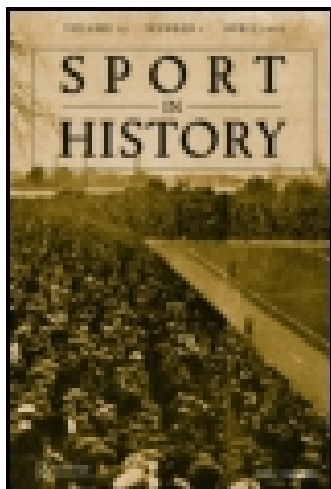


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Lilli Henoch and Martha Jacob – Two Jewish Athletes in Germany Before and After 1933

Berno Bahro

By examining the life and times of Lilli Henoch and Martha Jacob, multiple aspects of German sports history in the period before and after 1933 are brought to light. This paper begins with an outline of the early development in women's track and field disciplines in Germany from the 1920s. It then examines the history of the German Jewish sports movement in, specifically, 1933, a watershed year with the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor of the Reich. Soon thereafter, many sports associations and clubs started to exclude their Jewish members who, by necessity, either found new homes in the Jewish sports associations or emigrated, while many others became victims of the Holocaust. Lastly, an evaluation of the politics-of-memory of post-war German sports associations from 1945 is presented by way of example of the treatment by their sports clubs of Lilli Henoch and Martha Jacob.

Both of them were German champions in women's track and field, one even established five world records. But despite these outstanding achievements they were ruthlessly forced to quit the membership in their sports clubs in 1933. Lilli Henoch and Martha Jacob represent the fate of many Jewish athletes in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s. First the author gives an outline of the early development in women's track and field in Germany since the 1920s. Then the article examines the history of the German Jewish sports movement with special attention given to the dramatic changes in early 1933 when, due to the new Nazi regime, many

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sports associations and clubs started to exclude their Jewish members. Lastly an evaluation of the politics of memory of post-war German sports associations from 1945 onwards is presented by taking a close look at the various forms of appreciation Lilli Henoch and Martha Jacob have (or have not) received during the last decades.

The birth of women's track and field in Germany¹

By the sunset of the nineteenth century girls and women interested in track and field faced many prescribed disciplinary as well as social limitations that did not apply to male athletes. Ambition and joy in physical exercise were regulated not only by bourgeois conventions but by educational norms. In addition to meeting aesthetic criteria, in exercise females had to meet norms of grace, charm and the 'greatest beauty in movement'.² Karl Ritter von Halt, a German decathlete and later leader of the *Reichsfachamt Leichtathletik* after 1933,³ argued in his 1922 textbook that 'Competing disfigures the female face' and 'is not in the female nature'. This led von Halt to conclude that 'women's competitions ought to be abolished'.⁴ Even physicians postulated concerns that today are regarded as absurd. They warned of the dangers of 'masculinization' and exposure to serious injuries, including the potential for dislocation of female reproductive organs.⁵ As a result, women's competitions were hampered for a long time by 'protective provisions'. For example, in any one meet, women were only allowed to take part in two disciplines in addition to relays. As to the number of competitions a woman was allowed to take part in per year, the decision was determined by the male executives of the sports associations.

In the nineteenth century physical activity for girls and women operated within narrow confines. The introduction of classes in physical education for girls in 1870 by the Reich – at the beginning only exercise – had laid the first foundations for women's track and field disciplines, at that time running, jumping and throwing. At first outside the classroom, women were permitted to participate in public competitions, such as the rustic Women's Exercising Tournament in Berlin 1910 that included a 'triathlon' – 50m sprint, high jump using a springboard and *Schlagballwerfen*, which was akin to shot-put but with a ball more like today's baseball or cricket ball. Even before officially being organized within associations and clubs, Fenner has noted that these 'rustic exercises' provided 'a solid foundation from which the competitive German women's track and field disciplines could develop' – something not present in most other European and non-European countries.⁶

Reflecting a common trend of the Weimar Republic,⁷ sports organizations took many forms. However, three principal movements emerged and what these shared in common were substantial memberships and an advocacy position in favour of competition for women. The three were: the bourgeois sports movement (*Deutsche Sportbehörde für Athletik* – DSBfA); the gymnastics movement (*Deutsche Turnerschaft* – DT); and the worker's sports movement (*Zentralkommission für Arbeitersport und Körperpflege*). It was an exception that women were members of more than one of these organizations. The commonly accepted 'hour of birth' of German women's track and field athletics was 1919 when the DSBfA called for the founding of a women's division.⁸ Shortly thereafter the first National Women's Track and Field Championships were convened in Dresden in August 1920. Events included the 100m sprint, long jump, shot-put and 4x100m relay. In 1921 the DT held its championships offering women the same events as in the DSBfA meet. Though the worker's sports movement encouraged the desire of women to exercise, unlike the DSBfA and DT, it did not support a competitive aspect.⁹ Despite restrictions, in 1925 a German 4x100m relay team set a new women's world record at the worker's Olympics in Frankfurt/Main. Whereas the worker's sports movement chose not to associate with either the DT or the DSBfA, these two engaged in cooperative ventures. However that relationship was volatile in the years 1924 to 1927 and ultimately ended in a 'clean divorce', with the women of the DT only again joining up with DSBfA when females were first allowed to participate in track and field events at the 1928 Olympics. This led in 1931 to the DSBfA and the DT holding their first joint championship in Magdeburg. This competitive atmosphere fuelled motivation and a number of records were set.¹⁰ While men competed in all track and field disciplines as we know them today, the women's programme evolved over time. In Germany discus, javelin and high jump were added in the third women's championships held in Duisburg in 1922; in 1925 the all-rounder competition was added and in 1926 *Schlagballwerfen* and 1000m, which was replaced in 1927 by the 800m race.

During the Weimar era women started making solid inroads in the same disciplines as men. This was true for Lilli Henoch as it was for Martha Jacob. Both women were clearly 'born' athletes, attracted by and oriented to physical endeavours from an early age.

