer, *Das jüdische Sportbuch*, 60; for the problem of women's sport in Nazi Germany, see M. Czech, *Frauen und Sport im national sozialistischen Deutschland* (Berlin: Tischler, 1994); when I interviewed her for NDR2-Radio (Hamburg) (aired Nov. 9, 1988) she confirmed this and pointed out that she had returned from Britain to compete for Germany as she had not received a British passport and could, therefore, not compete for Britain.
37. A. Krüger, *Dr. Theodor Lewald, Sportführer ins Dritte Reich* (Berlin: Bartels und Wernitz, 1975); for the details of the letter exchange, see appendix.
38. A. Krüger and R. Pfeiffer: "Theodor Lewald: Eine Karriere im Dienste des Vaterlands oder die vergebliche Suche nach der jüdischen Identität eines "Halbjuden," in *Menora, Jahrbuch für deutsch-jüdische Geschichte*, 6 (1995), 233-65
39. *Neues Tagesbuch*, Paris, May 2, 1936, 431. (This was a paper of the Germans in exile.)
40. For the full story, see H. Becker, *Antisemitismus in der Deutschen Turnerschaft* (St. Augustin: Richarz, 1980).
41. S. Gilman, "The Jewish Foot: A Foot-Note to the Jewish Body," in S. Gilman, *The Jew's Body*, 38-59.
42. 120 vs. 12, 963 clubs with 5,360 vs. 1,617, 849 members; see *Jahrbuch der Turnkunst* (Dresden: Limpert, 1932), 137 and 199.
43. H. G. John, "Die Affaire Geissow und der Deutsche Schwimm-Verband—Auf dem Wege ins Dritte Reich?" in G. Spitzer and D. Schmidt (eds.), *Sport zwischen Eigenständigkeit und Fremdbestimmung: Festschrift für Hajo Bernett* (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1986), 154—70.
44. See A. Krüger, *Dr. Theodor Lewald*, and A. Krüger and R. Pfeiffer, "Theodor Lewald: Eine Karriere im Dienste des Vaterlands."
45. P. Weindling, *Health, Race and German Politics between National Unification and Nazism 1870-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
46. B. F. Pauley, *From Prejudice to Persecution. A History of Austrian Anti-Semitism* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).
47. A. Krüger, "Wenn die Olympiade vorbei."
48. Personal communication with Hermann Schlöske (from the "Aryan" relay) and Yogi Mayer (from the Jewish side of the club), see F. Steinmetz, *75 Jahre Deutsche Leichtathletik-Meisterschaften 1898-1972* (Berlin: Bartels and Wernitz, 1972), 60.
49. Atlasz, *Bar Kochba. Makkabi*.

50. H. Bernett, *Der jüdische Sport im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland. 1933-1938* (Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1978), 63-68.
51. U. Dunker, *Reichsbund jüdischer Frontsoldaten. 1919—1938. Geschichte eines jüdischen Abwehrvereins* (Düsseldorf: 1977), 96-104.
52. U. Simri, "Hapoel: Israel's Worker Sport Organisation," in A. Krüger and J. Riordan (eds.), *The Story of Worker Sport* (Champaign, Ill.: Human Kinetics, 1996), 157-66.
53. A. Krüger, "The German Way in Worker Sport."
54. Atlasz, *Bar Kochba Makkabi*, 7.
55. Atlasz, *Bar Kochba Makkabi*.
56. A. Stein, "Der jüdische Student an der deutschen Hochschule," in *Jüdische Jugend* 1(1919): 1, 7-24.
57. R. Sauermann and R. Bremer, "Ehre, Beleidigung und Genugtuung," in Altherrenbund des ATB (ed.), *100 Jahre Akademischer Turnbund 1883-1983* (Melsungen: 1983), 175-80.
58. O. Marquardt, "Zur Messurenfrage," in *Burschenschaft, Blätter* 47 (1922/3): 4, 94-99.
59. W. Henze, *Das Fecht- und Duellwesen an der Universität Göttingen* (Diss., Göttingen, 1942).
60. K. McAleer, *Dueling: The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-Siècle Germany* (Princeton, N.J.: University of Princeton Press, 1994), 155.
61. For the discussion, see C. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 160ff.
62. F. Simmenauer, *Die Gold Medaille. Erinnerungen an die Bar Kochba-Makkabi Turn- und Sportbewegung* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1989), 32ff.
63. J. Fritsche, *Die Geschichte des Zweikampfs und seine Beurteilung im Wandel der Zeiten* (Diss., Würzburg, 1937).
64. B. Cohn, "Unser Satisfactionsbegriff," in *Jüdische Jugend* 1 (1919): 1, 25-32.
65. "Programm des K.J.V.," in *Jüdische Jugend* 1 (1919): 2,3.
66. A. Krüger, "Neo-Olympismus zwischen Nationalismus und Internationalismus," in H. Ueberhorst (ed.), *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, vol. 3/1 (Berlin: Bartels and Wernitz, 1980), 522-68.
67. H. Bernett, "Alfred Flatow—vom Olympiasieger zum Reichsfeind," in *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 1 (1987): 2, 94-102.
68. G. Steins, "Gustav Felix Flatow. Ein vergessener Olympiasieger," in *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 1 (1987): 2, 1903-1912, his and Alfred's fathers were brothers.
69. Atlasz, *Bar Kochba Makkabi*, 11.
70. Atlasz, *Bar Kochba Makkabi*, 18.
71. Dr. Albu, "Turnen und Sport," in *Jüdische Turnzeitung* 10 (1909): 199-201.
72. N. Kaminski, "Wie stellt sich unser Verband zum Sport?" In *Jüdische Turnzeitung* 11 (1910): 3-4, 45-48.
73. J. Zimmer (ed.), *Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit: Die Naturfreunde. Zur Geschichte eines alternativen Verbandes in der Arbeiterturnbewegung* (Cologne: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1984).
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