Gregor Feindt / Anke Hilbrenner / Dittmar Dahlmann (eds.)

Sport under Unexpected Circumstances

Violence, Discipline, and Leisure in Penal and Internment Camps

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Gregor Feindt, Anke Hilbrenner, and Dittmar Dahlmann

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Introduction

Gregor Feindt / Anke Hilbrenner / Dittmar Dahlmann

Between "Barbed Wire Disease" and *Judenexerzieren*

Why the History of Sport in Penal and Internment Camps Matters

> In the afternoon we had to form up for parading. The older inmates called it "sport". […] On the vast parade ground the sun was strong. Four SS-Scharführers waited for us, received us, especially those limping from being footsore. […] Just wait, we'll wear you down! And then it was, double time, march.[1]

Sport in camps unsettles both contemporary witnesses and students of history. It seems impossible that human beings would perform anything like sport within the harsh camp reality of repression, hunger, violence, and possibly even murder. Yet, sport in penal and internment camps is a historical reality and studying this history allows for new insights into the reality of inclusion and exclusion in camps during the twentieth century. This volume will bring forward an understanding of camp experience that centres on subjectivity, performance, and social action and aims at complementing the existing research on camps in the twentieth century with a comparative perspective of European history.

Camps condense the history of violence throughout the twentieth century and mark off a genuinely violent age that for instance Zygmunt Bauman critically called a "century of camps".[2] Camps for prisoners of war (POWs) and the internment of alien civilians appeared at the dawn of the twentieth century and gained broader significance during the two World Wars. Such "total institutions"[3] confined thousands of human individuals in a small, tightly regulated space. The same spatial compression applies to the National Socialist concentration camps or the Stalinist Gulag system that merged forced labour with

1 Friedrich Maase, Archiv Gedenkstätte und Museum Sachsenhausen/Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten Jd 2/7, Bl. 68; cited in Veronika Springmann, "'Sport machen'. eine Praxis der Gewalt im Konzentrationslager", in Lenarczyk Wojciech et al. (eds.), *KZ-Verbrechen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager und ihrer Erinnerung* (Berlin 2007), 92f.

2 Zygmunt Bauman, "A Century of Camps?", in Peter Beilharz (ed.), *The Bauman Reader* (Oxford 2011), 266–280. See also Jörg Später, "Jahrhundert der Lager? Über Stärken und Schwächen eines Begriffs", in *iz3W* 239 (1999), accessed 31 August 2017, URL: https://www.iz3w.org/zeitschrift/ausgaben/239_jahrhundert_der_lager/faa.

3 For the concept of "total institutions", see Erving Goffman, *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Chicago, IL 1961).

murder. Such violence was radicalised even more in extermination camps. In contrast to this, camps for displaced persons (DPs) or refugees lacked this radicalised violence but still strictly regulated the lives of their inhabitants. For many DPs, the camp was more than a transit station but was a long-time place of residence, often without a realistic perspective of moving on. Regardless of these specific and intriguing differences, camps as institutions central to the twentieth century induced experiences of violence, of an uncertain future, and total control exercised by both camp authorities and fellow internees.

In the reality of camps, sport appeared in different settings and different modes of internment, and sport remained contingent. Depending on the specific conditions in a given camp, sporting activities could be – to various degrees – official or unofficial, intramural or extramural, restricted to one hierarchical rank of camp society or open to all, continuous or discontinuous to earlier experiences of those held in camps. Similar to other joyful activities such as music or theatre, sport was a paradox of leading a "social life in the unsocial environment" of camps.[4] Moreover, the coercive qualities of sport varied with regard to the specific type of camp, the trajectory of internment, and the wider context of inclusion or exclusion. Many camps, especially Nazi concentration camps, adopted "doing sports" as a practice of violence. For instance, as quoted at the beginning of this chapter, SS (Schutzstaffel) men made use of punitive drills to weaken and torture camp inmates. Such "sport" was used to display an alleged racial hierarchy. Moreover it served as entertainment for guards and other camp personnel and obviously exceeded the common understanding of sport as "competitive activities regulated by set rules or customs" guided by equality and fairness.[5] However, internees and inmates also took up sport deliberately – even under the hardest circumstances – and risked sport contributing further to their exhaustion. Camp inmates and internees took part in sporting activities or followed these activities because they wanted to and sport provided some usage for them, fostered self-organisation, or helped to obtain material goods.

Camps and Sport: Confronting the Existing Research

The mere fact that camp inmates did sports under the violent circumstances of life in camps caused reactions from irritation to disgust. The shocking ubiquity of death on the one hand and survival on the other hand is drastically

4 Nikolaus Wachsmann, *KL. A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York 2015), 500.

5 Oxforddictionaries.com, s.v. "sport", accessed 7 August 2017, URL: http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/187476?rskey=KG56rR&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid.

symbolised by the performative display of healthy bodies at play. Therefore sport often figures as a metaphor for the impossibility of describing Nazi extermination camps. For example, in Tadeusz Borowski's *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentleman*, a goalkeeper in Auschwitz-Birkenau reasons: "Between two throw-ins in a soccer game, right behind my back, three thousand people had been put to death."[6] Because of this harsh contrast of joy and deadly violence, sport as an everyday exercise in the face of extermination became an emblematic expression of the guilt of survival and survivors.[7] Moreover, sport seemingly contradicted the punitive and violent character of camps.[8]

Much of the existing research on the history of camps follows two ways of coping with the irritation of sport in camps. The most common form is the omission of sport from the memory of the camps as well as in the scholarly literature. Beyond the deletion of sport from camp memory and history, we can also detect a certain exotic fascination with the mere fact that sport existed in camps at all. Such narratives of exoticism prevail both in the sources and in the literature.

The drawing of Thomas Geve on the cover of this volume testifies to this second mode of perception. Geve was deported to Auschwitz in 1943 as a 13-year-old boy. He survived Auschwitz, Groß-Rosen, and Buchenwald.[9]

After the liberation of Buchenwald, Geve was sent to Switzerland to recover. During his recovery immediately after the war, he produced 79 drawings processing his camp experience. One of the most disturbing images is the one showing sport in Auschwitz. Within the cosmos of the drawing, SS guards are the intramural authorities illustrated by their extraordinary size. Their violent rule is marked by their whips[10] and clubs. The inmates appear much smaller,

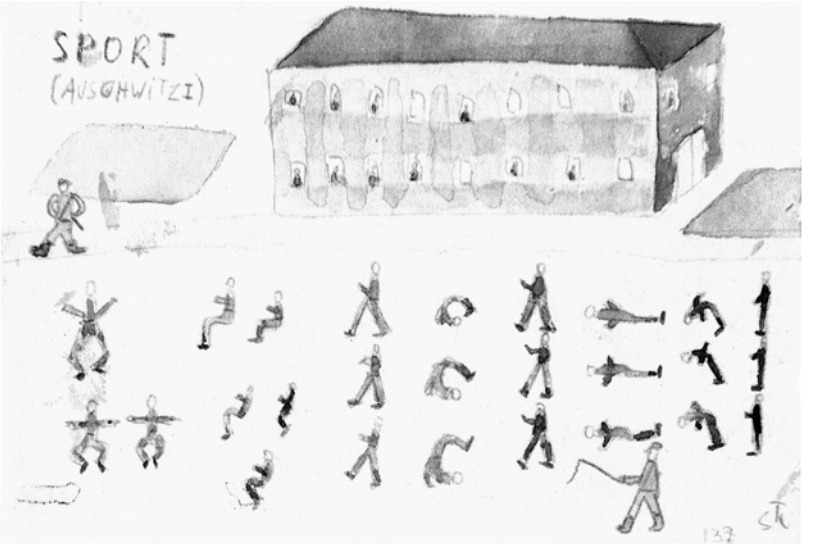
6 Tadeusz Borowski, *This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentleman* (New York 1967), 84.

7 For Primo Levi such a football match was a metaphor for collaboration and guilt that resulted from surviving concentration camps, see Debarati Sanyal, "A Soccer Match in Auschwitz. Passing Culpability in Holocaust Criticism", in *Representations* 79:1 (2002), 1–27.

8 For instance, British voices on colonial internment in Kenya understood both regular meals and sporting activities for Kenyan internees as too soft a treatment. See Fabian Klose, *Human Rights in the Shadow of Colonial Violence. The Wars of Independence in Kenya and Algeria* (Philadelphia, PA 2013), 157.

9 For more information and drawings see Thomas Geve, *Geraubte Kindheit. Ein Junge überlebt den Holocaust* (Bremen 2013). For a more detailled contextualisation of Geve's picture see, Jörn Wendland, Das Lager von Bild zu Bild. Narrative Bildserien von Häftlingen aus NS-Zwangslagern (Cologne 2017), 175–180.

10 For the symbolical meaning of whips and their use against man, see Rebekka Habermas, "Peitschen im Reichstag oder über den Zusammenhang von materieller und politischer Kultur. Koloniale Debatten um 1900", in *Historische Anthropologie* 23:3 (2015), 391–412.



Thomas Geve, Sport (Auschwitz I), 1945

their bodies bent in awkward positions. The image draws attention precisely because of its seeming perversion, symbolised by the unnatural bodies performing a non-natural task, i.e. "Sport in Ausschwitz".

Within the very small amount of existing literature on the topic, most contributions derive from this exotic fascination. Consequently, such accounts are mostly of an anecdotal nature and represent the amazement that sport in death and concentration camps even existed. For instance, Joseph Robert White's research article points to this bewilderment in its emblematic title "Even in Auschwitz … Humanity Could Prevail".[11] White frames "humanity" as the comradeship of British sportsmen in Auschwitz towards the Jewish inmates. Another example is the concentration camp Terezín (Theresienstadt) known for a football league among the inmates who displayed a firm belief in sportsmanship and thought it impossible to injur any opponent during a match for the simple reason of not endangering his survival in the camp.[12]

11 Joseph R. White, "'Even in Auschwitz … Humanity Could Prevail'. British POWs and Jewish Concentration Camp Inmates at IG Auschwitz, 1943–1945", in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* (2001), 266–295.

12 For Peter Erbens's account of playing football in Terezín see Victoria Reith, "Im Ghetto war nur der Fußball schön", in *Zeit Online*, 31 March 2015, URL: http://www.zeit.de/sport/2015-03/theresienstadt-fussball-liga-terezin/komplettansicht. See also the wider research on sport in Terezín, Stefan Zwicker, "Paul Mahrer, der Nationalspieler, der Theresienstadt überlebte", in Diethelm Blecking / Lorenz Peiffer (eds.), *Sportler im "Jahrhundert der Lager" und der Verfolgung. Profiteure, Widerständler und Opfer*

At the same time, Nazi propaganda exploited sport as proof of humane living conditions in Terezín and highlighted it, for instance, in the 1944 documentary on the ghetto.[13]

Moreover, in Poland, historians have studied sport in concentration and POW camps since the 1960s and presented, for instance, the so-called camp Olympic Games held in the Langwasser and Woldenburg "Oflags" (camps for officers). In 1940 and 1944, officers who were held as POWs staged their own Olympic Games in camps although sporting activities were forbidden by German camp authorities.[14] In the case of POW camps, sport seemed to be more natural for both historical actors and later observers,[15] but similarly to concentration camps the topic of sport was often omitted. The existing research revolves around case studies[16] or biographical surveys.[17] Opposed to this anecdotal approach, a comprehensive analysis of the history of sport in camps within the context of a broader perspective on camps during the twentieth century is by and large still missing.

(Göttingen 2012), 323–329. See also, František Steiner, *Fotbal pod žlutou hvězdou. Neznámá kapitola hry, která se hrála přes smrtí* (Prague 2009); Nicola Schlichting, "'Kleiderkammer schlägt Gärtner 9:3'. Fußball im Ghetto Teresienstadt", in *nurinst. Beiträge zur deutschen und jüdischen Geschichte* (2006), 73–90; Mike Schwartz / Avi Kannar, Documentary: *Liga Terezin* (2012), available on DVD. František Steiner, Fußball unterm gelben Stern: Die Liga im Ghetto Theresienstadt 1943–44, ed. by. Stefan Zwicker (Paderborn 2017).

13 For the propaganda usage see the original documentary, Kurt Gerron, *Movie: Theresienstadt* (Terezín 1944), Min: 5:35–8:00, accessed 31 August 2017, URL: https://www.ushmm.org/online/film/display/detail.php?file_num=565.

14 Andrzej Bieszka, *Organizacja i formy działania w zakresie kultury fizycznej w obozie VIIA Murnau* (Warsaw 1970); Hudycz Tadeusz Marian, *Wychowanie fizyczne i sport w obozie jenieckim IIc Woldenberg* (Warsaw 1970); Teodor Niewiadomski, *Olimpiada, której nie było* (Warsaw 1973). For an overview, see Wojciech Półchłopek, *Wychowanie fizyczne I sport żołnierzy polskich w obozach jenieckich Wehrmachtu i NKWD (1939–1945)* (Opole 2002); id., *Sport za drutami (1939–1945)* (Warsaw 2015).

15 See, for instance, Peter Tauber, *Vom Schützengraben auf den grünen Rasen. Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Entwicklung des Sports in Deutschland* (Berlin 2008).

16 Other examples include, Roland Bude / Wladislaw Hedeler, "Zur Geschichte einer weggeworfenen Fotografie. Fußballspiele im GULag", in Dittmar Dahlmann et al. (eds.), *Überall ist der Ball rund – Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart des Fußballs in Ost- und Südosteuropa. Nachspielzeit,* Bd. 3 (Essen 2011), 157–168; Springmann, "'Sport machen'", 89–102; id., "'Árojs mitn bal cu di tojznter wartnde cuszojer'. Die Fußballvereine und -Ligen der jüdischen Displaced Persons 1946–48", in *nurinst. Beiträge zur deutschen und jüdischen Geschichte* (2006), 105–120; Philipp Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makkabi München. Der Sport im DP-Lager 1945–1948", in Michael Brenner / Gideon Reuweni (eds.) *Emanzipation durch Muskelkraft. Juden und Sport in Europa* (Göttingen 2006), 190–215; Tauber, Vom Schützengraben auf den grünen Rasen.

17 As the majority of articles in Diethelm Blecking / Lorenz Peiffer (eds.), *Sportler im "Jahrhundert der Lager" und der Verfolgung. Profiteure, Widerständler und Opfer* (Göttingen 2012).

In contrast, civilian internment forms a noteworthy exception as the case of Japanese camp inmates playing baseball during internment in the United States in the Second World War suggests. This example is extensively studied and well-known in US public discourse. Today it serves as a reference point for Japanese Americans and is widely discussed amongst scholars. For instance, the historian Brian Niiya stressed baseball's "potent symbolism – a combination of Americana, bucolic settings, and carefree recreation".[18] While baseball had been the most popular game amongst Japanese immigrants in the United States, since the 1900s it proved crucial for the expression of Japanese American identity both within this community and in relation to wider American society. In 1942, when the federal government ordered the internment of some 112,000 Japanese Americans, baseball was one of the few pastime activities and structured life both for players and spectators. Beyond this pragmatic function baseball obtained symbolic quality, when "[p]utting on a baseball uniform was like wearing the American flag" as one internee, Takeo Suo, recalled in a later account.[19] Playing baseball behind barbed wire proved the acculturation into American society. In addition, American authorities understood playing baseball as one criterion to determine the "Americanness" of internees and explicitly asked for sporting preferences in loyalty questionnaires.[20] Against this trajectory, scholars like Joel S. Franks or Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu placed sporting activities during internment in a wider context of transcultural American history and demonstrated how the study of sport in camps may move beyond a mere anecdotal presentation towards an embedded narrative of cultural hybridity.[21]

These examples of widespread omission of and only scarce scholarly engagement with sport in camps raise the question of why the thriving and fruitful historical research on camps has so rarely related their discussion to the emerging cultural history of sport. While earlier sport history often leans

18 Brian Niiya, "Baseball in American Concentration Camps. History, Photos, and Reading Recommendations", in *Densho-Encyclopedia Blog,* accessed 5 April 2016, URL: https://densho.org/baseball-world-war-ii-concentration-camps-photo-essay-brief-history/.

19 *Michael, Beschloss* "For Incarcerated Japanese-Americans, Baseball Was 'Wearing the American Flag'", *New York Times. NY Times*. accessed 20 June 2014, URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2014/06/21/upshot/for-incarcerated-japanese-americans-baseball-was-wearing-the-american-flag.html?_r=0&abt=0002&abg=.

20 Cherstin M. Lyon, "Loyalty questionnaire", in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed 14 March, 2014, URL: http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Loyalty%20questionnaire/.

21 Joel S. Franks, *Crossing Sidelines, Crossing Cultures. Sport and Asian Pacific American Cultural Citizenship* (Lanham, MD 2009); Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, *Transpacific Field of Dreams. How Baseball Linked the United States and Japan in Peace and War* (Chapel Hill, NC 2012). For an overview, see Terumi Rafferty-Osaki, "Sports and recreation in camp", in *Densho Encyclopedia*, accessed 16 August 2017, URL: http://encyclopedia.densho.org/Sports_and_recreation_in_camp/.

towards harmonising narratives of fairness, sportsmanship, beauty, and peace, which by and large reproduced the self-conceptualising of the sports movement in the tradition of Pierre de Coubertin, the latest research has brought forward a non-normative perception of sport.

However, the historiography on camps focused on violence instead and continued the wide omission of sport regardless of such innovation and the analytical potential of the cultural history of sports.[22] For instance, the German sociologist Wolfgang Sofsky analysed camps as *The Order of Terror* and brought forward a thick description of camps as spaces of violence that gave way to the experience of inmates and their suffering.[23] Taking up Hannah Arendt's "totalitarianism", Sofsky employed a concept of "absolute power" that decontextualised violence and maintained the complete "dissolution of society" in camps.[24] In response to these claims and fostered by a growing scholarly and public interest in the Holocaust since the 1980s, sociologists and historians fiercely debated the structural quality of camps in the twentieth century and discussed the relation between structure and subjectivity in camps.[25] For instance, Jörg Baberowski, a German historian specialising in Eastern Europe, made us aware of this debate when studying Stalinism.[26] Together with Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, Baberowski employed the paradigm of violence to compare National Socialism with Stalinism and in doing so tackled a major taboo in historiography.[27] Well before that, Dittmar Dahlmann and Gerhard Hirschfeld had argued for the combined study of concentration camps and the Stalinist Gulag system and pointed out the analytical insights such a comparison provides beyond simplistic equalisation.[28] More recent studies have inquired into the long imperial disposition of modern camps and vividly discussed the qualitative and situational difference of colonial concentration camps and Nazi or Stalinist camps, which accordingly subordinated

22 In his recent seminal book on Terezín, Wolfgang Benz discusses culture and classical music in the camp widely, but omits football altogether referring only to the documentary and its untrue representation of everyday life in the ghetto. See Wolfgang Benz, *Theresienstadt. Eine Geschichte von Täuschung und Vernichtung* (Munich 2013).

23 Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror. The Concentration Camp* (Princeton, NJ 1997).

24 Cf. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York 1951).

25 See Maja Suderland, "Relektüre. 'Absolute Macht […] ist ziellose, negative Praxis […]' Wolfgang Sofskys Die Ordnung des Terrors. Das Konzentrationslager (1993)", in *Medaon* 15 (2014), URL: http://www.medaon.de/pdf/MEDAON_15_Suderland.pdf, accessed 17 August 2017.

26 See for his treatment of violence his controversial book, Jörg Baberowski, *Verbrannte Erde. Stalins Herrschaft der Gewalt* (Munich 2012).

27 Jörg Baberowski / Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Ordnung durch Terror. Gewaltexzesse und Vernichtung im nationalsozialistischen und stalinistischen Imperium* (Bonn 2006).

28 Dittmar Dahlmann / Gerhard Hirschfeld (eds.), *Lager, Zwangsarbeit, Vertreibung und Deportation. Dimensionen der Massenverbrechen in der Sowjetunion und in Deutschland 1933 bis 1945* (Essen 1999).

the studies of camps as total but ambiguous institutions to their character as places of genocide.[29] Following these initial ideas, in recent years sociologists and historians came to study camps as a space of violence from a more general perspective and gained new insights especially from a micro-historical approach.[30]

Studying camps from the angle of violence puts a clear emphasis on specific, mostly Nazi- and Soviet-style camps, i.e. concentration camps and the Gulag system. Nevertheless, the existing research has – explicitly and implicitly – stressed the variation of camps and the multiplicity of the context of internment and incarceration, of coercion and radicalised violence throughout the twentieth century. Consequently, any analytical definition of camps may only revolve around general characteristics. From an analytical perspective both the confinement of human beings to a segregated and condensed space and the significant degree of coercion forced upon those being held in camps marks off camps from any other form of social organisation. Segregation and coercion are, moreover, crucial to the institutional totality that makes camps the "protean institution in war and peace" through the twentieth century, as Alan Kramer argues in the following introductory chapter of this volume.

Perspectives for a History of Sport and Camps

Against the background of the existing research on camps and its widespread omission of sport in camps, this volume aims at new insights into the historical understanding of penal and internment camps and hopes to stimulate

29 While Jürgen Zimmerer claims a direct continuity from colonial German genocide to the Holocaust, other historians underlined the camps situational focus on internment and their distinctive quality. See, for instance, Jürgen Zimmerer, "Colonialism and Genocide", in Matthew Jefferies (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Imperial Germany* (London 2015), 433–451; id., "Lager und Genozid. Die Konzentrationslager in Südwestafrika zwischen Windhuk und Auschwitz", in Christoph Jahr / Jens Thiel (eds.), *Lager vor Auschwitz. Gewalt und Integration im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 2013), 54–67; Robert Gerwarth/Stephan Malinowski, "'Der Holocaust als 'kolonialer Genozid?' Europäische Kolonialgewalt und nationalsozialistischer Vernichtungskrieg", in *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 33 (2007), 439–466; Jonas Kreienbaum, *Ein trauriges Fiasko. Koloniale Konzentrationslager im südlichen Afrika 1900–1908* (Hamburg 2015).

30 Christoph Jahr / Jens Thiel (eds.), *Lager vor Auschwitz. Gewalt und Integration im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 2013); Bettina Greiner / Alan Kramer (eds.), *Welt der Lager. Zur "Erfolgsgeschichte" einer Institution* (Hamburg 2013); Wladislaw Hedeler, *Karlag. Das Karagandinsker Besserungsarbeitslager 1930–1959* (Paderborn 2008); Wladislaw Hedeler / Meinhard Stark, *Das Grab in der Steppe. Leben im GULAG* (Paderborn 2008); Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal, *Die "inhaftierte" Presse. Das Pressewesen sowjetischer Zwangsarbeitslager 1923–1937* (Wiesbaden 2011); Meinhard Stark, *GULAG-Kinder. Die vergessenen Opfer* (Berlin 2013).

future research. Focusing on an everyday practice such as sport, this volume inquires into the experience of camps from the perspective of those held in camps and questions the too easy binary opposition of internees and authorities.

After this introduction, Alan Kramer will begin the volume with an in-depth discussion of the camp as the protean institution of war and peace. His chapter unravels the long, but far from linear evolution of internment and coercion in the twentieth century. He marks off colonial concentration camps from those established after the First World War, namely Nazi concentration camps and the camps of the Gulag system. Drawing on this comparison, Kramer argues for the scrupulous discrimination of different types of camps, which, consequently, puts camps after 1945 into a perspective of both continuity and discontinuity. Kramer carves out "the twisted paths of an institution that has been a scar on humankind"[31] and with this informs the volume's ten case studies that will follow the topic of sport played within such camps in more detail.

The chapters of this volume establish a broad perspective on sports in camps both across Europe and with global outreach and throughout the twentieth century. Taking up a much debated aspect of current violence studies, the individual chapters pay special attention to the subjectivity of internees and camp inmates and study their agency and combine these with a transnational and comparative approach towards the history of camps.

The following outline of this volume introduces three key aspects of this contribution, namely the significance of camps for modernity, the performance of bodies under internment and violence, and the trajectory of identity and memory within and beyond camps. As sections of this volume, these three aspects organise our study of sport in camps. Each of them begins with an introduction by the editors that opens up the analytical horizon for the individual case studies but does not intend to formulate specific instruments for studying the respective examples of sport being played in camps.

The first section, Camps as Nomos of Modernity, discusses penal and internment camps beyond the framework of a state of exception. While it is widely held, both in violence studies and political theory, that radicalised violence takes place under extraordinary circumstances, this section questions such an assumption and asks for the inherently radical quality of what contemporaries experienced as modernity. Processes of bureaucratisation, institutionalisation, education, and the imagination of communities underpinned modernisation and permeated everyday life in all different forms of camps. In this regard, the section argues that embedding such practices in camps into modernity fosters

31 See Alan Kramer, *The World of Camps. A Protean Institution in War and Peace*, in *this volume,* 38.

our understanding of camps and overcomes narratives that follow too closely the epistemology of historical actors. For this, we propose two strategies of critically re-assessing camps and modernity, namely scholarly self-reflexivity and epistemic disobedience.

The chapters in this section put an emphasis on prisoners of war camps from the South African War (1900–1902) to the Second World War and centre on the experiences of camp inmates. The respective chapters analyse how both camp authorities and internees made use of sport to structure camp life and fight the boredom of internment. Floris van der Merwe studies the popularisation of British sports such as rugby among Boers during the South African War and the imperial trajectory of such practices. Christoph Jahr and Panikos Panayi scrutinise how internees during the First World War used sport as a pastime and a cultural contact zone: Jahr brings up German POWs' different usage of English sports or German *Turnen* in English and Japanese internment, and Panayi underlines how Germans, who had already been living in Britain before the war, took up sports to express a sense of belonging. Doriane Gomet studies the history of imprisoned French officers in German camps during the Second World War and confronts sport as a mechanism to govern these POWs with their self-empowerment through sport. The four studies of this section reveal that internees and captives cannot be reduced to the status of depraved or passive objects, but demonstrated a significant subjectivity and reflected upon their life in civilian and POW camps.

The second section, Bodies in Camps between Destruction and Perfection, focuses on bodies and their performances in camps. This focus reveals an immanent distinction within the scholarly literature on camps. The first type of camp seems to be a mere shelter for the masses in extraordinary circumstances, while the second type employs a normative approach towards its inmates. They are at least nominally designed to correct or educate them, or to act out racial hierarchy within a society as well as within the camps. Another distinction can be made with regard to sport itself. While sport in camps describes any athletic activity that happens to take place within the camp, camp sport is an integral part of the normative approach of the second type of camp towards its inmates and is as such a repressive or even abusive practice.

Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal sheds light on the rare examples of any kind of sportive activity in the Soviet Gulag where sport apparently did not play an important role. In Nazi concentration camps Kim Wünschmann and Veronika Springmann detect the contrary. Wünschmann describes sport as a ritual in early National Socialist concentration camps and finds out about its liminality, and Springmann focuses on the complex interaction of sport and work in Mauthausen during the Second World War. Together the chapters contradict a totalitarian approach to Nazi concentration camps and to the

Gulag, because of the irritating ambiguousness of sport even under the most violent circumstances of camp experience.

The third section of this volume, Camps Producing Identity and Memory, centres on social integration and community building in camps and takes up two virulent topics in recent cultural studies, identity and memory. The chapters in this section study the significance of sport and social performance to the self-understanding of camp inmates during their experience. In the aftermath, sport was often scarcely remembered by former camp inmates or even omitted, therefore the contributions to this section discuss the potential and limits of bringing up aspects of everyday life in a strictly regulated camp environment. Consequently, the section reveals the dynamics of unmaking and reinventing identity and memory and reconceptualises the spatial and temporal rupture that camps meant for those living inside them.

With a focus on post-war history, the three chapters of this section inquire into camps for displaced persons, refugees, and political activists or even terrorists. Marcus Velke compares the role of sport for Jewish and Estonian DPs and highlights the linkage of DPs identity with wider discourses of national history and identity. Mathias Beer investigates the story of a small Stuttgart-based football club that represented a settlement of German expellees from Yugoslavia as a micro-historical case study of the expellees' integration into West German society. Dieter Reinisch, in contrast, studies Irish and British prisons and internment camps for IRA fighters and their contextual approximation to different sports that challenge the seemingly clear distinction of English and Irish sports. All these different examples stress the historical agency of inmates and link the discussion of historical subjectivity in contexts from radically violent camps to civilian camps in post-war history.

Manfred Zeller concludes this volume with a chapter on the fate of the body modern complementing Kramer's introduction from the perspective of sports history. Here, Zeller argues for a generalising debate on the inherently modern quality of camps. He takes up the discussion on subjectivity and bodies, the agency of camp inmates, as well as the revision of the categories of inmates and camp authorities as such that have come to the fore in the introductory chapters and the case studies of this volume. Arguing for more research on the topic, Zeller points to three major contributions in the case studies of this volume that will help to foster further discussion. This is the inherent modernity of sport in camps, both in discipline and education of camp inmates. Furthermore, the liminal state that qualifies camps as total institutions reproduces hegemonic self-concepts, especially in the field of masculinity. This leads, moreover, to the imaginative quality of sporting performances transposing the reference to wider concepts of order and community such as the nation or an empire. Sport in camps, Zeller points out, both constructs and transgresses the boundaries of modernity.

Writing the History of Sport in Camps

Writing the history of sport in camps matters. Even more so, this history makes way for a better understanding of camps and provokes new insights into the social structure of camps and their inmates' self-assertion. In conclusion, this volume brings forward three analytical claims that will contribute to the study of camps. First, sport as a violent practice, as well as the inmates' pursuit of cultural sovereignty, can serve as a tool of comparison of different forms of camp experiences throughout the twentieth century and moves the differentiation of inclusive and exclusive camps. Its research illustrates not only the mere dimension of violence in different areas of camp life, but also reveals methods of self-assertion in an institution of heteronomy. The subjectivity of the victimised inmates becomes visible and thus contradicts a too easy understanding of the violent hierarchies within (and beyond) the camp.

Second, sport sheds light on the social processes within the camp. It allows for the measurement of any scope of development of agency of the inmates and endows future research with tools to find out about inner hierarchies and the norms of the inmates. Third, the research of sport in camps serves to overcome a romanticising image of sport and broadens the disciplinary perspective. Sport irritates the routine of the memory of camps, as places of violence and death. This irritation may help to process the modes of memory and to analyse the sources of camp history in a new and refreshed way.

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Like most other conferences, this one could not have taken place without the help and assistance of many people. We would like to thank in particular the student research assistants Vera Gewiss, Alexander Lang, Alice Lichtva and Alexander Saß of the Department of East European History; Dr. Matthias Koch, warden of the Institute of History; and Iraida Pehl, secretary of the Department of East European History, all at Bonn University, for their kind support in the organisation of the conference.

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Gregor Feindt, Anke Hilbrenner, Dittmar Dahlmann

Alan Kramer

The World of Camps

A Protean Institution in War and Peace

The term *camps* in modern history evokes images of concentration camps, the Gulag, and genocide. The crematorium at Auschwitz and the bodies piled up at Bergen-Belsen, as seen by Allied soldiers at the liberation in 1945, are ingrained in public memory. These icon-like representations have all but eclipsed the historical context. Focusing on Nazi camps as the endpoint of a tragic history has distorted research; only recently have historians begun to use a transnational, comparative approach that reveals the myriad functions of internment and penal camps. The intention is not to devise a hierarchy of terror and suffering, but to broaden our analytical perspectives. Camps were institutions that can be distinguished from prisons, workhouses, and sites of mass murder. The main focus in this chapter will be on "repression" or "exclusion camps", but "inclusion camps", intended to integrate imagined communities, also form a part of the history. Internment and penal camps, and above all, concentration camps, have shown protean transformability over the last century.[1]

Concentration camps were a creature of modernity, some have argued.[2] It is more precise to say they were a creature of modern warfare, but how did war influence their development? The existence of different forms of camps underlines that their development was contingent, not an inevitable or irreversible process. The connections between different types of camps are evident in the fact that camps, for example, for refugees and displaced persons, which were certainly not exclusion camps, were often located in the former concentration camps.

The first "concentration camps" were set up in the South African War (also known as the Second Boer War), in 1900, when the British army interned the rural Boer civilian population. Although the British did not intend to

1 For a discussion of definitions, see Nikolaus Wachsmann, "The Nazi Concentration Camps in International Context. Comparisons and Connections", in Jan Rüger / Nikolaus Wachsmann (ed.), *Rewriting German History. New Perspectives on Modern Germany* (Basingstoke 2015), 306–325, on pp. 308–310.

2 Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge 1989); Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, CA 1998), see e.g. chapter "The Camp as the *Nomos* of the Modern".

punish, still less kill the inmates, the camps soon acquired notoriety as sites of misery and mass death. Some 25,000 Boer civilians died, out of about 150,000 inmates, or about 17 per cent.[3] A total of 115,700 black people, whose fate was until recently ignored, were also interned; of these at least 14,154 – perhaps up to 20,000 – died.[4] Notwithstanding Marc Bloch's warning against the historian's obsession with origins, "confusing ancestry with explanation",[5] it is worth examining the motivations of the British to create this institution. The explanation disrupts the fashionable narrative of a linear progression from colonial camps to Nazi genocide.

Did the British in South Africa build on a precedent? The many contemporary British critics of the government alleged that the army had emulated the brutal policies of the Spanish General Weyler in Cuba. In 1896, the Spanish military had implemented a policy of destroying the huts, crops, and livestock of the peasantry, and resettled, or, as the Spanish put it, "reconcentrated" the rural population in order to separate them from the independence fighters and deprive the guerrilla army of supplies. Weyler moved at least 400,000 people into fortified villages and towns. Although many historians loosely use the term *concentration camps*, it was not in use at the time.[6] Strictly speaking, there were no camps in Cuba; it was a policy of concentration without camps.[7] A recent scholarly account by John Tone concludes that between 155,000 and 170,000 Cubans (10 per cent of the entire population), died of disease and starvation.[8] If we take 155,000 as a plausible estimate that excludes other civilian deaths, the mortality rate of 39 per cent of *reconcentrados* was more than double the rate in South Africa.

3 I am following the estimate in Iain R. Smith / Andreas Stucki, "The Colonial Development of Concentration Camps (1868–1902)", in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 39:3 (2011), 417–437, on p. 427. Smith concludes that the figure of 27,927 deaths calculated in 1906 by the Transvaal archivist P.L.A. Goldman, and repeated by Afrikaner nationalists ever since, relied on suspect methodology. The official British total of 20,139 was equally dubious.

4 Elizabeth van Heyningen, *The Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War. A Social History* (Johannesburg 2013), 150, 169.

5 Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft* (Manchester 1992), 24–27.

6 Andreas Stucki, *Aufstand und Zwangsumsiedlung. Die kubanischen Unabhängigkeitskriege 1868–1898* (Hamburg 2012), 10. The US historian Tone places the term *concentration camps* inside quotation marks, indicating distance from it: John Lawrence Tone, *War and Genocide in Cuba, 1895–1898* (Chapel Hill, NC 2006), 8.

7 Jonathan Hyslop uses the term uncritically in "The Invention of the Concentration Camp. Cuba, Southern Africa and the Philippines, 1896–1907", in *South African Historical Journal* 63:2 (2011), 251–276, on p. 258; cf. Andrzej J. Kaminski, *Konzentrationslager 1896 bis heute. Eine Analyse* (Stuttgart 1982). Critical by contrast: Andreas Stucki, "Streitpunkt Lager. Zwangsumsiedlung an der imperialen Peripherie", in Bettina Greiner / Alan Kramer (ed.), *Welt der Lager. Zur "Erfolgsgeschichte" einer Institution,* (Hamburg 2013), 62–86.

8 Tone, *War and Genocide,* 223f.; cf. p. 11. Stucki (*Aufstand und Zwangsumsiedlung* 8) endorses the total of 170,000 deaths.

Cuba and South Africa were part of a broader context of colonial counter-insurgency warfare that emerged at the turn of the century. In the Philippines, the US forces responded to guerrilla warfare in 1901 with a similar policy, and moved 300,000 people into "protected zones", in which up to 10,000 died.[9] The American officers at the time had no compunction about using the term *concentration camps*, indicating awareness of Cuba and South Africa, but concentration was limited to small areas: there was no policy of sweeping the population of entire, contiguous regions into concentration camps.[10]

In German South West Africa, thousands of people of the Herero and Nama tribes who survived General Lothar von Trotha's "war of annihilation" (1904–1907) were interned in camps. Some 7,700, or 45 per cent, died. At the worst camp, on Shark Island, where the death rate was about 60 per cent, a Herero missionary described the conditions:

> We had no proper clothing, no blankets, and the night air on the sea was bitterly cold. The wet sea fogs drenched us and made our teeth chatter. The people died there like flies that had been poisoned. The great majority died there. The little children and the old people died first, and then the women and the weaker men. No day passed without many deaths.[11]

Unlike in Cuba or South Africa, the initiative to establish camps came from the government, not the army, under pressure from German public opinion, which was shocked at the mass death of the Herero, and from the German settlers who needed labour. The high death rates suggest deliberate genocide. But the camps were not the outcome of a military doctrine of total annihilation, as Isabel Hull has claimed. Despite their punitive character, they were intended as a means to restrain military violence.[12] In addition, they functioned as forced labour reserves.

In all four colonial concentration camp systems at the turn of the twentieth century, misery and mass death were not the result of genocidal policy, but of counter-insurgency warfare, with race and class as important but variable criteria. There were international learning processes, but these were not

9 Hyslop, "The Invention of the Concentration Camp", 260.

10 Stuart Creighton Miller, *"Benevolent Assimilation". The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899–1903* (New Haven, CT 1982).

11 Cited in Casper W. Erichsen, *"The Angel of Death Has Descended Violently Among Them". Concentration Camps and Prisoners-of-War in Namibia, 1904–08* (Leiden 2005), 95. Death rate: Jonas Kreienbaum, *"Ein trauriges Fiasko". Koloniale Konzentrationslager im südlichen Afrika 1900–1908* (Hamburg 2015), 125.

12 Isabel V. Hull, *Absolute Destruction. Military Culture and the Practices of War in Imperial Germany* (Ithaca, NY 2005); Claudia Siebrecht, "Formen von Unfreiheit und Extreme der Gewalt. Die Konzentrationslager in Deutsch-Südwestafrika, 1904–1908", in Greiner / Kramer, *Welt der Lager*, 87–109; Kreienbaum, *"Ein trauriges Fiasko"*.

linear, nor did they inevitably lead to ever-greater violence. General Weyler's notoriety was international news, and the British army in South Africa did not emulate the Spanish; rather, the army drew on its own experience of running refugee camps for the victims of famine and epidemics in India.[13] Created as places of refuge for destitute Boer families displaced by the fighting, the camps in South Africa came to function as a part of counter-insurgency warfare more as an afterthought than by design. The ruthless policy of farm-burning and above all the mass death of women and children in the camps caused a public scandal in the United Kingdom, which forced the army to improve supplies and infrastructure; as Elizabeth van Heyningen has argued, the camps paradoxically became sites of modernisation, hygiene, welfare, and education[14].

In recent years, the colonial camps have come under closer scrutiny as the possible origin of the Nazi concentration camps. Some international histories of the camps maintain that Cuba and South Africa were precedents for the Nazis, but this is Marc Bloch's "ancestry", not explanation.[15] Some have argued for a direct causal continuity.[16] One has stated that Germany's violent subjugation [of the Herero in South West Africa] had as much in common with the Holocaust as with other colonial mass murders and may be regarded as a transitional case between these two categories of violence […] Indeed, the Nazis' blueprint for the East broadly replicated the colonisation of Herero lands.[17]

Probably the first, certainly the most influential, scholar to argue the continuity thesis was Hannah Arendt. In *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, she speculated that the ideology of National Socialism was rooted partly in Europe's experience with colonialism. When Arendt identified "race and bureaucracy" as the two main principles of imperialist rule, she meant not only British South Africa and India, but also "totalitarian rule on the basis of racism". She compared the ideological impetus of the Schutzstaffel (SS) in its genocidal mission with the "mentality which, like Cecil Rhodes some 40 years before, thought in continents and felt in centuries". We know that such imperialist thinking inspired Nazi plans for *Lebensraum* in Eastern Europe. But how do we get from continental spaces to Dachau?

13 Heyningen, *The Concentration Camps,* 323.

14 Elizabeth van Heyningen, "A Tool for Modernisation? The Boer Concentration Camps of the South African War, 1900–1902", in *South African Journal of Science* 106:5/6 (2010), 52–61, URL: doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/sajs.v106i5/6.242.

15 Joël Kotek / Pierre Rigoulot, *Le siècle des camps. détention, concentration, extermination. cent ans de mal radical* (Paris 2000); Benjamin Madley, "From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted and Developed by the Nazis in Eastern Europe", in *European History Quarterly* 35:3 (2005), 429–464.

16 Jürgen Zimmerer, *Von Windhuk nach Auschwitz? Beiträge zum Verhältnis von Kolonialismus und Holocaust* (Münster 2011); David Olusoga / Casper W. Erichsen, *The Kaiser's Holocaust. Germany's Forgotten Genocide and the Colonial Roots of Nazism* (London 2010), argue along similar lines.

17 Madley, "From Africa to Auschwitz", 441.

The notion that the concentration camp on Shark Island "served as a rough model for later Nazi *Vernichtungslager*, or annihilation camps, like Treblinka and Auschwitz" is unconvincing.[18] South West Africa left no significant traces in military memory or in the Nazis' decisions to build camps. Moreover, if Britain and the United States used camps in colonial warfare, why did only Germany later build concentration camps?

The First World War

An alternative explanation is that the Nazi decision to establish camps was connected with the experience of the First World War. Unlike the faraway colonial small wars, this was a mass war with millions directly experiencing industrialised violence, and the entire civilian population suffering privation. Of course, what was a "small war" to the imperial force was total war for the indigenous peoples.

The experience of the war was significant on two levels. One was the mass nature of captivity, with at least 8.4 million soldiers taken prisoner – almost as many as were killed on the battlefield. This caused a historic shift in the treatment of prisoners of war. Although there was no intention to kill captured soldiers, some states hardly cared if they lived or died, and treated them as an expendable labour supply. Some enlightened administrators recognised that they urgently needed labour, and strove to keep them alive. Many prisoners of war were fortunate enough to work on farms, where the food supply was usually good. Medical care could sometimes be excellent. Men from Western European armies, primarily Britain and France, enjoyed a higher standard of living thanks to parcels from home, and they were better treated by their captors.