Lilli Henoch – her career in sport up to 1933

Lilli Henoch was born on 26 October 1899, the second daughter of Jewish merchant Leo Henoch and his wife Rose in Königsberg (now

Kaliningrad).¹¹ She grew up in an upper-class environment. Sports soon became her passion. Her sister recounted in an interview in 1988 that

Sports from an early age were her purpose in life. When we went to our summer house in Cranz, as it was usual during these days, she always found a spot where she could dig a pit or throw heavy stones. In Königsberg she belonged to not one but two sports clubs because one was not enough for her.¹²

Henoch's father died in 1912 when Lilli was only thirteen. At the end of the First World War the family moved to Berlin where Lilli's mother married the director of an insurance company, Mendel Mendelsohn, who moved the family to the affluent neighbourhood of Bayrisches Viertel. Lilli joined the renowned Berliner Sport-Club (BSC). During the war, the BSC had only partially kept up its activities and so experienced a welcome renaissance at war's end. The women's division, which had shown promise before the war, was officially revived. Having had ten founding members on 23 March 1919, in just over a year the membership had grown to 120 members.¹³

The oldest known photograph of Lilli Henoch shows her as captain of the women's handball team (1920). However, she soon discovered a passion for track and field disciplines. In 1922 she won her first national title in shot-put and dominated this discipline up to 1925, winning four consecutive German championships. By 1922 she was throwing the discus 24.90m, an unofficial world record.¹⁴ No woman had ever thrown a discus further, but because her association, the DSBfA, was not then a member of the Fédération Sportive Feminine Internationale (FSFI) the record could not be officially recognized.

In the BSC's annual report of 1922, Lilli was celebrated as the club's 'heroine' and its best single competitor. At the German championships in Frankfurt/Main she held her number one spot in shot-put and added discus to her list of wins with another sensational, unofficial world record throw of 26.62m. Highlight after highlight followed: in 1924 Lilli Henoch became four-times champion in the German women's championships in Stettin. In 1925 she again stunned her rivals with a 10.91m shot-put: 'This meant a personal record and world record at the same time in throwing a 5kg shot.'¹⁵ At a national sports meet in Leipzig she bettered her distance to 11.57m, once more setting an unofficial world record. Up to 1928, in a remarkable run of six years Henoch was in a class of her own until challenged by the arrival on the scene of Grete Heublein, the next world record holder.

Moreover, together with her BSC team mates Lilli won three German 4 × 100m relay championships. On 11 July 1926, at the German

Kampfspiele in Cologne, the BSC relay team of Henoch-Köhler-Pötting-Voß ran the race in 50.4 seconds. By this time Germany had become a member of the FSFI, so this outcome became an official world record. In addition, Lilli Henoch was a Brandenburg and Berlin champion many times over, a winner of many national and international sports meets, a successful handball player, member of the BSC hockey team and participant in the famous Potsdam-Berlin Grand Relay.

Thus there can be no doubt Lilli Henoch was the quintessential multi-talented, tested and highly successful sports figure. Even beyond her competitive prime, she continued to excel according to reports in her club's magazine.¹⁶ Significantly, she was also involved administratively in her club: as secretary of the women's division (1926), as leader of the handball division (1928) and manager of women's handball (1931). Ironically, on 18 January 1933, at the dawn of the National Socialist government, Lilli Henoch was elected president of the BSC's women's track and field division.

Martha Jacob – her career in sport up to 1933

Martha Jacob was born on 7 February 1911 in Berlin; both of her parents died that same year. Her mother Minna Jacob (nee Heimann) died five days after Martha's birth, her father Adolph three months later of influenza. Her mother's older sister, Paulina Heimann, who was not married, took the infant Martha into her care and moved in with her oldest brother Louis Heimann and his wife Hedwig. Louis Heimann, already 60, and Hedwig had had a long but childless marriage. However odd Martha's parental situation may have seemed to others, Martha grew up in what to her was a loving, even doting, home with a stable 'mother' and 'father' who ensured she enjoyed a bourgeois life. As early as six years of age, Martha joined the Jewish sports club Bar Kochba Berlin. Here she trained in gymnastics and eurhythmics, winning junior club events and cross-country adult events as a teenager. Yet this was not enough for the aspiring young athlete: what Bar Kochba lacked were first-class coaches. So without resigning her membership of Bar Kochba, Martha joined the BSC in 1924. It is certain that she played on the lead BSC hockey and handball teams at the same time as Lilli Henoch but, unfortunately, in the absence of concrete evidence, we can only speculate about their relationship. What is clear is that both women shared a passion for athletics, and especially field disciplines. It is hard to imagine a world record holder and a fast-rising young star not having some sort of relationship as Martha enjoyed accelerating success.

In the autumn of 1928 at the age of seventeen Martha moved to the Sport-Club Charlottenburg (SCC).¹⁷ The SCC had established a girls' and women's division in the same way that the BSC had after the First World War, focusing on handball, hockey and track and field disciplines. At the SCC Martha trained under Arthur Holz, a renowned coach, former German decathlon champion and active trainer/lecturer at the German Academy of Physical Exercises (*Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen*) where Martha began her studies in 1928. She asserted: 'I am fully devoted to sports. Sports are going to be my profession',¹⁸ and in June 1932 she graduated as a sports teacher.¹⁹

As a member of the academy she travelled to the Olympic Games in Amsterdam in 1928, not as a competing athlete but as a participant in a gymnastics presentation. The first major highlight in her sports career was her participation in the German track and field championships in Frankfurt/Main on 21 July 1929. Just prior to the nationals, eighteen-year old Martha had been the odds-on favourite in the shot-put in the Brandenburg championships. She had already won the Berlin championships in shot-put once. But it was not her day and she came a disappointing third in her favourite discipline. However, to everyone's surprise Martha won the javelin competition instead. It was with this solid victory and decent distance result that she pinned her hopes on being on the victory stand at the forthcoming Frankfurt/Main championships. To that end, the day after the Brandenburg championships she switched the focus of her training and concentrated on the javelin.²⁰

Martha arrived at the German track and field championships in Frankfurt/Main as an underdog and left as a champion. With a throw of 38.24m she won a closely contested event against the German world record holder Augustine Hargus, but unfortunately missing a world record by a mere 15 centimetres.²¹ With the title in hand, Martha secured her place in the German national team against Great Britain in Düsseldorf on 8/9 August 1929. Though Hargus got her revenge in Düsseldorf by winning the javelin event, with Martha taking second place, this double victory was nonetheless a decisive factor for the German team winning this meeting.²² At the end of 1929 Martha ranked fifth among the world's best athletes in javelin with 38.24m in the unofficial annual list by *Der Leichtathlet*.²³ In Germany she was ranked second, behind Tilly Fleischer by only one centimetre.²⁴

Suitably impressed by Martha's fluid technique and competitive demeanour during the international meet in Dusseldorf, the British Women's Athletic Federation extended an invitation to her to train the

British athletics team for the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles during the spring and summer of 1931. Pleasantly surprised, she accepted the invitation without hesitation to become the first international coach of the British Women's Athletic Federation.²⁵ Her versatility in track and field disciplines and, especially, the improved performance of the British team, led to a second invitation to train the British team in the spring of 1932. After she returned from London, Martha focused on her studies and her own training. Besides competing for the SCC, she also participated in the competitions of her Jewish club Bar Kochba. In September 1932 she won the discus and javelin throw in the track and field championships of the German circle of the events at the Germany-based Makkabi-World Association Championships in Leipzig.²⁶

The biographies of Lilli Henoch and Martha Jacob show that they were fully integrated in their sports clubs. A double membership like Martha's in the SCC and Bar Kochba was not uncommon and stands as a statement of Jewish self-assertion that many German Jews beyond sporting circles did not actively express during these years. As Gruner notes, 'In 1927 a third of all German Jews married non-Jewish partners. Their children were mostly raised in a Christian or secular manner.'²⁷ Martha was an acculturated Berliner with a strong sense of self, proud of her Jewish heritage and a proud German-Jewish citizen. To Martha Bar Kochba was a supportive sports-oriented social network. That it had a Zionist bent was of no interest at all to her.²⁸

The German Jewish sports movement: Makkabi, *Schild* and Vintus

The founding of the Jewish gymnastics club Bar Kochba Berlin in 1898 marked the beginning of the Jewish sports movement in Germany. Bar Kochba Berlin's aim was to realize Max Nordau's call for a 'muscular-Jewishness', spoken out at the second Zionist Congress in Basel in August 1898. Nordau demanded emancipation and the recall of a proud past.²⁹ Twenty four years later, during proceedings of the twelfth congress in Karlsbad in August 1921, Makkabi Germany was founded as an umbrella association of Jewish gymnastics and sports clubs.³⁰ Its president, Leweler Makkabi, was a Zionist committed to the idea of a Jewish homeland or 'Eretz Israel' (Palestine) and an avid promoter of national Jewish solidarity. Within the diaspora, one such avenue for promoting this was the creation of a Jewish Olympic Games. Using the German *Kampfspiele* as a model, the first Maccabiah Games were held in Tel Aviv in 1932 and a second in 1935. Under Weimar, by 1925 Makkabi Germany comprised twenty-five clubs with 8,000 members. Along with the Christian clubs

Jugendkraft ('Power of the Youth', Catholic) and *Eichenkreuz* ('Oak Cross', Protestant), Makkabi was equally integrated in the Weimar sports system.

Makkabi was, however, the catalyst for the founding of rival organizations.³¹ In 1923, leaders of the Reich Association of Jewish Front Soldiers (RjF) agitated for an association of their own. Initially sports groups founded from 1924 were described as gymnastics and sports club *Schild* ('buckler'). After 1933, they were organized in a federation that aimed to provide a 'German-patriotic' home for athletes banned from their former sports clubs as a result of the Reich's anti-Jewish propaganda. In contrast in southern and western Germany in particular, about 20 *Vintus*-clubs existed. It is not known how many members each had. What is known is that these clubs saw themselves as neutral alternatives to the Zionist Makkabi and the German-patriotic RjF. The 1920s saw the blossoming of sport in Germany, and leading athletes in particular were cast into the limelight by an enthusiastic Jewish media that headlined on its sports pages the exploits and achievements of athletes. Among regular features were the jiu-jitsu squad of the Jewish Boxing Club Berlin (RjF) who won the German championships and *Kampfspiele* eleven times between 1926 and 1932, and track and field athletes of the moderate Zionist Bar Kochba Berlin such as Ernst Simon, Zepp Fuss, Kurt Lewin and Robbie Atlasz as well as Davis Cup tennis star Daniel Prenn among many others.

Why the media interest? On the one hand, as the exclusion of Jewish athletes from sports clubs indicates, anti-Semitism was alive and well in the Weimar Republic,³² even if it was widely condemned. On the other hand, athletic prowess not only put Jewish athletes on a level playing-field with their Gentile rivals, it helped to characterize them as equal, even valuable, members of society. To their clubs, they were icons. Indeed, such athleticism was used to counter the broadly accepted notion and stereotype of the 'physically inferior Jew' and underpinned the rationale for the earlier foundation of the Zionist-Jewish Gymnasts in 1903.

Jews and non-Jews alike were enthusiastic participants in sports, although notably the 10,000 members of Makkabi and *Schild* had minimal influence over the *Deutscher Reichsaussschuss für Leibesübungen* ('German Committee of the Reich for Exercising', DRA) with its 6.2 million members.

The exclusion of Jewish athletes in 1933

With the appointment of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor of the Reich on January 30, 1933, the Weimar Republic ceased to exist.³³ The event was celebrated by the National Socialists as a 'seizure of power', although the

appointment of Hitler was the attempt to integrate him, so it was a 'transfer of power'.³⁴ Indeed, parliamentary democracy under the Weimar presidential cabinets had already been reduced to little more than hollow shells that Hitler crushed at his earliest opportunity. Von Papen's game plan to involve the National Socialists along with Kurt von Schleicher's attempts to contain Hitler in a national-conservative cabinet in order to 'tame' him, did not succeed. The National Socialists with their political demands and firm anti-Communist stance had become acceptable to a large number of citizens. Yet the National Socialists' attempt to win an absolute majority in the election of 5 March 1933 failed despite extensive propaganda and a show of terror in the streets: the NSDAP received 43.9 per cent of the public vote. Only violent measures such as intimidation, exclusion and the murder of members of the Reichstag made the *Ermächtigungsgesetz* ('enabling law') possible that allowed the National Socialists to gain power on 23 March 1933.