Were these "concentration camps"? In popular parlance in Germany, Austria, Italy, and France, the military and civilian internment camps were referred to as "Konzentrationslager", "campi di concentramento", and "camps de concentration"; even in official records the term was sometimes used. The connotation was not Auschwitz, but Mafeking: extralegal incarceration of non-combatants under miserable and harsh conditions. In other words, they were not formally "concentration camps" in the sense usually understood today. Nevertheless, several elements of prisoner of war and civilian internment camps were a part of the contemporary discourse, and became constitutive in the later concentration camps.

18 Ibid., 446.

On another level, the war acted as an accelerator of several developments of modern society. On the right and on the left, the war militarised politics in Germany, Russia, and Italy; this applied to a lesser degree in France, Britain, and the United States, where political structures remained intact.

We therefore have two competing explanations of the origins of Nazi and Stalinist camps: the colonial warfare thesis and the First World War thesis. While the First World War thesis has greater explanatory force, and left clearer traces in the institutional forms of the camps, ultimately both are too narrow. The metalevel above both is the context of imperialism in the first age of globalisation. The early twentieth-century modernisation of violence (which means not merely fire power, but the totality of violent measures at the disposal of the state) coincided with the growing power of states to register and categorise incarcerated groups and entire populations, visible in South Africa, but not in the other colonial camps. Modern information management and transnational learning processes accelerated these developments.[19]

Yet there was no internal logic of radicalisation towards ever-greater violence within the camp system: it was contingent and depended on the political culture of the state. During the First World War, the memory of South Africa may well have been a negative example for Britain: captured Germans were with few exceptions treated fairly well, and the internment of enemy civilians affected only adult men, not women and children. Nevertheless, colonial warfare and the First World War demonstrated the newfound ability of modern states to engage in large projects of social engineering and the administration of masses.

The world war greatly accelerated the rise of identity politics and ethnicisation, witness the increasing suspicion directed at minorities in Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, and to a smaller degree even in the United States.[20] Mass deportations (especially of Jews and ethnic Germans) were

19 Heyningen, *The Concentration Camps*, 92–99. On the imperial power's bureaucratic "information management" in the South African camps, see Liz Stanley, "It Has Always Known, and We Have Always Been 'Other': Knowing Capitalism and the 'Coming Crisis' of Sociology Confront the Concentration System and Mass-Observation", in *The Sociological Review* 56:4 (2008), 535–551.

20 Of the large body of scholarly literature, see Christhard Hoffmann, "Between Integration and Rejection: The Jewish Community in Germany, 1914–1918", in John Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization in Europe during the First World War* (Cambridge 1997), 89–104; Alan Kramer, "'*Wackes* at War': Alsace-Lorraine and the Failure of German National Mobilization, 1914–1918", in Horne (ed.), *State, Society and Mobilization*, 105–121. On Habsburg policies, see Hannes Leidinger, "Eskalation der Gewalt", in Hannes Leidinger et al. (ed.), *Habsburgs schmutziger Krieg. Ermittlungen zur österreichisch-ungarischen Kriegsführung 1914–1918* (St. Pölten 2014), 51–91; Verena Moritz, "Gefangenschaft", in Leidinger et al. (ed.), *Habsburgs schmutziger Krieg*, 93–143. On Russia, see Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking. Refugees in Russia during World War I* (Bloomington, IN 1999); Mark von Hagen, *War in a European Borderland.*

on the agenda in the Tsarist Empire, while the Habsburg Empire used mass resettlement and internment camps. The Ottoman Empire drove ethnic othering to its extreme, which led to the deportation, sometimes incarceration in camps, and the genocide of the Armenians.

Policy towards prisoners of war also radicalised. In Germany, the process began early. On 29 August 1914 a conference in the Prussian war ministry drafted policy for the expected flood of prisoners. "Only the minimum regard for the health of prisoners of war will be taken, and none at all for their comfort. […] If there is a high rate of wastage among them, it cannot be helped. There is no objection to them camping outdoors for the time being without shelter or tents in the autumn months."[21] Heather Jones argues convincingly that given the violence of reprisals (by all sides) and the use of forced labour, captivity in the First World War "came closest to new forms of totalisation […] where international law was most significantly undermined."[22]

In Austria-Hungary, prisoners of all nationalities suffered hunger, forced labour, and routine corporal punishment. Austria illegally used at least 309,772 (mainly Russian) prisoners of war to work for the "army in the field",[23] building roads and railways, digging trenches, and carrying food and weapons into the front line.[24] The Habsburg government's justification was that the Russian army forced Austro-Hungarian captives to work in the combat zone, also with corporal punishment and executions.[25] Conditions in Russia were even worse than in Central Europe. While at least 8 per cent of Russian

Occupations and Occupation Plans in Galicia and Ukraine, 1914–1918 (Seattle 2007); Joshua A. Sanborn, *Imperial Apocalypse. The Great War and the Destruction of the Russian Empire* (Oxford 2014).

21 Kriegsarchiv Munich, MKr, 1630, Bund I, Kriegsgefangene 1896–15 September 1914, Stellvertretender Königlich Bayerischer Militär-Bevollmächtigter in Berlin an das K. Kriegsministerium, Betreff: Unterbringung und Behandlung der Kriegsgefangenen, 30 August 1914.

22 Heather Jones, *Violence against Prisoners of War in the First World War. Britain, France and Germany, 1914–1920* (Cambridge 2011); id., "Eine technologische Revolution? Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Radikalisierung des Kriegsgefangenenlagers", in Greiner / Kramer, *Welt der Lager,* 110–133, on p. 116.

23 Kriegsarchiv Vienna, AOK Op. – Abteilung Evidenzgruppe B 1917/1918 Kriegsgefangene, Karton 600, Fol. 18: Übersicht über die Verwendung der Kgf im Hinterlande und bei der Armee im Felde, sowie Erfordernis an Kgf. aus dem Hinterlande zwecks Austausch der bei der A.i.F. befindlichen minderleistungsfähigen Kgf. [n.d.].

24 Kriegsarchiv Vienna Kriegsministerium 1917 Abt. 10 Karton KM 1917. 10/7/12/30–10/7/29/300, kleine Zahl 1432 1917 10/Kg A/10 7 29/12; Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv Vienna, F36, Karton 448, Z. 41973, Verbalnote der span. Botschaft in Wien an M.d.Ä., 13.4.1916.

25 Haus- ,Hof- und Staatsarchiv Vienna, F36, Karton 448, Z. 49823/7: Kuk Ift. Regt. Frh. Pflanzer Baltin, Nr. 93 IV. Feldbataillon. Protokoll aufgenommen mit dem Res. Ift. Rudolf Trbusek (1910–314) der 13. Feldkompagnie, hinsichtlich Erschiessung von 10 Mann wegen Weigerung Schanzen zu graben.

soldiers died in Austro-Hungarian captivity,[26] the mortality rate in Russia was far higher: there are plausible calculations of 18 per cent mortality for Habsburg and 15 per cent for German prisoners.[27]

Italian captives did not have to work in the combat zone. But almost all had to work. The conditions of forced labour and the insufficiency of food, clothing, and shelter produced a high mortality rate. Of the 600,000 Italians taken prisoner by the Central Powers at least 100,000 – possibly even 150,000 – died in Austria-Hungary, with 30,000 deaths in Germany out of 132,920.[28]

The First World War camps were thus far more lethal than the Nazi camps were in the years 1933 to 1939. This is not only a matter of numbers. It allows us to identify those elements that show the potential of the First World War camps as the "dark side of modernity".

The Interwar Period

Camps did not disappear after the end of the First World War. They now had a place in the imagination. At any rate, Hitler, a veteran lacking orientation and job prospects, was soon speaking about the need to defeat the Jewish peril by locking up these "pathogens" in concentration camps.[29] In preparation for the Munich Putsch in 1923 his legal adviser, high court judge Theodor von der Pfordten, drafted a constitution under which "all security risks and useless eaters […] are, if necessary, to be put into collection camps."[30] Hitler's subsequent writings and speeches in fact contain few further references to concentration camps. But the period of the Weimar Republic was a crucial

26 A research project on captivity during the First World War in Austria-Hungary, supported by the Austrian Science Fund for 2014–2017, led by Verena Moritz at the University of Vienna, is currently attempting to produce more precise and reliable statistics. Verena Moritz, "Gefangenschaft", in Leidinger et al. (ed.), *Habsburgs schmutziger Krieg*, 93–144.

27 Georg Wurzer, *Die Kriegsgefangenen der Mittelmächte in Russland im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Göttingen 2005), 106f.

28 Giovanna Procacci, *Soldati e prigionieri italiani nella Grande guerra. Con unaraccolta di lettereinedite* (Turin 2000), 7, 167–174. The higher estimates are according to the Italian Royal Commission of Enquiry, cited in Procacci, *Soldati e prigionieri italiani nella Grande guerra*, 170, fn. 4. Further discussion of the causes of the high mortality of the Italians, see Alan Kramer, "Italienische Kriegsgefangene im Ersten Weltkrieg", in Hermann J.W. Kuprian / Oswald Überegger (ed.), *Der Erste Weltkrieg im Alpenraum. Erfahrung, Deutung, Erinnerung. La Grande Guerra nell'arco alpino. Esperienze e memoria* (Innsbruck 2006), 247–258.

29 Article of 13 March 1921, in Eberhard Jäckel / Axel Kuhn (ed.), *Hitler. Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen 1905–1924* (Stuttgart 1980), 233.

30 Harold Marcuse, *Legacies of Dachau. The Uses and Abuses of a Concentration Camp, 1933–2001* (Cambridge 2001), 20.

time of incubation, in which the idea was discussed not only in the Nazi party, but also in other right-wing groups such as the Pan-German League and among nationalist conservatives.

It also became part of establishment discourse. The ideas of the leading German penal reformer Franz von Liszt were strong influences in debates about crime and criminals. The habitual criminals, including prostitutes, alcoholics, and "degenerate elements", were to be eliminated from society through long-term incarceration, with militarised forced labour, and corporal punishment.[31] By the early 1930s, in the penal profession and among welfare specialists (even in Catholic and Social Democratic circles) the idea gained the upper hand that incarceration with military-style discipline was essential, not least for eugenic reasons.

Another root was the democratic government's own actions to stabilise the Republic at times of unrest. It used extreme repressive measures, by resorting to "protective custody" (*Schutzhaft*), a term associated with the Nazi dictatorship, but dating back to a Prussian law of 1851. In November 1919, faced with a mass strike of metal workers, the *Reichswehr* minister, Gustav Noske, demanded the "ruthless deployment of state coercion"; he was empowered to take the strike leaders into "protective custody."[32] The Weimar governments made use of "protective custody" to arrest mainly left-wing activists in 1920 at the time of the Kapp Putsch, and again in 1923, when the term "concentration camp" was first used for internment in army installations.[33]

Democratic states such as France made new use of the institution in colonial warfare. In combating the early Vietnamese liberation movement, the French military crushed the communist-led peasant rebellion of 1930 by bombing villages and employing summary executions. Even after the land had been "pacified", more than 10,000 political prisoners were held in detention, some in the concentration camp on Poulo Condore.[34]

From November 1938, France interned "undesirable aliens", primarily republican refugees from Spain, in camps such as Rivesaltes and Gurs. This was soon followed by the internment under the Vichy government of refugees

31 Detlev J. Peukert, *Grenzen der Sozialdisziplinierung. Aufstieg und Krise der deutschen Jugendfürsorge von 1878 bis 1932* (Cologne 1986), 75, 158f.

32 *Akten der Reichskanzlei. Weimarer Republik,* ed. […] Karl Dietrich Erdmann, *Das Kabinett Bauer 21. Juni 1919 bis 27. März 1920* (Boppard am Rhein 1980), vol. 1, document 96, meeting of heads of departments, 5 November 1919, 348f.

33 Michael P. Hensle, "Die Verrechtlichung des Unrechts. Legalistischer Rahmen der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung", in Wolfgang Benz / Barbara Distel (ed.), *Der Ort des Terrors. Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, vol. 1: *Die Organisation des Terrors* (Munich 2005), 80.

34 Joseph Buttinger, *Vietnam: A Political History* (New York 1968), 117–147, 179f.

from Nazi Germany, mainly Jews, many of whom were eventually deported to their deaths.[35] Conditions in these internment camps were so harsh that inmates compared them unfavourably with Nazi camps.

While Italy made little use of concentration camps before the Second World War – the main methods of incarceration of political enemies of the Fascist regime being conventional prisons and the system of *confino*, i.e. banishment to remote rural settlements – it was a different matter in colonial warfare.[36] In Libya, where the Italian armed forces continued to suppress Arab rebellion since the conquest in 1911, of the 100,000 people interned in camps during the Fascist period, 40,000 died.[37] In the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 and 1936, the Italian army massacred surrendering soldiers, and many of those who survived capture died in prisoner of war camps. Suspected oppositionists, members of the elite, and intellectuals were deported to concentration camps.[38] These forgotten aspects of the global history of camps contrast starkly with the popular image typified in films and novels of "Italiani, brava gente" (Italians, good people) – of cheerful mandolin-playing soldiers who behave humanely towards occupied Greek islanders. Liberal and Fascist Italian colonial rule was responsible for half a million deaths in Africa, and the camps were part of this reign of terror.

In the Spanish Civil War, Franco's rebel army set up prisoner of war camps in order to separate the captives from Spanish society as the "other". The camps were soon transformed into *campos de concentración*, as they were explicitly called: sites of repression for military and civilian political enemies. Their function was to "cleanse the nation" and create "The New Spain", through anti-Marxist re-education and forced labour.[39] In several ways, the Spanish camps consciously emulated the Nazi model, with an *Inspección de Campos de Concentración* as the administrative body. Yet for all their brutality and hardship, they were not sites of genocide. Of the between 350,000 and 500,000 prisoners who passed through the camps by 1947, the death toll was between 5,000 and 10,000.[40]

35 Denis Peschanski, *La France des camps. L'internement, 1938–1946* (Paris 2008).

36 Carlo Spartaco Capogreco, *I campi del duce. L'internamento civile nell'Italia fascista (1940–1943)* (Turin 2004).

37 Michael R. Ebner, *Ordinary Violence in Mussolini's Italy* (Cambridge 2011), 266.

38 Angelo Del Boca, "Yperit-Regen. Der Giftgaskrieg", in Asfa-Wossen Asserate / Aram Mattioli (ed.), *Der erste faschistische Vernichtungskrieg. Die italienische Aggression gegen Äthiopien 1935–1941*, (Cologne 2006), 45–58. On both Libya and Ethiopia, Giorgio Rochat, *Le Guerre italiane in Libia e in Etiopia dal 1896 al 1939* (Udine 2009); Gustavo Ottolenghi, *Gli italiani e il colonialismo: i campi di detenzione italiani in Africa* (Milan 1997).

39 Javier Rodrigo Sánchez, *Cautivos. Campos de concentración en la España franquista, 1936–1947* (Barcelona 2005), 2–15, 310–318; id., "Der Faschismus und die Lager in Spanien und Italien", in Greiner / Kramer, *Welt der Lager,* 224–244.

40 Rodrigo, "Der Faschismus und die Lager in Spanien und Italien", 228–233.

Nazi Germany: Inclusion Camps and Exclusion Camps

The history of the Nazi camps can be divided into two parts. In the period 1933 to 1939, the Nazi camps were not death camps, and they were quite different from the colonial German camps in Africa. They were designed for extralegal political repression, not forced labour. The death rate in Dachau was 1 per cent in 1933 and 0.5 per cent in 1936. To sustain the colonial origin thesis, we would need to find Nazi texts referring to the colonial example. Yet in the Nazi dream of building an empire, there was seldom any mention of South West Africa, still less of its concentration camps.

Without any blueprint, the Nazis set up ad hoc camps on local initiative soon after coming to power in 1933.[41] The lack of plans explains the great variety of types of early camps. Within the first year of Nazi rule, there were 157 concentration camps, some existing for only a few weeks, in disused factories, shipyards, and cellars. In 1934 most were closed down, to be replaced by fewer, custom-built camps reorganised on the Dachau model and placed under the SS Inspectorate of the Concentration Camps (IKL). Even then their administration was not entirely standardised; Fuhlsbüttel in Hamburg and Kislau in Baden did not come under SS control until the late 1930s. The function of the camps shifted over time. The early camps were sites of punitive internment for the physical intimidation of political enemies and vengeance, and they soon became theatres for performative violence as a constant threat to society. The stated aim of re-educating Communists to bring them back into the "people's community" was often a genuinely held belief.

For Jewish victims, it was different. Recent research shows that some 5 per cent of concentration camp victims before 1938 were Jewish, who were singled out for the worst treatment, the most degrading forced labour, the most humiliating "sport", and the most murderous violence. Yet there were no mass arrests of Jews until 1938, and even then most Jewish prisoners survived.[42]

In general, despite the assumption that concentration camp practice was standardised on the Dachau model, treatment varied. Dachau was especially violent, and especially dangerous for Jewish prisoners. Differences between the camps, above all in the extent of violence and of lethal antisemitism, were mainly the result of different leadership styles of the commandants, but

41 On the early camps, see Nikolaus Wachsmann, "The Dynamics of Destruction. The Development of the Concentration Camps, 1933–1945", in Jane Caplan / Nikolaus Wachsmann (ed.), *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany. The New Histories* (London 2010), 17–43. Wachsmann's monograph, *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York 2015) provides the first comprehensive overview in English.

42 Kim Wünschmann, *Before Auschwitz. Jewish Prisoners in the Prewar Concentration Camps* (Cambridge, MA 2015).

could result also from local political conditions.[43] Even the architecture of the camps varied greatly: Lichtenburg was in a 16th-century castle and former prison; Moringen was in a workhouse, and Dachau was in a derelict munitions factory.[44]

Gender made a difference in the organisation of camps and the treatment of prisoners. Moringen, the main camp for women before the construction of Ravensbrück in 1939, was not under the control of the IKL. The treatment of Jews there was somewhat more lenient, segregation less strict, and the violence less extreme, also for the male prisoners. This had partly to do with Moringen's origins as a workhouse and with the personality of its commandant, who only joined the Nazi party in 1933.[45]

Gender analysis is a useful instrument to explain the changing experience of men in the camps. Initially, militarisation was the characteristic feature: the inmates were treated "something like prisoners of civil war", with military-style drill and marching in formation, organised into "companies" under prisoners called "company commanders" and "corporals". That changed in 1937, when the SS decided to emphasise instead the prisoners' loss of masculine identity, their utter subjugation in the hierarchy of male power as a gendered component of SS power. Demilitarisation – and emasculation – of prisoners was symbolised by the change in nomenclature to "blocks" and "block elders".[46]

The newfound ability of states to engage in social engineering and the administration of mass society was part of the context for Nazi policy, coupled with the new pseudo-sciences of social Darwinism and racial biology. The metaphor employed by the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, that Nazi Germany was a "gardening state", is apt, but Bauman did not think this through far enough, for he associated camps only with the Holocaust. The "gardening state" used camps not only as sites of exclusion for dissidents and those who were "alien to the racial community", as Detlev Peukert put it. Camps were also sites of inclusion – for people's comrades (*Volksgenossen*) – i.e. the Hitler Youth, trainee lawyers, teachers, etc.[47]

Both exclusion and inclusion camps emerged from mobilising dictatorships' intimate relationship with war or mental preparation for the next war. The use of concentration camps in Germany and the Soviet Union was also

43 Wünschmann, *Before Auschwitz*, 67–82. For local political conditions, see Christopher Dillon, *Dachau and the SS. A Schooling in Violence* (Oxford 2015).

44 Cf. Wachsmann, "The Nazi Concentration Camps in International Context", 309.

45 Wünschmann, *Before Auschwitz*, 100–132.

46 Dillon, *Dachau and the SS,* 207–209, Jane Caplan, "Gender and the Concentration Camps", in Caplan / Wachsmann, *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany*, 82–107.

47 Marc Buggeln / Michael Wildt, "Lager im Nationalsozialismus. Gemeinschaft und Zwang", in Greiner / Kramer, *Welt der Lager*, 166–202; Kiran Klaus Patel, "'Auslese' und 'Ausmerze'. Das Janusgesicht der nationalsozialistischen Lager", in *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 54:4 (2006), 339–365.

a product of these revolutionary regimes' desire to impose a new order and bypass the established system of justice, police, and prisons, building on the precedents of militarised society familiar to their followers from the First World War.

The Soviet Gulag

In theory, we could trace the origins of the Gulag to the penal traditions of the tsarist state. However, the concentration camps set up by the Cheka in July 1918 were not in the tsarist tradition, but originated in the Russian Civil War. The term *kontslager* was used as early as 1918, confirming that it was the contemporary international concept that was dominant, not the tsarist precedent. Soon there were 300 camps where suspected enemies of the state were incarcerated. Poor rations, beatings, forced labour, and a high mortality rate were the norm. After the end of the Civil War, most were closed down or transferred to the Commissariat of Justice, while the GPU / OGPU, the reformed Cheka, retained about a dozen. These northern camps, centred on the island of Solovetsky, became the root of the Gulag archipelago of the 1930s that Solzhenitsyn was to write about. The intention was the "re-education" of the prisoners, both political opponents and "incorrigible" criminals, to create good Soviet citizens through hard labour.[48]

The Gulag system, created during the war mobilisation in 1918, was greatly extended from 1927 into what Sheila Fitzpatrick calls a "labour camp empire" when the regime manufactured a "war alarm" that served several purposes: to attack the opposition (Trotsky, later Zinoviev) as disloyal elements; mobilise for self-sufficiency; and take emergency measures against "class enemies" and other internal opponents.[49] The military threat was little more than a self-inflicted delusion, but the Soviet leadership was not acting in a completely irrational fashion. Remilitarisation of the Soviet Union made sense because of its alleged backwardness facing a hostile capitalist world; the redistribution of resources to the military-industrial complex required not only the forced collectivisation of land, but also a repressive apparatus to ensure mobilisation.[50]

48 Richard Overy, *The Dictators. Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia* (London 2004), 595–597.

49 Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism. Ordinary Life in Extraordinary Times – Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (New York 2000 [Original 1999]), 4f.; John P. Sontag, "The Soviet War Scare of 1926–27", in *Russian Review* 34 (1975), 66–77.

50 N.S. Simonov, "'Strengthen the Defence of the Land of Soviets'. The 1927 'War Alarm' and Its Consequences", in *Europe-Asia Studies* 48 (1996), 1355–1364, on pp. 1360–1364.

The "Great Purges" of 1937 and 1938, in which members of the Communist elite themselves were the main victims, also emerged in the context of the fear of war, with the aim to eliminate potential traitors.[51] Order No. 00447 of 31 July 1937 ("On the operation to prosecute former kulaks, criminals, and other anti-Soviet elements") shows that by this stage, camps were a part of the machinery of mass murder, not just of incarceration or ethnic or social cleansing. It called for 270,000 citizens to be shot or interned in gaols and camps.[52] The order ran in tandem with the "national operation", initiated by Stalin himself with an instruction to launch a campaign against former kulaks and criminals.[53]

After 1945, the Gulag continued to exist, shifting function towards ethnic exclusion, with the mass deportations of non-Russians and the internment of Soviet soldiers returning from German captivity. The camp population grew to its greatest extent ever, with 2.5 million inmates in 1953; the model was exported to the rest of Eastern Europe and East Germany.[54]

Comparisons

Comparison between the Gulag and the Nazi camps raises a question that was hotly debated in Germany in the 1980s – the thesis of the political scientist Ernst Nolte that not only had the Gulag preceded Auschwitz, but also that the Nazis reacted to it by ordering the Holocaust. This was an unhistorical attempt to relativise the Nazi policies of genocide. It amounted to a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* argument that was rightly rejected by historians, for there is no evidence that the Nazis took much notice of the Soviet camps as a model.[55]

51 Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism*, 11.

52 Introduction to Rolf Binner et al., *Massenmord und Lagerhaft. Die andere Geschichte des Großen Terrors* (Berlin 2009), 9.

53 Ibid., 17–19.

54 Felix Schnell, "Der Gulag als Systemstelle sowjetischer Herrschaft", in Greiner / Kramer, *Welt der Lager,* 134–165, on p. 161; on the "Speziallager" in the Soviet zone in East Germany, see Bettina Greiner, "Die Speziallager des NKVD in Deutschland,1945–1950. Annäherungen an ein vermintes Terrain", in Greiner / Kramer, *Welt der Lager,* 276–301.

55 Systematic, serious comparisons between the two regimes are rare. One is in Michael Geyer / Sheila Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Beyond Totalitarianism. Stalinism and Nazism Compared* (Cambridge 2009); however, there is little in it that directly compares the two camp systems. The chapter by Christian Gerlach / Nicolas Werth, "State Violence – Violent Societies", 133–179, focuses on perpetrators, state policies of repression, ethnic policies, and mass murder, all in the service of the unproductive thesis that the two regimes were "extremely violent societies". Further useful comparative works are Ian Kershaw / Moshe Lewin, *Stalinism and Nazism: Dictatorships in Comparison* (Cambridge 1997) and above all Overy, *The Dictators,* which contains a substantial comparison between the two camp systems. Cf. also Paul Moore, " 'And what concentration camps

Yet in a distorted way the Nolte argument hints at an underlying connection. The revolutionary nature of captivity in colonial counter-insurgency and the First World War anticipated the fascist and Stalinist camp systems: mass incarceration of innocent people, total surveillance, exhausting labour, enforced hunger, corporal punishment, and treatment outside the rule of law. Nevertheless, this was a case of common roots, not linear causality.

Although more research is needed on violence in the Gulag, the many similarities with the Nazi concentration camps suggest that both regimes were intent on genocide. However, the Gulag's priorities were regime security and labour exploitation. The old theories of totalitarianism, by focusing on ideology and absolute rule, fail to account for the divergent functions of the two systems.[56]

Comparison reveals several differences. For all its harshness, the Gulag system did not aim for mass death, but production, and for that it had to keep the labourers alive. Some 30 million people passed through the Gulag (including prisons, penal colonies, and "special settlements"): far more than the Nazi camps. The deadliest phase of Gulag history was not the Great Terror, but wartime: of 6.7 million prisoners from 1934 to 1947, 980,091 perished, or 14.6 per cent. The majority, 4,182,135, were released, either into the army or because they reached the end of their sentence. Two-thirds of the deaths occurred in 1941–1944, mainly due to the deterioration in the food supply.[57] Moreover, the Gulag was not clearly demarcated from Soviet society, where more people perished from hunger and state violence outside the camps.[58]

Some 12 million people were interned in Nazi camps of all kinds, broadly defined to include one million in "work education camps" and at least 8.4 million civilian forced labourers in camps where conditions often resembled those in the concentration camps. The SS concentration camp system, fixated on violence, was prodigal in producing death, with only 600,000 survivors out of the 2.3 million inmates (excluding the death factories which were not even "camps"), but survival rates in the other Nazi camps were higher.[59]

This raises a question as old as the earliest studies of the Third Reich: did economics or ideology take priority? Marc Buggeln's examination of the second main function of the SS concentration camps during wartime, forced

those were!' Foreign Concentration Camps in Nazi Propaganda, 1933–9", in *Journal of Contemporary History* 45:3 (2010), 649–674. A useful brief comparison is in Wachsmann, "The Nazi Concentration Camps in International Context", 315–319.

56 Cf. Geyer, "Introduction", in Geyer/ Fitzpatrick, Beyond Totalitarianism, 30–31.

57 Overy, The Dictators, 611–614.

58 Schnell, "Der Gulag als Systemstelle", 135-136.

59 Cf. Benz/Distel, (eds), 'Vorwort', Der Ort des Terrors, vol. 9, 12; Wachsmann, KL, 6. On the definition of 'forced labourers' and the calculation of their mortality, Mark Spoerer/ Jochen Fleischhacker, 'Forced Laborers in Nazi Germany: Categories, Numbers, and Survivors', in Journal of Interdisciplinary History 33:2 (2002), 169-204.

labour, questions the widespread belief that the SS pursued a policy of "annihilation through labour". A long time elapsed before war production became paramount. Contrary to the assumption that the concentration camp system was a vast armaments production combine, as late as September 1942 there were only 110,000 inmates, of whom just 1 per cent worked directly in armaments production. The majority worked on building projects in the east. Only then was it decided to employ slave labour on a mass scale.[60] This shift in function meant that the SS made concerted – and successful – efforts to reduce the mortality rate among prisoners. The sociologist Wolfgang Sofsky's contention that concentration camp labour was "terror labour", that is, by its nature senseless apart from the intention to destroy the individual, does not account for slave labour in the war: "most of the labour was performed to achieve vital wartime objectives", not to "satisfy the sadistic tendencies of the SS", Buggeln has written.[61]

Camps after 1945?

After the Second World War, the camp system was resurrected in the West both in practice and in discourse. Yet the results were very different. Camps for "Displaced Persons" (concentration camp survivors, foreign labourers, and others caught up in the Nazi system) were often located in former German concentration camps, but their function was utterly different: welfare and rehabilitation. It would be incorrect to describe either the DP camps or the refugee camps (also for expellees, returning prisoners of war, and later for immigrants, in Germany and elsewhere) as concentration camps, or as penal or internment camps.[62]

This distinction is all the more important, and more difficult to make, in the case of the camps used by democratic states in decolonisation warfare

60 Marc Buggeln, *Arbeit & Gewalt. Das Außenlagersystem des KZ Neuengamme* (Göttingen 2009). English transl. *Slave Labor in Nazi Concentration Camps* (Oxford 2014), 17f.

61 Buggeln, *Slave Labor*, 22, 27–32, 92. For a balanced overview of the extent and function of penal and internment camps in the Second World War, we would need to examine concentration camps in the broader context of and in interaction with prisoner of war, civilian internment, "labour education", and other forms of exclusion camps in Germany, the Soviet Union, and Japan. That would go beyond the limits of this chapter.

62 Holger Köhn, *Die Lage der Lager. Displaced Persons-Lager in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands* (Essen 2012); Wolfgang Jacobmeyer, *Vom Zwangsarbeiter zum heimatlosen Ausländer. Die Displaced Persons in Westdeutschland 1945–1951* (Göttingen 1951); Zeev W. Mankowitz, *Life Between Memory and Hope: The Survivors of the Holocaust in Occupied Germany* (Cambridge 2002); Margaret Myers Feinstein, *Holocaust Survivors in Postwar Germany, 1945–1957* (Cambridge 2010); Yehuda Bauer, *Out of the Ashes: The Impact of American Jews on Post-Holocaust European Jewry* (Oxford 1989).

after 1945. For all the violence of the French war in Algeria, including torture, indiscriminate reprisals, and the resettlement of the population in "Camps de Regroupement", or Britain's "New Villages" in Malaya and Kenya, these were anything but a replication of Nazi camps.[63] This was not "Auschwitz in Algeria" or "Britain's Gulag". Rather, they were a new, "improved" version of *fin-de-siècle* counterinsurgency enhanced with modernising, authoritarian goals in a late-colonial "state building" project. In another functional shift, the discourse of concentration camps was revived to denounce colonial rule. Nevertheless, they were still "camps", although even that is an open question for some.[64] In South Africa, the ruling National Party after 1948 routinely employed the glib coupling of Auschwitz and the British concentration camps; the suffering of Boer civilians became part of the Afrikaner mythology of martyrdom to legitimate the building of the apartheid state.[65]

In the last quarter of the twentieth century there was a further shift in function. The camps in the dictatorships in Chile and Argentina were exclusively for political repression. During Pinochet's rule there were about 1,200 sites of internment and torture, some of which can be described as concentration camps, mainly in military installations, and some in sports facilities (notably the national stadium in Santiago), church buildings, and social welfare institutions.[66] After the military putsch of General Videla in Argentina in 1976, according to recent research there were possibly 600 torture centres and concentration camps.[67]

These camps, too, were part of a global, transnational history. Argentinian torture specialists were trained by consultants from the American and French armies (the latter with expertise gained in Algeria).[68] The reign of terror was accompanied with the rhetoric of alterity, in which the enemies of the dictatorship were portrayed as the "other" – as terrorists, the Antichrist, non-Argentinians, non-persons. At the same time, the regime denied the existence of the camps.[69]

63 Cf. Moritz Feichtinger, "'Concentration Camps in all but name?' Zwangsumsiedlung und Counterinsurgency 1950–1970", in Greiner / Kramer, *Welt der Lager,* 302–327.

64 Feichtinger, "Concentration Camps in all but name?", who denies they were camps.

65 Liz Stanley, *Mourning Becomes ... Post / Memory, Commemoration and the Concentration Camps of the South African War* (Manchester 2006).

66 See URL: http://www.memoriaviva.com/English/centros_detencion_lista.htm, accessed 29 April 2013. On the broader context, see Mary Helen Spooner, *Soldiers in a Narrow Land. The Pinochet Regime in Chile* (Berkeley, CA 1994). She specifically names Dawson Island as a concentration camp (125); however, she does not make clear the criteria that distinguish "prison", "place of arrest", and "concentration camp".

67 Marguerite Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror. Argentina and the Legacies of Torture* (New York 2011 [Original 1998]), 8, 330. The author cites an estimate of the Archive of National Memory of 2009.

68 Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror*, 12f.

69 Ibid., 32.

The labour camps and punishment camps of Communist China and North Korea evidently drew on the Soviet model.[70] Millions were held in the *laogai* (reform through labour) system of prisons and camps during Mao Tse Tung's period of rule, but estimates of the number held and of the death toll vary widely, and to this day it is difficult to obtain reliable information. North Korea swiftly became a repressive state after 1945, employing many of the instruments of high Stalinism. The unusual feature of this state is that it retains concentration camps to this day, despite official denials. At least 150,000 people were still held in "political penal labor colonies" as late as 2012.[71]

Finally, how societies remember camps says something about their political culture. Democratic societies can come to terms with the legacy of camps, often after a long struggle; commemoration of the camps, usually driven from below by local people, professional and amateur historians, and associations of camp victims, plays an important role in the construction of democratic political culture. Negation (or distortion) of the memory of camps can be conducive to political myth-making and nationalist hatreds. The use of concentration camps, including for mass murder, in the Yugoslav wars of succession in the 1990s, prompted a debate about "humanitarian intervention" and the prosecution of war crimes. The memory of the camps has had a fundamental influence on the changes in international law since 1945.

These transformations in function and discourse are an indication of the twisted paths of an institution that has been a scar on humankind. Developed by advanced states during modern warfare, concentration camps, along with other forms of exclusion and inclusion camps, have proved their protean mutability for democratic states and dictatorships in war and peace.

70 Jean-Luc Domenach, *Chine: L'archipel oublié* (Paris 1992).

71 David Hawk, *The Hidden Gulag. The Lives and Voices of "Those Who are Sent to the Mountains". Exposing North Korea's Vast System of Lawless Imprisonment* (Washington, DC 2012).

Section I

Gregor Feindt / Anke Hilbrenner

Camps as Nomos of Modernity?

When Giorgio Agamben described camps as the "nomos of modernity",[1] he originally referred to the concentration camps of the Second World War, especially Auschwitz. Camps, according to Agamben, represent the space of a permanent "state of exception" and condense the logics of modern society. Here, the modern individual is bereft of everything but bare life. Dignity, freedom, and human rights, but also religion, values, identity, and history – everything is erased from the individual in order to establish order. Building upon Carl Schmitt's concept of *Ausnahmezustand,* Agamben claims that the state of exception is thus the new paradigm of government, not only in Auschwitz, but also in the Guantanamo Bay detention camp or in the present day refugee camps within the European Union.[2] In this introduction to the following section, we will argue for an understanding of camps that not only acknowledges affirmation of the state of exception and its implications, but also moves beyond it. We will therefore discuss the concept of modernity and review the four chapters of this section against this background.

The experience with camps throughout the twentieth century brought an end to the belief in modernity in terms of the promise of fundamental and extensive progress.[3] As spaces of a devastating experience with modernity, camps contradicted all affirmative and positive notions of modernity, such as freedom, democracy, human rights, and science, and shattered the alleged certainty of progress that had accelerated the century in question. Even more so, as Alan Kramer demonstrated in his introductory chapter on camps as protean institutions, they existed at twentieth century's very beginning, during the Second Boer War (1899–1902), and remain in existence into the present day.

1 Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz. The Witness and the Archive* (Brooklyn, NY 1999).

2 Id., *Homo Sacer. Sovereign Power and Bare Life, State of Exception* [Homo Sacer I] (Stanford, CA 1998). For the concept of *Ausnahmezustand* in Carl Schmitt's works, see id. *Die Diktatur. Von den Anfängen des modernen Souveränitätsgedankens bis zum proletarischen Klassenkampf* (Munich 1921); id., *Political Theology. Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty* (Cambridge, MA 1985 [Original Berlin 1922]).

3 See e.g., Dan Diner (ed.), *Zivilisationsbruch. Denken nach Auschwitz* (Frankfurt a.M. 1988); Theodor W. Adorno / Max Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (Stanford, CA 2002 [Original Amsterdam 1947]).

These reflections address modernity as both an epoch characterised by radical turning points, and as a normative and teleological concept. Both dimensions of modernity are chatoyant and we should not fall prey to a simplistic definition of modernity, as it comprises a bundle of processes. Therefore, scholars working on modernity should focus on its procedural nature and modernisation, and confront concepts of modernity with attempts of bringing such concepts into practice. In his criticism of modernisation as a normative concept of progress, the Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman pointed to the fact that such emphasis on industrialisation, democratisation, and rationalisation employs a notion of clarity and stability. On the contrary, modernity often provokes quite the opposite.[4] An analytical approach towards modernity must therefore highlight the contingent, contradictory and non-linear nature of modernisation.

Such understanding allows for covering various aspects of modernity and takes on processes such as social engineering, mass communication, institutionalisation, education, professionalisation, industrial labour, construction of imagined communities (for instance nation, class, gender, or race), bureaucracy, and radicalisation of violence, all of those are also crucial for the study of the history of camps. Such processes characterised camps from the very beginning and this can be demonstrated with early camps for civilians and POWs in war situations, which is the focus of this section. Therefore, this introduction and the following chapters will not look at camps as spaces of totalitarian modernity, but will look beyond a holistic "modernity". We suggest that a multi-perspective approach opens up the variety of actors involved with camps and their multitude of practices. This includes a critical understanding of the spatial quality of camps and calls for relating actors inside camps such as inmates, authorities, and guards, with those crossing the borders of camps, and eventually with society beyond camps. Such scrutiny exploits the twofold character of Agamben's use of the Schmittian *nomos*, as the concept encompasses both space and order that are condensed in the camps.[5] For this, the practice of sport in camps may serve as an important example for studying the nomos of modernity as it fosters numerous processes considered to be modernisation, such as education, social engineering, mass communication, politics, propaganda, regulation and institutionalisation.

4 Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Cambridge 1991).
5 Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer I,* 19.

Practices of Modernity in Camps

Studying sport reaches beyond the enclosed space of camps and offers general insights on the practices of modernity. This is not only the case with camps such as Auschwitz but also true for the somehow less radical and fatal military-led camps for civilians and POWs that are studied in the four chapters of this section. In these studies, sport will serve as a heuristic device to unsettle the concept of modernity and bring this unsettlement into analytical practise. The four chapters in this section take on the history of the early twentieth century and focus on camps run by military authorities. They reflect the internment of prisoners of war and civilian population against the background of camps as emerging total institutions. Beginning with the Boer wars and reaching towards POW-camps in the Second World War, camps had, in most cases, a legal basis in The Hague convention but developed specific forms of camps life and culture. Following a brief discussion of the chapters and their analytical contribution to understanding modernity, we will outline two strategies for the critical study of modernity and its nomos: self-reflexivity and epistemic disobedience.

Floris van der Merwe discusses the camps for Boers during the Second Boer War (1899–1902) bringing together POW-camps and concentration camps for entire Boer families. His chapter reveals the imminent function of sport in the educational approach of those camps and points to the camp authorities' attempts of introducing the internees – and especially schoolchildren – to British culture and the English language. Such popularisation of different forms of sport in total institutions such as camps or others is well documented. Van der Merwe's chapter is a case in point, as in these concentration camps rugby gained popularity also with rural Boers without necessarily bringing them in direct contact with guards or other British populations. In the long run, rugby became the national and identity-marking sport in South Africa, at least for the Afrikaner community.

However, introducing and popularising sport clearly epitomised practises of civilising and eventually Anglicising the Boer population for future British rule. This imperial trajectory of the camps' sporting culture sheds new light on the ambivalence of a colonial situation and goes beyond the transfer of cultural codes. The performance of British sport included the reception of specific normative concepts such as competition, sportsmanship, or fairness,[6] which cannot be reduced to the Boers' opposition or subjection to imperial

6 Christiane Eisenberg, *"English sports" und deutsche Bürger. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte 1800–1939* (Paderborn 1999), 56–69.

rule. Instead, the development of a Boer sporting practice in and beyond the camp experience exemplifies the hybridisation of South African culture.[7]

Christoph Jahr discusses the experience of British soldiers in a POW camp in Germany, as well as German POWs in Japan, both during the First World War. Both groups made use of sport as a means to fight boredom, named barbed-wire disease by contemporaries. While the British inmates in the Ruhleben camp put English sports on display in Germany, Germans in the Bando camp also engaged in English sports. In this case, the internees considered the camp a showcase of European civilisation in Japan and fiercely discussed whether their cultural performance was English or German.

In both cases the respective camp could be comprehended as an island of modern civilisation for internees in an allegedly backward environment, and therefore created cultural difference between those inside and those outside the camp, and in a broader sense between Europe and Asia. The comparison between both cases exposes that this difference was not essential but functional and relative:[8] the difference between English sports and German *Turnen* seemed obvious to all European actors and testified to two different approaches of civilisation, but came into play only in a European situation. However, in confrontation with an allegedly non-civilised, i.e. Japanese, context, both of them were considered equally superior and would – similar to the likes of Beethoven – support the proliferation of (European) civilisation.