The impact of these political events on civil society was enormous. The first boycott of Jewish shops organized by the *Sturmabteilung* ('storm division', SA) soon followed. Sports clubs too were left insecure and faced uncertain futures. If the National Socialists intended to formulate a plan for the sports sector, it had not yet done so in those first few weeks of gaining power. The DRA fought for recognition but failed because of its own inconsistencies and was dissolved on 11 May 1933.³⁵ Individual leaders of associations tried negotiating lifelines with the National Socialists. Of these, most signalled their willingness to enthusiastically follow the new regime. It therefore is no surprise that as early as the beginning of April 1933 the first associations to initiate implementation of the Aryan Paragraphs³⁶ began excluding their Jewish members in anticipatory compliance. The DT excluded its Jewish members along with Marxists during its general assembly on 8/9 April 1933 betraying in one foul swoop its long liberal tradition.³⁷ Moreover it appeared willing to use any means to elbow its way into the front row of the gymnastics and sports movement.

The politics of exclusion within sport were continually tightened until May 1933. The last phase excluded members who only had one Jewish grandparent. There were no longer exemptions for First World War soldiers and their families. These clauses were harsher than the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (1933) and even the Nuremberg Laws (1935) and for this reason were amended in 1935. Many sports clubs in what is now Berlin-Brandenburg belonged to the *Verband Brandenburgischer Athletikvereine* (VBAV/Association of Brandenburg Athletics Clubs), itself a member association of the DSBfA. In April 1933

the VBAV's managing director Wiesener talked of 'affairs not clarified in sports' in a circular to its member clubs as follows:

with the urgent demand to follow most carefully in the interest of the association:

- The member clubs are recommended to prompt their Jewish officers to step down.
- The member clubs are asked in their own interest to no longer let their Jewish members compete in track and field competitions, effective immediately.
- The member clubs are to advise their Jewish members to leave the clubs.³⁸

The VBAV did not, therefore, officially implement an Aryan paragraph in its constitution, but instead left its member clubs to take action based on what it believed were clear and unambiguous recommendations. These opportunistic measures were designed to remove any doubt about the political orientation of the VBAV. Reinforcing the VBAV's position, its magazine also published a detailed description of these measures.³⁹

The Sport-Club Charlottenburg (SCC) in 1933

On the surface, the SCC executive board did not seem overtly sympathetic to the National Socialists: The SCC had many Jewish members and its president Albert Südekum was a social democrat and a member of an association against anti-Semitism. Südekum was president from 7 March 1927 to April 1933. According to an April 1933 issue of *Der Leichtathlet*, 'After the German revolution new officials were elected in many clubs, like the Berliner Sport-Club and in the Hamburger Polizeisport-Vereinigung. In the Sport-Club Charlottenburg president Südekum resigned and left the club.'⁴⁰

The magazine implies Südekum's resignation was linked to the 'German revolution' and his departure was not voluntary. The ardent National Socialist Oskar Reuter, at the time the managing director, succeeded Südekum. It was Reuter who called for an extraordinary general meeting on 13 April 1933. And it was extraordinary enough to attract press coverage: '[T]he SCC called for a general meeting on Thursday to decide on the introduction of the Aryan Paragraphs.'⁴¹ Invitations to the meeting went out only days after the VBAV asked its member clubs to report on the measures each had taken to achieve its 'recommendations'. By 30 April Reuter was, seemingly, eager for action.⁴²

At the meeting Reuter stated that ‘The *National Uprising* also demands changes in our constitution.’⁴³ Accordingly paragraph two of the SCC constitution, which outlined the purpose of the association, got a makeover befitting the new zeitgeist. The amendment passed unanimously: ‘It is the purpose of the club to nurture sports and all exercise on a national basis, with special regard to the training of the youth in a patriotic manner.’

Paragraph 3a, which defined membership criteria was amended to read ‘only those persons could become regular members who are of Aryan descent and are eighteen years of age’. This amendment passed by a majority of the votes; but there were abstentions. A qualifier was added to accommodate the nay sayers: ‘§3e: The managing board can grant exemptions as regards §3a.’⁴⁴

At first glance, these modifications seemed to only apply to new members. But to Martha Jacob and other Jewish members the message was loud and clear. Further changes in the SCC constitution transferred even more power to its executive members and clearly reflected their preferences to implement the principles cited by the National Socialists. At this meeting agreement was also reached on the introduction of a *Wehrsport* division to pursue paramilitary exercises.

This is how *Der Leichtathlet* commented on the outcome: ‘The *Wehrsportgruppe* in the SCC was established as a subdivision of the track and field division on 1 March 1933. After the coaches and members were familiarized with the *Wehrsport*, the SCC now actively engages in *Wehrsport*.’⁴⁵ The SCC was thus sanctioning a practice that had already been in place for some time. So, in sum, the SCC clearly now had their person-of-choice as club president; it had implemented key aspects of the Aryan Paragraphs, and had integrated the *Wehrsportgruppe* as a formal division in the club. Once again *Der Leichtathlet* thought it newsworthy enough to inform its readership of the SCC’s actions: ‘The SCC which recently implemented the Aryan Paragraphs will host an international sports meeting on 18 June.’⁴⁶ But in October, before the changes of the constitution came into formal effect, the SCC cancelled it.⁴⁷

Nonetheless, it is difficult to shed definitive light on what happened to Jews who were members in the SCC at the dawn of Nazism. The statements of two contemporary witnesses serve to illustrate the point. According to her daughters, who are unequivocal on this issue, Martha Jacob insisted ‘I was evicted from the SCC in March 1933 because I was a Jew.’⁴⁸ Heinz Kluth, recently deceased honorary president of the SCC, who was a junior member of the SCC in 1933, had a different viewpoint. In a phone interview in 2004 he told the author the SCC faced a period of

financial hardship because it lost many of its well-heeled Jewish members who left Germany in 1933 without officially leaving the club. Despite the lack of hard evidence and Kluth's interpretation of events, it is, however, safe to assume that Martha Jacob left neither Germany nor her club in April 1933 voluntarily.

The Berliner Sport-Club (BSC) in 1933

For many in 1933 National Socialism represented 'opportunity'. Like the SCC, the BSC elected a new president, Dr Anton Nüchel, MD, an outspoken supporter of National Socialism, to take the helm. Dr Nüchel explained at a general meeting on 6 April 1933: 'I have been elected first and foremost in my capacity as a National Socialist to the office of the president, to ensure the introduction of the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* ['people's community'] as determined by the Reich and states.'⁴⁹

At a general meeting on 20 April 1933, the BSC's constitution was amended. At first glance the changes look minor: No formal Aryan Paragraphs were implemented. The admission policy appeared to have been only moderately revised. Prospective members now had to apply in writing and their applications seconded by two members of whom one had to have full voting rights. Final approval by the management board followed a one-week period during which the applicant's personal information was available for voluntary review by club officers. Applications could be denied without reason. However the minutes of a 6 April board meeting highlight the real agenda behind this procedure: 'It was decided to admit henceforth only members who recognize the Aryan Principles, can certify that they are not of Jewish descent, have no Jewish relatives and have no Jewish parents or grandparents.'⁵⁰

Although the BSC introduced an official version of the Aryan Paragraphs, at this early stage it did so informally rather than by legal fiat. That came later. The revisions to the admission policy camouflaged the real intent. Indications suggest Dr Konrad Lindhorst, a lawyer with a PhD and who would later become club president, helped finesse a legal 'solution to the problem'. Consequently the BSC fell into line ahead of the DSBfA's recommended end of April 1933 deadline. Not surprisingly all Jewish officials were asked to step down: 'Bowling to the wishes of many members, the club believes it must align with the new political circumstances. Members of the board who are not of German descent are advised to leave their offices.'⁵¹

Walter Friedländer and Fritz Growald relinquished their managing board posts immediately. Prominent Jewish members in the various

divisions vacated their offices including 'Ernst Aufrecht who left women's hockey, Kurt Meyerhof left women's handball, Lily [*sic*] Henoch left women's athletics, James Askanas quit men's athletics, Georg Simonette men's handball'.⁵²

Although Nüchel acted as if the 'Principles of Leadership' had been officially adopted with his election in April 1933, the club's constitution was only amended in January 1934. From the start of his tenure Nüchel deprived divisions of their right to choose their own boards and axed members from the membership lists without authorization. Lilli Henoch was but one, albeit famous, member removed in this fashion; 120 others left or were 'deleted' by August 1933.⁵³

Thus, as the examples of the Sport-Club Charlottenburg and the Berliner Sport-Club show, the Aryanization of public life had also penetrated sports. Rarely opposing, mostly clubs were readily brought into line by a wave of newly-appointed club leaders. Simultaneously the names of medal-winning Jewish athletes vanished from their clubs' histories within weeks or months of the National Socialists seizing power.

Where were Jewish athletes to go? Excluded from their home clubs, if they chose to stay in Germany they turned to Makkabi and *Schild*. Others merely stopped participating in athletic activity. By the end of 1933, *Schild* had 7,000 members; in 1934, 17,000; in 1935, 20,000; and, in 1936, 21,000 members. The number of sports clubs in the RjF jumped from ninety in 1933 to 216 in 1936. Among the largest clubs in 1933 was the *Jüdische Sportgemeinschaft* ('Jewish Sports Society') in Berlin with 1,800 members; *Schild* in Frankfurt with 1,400 and *Sportgruppe Breslau* with 1,000 members.⁵⁴ Basically, Jewish sport became ghettoized.

Lilli Henoch was thirty-four in 1933. Her peak competitive years were behind her. Martha Jacob was twenty-two. Her best years were still ahead. In the lives of Lilli and Martha lie two quite different, if emblematic, stories of the fate of German Jews under National Socialism.

Lilli Henoch – her life after 1933

Given her age in 1933, Lilli could have ended her competitive career on a high note. Instead she opted for the Jewish Gymnastics and Sports Club 1905 (JTSC) joining several of her BSC teammates. JTSC's membership ballooned to 1,500. Then when the club aligned with *Schild*. Lilli Henoch maintained her competencies in track and field but concentrated on handball. With herself in centre position, Lilli led the team to become one of the best among German-Jewish teams. Despite invitations from the

Netherlands and the USA to work as a coach, especially in the face of life in Germany becoming ever more oppressive for Jews, she chose not to emigrate. Instead Lilli opted to stay put with her mother and with her pupils. From 1933, she taught sports in the Rykestraße Jewish school, Berlin, in the district of Prenzlauer Berg. Her occupation is mentioned in the statistic survey of the census on 17 May 1939.⁵⁵ A demanding taskmaster, Lilli is known to have been popular among both colleagues and students. A former colleague remembers:

L.H. was a sports teacher for all classes and had a strong influence on the sports in our school. I shall never forget with how much eagerness and devotion she prepared the children for the sports competition that took place in the Grundewald stadium in 1937. She was popular with everyone. The children honoured their sports teacher and were very proud to train with her. They were keen getting her collector's cards that were included in packs of cigarettes as were cards of other famous Berlin citizens.⁵⁶

On *Kristallnacht*, 9 November 1938, the school was badly damaged by a mob. Despite worsening conditions some classes were still held until the school closed in 1942. Whether sport was among these classes is doubtful. Public stadiums and sports venues were no longer open to Jews. The Grunewald stadium that had belonged to the Jewish community had been confiscated.⁵⁷

Not much is known about Lilli Henoch's life after 1938. With the abrupt ending of her sports life much of her public life vanished too. What is known is that she still lived with her mother in the apartment in the Berliner Viertel. In 1939 four Jews came to live with them, exacerbating a steadily deteriorating situation. Then in May 1941 the Henoch household was forced to move into a designated 'Jew apartment'. Lilli signed a 'declaration of assets' on 26 August 1942.⁵⁸ This is her last known document and a certain sign of her imminent deportation. Lilli Henoch was deported on 5 September 1942 and was sent East to Riga, Latvia with the 19th big transport. At the last moment, the transport was diverted. It stopped in a forest eight kilometres short of its intended destination, where the deported were shot. The 'book of memory' lists the names of victims of the National Socialist terror.⁵⁹ Among the names are Mrs Rose Henoch Mendelsohn and her daughter Lilli Henoch.