Panikos Panayi studies the sporting activities of German internees in British camps during the First World War and thus, similarly to Jahr, presents another example of the internees' barbed-wire disease throughout the war and in camps across the country. Relating sport closely to work and more general leisure activities in those camps, Panayi brings to the fore that camps for POWs and German civilians who had lived in Britain long before the war produced similar strategies of coping with long-time internment. Sport provided, similarly to skilled and hard physical labour, a successful and socially acceptable form of relieving stress and coping with boredom. Moreover, the chapter underlines the social relevance of sport when Panayi discusses the community-building among internees. Competing with other camps or on some occasions with guards created a sense of belonging and integrated the individual into a specific community.

Such practices both enforced discipline and contributed to self-organisation of internees. This ambivalent character of sport in camps questions the binary logic of those experiencing camps and calls for analytical categories that move beyond the perspectives of historical actors. In participating

7 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London 1994).
8 Mark Currie, *Difference* (London 2004), 16f.

in the creation of the conditions of the camps inmates were subjects of their coerced environment and thus actively stabilised it. As James E. Young has argued along the example of the Holocaust, a "self-critical awareness of where traditionally conditioned"[9] concepts lead us enables scholars to alienate such interpretations. This means with regard to Panayi's example that cooperation and self-reliance are not exclusive or necessarily contradictory practices, but should be understood as intertwined and reciprocal.

Doriane Gomet, like Panayi, discovers in the German camps for French POWs during the Second World War what Michel Foucault calls *dispositifs*: a network of elements to govern people's lives using standard discipline-based tools that enable any modern authority to control space and time, the creation of groups, surveillance and knowledge.[10] Practices such as education, propaganda, politics, regulating institutions contribute to the *dispositifs*, the network of modern society, its miniature being the camp.

Gomet identifies sport as just another element in this dispositive. Sporting practices in camps reach back to the "humane treatment regulations" of The Hague (1899 and 1907), as well as the Geneva Convention, ruling the POW-camps and being by and large observed. Institutions such as the YMCA (Young Men's Christian Association) helped to maintain and restore order within the camp by the use of (among other things) sport. The self-empowerment of the captives in organising sport also contributes to the unobstructed routine of the camp. When, for instance, officers were employed in "female" activities such as cleaning and cooking, sport restored the militaristic and thus masculine gender identity of those held and provided a reflection of their life before war and captivity. Gomet argues that inmates and authorities alike composed the camp experience and thus jointly constructed the very essence of modern society.

The four chapters in this section assemble numerous examples of civilising practices and discourses within military run camps. In their studies, the authors demonstrate that camps condense the practices and epistemes of modernity and may be understood as inherently modern institutions. For instance, Dorianne Gomet discusses explicitly the awareness of many French POWs of their situation and the ambiguous effects of sport in camps, between self-organisation and auto-discipline. Similarly, Panikos Panayi points to the fact that one widely followed interpretation of sport and leisure practices in

9 James E. Young, *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust. Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation* (Bloomington, IN 1988), 192.

10 Michel Foucault, "The Confession of the Flesh" (1977) interview, in Colin Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York 1980), 194–228. For a broader perspective on discipline and disciplinary practices, see Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison* (New York 1979).

camps – understanding the effects of captivity as "barbed-wire disease" and sport as a means of coping with it – originates in early reports by diplomatic inspections or former captives themselves.[11]

Such examples demonstrate the significant degree of self-reflection within the condensed space of camps. Internees and captives cannot be reduced to the status of depraved or passive objects of the camp experience but rather pictured as – to varying degrees – self-empowered subjects in and beyond camps. This intertwining of discursive and epistemic power in the chapters of this section reveals a high degree of self-reflexivity within camps. As Anthony Giddens argues, self-reflexivity is an eminent trait of social relations in modern society and conclusively a trait of modernity.[12]

Regardless of self-reflexivity and captives' surprisingly insightful interpretations of their experiences, the study of camps calls for analytical differentiation. As the four chapters all demonstrate the ambiguity of camp experiences and the self-reflection of those held in camps, they also reveal the inherent binary framing of camps – i.e., the difference between rulers and the ruled. Against the background of our critique of teleological and essential concepts of modernity we argue that the complexity and ambiguity of power in camps – and modern society – call for an analytical framework that overcomes the historical actors' categories and figurations in favour of deconstruction. This means studying multiple actors and all possible conditions of their agency and placing these actors both within and beyond camps. Studying camps in both discourse and practices will blur their allegedly clear-cut borders and help to unsettle an affirmative concept of modernity and the diminishing understanding of camps as nomos of modernity. In fact, studying camps demands epistemic disobedience[13] and only such alienation of historic knowledge enables us to fully grasp the complexity of nomos of modernity.

11 A.L. Vischer, *Barbed Wire Disease. A Psychological Study of the Prisoner of War* (London 1919).

12 Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge 1984).

13 Walter Mignolo, "Epistemic Disobedience, Independent Thought and De-Colonial Freedom", in *Theory, Culture & Society* 26:7–8 (2009), 1–23.

Floris J.G. van der Merwe

Sport in Concentration and Prisoner of War Camps during the Anglo-Boer War, 1899–1902

After two and a half centuries of conflict between the Boers and the British in South Africa, the Boers declared war on 11 October 1899. While the British expected the war to be over by Christmas, it eventually lasted two years and nine months.[1]

Captivity is an inevitable result of any full-scale military operation and the Anglo-Boer War was no exception. As the British military authorities did not expect the war to last very long they had to make speedy preparations to house the increasing number of prisoners of war. The enlarged British forces occupied all the existing camp accommodation so new temporary camps had to be erected. For practical and security reasons these camps had to be outside the Transvaal and Orange Free State (the two Boer Republics involved in the war). Transit camps were consequently established at Ladysmith (Natal), Umbilo (Durban), Green Point and Simon's Town (both in Cape Town). The last three camps were all near harbours from which the prisoners of war could be sent to overseas camps,[2] such as St. Helena, Ceylon, India and Bermuda. Other reasons for placing them in isolated areas were a desire to prevent prisoners from escaping, to demoralise the burghers in the field, and the fear of a liberation assault in the vulnerable Cape Colony.[3]

Apart from prisoner of war camps, the Anglo-Boer War also produced concentration camps. The notion of concentration camps, which is only a few years older than the Anglo-Boer War, is ascribed to General Valeriano Weyler of Spain. General Weyler served in Cuba when the 1896 rebellion was at its height. He was appointed governor with full power to suppress the uprising, to restore political order and to restore the sugar industry to full production. Initially Weyler was frustrated by the insurgents' guerrilla tactics (hit and run, living off the land and blending in with the local citizens). He then realised that to win back Cuba for Spain he would have to separate the rebels from the

1 T. Pakenham, *The Boer War* (Johannesburg 1979), xv, xxi.
2 S.P.R. Oosthuizen, *Die beheer, behandeling en lewe van die krygsgevangenes gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog* (Bloemfontein 1975), 120f.
3 K. Roodt-Coetzee, "Die lief en leed van die banneling", in J.H. Breytenbach (ed.), *Gedenkalbum van die Tweede Vryheidsoorlog* (Cape Town 1949), 507–532, on p. 507.

citizenry. To do this he had to place more than 300,000 people in "reconcentration" camps. Nearly 30 per cent of them died as a result of hunger, poor hygiene and the lack of medicine.[4]

The notorious concentration camp policy in South Africa was first instituted on Saturday, 22 September 1900, when Major-General J.G. Maxwell, the military governor of the Transvaal Colony, announced that camps for citizens who had voluntarily surrendered would be erected in Pretoria and Bloemfontein. Lord Frederick Roberts, overall commander of the British forces in South Africa, authorised this on 27 September when he gave the order to confiscate provisions in the Orange Free State and to inform burghers that if they continued the guerrilla war their families would be starved out.[5] Lord Roberts, and even more so his successor, Major-General Lord Horatio Herbert Kitchener (from the end of November 1900), went to extremes to bring the two Boer republics under British control. Kitchener's proclamations on the concentration camps and the scorched earth policy were issued on 20 and 21 December 1900.[6] In total more than 30,000 farms were destroyed and 52 concentration camps for whites and at least 89 camps for blacks were erected.

Historians agree that the Anglo-Boer War was one of the most gripping events in the history of South Africa. Consequently, more has been published in South Africa on this topic than any other.[7] A great deal has been written in the past hundred years on the role of the prisoner of war and concentration camps during this war. However, it is only over the last two decades that attention has been paid to the issue of sport and games among the inmates of these camps. This chapter will refer to two earlier studies that focused on prisoner of war camps and concentration camps for civilians in the Anglo-Boer War. The first study dealt with sport and games in the prisoner of war camps during the Anglo-Boer War[8] and the second study with sport and games in the concentration camps during the war.[9] The former was for men and boys who were captured during the war and the latter for women and children who were removed from their farms and concentrated into camps all over the country.

4 "General Valeriano Weyler", in *The World of 1898. The Spanish-American War*, 22 May 2004, URL: http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/weyler.html; "Reconcentration Policy", in *The World of 1898.The Spanish-American War*, 20 May 2004, URL: http://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/reconcentration.html.

5 P.G. Cloete, *The Anglo-Boer War. A Chronology* (Pretoria 2000), 189f.; A.W.G. Raath, *Die Boerevrou 1899–1902* (Kampsmarte, Nylstroom 2002), 8f.

6 M.A. Gronum, *Die Engelse oorlog 1899–1902. Die gevegsmetodes waarmee die Boere-republieke verower is* (Cape Town 1972), 37–43.

7 G. Cuthbertson et al., *Writing a Wider War. Rethinking Gender, Race, and Identity in the South African War 1899–1902* (Cape Town 2002), ix.

8 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sport en spel in die Boerekrygsgevangenekampe tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899–1902* (Stellenbosch 1995).

9 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sport en spel in die konsentrasiekampe tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899–1902* (Stellenbosch 2004).

In both studies the following questions were posed: What need did the people have for physical activities in such circumstances? What effect did the geographic environment have on their physical activities? What influence did the non-Boers have on the choice of sport and games in the prisoner of war camps? What influence did the camp authorities have? Which sports and games were played? What significance did these have for the camp inmates? Was the war an instrument of cultural and social change and, if so, to what extent? This chapter limits itself to a discussion in which the core findings of the two studies are given in a comparative fashion.

Prisoner of War Camps

Shortly after the war broke out on 11 October 1899, the first Boer prisoners of war were captured. Of the roughly 27,000 prisoners of war, 24,000 were housed in overseas camps. These camps were in St. Helena (in the Atlantic Ocean), Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), India and Bermuda.[10]

In addition to the Boers, there was a large variety of other nationalities who had fought on the Boer side as sympathisers. Many of them were making a living in South Africa when the war broke out, but a great number also came to support the Boers in their war effort. Although the Boers did not always get on well with them, the foreigners had a significant influence on the sports culture in the camps. Some of these foreigners, for instance the Germans, kept to themselves and maintained their own cultural practices. Thus they introduced foreign sports such as gymnastics,[11] fencing,[12] billiards[13] and skittles.[14] "The Germans and Hollanders have their Zangvereine; the Irish have their boxing and athletic exercises; the Afrikanders [*sic*] impartially take part in everything and bake stormjagers and pannekoek[15] in the intervals."[16]

It is evident that the Boers (or at least some of them) copied these new activities. To a large extent, the British sports culture in present-day South Africa was established in these camps. Before the war, only Boers from an

10 M.C.E. van Schoor, *Die bannelinge. A.B.O.-Boerekrygsgevangenes 1899–1902* (Bloemfontein 1983), 1f., 37.
11 War Museum (WM), "De Krijgsgevangene 13", in Newspaper 1820/1 (1901), 2.
12 WM, "De Krijgsgevangene 10", in Newspaper 251/1 (1901), 3; H. de Graaf, *Boere op St. Helena* (Cape Town 1950), 189f.
13 WM, "De Krijgsgevangene 10", in Newspaper 251/1 (1901), 4; W.M., 4528/8, Dagboek van J. Teengs te St. Helena, 188f.
14 Transvaal Archives Depot (T.A.D.), A1483, R.L. Brohier, paper cuttings, in *Colombo Observer* (1900), 7; WM, 158/3, A.W. Andree, *Boer Prisoners of War in Ceylon, A.D. 1900* (Colombo 1901?).
15 Dumplings and pancakes.
16 Farrar Reginald Mostyn Cleaver, *A Young South African. A Memoir of Farrar Reginald Mostyn Cleaver, Advocate and Veldcornet* (Johannesburg 1913), 161.

urban environment were familiar with the tradition of British sports and games. For Boers like Daniel Jacobus du Toit (nineteen years of age)[17] with a rural background even pole vaulting was foreign.[18]

It was this very incarceration that "forced" many of the Boers to take part in sport for the first time in their lives, if only to escape the tedium. Some participants were young boys who joined the team to complete the numbers.[19] Some of them became famous sports stars after the war, for example Hendrik Jacobus (Koot) Reynecke who was captured as an eighteen-year-old youngster and sent off to Ceylon. It was in the prisoner of war camps that he and his friends learnt to play rugby. After the war he enrolled at Victoria College in Stellenbosch and when Tommy Smythe's British rugby team toured South Africa in 1910, Koot played for the Springboks,[20] as the national rugby team was called by then.

There were similar instances in cricket. On 1 April 1901 at Diyatalawa camp (Ceylon), Jacobus Wille wrote in his diary that he had played cricket for the first time.[21] Among his fellow inmates at the camp were George Sennett, J. Coetzer[22] and Petrus J.C. [presumably] Oosthuizen who developed into brilliant players.[23] A year after the war (in 1903), Sennet attained the best batting average in the Currie Cup competition.[24]

Furthermore, visiting British sports icons greatly influenced South African sport. For instance, Sir Donald Currie was a pioneer in the British shipping industry. After founding his own shipping line, the Castle Line, in 1862, he introduced the world's first scheduled shipping service. In 1876, Currie decided to visit South Africa amid the bitterness about the first occupation of the Transvaal. His genial personality made him a popular visitor in all the provinces. When a British cricket team visited South Africa in 1888, Currie seized the opportunity to make a contribution. He wanted to donate a trophy to the South African cricketers to commemorate the visit of the British players. This trophy was to be presented as a challenge cup to the provincial team that performed the best against the visitors. He thought that perhaps it could serve as a trophy for international matches. In compliance with Currie's wishes, the cup remained in South Africa. However, it was not used for

17 wmbr.org.za (database: prisoners of war).
18 D.J. du Toit, "Sport en sportmanne op St. Helena II", in *Die Huisgenoot* 30 (1946), 19.
19 J. Minnaar, "Op St. Helena I", in *Die Huisgenoot* 21 (1936), 95.
20 D.H. Craven, *Die groot rugbygesin van die Maties* (Cape Town 1980), 102f.
21 Strange Library 968.0464. J. Wille. Dagboek van krygsgevangeneskap te Diyatalawa, 23.
22 The database in wmbr.org.za give three possible names. Based on their age it is impossible to determine which one is referred to here.
23 WM, "De Krijgsgevangene 1", in Newspaper 5678/4 (1902), 3.
24 V. Woods, "Boere kolf en boul in Ceylon", in bylae tot "Die Burger" (1981), 14.

international matches, but for interprovincial tournaments. The first Currie Cup tournament was held in 1890.[25]

The seventeen year old Johan Adrian[26] Visser in turn developed into an excellent tennis player having learnt the game at the camp in Ceylon.[27] On the other hand, prisoners of war like Hendrik Schalk Kok (eighteen years)[28] testified that the sports activities in the camp played a cardinal role in their cultural growth by their learning of all these new activities. He wrote in his diary that these were indeed the happiest days he had ever spent. The exile in Ceylon was really a very good training ground for him.[29] Even the non-participants saw sport as a relief from boredom. Thus, for instance, Hendrik van der Merwe reported that he went to watch sport every afternoon.[30]

To combat idleness, the camp inmates themselves created the structures in which societies, clubs and competitions could be run, not only for sport. The sports committees that were established in the different camps executed their task well. In St. Helena, for instance, an enthusiastic sports committee instituted sporting activities and handled the organisation. There were, for example, a football club for both rugby and soccer, a cricket club, a boxing club, a fencing club and a committee to organise athletic meetings.[31] With the money they earned from their handicraft, as well as donations, they imported the equipment they could not manufacture themselves from America, Europe or Cape Town.[32]

On specific dates of patriotic importance, such as the birthdays of the presidents of the Boer Republics,[33] the birthday of Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands[34] and the independence day of the Orange Free State,[35] they demonstrated their patriotism by singing folksongs and playing sport.

Certain sports enjoyed more status than others in particular camps. Three factors were responsible for this. In the first place the initiators deserved credit. The camp in Diyatalawa (Ceylon) provides an outstanding example.

25 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sport History. A Textbook for South African Students* (Stellenbosch 2012), 164.
26 wmbr.org.za (database: prisoners of war).
27 WM,"De Krijgsgevangene 1", in Newspaper 5592/28 (1902), 4.
28 wmbr.org.za (database: prisoners of war).
29 C.G. Henning, "Boeren muziekgezelschap in Ceylon", in *Humanitas* 3 (1975), 26.
30 WM, Newspaper 3079/4 (1), Diary of H. van der Merwe at Diyatalawa.
31 De Graaf, "Boere op St. Helena", 189.
32 C.R. Kotzé, *My ballingskap (St. Helena)* (Bloemfontein 1942), 83.
33 L.C. Ruijssenaers, *Krijgsgevangeneschap van L.C. Ruijssenaers 1899–1902* (Pretoria 1977), 144; Kotzé, *My ballingskap (St. Helena)*, 84; WM, Newspaper 3079/3. Diary of H. van der Merwe at Diyatalawa.
34 J.N. Brink, *Oorlog en ballingskap* (Cape Town 1940), 171, 174.
35 H.L. van Rooyen, *Ek was 'n krygsgevangene in Indië in 1902* (Senekal 1962), 35.

Fig. I: Rugby in Deadwood Camp, St. Helena, J.S. Gericke Library, no.105. C.H. Minnaar, *St. Helena 1902* (Scrapbook)

Jim Holloway was the South African middleweight boxing champion[36] and Artie Tully the former Australian lightweight champion.[37] The latter followed the gold rush to the Rand before the war and when hostilities broke out, he joined the Boer forces.[38] Were it not for their enthusiasm and standing as champion fighters, boxing in this camp would not have been nearly as popular. Thanks to them, boxing lessons, demonstrations and tournaments were the order of the day.[39]

In the field of rugby, it was Leach M.K.[40] Edmeades. "[T]he very sight of him suggests a [rugby] match"[41] was what the camp newspaper reported. When rugby matches were resumed in Diyatalawa on 23 January 1902, this

36 C. Greyvenstein, *The Fighters* (Cape Town 1981), 61f.
37 Orange Free State Archives Depot (O.F.S.A.D.), A185, Diyatalawa Camp Lyre IV (15.10.1900), 4.
38 F.J.G. van der Merwe / James R. Couper, *Vader van Suid-Afrikaanse boks* (Melkbosstrand 2015), 82.
39 WM, 4833/67, R.L. Brohier, "The Boer Prisoner of War in Ceylon Part III", in *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon* XXXVI (1946), 43; O.F.S.A.D., A576, Memories of J.P. Hoffmann about Diyatalawa, Ceylon.
40 wmbr.org.za (database: prisoners of war).
41 WM, Newspaper 5678/4, 3.

newspaper expressed the hope that the players would not want to play again every afternoon (excepting Sundays) as they had done in 1901, because "the men cannot last at that rate".[42]

Secondly, environmental factors played a decisive role. Naturally, those who were in camps on the coast (as in Bermuda), regularly swam in the sea.

Fig. II: Swimmers at Burt's Island, Bermuda, WM, negative number 12901

The hard surfaces in Bermuda made tennis and athletics more popular than in other camps,[43] while the scorching heat and dust storms in India[44] generally had a dampening effect on their desire to play sport. A.P. Obermeijer reported a daily temperature of 49°Celcius in the shade and that one person had already died on arrival as a result of sunstroke.[45]

Thirdly, the attitude of the camp authorities played a role. In some cases it had a limiting effect, but in other cases it was encouraging. In most cases, the camp authorities proved to be sympathetically disposed towards sport. In

42 WM, Newspaper 4656/7, "De Krijgsgevangene I" in Newspaper 4656/7 (1902), 4.
43 F.J.G. van der Merwe, *Sport in die Boere-krygsgevangekampe tydens die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899–1902* (Stellenbosch ²2013), 186.
44 K. Roodt, "Boere-krygsgevangenekampe", in *Die Huisgenoot* 25 (1940), 23; Oosthuizen, *Die beheer*, 166f.
45 G.A. Obermeijer, private documents including his diary at Kaity-Nilgiris.

Fig. III: Tennis on Morgan Island, Bermuda T.A.D., negative number A21836

Diyatalawa, for instance, every hut was supplied with a set of quoits to play tenniquoits.[46] This game was played like horseshoe-pitching except that metal rings were used instead of horseshoes.

Camp authorities regularly granted leave to play matches against local teams. There are numerous examples of this. The best example was when the Diyatalawa Boer cricketing team played against the Colombo Colts on 5 and 6 June 1901 on the field of the Nondescript Cricket Club in Colombo. This team from the Colts Cricket Club consisted mainly of Brits and was the strongest in Colombo, with the result that they beat the Boers by 141 runs.[47] In the Indian camps Bhim Tal[48] and Sialkot,[49] the Boers played soccer against the British soldiers and in Abbottabad against a school team.[50]

While, as mentioned, cricket and soccer matches were sometimes played against the British forces and local teams, this was seemingly not the case with regard to rugby. The physicality and aggression of rugby would have obviously led to injuries and even bloodshed.

46 O.F.S.A.D., A576, Memories of J.P. Hoffmann about Diyatalawa, Ceylon.
47 W.M., 6201/11, A.W. Andree, *Boer Prisoners in Ceylon*, 1, 3.
48 Anon., "Die herinneringe van oud-krygsgevangenes", in *Die Huisgenoot* 62 (1968), 33.
49 Photograph of Boers playing soccer against the Gordons Regiment in *The Sphere* 9 (1902), 11.
50 W.M., 4734/1, Dairy of P.C.D. Otto at Kakool, 15–18.

Concentration Camps

A two-year, highly effective guerrilla war compelled the British to introduce a scorched earth policy and concentration camps in order to bring the elusive Boer guerrillas to their knees and thus end the war.[51] Close to 28,000 of the 118,000 Boers in the camps died. Of the estimated 43,000 black people who were put in separate camps, at least 14,154 died.[52]

In contrast with the prisoner of war camps, the white concentration camps were exclusively for Boer families. The cross-pollination in sport and games as referred to above did not occur there. The only bigger sports or games found in the camps were British recreations such as athletics, football, cricket and tennis. Notably here the initiators seem to have been the British government, or more specifically the camp authorities. They organised sports on festive days such as Christmas,[53] New Year,[54] Easter,[55] the King's birthday[56] and his coronation.[57] This is a very telling difference to the prisoner of war camps. They did not only organise them, but also on occasion made funding and equipment available.[58] One of the biggest athletics days was held on the birthday of King Edward VII on 9 November 1901,[59] as well as at the end of June 1902 on the occasion of his coronation. In South Africa, the various concentration camps were included in the general celebration of the coronation. The Director of Camps sent a memorandum in which he proposed that all the superintendents should plan the following festivities: a picnic with sport and games for the children; an athletic programme for the adults; an evening concert for the schoolchildren, and a dinner for the senior citizens, with an orchestra if possible. A programme of festivities as if there was no war raging!

With the advent of camp schools British sport was introduced to the youth as part of the concomitant Anglicisation policy. These schools were the

51 C.C. Saunders (ed.), *An Illustrated Dictionary of South African History* (Sandton 1994), 225f.

52 Anon., "Oorlogsbrand. Die offers van die heldhaftige kinders", in *Die Huisgenoot* 258 (2002), 98.

53 T.A.D., DBC/12, Burgher Camps Department. General report for December 1901.

54 A.W.G. Raath, *The British Concentration Camps of the Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902. Reports on the Camps* (Bloemfontein 1999), 226f.

55 T.A.D., DBC/12, Burgher Camps Department. General report for March 1902.

56 O.F.S.A.D., SRC 15 file 6097, Sports held at RC Vredeford Road on King's birthday.

57 T.A.D., DBC/12, Burgher Camps Department. General report for April 1902.

58 E. Hobhouse, *Die smarte van die oorlog en wie dit gely het* (Cape Town 1923), 261.

59 W.M., 5747/8, Concentration camp correspondence. Letter from Mattie to her father, J.I.L. Pretorius from the Bloemfontein camp, 10.11.1901; O.F.S.A.D., SRC 15 file 6097, Sports held at RC Vredeford Road on King's birthday; A.W.G. Raath & R.M. Louw, *Die konsentrasiekamp-gedenkreeks 2. Die konsentrasiekamp te Springfontein gedurende die Anglo-Boereoorlog 1899–1902* (Bloemfontein 1991), 82.

brainchild of Edmund Beale Sargant, a dyed in the wool imperialist sold on the idea of the British Empire. He understood his schooling policy as a way of contributing to the expansion of the British Empire. The camp school in the Green Point prisoner of war camp, which incidentally the inmates themselves started, sparked off the idea of doing the same on a large scale in the concentration camps. Sir Alfred Milner (Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner for Southern Africa) agreed to the idea, seeing it as a golden opportunity to teach Boer children the English language as well as British ideals[60] – in fact turning an initiative of self-organisation into a measure of cultural and political dominance. As Chief Superintendent of the concentration camps, Captain A.G. Trollope wrote in his report on the concentration camps in the Orange River Colony for December 1901 that cricket, tennis, football and croquet were played in all the camps and that the inmates were encouraged to play British games. He noted that children were even speaking English to each other while engaging in these British activities.[61] George Max King lent support to this view when he wrote the following in his monthly report for March 1902:

> […] slowly but surely we are gaining their confidence, and as a result they are gradually becoming reconciled to British rule. After all that has been done for them it would be strange if it were otherwise, but in bringing their children together and submitting them to British influence in the school and in the playground at an impressionable age, we are sowing seed destined, I believe, to bear good fruit in later years, and they are fast losing the prejudices instilled into them by their parents.[62]

Unlike the prisoner of war camps where the inmates created their own infrastructure for the organisation of sport, the children in the concentration camps were mainly dependent on the leadership of adults as far as the major sports were concerned. This seems to be the reason why these children had more time for minor games. The boys were particularly fond of playing with marbles and the girls of skipping. Although the British did not take the lead in this regard, they did provide equipment in many instances.[63] In his April 1902

60 P. Zietsman, "Die konsentrasiekampskole", in F. Pretorius (ed.), *Verskroeide aarde* (Cape Town 2001), 87–89.

61 Cd. 936, Great Britain, Parliament. Further papers relating to the working of the Refugee Camps in South Africa (London 1902) 6.

62 T.A.D., DBC/12, Burgher Camps Department. General report for March 1902, 4.

63 T.A.D., DBC/12, Burgher Camps Department. General report for March 1902, 5; T.A.D., DBC/12, Burgher Camps Department. General report for August 1902.

report, the camp superintendent of the Vryburg camp referred to "children's games, of which a fair supply has been sent to me".[64] Welfare organisations also made donations from time to time.[65]

In many of these camps the inmates were allowed to use the facilities of the camp personnel.[66] Tennis is a good example. In Kroonstad women (see picture below), men and women (mixed doubles) and the boys played matches.

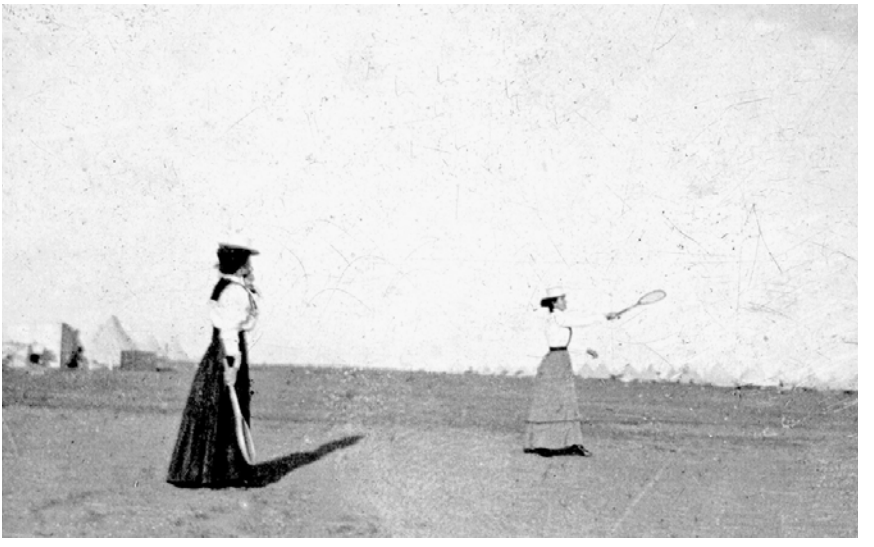


Fig. IV: Women playing tennis in the camp at Kroonstad Museum Africa, MA811244p2–2

Unfortunately, recordkeeping in the black camps was not as meticulous as in the white camps.[67] There is little information on the black camps because of "[…] the unavailability of proper records. British forces often didn't find the natives important enough to keep accurate records on them and many of the original records were destroyed."[68] A few references to children playing with toys made of wire and tins have been found.[69] It is common knowledge that a number of black people lived in the camps as servants[70] and that on

64 T.A.D., DBC/12, Burgher Camps Department. General report for April 1902.
65 J. van Helsdingen, *Vrouenleed. Persoonlike ondervindingen in den Boerenoorlog* (Amsterdam 1903), 96.
66 C.J.P. le Roux, *Die konsentrasiekamp van Bethulie* (Bloemfontein 1979), 1, 15.
67 Anon., *Black Concentration Camps during the Anglo-Boer War* (Bloemfontein 1996), 2.
68 J. Philips, "SA's Black Death Camps", in *Drum* 230 (1997), 8, 11.
69 W. West, Telephonic interview (23 October 2003).
70 B. Farwell, *The Great Boer War* (London 1976), 149.

occasion they must have taken part in the athletic meetings. For instance, the programme of the Athletic Sports in honour of King Edward's birthday on 9 November 1901 included a one mile "Native race".[71]

Sport in Captivity during the Anglo-Boer War

Before one can determine a person's need for physical activity, one first has to understand the nature of the environment and the demands it makes. Certain strains may be a threat to life and health; one may experience discomfort because of pain, heat, cold, damp, exhaustion and poor nutrition. One may lose the means of survival (in the form of money, work, business enterprises or property). There is the denial of sexual satisfaction, enforced idleness, restricted movement (overpopulation) and a threat to family members or friends. One may experience rejection, contempt, and ridicule by other people or be a victim of the whims and unpredictable behaviour of the camp authorities.[72] These stresses naturally apply more to the adult prisoners of war than to the youth in the concentration camps. The latter were more affected by poor hygiene, pestilence and the lack of living accommodation, food, and clothes. However, boredom was a common stressor.

In both cases sport and games were important ways of keeping up the spirits of camp inmates in these circumstances. In the midst of tremendous grief and suffering, most of these inmates were only too willing to take part in sporting activities. It was their salvation. The well-organised sports structure in the prisoner of war camps and the camp schools in the concentration camps had a significant therapeutic effect. In the concentration camps, games made it possible for the children to adjust quickly. A former camp inmate remembers that the younger children in Aliwal-North lived in their own world and were ostensibly able to ignore the terrible suffering that was going on around them. The healthy children played games all over without a care – often without the playmate who only the previous day played games and sang songs with them.[73] Add to this the British use of camp schools with sport and games as part of their concomitant Anglicisation policy.

As already mentioned, the geographic environment strongly affected the sport culture of the camps. However, this was not as true of the concentration camps as of the prisoner of war camps. In both cases, swimming was a popular pastime at the camps near water. Most of the camps in South Africa were in

71 W.M., 5413/1, Scrapbook.
72 A.H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men. General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp* (New York 1964), 252.
73 S. Nel, *Manikiniki. Die ware verhaal van 'n seun 1890–1903* (Bloemfontein 1987), 65, 87.

the interior and the inmates had to face extreme heat and cold. For instance, the temperature in the Bell tents at Norvalspont was between 42° and 44° Celsius on 10 February 1901.[74] On 10 June that year a violent snowstorm battered the camps in Aliwal North, Bethulie, Norvalspont and Springfontein.[75]

Both studies found that football (in the two codes of rugby and soccer), cricket, athletics and tennis were the most popular sports. In the prisoner of war camps, boxing was also popular. Athletics (also known simply as "sports") was mainly limited to festive occasions. There were clear differences in the nature of the festive days celebrated (usually with sport) between the prisoner of war and the concentration camps. In the former, they were patriotic festivities of importance to the Boer Republics, while in the latter the festivities were related to the British Empire. The reason for this was that the inmates of the prisoner of war camps decided for themselves, while in the concentration camps it depended on the teachers and the camp authorities. Naturally, both groups celebrated Christmas and New Year with sport as was the custom before the war.

There was also a clear distinction with regard to cross-pollination of sport culture. In the prisoner of war camps various cultures were mostly thrown together, while the white concentration camps mainly consisted of Boers. The cultural change in the former was thus more comprehensive than in the latter, where British influence alone had an effect. It was thus in the prisoner of war camps that Boers from rural areas first made contact with British sports and games and made these their "own". In both instances the camp superintendent played a significant role, but much more so in the case of the concentration camps where it was mainly children who participated in sport. The lead as far as organised sports days were concerned had to come from the adults or authorities.

74 E. Hobhouse, *To the Committee of the South African Distress Fund. Report of a Visit to the Camps of Women and Children in the Cape and Orange River Colonies* (London 1901), 6.

75 W.I. Direko et al., *Suffering of War. A Photographic Portrayal of the Suffering in the Anglo-Boer War Emphasising the Universal Elements of All Wars* (Bloemfontein 2003), 147.

Panikos Panayi

Work, Leisure, and Sport in Military and Civilian Internment Camps in Britain, 1914–1919

Introduction

A full understanding of the importance of sport in British internment camps during the First World War should take into consideration that sport was just one of the many activities the tens of thousands of civilian and military prisoners incarcerated on British soil undertook. Military prisoners, transported to the country from the Western Front for the purpose of working, would have had less leisure time than their civilian counterparts who were not obliged to work under the Hague Convention of 1907.[1] Civilians therefore had plenty of time and needed to develop a range of leisure activities for the purpose of killing time but also for the purpose of creating community. Despite the fact that military prisoners worked all day, during their more limited free time they also participated in activities similar to those of civilians. This chapter will place sport in British camps in context, beginning with an outline of the system of incarceration which evolved in Britain during the First World War and proceeding to discuss the function that work, leisure and sport played in British internment camps as a way of overcoming the onset of "barbed wire disease" and creating community. The conclusion addresses the importance of sport in a wider context including the consequences of modernisation.

During the course of the First World War, Britain interned hundreds of thousands of men within its borders.[2] From about 1917, the majority of these came from French and Belgian battlefields, but throughout the conflict a significant percentage consisted of non-combatants. The latter came mostly from the German community in Britain, whose number totalled 53,324 according to the census of 1911. They consisted of both permanent settlers and those who happened to find themselves in Britain in the summer of 1914.[3] However,

1 For the full text see: URL: http://www.icrc.org/ihl.nsf/WebArt/195-20016?OpenDocument, Hague Convention (IV) respecting the Customs of War on Land and its Annex: Regulations Concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, 18 October 1907, ANNEX TO THE CONVENTION: Regulations Respecting the Laws and Customs on Land # Section I: On Belligerents # Chapter II: Prisoners of War.

2 Only a handful of women faced incarceration. See Panikos Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain: German Civilian and Combatant Internees during the First World War* (Manchester 2012), 94f.

3 Panikos Panayi, *German Immigrants in Britain during the Nineteenth century, 1815–1914* (Oxford 1995).

London became the centre of a British imperial system of incarceration of Germans and other enemy aliens during the course of the First World War,[4] which meant that Germans in particular could find themselves transported from one part of the British Empire to another, while overrun German imperial possessions in Africa also witnessed a system of transportation, which resulted in journeys to camps in Britain.[5] Furthermore, Germans found upon ships on the high seas in August 1914 could also face arrest and incarceration in Britain.[6]

Date	Civilian	Military (including naval)	Total
22 September 1914	10,500	3,100	13,600
1 May 1915	20,000	69,000	26,900
20 November 1917	29,511	49,815	79,326
1 November 1918	24,522	91,428	115,930
5 July 1919	3,373	86,903	90,276

Table 1: Number of Internees in Britain, 1914–1919
Sources: National Archives/War Office (NA/WO) 394/20, Statistical Information Regarding the Armies at Home and Abroad, 1914–1920; NA/WO394/1, Statistical Abstract, December 1916; NA/WO394/5, Statistical Abstract, November 1917; NA/WO394/10, Statistical Abstract, 1 November 1918; NA/WO394/15, Statistical Abstract, 1 September 1919.

The tens of thousands of internees in Britain during the First World War found themselves incarcerated in hundreds of camps throughout the country.

4 See, for example, Gerhard Fischer, *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia, 1914–1920* (St Lucia 1989); and Andrew Francis, *"To Be Truly British We Must Be Anti-German": New Zealand, Enemy Aliens and the Great War Experience, 1914–1919* (Oxford 2012), 113–152.

5 See, for instance, Gotthilf Vöhringer, *Meine Erlebnisse während des Krieges in Kamerun und in englischer Kriegsgefangenschaft* (Hamburg 1915); and J. Maue, *In Feindes Land. Achtzehn Monate in englischer Kriegsgefangenschaft in Indien und England* (Stuttgart 1918).

6 See the case of the *Potsdam* described in Hans Erich Benedix, *In England interniert* (Gotha 1916), 1f.

These camps had as many differences as they did similarities. The most obvious differentiation consisted of civilian versus military places of internment.[7] Although a few camps initially held a mixture of soldiers and immigrants in the chaos immediately after the outbreak of the war, separation had become the norm by 1915. Some of the longest lasting military establishments including Donington Hall, Frongoch and Dyffryn Aled simply held officers. Camps existed throughout the country by the end of the war, especially with the growth in numbers of military prisoners from 1917 which resulted in the establishment of numerous working camps.[8] Dorchester probably survived longer than any other camp, opened in the chaos immediately following the outbreak of war and evolving and surviving until its conclusion, by which time it had numerous work camps dependent upon it. Similarly, some of the major civilian institutions, above all Douglas and Knockaloe, lasted for virtually the whole of the conflict and into 1919. In contrast, some of the camps that emerged at the end of the war might last just a few months, especially if connected with a specific work project. Some of these smaller working camps simply held a few dozen prisoners and, in some cases, such as those holding agricultural labourers, just consisted of a farm. At the other extreme came the *Männerinsel* including the "giant camp" at Knockaloe, with its "25,000 Germans", divided into four sub-camps, which, in turn, split into compounds, essentially a small town of men.[9] In between the two extremes came camps of a variety of different sizes. Some of the largest consisted of the parent camps which provided labour for working establishments and which included Handforth, Blanford (Dorset), Dorchester, Leigh (Lancashire), Frongoch (Wales), Pattishall (Northamptonshire), Brocton (Staffordshire), Catterick (Yorkshire) and Shrewsbury.[10] Prisoner accommodation varied greatly. Some lived in readymade buildings, which would survive the duration of the war, including Cunnigham's Holiday Camp in Douglas[11] and the stately homes at Donington Hall and Holyport. On the other hand, some of the early camps took over establishments which proved completely unsuitable such as Newbury race course, the hall at Olympia and a series of factories, while some of the most heavily criticised places consisted of ships anchored off Ryde, Southend and

7 For more precise figures see Panayi, *Prisoners*, 83f.

8 J. Köhler (ed.), *Karte von Grossbritannien, Italien u. den Überseeischen Ländern, in denen sich Kriegs- und Zivilgefangene befinden* (Hamburg 1917).

9 These claims come from Frederick Lewis Dunbar-Kalckreuth, *Die Männerinsel* (Leipzig 1940), 160–179.

10 National Archives (NA)/Admiralty137/3868, List of All Prisoners of War Camps in England and Wales (With Postal and Telegraphic Addresses).

11 Jill Drower, *Good Clean Fun: The Story of Britain's First Holiday Camp* (London 1982).

Gosport in early 1915.[12] Standard accommodation consisted of bell tents usually replaced, if the camp became longstanding, with the type of huts used for housing British troops.

The internees who found themselves in Britain during the war faced the grim realities of internment which, apart from loss of freedom, included boredom, an all-male society, basic accommodation and repetitive food. Captives reacted in different ways to their new environment and we can point to two conflicting interpretations that emerged from those who had firsthand experiences of internment during the First World War.

Name	Location	Type of Camp	Duration	Approximate Number Held at Any One Time
Alexandra Palace	London	Civilian	1915–1919	3,000
Colsterdale	Yorkshire	Officer	1917–1918	400
Dartford	Kent	Hospital	1916–1918	Up to 3,726
Donington Hall	Leicestershire	Officer	1915–1919	500
Dorchester	Dorset	Military	1914–1919	3,000
Douglas	Isle of Man	Civilian	1914–1919	2,500
Dyfryn Aled	North Wales	Officer	1915–1918	100
Frimley	Hampshire	Civilian then Military	1914–1915, 1916–1918	Up to 6,000
Gosport (Ships)	Hampshire	Civilian	1914–1915	3,600
Hackney Wick	London	Civilian	1916–1917	100
Handforth	Cheshire	Civilian then Military	1914–1918	2,000–2,500
Holyport	Berkshire	Officer	1915–1919	150–600

12 Panayi, *Prisoners*, 87–113.

Name	Location	Type of Camp	Duration	Approximate Number Held at Any One Time
Islington	London	Civilian	1915–1919	600–700
Jersey	Jersey	Military	1915–1919	1,100
Kegworth	Derbyshire	Officer	191–1919	600
Knockaloe	Isle of Man	Civilian	1914–1919	20,000
Leigh	Lancashire	Military	1914–1919	1,500
Lofthouse Park Wakefield)	Yorkshire	Civilian	1914–1919	1,500
Nell Lane	Manchester	Hospital	1917–1919	Up to 1,665
Newbury	Berkshire	Early Civilian	1914–1915	ca. 3,000
Olympia	London	Early Civilian	August–September 1914	300–1,500
Pattishall (Eastcote)	Northamptonshire	Civilian then Military	1914–1919	Up to 4,500
Ripon	Yorkshire	Officer	1919	900
Ryde (Ships)	Isle of Wight	Civilian	1914–1915	2,500
Southend (Ships)	Essex	Civilian	1914–1915	5,000
Stobs	Scotland	Civilian then Military	1914–1918	4,500
Stratford	London	Civilian	1914–1917	Up to 740

Table 2: Major Internment Camps in Britain, 1914–1919
Source: Panikos Panayi, Prisoners of Britain: German Civilian and Combatant Internees during the First World War (Manchester 2012), 88f.