Martha Jacob – her life after 1933

Martha's mother advised her to go to London in April 1933. After all, she spoke the language, had already worked as coach to the British national team and had established contacts. Despite being a popular athlete and coach, certified sports teacher and qualified masseuse, she found it difficult to secure a steady job that paid a living wage. Conditions had changed and she arrived as a refugee. Even so, Martha continued participating in track and field competitions. In May 1933 she set new UK national records in discus and shot-put.⁶⁰ In September 1933, the only woman in a 23-man British track and field team, she competed in the European Makkabi-Championships in Prague, winning gold medals in javelin and discus.⁶¹ But clearly these wins in amateur competitions did not improve her financial situation.

In need of economic stability, in 1934 Martha moved to Paris, France. Paris offered promise; negotiations were under way for Martha to train French female athletes in preparation for the 1936 Berlin Olympics. A work permit was included. That Martha was German was a given; that she was a Jewess apparently was not. And with that the deal was abruptly terminated.⁶²

Remaining in Paris, Martha somehow continued her training regimen and scored well enough to lead Germany's field team at the Second Maccabiah in Tel Aviv, Palestine, 2–7 April 1935. This was by far the largest Jewish sports event of its kind to date, attracting 7,000 athletes from 27 nations. Martha came in second in shot-put, javelin and discus behind US champion and world record holder Lillian Copland, who won gold in each of the three events.⁶³ On her return from Palestine to Paris, Martha moved again – this time to the Netherlands where it was possible to work without an official work permit. Despite the growing restrictions on Jews in Germany, Martha returned briefly to Berlin to visit family and participate in Jewish sports competitions. In July 1935, she represented Bar Kockba Berlin in a meet at the Grunewald Stadium, Berlin. Martha did not know then that this would be her last competition in Germany and the last visit to her home country for a number of years.

It was during this visit Martha was ordered to appear at Gestapo headquarters, ostensibly to review a passport issue. Unperturbed initially, she soon discovered the real reason for the interrogation: the Gestapo was eager to learn what Martha had overheard at fund-raising and social functions about the opinions of the British sports leadership such as Lord

Henry Melchett, the influential president of the Makkabi-World Association, his associates and others on subjects ranging from a boycott of the 1936 Olympic Games to views on Hitler and the like.⁶⁴

The interrogation lasted nine hours. Once home, the decision was made: Martha had to leave Nazi Germany immediately. Her mother Paulina, a fashion designer, sewed some cash into the lining of her coat and that night her father drove her to a train station a safe distance from Berlin. From there she took a train via Belgium back to the Netherlands, but realized her days in Europe were numbered. America intrigued her, but its doors were shut. Africa was an unknown quantity and South Africa certainly was not within her radar.⁶⁵ Until, that is, the possibility of permanent residence presented itself. There was only one hitch: a princely sum of £100 sterling per person for a visa.

By sheer coincidence Martha's cousin Arnim Heimann was visiting South Africa as a guest of a Johannesburg rowing club. Most of its members were Afrikaners whose sympathies rested with Germany. Yet, ironically, it was these Afrikaners, in a show of friendship to Arnim, who contributed the required £100, thereby ending Martha's three-year odyssey in Europe and opening a new chapter for her in Johannesburg.

Ever energetic and innovative, she soon started giving early-morning gymnastics classes (similar to today's aerobics) to working women in the living room of her one-bedroom flat, followed by massage treatments wherever she could find clients. Up at dawn, by early afternoon she had already put in a nine-hour day which allowed her to spend a couple of hours doing what she loved most – athletics.⁶⁶ In 1937 she took part in the South African national track and field championships, representing her new home country and won the javelin event,⁶⁷ adding yet another national title to her collection.

In 1940 she moved from Johannesburg to Cape Town to marry Barney Shore, where her daughters Sandra (1942) and Hazel (1944) were born. Her beloved mother Paulina also emigrated to South Africa in 1939. Martha found peace surrounded by her husband and two daughters. With the two children and her mother there was no more time to train and compete.

Despite her new-found security, Martha yearned for Berlin, but it was the Berlin of her youth. When Martha returned to the 'country of the perpetrators' together with Barney in 1952, Berlin was not what it used to be: the apartment building in which she grew up no longer existed. Friends no longer lived in Berlin and memories of the family overwhelmed her. Louis, her uncle and surrogate father, had been taken to a camp by SA men on the night of 9/10 November 1938, never to return.

Moreover, German attitudes seemed to have changed little since her last visit to the 'Third Reich'.⁶⁸ Martha Jacob died of renal failure on 13 September 1976 at the age of 65 in Cape Town.

Politics of memory

The biographies of Lilli Henoch and Martha Jacob highlight, on the one hand, the integration of Jews in social life and sports in Germany, and on the other their exclusion and stigmatization after the National Socialist Party seized power. The German press no longer reported on Jewish athletes; they were often deleted from the lists of German records and slowly but surely faded from cultural memory.

It has taken decades for German sports organizations to come to terms with their National Socialist pasts. Where recognition exists, initiatives have been imposed from the outside. Often in the histories and chronicles compiled for club jubilees, the National Socialist years are mentioned only briefly, if at all. In the recent past a handful of soccer clubs such as Hamburg, Schalke and Hertha Berlin have dug deep and exposed their pasts but these are the exception to the rule. As Teichler so aptly remarks: 'This may be traced back to the general attitude of their officials. Sports officials organize the present, plan the future and – one might want to add with resignation – forget their past.'⁶⁹

In terms of public commendation only a smattering exist.⁷⁰ In 1990, Lilli Henoch was the first German athlete admitted to the Israeli Jewish Sports Hall of Fame. Also in the 1990s, Berlin named a street after Lilli Henoch and a few sports venues are also named after her.⁷¹ As a result of the tireless efforts of Martin-Heinz Ehlert, community politician, author and post-war BSC member, the life and times of Lilli Henoch have been saved for posterity: Ehlert published a biography in 1989 and staged an exhibition in the 1990s.⁷² Deleted from its member list in 1933, eventually in 2004 the BSC renamed the women's competition held on Ascension Day, one of the holiest days in the Christian calendar, as the 'Lilli Henoch Women's Competition'. In her memory the BSC publishes her story on the back of each winner's certificate.⁷³

The SCC reacted even later, but still denies having excluded its Jewish members, notwithstanding the introduction of the Aryan Paragraphs in 1933. Yet in 2006 it unveiled a memorial plaque posthumously reinstating its pre-war Jewish members.⁷⁴ In this instance it was Martha Jacob's daughter Hazel who has been a thorn in the side of the SCC by taking the initiative to research her mother's story. Since the 1980s, she has remained a constant reminder to the SCC not to forget its past.

Whereas professional historians have contributed substantially to nurturing a culture of memory with its resultant culture-of-commemoration for victims of the Nazi regime, more than sixty years after the end of the Second World War the topic in the sports world remains largely taboo. Clubs and associations refrain from dealing with their pasts or do so only hesitantly. In the former Federal Republic of Germany continuity of leadership discouraged criticism. Typically the same people presided in positions of authority before and after 1945 and, more often than not, these same people were responsible for introducing the Aryan Paragraphs in their constitutions. Indeed, many were rewarded with honorary badges and titles for successfully managing their organizations in difficult times. So to confront their leaders – and elders – head on is still seen as too sensitive by many organizations phobic about an adverse public backlash due to revelations about the past. (By contrast, large companies and banks have received widespread praise for dealing with their past.)⁷⁵

Sadly it is a truism that in today's sports club milieu, the benefits of critical reflection are still widely underestimated. And that, unfortunately, results in attenuating research within clubs themselves.

Firstly, it is important that the victims of such profound prejudice and the contributions they have made to cultural life in Germany and elsewhere are not forgotten. Secondly, those who dedicate their time against the odds to reveal this past should be acknowledged. While it would seem that remembrance in the case of Jewish experiences of sport under the Third Reich has become a matter of individual conscience, it is undoubtedly in the interests of all to foster a collective memory so that a horror of this magnitude will never be repeated again.

Notes

1. Essential to this topic: Antje Fenner, *Das erste deutsche Fräuleinwunder. Die Entwicklung der Frauenleichtathletik in Deutschland von ihren Anfängen bis 1945* (Königstein im Taunus: Helmer, 2001); see also Jutta Braun: "Kämpferinnen" im Sport vor und nach 1933: Von der Emanzipation zur Instrumentalisierung, in Berno Bahro, Jutta Braun and Hans Joachim Teichler, eds, *Vergessene Rekorde – Jüdische Athletinnen vor und nach 1933* (Berlin, 2009): 54–64.
2. Quoted in Hajo Bernett, *Leichtathletik im geschichtlichen Wandel* (Schorndorf, 1987), 205.
3. Halt became president of the German Track and Field Association in 1931 and soon moved on to be one of the most important sports officials due to his memberships in both the NSDAP and the IOC, cf. Karl Lennartz and Walter Teutenberg, 'Karl Ritter von Halt (1891–1964)', in *Die Gründerjahre des Deutschen Sportbundes, Wege aus der Not zur Einheit*, ed. Deutscher Sportbund (Schorndorf, 1990): 137–42.

4. Karl Halt, *Die Leichtathletik. Eine Einführung für alle in Technik, Training und Taktik der Leichtathletik* (Stuttgart, 1922), 19.
5. Many examples can be found in Gertrud Pfister, 'Zur Geschichte des Körpers und seiner Kultur – Gymnastik und Turnen im gesellschaftlichen Modernisierungsprozess', in *Körper, Kultur und Ideologie. Sport und Zeitgeist im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, eds Irene Diekmann and Hans Joachim Teichler (Bodenheim bei Mainz, 1997): 11–47.
6. Fenner, *Das erste deutsche Fräuleinwunder*, 98.
7. Cf. Erich Beyer, 'Sport in der Weimarer Republik', in *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, ed. Horst Ueberhorst (6 vols., Berlin, 1972–1989), vol. 3.2, 657–700.
8. Fenner, *Das erste deutsche Fräuleinwunder*, 59.
9. Hans Joachim Teichler, 'Der proletarische Gegenentwurf: die Arbeiter-Olympiaden', in *Deutschland in der Olympischen Bewegung: eine Zwischenbilanz*, ed. Manfred Lämmer (Frankfurt am Main, 1999): 119–26; Hans Joachim Teichler, 'Arbeitersport – Körperkultur – Arbeiterkultur', *Sportwissenschaft* 19, no. 4 (1984): 325–47.
10. *Der Leichtathlet*, 6 Oct. 1931.
11. Essential to Lilli Henoch is: Martin-Heinz Ehlert, 'Lilli Henoch. Fragmente aus dem Leben einer jüdischen Sportlerin und Turnlehrerin', *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 3, no. 2 (1989): 34–48.
12. Statement of Suse Henoch, quoted as in Ehlert, 'Lilli Henoch'.
13. *Clubnachrichten des BSC*, April 1919.
14. Cf. the compilation in Eckhard z. Megede, *Entwicklung der Weltrekorde von den Anfängen bis heute* (Berlin, 1972).
15. *Der Leichtathlet*, 6 July 1925.
16. *Clubnachrichten des BSC*, Aug. 1930.
17. Sport-Club Charlottenburg, ed., *Das Schwarze C, Festaussgabe: 100 Jahre Sport-Club Charlottenburg* (Berlin, 2002), 27.
18. Interview in a paper (title unknown) with Martha Jacob, July 1929 (Private archive Hazel Shore).
19. The topic of the diploma thesis was 'Organisationsfragen und -formen der Frauenleichtathletik' ('Questions and Forms of Organization in Women's Track and Field Athletics') (Private archive Hazel Shore).
20. Interview in a paper with Martha Jacob, July 1929 (Private archive Hazel Shore).
21. *Der Leichtathlet*, 23 July 1929.
22. *Der Leichtathlet*, 26 Aug. 1929.
23. *Der Leichtathlet*, 8 Jan. 1930.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Daily Mail*, 17 Sept. 1930.
26. *Jüdische Rundschau*, 16 Sept. 1932.
27. Wolf Gruner, *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1953*, vol. 1: *Deutsches Reich 1933–1937* (München, 2008), 30.
28. Statement by Hazel Shore, 30 March 2009.
29. Max Nordau, 'Muscel Jewishness', in *Zionistische Schriften*, ed. Max Nordau, 2nd edn (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1923), 424–6.