The first perspective comes from A. L. Vischer, a Swiss embassy official who visited British camps holding Germans on behalf of the German government.[13] He popularised the concept of "barbed wire disease"[14] and claimed that "very few prisoners who have been over six months in the camp are quite free from the disease."[15] Vischer devised symptoms including "an increased irritability", "difficulty in concentrating", brooding, loss of memory and sleeplessness.[16] Perhaps in the same way that shell shock became the symbol of those traumatised by the First World War, "barbed wire disease" played the same role for those who could not cope with confinement. Vischer did not operate in a vacuum, as several other sources focused upon depression and even used the phrase "barbed wire disease". Rudolf Rocker's unpublished account of his time in Alexandra Palace included a section on "camp psychology", where he recognised the "social standing of the prisoners before internment" and "occupations during internment" played a central role in determining their mental state. Rocker also pointed to a series of other factors that influenced the mentality of the internees including food, "the general camp conditions and treatment of the prisoners", contact with the outside world especially womenfolk, and the duration of captivity.[17] In addition, civilian prisoners did not have to work under the Hague Convention,[18] which meant that they had to kill time.[19]

An alternative view of First World War internment also emerged, formalised especially by John Davidson Ketchum, a Professor of Psychology at the University of Toronto writing decades after his First World War confinement in the Berlin civilian camp in Ruhleben. He coined the phrase "prison camp society".[20] Ketchum asserted that after the British "settled" there, they took part in a range of activities and formed associations that essentially created a community structure. We might suggest that, although Ketchum recognised the deprivations faced by the Ruhlebenites, he took a basically positive view of their experience, as the prisoners collectively survived by creating community, a point also emphasised more recently by Matthew Stibbe.[21] Ketchum focused

13 Richard B. Speed III, *Prisoners, Diplomats, and the Great War: A Study in the Diplomacy of Captivity, London* (New York 1990).
14 A.L. Vischer, *Barbed Wire Disease: A Psychological Study of the Prisoner of War* (London 1919).
15 Ibid., 53.
16 Ibid., 50f.
17 Rudolf Rocker, *Alexandra Palace Internment Camp in the First World War,* British Library typescript, 4.
18 J.C. Bird, *Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain, 1914–1918* (London 1986), 280.
19 Paul Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still: My Internment in England* (London 1931), 91.
20 John Davidson Ketchum, *Ruhleben: A Prison Camp Society* (Toronto 1965).
21 Ibid., 153f.; Matthew Stibbe, *British Civilian Internees in Germany: The Ruhleben Camp, 1914–18* (Manchester 2008), 79–110.

much attention upon the sporting, educational and cultural activities of the prisoners.[22] These activities fostered community, both between prisoners of the same social groups, who would have participated in similar activities, but also between different classes, as educational activity would suggest, with the teachers and lecturers interacting with less educated internees. At the same time, the mass of activity that developed also allowed prisoners to pass their time and to give further structure to their existence beyond meal times and parades. Most became involved in a variety of pursuits in what became prison camp societies including: religion; reading, writing and learning; high culture; and sport. We therefore need to view sport as one of several activities that helped both prevent the onset of "barbed wire disease" and create community amongst internees in Britain.

Work

The most important activity, however, consisted of work and the first issue that needs consideration here consists of who could and who could not work. Under the Hague Convention neither civilians nor officers had to work.[23] This meant that the only group employed en masse consisted of military prisoners and the whole reason for their transportation and increase in numbers in Britain lay in the fact that the British government needed their labour from 1917, especially for the harvest.[24]

But despite the fact that the Hague Convention stipulated that civilian prisoners should not work, many of those who found themselves behind barbed wire for years welcomed the opportunity to carry out some type of useful employment.[25] The US embassy report from 1916 claimed that 72 per cent of Knockaloe's purely civilian internees "are at work". They included "bootmakers, tailors, cap workers, plumbers, woodworkers, gardeners, latrine men, police, coal and railway workers, quarry workers, post-office workers, and parcel-post workers". This report also included the cultivation of vegetables.[26] Many internees also became involved in the internal administration of the

22 Ketchum, ibid., 192–311.

23 Hague Convention (IV) respecting the Customs of War on Land and its Annex: Regulations Concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land, 18 October 1907, ANNEX TO THE CONVENTION: Regulations Respecting the Laws and Customs on Land # Section I: On Belligerents # Chapter II: Prisoners of War, URL: https://www.icrc.org/applic/ihl/ihl.nsf/0/1d1726425f6955aec125641e0038bfd6.

24 Panayi, *Prisoners*, 203–207.

25 NA/Foreign Office (FO)383/432, Swiss Embassy Report on Knockaloe and Douglas, 11 September 1918.

26 *Reports of Visits of Inspection Made by Officials of the United States Embassy to Various Internment Camps in the United Kingdom* (London 1916), 22.

camps in tasks which would have remained unpaid and essentially represent attempts at finding employment for as many men as possible. Camp IV at Knockaloe, for example, developed a complex internal bureaucracy.[27] The Austrian internee Paul Cohen-Portheim provided a cynical, but perhaps accurate, view of the camp administration at Wakefield, describing it as "a true Beamtenstaat: everyone was administering and there was very little to administer".[28]

Some productive work did, however, take place in the civilian camps. Hackney Wick in London, for example, which opened on 1 June 1916, housed 65 prisoners in October 1916, 53 of whom consisted of "skilled volunteer mechanics" gathered from other places of internment and employed by Vickers for the purpose of "fashioning tools, fixtures and gauges for the manufacture of sewing machines". The rest of the prisoners "are occupied in the kitchen, laundry, barber's shop and in camp fatigue work generally". By July 1917 the number of internees had reached 134. They worked 54 hours per week and received a weekly wage of 45 shillings. The prisoners held here could also see their wives and children once a week.[29] The internees held at the camp in Cornwallis Road in Islington carried out a variety of paid tasks during the course of the war. In March 1916 a total of 600 from 714 men worked here, of whom 500 received wages of up to fifteen shillings per week. The tasks at this stage included making artificial limbs and other equipment for the Red Cross, which some of them had done before moving to the camp, while others made international postal bags and prison clothing. In January 1917, the Home Office, which controlled this camp, reached an agreement with a brush making firm, Strachan and Co., which gave employment to 250 prisoners, who could earn up to 30 shillings per week.[30] In Douglas, meanwhile, internees were involved in the manufacture of pipes, watches and, above all, brushes. Contractors established a brush-making factory in the camp which sold its products to government departments and to the public. In August 1918 it employed 734 prisoners.[31]

A variety of schemes, in which the Society of Friends Emergency Committee (FEC) played an important role, attempted to make use of the labour power available in Knockaloe, as well as in some of the other civilian camps.

27 Bundesarchiv [henceforth BA]/Militärarchiv [henceforth MA]/MSG200/2071, Internal POW Administration Camp IV, 30 March 1917; MNH/B115/43q, Camp IV, Knockaloe, I.O.M., Final Report and Statistical Record on the Internal Administration of the Prisoners of War Camp No. IV. 1915–1919.

28 Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still*, 94.

29 NA/FO383/164, US Embassy visit of 20 October 1916; BA/R901/83106, Swiss Embassy visits of 13 March and 10 July 1917.

30 *Reports of Visits of Inspection*, 5; *Scotsman*, 21 July 1916; NA/MEPO2/1633.

31 Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst: Germans in Britain During the First World War* (Oxford 1991), 118f.

The FEC provided tools and equipment and helped to organise the industrial committees established by the prisoners. It also tried to sell the goods that internees manufactured. Camp III in Knockaloe, for example, held professional basket makers leading to the establishment of a basket making industry. These professionals instructed 65 others. In Camp IV meanwhile, internees found themselves employed in a variety of tasks, including the manufacture of boots, suits, tables and cupboards.[32]

As well as those civilians working inside camps, others worked outside them, particularly on the Isle of Man. By the summer of 1916 civilians could "with their consent, be employed on behalf of the state or by private individuals". Employers would pay "the standard rate in the district in which the prisoner is employed".[33] As early as March 1916 the Isle of Man government had already instituted a scheme for the use of internees for agricultural work whereby farmers would apply to the Commandant.[34] Although this scheme initially remained confined to agriculture, during the course of 1916 the Manx government devised others.[35] A US embassy report from August focused on the "War Working Stations" on the Isle of Man including: a site in "the near neighbourhood of the camp" where a hundred men constructed a new sewage system; a quarry "within a five minute walk of Camp IV" where "about 150 men are employed in stone-breaking"; another 150 broke stones at Tynwald Hill, about two miles from Knockaloe; while a further 150 carried out the same task at Poortown Quarry. In addition, two hundred men worked in the canalisation of the Sulby river about fifteen miles from Knockaloe. Douglas had similar working stations attached to it.[36]

Despite these schemes, the rates of employment amongst civilians remained low. In contrast, most military internees started working almost immediately upon their arrival in Britain from 1917. While a significant percentage worked in rural locations in agriculture, many others found themselves employed in other forms of physical labour including mining, quarrying and road making.

32 Panayi, *The Enemy*, 117f.; Leslie Baily, *Craftsman and Quaker: The Story of James T. Baily, 1876–1957* (London 1959), 104f.; NA/FO383/405, Industrial Department, Camp III, Knockaloe to Swiss Legation, German Division, 16 April 1918; Knockaloe Lager-Zeitung, 10 May 1917; Manx National Heritage (MNH)/MS10417/1, Papers of James T. Baily, FEC 1915–1919, Isle of Man.

33 NA/FO383/237, Army Council Instruction No. 1280 of 1916, Grant of Working Pay to Interned Civilians, 27 June 1916.

34 MNH/MS09845: Government Circular No. 188, Alien Labour on Farms, 21 March 1916; Government Circular No. 211, Alien Labour on Farms, 14 July 1916.

35 MNH/MS09845, Government Circular No. 240, Reclamation of Waste Land by Prisoner of War Labour, 24 November 1916.

36 NA/FO383/163, US Embassy Report on Prisoners of War Working Stations, Isle of Man, 28 August 1916.

Many military prisoners enjoyed their work in the way that civilians did, particularly those who found themselves in picturesque locations far away from the French battlefields where they had faced capture. One Swiss embassy report on a working camp in Wasdale Head in Cumberland, for example, which held 36 prisoners, described the "wild and imposing scenery" in which this camp lay "surrounded by lofty mountains". The prisoners lived in a farmhouse. "There is not a yard of barbed wire about the place to spoil the effect of the beautiful and peaceful scenery". The prisoners worked for 54 hours a week "in river work making a new bed for the river Irt". The Swiss embassy inspectors commented that "the outward appearance" of the internees "speaks for their well being".[37] Nevertheless, other sources point to discontent amongst German prisoner labour. One post-First World War account mentioned mistreatment in the camp in Larkhill in Wiltshire focusing upon the cold and the Germanophobic guards.[38] Some internees went on strike because of their working conditions. For instance, in June 1918: "A squad of thirty German prisoners engaged on land work at Cranleigh, Surrey, have struck work. They have a grievance because three of their party have been punished."[39] In September 1918, a strike took place in Frodsham in Cheshire where about 250 men "have been engaged on a big drainage scheme on the River Birkett". They objected to the fact that "some of the men were taken off the drainage work and lent in gangs to neighbouring farmers. Harvesting is far preferable, in the prisoner's mind, to cutting and scouring ditches."[40]

Prisoners employed in farming worked mostly to secure the harvest as ploughmen and harvesters, "helping to produce the corn and other articles the country needs so badly".[41] In the camp at Blairfield House near Chichester in March 1918 where prisoners were "employed as ploughmen by the farmers of the district", they started "work at seven am and are conveyed to and fro by horse vehicles".[42] Prisoners focused upon the gathering of hay, corn and potatoes.[43] They also became involved in fruit picking including the 75 employed on the Toddington orchards and fruit farms in Gloucestershire.[44] Although those prisoners working in agriculture appear to have played an important role in food production during the final few years of the war, a report from 1918 stated that they worked methodically but remained slow compared to

37 NA/FO383/508, Swiss Embassy Report on Wasdale Head, 23 June 1919.
38 Albin Eckhardt / Kurt Maul, *Was wir in englischer Kriegsgefangenschaft erlebten und erlitten* (Frankfurt a.M. 1922), 126f.
39 *Daily Express*, 24 June 1918.
40 *Manchester Guardian*, 11 September 1918.
41 *The Times*, 19 November 1917.
42 BA/R901/83129, Swiss Embassy Report on Blairfield House, 12 March 1918.
43 J.K. Montgomery, *The Maintenance of the Agricultural Labour Supply in England and Wales during the War* (Rome 1922), 47.
44 *Manchester Guardian*, 26 March 1917.

English counterparts. While part of the explanation for this might lie in the fact that they had no real desire to help their enemies, unfamiliarity with the work may have played a bigger role.[45]

Many Germans also worked in forestry schemes. By April 1918, for example, a letter from the Controller of Timber supplies pointed out that his "Department" utilised over 3,000 prisoners "distributed in seventeen working camps".[46] One of these consisted of Bwlch in South Wales, where "92 men work in the forest, eight of whom drive the lumber wagons".[47] Meanwhile, prisoners held at Eartham, near Chichester "are employed at lumber work". When their working hours went up to ten per day they went on strike, which resulted in a reduction to nine.[48] In the Scottish Highlands prisoners found themselves employed in "felling trees" in several camps by the autumn of 1916 including Lentran and Nethybridge.[49]

Despite the importance of agriculture for the employment of prisoners of war, most appear to have worked in non-agricultural activity. A breakdown from July 1918, which listed 50,585 prisoners who worked, gave a figure of just 17,100 in agriculture, together with 4,500 in timber. The rest of the total included: 5,300 in R.E.[50] services; 4,370 constructing aerodromes and seaplane stations; 4,020 in mining and quarrying; 2,000 in roads; 3,000 in the erection of munitions stores concentrated at Bramley; 2,850 in shipyard construction; and 1,300 employed in camp duties. In addition, the list mentioned sixteen other occupations in which prisoners worked.[51] Another breakdown from the end of February 1918 indicated the involvement of government ministries in the employment of prisoners, pointing to their role in the war effort, directly or indirectly. Therefore, 2,338 worked with the Admiralty involved in: "waterworks for Rosyth" in the Glendevon camp; "brick and tile making for the Admiralty" at Inverkeithing; and shipyard construction in Beachley. A total of 5,430 prisoners in twenty different camps found themselves under the Ministry of Munitions, mostly in various types of quarrying. The twelve camps under the War Office worked at aerodromes totalling

45 P.E. Dewey, *Farm Labour in Wartime: The Relationship Between Agricultural Labour Supply and Food Production in Great Britain during 1914–1918, with International Comparisons* (Ph.D. diss, University of Reading 1978), 153f.; Pamela Horn, *Rural Life in England in the First World War* (Dublin 1984), 249–253.

46 NA/Ministry of National Service [hereafter NATS]/1331, Controller of Timber Supplies to Director Prisoners of War, 20 April 1918.

47 NA/FO383/277, Swiss Embassy Report on Bwlch, 10 October 1917.

48 BA/R901/83129, Swiss Embassy Report on Eartham, 16 March 1918.

49 NA/FO383/164, US Embassy Visit to Nethybridge, 13 September 1916; US Embassy Visit to Lentran, 13 September 1916.

50 Probably referring to Royal Engineers.

51 NA/NATS1/571, Details of Prisoners of War – Week Ended 14.7.18.

3,750 people. Meanwhile, 3,070 prisoners worked under the Royal Engineers Works in eleven camps.[52]

German prisoners in Britain, especially military captives, found themselves involved in a variety of tasks at the end of the First World War. Although the largest group, but not the majority, worked in agriculture, tens of thousands of others found employment in a range of areas. Despite the toughness of the tasks that many of them carried out, prisoner employment helped to relieve the boredom, monotony and consequent depression caused by living behind barbed wire.

Leisure

In view of the fact that civilians did not have to work, they had far more leisure time than military prisoners because of the fact that so much of the time of the latter was taken up with work. One of the most important functions of these leisure activities consisted of constructing community, following Ketchum. Leisure pursuits ranged from (what we might describe as) "serious" activities such as religion and writing to those carried out more purely for enjoyment such as theatre and sport.

Cohen-Portheim claimed that "religion played an astonishingly small part" in the men's lives although he did point to the availability of services.[53] Religious life in the camps reflected the denominational make-up of both the German population and the German community in Britain before the First World War with a majority Protestant community, a significant group of Roman Catholics, and a small minority of Jews.

Religious services became one of the first forms of communal activity following the initial establishment of a place of internment and also took place in the most basic of camps because of the efforts of local British churches and German clergymen in Britain. For instance, in a small camp opened in Hendon in north London in June 1917, Pastor Scholten was holding an evangelical service by September, while "Dr Shut, a Dutch priest of St Joseph's College, Mill Hill, Hendon, [held] Roman Catholic Services once a week".[54] Long-lasting camps developed more established services over the years. By January 1919 in Bramley, which opened in 1917 and had a population of 2,470 soldiers, "Protestant and Roman Catholic Services were held every Sunday and […] even during the week there were services amongst the prisoners – on Tuesday

52 NA/NATS1/1332, Prisoners of War Employment Committee, First Interim Report, 1918.
53 Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still*, 93.
54 NA/FO383/277, Swiss Embassy Report on Hendon, 27 September 1917.

for the Protestants and on Thursday for the Roman Catholics."[55] In March 1917 Pastor Scholten conducted Lutheran services "frequently" in Dorchester while two Catholic priests visited "once a week or once a fortnight […] spending enough time in the camp to talk privately to those who wish to ask their advice".[56] In Alexandra Palace (a camp operating from 1915 until the end of the war with approximately 3,000 internees) both denominations used the same room every Sunday but the Catholics began at 9:30 in the morning while the Protestants started at 10:45. Members of both groups attended religious lectures on Tuesday and Thursday evenings respectively. A Jewish service also took place here.[57] In Douglas, an Anglican service occurred on a weekly basis, while "Roman Catholic Services are held regularly and religious festivities are provided for the large Jewish community."[58] As the largest and longest lasting camp, Knockaloe developed the most complex religious activities. Each of the individual camps here appears to have held services for both Roman Catholics and Protestants[59] although a Home Office survey suggests a fairly low rate of attendance at services and confirms Gerald Newton's assertion that most men held at Knockaloe had become "kirchenfremd" (estranged from church).[60]

While a minority of prisoners may have participated in organised religious activity, many more appear to have celebrated the key festivals of the year, whether Jewish, Catholic or Protestant. One of the highpoints for the Jewish Camp in Douglas consisted of Passover, which the five hundred Jews who found themselves confined here celebrated annually.[61] Christian prisoners also commemorated the key festivals of their religious calendar. These included New Year's Eve, *Fasching* and Whitsun.[62] By far the most important festival was Christmas for the overwhelmingly Christian population of German internees. Hans Erich Benedix recalled that when interned in Alexandra Palace, although many of the prisoners looked forward to their second Christmas

55 NA/FO383/505, Swiss Embassy Report on Bramley, 21 January 1919.
56 NA/FO383/276, Swiss Embassy Report on Dorchester, 2 April 1917.
57 Otto Schimming, 13 *Monate hinter dem Stacheldraht: Alexandra Palace, Knockaloe, Isle of Man, Stratford*, (Stuttgart 1919), 12.
58 NA/FO383/277, Swiss Embassy Report on Douglas, 29 November 1917.
59 Adolf Vielhauer, *Das englische Konzentrationslager bei Peel (Insel Man)* (Bad Nassau 1917), 5; F. Siegmund-Schultze, "Die Gefangenenseelsorge in England", in *Die Eiche* 6 (1918), 319; MNH/B115/xf, Bericht über die Evangelische Kirchengemeinde des Kriegsgefangenen Lagers Knockaloe; NA/FO383/181, Home Office to Foreign Office, 29 May 1916.
60 NA/FO383/181, Home Office to Foreign Office, 29 May 1916; Gerald Newton, "Wie lange noch? Germans at Knockaloe, 1914–18", in Id. (ed.), *Mutual Exchanges: Sheffield Münster Colloquium II* (Frankfurt a.M. 1999), 111.
61 BA/MA/MSG200/703, Pesach, 1917.
62 BA/MA/MSG200/2225, *Deutsche Zeitung* Broctonlager, Ostern 1919; BA/MA/MSG200/1837, *Die Hunnen*, 1 June 1917; BA/MSG200/1878, *Sylvester Zeitung*, Skitpon, 1918; BA/MA/MSG200/2219, *Faschingzeitung*, Holyport, 1919.

in captivity, others became bitter when thinking about it and claimed that they would go to bed early on Christmas Eve.[63] Such contradictory feelings find reflection in some of the articles appearing in the camp newspapers. A 1917 Christmas edition of the Douglas camp newspaper *Unter Uns* claimed that little enthusiasm existed for Christmas in the weeks that preceded it, but that the arrival of numerous presents changed the atmosphere. Similarly, a piece in the Douglas *Lager–Laterne* from Christmas 1916 by Pastor Oskar Goehling entitled "Christmas in Exile", reflected that "to proper Christmas festivities belong", amongst other things, "children shouting, joyous glancing women's eyes […] delightful pines from the German forest, nuts and mushrooms, carp and bratwurst" as well as a "brightly lit church". He continued: "And now? Christmas in exile! Everything that is prepared for a Christmas party is really only a poor effort, a substitute; thoughts wander to those who love us far away with whom we would like to be united."

In addition to religion, the other "serious" pursuits consisted of reading, writing and learning. The presence of significant numbers of middle-class, educated Germans, including teachers and academics, some of whom came from the German community in Britain,[64] facilitated such activities. While some of the educational events took the form of informal lectures, all types of schools and even universities emerged on a sophisticated and significant scale, especially in the large and long-lasting camps on the Isle of Man, as well as the predominantly bourgeois Lofthouse Park. The Swiss embassy officials in London contacted the Prussian Ministry of Education via the German Foreign Office in order to define the curriculum for military prisoners and to formalise the issue of certificates for those who successfully completed courses for use after the war.[65]

Formal educational activity therefore emerged in a wide variety of camps, both military and civilian. As early as November 1914 a "school and lecture room" already existed in Dorchester.[66] In Handforth, 1,600 prisoners participated in 56 courses in 1917, while other informal lectures also took place.[67] Alexandra Palace held "a large proportion of excellent teachers upon all kinds of subjects". The Commandant provided "three rooms for studying purposes" meaning "there developed in a very short time, a rich mental life". Subjects available included a range of sciences and languages, attracting 700 students. However, "the undertaking suffered a great blow" when some of the teachers faced transfer to the Isle of Man during the course of 1915. The school did not

63 Benedix, *In England interniert*, 69.
64 Panayi, *German Immigrants*, 134–138, 191f.
65 NA/FO383/304, Camp Schools for German Prisoners of War.
66 *Scotsman*, 19 November 1914.
67 L. Bogenstätter/H. Zimmermann, *Die Welt hinter Stacheldraht: Eine Chronik des Englischen Kriegsgefangenlagers Handforth bei Manchester* (Munich 1921), 165, 174.

recover until the end of the following year but another "calamity awaited it" when some of the internees went back to Germany. Further problems revolving around the use of the rooms meant that by December 1917 the classes had "practically ceased".[68] Alexandra Palace's loss became the Isle of Man's gain as Douglas and Knockaloe developed the largest and most sophisticated educational activity. The school in Douglas opened in January 1915 thanks largely to the efforts of Paul Keppler. At this stage it offered instruction in a range of subjects, particularly languages. During its first term about 256 pupils per day attended.[69] By early 1916 as many as a thousand students attended classes every day, meaning that a large minority of the Douglas prisoners did so. By the following January, the number of pupils attending daily had fallen but still averaged between five hundred and a thousand.[70] In view of the number of prisoners held at Knockaloe, educational activity became even more extensive and diverse there. Each of the sub-camps appears to have developed its own institutions.[71] Some of the camps held academics, especially Wakefield, which had 67. Their presence led to the development of university-level education with the establishment of a Camp College, which opened to students on 1 October 1917. About 650 internees listened to lectures, which remained well attended until Christmas, but repatriation in the following year caused disruption, although the institution survived until the autumn. Cohen-Portheim described the idea of a university at Wakefield as "a pathetic delusion". Nobody seems to have graduated but the lecturers participated out of good faith, including Hermann J. Held, who found himself working in Cambridge at the outbreak of war.[72]

The development of so much educational activity meant that the camps needed a ready supply of books, which they obtained from a variety of charitable sources. The Deutsche Dichter Gedächtnis Stiftung provided almost 650,000 volumes to German troops and internees all over the world between August 1914 and December 1917, of which 10,681 went to German prisoners in Britain. Individuals also appear to have received books from the Evangelische Blättervereinigung für Soldaten and Kriegsgefangene. Those prisoners held in Handforth obtained books from at least eight different sources, mostly

68 Rocker, *Alexandra Park*, 15–19.

69 MNH/MS09379/3, Bruno Kahn, Abbreviated Report on the First Year's Working of the Camp-School established at Douglas Alien's Camp, October 1915.

70 Registers can be found in the Bruno Kahn Papers in: MNH/MS09379/1; and MNH/MS09379/2.

71 Panayi, *Prisoners*, 178.

72 Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still*, 92f.; Peter Wood, "The Zivilinternierungslager at Lofthouse Park", in Kate Taylor (ed.), *Aspects of Wakefield 3: Discovering Local History* (Barnsley 2001), 97–107; Henning Ibs, *Hermann J. Held (1890–1963): Ein Kieler Gelehrtenleben in den Fängen der Zeitläufe* (Frankfurt a.M. 2000), 34–48.

charities and foundations, but also publishers.[73] The ready supply of books led to the development of significant libraries. By August 1917, for instance, the catalogue in Handforth listed 2,692 volumes.[74] The largest collections, as we would expect, once again lay in Knockaloe, where each of the sub-camps had its own central library together with others in the compounds. In April 1916 each camp held approximately 4000 books, "of which 40 % are in constant circulation. A penny per month is charged for books lent to men who can afford to pay for it".[75] By the end of the war the number of volumes held in Camp IV alone had reached 18,080.[76] Such numbers point to a prisoner population that devoted a significant amount of its time to reading. Many volumes, especially those described as scholastic, technical and literary, had connections with the educational activity. Such books covered a large range of subjects ranging from history and philosophy to commerce, transport and mathematics.[77]

As well as reading, many prisoners became involved in writing. At least one internee appears to have produced an academic monograph while interned in Alexandra Palace, using the limited number of books available in the camp library as well as by obtaining others from the outside.[78] At the same time, at least one volume of poetry appeared in Knockaloe, focusing on the realities of everyday life.[79] In fact, much more poetry appeared in what became the main literary vehicle for internees during the First World War in the form of the prisoner of war newspaper, which, as Rainer Pöppinghege has demonstrated, became a global phenomenon amongst German, English and French internees. In Britain such newspapers became formalised during the course of 1915, reflecting the development of more permanent camps during that year. One of their key functions consisted of providing information on social and educational activity within individual camps, although they also allowed prisoners to express their feelings about internment, especially through literary sketches and poems. They had an overarching aim of creating community or even *Heimat* within specific camps.[80] Pöppinghege has

73 F.W. Brepohl (ed.), *Briefe unserer Gefangenen* (Bad Nassau 1916), 13f.; Bogenstätter / Zimmermann, *Die Welt*, 169; *Verzeichnis der Knockaloe-Bücherei* (Hamburg 1918), 2.

74 Bogenstätter / Zimmermann, *Knockaloe-Bücherei*, 169.

75 NA/FO383/163, US Embassy Report on Knockaloe, 18 May 1916.

76 MNH/B115/43q, Camp IV, Knockaloe, I.O.M., Final Report and Statistical Record on the Internal Administration of the Prisoners of War Camp No. IV. 1915–1919.

77 *Knockaloe-Bücherei*, 7.

78 Henry S. Simonis, *Zum alten Jüdischen Zivilrecht* (Berlin 1922).

79 Karl Knauft, *Die schwarze Stadt: Knockaloe vom Morgengrauen bis Mitternacht* (Knockaloe 1918).

80 Rainer Pöppinghege, *Im Lager unbesiegt: Deutsche, englische und französische Kriegsgefangenen-Zeitungen im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Essen 2006), 183–294; Jennifer Kewley Draskau, "Relocating the Heimat: Great War Internment Literature from the Isle of Man", in *German Studies Review* 32 (2009), 83–106.

identified a total of 32 different camp newspapers published in Britain during the First World War, including four at Douglas, five at Handforth and seven at Knockaloe, although the number points to the fact that they tended to remain short-lived. Those at Handforth had a circulation of 250–300 while *Stobsiade* reached 4,000 and the *Knockaloe Lager-Zeitung* totalled 4,500.[81] *Stobsiade* first appeared in September 1915 and survived intermittently, until early 1919. The editorial team moved to Knockaloe, when Stobs became a purely military camp, where they established the *Knockaloe Lager-Zeitung*. The prisoners typeset *Stobsiade* and then checked it. In all the publication process took about one week.[82]

The literary pieces that appeared in the newspapers form part of what we might describe as a "high culture" which emerged in the camps. While some of the activity, such as painting and sculpting, resembled the contributions made to the camp periodicals because of the solitary nature of production, much that took place behind barbed wire involved the development of community, including music and, above all, theatre, which brought together significant numbers of people as directors, performers or spectators. Despite this community creation, we should still remember that activities like the celebration of Christmas, served as a substitute for real life and events outside in an attempt to reconstruct pre-war realities. Theatrical performances even created substitute women because of the necessity of male internees to dress up for female parts.

Paul Cohen-Portheim could continue his pre-war profession of painting within Wakefield where, although he had to readjust to his new surroundings, he managed to paint on a variety of themes, sometimes through commissions. Some of his fellow internees, meanwhile, carried out woodcarving.[83] Similarly, a report on Holyport mentioned these two activities amongst the prisoners held there.[84] The Isle of Man inmates used all sorts of materials to create artistic objects.[85] Although there "was an acute shortage of sheet metal […] there was no shortage of empty bully-beef tins". At the same time, "[i]mprisoned sculptors, for want of better material, carved the meat-bones discarded by the cook-houses."[86] In Alexandra Palace: "Woodworking, carving ox bones into ornaments, marquetry, toy-making and art (paintings, drawing etc.) all flourished." But the available workspace here proved "wholly

81 Pöppinghege, *Im Lager unbesiegt*, 318–320.
82 Julie M. Horne, "The German Connection: The Stobs Camp Newspaper, 1916–1919", in *Transactions of the Hawick Archaeological Society* (1988), 26–32.
83 Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still*, 138–145.
84 BA/R901/83077, Swiss Embassy Report on Holyport, 9 August 1917.
85 Yvonne Cresswell, "Behind the Wire: The Material Culture of Civilian Internees on the Isle of Man in the First World War", in Richard Dove (ed.), *"Totally un-English?" Britain's Internment of "Enemy Aliens" in Two World Wars* (Amsterdam 2005), 46–61.
86 Baily, *Craftsman and Quaker*, 100.

inadequate" for the number of men who wished to carry out such activities, which meant that they moved them to their bedsides. However, the constant sound of "hammering, sawing, filing and so on […] was extremely detrimental to the mental health of the prisoners, especially during the long winter months, when forced to remain indoors by bad weather and early head counts".[87]

Music became an important part of camp life, reflecting both the importance of this art form in pre-war Germany[88] and the presence of large numbers of musicians in London before 1914 ranging from players in the leading British orchestras to members of marching brass bands.[89] Margery West, commenting on the Isle of Man, wrote that "[c]oncerts were an important feature of […] life behind barbed wire" as they "were needed to keep up morale and were a necessary outlet for those alien prisoners with talent going to waste".[90] Ensembles of various sizes emerged to perform concerts in camps throughout Britain. Wakefield had developed a musical society in all three of the sub camps by 1916 and arranged all types of concerts.[91] Alexandra Palace also developed "a strong and well-trained orchestra […] in fact, it was said at that time in London the finest orchestra in London was to be found" here made up of "many talented musicians" and "industrious amateurs".[92] Jutta Raab Hansen pointed to a sophisticated musical life in the camps on the Isle of Man with symphony orchestras, choirs and ensembles as well as music critics and the use of music in religious festivities and plays.[93] In Knockaloe each of the four camps had both a string and a brass orchestra. Although these partly accompanied theatrical performances, they also regularly performed purely orchestral concerts.[94]

This points to the fact that theatre became as important as music in the camps throughout Europe, recognised in 1933 by Hermann Pörzgen who viewed it as an escape from the monotony of the captivity that prisoners faced and a development which could prevent "barbed wire disease", helping to divert attention from the everyday realities of internment, providing an intellectual stimulus and allowing the development of a communal life by serving

87 Janet Harris, *Alexandra Palace: A Hidden History* (Stroud 2005), 99–101.
88 As an introduction see Celia Applegate / Pamela Potter, "Germans as the 'People of Music': Genealogy of an Identity", in Id. (ed.), *Music and German National Identity* (London 2002), 1–35.
89 Panayi, *German Immigrants*, 126–130; Stefan Manz, *Migranten und Internierte: Deutsche in Glasgow, 1864–1918* (Stuttgart 2003), 111–124.
90 Margery West, *Island at War: The Remarkable Role Played by the Small Manx Nation in the Great War 1914–1918* (Laxey 1986), 88.
91 BA/MSG200/1878, *Lager-Bote*, 15 Februay 1916; *Deutsche Blaetter*, 24 December 1916.
92 Pál Stoffa, *Round the World to Freedom* (London 1933), 194.
93 Jutta Raab Hansen, "Die Bedeutung der Musik für 26.000 internierte Zivilisten während des Ersten Weltkrieges auf der Isle of Man", in Dove, *"Totally un-English?"*, 63–81.
94 NA/FO383/163, US Embassy Report on Knockaloe, 18 May 1916.

as a meeting point for new interests.[95] More recently Alon Rachamimov and Jennifer Kewley Draskau have focused upon the ways in which cross-dressing actors helped to keep the image of women alive in camps.[96] Pörzgen calculated that 69 camp theatres existed in Britain, made up of nine for officers, 27 for privates and 33 for civilians.[97] One of the most developed military theatre groups emerged in Brocton in July 1917, shortly after the camp came into existence and was sustained by the thousands of people who found themselves interned here. In its first season, it performed 40 pieces on 81 evenings, and in the second year, 31 on 61, encompassing a wide repertoire.[98] In Knockaloe, theatre, along with education, probably became the most important social activity, with performances taking place not only in each of the individual camps, but also in many, if not all, the compounds. A total of twenty separate theatres seem to have existed here.[99] In Camp IV, seven independent theatres emerged, each with its own stage and even orchestral pit, pointing to the numbers of people involved in such activity. The individual companies "toured" the other compounds. In total, 170 actors lived in Camp IV, together with 74 people connected with theatrical activity as stage hands and dressmakers, scenery painters and electricians. Between October 1915 and March 1919 a total of 1,125 "theatrical plays" were "produced" here together with 84 variety shows, 220 concerts and 102 "festivals, social evenings etc.", making a "total number of entertainments of 1,532".[100]

Sport

Sport was another major form of popular culture that became part of everyday life in the camps and included games and exercise, which may have involved more people than theatre activity in view of the range of games which the prisoners developed, both competitive and non-competitive and encompassing a

95 Hermann Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau: Das Bühnenleben der Kriegsgefangenen Deutschen 1914–1920* (Königsberg 1933), 5f.

96 Alon Rachamimov, "The Disruptive Comforts of Drag: (Trans)Gender Performances among Prisoners of War in Russia, 1914–1920", in *American Historical Review* 111 (2006), 362–382; Jennifer Kewley Draskau, "Drag Performance and its Effects in Great War Internment Camps on the Isle of Man", in *Proceedings of the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, 12 (April 2007–March 2009), 187–204.

97 Pörzgen, *Theater ohne Frau*, 166.

98 BA/MA/MSG200/1966, "Festschrift zur Feier des 2. jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Theaters Broctonlager".

99 Franz Bauer, *1915–1918: Mein Errinerungsbuch zum dreijährigen Bestehen des Camp Theaters Compound 2, Camp 1, am. 20. März 1918, zu gleich ein Überblick über die Tätigkeit aller anderen Bühnen des Lager 1* (Knockaloe 1918), 2.

100 MNH/B115/43q, Camp IV, Knockaloe, I.O.M., Final Report and Statistical Record on the Internal Administration of the Prisoners of War Camp No. IV. 1915–1919.

variety of sports including those played primarily in Britain and its Empire, such as cricket, to more international activities such as football to those especially associated with Germany such as gymnastics (*Turnen*). Once again, although such activity emerged in both the military and civilian camps, it became most sophisticated in the settled and long-standing civilian camps, with the development of competitive leagues. An article in one of the Knockaloe newspapers summed up the role of sport by stating the obvious: "A healthy body means a healthy mind."[101] Some naval prisoners interned at Oswestry also found that discussing football acted as a useful icebreaker for communicating with their guards and even improving their English.[102]

The British authorities recognised the value of sport and exercise by providing recreational facilities in most of the camps, irrespective of their size, as the following examples illustrate. The 72 combatants held at Rosyth in Scotland and working nine and a half hours per day in the local brickworks in June 1917 had access to a "sports field outside the camp […] every evening, where the prisoners have a bowling alley and a football ground".[103] Similarly, the 231 combatants interned in Lentram in Scotland, employed in "cutting wood and working a steam saw mill" for eight hours per day could use a sports field outside the camp during the evening.[104] The more established places of internment, whether military or civilian, developed more sophisticated sporting facilities. Leigh, for instance, had three recreation grounds, although these partly acted as sites for "military and physical drill".[105] In Jersey the prisoners "have an exercise field 310 yards long and 120 yards wide, where they play football and other games. They also take route marches of between five and six miles, two or three times a week, 300 men going each time, weather permitting".[106] Furthermore, as the camp lay not far from the sea, during the summer "the neighbouring beach offers facilities for sea-bathing", which the prisoners of war utilised "in relays of about 400", suggesting a coastal idyll.[107] In Colsterdale in Yorkshire, a "large lawn and two tennis courts offered opportunities to participate in sporting activity" including football, handball, rounders and gymnastics.[108] Facilities in the civilian camps became perhaps most sophisticated, although few would have had access to open air bathing like those held in Jersey. Wakefield had several sports fields, while the men "are taken for route marches three or four times a week". Furthermore, a total of eight tennis

101 *Werden*, May 1915.
102 Friedrich Ruge, *Scapa Flow 1919: The End of the German Fleet* (London 1973), 130.
103 NA/FO383/277, Swiss Embassy Report on Rosyth, 29 June 1917.
104 NA/FO383/277, Swiss Embassy Report on Lentram, 9 July 1917.
105 NA/FO383/164, US Embassy Report on Leigh, 19 September 1916.
106 BA/R901/83081, US Embassy Report on Jersey, 27 April 1916.
107 BA/R901/83081, US Embassy Report on Jersey, 4 November 1916.
108 BA/R67/1343, Bericht des Leutenants d.R. Schön von Gren. Regt. über Lagerverhältnisse und Verfügung im englischen Lager Colsterdale.

courts existed here for the predominantly middle-class prisoners, together with "a gymnasium, fitted with all the usual gymnastic appliances."[109] Those held at Douglas had access to two recreation fields totalling over ten acres by the spring of 1916, together with at least five tennis courts, a football field and a running track.

> The interned men have opportunity for Tennis, Football, Fistball, Skittles, for which a fine new alley has been built, Running, Dancing, Boxing, Wrestling and Swimming. They have two Billiard Tables and a ping-pong table. There is also a very large gymnastic class in connection with the Upper Camp and a small one, mostly for Swedish Drill, in the Lower Camp. There is a Swimming Pool in the Lower Camp.[110]

Knockaloe provided a similar range of facilities including a "large recreation field open to each compound as a rule twice a week, alternately morning and afternoon", while each compound also had its own hall of 150 by 30 feet.[111]

The prisoners took full advantage of the facilities available. In Camp IV in Knockaloe they participated in gymnastics, athletics, cricket, football, tennis and golf (based on three holes). As many as 180 people played cricket, pointing to the Anglicisation of many of the internees, who may have spent decades in Great Britain, married British women[112] and even fathered sons with British nationality fighting in the British armed forces while they experienced life behind barbed wire.[113] Football proved most popular with 36 teams existing between 1915 and 1919 playing 600 matches including 64 between different compounds and 25 between the sub-camps.[114] The gymnastics society of Camp I, Compound 6 produced an annual report on its activities during 1916 when it stated that it had 90 members, "75 active and 15 inactive", but worked out that 7,425 people had used the available equipment.[115] Knockaloe actually held one of the most famous German internees in Britain during the First World War in the form of Joseph Pilates, who had moved to Britain in 1912 where he worked as a boxer, circus performer and self-defence trainer. While interned in Knockaloe he trained and refereed boxers but also observed the movement of animals, especially the tailless manx cat which helped him to

109 NA/FO383/163, US Embassy Report on Wakefield, 12 June 1916.
110 NA/FO383/163, US Embassy Report on Douglas, 18 May 1916.
111 NA/FO383/162, Report US Embassy Report on Knockaloe, 8 January 1916.
112 Panayi, *German Immigrants*.
113 See the example of W. Roderwald who lived in Knockaloe while his son served in the British Army in NA/ FO383/298, W. Roderwald to Swiss Minister, 22 May 1917.
114 MNH/B115/43q, Camp IV, Knockaloe, I.O.M., Final Report and Statistical Record on the Internal Administration of the Prisoners of War Camp No. IV. 1915–1919; *Lager-Ulk*, 7 November 1917.
115 Turnverein Knockaloe Compound 6, *Gefangenenlager Knockaloe Insel Man, Camp 1, Turnbericht über das Jahr 1916* (Knockaloe 1916).

develop ideas about his exercise regimen.[116] Meanwhile, prisoners at Oswestry established an athletic club whose activities alternated with football because of the availability of just one sports field.[117] As we have already seen, sport also became especially important in Jersey, where activities included handball, athletics, gymnastics and football.[118]

While physical activity became part of the everyday lives of prisoners, sporting festivals also characterised the camps, perhaps representing an occasion to relieve monotony. On 15 August 1915 the military sports committee in Stobs organised its third festival. The event began with a gymnastics exhibition followed by a pentathlon competition consisting of stone throwing, high jump, triple jump and gymnastics won by a junior military officer called Schneider. Other athletics events also took place, together with a football "world championship" between a *Blücher* and an infantry team, which the former won 2-1.[119] Meanwhile, in August 1917 a "Heimat festival" occurred in Camp I at Knockaloe, which involved a range of activities including sport but also theatre and the schools. Preparations for this event took place through May, June and July. These included negotiations with the commandant of Knockaloe and qualifying tournaments for the tennis and football competitions. The event lasted for a whole week. In addition to the competitions that took place during the day, plays and concerts followed in the evening.[120] Other events focused on specific sports such as the tennis tournament in Douglas in July 1915. Meanwhile, on 13 August 1916 a boxing tournament occurred in Douglas to decide the camp champion.[121] Similarly, a gymnastics festival in Camp IV at Knockaloe on 15 August 1916 began at eight o'clock in the morning with music sounding throughout the camp.[122]

These organised activities point to the importance of sport in the development of prison camp societies as suggested by Ketchum. In the same way that theatre brought together a range of internees, whether as actors, spectators or stage hands, sport helped to unite large numbers German prisoners through the development of sporting clubs, competitions and even festivals. As we have seen from the case of Pilates, sporting activity did not simply involve participants but also trainers and referees. Clearly, it also involved significant levels of organisation, otherwise the leagues and sporting festivals could not have taken place.