30. Cf. among others: Hajo Bernett, *Der jüdische Sport im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland 1933–1938* (Schorndorf, 1978), 38ff.; Sidy Goldschmidt, *Die Geschichte des Makkabi*, (Berlin, 1938); Robert Atlasz, ed., *Bar Kochba. Makkabi-Deutschland 1898–1938* (Tel Aviv, 1977); latest publication: Hans Joachim Teichler, 'Jüdische Sportler in der Weimarer Republik', in Bahro, Braun and Teichler, *Vergessene Rekorde*: 44–53. For further reading about Makkabi and the Jewish sports movement, cf. the commented bibliography by Toni Niewerth and Lorenz Peiffer, "'Jüdischer Sport in Deutschland". Eine kommentierte Bibliographie', *SportZeit* 1, no. 2 (2001): 81–106.
31. Essential to this: Teichler, 'Jüdische Sportler'; Eric Friedler, *Makkabi chai – Makkabi lebt. Die jüdische Sportbewegung in Deutschland 1898–1998* (Wien, 1998).
32. Jacob Borut, 'Juden im deutschen Sport in der Weimarer Republik', in *Emanzipation durch Muskelkraft. Juden und Sport in Europa*, eds Michael Brenner and Gideon Reuveni (Göttingen, 2006), 80.
33. Among others: Eberhard Kolb, *Die Weimarer Republik*, 7th edn (München, 2009).
34. Cf. among others: Norbert Frei, 'Machtergreifung. Anmerkungen zu einem historischen Begriff', *Vierteljahreshfte für Zeitgeschichte* 31 (1983): 136–45.
35. Cf. in particular: Hajo Bernett, *Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich. Aus den Akten der Reichskanzlei* (Schorndorf, 1971): 25–32.
36. The Aryan Paragraph contains – in different variants – the ban on non-Aryan members.
37. Among others: Bernett, *Sportpolitik*, 23–36; Hajo Bernett, "'Opfer des 'Arierparagraphen'" – Der Fall der Berliner Turnerschaft', in *Die jüdische Turn- und Sportbewegung in Deutschland 1898–1938*, ed. Manfred Lämmer (St. Augustin: Academia-Verl., 1989): 29–43.
38. Verband Brandenburger Athletikvereine Circular, 8 April 1933, Bundesarchiv Berlin R 58.
39. *Der Leichtathlet*, 19 April 1933.
40. *Der Leichtathlet*, 11 April 1933.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Proceedings of the General Meeting, 13 April 1933. Unless otherwise noted, I refer to the file of the SCC at the Amtsgericht Berlin Charlottenburg, Register-Nr. 366 B.
43. *Ibid.*
44. SCC-Satzung, 13 April 1933. The *Wehrsportgruppe* grew fast and gained 80 Mitglieder. It was re-organized on 9 July 1933 as *SCC-Wehrsportsturm* and fully integrated in the *Standarte I* of the SA. Cf. *Das Schwarze C*, Jan. 1934.
45. *Der Leichtathlet*, 1 March 1933.
46. *Der Leichtathlet*, 19 April 1933.
47. Amtsgericht Berlin Charlottenburg, Register-Nr. 366 B.
48. Statement by Hazel Shore, 2 May 2005.
49. Henceforth: Amtsgericht Charlottenburg, Register-Nr. 3954.
50. Proceedings of the General Meeting, 6 April 1933.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Proceedings of the General Meeting, 13 April 1933.
53. *Clubnachrichten des BSC*, Aug. 1933.

54. Cf. Bernett, *Der jüdische Sport*, 49ff.
55. Reichssippenamt in Lichterfelde, BArch Berlin, R 1509.
56. Letter of a former colleague, 1988. Private archive Martin-Heinz Ehlert.
57. Kurt Schilde, *Mit dem Davidstern auf der Brust. Spuren der jüdischen Sportjugend in Berlin zwischen 1898 und 1938. Mit einem Geleitwort von Manfred Nippe* (Berlin, 1988), 57.
58. This represents a signing-over of all property to the state: Oberfinanzpräsident Berlin-Brandenburg (II), Nr. 26184 (file Rose Mendelsohn, geb. Müller), Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv, Rep. 36 A.
59. Bundesarchiv Koblenz, ed., *Gedenkbuch – Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933–1944*, 3rd edn (Koblenz, 2008).
60. *Daily Mail*, 15 May 1933; *Sunday Pictorial*, 14 May 1933; *Sunday Graphic*, 14 May 1933.
61. *Daily Telegraph*, 3 Aug. 1933; *Daily Express*, 19 Aug. 1933; *Evening News*, 19 Aug. 1933.
62. Statement by Hazel Shore, 30 March 2009.
63. *Jüdische Rundschau*, 9 April 1935; *Wanderers Monthly Magazine*, June 1937.
64. Jutta Braun, 'Der Boykott und "die Alibijuden" – Zur Allianz von amerikanischem Sport, NS-Sportführung und IOC zur Sicherung der Spiele von Berlin 1936', in *Vergessene Rekorde*, ed. Bahro, Braun and Teichler, 138–45.
65. Statement by Hazel Shore, 30 March 2009.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Wanderers Monthly Magazine*, June 1937.
68. Statement by Hazel Shore, 30 Mar. 2009.
69. Hans Joachim Teichler, 'Erinnerungskultur', *Historical Social Research* 32, no. 1 (2007): 13–23, 15.
70. For instance: SCC, Das schwarze C. Also Berno Bahro, "'Kleine Inseln in einem Meer von Vergessen'" – Spätes und schwieriges Erinnern an die NS-Vergangenheit in Sportvereinen', in *Vergessene Rekorde*, ed. Bahro, Braun and Teichler, 182–9.
71. In Berlin-Prenzlauer Berg in 1993 a street was named 'Lilli-Henoch-Straße'; there is a 'Lilli-Henoch-sports hall' in Berlin-Hohenschönhausen and a 'Lilli-Henoch-sports ground' in Berlin-61. Kreuzberg.
72. Ehlert, *Lilli Henoch*.
73. Press Release BSC, May 2005. Archive at the department of contemporary sports history at the University of Potsdam.
74. Press release SCC, Nov. 2006. Archive at the department of contemporary sports history at the University of Potsdam.
75. E.g. Klaus-Dietmar Henke, ed., *Die Dresdner Bank im Dritten Reich*, 4 vols. (München, 2006); Constanze Werner, *Kriegswirtschaft und Zwangsarbeit bei BMW* (München, 2005).