116 Eva Rincke, *Joseph Pilates: Der Mann, dessen Name Programm wurde* (Freiburg 2015), 26–69.
117 Ruge, *Scapa Flow*, 130.
118 BA/R67/800, Report by W. Persow.
119 *Stobsiade*, 19 September 1915.
120 Karl von Scheidt / Fritz Meyer, *Vier Jahre Leben und Leiden der Auslandsdeutschen in den Gefanagenenlagern Englands* (Hagen 1919), 98–105.
121 *Die Lager Laterne*, 30 July 1915, 27 August 1916.
122 *Knockaloe Lager-Zeitung*, 7 October 1916.

Sport in Perspective

Sport in British internment camps during the First World War should be viewed in the overall context of the activity in which military and civilian internees found themselves involved. It is important to distinguish between the activities of military and civilian prisoners. Military prisoners found themselves in Britain for the purpose of working, otherwise they would have remained on the Western Front. Consequently, the vast majority of their time involved work, whether in agriculture or other activities, which meant that sport formed part of their leisure activity. In contrast, while civilian internees did work in some cases, "[t]ime here really had to be *killed*, for it was the arch-enemy, and everyone tried to achieve this as best he could and according to his nature."[123] Sport and leisure therefore became the *raison d'être* for many civilians. We may also speculate on the health benefits of sport for these internees. Once again, physical activity for military prisoners came from work. The prisoners, whether civilian or military, were remarkably healthy, in view of their ages – between seventeen and 45 – which meant a low death rate.[124] In the context of twentieth century internment, we should also view sport in British camps as a symbol of an ultimately humane system epitomised by the gymnastics in Knockaloe and the swimming at Jersey, although this does not change the injustice of interning men for up to five years behind barbed wire, in some cases involving abduction from a boat crossing just after the war broke out.

This brings us to the issue of modernity in relation to incarceration and sport in Britain. Some of the prisoners in the country had experienced one aspect of the modernity of early twentieth century European life during the First World War in the form of the mechanised nature of killing that characterised combat on the Western Front. Incarceration of civilians in Britain and elsewhere during the conflict also reflects the modern nature of warfare, as this policy took off during the second half of the nineteenth century and become universal amongst combatant powers during this global struggle.[125] At the other extreme in the process of modernisation lay sport, with its organised rules and structures which, as we have seen, even extended to the creation of competitions and league tables. Modernity meant, on the one hand, systematised killing and, on the other, the creation of organised leisure activity behind barbed wire that included sport.

123 Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still*, 91.
124 Panayi, *Prisoners*, 128–133.
125 Christoph / Jens Thiel (ed.), *Lager vor Auschwitz: Gewalt und Integration im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 2013).

Christoph Jahr

"We are pursuing sport because such work is not demeaning"

Forms and Functions of Sport in Internment Camps during the First World War

In July 1917, the Austro-Hungarian Cavalry Captain Gab. Br. Fosika published an article titled "On Sport" in the camp magazine of a prisoners of war (POW) camp near Vladivostok in the far east of the Russian Empire. In his capacity as the newly elected president of the camp's sports club, he justified sport in almost philosophical terms. He described it as a valuable competition that should not be belittled but cherished as a method to preserve "a noble way of thinking" behind barbed wire. In Fosika's opinion, it was not the physical exercise as such that added to the value of sport in the camps: "Whatever the sport, presence of mind determines the execution and self control produces its beauty. The first should be the goal of every sportsman, the second is his duty." Perhaps even more important, at least in Fosika's opinion, is the fact that even pulling a turf roller while planting a garden should be considered sport: "We are pursuing sport because such work is not demeaning […] and because we do it voluntarily, partly to strengthen our muscles, partly to produce something which pleases us." Having attributed so much significance to sport it was only logical for him to assume that the "sport club is the greatest association of our little prisoner of war society so it has the greatest influence on our life here."[1]

Even a superficial glance at primary sources supports this assessment and highlights the importance of sport for everyday life in the internment camps. Boredom was the major enemy of the camp inmates and became worse the longer the war dragged on. Therefore, the internees were looking for all kinds of distraction. Fine arts helped brighten the grey and dull routines of everyday life. Science and education flourished in camp schools and "camp universities"; camp theatres and orchestras provided entertainment.[2] We also find docu-

1 Gerald H. Davis, "Sport in Siberia, 1917: A Rare Document", in *Journal of Sports History* 8:1 (1981), 111–114, on pp. 112, 114 respectively; Captain Fosika's full name seems to be unknown.

2 A comprehensive study of the cultural, artistic, and intellectual life in the internment camps of the First World War is still lacking. Some clues may be found in Christoph

ments highlighting the importance of gaming and sporting for the internees in virtually all camp magazines and in almost all egodocuments. The role of sport, however, for the internees in POW camps and in civilian internment camps during the First World War has so far been widely neglected by historical research. Most works give only a brief account of the role sport had for the camp inmates; sometimes this aspect of camp life is ignored completely.[3]

This article aims at filling this gap at least in part by going on an exploratory tour in this broad field asking in particular for the role that violence, discipline, and leisure played in these camps. First, I will present some general considerations on this issue. As a second step I will take a closer look at two camps. One is the *Engländerlager* in Berlin-Ruhleben, home to more than 5,000 civilian internees from all over the British Empire. The other one is the camp in Bando, Japan, with its approximately 1,000 German and Austro-Hungarian POWs. Finally, I will present some thoughts on the way sport reflected the character of camps as "sites of modernity".

Sport and Internment: A Multifaceted Relationship

Approximately 2.5 million allied military POWs and 100,000 civilians were interned in Germany during the First World War. About 1.2 million German soldiers and civilians shared this fate as POWs or "enemy aliens" in Allied countries.[4] The first link between sport and wartime internment is the fact that some internment camps were situated in a sport complex.[5] The camp in Ruhleben for example was a great racecourse for trotting matches in the Berlin

Jahr, "'Mr. Goodhind, the Prima Donna of Ruhleben': Theater- und Geschlechterrollen im 'Engländerlager Ruhleben' 1914–1918", in Julia B. Köhne et al. (ed.), *Mein Kamerad – Die Diva: Theater an der Front und in den Gefangenenlagern des Ersten Weltkriegs* (Munich 2014), 91–99, with further references; see also the other articles in this edited volume. On music and its significance for camp life see Lewis Foreman, "In Ruhleben Camp", in *First World War Studies* 2:1 (2011), 27–40.

3 Colin Veitch, *Sport and War in the British Literature of the First World War, 1914–1918* (MA thesis University of Alberta 1984), devotes merely three pages (pp. 121–123) to sport; Amanda Laugesen, *"Boredom is the Enemy": The Intellectual and Imaginative Lives of Australian Soldiers in the Great War and Beyond* (Farnham 2012), entirely dismissed sport from her research. As the notable exceptions to this rule cf. Floris J.G. Van der Merwe, *Sporting Soldiers: South African Troops at Play during World War I* (Stellenbosch 2012) and Peter Tauber, *Vom Schützengraben auf den grünen Rasen: Der Erste Weltkrieg und die Entwicklung des Sports in Deutschland* (Münster 2008).

4 As an introduction to this subject see Richard B. Speed, *Prisoners, Diplomats and the Great War: A Study in the Diplomacy of Captivity* (New York 1990).

5 For the use of various race-courses during the First World War, see Paul Roberts/Isabelle Taylor, *Racecourses that Played a Vital Role during the Great War*, 12 February 2016, URL: https://www.thoroughbredracing.com/articles/racecourses-played-vital-role-during-great-war/.

suburb Spandau. Another example for the use of a racecourse as a POW camp is Lager Rennbahn in Münster (Westphalia) which was, from September 1914 onwards, home to more than 10,000 French and British POWs. The use of racecourses seems to have been quite common, as the example of the internment camp at Newbury racecourse in Berkshire suggests. Newbury had been the involuntary home to some 3,400 German POWs and "enemy aliens" from September to December 1914.

Almost all egodocuments produced by military or civilian POWs do mention physical exercises and sports at one point or another.[6] The camp magazines are probably one of the most valuable sources to gain insight into the cultural history of the Great War. They provide an excellent understanding of the internees' experiences and self-images and disclose the great importance of sport for the prisoners. Between eight and 30 per cent of the articles printed in the camp magazine *L'Echo du Camp de Rennbahn* covered sport, theatre, and music.[7] The weekly camp magazine *Le Pour et le Contre*, produced by the French POWs in the camp in Regensburg, devoted twenty to 25 per cent of its pages to the "chronique sportive".[8] Evidence based on photographs taken by the German civilian internees on the Isle of Man suggests that outdoor activities – to which sport could be subsumed in most cases – occupied ever more space in camp life the longer the war dragged on. Sport grounds, however, did serve as the setting in not more than 5 per cent of the photos while the tents and huts or other buildings of the camps accounted for more than 50 per cent of all photos.[9] This relatively low rate might, however, be attributed to the fact that the dynamic of sport cannot be captured by static photographs and might therefore not have been in the centre of the photographer's attention.[10]

The camp authorities were definitely paying considerable attention to sport. In the early weeks of the war, they had quite often perceived sport as a potential threat to camp discipline and consequently relied on military exercises instead.[11] From early 1915 on, as it became more and more apparent that

6 Tauber, *Vom Schützengraben auf den grünen Rasen*, 277–304.

7 Rainer Pöppinghege, *Im Lager unbesiegt, Deutsche, englische und französische Kriegsgefangenen-Zeitungen im Ersten Weltkrieg* (Essen 2006), 242.

8 Figures based on my own research. This camp magazine is available online: URL: http://www.bayerische-landesbibliothek-online.de/sbr-lepouretlecontre. For further information on this camp, its camp magazine, and an international conference organised in June 2016 see https://mitten-im-krieg-1914-18.net/.

9 Harold Mytum, "Deciphering Dynamic Networks from Static Images: First World War Photographs at Douglas Camp", in Gilly Carr / Harold Mytum (ed.), *Cultural Heritage and Prisoners of War: Creativity behind Barbed Wire* (New York 2012), 133–151, on pp. 138–143.

10 It is worth noting that data on the photographers and the context of the photos can usually not be obtained.

11 Uta Hinz, *Gefangen im Großen Krieg: Kriegsgefangenschaft in Deutschland 1914–1921* (Essen 2006), 116f.

internment would last for a longer time than hitherto presumed, it was in the self-interest of the captors to keep the internees content and in a good physical and mental shape. Additionally, the system of visits, controls, and reports by international organisations (mainly the Red Cross) and the respective protecting powers (e.g. Switzerland for Germany, Spain for France and the United States for Great Britain) was now in operation and produced enough pressure on the belligerent powers to apply to the rules of International Humanitarian Law.

The inspecting delegations kept a careful eye on the sport facilities in the camps. The report of a Red Cross Delegation from Geneva that had visited, among others, the POW camp in Regensburg in January 1915 stated that the "camp administration gave the internees a free hand. They played cards and got up to mischief. It was particularly noteworthy how cheerful and fine the internees looked. An hour exercising in the morning goes for gymnastic."[12]

To secure appropriate equipment was generally a major concern for the prisoners. Thanks to the regular visits by the protecting powers the internees were not only able to file their complaints about poor living conditions, but they could also place orders to complement their equipment. In a report about an inspection of the POW camp in Parchim in late October 1916, the US delegation stated "that there were a sufficient number of footballs in the camp but that they [the internees] would like to have football shoes of mixed sizes and eleven thin Jerseys of one color and eleven of another, together with football 'Knickers' ".[13] The Marylebone Cricket Club sent cricket equipment from London to various POW camps in Germany while the internment camp in Ruhleben received substantial support from Lancashire's cricketers.[14] At times, however, the camp administrations exercised their power to the prisoner's disadvantage. A German lieutenant complained that the POWs in Bastia on the isle of Corsica were not allowed to acquire gymnastic equipment even at their own expense.[15]

Sport was, of course, part and parcel of the system of reprisals between the belligerent states. But so far there seems to be little evidence that sport played a significant role in the maltreatment of prisoners, at least in the western and

12 Arthur Eugster / Arthur Hoffmann, *Berichte über Kriegsgefangenenlager in Deutschland und Frankreich erstattet zuhanden des Internationalen Komitees vom Roten Kreuz in Genf: Januar bis Juni 1915* (Basel 1915), 28 [my translation].

13 Hinz, *Gefangen im Großen Krieg*, 117, note 220.

14 John Simon, " 'A Different Kind of Test Match': Cricket, English Society and the First World War", in *Sport in History* 33:1 (2013), 19–48, on p. 47, note 118.

15 *Das Werk des Untersuchungsausschusses der deutschen Nationalversammlung und des deutschen Reichstages*, vol. 3,3,1 (Berlin 1927), 234. The choice of examples is purely accidental and does not intend to give an answer to the question of why the belligerents may have treated their prisoners better or worse than the others.

central European states.[16] There is probably more evidence for the contrary. In some German forced labour camps the inmates were denied access to the sport ground to induce them to sign contracts of employment. In this case forbidding sport, as opposed to requiring it, was used as a means of exerting pressure on the internees.[17] Things were, however, different in the so-called *Halbmondlager*, designed for the allied POWs of Islamic faith willing to change sides and fight against their former masters. For them, *Turnen und Exerzieren*[18] had not been a matter of choice but were an integral part of their daily routine. These internees were, however, preparing for war again and therefore have to be regarded as a special case.

Sport vs. Turnen before, during, and after the War

In the imagination of contemporaries, the value of sport reached far beyond the individual body; it also helped in creating and strengthening the "body of the nation". The German *Turnerbewegung* had been essential for the formation of nationalism and nation-building, reflecting the shift from its liberal beginnings to its later authoritarian and militaristic tendencies.[19] Sport and cultural activities, cultivated in numerous associations, were also seen as being important in maintaining *Deutschtum* within non-German environments.[20]

The question of what value various sporting activities may have for military service was, however, highly contested. The fact that British cricketers enlisted in great numbers was on the one hand used by the cricket authorities to ostentatiously demonstrate their support for the war effort; on the other hand competing sports, above all football, were accused of lacking responsiveness to "the call of duty".[21] In spite of disputes like that sport became formally integrated into the military system of all belligerent nations as it "was

16 Heather Jones, *Violence against Prisoners of War in the First World War: Britain, France and Germany, 1914–1920* (New York 2013).

17 Jens Thiel / Christian Westerhoff, "Deutsche Zwangsarbeiterlager im Ersten Weltkrieg. Entstehung – Funktion – Lagerregimes", in Christoph Jahr / Jens Thiel (ed.), *Lager vor Auschwitz: Gewalt und Integration im 20. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 2013), 117–139, on p. 125.

18 Gerhard Höpp, *Muslime in der Mark: Als Kriegsgefangene und Internierte in Wünsdorf und Zossen, 1914–1924* (Berlin 1997), 82.

19 Michael Krüger, *Körperkultur und Nationsbildung: Die Geschichte des Turnens in der Reichsgründungsära. Eine Detailstudie über die Deutschen* (Schorndorf 1996).

20 John A. Daly, "German Games in the Antipodes: Attempts to Preserve Deutschtum", in Toni Niewerth et al. (ed.), *Spiele der Welt im Spannungsfeld von Tradition und Moderne: Proceedings of the 2nd ISHPES Congress* (Sankt Augustin 1996), 389–392.

21 James Roberts, " 'The Best Football Team, The Best Platoon': The Role of Football in the Proletarianization of the British Expeditionary Force, 1914–1918", in *Sport in History* 26:1 (2006), 26–46. He does, however, neglect the experience of prisoners of war.

transformed from a mainly spontaneous and improvised pastime […] into a compulsory activity" for the troops. It was widely seen as having "military utility in improving fitness, relieving boredom […] and building morale".[22] After the war, sport was championed as a factor that had secured the Allied victory and the model of British sport was regarded as being particularly beneficial to the development of professional sport in France.[23] Consequently, conscientious objectors were usually – though not completely – banned from all sport associations.[24]

The war also switched the balance between different varieties of physical exercise. German physicians had to admit that the way *Turnen* was practised before the war now had to be ruled inadmissible because its exercises forced the body into an unnatural posture. It had proven to be counterproductive on the patient's road to convalescence.[25] This fact was probably decisive for the final victory of *Sport* over *Turnen* that was only camouflaged superficially by attempts to bridge the divide between these antagonistic approaches to physical exercise.[26] The concern that only a sound body could be the home of a sound mind also prevailed among health-conscious German POWs, not only during the conflict itself, but also after hostilities had ceased. A newspaper columnist lamented in the camp magazine of Oswestry in Shropshire that once the prisoners will have returned to Germany, the "entire future would revolve around a healthy body".[27]

Sport behind Barbed Wire

Taking care of the body was one major function attributed to sport. Almost inseparable from it was the question of what sport could contribute to preserving the minds of the prisoners. In other words: could sport serve as a cure to what contemporaries labelled the "barbed wire-disease"? In an article in the

22 Tony Mason / Eliza Riedi, "Leather and the Fighting Spirit: Sport in the British Army in World War I", in *Canadian Journal of History* 41 (2006), 485–516, on pp. 486f.; no reference is made, however, to prisoners of war.

23 Joris Vincent / Arnaud Waquet, "Wartime Rugby and Football: Sports Elites, French Military Teams and International Meets during the First World War", in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 28:3–4 (2011), 372–392.

24 For New Zealand cf. Greg Ryan, "Men who Defaulted in the Greatest Game of All: Sport, Conscientious Objectors and Military Defaulters in New Zealand 1916–1923", in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 31:18 (2014), 2375–2387.

25 Reinhold Leu, *Vorschrift für die Leibesübungen in Lazaretten, Genesungs-Heimen und Genesendenkompagnien* (Berlin 1916), 1.

26 Wilhelm Winter, *Der Weltkrieg und die Leibesübungen. Freie Bahn für deutsches Turnen, Spiel und Sport* (Leipzig 1916).

27 Brian K. Feltman, *The Stigma of Surrender: German Prisoners, British Captors, and Manhood in the Great War and Beyond* (Chapel Hill, NC 2015), 142.

above-mentioned camp magazine *Le Pour et le Contre*,[28] the author describes "le cafard" as a gloomy mood, "le mal du prisonnier", the prisoner's illness. But did sport really help the internees cope with the "barbed wire-disease"? "Comment sortir de la?" The easiest way out, the author suggests, is to practise and foster religious faith. But equally beneficial could be anything that strengthens the prisoner's health and keeps his mind fresh. The Swiss physician Adolf Lukas Vischer, who gained intimate insight into the prisoners' sufferings during his service in the Swiss embassy in London was more sceptical that sport could work as a cure to the "barbed wire-disease". As a case in point he mentions the case of a POW who was "of genial disposition and a sportsman [who] devoted himself to active physical exercise, especially football. [After 6 months] he began to become irritable […]".[29] Being a devoted sportsman did not protect this particular POW against the barbed wire disease.

It would need further research based on a wide range of egodocuments to determine whether or not sport really served as a cure to the hardships the internees had to endure. However, it seems quite likely that for the most part sport did play a "positive" role in the internees' lives and did, in fact, help ease their burden somewhat in comparison to what would have been the case without it. The overwhelming evidence from the camp magazines and egodocuments of the prisoners strongly suggests that the internees committed much of their time and resources to sport. It is unlikely that they would have done so had they not gained mental profit that seemed to be – at least to them – worth the effort. As the *Deutsche Turner-Zeitung* put it in 1919: *Turnen* (and, one may add, all other varieties of physical exercise) served as a *Sorgenbrecher,* puffing away – at least a temporarily – the worries, dullness, and deprivations of life behind barbed wire.[30]

Sport, Discipline, and Control: The *Engländerlager* Ruhleben

One of the characteristics of the First World War that allows us to qualify it as a "Total War" is the fact that for the first time in history civilians had to endure mass internment. This fate had hitherto been limited to combatants. But from 1914 onwards male "enemy nationals" of military age were treated as POWs. These civilians paid a high price for only one "fault": being in the wrong place at the wrong time. One of the most notorious but also one of the best documented internment camps during the First World War

28 *Le Pour et le Contre*, 16.07.1916, 2f.
29 Adolf Lucas Vischer, *Barbed Wire Disease: A Psychological Study of the Prisoner of War* (London 1919), 54.
30 Tauber, *Vom Schützengraben auf den grünen Rasen*, 277.

was the *Engländerlager* in Berlin-Ruhleben. It hosted up to a maximum of 4,400 "Enemy Aliens".[31] The internees came from all over the British Empire and from all levels of society. Sports played an important role right from the start, since the fabrication of a primitive ball, made out of rags and rope, was one of the first devices that helped the internees fight boredom, their major enemy.[32] The internment of all subjects of the United Kingdom and the British Empire caught on German soil began on 6 November 1914. It only took ten days until the "First Ruhleben Football Competition" took place with improvised goal posts. But shortly thereafter, on 25 November, football was strictly forbidden by the camp commander because it was assumed to be "too exciting" and therefore a threat to camp discipline.[33] The internees changed to "quiet" indoor games such as chess and checkers, while the inclement weather of Berlin's winter season seriously undermined the internee's health and spirits.

But as soon as the hardships of the early months of internment were overcome, camp life in general and sports in particular began to flourish once again. The starting gun was fired in March 1915 when the internees were enabled by British and American funding to rent half of the racecourse's interior field as a recreation ground.[34] The most prominent event took place in late November 1915 when Reverend Herbert Bury, Anglican bishop for Northern and Central Europe, visited Ruhleben. He had the honour to kick off the match between two camp teams. Seven professional football players were among the internees: Fred Pentland, Fred Spiksley, John Cameron, Edwin Dutton, John Brearly, and Sam Wolstenholme, who had previously been playing for Everton, the Blackburn Rovers, Norwich City, and England's national team. In the spring of 1914, he took over the position as team coach of the Norddeutscher Fußball-Verband (North German Football Association) and was interned in Ruhleben after the war had broken out. Another prominent professional was FC Derby County's top goalscorer Steve Bloomer, heroised by his biographer Peter Seddon as "football's first superstar".[35] Bloomer was honoured with a farewell football match when he finally left Ruhleben in March 1918.

31 On Ruhleben cf. Matthew Stibbe, *British Civilian Internees in Germany: The Ruhleben Camp, 1914–18* (Manchester 2008); Christoph Jahr, "Zivilisten als Kriegsgefangene: Die Internierung von 'Feindstaatenausländern' in Deutschland während des Ersten Weltkrieges am Beispiel des 'Engländerlagers' Ruhleben", in Rüdiger Overmans (ed.), *In der Hand des Feindes: Kriegsgefangenschaft von der Antike bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Cologne 1999), 297–321.

32 For the following cf. Van der Merwe, *Sporting Soldiers*, 182–213; Van der Merwe draws heavily on camp magazines and published memoirs of the internees.

33 J. Davidson Ketchum, *Ruhleben: A Prison Camp Society* (Toronto 1965), 28.

34 Ibid., 93.

35 Sebastian Tripp, *Kommunikation und Vergemeinschaftung: Das "Engländerlager" Ruhleben, 1914–1918* (MA Thesis University of Marburg 2005), 59.

Rugby, too, was a popular sport among the internees. The South African Lieutenant J. Moresby-White was the driving force behind the establishment of rugby in Ruhleben. Another popular sport was tennis. The outstanding player among the internees was the English-born editor of a German sporting journal, Fred Manning.[36] With ten professional golfers in the camp, this sport was also well represented at Ruhleben. Other popular sports and games included athletics, gymnastics, hockey, boxing, physical drill, board games, and gambling.

Given the limited space of the camp, the huge number of internees, and the wide range of sport activities on offer, it is obvious that some kind of organisation was needed. In fact, sport was extremely well organised in Ruhleben, even more so after the internees were allowed to establish a kind of "home rule" in September 1915. All sporting activities were managed and supervised by the Sports Control Committee, a sub-committee of the Captains Committee, the main body of the internee's self-government.

Playing organised games had tremendous effects on the Ruhlebenites. John Davidson Ketchum was himself an internee from November 1914 onwards and later became a sociologist at the University of Toronto. He has written the most influential study on Ruhleben (published posthumously in 1963) in which he pointed out:

> the organization of sport in March 1915 was one of the early factors in the mental stabilization of the prisoners. Each of them now knew what barrack teams would play today, tomorrow, and for weeks ahead; he was living in a better organized world, and was therefore less governed by impulse and suggestion.[37]

But willingly or not, in performing sport in such an orderly manner the internees also played into the hands of their captors. For them the self-disciplining effects of sport, so clearly identified by Ketchum, helped minimise the necessary efforts to guard and control the internees. At the same time a flourishing social life (of which sport was a core element) demonstrated to the international public that Germany was following the demands of international humanitarian law. This fact can be illustrated with an article published in *The Continental Times*, a pro-German newspaper for Americans in Europe published in Berlin. In 1916, a certain Stephan von Dubay, a Hungarian member of a neutral commission, wrote an article that gave a highly favourable account of Ruhleben's sporting facilities:

36 Heiner Gillmeister, "English Editors of German Sporting Journals at the Turn of the Century", in *The Sports Historian* (*The Journal of the British Society of Sports History*) 13 (1993), 38–65.

37 Ketchum, *Ruhleben*, 221.

> In visiting the sporting grounds I quite forgot that I was in a prisoners' camp. On the local football grounds the athletic figures in their bright attire played with so much zest and good cheer that no thought of being on the hated German soil could make itself felt. […] on a fine day all the camp throngs to the sporting grounds, to indulge in football, lawn tennis, cricket and golf.[38]

It is quite obvious that this was propaganda, but there was definitely some kernel of truth in this story. Additionally, to present oneself as being physically and mentally in good shape is a natural way to respond to a visitation. The other way is to grip this golden opportunity and to file a complaint against the captors. One way or the other neither the reports of neutral delegation nor the accounts of the internees themselves should be taken entirely at face value.

But sport in wartime internment camps should not be supposed to be a pure success story, not even in Ruhleben. Although from September 1915 the German guards were withdrawn from the camp and limited their activity to patrolling the outside fence of the camp, the camp commander still had the power to ban sports as a disciplinary measure.[39] To make things worse, sport also reflected the tensions and biases within camp society. Some individuals or collectives were simply not allowed to be part of the team. Ketchum tells the story of an internee who was suspended "indefinitely from taking part in practice games and matches on account of a most unsportsmanlike display in the match against the boys yesterday".[40] In this and many other cases it was prisoners in a position of authority who excluded some of their fellow prisoners from social life in the camp.

Mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion also worked on a more general level. In April 1916, the Ruhleben Football Association had organised two football leagues. Each of the prisoner's barracks formed a team for each league – all but "barrack 13", commonly called the "negroes" barrack by the fellow internees. Cricket, so it seems, was the only "European" sport popular among the "non-white" internees. It seems likely, however, that their preference for cricket was not a matter of free choice but forced upon them by their "white" fellow-internees who kept them away from participating in games like football, rugby, tennis, and many other sports that were clearly earmarked as "whites only". Racism certainly had a great impact not only on sport but also on the entirety camp life in Ruhleben.

38 Gillmeister, "English Editors", 15.
39 van der Merwe, *Sporting Soldiers*, 188.
40 Ketchum, *Ruhleben*, 222.

Sport, National Identity, and Cultural Transfer: The Bando Camp in Japan

The case of the 4,387 German and 296 Austro-Hungarian POWs in Japan during the First World War is a very special one.[41] In April 1917 approximately a quarter of them were concentrated in the camp of Bando, situated on the island of Shikoku in the southwestern part of the Japanese archipelago. This camp soon earned the reputation as a *Vorzeigelager* (showpiece camp) in a good sense. The internees had received a friendly welcome by the press and the Japanese population. Accordingly, they were actually privileged as far as food and accommodation were concerned. Sports also played a very significant role in the life of the German POWs. A Japanese newspaper estimated that sports took up half of the internee's leisure time in the camp.[42] The variety of sport practised in Bando was impressive: there was football, tennis, various kinds of ball games, hockey, wrestling, boxing, weightlifting, gymnastics, athletics, swimming, skittles, billiards, etc.[43]

The visual and the performing arts, literature, music and so forth underwent a process of nationalisation throughout the nineteenth century. As we have seen already, sport, too, was often imagined as the outflow of a specific "national character". From a German perspective the perceived predominance of "English sport" posed a serious threat to the "national identity" of the internees. A series of articles in May and June 1918 in Bando's camp magazine dealt with the problem that "English sport" proved to be much more popular among the inmates than the "German Leibesübungen". "For us who will, once the war is over, reintegrate ourselves into the broad national front, it is as clear as it is for the Germans who experienced the war at home in Germany", the author concluded, that "we Germans should not carelessly adopt the English sport", because

41 An up to date account of the internment of Germans in Japan during the First World War is still pending. An overview is offered by Charles Burton Burdick / Ursula-Maria Mössner, *The German Prisoners-of-War in Japan, 1914–1920* (Lanham 1984), on Bando 73–101; Ulrike Klein, *Deutsche Kriegsgefangene in japanischem Gewahrsam 1914–1920: Ein Sonderfall*, (Freiburg 1993), number of POWs in the appendix. For the Japanese literature cf. Atsushi Otsuru, "*Prisoners of War (Japan)*", in 1914–1918–online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War (2014), doi:10.15463/ie1418.10131. In 2017 the Museum Lüneburg devoted a temporary exhibition to the camp in Bando, cf. URL: http://www.museumlueneburg.de/auss/a17_bando.htm.

42 Mahon Murphy, "Brücken, Beethoven und Baumkuchen: German and Austro-Hungarian Prisoners of War and the Japanese Home Front", in Gunda Barth-Scalmani et al. (ed.), *Other Fronts, Other Wars? First World War Studies on the Eve of the Centennial* (Leiden 2014), 125–145, on p. 138.

43 Tauber, *Vom Schützengraben auf den grünen Rasen*, 305–309.

otherwise it might happen that, once we have returned home and find that we no longer have hockey or football fields or a tennis court in our hometown, we say to ourselves: Yes, in Bando, there we had the time for these "English sports". What a pity that we neglected our "German Turnen" during our internment in Japan.[44]

It is quite obvious that this call to ward off the attack of "English sports" on the hearts and souls of the German POWs reflects a strong feeling of inferiority. But at the same time the camp magazine called upon the internees to be aware of Germany's claim to being on a "civilising mission" in Asia. Sport, too, had to play an important role here:

Here in the Far East, the English influence is dominant also in the realm of sport, baseball and football are known everywhere. It is here, where we give a fine example of our understanding of *Leibesübung*; that's our way to promote the German case.[45]

In fact, the Japanese population that lived in the area surrounding Bando camp sympathetically observed the Germans exercising their sport and often mimicked them. It is a fine irony that football, itself an "English" import to Germany, was made popular in Japan by the German POWs. In Hiroshima and Nagoya two "International Football Games" took place between internees and local high school teams.[46]

In June 1918 about one hundred primary school teachers visited Bando camp and they seemed to have been particularly impressed by the prisoners' performance of "German Turnen". Some of the POWs were invited to teach *Turnen* in local schools. They even performed a sport show in the theatre in Tokushima, the district town. Thus the POWs helped make popular sports hitherto unknown in Japan. This transfer was by no means a one-way street. One of the prisoners was so impressed by sumo wrestling and jujitsu that he published a book in 1919 explaining to his fellow camp inmates how valuable Japanese wrestling is for the improvement of the individual's physical shape and mental strength.[47]

Sport served as a vehicle of cultural transfer, just like the theatre performances, the music concerts (it was, in fact, here that Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was performed for the first time in Japan on 1 June 1918), the craftsmanship exhibitions, or the German-run bakeries that introduced

44 All quotes Rie Yamada, "'Unseren europäischen Kampfspielen das japanische Jujitsu gegenüberzustellen, war ein guter Gedanke': Die sportlichen Aktivitäten deutscher Kriegsgefangenen in Japan im Ersten Weltkrieg", in *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 8:2 (1994), 7–19, on p. 9 [my translations].
45 Ibid.
46 Murphy, "Brücken", 138.
47 Yamada, "'Unseren europäischen Kampfspielen'", 12f.

specialities like the *Baumkuchen* to Nippon. But not all processes of cultural transfer tasted so delicious. The Tokushima branch of Japan's "Association for warlike skills" invited some POWs to teach its members the "German" (or, more correctly, the "European") sports useful for the fostering of warlike skills. With the aid of their enemies Japan's youth trained for a future war. In the Second World War the two nations were to become allies under fascist regimes.

Sports, Camps, and Modernity – Some Concluding Remarks

The camp is a phenomenon so closely associated with modernity that it has been epitomised as the "nomos of the modern" by the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben. Likewise, it is fashionable to typify the twentieth century as the "Century of the Camps". In this sense, the "concentration camp" could be, and in fact has been, identified as a "site of modernity".[48] But, as I have tried to show, sport exercised in the camps of the First World War does not fit easily into this picture. The sources tell a more diverse story. Sport was omnipresent in the POW and internment camps during the First World War. It primarily served as a means for the prisoners to keep up their spirit, fight the "barbed wire-disease" and to form a camp society solid enough to carry them through years of internment under often dire living conditions. Sport also helped to sustain discipline but it did so in a double-edged way. On the one hand, it facilitated organising camp society and also had self-disciplining effects on the prisoners. Thus, it empowered them to cope with the hardships of long-time internment. But on the other hand, sport did not always create social coherence. Sometimes individuals or groups of prisoners were actively excluded from camp society by the internees themselves. Thus sport reflected social, ethnic, and national tensions among the camp inmates. The way that sport was encouraged or obstructed by the camp authorities also formed an integral part in the "diplomatic war" between belligerent nations. Although violence was not entirely absent there seems to be little evidence to support the conclusion that it was a major aspect of camp life. The really dark chapters that associate the exercise of sport in camps primarily with violence and the exertion of absolute power were still to come.

48 Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, CA 1998); Joël Kotek / Pierre Rigoulot, *Le siècle des camps: Détention, concentration, extermination: Cent ans de mal radical* (Paris 2000); Habbo Knoch, "Konzentrationslager", in Alexa Geisthövel / Habbo Knoch (ed.), *Orte der Moderne. Erfahrungswelten des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a.M. 2005), 290–299.

In other respects the link between sport in camps and modernity is more obvious, although the *Encyclopedia of Prisoners of War and Internment* takes a rather simplified perspective: "Sports have offered Prisoners of War a form of physical and emotional release throughout the history."[49] Sport is thus characterised as a timeless phenomenon and it seems not to make much of a difference whether one looks at the Seven Years' War or the Second World War. This might be appropriate if one is narrowing down the perspective on the individual. But choosing a broader approach that takes into account the relationship between sport and society suggests a different answer.

Far from advocating a simple donor-recipient model Christiane Eisenberg insists on the fact that "modern" sport, as it emerged in early nineteenth century Britain was successfully exported to the continent triggering all kinds of reactions encompassing imitation, adaptation, and outright rejection. Whatever the case may have been, the respective national sporting traditions could only be described in relation to the "British model". The building up of an "intensified network of transnational events and international relationships"[50] characteristic of the decades prior to 1914 did not at all come to a halt during the war. Sport continued to function as both a means of reassuring the respective "national identities" on the one hand, and as a vehicle of cultural transfer linking the local with the national and the global level on the other hand. As I have tried to argue, internment camps of all sorts played a crucial and so far understudied role in this process. The POW camp in Bando is the best case in point here. In Japan sport served a greater cause, a "civilising mission" aimed at promoting "German culture" in this foreign country. In a similar fashion Ruhleben was considered an island of British, i.e. "modern", civilisation by the internees in an allegedly backward environment. Sport did play an important role in the preservation of "Britishness" in an alien surrounding. But sport in Ruhleben did not have the same significance as a vehicle of cultural transfer as was the case in Bando. The simple reason is that most sporting activities closely associated with Britain had already been well established in Germany. The fact that Sam Wolstenholme had just taken over the position as team coach of the Norddeutscher Fußball-Verband when war broke out, illustrates this quite clearly.

The knowledge and practices of sport, in terms of playing, organising, and attending sports, also underwent a process of modernisation in the camps. This is most obvious in the case of Ruhleben and its rich, diversified, and highly organised sporting activities. More important, however, is the fact that

49 Elizabeth D. Schafer, "Sports", in Jonathan F. Vance (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Prisoners of War and Internment* (Santa Barbara, CA 2000), 280–283, on pp. 280f.

50 Christiane Eisenberg, "Towards a New History of European Sport?", in *European Review* 19:4 (2011), 617–622, on p. 620; the First World War is, unfortunately, widely neglected by Eisenberg.

the sporting activities were, in most cases, organised by the internees themselves while the camp authorities usually played only a secondary role. Sport was an important part of the camp societies that followed the role model of their liberal bourgeois societies at home. All frictions, contradictions and biases of modern societies were mirrored in the temporary camp societies. The legacies of this experience clearly deserve further attention.

Doriane Gomet

Sport behind the Wire

Primarily a Life-Saving Exercise?

This chapter seeks to understand the importance of sport and its role when practiced by men held in captivity. It will focus on French officers held in Germany during the Second World War. This group is an ideal sample because of their status as a social elite, the length of their captivity and the sheer number of men who shared in the experience. Some 24,000 French officers[1] – most of whom belonged to well-to-do social classes[2] – were detained in Germany for "1,761 days".[3] The life of war prisoners was ignored by historians for a long time,[4] but there is currently renewed interest due to a far-reaching change of perspectives in the way to address the underlying issues. Captivity is intrinsically a transnational phenomenon, thus allowing the study of cultural transfers, the enculturation process and propaganda[5] – and we may here think of the work carried out by Fabien Théofilakis on German prisoners of war (POWs).[6] Issues of surveillance and control measures implemented by the detaining powers, but also of the representations and practical ordeals prisoners[7] had to live through when faced with what Anne-Marie Pathé and Fabien Théofilakis have called an "all-out experience",[8] open up a promising area of research

1 French Department of Army History (Service Historique de l'Armée de Terre, SHAT), 2P72. 1 November 1942.

2 French National Archives (Archives Nationales, AN), 72aj/1966. Jean-Marie D'Hoop's personal archives.

3 René Menard / Jean Plessy, *Oflags. Récit photographique de la vie des prisonniers dans les camps allemands, 1940–1945* (Paris 1946).

4 With the exception of Yves Durand's pioneering work. Yves Durand, *La captivité. Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français* (Paris 1980).

5 Jean-Marie D'Hoop, "Propagandes et attitudes politiques dans les camps de prisonniers. Le cas des *Oflags*", in *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale* 122 (1981), 3–26; Evelyne Gayme, *Les prisonniers de guerre français. Enjeux militaires et stratégiques (1914–1918 & 1940–1945)* (Paris 2010).

6 Fabien Théofilakis, *Les prisonniers de guerre allemands. France, 1944–1949* (Paris 2014).

7 Delphine Debons, "Les barbelés de l'ennui. Souffrance morale et moyens d'évasion dans les camps de prisonniers de guerre de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale", in Pascale Goestchel et al. (ed.), *L'ennui, histoire d'un état d'âme, XIX^e–XX^e siècles* (Paris 2012), 249–259.

8 Anne-Marie Pathé et al., "Présentation. Les prisonniers de guerre au XX^e siècle: une

at the confluence of cultural history[9] and political history. In this context, sport – the word is used here in its broadest possible sense[10] – offers a most valuable entry point. As a vehicle of quite disparate ideologies, instrument for greater social cohesion and element of national identity, sport was indeed booming before the Second World War in the whole of Europe, especially as it was considered a modern educational approach in such countries as England or Germany. In order to combine the trajectories of prewar sport politics and utilisation of sport in camps, we want to ask the following questions: How did sport serve as a means of educating or even civilizing camp inmates? Who was acting in such directions, camp authorities or inmates themselves? Did sport in camps serve a greater cause, a "civilising mission"? Very little research has been conducted on its emergence and development in German *Oflags* during the Second World War (*Oflag* is short for *Offizierlager*, namely "camp for prisoner of war officers") – with the exception of a few articles and book contributions.[11] We have drawn extensively on Michel Foucault's concepts – the *dispositifs*[12] implemented for war prisoners, the strong determination to exert *disciplinary power*[13] over a huge number of prisoners, and the instrumental role of the *body*[14] in the exertion of power – which all shed light on the real function of sporting activities. Further documentation was provided by the work of Michel Crozier and Erhard Friedberg[15] so as to better understand the *degree of freedom* of individuals subject to long-term detention.

Six *Oflags* out of the twenty-five that existed in 1941[16] were studied. This selection does not include the whole range of possible situations but we did choose the largest and most significant camps. *Oflag* IID at Gross-Born in

problématique en plein renouvellement", in Id. /Fabien Théofilakis (ed.), *La captivité de guerre au XX^e siècle. Des archives, des histoires, des mémoires* (Paris 2012), 15–20.

9 The work of François Cochet paved the way for this reappraisal. François Cochet, *Soldats sans armes. La captivité de guerre. Une approche culturelle* (Paris 1998).

10 Thierry Terret, *Histoire du sport* (Paris 2007), 10.

11 Jean-François Loudcher et al., "Sport et formation universitaire en éducation physique au *Stalag* de Stablack", in Thierry Terret (ed.), *Sport, éducation et arts XIX–XX^e siècles* (Paris 1996), 224–243; Christian Vivier et al., "Éducation physique, sports et formations universitaires dans les camps de prisonniers de guerre français en Allemagne (1940–1945)", in *Spirales* 13–14 (1998), 231–257; Doriane Gomet, "Assauts derrière les barbelés. L'escrime dans les camps de prisonniers de guerre français durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale", in Luc Robène (ed.), *Le sport et la guerre XIX^e–XX^e siècles* (Rennes 2012), 319–332; John E. Dreifort, "Anything but Ordinary. *POW Sports in a Barbed Wire World*", in *Journal of Sport History* 34:3 (2007), 415–437; Tim Wolter, *POW Baseball in World War II. The National Pastime behind Barbed Wire* (Jefferson 2002).

12 Michel Foucault, *Dits et écrits II, 1976–1988* (Paris 2001), 299–302.

13 Id., *Surveiller et Punir. Naissance de la Prison* (Paris 1975), 161.

14 For Arianna Sforzini, the concept of body is cross-disciplinary in Foucault's work. Arianna Sforzini, *Michel Foucault. Une Pensée du Corps* (Paris 2014), 7.

15 Michel Crozier / Erhard Friedberg, *L'acteur et le système* (Paris 1977).

16 SHAT, 2P72. Headcount of French prisoners of war in Germany on 1 August 1941, 2.

Pomerania was built in a sandy, wooded area.[17] In July 1940, approximately 5,900 French officers were detained there.[18] *Oflag* XVIIA at Edelbach was also quite large, "located at an altitude of 700 meters on a plateau".[19] In September 1940, it housed 4,838 officers[20] in wooden bunkhouses. At Soest *Oflag* VIA, 1,991 officers were accommodated in army barracks.[21] Within the same *Wehrkreis*, 1,520 officers[22] were held in *Oflag* VID at Münster, north of Dortmund. Further north and east of the town of Nienburg on the Weser, *Oflag* XB housed 2,721 French officers.[23] In the early days of their captivity,[24] 5,517 officers were detained in *Oflag* IVD at Elsterhost in poor quality wooden bunkhouses.[25]

The data used for this chapter were drawn from several archives and research centres especially the French National Archives (AN, F/9, AN, F/17 & AN, 72aj), the Bureau of Former Victims of Contemporary Conflicts (AC), the German Federal Archives in Berlin (BAB), the French Department of Army History (SHAT, series 2P) and the World Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCA) in Geneva. The archives we used notably include the reports by International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegates or representatives of the French Delegation in Berlin after they were authorised to visit prisoners. The sources also contained collections of camp publications and periodicals[26] published by prisoner of war (POW) officers, as well as numerous personal testimonies. Other sources were the letters of former POWs kept by six families and 27 books of testimonies that were published after the war. All such sources and archives complement each other well and have many cross-references, thus allowing a sound study of the role and use of physical exercises and sporting activities of POWs and Germans alike.

The significant development of sport in the *Oflags,* both a complex and dynamic phenomenon, cannot be explained without regard for the needs of

17 AN, 72 aj/292. Abbé Flament, *La vie à l'Oflag* IID–IIB, chapter I, 34.
18 AN, F/9/2878. Report on a visit to *Oflag* IID at Gros-Born on 24 July 1940, 1.
19 All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. AN, F/9/2708. Folder *Oflag* XVIIA. Report on the visit on 13 February 1941, 1.
20 AN, F/9/2708. Folder *Oflag* XVIIA. Report of the ICRC delegates following a visit to the camp on 2 September 1940, 1.
21 AN, F/9/2707. Folder *Oflag* VIA. Report of the ICRC delegates following a visit to the camp on 14 November 1940. The camp was initially occupied by Belgian prisoners who were eventually transferred to another *Oflag*.
22 AN, F/9/2878. Embassy of the United States of America, *Oflag* VID, 26 September 1940.
23 AN, F/9/2878. Embassy of the United States of America, *Oflag* XB, 2 August 1940.
24 AN, F/9/2878. Report of the ICRC delegates following a visit to *Oflag* IVD on 8 August 1940, 1.
25 AN, F/9/2878. Report on *Oflag* IVD, 28 August 1940, 2.
26 Camp publications and periodicals (*Le Canard en Kg*; *Écrits sur le sable*) are available at the French National Archives (AN, F/9/2901) and the French Department of Army History (SHAT) or from the families of former POWs.

men made vulnerable by their detention nor the priorities of their supervisory authorities. Under the guise of health-related and humanitarian issues, the services and agencies supervising POW camps, as well as the German and French propaganda offices, all used sport for wide-scale control and indoctrination purposes, while humanitarian organisations really saw it as a reliable instrument for fighting off the hardships endured by prisoners. For the latter, sport was above all an efficient way to escape the difficulties of daily life, which also enabled them to establish links between their past, present and future lives.

Can Sport Be Considered a Humanitarian Practice or Is It an Instrument to Control the Human Body?

As they aimed to allow prisoners a more dignified life, the ICRC and YMCA encouraged the introduction and development of sport in camps. But these initiatives were diverted from their original goal by the German and French authorities who used them for propaganda purposes.

Sport as a Tool for Promoting More Humane Conditions in Captivity

The opportunity given to French officers to engage in sport while held in captivity cannot be understood without an analysis of the historic changes brought to regulations governing the treatment of war prisoners. For a long time, prisoners had been slaughtered or taken as slaves but their status had come under close scrutiny since the mid nineteenth century. The actions taken by the ICRC – founded in 1863 – as well as the establishment of international regulations (The Hague conventions of 1899 and 1907) gradually compelled the countries holding prisoners to treat those they had captured humanely. Nevertheless, the First World War showed that captivity cannot be anything but a traumatic experience. The deprivation of freedom, the absence of physical exercises, the splitting of ties with families and cultural background all resulted in "captivity psychosis"[27] among war prisoners, as reported by the ICRC delegates when they visited the camps. They were not alone in drawing attention to the moral suffering of the prisoners. The delegates of the World Alliance of YMCAs reported similar observations. The latter organisation,

27 The term is used in a report on the International Committee of the Red Cross activities during the Second World War. ICRC, *Rapport du Comité International de la Croix-Rouge sur son activité pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, 1st September 1939–30th June 1947*, vol. 2, 14.

initially founded in Switzerland in 1855, readily took action[28] on many initiatives to bring prisoners material and spiritual support. According to the principles of this Christian organisation, and notably its American branch,[29] cultural activities and especially sport had a positive influence on individuals – a benefit prisoners desperately needed.

The Geneva Convention drafted in 1929 aimed to complete the shortcomings of former treaties. Its 97 articles did not only deal with issues such as accommodation and food but also stipulated that the belligerents should enable prisoners to engage in intellectual and sporting activities. Article 13 stipulates: "They shall have facilities for engaging in physical exercises and obtaining the benefit of being out of doors." And Article 17 reads as follows: "Belligerents shall encourage as much as possible the organisation of intellectual and sporting pursuits by the prisoners of war." At the beginning of the Second World War, the ICRC and World Alliance of YMCAs quickly organised themselves in order to work hand in hand to bring necessary assistance to all prisoners[30] regardless of their nationality. The World Alliance was in charge of supporting intellectual and sporting activities, and to that end created a specific division called War Prisoners' Aid of the YMCA. Its mission was clearly stated in a small brochure intended for prisoners that was published by the Alliance in 1941:

> Everyone needs to do physical exercise and fight off the disastrous effects of a sedentary life. People should engage in sport to correct the physical disorders caused by their professional occupation, to maintain a healthy and strong body for the benefit of their family and themselves. Finally they should engage in sport to relax and enjoy themselves.[31]

28 Thierry Terret, "Le rôle des Young Men's Christian Assocation (YMCA) dans la diffusion du sport en France durant la première Guerre mondiale", in Paul-Alban Lebecq (ed.), *Sports, éducation physique et mouvements affinitaires au XX*ème *siècle* (Paris 2004), 27–56.

29 Regarding the development of the American branch of the YMCA and the place of sport in this organization's educational programs, see William J. Baker, "To Pray or to Play: The YMCA Question in the United Kingdom and the United States, 1850–1900", in *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 11:1 (1994), 42–62.

30 ACICR, G.82/9, Box 12.00 to 15.00. Summary of the conversation between YMCA delegates and the president of ICRC, September 1939.

31 "Tout homme a besoin de faire du sport. Il doit faire du sport pour combattre les effets désastreux de la vie sédentaire; il doit faire du sport pour corriger les défauts physiques engendrés par sa profession, il doit faire du sport pour conserver un corps sain et robuste, pour lui-même et pour sa famille, enfin, il doit faire du sport pour se délasser et se divertir." YMCA, *Un programme d'éducation physique pour les camps de prisonniers de guerre* (Geneva 1941), 3.

How German Propaganda Seized upon Sport

While sports activities were considered a tool by the ICRC and YMCA for promoting more humane treatment of the detained population, sports could not have been organised without the consent of the German authorities. And yet it is clear that issues of propaganda and ideological control interfered with the initial humanitarian goal.

In the early days of the officer prisoners of war camps, the *Oflag Kommandantur* were quite involved in the development of sport and physical education. Not only did German authorities urge prisoners to make arrangements for sporting activities but they also supported the acquisition of equipment and the easy access to sports facilities. Starting in September 1940 the camp rules and regulations of *Oflag* VID drafted by its German commander stipulated that "sporting activities would be looked upon very favourably".[32] At *Oflag* XB, "German authorities seem to be keener [on sporting activities] than the prisoners themselves."[33] When no facilities existed, officer prisoners were invited to turn unused areas of the camp into proper sporting grounds. Germans donated minor equipment and allowed the French to order what was needed. For instance, in *Oflag* IVD the person in charge of basketball could order the balls, backboards, hoops and posts required to start playing.[34]

Such interest in corporal activities was quite deliberate. If it was in line with the provisions of the Geneva Convention, it had more to do with a carefully designed propaganda strategy involving several bodies that worked hand in hand: the Frankreich Komitee, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiges Amt) and the Dienststelle Ribbentrop.[35] This strategy was implemented in the camps themselves by the *Betreuer*[36] who were French-speaking German officers whose mission was to prepare all prisoners for the Greater Europe the Nazis wished to found. With that goal in mind, they were to promote German culture and defend the relevance of a collaborationist regime led by Maréchal Pétain. In each camp they undertook to make contacts with French prisoners to win them over to their cause. Concurrently they helped out with the projects initiated by prisoners, made sure the propaganda periodical *Le Trait*

32 AN, 72aj/308. *Règlement de camp de l'Oflag VID,* Münster, 13 September 1940.

33 AN, F/9/ 2911. Folder *Oflag* XB. Report of the SDPG representative following a visit made on 29 December 1940. (SDPG stands for Service Diplomatique des Prisonniers de Guerre or Diplomatic Service of War Prisoners).

34 Captain Orial, "Un grand tournoi, mais en 1943 à l'*Oflag* IVD", in *Basket Ball. Organe officiel de la fédération internationale de basket-ball amateur et de la fédération française de basketball* 143 (1945), 3f.

35 Barbara Unteutsch, "Dr Friedrich Bran – Mittler in Abetz' Schatten", in Hans Manfred Bock et al. (ed.), *Entre Locarno et Vichy. Les relations culturelles franco-allemandes dans les années 30* (Paris 1993), 87–105.

36 Jean-Marie D'Hoop, "Propagande et attitudes politiques", 9.

d'Union was circulated,[37] encouraged and controlled all aspects of their leisure and cultural activities so as to influence them ideologically.[38] Theirs was a long-term, veiled[39] and subtle effort to coax[40] prisoners into adopting their views. By making sporting activities readily available to prisoners, their aim was to nurture a process of enculturation by practices widely acclaimed by the Nazi regime.[41] Besides, sports offices represented another efficient "dispositif" they could rely upon, another tool whose creation they had themselves suggested. The availability of recreational sporting activities had a direct effect on officer prisoners' daily life, making it easier and more bearable, contributing to a more positive atmosphere of trust the Germans wanted to capitalise on in order to appeal to their captives.

Sport in POW Camps: A Major Propaganda Tool for the Vichy Regime

If Germans made sports activities possible in *Oflags*, the French prisoner relief agencies also contributed to this effort with gifts of sports equipment. Between Christmas 1941 and September 1942, some 30,535 "games, sports and leisure articles" were shipped to the *Stalags* and the *Oflags* including about 3,000 footballs and 550 table tennis sets.[42] In 1943, Vichy stepped up their efforts: 5,500 balls of all kinds, 1,000 table tennis sets, 10,000 football shirts and pairs of shoes were sent to prisoners.[43] In a 1942 address, Jean Borotra highlighted that desire to contribute to the well-being of prisoners: "Last year we sent thousands of parcels containing sports articles. We need to do much more, which is why it has given me so much joy to acquire a significant amount of goods from abroad that you will – and I hope with all my heart – receive promptly."[44] Likewise, literature extolling a rejuvenated physical education

37 The *Trait d'union* was a weekly propaganda newspaper published by the Diensstelle Ribbentrop that was delivered free of charge to all French prisoners of war. A total of 422 issues were published from 23 June 1940 to March 1945. The prisoners themselves wrote most of the articles. An incomplete collection of the newspaper is available at the French National Archives (AN, 72aj/2065). For more information, see Philippe Goldman, *La propagande allemande auprès des prisonniers de guerre français à travers Le Trait d'Union 1940–1945,* master's diss. (Université Sorbonne, Paris 1976).

38 This information can be found in a document integrally transcribed by Philippe Goldman. Goldman, *La propagande allemande,* 31.

39 Jacques Ellul, *Propagandes* (Paris 2008), 27.

40 Serge Tchakhotine, *Le viol des foules par la propagande politique* (Paris 1952), p. 349.

41 Jean Neff, *Le National-socialisme et l'Éducation Sportive,* Ph.D. diss. (Université Paris VII, Paris 1974); Hajo Bernett, *Der Weg des Sports in die nationalsozialistische Diktatur* (Schorndorf 1983); id., *Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Schorndorf bei Stuttgart 1983).

42 SHAT, 2P67. POW Relief Central Agency. October 1940.

43 AN, F/9/2855. French Red Cross. Situation on 31 August 1943.

44 AN, F/9/2310. Broadcast speech by J. Borotra, General Commissioner for Physical Education and Sport, on 2 January 1942.

based on sport and the "natural method"[45] advocated by Georges Hébert was shipped in large quantities to the camps. Under the guidance of the Commissariat Général à l'Education Générale et aux Sports,[46] and thanks to its donations,[47] parcels of Hébert's books and issues of the *Cahiers d'athlétisme*[48] were sent to *Oflags* among other gifts.

Such solicitude was not free of self-interest. Rather it was part of a larger propaganda strategy that took shape gradually between the autumn 1941[49] and spring 1942 to involve all the organisations providing help and support to prisoners.[50] The Paris-based Service Diplomatique des Prisonniers de Guerre and its Berlin office, called the French Delegation in Berlin,[51] were the most important of such organiations. Both were created in November 1940 after France had accepted the role of the protecting power of its own prisoners. Their mission was to visit POW camps to check that prisoners were treated well, but they were also useful as channels for Vichy's propaganda. The other organisations were established in France: the Direction du Service des Prisonniers de Guerre (Direction of POW Services) and the French Red Cross in the non-occupied zone of southeastern France,[52] the Sous-direction des

45 The "Méthode naturelle" is a physical education method created and developed by the Frenchman Georges Hébert. It is based on ten families of outdoor exercises (walking, jumping, running, etc.) designed to develop physical, moral and mental qualities through practice. This method was tremendously successful with the Vichy Regime, which made it compulsory in schools as early as 1941. See Georges Hébert, *L'éducation physique, virile et morale par la méthode naturelle. Tome 1. Exposé doctrinal et principes directeurs de travail* (Paris 1936).

46 The Commissariat Général à l'Éducation Générale et aux sports or CGEGS (General Commission for Physical Education and Sport) was a Vichy government agency created by Maréchal Pétain in August 1940 to organise sport and physical education in France. Jean Borotra was appointed as its head (summer 1940–April 1942) and was later replaced by Jep Pascot (April 1942 until the Liberation). Its missions were to promote sport, provide new facilities, and develop sporting education in schools. See Jean-Louis G. Lescot, *Sport et éducation sous Vichy* (Paris 1992).

47 CGEGS, *Feuille d'information* 16, 12 November 1942.

48 SHAT, 2P77.

49 Gayme, *Les prisonniers de guerre français*, 98.

50 Marie-Thérèse Chabord, "Les organismes français chargés des prisonniers de guerre sous le Gouvernement de Vichy", in *Revue d'histoire de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale* 37 (1960), 3f.

51 In November 1940, after long negotiations between the French and German governments, it was decided that after the conditions of the Berlin Protocol, France would become the protecting power of its own prisoners. Consequently, the Service Diplomatique des Prisonniers de Guerre was created. It was headed by Georges Scapini, whilst in December 1940 the French Delegation in Berlin was set up and composed of delegates responsible for visiting prisoners in the camps. For an analysis of the effects of this agreement, see Raffael Scheck, "The Prisoner of War and the Beginnings of Collaboration. The Franco-German Agreement of 16 November 1940", in *Journal of Contemporary History* 45 (2010), 364–388

52 The Direction des Services des Prisonniers de Guerre (DSPG) was created on 28 July 1940 under the supervision of the French Secretary of State for War. Based in Lyon

Prisonniers de Guerre (Subsection of POW Services) and the Comité Central d'Assistance (POW Relief Central Agency) in the occupied zone.[53] The document issued in March 1942[54] resulted from the feedback on the initial thoughts and experiences of the above-mentioned services and agencies. To counter the Nazi initiatives,[55] rally together all POWs behind Maréchal Pétain and prevent an overall loss of morale in prisoners,[56] it was decided to boost propaganda activities significantly. When inspecting a camp, the envoys of the Delegation in Berlin were to explain to prisoners the ins and outs of the National Revolution – the official ideological programme promoted by the Vichy regime – and prompt them insistently to set up focus groups called Cercles Pétain (Pétain Circles) to spread the information. The Comité Central d'Assistance and the Red Cross were in charge of dispatching documents and material from France. The General Commission for Physical Education and Sport (CGEGS) was also requested to take an active part in this operation whose aim was the long-distance control of bodies:

> I am convinced that in light of all the good things the *CGEGS* can do, not only today by helping sport develop in POW camps but also in the future by forming smart, educated executives who will have had long spare moments to meditate and sharpen their understanding of things, it will continue and expand its activities to support prisoners.[57]

It was even more visibly involved from May 1943 when a CGEGS permanent delegation was created in Berlin[58] to take delivery of all the gifts of sporting material sent from France and divide them between French forced workers and war prisoners held in Germany.

All in all, although humanitarian organisations presented sport as a means likely to contribute to the well-being and physical fitness of inmates, it was of primary interest to both French and German propaganda services. German authorities promoted sporting activities in the camps that would be likely

from October 1940, it provided food and material aid and spiritual support to POWs by sending collective parcels. It relied on the French Red Cross – founded on 7 August 1940 – to deliver and distribute them.

53 The Sous-direction des Prisonniers de Guerre was created on 19 November 1940. It organised relief in the occupied zone and for this purpose relied on the support of the Comité Central d'Assistance that had been founded a few months earlier on 22 July 1940.

54 SHAT, 2P77. *Instruction au sujet de l'organisation de la Propagande dans les camps de prisonniers de guerre*, 18 March 1942.

55 SHAT, 2P70. *Une opinion sur les conditions dans lesquelles il y aurait lieu d'effectuer la propagande nationale auprès des prisonniers*, undated and unsigned document, 4.

56 AN, F/9/2911. Folder *Oflag* XB. Lieutenant-colonel Legrée, 5 April 1942.

57 AN, F/17/14461. Memorandum dated 13 December 1941.

58 AN, F/17/14462. Instruction n° 485 Cab/P concerning the creation of a permanent delegation of Vichy's General Commission for Physical Education and Sport.

to contribute to a more positive atmosphere of trust allowing them to graft their own values, their body culture and more generally speaking their idea of what collaboration between France and Germany should be. By the end of 1941, faced with such German strategies, the French propaganda services rallied and sent to the camps the documentary and material support essential to the development of sport and physical education – support that was part of a larger programme of indoctrination to prove the case of Pétain's policy.

French Sports Administrations and Oflags: Meaningful Dispositifs that Gradually Broke Away from All Attempts at Political Exploitation

Even if some sporting practices appeared spontaneously in *Oflags*, their development was only possible with the creation of proper structures managed by French prisoners. Although their management could be used for propaganda purposes, they broke away from ideological influences rather quickly and presented themselves as replicas of the prewar French sports organisations.

Sports Administrations for POWs: French Services Essential to the Development of Sporting Activities

Encouraged by the Geneva Convention that made provision for the appointment of camp Elders representing their fellow inmates before the German authorities and relief organisations, the creation of sports services varied from one camp to another. Because a functional administrative service managed by the camp Elder was set up from early on, the French officers in *Oflag* IVD probably saw the first *sports committee* – alongside health and postal services,[59] and food service facilities[60] – which no doubt resulted in the emergence of physical education or skating. The "Sports Office" of *Oflag* VID was operational from March 1941.[61] Its members had many tasks and missions, all defined by each camp Elder. They were, for instance, the direct contact between the camp Elder and the Germans when it came to obtain the necessary authorisations to practice a sport. They were also responsible for requesting equipment from charity organisations and its subsequent storage; they dealt with the issues of schedules and access to the facilities and were in charge of

59 Pierre Bertrand, *Oflag IVD,* XXXIV.

60 Ludovic Giraud, *La vie de nos prisonniers dans un Oflag. Histoire d'un redressement. Oflag IVD, June 1940–January 1941* (Marseille 1944), 25; Henri Dumas, "L'activité française d'un camp de prisonniers", Public lecture given in Tours on 17 November 1941.

61 AN, 72aj/309. *Oflag* VID. Elder's report, 15 March 1941.

maintaining the grounds, gyms and courts.[62] Under their guidance, the persons in charge of specific sports and sections were also called upon to set up competitions and decide on sports timetables. Very soon sports committees members made it clear they wished to preserve a sporting ethic and defend a Coubertinian approach to sport in general. They publicised that approach in the camp publications and periodicals as exemplified in *Le Canard en Kg* in August 1941: "Do not shout and yell but applaud warmly a good display of sportsmanship: that's the way to promote basketball." Last but not least they initiated medical supervision and imposed medical check-ups on officers willing to practice sport.[63]

Were Sports Organisations Efficient Channels for Conveying Propaganda?

The part played by the administrative services assisting camp Elders in the dissemination of German and Vichy propaganda is difficult to determine and varied from *Oflag* to *Oflag*. It is even more difficult to determine when it comes to sporting activities. However several elements prove that the services in the camp Elder entourage supported the political projects of Maréchal Pétain. This is exactly what the German propaganda services had hoped for when POW camps were first created, as they considered this a means of getting officers to support collaboration.

The creation of organisations such as the Cercle Pétain of *Oflag* XB[64] or the Mouvement pour la Révolution Nationale (movement for the national revolution) of *Oflag* XVIIA[65] was of key importance in reaching this goal. Various aspects of the National Revolution, including physical education and sport,[66] were given careful thought and became the subject of seminars held at *Oflag* VIA. Together with these ideological organisations, the sports services in the various *Oflags* were actively involved in such political and ideological support. At Groß Born, officers set up a "general education seminar" on their own initiative, attended by more than 500 prisoners over the summer so as to become better acquainted with the actions taken concerning physical education.[67] The sports ground of *Oflag* XVIIA was inaugurated in August 1941 as *Stade Pétain* (Pétain Stadium), an initiative used by the German propaganda

62 AN, 72aj/309. *Oflag* VID. Elder's report, 6 August 1944.
63 For *Oflag* XB, see AN, F/9/3432. Report of Colonel Bignon, 11 April 1944. For *Oflag* VIA, see AN, F/9/3421. *Oflag* VIA. Elder's report, 4 April 1944.
64 SHAT, 2P70. Handwritten report by Jacques Brécard.
65 AN, F/9/2911. Handwritten report by a former prisoner of *Oflag* XVIIA, on 13 July 1941.
66 Jean-Marie D'Hoop, "Propagande et attitudes politiques", 16.
67 AN, 72aj/306. *La vie universitaire, intellectuelle et artistique dans les camps de prisonniers français en Allemagne* (Paris 1942), 21.

machine that published a long piece about it in the *Trait d'Union*.[68] Numerous sporting events were organised in honour of Maréchal Pétain: the games of the *Semaine de France* (the French week) at *Oflag* XVIIA were given the backing of the camp authorities, a fact that clearly reflects the collusion the Nazis were keen on establishing.[69]

However, this insidious, ideological hold caused quite a stir in *Oflags* after the summer of 1941. The return to France of certain officers – generally those most involved in Elders' administrative services and hence close to German authorities – puzzled those who remained behind barbed wire.[70] Baffled by the Vichy propaganda that was starting to take shape and endorsed certain initiatives originating in the camps like the Cercles Pétain, French officers started doubting themselves and had the feeling that "they were seeking temporary forgetfulness in countless games"[71] to escape their present reality. The meaning attached to "collaboration" divided prisoners and further increased divergences that existed between those supporting collaboration, those supporting the resistance or those supporting Vichy.[72] As the issue of officer POWs' obligation to work fuelled existing tensions, the enforcement of the "sanctions Giraud" in April 1942 shattered for most officers the last illusions of possible cooperation with the Germans long held by the *Betreuer.* These sanctions were coercive measures decided by the *Wehrmacht* high command after General Giraud escaped in April 1942.[73] The *dispositifs* connected with the camp Elder were also affected by this antagonism, including sport and physical activities. The Elder of *Oflag* XVIIA found himself in an awkward position and was transferred to another camp.[74] In the same *Oflag* the officer POW in charge of sport was repeatedly threatened and was eventually beaten up and thrown out of a window. Not only was he blamed for inviting Germans to sporting events[75] but, more importantly, he was also accused of betray-

68 AN, 72aj/307. *Le Trait d'Union* 165, 26 February 1942, 5.

69 SHAT, 1K597. *Le Canard en Kg*, December 1941.

70 As the head of the SDPG, Georges Scapini was responsible for negotiating the release of POWs with the Germans. In July 1941, he managed to have all the First World War veterans released. Moreover, he drew up a list of all the individuals or categories of individuals that should be repatriated because they could be helpful for the Vichy Regime. See SHAT, 2P65.

71 Henri Natter / Adam Refregier, *Six mille à l'Oflag XVIIA* (Paris 1946), 66.

72 Laurent Quinton, *Digérer la défaite. Récits de captivité des prisonniers de guerre français de la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Rennes 2014), 27.

73 For several months prisoners could not play music or put on plays. They were also denied access to the library. Almost totally deprived of entertainment and hobbies, they fell back overwhelmingly on those activities still permitted, one of which was sport, and at the same time severed ties with their jailers

74 SHAT, 2P70. Letter to the French Ambassador, head of the diplomatic service for POWs, 8 December 1941.

75 Lucien Raffalli, *Les loups dans la bergerie* (Nîmes 1989), 139.

ing fellow prisoners intending to escape.[76] Suffering minor injuries, he was transferred to another camp by German authorities.

The breaking point came halfway through 1942:[77] the vast majority of officers had no intention of accepting any form of proselytism, whether it came from Vichy or from the Nazi regime. The ideological control of sporting activities masterminded by the Vichy propaganda services did not stop but was rendered ineffective. This dramatic shift was not without consequences for the Elders' administrative services: the Cercles Pétain were shut down one after the other[78] and authority was transferred to those officers involved from early on in the internal resistance in the camps. The general trend was mirrored in sport as those considered collaborators left office,[79] events and competitions were no longer seized upon to glorify Pétain, and the references to Vichy's *Révolution nationale* vanished from all messages and literature produced by sports committees. This about-turn was all the easier as the need for material and equipment was now partly covered by hefty donations from the YMCA at a time when the Berlin bureau of the CGEGS was bogged down in problems of all kinds.

Meaningful Dispositifs for Officers

Although the attempts at political exploitation failed, the sport services in *Oflag*s remained powerful and influential organisations. But they were consistent with meaningful *dispositifs* that had appeared in democratic societies.

As far as physical exercises were concerned, the structures set up in *Oflags* served as a sports administration: setting up rules, making decisions, managing prisoners and organizing events. Their mode of operation shows they combined the characteristics of a multi-sport athletic club, a municipal sports and leisure office and national sports federations,[80] giving officers yet another opportunity to revive a culturally meaningful social organisation. It is therefore not insignificant that the members of the *Cercle sportif*[81] (sports club) of

76 Ibid., p. 139. See also AN, 72aj/295. Henri Gérard's testimony dated 22 July 1957.
77 D'Hoop, "Propagande et attitudes politiques", 22.
78 For *Oflag* IIB, see AN, 72aj/292. Abbé Flament, *La vie à l'Oflag*, chapter III, 73. For *Oflag* XVII A, see AN, F/9/2304. Report of Major Aucourt dated 26 January 1943.
79 For *Oflag* XVII A, see AN, 2P70. Report on *Oflag* VIIA, 18 November 1942.
80 Created at the end of the nineteenth century, the French sports clubs multiplied from 1901 when the law of associations was passed. Sports federations (championship directors and regulations) became more numerous during the interwar period while the OMS (in charge of organising sport at the municipal level) had begun to be set up in 1936.
81 AN, 72aj/307. *Le Canard en Kg* 5, 15 February 1941, 4.

Oflag XVIIA had to pay a subscription to obtain their membership card, as was the rule in any French club before the war. What is more, the specificity of these structures proves that they constituted what Michel Foucault calls "dispositifs", which govern people's lives using standard discipline-based tools that according to the French philosopher enable the government to interfere in the private life of each individual in peacetime: the control of space and time, the creation of groups, surveillance and knowledge. The significance officers lent them in *Oflags* shows how much their adaptation to captivity was closely linked to the opportunity they had to behave as social beings, i.e. as individuals belonging to a political organisation and who were given the possibility of performing behind barbed wire specific cultural actions that could be considered deep-rooted intellectually and physically.[82]

Escaping Captivity Psychosis by Engaging in Sport

Encouraged by the German and Vichy services, the practice of sport and physical exercises developed within the first year of the creation of POW camps and lasted until the prisoners were set free. Beyond any attempt at ideological exploitation, such momentum was trying to meet three fundamental needs of prisoners: regain their former social identity, fill in time and prepare for the future.

Sport and Physical Education: Activities Having Tremendous Success with French Officers

With the exception of the first few weeks immediately following their capture and the months preceding their liberation, sporting activities were high on the list of leisure activities in every *Oflag*, together with theatre as well as lectures and seminars organised within the framework of the camp "university". At *Oflag* IVD skating was "quite successful"[83] in the 1941 winter months, while several events were organised in June and July: a relay race, a 2,500 metre cross-country race, a track and field meeting, a tennis tournament and a fencing competition.[84] For all *Oflag* prisoners, from Pomerania[85] to the Dort-

82 Foucault, *Surveiller et Punir*, 152.
83 AN, F/9/2706. Folder *Oflag* IVD. Report of the Scapini Delegation representative following a visit to *Oflag* IVD on 13 February 1941.
84 Bertrand, *Oflag IVD. Livre souvenir*, Arras undated, XX–XXII.
85 *Écrit sur le sable* 7, 15 July 1941. *Écrit sur le sable* 8, 1 August 1941.

mund region,[86] training sessions, matches and events gave their tempo to the spring and summer days whether they were basketball, football or track and field.

> Several groups of individual sports already exist. Team sports are represented by 15 football teams, and respectively 40 and 250 rugby and basketball players. A volleyball court and a tennis court are available. […] Many events are organised on Saturdays and Sundays. Sports days were quite a success.[87]

Scheduled physical exercises courses taught by qualified French teachers on a voluntary basis, were quite a success.[88] Alongside such mass practice, prisoners organised sporting events in their own right: matches opposing the best teams or competitors of the camp. Meaningful examples are the great boxing matches at *Oflag* XVII A in the spring of 1941 or the tennis tournaments at *Oflag* IIB between 1942 and 1944.[89]

This dynamism continued to flourish significantly in the following years with growing numbers of sports enthusiasts. In August 1942, *Oflag* XB saw several events: rugby, basketball and volleyball matches, and a *boules* tournament. The camp's top athletes gave demonstrations in sports such as apparatus gymnastics, boxing and tennis to the delight of a huge turnout of prisoners. Around the same period, prisoners on the lookout for something new founded clubs dedicated to other disciplines: combat sports and self-defence, field hockey (beaten earth surface) and *boule lyonnaise*.[90] If we are to believe the camp Elder, 400 prisoners did physical exercises while 100 engaged in volleyball and another 115 in football at a time – April 1944 – when the total population of the camp reached 1,558.[91] Similarly, the camp Elder of *Oflag* VIA observed that the number of competitors was substantial:

> One thing is certain: out of a total number of approximately 2,050 officers and soldiers, […] those who engage in both physical training and a specific sport, or just a specific sport only (except for *boules* and table tennis) exceed 1,000.[92]

86 AN, 72aj/293. Folder *Oflag* VIA. History of *Oflag* VIA by H. Soulier.
87 AN, 72aj/293. Folder *Oflag* VID. Extract from the correspondence of the camp Elder.
88 Concerning *Oflag* IID, *Écrit sur le sable* 3, 1 May 1941, 23; concerning *Oflag* VIA: AN, F/9/2707. Folder *Oflag* VIA. Report of the ICRC delegate following a visit to *Oflag* VIA on 14 October 1941.
89 AN, 72aj/307. *Le Canard en Kg* 7, 1 March 1941; SHAT, 1K597. Folder *Oflag* XVIIA, *Oflag* VIIA. Sports club. Boxing, *Oflag* XVIIA printing house, undated.
90 AN, F/9/3426. *Oflag* XB archives. Various messages and writings of the camp Elder between July and September 1942.
91 AN, F/9/3432. Report of Colonel Bignon, in charge of sports at *Oflag* XB, 11 April 1944.
92 AN, F/9/3423. Report of Général Lucien, camp Elder of *Oflag* VIA, *La pratique de la culture physique et des sports à l'Oflag VIA*, 30 March 1944.

Filling in the Present and Planning for the Future

The undeniable success of sporting activities cannot be understood without examining the deprivation and distress they could compensate for. As Georges Hyvernaud said, time spent in captivity is a real suffering, "a soft matter on which no mark can be left", a "useless substance, […] an uncertain continuum in which no shape of things can exist, nor any action be envisaged".[93] Actually sporting activities were markedly more than a mere pastime. They required preparing timetables that enabled prisoners, sportsmen and the audience to regain control of their own time. The competitors planned their physical training according to scheduled sporting events, and divided the year into a "winter season" and a "summer season".[94] Sporting events were publicised on billboards within the camp premises, thus providing landmarks and setting targets for many officers. The "loyal audience"[95] who followed assiduously the performances of their favorite sportsmen, looked forward to the tournaments, attended them, commented on the results and read the articles published in the camp papers in the following weeks.

Sporting activities not only helped give time a meaning, but also enabled prisoners to look ahead to the future and their life as free men by paying attention to their physical condition. The success of physical education was actual evidence of this. All officers – whatever their age – engaged in physical exercises as from their first days in Germany and until they were set free. What was at stake was perfectly clear to all of them: "Keeping their body as fit as possible, protecting it against ravages of time and the effects of a dispiriting and meaningless way of life."[96] Training sessions, which attracted 700 regular sports enthusiasts at *Oflag* IID–IIB,[97] were promptly placed under the dual authorities of qualified trainers – they were physical education teachers in civilian life[98] – and French physicians who kept a close watch on results. This attentiveness to fitness and good health is reflected in all the testimonies but is even more forcefully expressed by the younger ones who wanted to keep their stamina and endurance intact. As from their first days in captivity, they were the first to play football.[99] At *Oflag* IVD, this pursuit of physical activity resulted in the creation of an organisation named *Jeunesse prisonnière*[100] (or Imprisoned Youth) that launched multiple sporting activities.

93 Georges Hyvernaud, *La peau et les os* (Paris 1998), 42, 76f.
94 *Écrit sur le sable* 6, 1 July 1941, 20b.
95 AN, 72aj/292. Abbé Flament, *La vie à l'Oflag*, chapter I, 82.
96 André Dassart, *J'étais prisonnier* (Alger 1946), p. 159.
97 AN, 72aj/292. Abbé Flament, *La vie à l'Oflag*, chapter I, 77.
98 We can mention Jean-Louis Charrière at *Oflag* IID–IIB and Roger Marchand at *Oflag* XVIIA.
99 Henri Natter / Adam Refregier, *Six mille à l'Oflag XVIIA* (Paris 1946), 31f.
100 Louis Walter, *Derrière les barbelés* (Paris 1942), 239f.

Sport: A Tool for Rebuilding a Social Identity

Sporting activities were also an opportunity to recover one's former social identity, and they undeniably reduced the discrepancy between the officers' former life and their days in captivity.

In terms of personality traits, manliness[101] was probably one of the most challenged during captivity. Living confined within the camp enclosures in a society of "Men without women",[102] far from their wives whom they sometimes suspected of infidelity,[103] officers were, for that matter, compelled to perform tasks they considered women's work.[104] As they could not work, they also had to put up with a situation over which they had no control or authority. In this context, sport was an effective way of reviving their manliness. During the interwar period sporting events constituted specifically male social spaces and genuine "arenas of manliness".[105] In the camps such events were perceived by the participating officers as "belonging to a man's world, and the very absence of the occasional dauntless, knowledgeable female in the audience was no serious loss".[106] Hence, these events were an opportunity to revive their virility. Athletes were under the illusion of attending a "real" tennis match, of feeling the "atmosphere of the *Parc des Princes*"[107] or hearing the "noisy fervour of the *Salle Wagram*".[108] Numerous articles in the camps' press, praising the physical performances, achievements and bravery of the competitors[109] definitely contributed to restoring their damaged manliness. As for competitors, they regained their passion for victories and physical domination.

Sporting activities that developed during captivity, such as fencing[110] or tennis, amply demonstrate the extent to which officers were seeking to reconnect with their social habitus. These activities that had been largely adopted by the ruling classes since sport appeared in France in the late nineteenth century, were the most highly prized leisure activities in camps as yearbooks published by former POW organisations[111] testify to the overrepresentation among *Oflags* POWs of such occupations as managers, engineers, scientists,

101 Raewyn Connel, *Masculinités. Enjeux sociaux de l'hégémonie* (Paris 2014).
102 Edmont Guinochet, *Hommes sans femmes* (Lyon 1947).
103 Luc Capdevilla et al., *Hommes et femmes dans la France en guerre (1914–1945)* (Paris 2003), 213.
104 Guy Deschaumes, *Derrière les barbelés de Nuremberg* (Paris 1942), 175f.
105 Thierry Terret, "Conquêtes, résistances et arrangements", in Id. (ed.), *Sport et genre. vol. 1* (Paris 2005), 9
106 SHAT, 1K597. *Le Canard en Kg* 10, March 1941.
107 *Écrit sur le sable* 1, June 1941, 20.
108 SHAT, 1K597. *Le Canard en Kg* 10, March 1941.
109 Jim McKay et al, "Sport et masculinités", in *Clio* 23 (2006), 239–267.
110 Gomet, *Assauts derrière les barbelés*.
111 Yearbook of *Oflag* XVIIA, 1940–1945 (Paris undated); Bertrand, *Oflag IVD*; Yearbook of prisoners at *Oflag* IID–IIB (Paris 1946).

teachers or high-ranking officers. The Société française d'escrime d'Hoyerswerda[112] was speedily founded at *Oflag* IVD in December 1940. It had some 700 members in 1941[113]and 1,000 in 1943.[114] As sabre, sword and foil were aristocratic sports most valued by officers in peacetime,[115] they enabled prisoners to appeal to a code of honour and moral values, and to apply a specific form of sociability in which combats were not as important as the social codes they highlighted and the relationships they helped forge and strengthen.

Sport was not only an opportunity to exhibit one's social and cultural background, but also a means for reconnecting with one's regional culture. Hence, there were numerous *boule lyonnaise* players who engaged in daily competition at *Oflag* IIB[116] wearing their appropriate traditional costume. In June 1941, the Basques celebrated the opening of a pediment of Basque pelota[117] at *Oflag* IID, while one was built in spring 1941 at *Oflag* XVIIA.[118] At the occasion of the opening ceremonies, games in traditional costumes followed one another, interrupted by Basque songs, dances and choirs.[119] "*Oflag* IIB had a great gymnasium including tennis, fencing, Basque pelota played barehanded or using a small bat, and scores sung in Basque."[120] The folklore around these events revived the *terroir* spirit and gave prisoners the opportunity to spend an afternoon recalling their roots and traditions.

So sporting activities "punctuated"[121] the officers' lives in captivity and were among the most popular leisure activities. The officers' partiality for sport was undoubtedly caused by the very plasticity[122] of time when time is experienced within the framework of sporting activities, and in a general context when the dialogue between the past, the present and the future is essential to understanding the prisoners' behaviour and actions. For men who were faced with the intractable question of time, sport was a bridge between past

112 Walter, *Derrière les barbelés*, 148
113 BNF, 16 LH4 3120. Henri Dumas, "L'activité française d'un camp de prisonnier".
114 AN, F/9/2706. Folder *Oflag* IVD. Report of the ICRC delegate following a visit to *Oflag* IVD on 22 June 1943.
115 Cécile Ottogalli et al., "Les activités de combat au sein de l'éducation physique en France depuis le XIXème siècle: entre pertinences éducatives et résistances scolaires", in *STAPS* 94 (2011), 106.
116 AN, 72aj/292. Abbé Flament, *La vie à l'Oflag,* chapter I, 82.
117 *Écrit sur le sable* 6, 1 July 1941, 21.
118 AN, 72 aj/307. Le Canard en Kg 18, 1 October 1941, 17.
119 SHAT, 1K 597. *Oflag* XVIIA. Brochure.
120 AN, 72 aj/293. Folder *Oflag* IID–IIB. Mr. Lalin's testimony, 31 March 1956.
121 AN, 72aj/307. *Le Canard en Kg*, July–August 1941, 11.
122 The word plasticity "expresses the capacity to evolve and to adapt, it refers both to a 'capacity to receive form' and a 'capacity to produce form' ". See Catherine Malabou, "L'avenir de Hegel ou de la plasticité temporelle en dialectique", in Daniel Franco et al. (ed.), *Hegel aujourd'hui* (Paris 1995), 225–232, on p. 226.

and present: it enabled prisoners to revive their former social identity, helped them fill their days in captivity whilst providing them with the opportunity to plan their future.

Conclusion

The development of these activities resulted from four driving forces that both complemented and competed with each other: the needs of prisoners were by far the most powerful one. Confined for almost five years within the camp, French officers tried to break the monotony of prison life with as many activities as possible, including sport. By reviving and rebuilding former social interactions and cultural activities that were significant to them, they were able to live through the wretchedness of captivity. The need expressed by POWs could not have been fulfilled without the international treaties that aimed at protecting them, and the efficiency of the humanitarian organisations that provided most of the equipment necessary. This notwithstanding, sporting activities also developed because the German authorities considered sport a medium for controlling French officer POWs and instilling Nazi values into them. Finally, the Vichy relief services saw them as a means for promoting the ideology of the *Révolution nationale* from afar. If the prisoners' vulnerability made them susceptible to propaganda, both German and French propaganda efforts aimed to create a climate conducive to confidence. In that respect sport was obviously used as a tool to promote the values of both the Vichy and Nazi regimes. Sport in camps was thus intended to be an agency of educating the (former) enemy.

But the success of the Nazi/Vichy education in camps is dubious. If the French officers were undoubtedly attracted by the possibility of practicing sport and thus potentially susceptible to ideological education, they were not wholeheartedly receptive to the values this propaganda wished to convey. Broadly speaking, the officers' frame of reference and the social interactions they had known before the war – in which sport was no small matter – stood as a bulwark against any indoctrination process.

In the end, our study also suggests that physical activities are crucial for any political regime, whether it is democratic, authoritarian or fascist. A political system that can control physical activities and use them with children from an early age has power over more than physical bodies: it will also rule over the very social fabric of communities that sport has helped to build.

Section II

Anke Hilbrenner

Bodies in Camps between Destruction and Perfection

From the very beginning in the South African War, camps were supposed to be shelter for the masses. Rural Boer civilians were interned as well as over 100,000 black Africans and many thousands died.[1] The enormous scale of modern warfare reduced the inmates to their bodily functions and needs. Camp administration revolved first and foremost around questions of food, shelter, hygiene, and medical care of the inmates. Its main function was maintaining the body and its physical needs. The inmates' camp experience was very physical as well. It dealt with the same questions from the other end of the chain – hunger, disease, and the necessity to preserve a strong and healthy body. The nineteenth century philosophical understanding that the body is the fundamental condition of human existence[2] needed to be transformed to the twentieth century practical insight that the body was now the necessary condition for survival. In this way, camps can be observed as shelters for masses of bodies struggling for survival.

Sport consequently touches the very essence of the camp experience, since sport concentrates on the body and its functions. Sport does not only train and display the individual body, but it focuses on the performance of a variety of bodies in a broader social perspective. Sport means that strength, speed, beauty, or precision of different bodies are constantly rated. Thus sport performs the imagination of alterity and community alike. During the twentieth century, sport was used to construct normative categories such as class, race, and gender. Those categories enforce borders and hierarchies in modern societies and even more so in its radical embodiment – the camp.

Military exercise and warfare are predominately practices of the adult male. Since camps derive from a military experience, it seems to be a given that the male body is the centre of attention, even though children's and female bodies are sheltered there as well. Maybe the concentration on the male body has to do with violence that seems to be equally decisive for the construction of

1 See i.e. Jonas Kreienbaum, *"Ein trauriges Fiasko": Koloniale Konzentrationslager im südlichen Afrika 1900–1908* (Hamburg 2015).

2 Anke Hilbrenner / Katja Kobchenko, "Körper und Sport: Zur Konstruktion von Körperbildern mithilfe des Sports", in Anke Hilbrenner et al. (ed.), *Handbuch der Sportgeschichte Osteuropas* (Bonn 2017), preprint, accessed 14 July 2017, URL: http://www.ios-regensburg.de/fileadmin/doc/Sportgeschichte/Hilbrenner_Kobchenko_Koerper_Sport.pdf.

masculinity as well as for the running of camps. For this, camps, the "nomos of modernity", in additional to the discussions in the first section, can also serve as the magnifying glass of analysis for the global dominance of socially constructed masculinity as described by Raewyn Connell.[3] Hegemonic masculinity inside and outside of the camp is constructed by (violent) rule over the female body, as well as over the subordinate male and the marginal male body.

Moreover, throughout the twentieth century there seem to have been two types of camps. The first type was the shelter for the masses in extraordinary circumstances, such as war, expulsion or other related problems. The second type consisted of camps with a normative approach to their inmates (and their bodies). Examples were the Soviet Gulag or the National Socialist (NS) concentration camp. Those camps were designed to be testing grounds of the "new man" and in terms of places of education or improvement of the masses, or of the enactment of racial hierarchy up to its murderous *Endlösung*.[4]

While in the first type of camp we analysed many functions of *sport in camps* in the chapters of the first section, in the second type of camp we have to deal with another type of sport – *camp sport*. *Camp sport*, as opposed to *sport in camps*, was an integral part of the camp authorities' normative approach towards their inmates, their strategies to improve or destroy them or their production, and radicalisation of racial or social hierarchy.

Nevertheless the borders between the two types of camps, as well as between the two types of sport, were not as clearly marked, as this categorisation suggests. Especially in the second type of camp – Gulag as well as NS concentration camp – *sport in camps* existed in addition to *camp sports*.

Therefore, our analysis of sports in the Gulag and NS concentration camps centres on the intentions of those involved in sport. Authorities and inmates alike have different expectations towards sport and during its very practice it can turn out to be *sport in camps* as well as *camp sports*. This twofold and ambivalent quality of sporting practices in camps underlines the situational context and diverse trajectories of sport under such hardship.

3 Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge ²2005), 77.

4 Even though Tadeusz Borowski (in "This Way for the Gas, Ladies and Gentlemen") imagines a football game in Auschwitz-Birkenau, we did not look at extermination camps, but at early Nazi concentration camps, as well as at Mauthausen in the 1940s – a Level III camp specially designed for "extermination through labour". See for example Bertrand Perz, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit' im KZ Mauthausen (Lager der Stufe III) 1938–1945", in Hermann Kaienburg (ed.), *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager 1933–1945: Die Veränderung der Existenzbedingungen* (Berlin 2010), 89–104.

Practices of Construction of Body Images in Camps

While sport usually reaches out for the perfection of the body, camp in the context of National Socialism often aimed at its destruction by various means.[5] For our comparative and global perspective on camps this raises the question of whether this is at least partly true also for the Gulag, where great numbers of inmates were killed by working conditions, climate, or lack of food, shelter and health care.[6] The chapters in this section study the goals and intention of sport under deadly circumstances, or in other words, whether sport in the context of the Gulag was another means of destruction.

Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal's observations hint to the contrary. She shows how the ideal of the New Soviet Man was presented in a movie about the notorious "Solovki Camp for Special Purposes", the best known Gulag of the 1920s. The propaganda depicts the joyful struggle for the healthy body of the New Soviet Man (and Woman) through *fizkul'tura* and sport inside and outside of the camp.

Within the real camp though, the "new man" was absent. The role of sport remains marginal. The idea of perfection to the Soviet ideal is not very pronounced in the world of the Solovki camp. Even though physical education and sport are part and parcel of education and thus perfection of the inmates, their potential remained unutilised. Within the Gulag, apparently there was no struggle for Soviet *kulturnost'* or the construction of the New Soviet Man but political as well as criminal prisoners were simply fighting for survival, forming hierarchies that were built up on non-Soviet social capital such as physical strength, rank marked by tattoos, and loyalty among camp clergy and other inmates. The political prisoners especially dominated the historical discourse with their own set of values mostly without concern for *fizkul'tura* and sport.

Political prisoners regarded training the body as less important than intellectual perfection due to the simple fact that many of them were intellectuals. This precondition also prevented the majority of political prisoners from remembering sport activities in camps. It is not unlikely that they actually did not engage in sports, since there was no consequent approach to Soviet education in the camps. The political inmates set their own agenda with regard to cultural activities and for them theatre, to name just one example, was more important than sports. This finding of Fischer von Weikersthal's analysis challenges the totalitarian perspective on the Gulag, because it shows that

5 Veronika Springmann, "'Sport Machen': Eine Praxis der Gewalt im Konzentrationslager", in Lenarczyk Wojciech et al. (ed.) *KZ-Verbrechen: Beitrage zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager und ihrer Erinnerung* (Berlin 2007), 89–102.

6 See, for example, Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History* (New York 2003).

the everyday experience of the Gulag was very much stripped of ideological content. In the camp, everyday life was about survival, but not about the New Soviet Man.

It is also noteworthy that the very idea of education and perfection in sport in camps with regard to the few documented cases blurs the borders between the inmates and the guards. Fischer von Weikersthal's analysis shows that while the guards do not represent the New Soviet Man, many inmates were imprisoned members of the (former) Soviet elite. Different strata of Soviet society merge within the camps and Communist hierarchies are often turned upside down. This is one of the reasons that sport and the struggle for Soviet perfection was there for everyone, for inmates and guards alike.

Kim Wünschmann focuses on the very ambiguity of sport in early Nazi concentration camps. Sport in detainment – "intramural sport"– according to Wünschmann is per se a violent practice used to discipline inmates. In the early Nazi concentration camps, sport is primarily an antisemitic practice. It is used to stage individual and collective mistreatment. On the other hand, even in the Nazi concentration camp, sport is one of the rare areas testifying to the agency of the persecuted.

In order to enquire into this ambiguity Wünschmann perceives camp sport as a ritual and focuses on its liminality. This liminality, according to Bjørn Thomassen, is found within "moments or periods of transition during which the normal limits of thought, self-understanding and behaviour are relaxed, opening the way to novelty and imagination, construction and destruction".[7]

Wünschmann observes many cases that show camp sport as a means of humiliation and abuse. *Judenexerzieren*, a camp practice analysed by Veronika Springmann,[8] was a way of mocking sport and soldierly training. It was staged publicly in order to highlight the racial "otherness" of the Jewish inmates. But at least in retrospect, the persecuted Jews turned this normative approach around and depicted many of the SS and SA guards as perverts and/or homosexuals thus denying their soldierly masculinity.

The Jewish veterans of World War I used sport themselves as a way to construct their proud self-perception with regard to their soldierly virtue. They remember moments when they could use even the torturous camp sport to gain the guards' respect. Because they were coming from the same soldierly

7 Bjørn Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern: Living Through the In-Between* (Farnham, VT 2014), 1.

8 Veronika Springmann, "'Das ist die Moorolympiade': 'Lagersport' als Differenzproduktion in Konzentrationslagern", in Falk Bretschneider et al. (ed.), *Personal und Insassen von "Totalen Institutionen": Zwischen Konfrontation und Verflechtung* (Leipzig 2011), 381–394.

background, they drew on the same resources of manliness. Wünschmann underlines that those situations were liminal because they could always turn either direction – toward humiliation or self-assertion.

Another event described by Wünschmann also shows this liminality. It focuses on the transitions of sport, game and play. Wünschmann describes how a game called *Schinkenklopfen*, ranging in between playful boy scout ritual and humiliating violent abuse of the body, was "played" by the guards with a Jewish inmate, but instead of turning into the usual abusive practice, it created an interaction of equals and the rare experience of self-determination by the inmate.

Veronika Springmann describes the interdependence of sport and work in the Nazi concentration camps during the war. She detects the similarities of the concepts, both very central to Nazi ideology of "Aryan masculinity" and *Volksgemeinschaft*. For work as well as for sport, physical strength is essential. This was especially true for survival in the later Nazi concentration camp. It was vital to be physically strong, while at the same time the inmates' bodies were constantly weakened by insufficient nutrition, forced labour, and torture (sometimes disguised as sport). In Mauthausen, extermination through labour was also part of the camp policy.

The changing function of work also changed the meaning of sport. By 1942, forced labour in the concentration camps had become a cherished resource for the war economy. Therefore the work force in the camp was needed and there were efforts to preserve it by at least partially improving the conditions within the camp. One way to do so was a bonus system for some of the more "valuable" workers. The bonus system radicalised the hierarchy within the camp. The status and the privileges of the *Funktionshäftlinge* increased and moved them closer to the SS guards. One of their privileges was spare time and the possibility to engage in sports.

The privilege of sport – in Mauthausen it was most often football – created a mimetic similarity between guards and inmates and fostered networks among the inmates developing a material culture of its own (such as sport equipment). It also granted the players a time to play by their own rules and the possibility to re-create the camp space (*Appellplatz*) from a place of terror into a place of play. By doing sports and thus displaying their physical strength, they showed their fitness to work and thus reinforced the camp hierarchy built on the concept strength and masculinity over and over again.

Normative Approaches?

After the empirical findings of this section's authors dealing with the Gulag and Nazi concentration camps, the question remains of whether the division between the first and second types of camps is still valid. While the first type of camp was supposed to be simply a shelter for masses of bodies under extraordinary and mostly violent circumstances, such as forced migration or war, the second type of camp was defined precisely by the normative approach towards their inmates and their bodies, as necessary preconditions for survival. Especially the Gulag, as Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal has shown, ceased to fulfil this normative imperative. And even the empirical analyses of the Nazi concentration camps detected liminality. It is not to be argued, that *camp sport* or "intramural sport" is obviously a violent and repressive practice, but even in the most violent camp of this section, in Mauthausen, it offers ways to assert oneself and cultural sovereignty, or bears traces of *sport in camps*. Therefore sport contradicts a preconditioned hierarchy of the camp, be it a racial or a social concept and sheds light on the appropriation of life in camp by everyone involved – inmates as well as guards, the subaltern as well as the elites, the insiders as well as the outsiders. It thus opens up a perspective on situations where camp inmates have the rare opportunity to act on their own set of values and rules. Those situations are liminal, because they reveal new situations and unpredictable outcomes. Beyond the historical protagonists' experience of liminality, such situations unsettle the historical understanding of camps and even historiography, since both have so far often simply reproduced the hierarchical categories of the modern world that bore camps in the first place. But those findings of liminality do not only turn our expectation of camps upside down, but also contradict, or at least fundamentally broaden, our understanding of sport.

Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal

Between Coercion and Athletic Ambition

The Form and Function of Physical Culture in Soviet Forced Labour Camps

In 1927, A.A. Cherkasov made a film about the biggest and best known Soviet forced labour camp of that time. Established in 1923 on the soil of the famous Solovetsky Monastery, the so-called Solovki Camp for Special Purposes, or SLON, was run by the political police, the OGPU,[1] and was intended mainly for the isolation of political prisoners and dangerous criminals. Because of the islands' isolated location in the middle of the White Sea, little was known about the realities of the camps and rumours on harsh living conditions of the prisoners and despotism of the guards soon spread inside and outside the Soviet Union.. The first eyewitness reports published in the United States in 1924 and in Great Britain in 1925 included horrifying details and created the gloomy picture of the "islands of hell".

Against this background, the OGPU commissioned Cherkasov to make this film in order to counter the rumours with an authoritative, positive depiction of the camps.[2] The film, which was eventually banished to the shelves because it painted too rosy a picture both of the camp and the economic situation of the Soviet Union in general,[3] is a cleverly composed, highly artistic propaganda piece. After showing the alleged economic success and development of the Soviet Union and after exposing prisoners as saboteurs, the film follows the latter on their transport from Moscow via Leningrad and Petrozavodsk

1 The GPU (Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie, State Political Administration) and, after the founding of the Soviet Union, the OGPU (Obedinennye Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie, Unified State Political Administration) superseded the Extraordinary Commission established during the civil war to combat so-called counter-revolution and sabotage.

2 There are several versions of the film on YouTube. See, for example, URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v =LBxrBJr71xY, accessed 3 February 2016. A version on reel is available at the Open Society Institute in Budapest (HU OSA 317-t70-0-1).

3 Gor'kii purports to have seen the film in the cinema. On the history of the film, see Christina Vatulescu, *Police Aesthetics. Literature, Film, and the Secret Police in Soviet Times* (Stanford 2010), 124–135; Christina Vatulescu, "Early Cinematic Representations of the Gulag. The Camps as Soviet Exotica in A. Cherkasov's Solovki", in *Gulag Studies* 2–3 (2009–2010), 21–36. Mikhail Rozanov is deceived by his memory when he purports to have seen the film in 1926, id., *Solovetskii kontslager' v monastyre, 1922–1939 godu*. vol. 1 (n.p. 1980), 287.

to Kem', where the transit camp of the Solovki complex was situated. After two weeks of quarantine, the prisoners – men and women, political prisoners, and criminals alike – were shipped to the Solovetsky Islands. The film shows different aspects and elements of camp life, such as the process of admission, the different work fields, the tattooed bodies of criminals as well as prisoners in their leisurely time. Although many scenes seem rather unbelievable, both the working fields and the cultural life portrayed correspond with what we know from the memoirs of former prisoners.[4] There existed on the islands a theatre, a brass orchestra, several cabaret groups, a library, camp newspapers, and so on. The film suggests that the prisoners had also the opportunity to practice different kinds of sports. On the "sporting ground near the Holy Lake", as the intertitles suggest, prisoners were able to do gymnastics and apparatus gymnastics, to lift weights, swim, and wrestle. They even had a well-equipped football ground and football teams with individual kits.

In contrast to the depicted cultural activities, we find hardly any memoirs dealing with sport in the Gulag. As a result, Gulag studies more or less ignored sportive activities in Stalinist labour camps or classified them as limited to famous athletes or non-Soviet camp inmates.[5] The sole exception is a study by Wladislaw Hedeler. According to Hedeler, in the initial phase of the Gulag in the 1930s – that is, immediately before or during the Great Terror – and both during and after the Second World War sport, leisure time and cultural activities had not existed within the Soviet camps.[6] He concludes, that sport and "soccer matches [seemed to have] had no place in Shalamov's camps"[7] since neither Solzhenitsyn nor Shalamov nor other famous Gulag survivors remember any sportive activities. Is, then, the narrative of the film limited to the 1920s or is it mere fantasy? And if accurate, did sport in the camps serve similar modelling, integrating, and performative ends as sportive activities outside the camp zone? Was sport used to integrate the prisoners into the body of Soviet society, was it used to perfect them? Or did the administration use sportive activities to humiliate the prisoners, to break and destruct

4 A very detailed picture of the cultural life in the Solovki camp is provided, for example, by Boris Shiriaev, *Neugasimaia lampada* (Sretenskii monatsyr' 2000); Dmitri S. Lichatschow [Likhachev], *Hunger und Terror. Mein Leben zwischen Oktoberrevolution und Perestroika* (Ostfildern vor Stuttgart 1997).

5 Sergei Bondarenko, for example, speaks of "soccer for the favoured few" (*futbol dlja izbrannykh*) or within the context of a lighter regime for foreigners, see his "Futbol v dvukh lageriakh", 8 August 2014, URL: http://www. urokiistorii.ru/ blogs/sergei-bondarenko/51203.

6 Roland Bude / Wladislaw Hedeler, "Zur Geschichte einer weggeworfenen Fotografie. Fußballspiele im GULag", in Dittmar Dahlmann et al. (ed.), *Überall ist der Ball rund. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart des Fußball in Ost- und Südosteuropa. Nachspielzeit* (Essen 2011), 157–165.

7 Ibid.

their individuality as well as to exert total control over the inmates' bodies? What does the existence or non-existence of sportive activities tell us about the totalitarian character of the Soviet state?

Before analysing various official sources such as the Corrective Labour Codes and camp newspapers, or unofficial sources such as the recollections of Boris and Ivan Solonevich, Nikolai Starostin, and a few others to answer the questions posed, a brief sketch of the role of sport and physical culture in the Soviet Union in general seems to be appropriate.

Sports and *Fizkul'tura* in the Soviet Union

In order to understand the function of sport and *fizkul'tura* (physical culture) in the Soviet Union let us return to Cherkasov's film on the Solovki camp. The film integrates camp scenes into the narrative of Soviet progress. The first part of the film consists of several shots that are supposed to demonstrate the economic, political, but also the social achievements of the new Soviet state. According to the film, Soviet industry was growing as rapidly as the politically enlightened masses – which would have been even more successful had it not been for the wreckers and *kaery*[8] the young state had to fight. Interestingly enough, this first part of the film is framed by three scenes of mass sportive events, thus presenting sportive activities as an integral part of the Soviet state building process. In the very first scene of the film, uniformly clothed sportsmen and -women march in a sports arena. In the last scene of the first part of the film, athletes join a parade. In between, we see another group of uniformly dressed sportsmen performing synchronised callisthenics.

Uniformity and the merging into a sportive and implicitly healthy collective were thus displayed as central achievements of the Soviet state. This utopia of a healthy and homogeneous collective body of Soviet society was reiterated periodically. From 1931 onwards, the regime even arranged large-scale sport parades every year. These parades served to display the productive and healthy body of Soviet society symbolised by young and tanned athletes. Moreover, they presented the integration of all minorities of the Soviet Union into one collective.[9] *Fizkul'tura*, thus, served both integrative and performative ends. While parades and collective performed callisthenics suggested a uniform collective, sport and *fizkul'tura* helped to raise the physical and social

8 *Kaery* are those people accused of counter-revolutionary activities, such as sabotage and espionage, sentenced under § 58 of the penal code.

9 Karl Schlögel, *Terror und Traum. Moskau 1937* (Munich 2008), 328–337.

health of society, implanted the new values of collectivism into the people and integrated the national minorities into the "Soviet nation".[10]

This is not the place to dwell on all the different concepts of physical education and sport existing in the Soviet Union from 1917 onwards, such as the concept of the hygienists, of Proletkult, or of Spartak in the 1920s.[11] What is important here is that sportive activities of any kind were perceived as essential for building up and defending the new Soviet state as well as for moulding and honing the New Soviet Man and Woman. Sportive activities were integrated into a much broader idea than simply training the body. The term *fizkul'tura* embraced a variety of elements, intended to shape and perfect the body and the mind, for example, regarding hygiene and health issues, and intellectual as well as cultural enlightenment.[12] As the Communist Party determined in 1925, "[p]hysical culture must be an inseparable part of overall political and cultural upbringing and education, and of public health."[13] In this regard, *fizkul'tura* was supposed to be the universal remedy against prostitution, alcoholism, low life expectancy, the influence of religion, and other "negative" and "bourgeois remains" in society such as swearing. By doing sports, the New Soviet Men and Women embodied the ideal concept of a healthy collective person, and contributed to society's health, enhancing "efficiency, a better standard of living, and a general socialist mindset".[14]

10 James Riordan, "Totalitarianism and Sport in the Soviet Union", in *International Review on Sport & Violence* 6 (2012), 54–69, 12 February 2016, URL: http://www.irsv.org/index.php?0ption=com_content&view=article&id=138%3 Atotalitarianism-and-sport-in-,russia&catid=64&Itemid=83&lang=fr. On the performative as well as integrative aspects of sports events in the Soviet Union, see also Malte Rolf, "Die schönen Körper des Kommunismus. Sportparaden in der Sowjetunion der Dreißiger Jahre", in Arié Malz et al. (ed.), *Sport zwischen Ost und West. Beiträge zur Sportgeschichte Osteuropas im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Osnabrück 2007), 309–325.

11 For further information on these concepts, see James Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society. Development of Sport and Physical Education in Russia and the USSR* (London 1977); Karl-Heinz Ruffmann, *Sport und Körperkultur in der Sowjetunion* (Munich 1980); Susan Grant, *Physical Culture and Sport in Soviet Society. Propaganda, Acculturation, and Transformation in the 1920s and 1930s* (New York 2013).

12 I follow here the broader definition of *fizkul'tura* suggested by Grant, *Physical Culture*, 1. See also Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, Introduction, 1–8; Mike O'Mahony, *Sport in the USSR. Physical Culture – Visual Culture* (London 2006), 16f.; Sandra Budy, "Changing Images of Sport in the Early Soviet Union", in Nikolaus Katzer et al. (ed.), *Euphoria and Exhaustion. Modern Sport in Soviet Culture and Society* (Frankfurt a.M./New York 2010), 71–88; Nikolaus Katzer, "'Neue Menschen' in Bewegung. Zum Verhältnis von Sport und Moderne in Russland im 20. Jahrhundert", in Malz et al., *Sport zwischen Ost und West*, 349–369.

13 Cited after Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 106.

14 Budy, "Changing Images of Sport", 71. According to Julie Draszkozcy fitness was "a vital feature of a good Soviet citizen" (Julie Draszkozy, *Belomor. Criminality and Creativity in Stalin's Gulag* [Brighton 2014], 22).

If *fizkul'tura* played a major role in the perfection of the Soviet body, one could suspect that the idea of *fizkul'tura* was transferred onto penal policy. This assumption is stressed by the fact that already the first Corrective Labour Code from 1924 determined that Soviet places of confinement had to discipline their inmates and to re-educate them in order "to adapt [them] to the requirements of community life".[15]

Soviet Forced Labour Camps and the Theory of Re-education and *Fizkul'tura*

Soviet forced labour camps, better known under the acronym Gulag,[16] are commonly identified as places of total control, repression, and economic exploitation at the cost of the lives of millions of people. Only lately, new research started to challenge this picture by stressing the "revolving door" of the Gulag and by demonstrating that the idea of re-education was not mere propaganda.[17] The camps served not only as places for the isolation and destruction of "enemies of the people" but as tools to mould and re-socialise the camp inmates. The camps were, as Steven Barnes has put it more pathetic, places of "death and redemption" integrated into the overall plan to perfect Soviet society, offering its prisoners a last chance to return into this Soviet collective body.[18]

Re-education (*perevospitanie*), and from 1930 onwards re-forging (*perekovka*), were central metaphors of camp life – even in the camps of the political police that were mainly intended to isolate the most dangerous criminal and political delinquents from society. While physical labour was the main tool for re-education, the latter also culminated in diverse cultural activities.[19] Theatres, orchestras, libraries, clubs as well as schools offering courses for professional training existed at least in the major and central camp complexes. In the 1930s, so-called *agitbrigady* (agitation brigades) travelled from camp to camp presenting ideological performances in order to align the camp

15 §3a of the Corrective Labour Code of 1924, in Aleksandr I. Kokurin / Nikolai V. Petrov (ed.), *Gulag 1918–1960. Dokumenty* (Moscow 2000), 42.

16 Gulag or GULag is the acronym of the Main Administration of Corrective Labour Camps and Colonies (*Glavnoe upravlenie ispravitel'no-trudovykh lagerei i kolonii*) founded in 1930.

17 Golfo Alexopoulos, "Amnesty 1945. The Revolving Door of Stalin's Gulag", in *Slavic Review* 64:2 (2005), 274–306; Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal, *Die "inhaftierte" Presse. Das Pressewesen sowjetischer Zwangsarbeitslager, 1923–1937* (Wiesbaden 2011).

18 Steven Barnes, *Death and Redemption. The Gulag and the Shaping of Soviet Society* (Princeton, NJ 2011).

19 On the idea and politics of re-education in the Soviet Union, see Fischer von Weikersthal, *Die "inhaftierte" Presse,* 115–176.

inmates with the party line and its call for productivity. Additionally, camp newspapers and journals communicated the ideal of the successfully re-educated camp inmate. He or she was supposed to show high work performances, be areligious, abstinent, educated, healthy, and honest. The re-educated and perfected *zek* (short for *zakliuchennyi* [prisoner]) neither cursed nor played cards, rather spending his or her spare time on productive activities, which included privately studying, reading Communist literature or newspapers, or practising sports, including playing chess.[20]

The ideal of the re-educated *zek* hence came very close to the official image of the perfect member of socialist society, represented by the image of the New Soviet Man and Woman. Therefore, one would suspect that sport and *fizkul'tura* played a major role in the perfection of camp inmates as it did outside the camp zone. However, theoretical works on corrective labour hardly comment on *fizkul'tura* and even less on sports. The Corrective Labour Code of October 1924, which codified the main elements of camp life, dedicated a single paragraph to sporting activities compared to seventeen paragraphs dealing with so-called cultural-educational activities in the camps in general. According to § 99, "regular gymnastic lessons for all healthy camp inmates" were to be organised in order to "blot out any negative effects of an insufficient way of life".[21] Nine years later, the new Corrective Labour Code of 1933 stated in § 68 that the administrative unit responsible for cultural and mass activities (KVCh) directed not only "the political and cultural-enlightening activities, the activities to increase the civility among the detained, the school, the cinema, the library, the theatres" but also "*fizkul'tura* and so forth".[22] In 1940, a regulation concerning cultural-educational aspects in the camps did not mention either *fizkul'tura* or sport even once. Only in 1954, after the restructuring of the penal system that soon culminated in the end of the Gulag, did the new regulation on corrective labour camps and colonies demand sports fields in every subdivision of the camps and colonies respectively.[23]

The two main theorists on re-education and corrective labour in the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, Evsei Shirvindt and Boris Utevskii, mentioned

20 For the ideal of the re-educated camp inmate, see ibid., 462–467.

21 "St. 99. V tseliakh ustraneniia vrednogo vliianiia nedostatochno podvizhnogo obraza zhizni zakliuchennykh rukovoditeli vneshkol'nykh zaniatii organizuiut reguliarnye zaniatiia gimnastikoi dlia vsekh zdarovykh zakliuchennykh." (ITK RSFSR 16 October 1924 in Kokurin / Petrov, *Gulag 1918–1960*, 42).

22 "68. Kul'turno-massovaia sektsiia rukovodit politicheskoi i kul'turno-prosvetitel'noi rabotoi, rabotoi po razvitiiu obshchestvennosti sredi lishennykh svobody i deiatel'nost'iu ikh obshchestvennykh organizacii lishennykh svobody, shkoloi, kino, bibliotekoi, teatrami, fizkul'turnoi rabotoi i t.d." (ITK 1933, ibid., 81).

23 "Polozhenie o kul'turno-vospitatel'noi rabote v ispravitel'no-trudovykh lageriakh i koloniiakh NKVD", ibid. 119–128, and "Polozhenie ob ispravitel'no-trudovykh lageriakh i koloniiakh ministerstva vnutrennikh del SSSR", ibid. 157.

fizkul'tura in their book on the Soviet laws governing corrective labour at least once. Here, *fizkul'tura* belonged to the field of "sanitary education" which included questions about sanitation and hygiene.[24] *Perekovka*, the official newspaper of the Belbaltlag,[25] added in September 1936 that *fizkul'tura* helped "to educate [the camp inmates] in discipline, to distract them from unhealthy pleasures, to raise the productivity of their work and to integrate them into social tasks."[26]

Beside these passages, the mentioning of sports and *fizkul'tura* as elements of the re-education of prisoners into Soviet citizens remained vague and marginal. Moreover, already in theory, *fizkul'tura* and sport were deprived of their physical – in the sense of physical training and body shaping – aspects. The perfection of the body fell short compared to ideological adjustment and sanitary requirements that were indispensable in order to prevent epidemics. The focus lay on cultural activities and hygiene even in the 1930s when the concept of *perekovka* had entered the penal policies. While in the 1920s the prisoners themselves were responsible for their own re-education in the sense that they sought further education on their own initiative, the theory of the 1930s had a more physical orientation: the prisoner, or the human body, was perceived as a malleable mass. In the camp newspaper of the Belbaltlag, the newspaper's title *Perekovka* symbolised this idea: the upper arm of the K hammers down with might onto the O. The main tool to mould the prisoner's body was labour and physical, productive labour in particular.

Nevertheless, as marginal as it was, the mentioning of gymnastics and *fizkul'tura* in the corrective labour codes provided the theoretical foundations for sportive activities within the camps in the 1920s, the early 1930s, and even in the 1940s, when the concept of re-forging was abandoned but not the principle idea of the re-socialisation of common prisoners.

Sportive Activities in the Camps

Although there exists a significant number of recollections on life in the Soviet Gulag, we find hardly any hints of sport and *fizkul'tura* in them.[27] One could

24 Evsei Shirvindt / Boris Utevskii, *Sovetskoe ispravitel'no-trudovoe pravo* (Moscow 1931), 172.

25 The Belbaltlag (Belomorsko-Baltiiskii Corrective Labour Camp) was established in 1931 in order to construct and later to maintain the canal connecting the White and the Baltic Sea.

26 Zhukov, "Eshche shire razvernut' fizkul'turnuiu rabotu v BBK", in *Perekovka* N°60 (1936), 4. See also Zhukov, "Fizkul'turnuiu rabotu vesti kruglyi god", in *Perekovka* N°66–67 (1936), 6.

27 For example, out of the analysed 42 memoirs of former *zeki* of the Solovki Prison Camp and the Belbaltlag only two mentioned sportive activities in the camps. A – without a

argue that sportive activities did not fit into the self-conception of political prisoners and their presentation of the camps as an important tool of Soviet repression and that they were, hence, consciously or unconsciously left aside. At the same time, we find sufficiently more ego-documents of former *zeki* dealing with cultural-educational activities like theatre and music that equally challenged the depiction of the camps as places of isolation, repression, and destruction.

In the following analysis, I concentrate mainly on the camp newspapers of the Solovki prison camp and the Belbaltlag[28] as well as on a handful of memoirs by former prisoners. The richest sources on sport in the camps are the recollections of Boris and Ivan Solonevich as well as of Nikolai Starostin. Boris Solonevich was a physician and leading member of the scout's movement in Russia. Because of his engagement as a scout, he got an eight-year term in the Solovki prison camp in 1926, but served only two due to a chronic eye disease.[29] In 1933, after a failed attempt to escape abroad, he was arrested again together with his wife, his brother Ivan, and his nephew Iurii. All four of them were transferred to the Belbaltlag. From there, Boris, Ivan, and Iurii fled to Finland in August 1934. Shortly after the Civil War, Boris and Ivan had earned their living by boxing and lifting weights with a travelling circus. Later on, Ivan worked as sports instructor, sports journalist, and publicist. By the time he was arrested, he was already fairly known to a public interested in sports.[30] For both brothers, sport and training were essential. Moreover, both could look back on a semi-professional boxing career.

Nikolai Starostin was a famous Soviet football and hockey player until his arrest in 1942 due to an indictment construed by the home secretary Lavrentii Beria.[31] Sentenced to ten years in a labour camp in November 1943, Starostin

doubt superficial – keyword search in the electronic database of the Sakharov centre with the keywords sport, *fizkul'tura*, and *futbol'* gives a lot of results concerning life before the arrest but hardly any results concerning camp life. The database includes 2,239 ego-documents of former *zeki*.

28 The newspaper *Novye Solovki* (New Solovki) was published in the Solovki prison camp from 1925 to the end of 1926 and again in 1929. In 1930 it was renamed *Perekovka* and later on transferred to the Belbaltlag. The newspaper was dissolved in May 1937. For more information, see Fischer von Weikersthal, *Die "inhaftierte" Presse*.

29 See his memoirs, Boris Solonevich, *Den' vracha v kontslagere* (Sofia 1937); id., *Molodezh i GPU* (Sofia 1938). I quoted from the German version, Boris Solonewitsch, *Lebendiger Staub. Rußlands Jugend im Kampf gegen die GPU* (Essen 1938). Although the German version was in parts adjusted to Nazi-ideology, this did not influence the passages concerning the sport activities in the camps.

30 Ivan Solonevich, *Russia in Chains* (London 1938); Nil Nikandrov, *Ivan Solonevich. Narodnyi monarkhist* (Moscow 2007).

31 Starostin's sport's club Spartak competed with the Dinamo sport's club of the OGPU/NKVD. It is said that Beria personally initiated the repression of the Starostin brothers in order to weaken Spartak. Initially, Starostin was accused of taking part in an

served his term in different camps in Siberia, and was exiled to Kazakhstan afterwards. Wherever Starostin arrived, he was immediately singled out and installed as coach for football and/or hockey teams. Besides a short stay in Moscow under the protection of Stalin's son, Starostin was not allowed back into the Russian capital until 1954. Nikolai Starostin was rehabilitated in 1953 shortly after the death of Beriia.[32]

Both the Solonevich brothers and Starostin held rather high positions in the camp's administration of sportive activities thanks to the occupations they had held prior to their arrest.[33] Boris Solonevich managed the sports field on the Solovetsky Island during his first term, and served as team physician for the Dinamo[34] football team of the Svir'lag[35] during his second. Ivan Solonevich served as sports instructor in the Belbaltlag. Later on, he worked for the Dinamo sports club of the camp. Nikolai Starostin coached the football teams of several camps. Thus, sportive skills gained before the arrest brought these three prisoners a highly privileged position in the camps and enabled them to gain insights into the organisation of sportive activities there.

Both the Solonevich brothers suggest that the guards exclusively used all existing sport facilities in the camps. According to Boris Solonevich, "it was never even talked of a serious sport activity of prisoners".[36] For the famous film on the Solovki camp, "[s]elected Red Army soldiers [had] performed exercises and competed in games in the disguise of prisoners and 'with a happy smile' [on their faces]".[37] The prisoners, on the other hand, were far too exhausted to do sports after a long and hard working day. They would come to the sporting grounds only for the opportunity to speak to each other without

assassination attempt on Stalin. In the end, he and his brothers were found guilty in "propagandising bourgeois sport". See Jim Riordan, "The Strange Story of Nikolai Starostin, Football and Laverentii Beria", in *Europe-Asia Studies* 46:4 (1994), 681–690.

32 Nikolai P. Starostin, "Delo brat'ev Starostinykh", in I.L. Kuznetsov (ed.), *Pechal'naia pristan'* (Syktyvkar 1991), 354–364, URL: http://www.sakharov-center.ru/asfcd/auth/?t=book&num=1852, accessed 9 February 2016; Riordan, "The Strange Story".

33 According to official guidelines political prisoners had to carry out hard physical labour. In practice, though, many political prisoners were utilised according to their expertise. This holds especially true for positions in the medical and the cultural-educational department of the camps.

34 Dinamo, founded in 1923 was the sports club of the OGPU, later being merged into the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, the NKVD. All sports clubs for the Red Army soldiers and the OGPU/NKVD-personnel within the camps were called Dinamo.

35 Svir' Corrective Labour Camp, situated along the river Svir' providing Moscow and Leningrad with lumber.

36 "[…] daß von einer ernsthaften Betätigung der Gefangenen nicht einmal die Rede war". Solonewitsch, *Lebendiger Staub*, 350.

37 "Ausgesuchte Rotarmisten demonstrierten in der Maske von Gefangenen und 'mit freudigem Lächeln' Übungen und Spiele." Ibid.

fear of being overheard, or to flee the density and the noise of the collective living quarters.[38]

Nevertheless, some passages in Boris Solonevich's memoirs cast doubt on the truthfulness of this statement. First of all, contrary to his memoirs, it was not he who came up with the idea to construct an arena with a football pitch, a lido, and other sport facilities on the Solovetsky Islands.[39] As the camp's newspaper *Novye Solovki* suggests, a sports arena opened on 6 June 1926[40] days, if not months, before Solonevich arrived on the islands. In his recollections, Boris Solonevich refers explicitly to the building of shooting stands and a skating rink, but at least the latter also existed by 1925.[41] Instead of constructing the sportive facilities, it is more likely that Solonevich helped expand them.

Articles in the Solovki camp newspaper as well as other memoirs indicate that at least some of the facilities were not only used by Red Army soldiers and guards but also by prisoners. On 10 January 1926, the newspaper *Novye Solovki* published a drawing of the skating rink in front of the Solovetsky kremlin (see figure 1). A woman and a man, the latter resembling a *chekist*,[42] wrapped up against the cold, watch two skaters. The latter ones are not identifiable as either guards or soldiers. According to the article accompanying the drawing the skating rink attracted "a crowd". It was open on Sundays from ten o'clock in the morning to six o'clock in the evening as well as on Tuesdays and Thursdays from three o'clock in the afternoon to six o'clock in the evening. On Sundays, an orchestra took care of background music. In a heated fright car the skaters were able to warm up and to have a snack. It sounds rather unbelievable that camp inmates were allowed to use the skating rink, but an article from January 1926 suggests they did. According to *lagkorka* (camp correspondent) T-ja, female prisoners of the camp also used the skating rink. A few days later, an article by a male prisoner followed.[43]

38 Ibid. Dmitrii Likhachev also remembers a sporting ground on the Solovetsky Island maintained by prisoners but used exclusively by civilians (Lichatschow, *Hunger und Terror*, 70). Official reports also lament on the lack of participation of camp inmates in cultural-educational activities in general (Inna Klause, *Der Klang des Gulag. Musik und Musiker in den sowjetischen Zwangsarbeitslagern der 1920er- bis 1950er-Jahre* [Göttingen 2014], 63).

39 Solonewitsch, *Lebendiger Staub*, 349.

40 E. Golubev, "Otkrytie sport-ploshchadki 6. VI. s.g.", in *Novye Solovki N°24*, (1926), 4.

41 A skating rink is mentioned for the first time in November 1925 ("Kon'ki", in *Novye Solovki* N°48 [1925], 4).

42 The Cheka (Extraordinary commission for combating counter-revolution and sabotage) was the predecessor of the OGPU as the state security organisation. Its members were called *chekists*, a term used also for the OGPU personnel.

43 Lagkorka T-ja, "Zhenbarak na katke", in *Novye Solovki* N°5 (1926), 4; lagkor Iks, "Razvivaite sport", in *Novye Solovki* N°6 (1926), 4.

Fig. I: Drawing of the skating ring next to the Solovetsky kremlin, opened in the winter of 1925/26. The text informs the reader about the opening hours of the skating ring and its facilities. „Na katke", Novye Solovki N°2 (1926), 4.

Most probably, only those prisoners in privileged positions working within the camp administration or in the supply departments of the camp skated. Quite a few of them were former *chekists* sentenced for abuse of power. In addition, one has to keep in mind, that the divide between guards and *zeki* was often rather superficial. The guards could easily be arrested and turned into prisoners, and camp inmates could take part in guarding the camp zone, too. Like the camp inmates, the guards had to endure extreme weather conditions, inadequate nutrition, and catastrophic living conditions. They suffered from similar health problems, for example scurvy. In this context, the camp's newspapers repeatedly stressed the importance of sport for the health of the soldiers who guarded the camp zone.[44] Besides the preventive effects of sport, sporting activities such as skiing, skating, boxing, football, gymnastics, and so forth meant a welcome diversion to the soldiers' daily routine. When reading

44 Shpingalet, "Fizkul'tura v pervom otriade", in *Novye Solovki* N°5 (1925), 3; A.T., "Sport", in *Novye Solovki* N°3 (1926), 4.

the diary of Ivan Chistiakov, a guard commander of the Bamlag[45] in 1935 and 1936, we get an impression of how hard, sometimes boring, sometimes disillusioning his duty was.[46]

The existing sporting facilities opened up manifold possibilities for further encounters between guards and camp inmates. According to O. Verengov, who wrote for the journal of the Solovki Prison Camp in 1924, former sportsmen had established a sporting group on the Solovetsky Islands in July 1924, which is just over a year after the establishment of the camp.[47] With the support of the camp's administration, this group planned to build a football team and a "gymnastic *gorodok*" (i.e. small city) including track and field facilities. These were to be used by the guards, the free personnel of the administration, and the prisoners alike.[48] On 22 March 1925, the newspaper reported that the administration had set up a gym for the Solovki regiment and the first camp unit (*1oe otdelenie*), which was officially inaugurated on 17 March with a small sportive event. Since the first camp unit housed mainly those prisoners working within the camp administration and other privileged working areas such as the bakery, the storage room and so on, prisoners took part in this event, too. The *sportsmeny* showed their skills in gymnastics, athletics, weightlifting, wrestling, boxing, jujitsu, and acrobatics. Prisoners performed side by side with Red Army soldiers, and the author of the article did not refrain from praising imprisoned sportsmen for their achievements.[49]

The interaction of guards and prisoners is also documented for the Belbaltlag. Here, camp inmates complemented the ranks of the Dinamo sports club that was primarily established for the free guards and the OGPU personnel in the camps. The eagerness to have the best football team – "the football team is a matter of pride, an object of solicitous care, a colourful spot against life's grey background"[50] – induced camp officials to bypass official orders prohibiting the assignment of political prisoners to perform work other than hard physical labour.[51] Both the Solonevich brothers and Starostin are the best example

45 Baikal Amur Corrective Labour Camp responsible for the construction of the Baikal Amur Mainline.

46 Ivan Čistjakov, *Sibirien, Sibirien. Tagebuch eines Lageraufsehers* (Berlin 2014).

47 On 6 June 1923, the first prisoners arrived on the Solovetsky Islands. During the first months and particularly after a fire in the Solovetsky Kremlin the camp was in a rather temporary condition lacking adequate living space and food for the rapidly growing camp population.

48 O. Verengov, "Sport v pervom otdelenii Sollageria", in *SLON* N°5 (1924), 33f.

49 Staryj sportsmen, "Sportvecher", in *Novye Solovki* N°12 (1925), 4.

50 Iwan Solonewitsch, *Die Verlorenen. Chronik namenlosen Leidens*, *vol. 2 Flucht aus dem Sowjetparadies* (Leipzig 1937), 103. For an English version see Ivan Solonevich, *Escape from Russian Chains* (London 1938), URL: http://solonevich.ru/useriles/downloads/books/Ivan%Solonevich-Escape%20Russian%20Chains %20vol.%202.pdf.

51 Beginning in the late 1920s, Moscow periodically gave the order to curb the percentage of *kaery* in privileged positions. In 1934, Ivan Solonevich had problems getting his

of this practice. Despite their political sentences, they got the chance to use their expertise within the *zona* instead of vegetating on the construction sites. Obviously, *kaery* working in the sport station (*sportstantsii*) seemed to be less harmful than in other privileged positions, for example the department for cultural education. In 1931 all *kaery* in privileged positions were removed with one exception: the two *kaery* working for the sporting station of the fourth camp unit of the Solovki camp were simply put under "strong control".[52] This indicates that sport within the camps had a less ideological component than outside the camp zone. At least *kaery* could not harm its ideological features.

Obviously, there existed quite a variety of sports activities in the camps – at least in some camp units and in some years. According to the camp journal *Solovetskie Ostrova*, in 1929, the Solovki camps, which had grown sufficiently since their establishment, had ten football teams, four hockey teams and six volleyball teams.[53] In 1931, Vatslav Dvorzhetskii and his co-prisoners on the island of Vaigach had the opportunity to use an arena, a football pitch, horizontal bars, gymnastic rings, and wall bars. "To be honest, we lived well there", he concluded, despite the fact that work was horrifying.[54] Within the Belbaltlag, sportive activities gained importance from 1934 onwards – in a time when Ivan Solonevich came up with the idea to hold a *spartakiada*, a kind of internal camp championship designed after the *spartakiady* outside the camp zone.[55] Solonevich remembers the prisoners of the camp unit N°5 who had built a sport *gorodok* and three basketball courts in only one day,[56] and thus contradicts his statements on the exclusivity of sport in the Gulag. Moreover, according to a certain Zhukov, after initial disinterest, the administration had started to encourage *fizkul'tura* with the result that "in every camp unit, in every OLP[57] and *lespromkhoz*[58] football and volleyball teams are organised, early-morning exercises and training in all different kinds of sport are performed."[59] In 1935 and 1936, the camp newspaper reported regularly on sport evenings, sport holidays or *spartakiady*, sometimes even completing

new roster approved because he had too many *kaery* on his list. See Solonewitsch, *Die Verlorenen*, 147–149.

52 Document 8 "Iz akta obsledovaniia raboty kul'turno-vospitatel'noi chasti IV otd. SLAGa OGPU", in Iu. Zhukov et al. (ed.), *Gulag v Karelii. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov 1930–1941* (Petrozavodsk 1992), 9–11, on p. 10.

53 A. R-skij, "Vospitatel'no-prosvetitel'naia rabota na Solovetskom Ostrove", in *Solovetskie Ostrova* N°2 (1929), 41–43.

54 Vatslav Dvorzhetskii, *Puti bol'shikh ėtapov. Zapiski aktera* (Moscow/Nizhnyi Novgorod 1994), 54, 56.

55 *Spartakiada* is the name for Soviet sports competitions.

56 Solonewitsch, *Die Verlorenen*, *vol. 2*, 131.

57 OLP = Otdelnyi lagernyi punkt, Single Camp Section.

58 A timber industry plant.

59 Zhukov, "Eshche shire razvernut' fizkul'turnuiu rabotu v BBK", in *Perekovka* N°60 (1936), 4.

the articles with photos of the teams or single sportsmen.[60] In these cases, sportive activities seem to have been included in the campaign of inner-camp competition (*sorevnovanie*). Camp sections rivalled one another in the areas of productivity, working speed, cultural activities, and, obviously, sport.

The media coverage on sportive activities declined significantly in the winter months. This and the constant demand to revive sportive activities altered the rather rosy picture in the articles mentioned above.[61] Moreover, if we compare the sportive facilities of one camp unit with the number of inmates, it becomes clear that sport was definitely of minor importance for the camp administration. Already in 1926, the Main Administration of all Places of Detention (GUMZ) reported on 1,937 existing cultural-educational associations of the imprisoned. However, only 177 of them dealt with sport compared to 820 theatre and 502 music associations.[62] In the early 1930s, the Belbaltlag camp section[63] in Nadvoitski housed approximately 20,000 prisoners but possessed merely fifteen pairs of skis, fifteen hockey sticks, 30 pairs of ice skates, and 22 nets and balls for volleyball.[64] Hence, although there were sporting facilities in at least some camp sections with a peak in the mid-1930s, and although prisoners had the possibility to perform sportive activities, sport and *fizkul'tura* in the Gulag in general remained marginal.

The Function of Sports and *Fizkul'tura* in the Camps

If sport and *fizkul'tura* in the Gulag played a marginal role, we have to conclude that they played no part in the modelling of the prisoner's body. Outside the camp zone, *fizkul'tura* was supposed to include the majority of society because of its importance in shaping the socialist body of society.[65] Within the camps, the perfection of the prisoners' bodies fell short compared to the modelling of the prisoners' mind. While political lectures and discussions, slogans, and political posters confronted the prisoners daily, sport and *fizkul'tura* affected only a minor part of the camp population. For the idea of modelling the prisoner's body, embodied in the term re-forging, the physical work carried out

60 A picture of a volleyball match can be found on p. 6 of *Perekovka* N°50–51 (1936). In *Perekovka* N°63 (1935), one can find pictures on pp. 3f. *Perekovka* N°45 (1936), 4, presenting the portrait of *fizkul'turnik* Perepelitsa.

61 See for example the articles "Razvernut' i ukrepit' fizkul'turu", in *Perekovka* N°74 (1935), 3; "Nuzhen sportinventar'", in *Perekovka* N°31 (1936), 2; "Nekomu organizovat' sportivnye gruppy", in *Perekovka* N°43 (1936), 4.

62 See Klause, *Der Klang des Gulag*, 49.

63 Each camp was composed of several camp sections (*otdelenii*), camp sub-sections (*lagpunkty*), and *komandirovki*, i.e. remote and often temporary small sub-sections.

64 See Ivan Chukhin, *Kanaloarmeitsy* (Petrozavodsk 1990), 176f.

65 O'Mahony, *Sport in the USSR*, 16.

by the camp inmates obviously seemed to be efficient enough – although in reality hard labour in combination with bad nutrition served the destruction of the body rather than its perfection.[66] Only those prisoners working within the camp administration were supposed to practice sports regularly since they were sitting the whole day.[67] For the administration of the camps, the main interest lay in maintaining a minimal health condition of the camp population necessary for an adequate labour output, thus focussing less on exercises than on health education.[68] Through lectures on hygiene and sanitary conditions, the working body of the camp populace was supposed to be kept in "shape" in the sense that epidemics and other diseases be prevented. In addition, there existed curative *fizkul'tura* for prisoners suffering from tuberculosis[69] and from 1946 onwards for those camp inmates whose health had been ruined by the working and living conditions of the camp.[70] Only if we construe the prevention of epidemics as well as exercises for convalescence as tools to increase the labour potential of the camp population, *fizkul'tura* within the camps bore elements of perfection. Under the circumstances of camp life and the calculated hunger and emaciation of the camp inmates, this interpretation would be cynical, though.

Moreover, camp inmates performed primarily team sports such as football, volleyball, and hockey, and different kinds of martial arts as well as a bit of gymnastics. Especially in the mid-1920s, when the film about the Solovki camp was made, theoreticians of physical education viewed these kinds of sportive activities with suspicion and interpreted them as "non-Soviet".[71] They stood in stark contrast to the officially demanded "regular gymnastic lessons"[72] and to the imagination of collectivism conveyed by the mass scenes in the beginning of the film. Even in the film itself, the sport scenes shot in the camp convey the picture of individuality and competition, while at the same

66 Julie Draskoczy has stressed the physicality of re-education through labour: "The prisoners' aching muscles and sore limbs after a twelve-hour workday reminded [the prisoners] that they were being transformed not only mentally but physically, and their refusal to submit would be met with even more severe bodily consequences" (id., *Belomor*, 27).

67 O. Verengov, "Sport v pervom otdelenii Sollageria", in *SLON* N°5 (1924), 33f.

68 See for example A. Danev, "Vospitatel'no-prosvetitel'naia rabota", in *Novye Solovki* N°32 (1926), 2.

69 Jakob I. Kaminskii, *"Minuvshee prokhodit predo mnoju...". Izbrannoe iz lichnogo arkhiva* (Odessa 1995), 93.

70 The official term was "for physically weakened imprisoned" (*fizicheski oslablennye zakliuchennye*). Cf. "Prikaz MVD SSSR N°0154 "Ob organizatsii spetsial'nykh podrazdelenii dlia ozdrovleniia fizicheskogo sostoiania zakliuchennykh, soderzhavshchikhsia v ispravitel'no-trudovykh lageriakh i koloniiakh MVD" from 27 May 1946, in Kokurin / Petrov, *Gulag 1918–1960*, 536f., here § 1v, 536.

71 This is especially true regarding fist fighting and wrestling, Grant, *Physical Culture*, 103.

72 ITK RSFSR 16 October 1924, in Kokurin / Petrov, *Gulag 1918–1960*, 42.

time praising the steeled naked bodies of the sportsmen. This focus on "bourgeois" and competitive sports might have resulted from the composition of the camp population. Sport activities such as boxing and other forms of martial arts echoed the predominant masculinity of the camp population. Men constituted up to 90 per cent of the camp inmates. Moreover, a large proportion of the male prisoners were criminals for whom masculinity and physical strength meant reputation and respect. Finally, yet importantly, the OGPU heading the camps had its own tradition of sport activities. Its Dinamo sport club had always pursued its own line, offering not only gymnastics, but also shooting, boxing, wrestling, jujitsu, fencing, basketball, and football.[73] Without uniformity and synchronisation, sportive activities in the camps, though, missed the integrative and performative aspects they included outside the camp zone. This changed at least a bit in the mid-1930s, when collective morning exercises and the *spartakiady* were introduced into camp life – though not on a regular basis. In both cases, prisoners were enabled to present themselves as parts of a sportive – and of course healthy, happy, and successful – collective body. This presentation was echoed by the camp newspapers. In its news coverage about the camp's sport events, the newspaper *Perekovka* published photographs of successful football teams (see figure 2), volleyball teams, or individual sportsmen. The reader of the newspaper was confronted with the picture of young, healthy and well-toned men which in no way resembled the picture of an ordinary camp inmate. Rather, they seemed to constitute part of the Soviet body of society. Interestingly to note that the photographs showed not only no difference to photographs of free sportsmen but presented male sportsmen exclusively. An illustration framing the headline of the newspaper's column "sport" also presented two men playing volleyball.[74] Sport in the camps, thus, echoed the masculine domination of camp life. Pictures like these served similar integrative means as the news coverage of sport events outside the camp zone but remained exceptional.

If sport was hardly intended to integrate the camp inmates into the social body of the state or to perfect the *zek*'s bodies, what, then, were the functions of sport in the camps? For at least some prisoners, sport fulfilled a structuring and preventive function. Especially in remand prisons prisoners used exercises to structure the day and to keep their health and strength. Valerii S. Frid remembers having done exercises in his prison cell guided by a former professional boxer, and concludes: "Not before and not after did I ever feel as strong as during the exercises with Pantyukov."[75] Olga Adamova-Sliozberg and her

73 Riordan, *Sport in Soviet Society*, 94.
74 "Sport", in *Perekovka* N°39 (1936), 4.
75 Valerii S. Frid, *58 1,2. Zapiski lagernogo pridurka* (Moscow 1996), 66. A.A. Trishkina remembers a co-prisoner in her cell exercising *fizkul'tura* every morning, E.E. Sidorkina,

Fig. II: The soccer team of the first camp point (*lagpunkt*) in Medvezhegorsk after winning a match against the soccer team of the second camp unit in Povenets. "Futbol'naia komanda 1 lagpunkta 1 MGO", in: *Perekovka* N°63 (1936), 3.

fellow inmates imprisoned in the Solovki Prison for Special Purposes in 1937 and 1938 did callisthenics in the morning and evening by the open window until the prison administration prohibited it with the words: "In recreation homes you do sports, but in prisons you serve a sentence. […] this is not a gym, it's a prison cell!"[76] To a lesser degree, sport and *fizkul'tura* served as distraction. For example, Ivan Solonevich tried to build a sporting ground for the juvenile prisoners of the Belbaltlag in order to provide them with some kind of positive activity in otherwise long, inactive days.[77] Similarly, the imprisoned *chekists* in the Solovki camp and other prisoners in privileged positions performed sports voluntarily, as Ivan Solonevich did.

On the other hand, both the Solonevich brothers and Starostin remember sportive activities in the camps almost exclusively in connection with the personal interest of the camp commander and/or the competition between

"Gody pod konvoem. Biograficheskie svedeniia A. Trishkina", in S.S. Vilenskii (ed.), *Dodnes' tiagoteet*, *vol. 1: Zapiski vashei sovremennitsy* (Moscow 1989), 286–305, on p. 295.

76 Ol'ga Adamova-Sliozberg, "Put'", in *Dodnes' tiagoteet*, 40.

77 Solonewitsch, *Die Verlorenen, vol. 2*, 281f.

different camps or camp sections. Camp commanders took great efforts to gloat over an excellent orchestra, an outstanding theatre or the best team, the best sporting ground and so forth. In preparation for the *spartakiada* in the Belbaltlag in 1934, the available workforce was not only shifted from its original work to the construction site of an arena. Moreover, all those athletes selected were exempted from general physical work for two months, transferred to a special *gorodok*, and fed with increased and more nutritious food rations.[78] Privileges notwithstanding, this ordered form of sport inherited repressive elements. The sportsmen and -women depended on the goodwill of the administration or their promoter and probably also on their athletic success. An even deeper feeling of exploitation could seize those prisoners working for the *agitbrigades* displaying, for example, human pyramids. The *agitbrigades* had the task of educating their co-prisoners according to the party line and to improve the work performance of the camp inmates. One can assume that work in the *agitbrigades* for the sportsmen and -women was both a source of strength and of psychological burden similar to the experience of musicians and actors in the camps.[79] While the sportsmen or artists profited from better nutrition and better living and working conditions, their sport or art entertained the camp inmates but served at the same time political indoctrination and an increased exploitation of the camp populace.

Besides these compulsory aspects, the performing of the task could provide the prisoners with pride, self-esteem, or a positive physical experience otherwise unknown in camp life. When Boris Solonevich was asked to stand in for a drunk member of the Dinamo football team in a match, he describes the bodily experiences during the match as positive through and through. "Joyful automatisms of familiar movements, successive impressions at breakneck tempo, extreme physical concentration, tension of all muscles and nerves, pulsation of life and strength in every cell of the healthy body".[80]

Moreover, unintended by the administration, sport bridged the divide between the camp population and the guards. According to the Solovki newspaper, members of Dinamo helped renovate the gym of the prisoners at their own expense.[81] Football in particular provided a place of encounter between

78 Ivan Solonevich presents himself as a camp Samaritan here since he picks not only the young and sportive prisoners but also half-starving ones who would at no point reach any sportive achievements. He could do this because the date for his flight from camp was already set. Solonewitsch, *Die Verlorenen, vol. 2*, 178.

79 Regarding the experiences of musicians see Inna Klause, "Music and 'Re-Education' in the Soviet Gulag", in *Torture* 23:2 (2013), 24–33.

80 "Freudige Selbsttätigkeit der gewohnten Bewegungen, stürmisches Tempo der aufeinanderfolgenden Eindrücke, äußerste physische Konzentrierung, Spannung aller Muskeln und Nerven, Pulsieren des Lebens und der Kraft in jeder Zelle des gesunden Körpers." Solonewitsch, *Lebendiger Staub*, 543.

81 "Remont sport-zala", in *Novye Solovki* N°10 (1926), 4.

the guards and the guarded beyond the clear-cut demarcation line of daily camp life. During the summers of 1925 and 1926, regular football matches between the teams of the regiment and the first camp unit were organised. The prisoners obviously did not fear doing their best. Although they had no chance to practice regularly, unlike the soldiers, they were vastly superior. At the end of the summer of 1925, the prisoners' team had scored 21 goals while the soldiers' only eleven.[82] This might have been the reason why in the next summer a mixed team was set up to play against the teams from the (free) towns of Soroka and Kem'.

In the recollections of the Solonevich brothers we find several passages demonstrating how sport resulted in rapprochement between the guards, the camp administration, and the camp inmates. Free and imprisoned played side by side in football teams or competed in combat sport.[83] Boris Solonevich remembers how he and his imprisoned fellow scouts clandestinely celebrated Christmas. When they heard someone approaching, they quickly hid everything and pretended to discuss the program for the New Year's Eve sporting events. When the patrol entered the "commander of the Red Army soldiers, himself a sportsman, smiled benignly. 'Let it be, boys! I know order prevails among you.' "[84]

This passage indicates an equation of sport, discipline, and reliability bridging the gap between guards and prisoners. At the same time, this basal confidence in common values such as discipline and order as well as "sport solidarity"[85] provided the prisoners involved with liberties they otherwise would not have encountered. Ivan Solonevich describes his time at the Dinamo sports unit of the Belbaltlag almost as though it were heaven. He received a reward, he and his son got to eat in the canteen for the privileged at the expense of two engineers; he was permitted to move freely from one camp section to the other; played tennis with free personnel of the camp administration, went swimming, and so forth.[86] Highly similar are Nikolai Starostin's memoirs of his time as imprisoned football coach in different camps during the 1940s.[87] In the case of Ivan and Boris Solonevich, these liberties paved the way for their escape from the camps: As sport instructor and doctor of the

82 S.M., "Letnie itogi", in *Novye Solovki* N°34 (1925), 4.
83 "Sport", in *Solovetskie Ostrova* N°5/6 (1926), 222.
84 Solonewitsch, *Lebendiger Staub*, 385.
85 Another prisoner working for Dinamo allegedly said to Ivan Solonevich: "There is in the world a class solidarity, and national solidarity, and what not, but there is nothing like sport solidarity" (Solonewitsch, *Die Verlorenen. vol. 2*, 90).
86 Ibid. 114f.
87 Nikolai Starostin, *Futbol skvoz' gody. Zvezdy bol'shogo futbola* (Moscow 1993). Id., "Vesna patriarkha: 'Delo brat'ev Starostinykh' ", in I.L. Kuznetsov (ed.), *Pechal'naia pristan'* (Syktivkar 1991), 354–364. Both works can be accessed also online URL: http://www.sakharov-center.ru/asfcd/auth/?t=page&num=4508.

regiment's football team, respectively, they received permits and were thus able to move more freely within and outside the camp. This gave them the chance to prepare their escape and to gain the needed mental and physical strength.

Apart from these probably rather unique cases, sport could save lives in several other ways: physical strength gained through exercises before a term in a camp helped to better endure the burden of forced labour;[88] a trained body impressed the guards, the recidivists, and other prisoners with a rural background;[89] outstanding sportive performances ensured social recognition within camp society. Both Solonevich brothers remember incidents when their trained bodies and their ability to fight back earned them the respect of the criminal prisoners. As a result, not only they but also the people around them were left alone by the *urki*, the professional criminals.[90] Nikolai Starostin earned his reputation among the *urki* through his "soccer stories".[91] Authority like this implied a significant advantage for survival: Nobody dared to steal any food or clothes from him or her.

As we have seen, besides ordered sportive activities being a mixture of compulsion on the one hand and opportunities for a privileged life within the camps on the other, there were traces of self-empowerment and a rather positive experience of sport within the Soviet system of repression. The idea of perfecting the collective body of society so prominent outside the camps zone, on the other hand, hardly affected camp life. Here, hard labour and political indoctrination remained the main tools to perfect the prisoners and to adapt them to the requirements of society.

Conclusion

Sport did exist in the Soviet forced labour camps in the 1920s to 1940s – albeit to a limited extent. Although sport and *fizkul'tura* were integrated into propagandistic stories of the re-education and re-forging of prisoners, they remained irrelevant in the daily routine. Thus, contrary to its central position outside the *zona,* physical education within the camps was limited to a handful of prisoners. For them as well as for the administration, sport had various functions and benefits, ranging from imposed duty to leisure and from mental resilience to physical endurance. It offered ways for survival. Therefore, we

88 Solonewitsch, *Lebendiger Staub*, 333f.
89 Susan Grant has pointed out the embedding of the cult of the body within Russian village culture, linking physical strength to pride and prestige. Grant, *Physical Culture*, 12, 102.
90 Solonewitsch, *Lebendiger Staub*, 324–326.
91 Riordan, "The Strange Story", 686; Starostin, "Delo brat'ev", 360.

should reconsider the notion of sportive activities within the Soviet forced labour camps as a forced enlisting of prisoners for the amusement of the camp bosses, which ascribes sport a merely repressive character. Moreover, indeed, sportive activities or exercises were used neither to drill nor to humiliate the prisoners. They played no role in the oppression of the imprisoned. Furthermore, if we leave the *agitbrigady* and the *spartakiady* aside, sportive activities did not serve the Soviet ideology nor did they transport a certain body image. Although the camps constitute in theory the essence of the totalitarian grip on the human being, the sources analysed show features of self-empowerment and leeway for action beyond the ideological realm.

Consequently, *fizkul'tura* and sports in Soviet forced labour camps differed markedly from sport and exercise in German concentration camps. If physical education in the Nazi camps was – as Veronika Springmann put it – "a central element of terror in the prisoners' scope of experience and reception",[92] this definitely does not hold true for the Soviet camps despite the ideas of re-education and *fizkul'tura*. Although the corrective labour camps were connected to the idea of perfecting society and although *fizkul'tura* was part of re-education, neither *fizkul'tura* in general nor sport in particular were at any point perceived as tools of the state to remould the prisoners' body or to terrorise the camp inmates. Analysing sportive activities within the bounds of Soviet barbed wire thus opens up the spectrum for the variety of experiences possible in the Soviet camps and for the fundamental differences between the two main and most violent forced labour camp systems of the twentieth century.

92 Veronika Springmann, "'Sport machen'. Eine Praxis der Gewalt im Konzentrationslager", in Wojciech Lenarczyk et al. (ed.), *KZ-Verbrechen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager und ihrer Erinnerung* (Berlin 2007), 89–103, on p. 89.

Kim Wünschmann

Judenexerzieren: The Role of "Sport" for Constructions of Race, Body, and Gender in the Concentration Camps*

In August 1933, a disused prison building in the town of Brandenburg an der Havel, some 70 kilometres west of Berlin, was turned into a concentration camp. Local authorities acting with the agreement of the Prussian Ministry of the Interior were responsible for its establishment and gave the Schutzstaffel (SS) a free hand in running the camp. Enemies of the nascent Nazi regime in power were hauled to this extralegal place of confinement, where they suffered from terror and extreme violence. Soon, over a thousand male inmates were housed under precarious sanitary conditions in the building's derelict halls.[1] The SS forced prisoners to perform construction and cleaning works to aid their efforts of turning the old structure into a functioning site of imprisonment. At some point, however, the daily tasks of maintenance no longer provided enough work for the whole of the inmate population. A former prisoner remembered that the SS began with sport and drill when "our idleness was felt to be boring and embarrassing" to both inmates and guards. "This is when the need arose to occupy us." The "gymnastics" that were introduced consisted of "the usual exercises for arms and legs". Understood as a "tolerable extent" of physical training, the prisoners appreciated this measure. As one of them later stated: "[A]fter the lazing about in the halls most of them welcomed this as necessary physical activity." Sport helped inmates to overcome the monotony of camp life and there were even sporting contests that developed between the different prisoner halls. But the SS "did not stop at physical exercise". Camp sport became an ordeal when prisoners were forced to endlessly hold their arms stretched out or stand motionless on one leg for

* For their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter, I would like to thank Christopher Dillon and Veronika Springmann. Feedback I received from delegates of the conference "Violence, Discipline and Leisure: Sport in Penal and Internment Camps" has been extremely helpful to develop my thoughts as was discussing the paper with colleagues in the Modern German History Seminar at the Institute of Historical Research in February 2016.

1 See Volker Bendig, "Von allen Höllen vielleicht die grausamste. Das Konzentrationslager Brandenburg an der Havel, 1933–1934", in Wolfgang Benz / Barbara Distel (ed.), *Instrumentarium der Macht. Frühe Konzentrationslager 1933–1937* (Berlin 2003), 103–109; Irene Mayer, "Brandenburg an der Havel", in Geoffrey P. Megargee (ed.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos 1933–1945*, vol. 1 (Bloomington, IN 2009), 50–52.

a prolonged period of time. Jumping in a kneeling position over a distance of some one hundred metres across the courtyard was agony for some, others simply collapsed.[2]

As the report from Brandenburg demonstrates, sport was exercised in the concentration camps from the beginning of their existence. There were very practical reasons for this. In order to bind inmates to the rule of "absolute power" they had to be kept busy and their free time minimised.[3] When there was no work to do, punitive drill emerged as a means to control and terrorise prisoners. In the Dachau concentration camp, all those who were not assigned to a work detail during the morning roll call remained behind on the mustering grounds to perform gymnastic exercises and endurance runs.[4] The account from Brandenburg also shows that camp sport was a highly ambiguous activity that could turn at any moment from physical exercise into violent abuse. Although it was often practiced on the inmates' own initiative and occasionally took the form of competition between different teams, sport was not supposed to be a pastime to look forward to. By making exercise a torment, the guards enforced their dominant position in the camp's day-to-day routines. Indeed, boundaries were fluid between ill-treatment, sport, and forced labour. It is this ambiguity and volatile character that seems to distinguish sport in the concentration camp from physical exercise in other institutions of confinement and that will be explored in this chapter. To be sure, "intramural sports" as a means to discipline inmates is a characteristic feature of all "total institutions".[5] The concentration camp, however, stands out as a site of terror through its deliberate and blatant misuse of sport for destructive purposes. Applying the very term "sport" appears problematic as here we are dealing with a violent setting opposed to any attempt of preserving and promoting the inmates' health. To acknowledge this different quality I shall therefore speak of "camp sport" whenever possible.

The difficulties of conceptualising sport in the concentration camps and the impossibility of clearly categorising it as either physical exercise or a form of ill-treatment may be a reason why scholars have largely neglected the topic. When historians of sport investigate the era of National Socialism, they focus on the 1936 Olympics; on the histories of various sporting disciplines like football, martial arts, or *Turnen* (gymnastics); on the discrimination of "non-Aryan" athletes; or on the interactions of sports, leisure, and

2 Leo Baeck Institute Archives (LBIA), ME 40, Ludwig Bendix, *Konzentrationslager Deutschland und andere Schutzhafterfahrungen 1933–1937*, 5 books, here I: 72–74.

3 Absolute power has been conceptualised by Wolfgang Sofksy. See idem, *The Order of Terror. The Concentration Camp* (Princeton, NJ 1993), 16–27.

4 See Walter Hornung [alias Julius Zerfaß], *Dachau. Eine Chronik* (Zurich 1936), 82, 167.

5 See Erving Goffman, *Asylums. Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (London 1991), 100f.

propaganda in activities organised for "national comrades" by state-operated institutions like Strength through Joy (KdF) or the National Socialist Reich League for Physical Exercise (NSRL).[6] A recent study on sports in the SS and Sturmabteilung (SA) establishes the importance of physical fitness for these organisations and their aspired ideals of strength, militancy, and camaraderie. Regrettably, however, it omits any analysis of the function of the concentration camps as paramilitary training grounds and their significance as sites of wanton violence and bodily harm of the Nazi movement's enemies.[7] While historians of the camps usually only mention the phenomenon, pioneering research by Veronika Springmann stands out through its compelling exploration of the ambiguities of "doing sport" at these sites of terror. Springmann analyses camp sport as an everyday practice of violence and conceptualises it as a means to effectively "produce differences" between guards and inmates. She also draws our attention to the performative aspects of camp sport showing that it was often staged as a spectacle of violence affecting perpetrators, victims, and onlookers. These spectacles aimed at making weakness visible thereby dramatically enforcing it as the dichotomous "other" of the Nazi ideals of hardness and vigour.[8]

Building on Springmann's scholarship, this chapter investigates camp sport as a specifically antisemitic practice of violence directed against Jewish prisoners. It focuses on the early concentration camps, that is, the hundreds of improvised extralegal detention sites that, like Brandenburg and Dachau, sprang up in an uncoordinated way all over Germany in the first months after the Nazis assumed power. The early concentration camps were run by various agencies and they institutionally differed from the later SS concentration camps, which began to form into a system with Theodor Eicke's measures of reorganisation starting in the summer of 1934. Historiography situates the period of the early concentration camps between the mass arrests conducted in the aftermath of the Reichstag Fire of 27 February 1933 and the "Röhm purge" of 30 June/1 July 1934.[9] Jews in the early camps did not constitute a

6 For historiographical overviews, see Richard Holt, "Historians and the History of Sport", in *Sport in History* 34:1 (2014), 1–33; Lorenz Pfeiffer, *Sport im Nationalsozialismus. Zum aktuellen Stand der sporthistorischen Forschung. Eine kommentierte Bibliographie* (Göttingen 2009).

7 Berno Bahro, *Der SS-Sport. Organisation, Funktion, Bedeutung* (Paderborn 2013).

8 Veronika Springmann, "'Sport machen'. Eine Praxis der Gewalt im Konzentrationslager", in Wojciech Lenarczyk et al. (ed.), *KZ-Verbrechen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager und ihrer Erinnerung* (Berlin 2007), 89–101; Veronika Springmann, "'Das ist die Moorolympiade'. 'Lagersport' als Differenzproduktion in Konzentrationslagern", in Falk Bretschneider et al. (ed.), *Personal und Insassen von "Totalen Institutionen". Zwischen Konfrontation und Verflechtung* (Leipzig 2011), 381–394.

9 See Nikolaus Wachsmann, "The Dynamics of Destruction. The Development of the Concentration Camps, 1933–1945", in Jane Caplan / Nikolaus Wachsmann (ed.),

coherent group of victims and for a study of their subjection to the violent practice of camp sport this observation is a necessary prerequisite. Apart from left-wing political activists and politicians with Jewish roots, there were lawyers, merchants, cattle dealers, and other businessmen. Some Jews were persecuted as "race defilers" for their relations to non-Jewish partners, some had been denounced for criticism of the regime and others were simply considered "unwanted". Jewish prisoners' heterogeneous social profiles – their different personal backgrounds and political orientations, their different ages, their different physical conditions, and therefore also their varying levels of bodily fitness – influenced not only their attitude towards sport but also their ability to endure mistreatment and to develop coping strategies.[10]

This article examines the ways in which Jewish prisoners were subjected to excruciating forms of sport and it pays special attention to how these abuses were staged as both individual and collective mistreatment. When were Jews ordered to "do sport" and by whom? What kinds of exercises were they forced to perform and to what extent did these resemble traditional sporting activities? In which discursive context is camp sport to be situated and how did this practice of violence link to antisemitic stereotypes? Adopting the perspectives of the victims as preserved in testimonies and memoirs, I will, on a second level of analysis, investigate both their reactions to abusive camp sport and their self-determined ways of doing physical exercise. By basing this study largely on ego documents of former prisoners, it will be possible not only to discuss events never recorded in the official documentation of camp administrations but also to add to the analysis the valuable dimension of a history of experiences. The sources enable us to explore the agency of the persecuted and ask how they defended themselves both physically and intellectually against the SS and SA's violent attacks. To be sure, a rigid method of source criticism is needed to read the testimonies also as attempts to construct meaning after overwhelming experiences of essential powerlessness.

To open up new interpretations of camp sport as an antisemitic practice of violence the study will apply the analytical frameworks of race, body, and gender. How was camp sport used and abused to construct a racial "otherness" of Jewish inmates? Did this practice of violence facilitate the perpetrators' endeavour to "prove" that Jewish men were degenerate, weak, and effeminate? Tackling these questions, we must not forget that camp sport was in the first instance a physical sensation exposing bodies to torture and pain or shaping them to become a resource of resilience. How were bodies put on display and

Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany. The New Histories (London 2010), 17–43, on pp. 18–20.

10 See Kim Wünschmann, *Before Auschwitz. Jewish Prisoners in the Prewar Concentration Camps* (Cambridge, MA 2015).

how did they make the surface upon which the Nazi semantics of racism could effectively be inscribed? How could camp inmates strengthen their bodies and how important was it for the victims to try to maintain bodily composure and self-control in the face of brutal assaults? And finally, recognizing that sport is also a practice of "doing gender", it is important to question camp sport for the various manifestations of masculinity that it conditioned. What set of male ideals influenced the guards in their violent behaviour and how can we place these in relation with camp sport's function to emasculate Jewish men? How different were these manifestations from the masculine ideals of the Jewish inmates and how did Jews experience and assert their gendered identities in captivity?

A growing body of literature from the fields of Jewish studies and cultural history that includes works on Jews and sports can be utilised for this study. Paving the way for the "corporal turn" to arrive in Jewish studies, the by-now classical works of George L. Mosse and Sander Gilman established the categories of race, body, gender, and nation and stressed their relational character. They show that the supposed difference of Jews from the non-Jewish majority, which underpinned political and social inequality, was constructed also as a physical difference between "the Jewish body" and "the Aryan body". Modern masculinity needed its "countertype" and Jews came to symbolise it, not least in antisemitic caricatures featuring small, dark, and obese male figures with deformed body parts. Sport, on the other hand, became a means to cultivate and perfect masculinity, allowing men to train their willpower and control the body with all its impermissible passions.[11] More recent studies further investigate the close ties between sport, modernity, and nationalism by elaborating on the dual function of sport for Jews striving to achieve both self-confidence and social integration. As a source of assertiveness, honour, and pride, sport could foster an assured collective Jewish identity of which Zionism with its call to transform "the Jewish body" into that of a "muscular Jew" physically fit to bring about national revival certainly is the most adamant expression. For the non-Zionist majority of German Jews, sport assumed a key role to achieve and strengthen inclusion into the majority in society making them, so to speak, equal players on the national field.[12] In his edited volume aptly titled *Jews, Sports, and the Rites of Citizenship*, Jack Kugelmass brings the valuable

11 George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man. The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York 1996); Sander L. Gilman, *The Jew's Body* (New York 1991). See also Sharon Gillerman, "More Than Skin Deep. Histories of the Modern Jewish Body", in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 95:3 (2005), 470–478.

12 See Paul Yogi Mayer, "Egality – Equality. Jews and Sport in Germany", in *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* XXV (1980), 221–241; Michael Brenner / Gideon Reuveni (ed.), *Emancipation through Muscles. Jews and Sport in Europe* (London 2006); Ezra Mendelsohn, *Jews and the Sporting Life. Studies in Contemporary Jewry XXIII*, (Oxford 2008);

dimension of performance into the discussion. He cogently argues that as a spectacle "reframing the nation via minority inclusion" sport "is a vehicle for asserting their rights as citizens".[13] Processes of social mobility and collective integration are nowhere so "spectacularized" and "concretized via the body as in sport".[14] Viewing it through the lens of citizenship, achievements in sport become important rituals that won the Jewish minority public recognition and could serve as a powerful invalidation of racist stereotypes – at least for the moment of the event.

To conceive of camp sport as a ritual is a useful approach to the historical sources on the concentration camp, but before I will investigate them in all their complexity, a final interdisciplinary excursion is needed to round off the theoretical framework of this study. Ritual ceremonies are a traditional field of research in anthropology. Arnold van Gennep understood them as rites of passage that mark an individual's transition from one social status to another.[15] Building on his work, Victor Turner distinguished rituals of status elevation from rituals of status reversal, the latter he observed to be often accompanied by violent behaviour on the part of those who exercise ritual authority. Both van Gennep and Turner detected that, with their power to suspend the norms and values that regularly govern communal life, rituals of transition possessed an inherent liminality that manifests itself in the fluid middle stages of a passage.[16] Recently, the term liminality has been defined by Bjørn Thomassen as referring to "moments or periods of transition during which the normal limits of thought, self-understanding and behaviour are relaxed, opening the way to novelty and imagination, construction and destruction".[17] Taking the concept from anthropology "to the heart of social theory of the modern", he pleads for a wider application of liminality to investigate "how larger groups or entire societies undergo change and transition, how they live through the uncertainties of the in-between transition, and how they come out on the other side – if at all".[18] Following Thomassen's call, I propose to conceive of camp sport as a liminal state in the rituals and day-to-day workings of the Nazi

Yotam Hotam, " 'Re-orient-ation'. Sport and the Transformation of the Jewish Body and Identity", in *Israel Studies* 20:2 (2015), 53–75. See also Christiane Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und deutsche Bürger. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte 1800–1939* (Paderborn 1999).

13 Jack Kugelmass, "Why Sports?", in Jack Kugelmass, (ed.), *Jews, Sports and Rites of Citizenship* (Urbana, IL 2007), 3–30, on p. 19.

14 Ibid., p. 6.

15 Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage. A Classical Study of Cultural Celebrations* (Chicago, IL 1960 [Original 1909]).

16 Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York 2011 [Original 1969]), 166f.

17 Bjørn Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern. Living Through the In-Between* (Farnham, VT 2014), 1.

18 Ibid.

concentration camp. The aim of the exercise is to see whether the concept of liminality is useful to account for the ambiguities inherent in camp sport. At first glance, it seems fitting in particular for an investigation of the early concentration camps, sites in which the order of terror was not yet firmly established. As newly created loci of violence, the camps were instrumental in the process of social change of German society in the Nazi era. With Thomasson we can understand the camps as places of a "permanent liminality", which is a characteristic of dictatorships and their regimes of terror.[19] In 1933 and 1934, the camps' rituals of violence were in the making and sporting activities, too, manifested themselves in very different ways. Camp sport emerged as a threshold situation, perplexing and unsettling in its manifold appearances. As we shall see, camp sport was abusive and meant to enforce terror, but at times it was also a welcome physical exercise, a way to overcome monotony and a playful pastime. Let us keep this liminality in mind when we now turn to the empirical analysis. I will start with camp sport as a form of abuse, then analyse it as a means of self-assertion, and finally explore a borderline case and discuss the grey zones of sport, game, and play in concentration camps.

Camp Sport as a Form of Humiliation and Abuse

One of the Jewish prisoners held in the Brandenburg camp was Roman Praschker, a 33-year-old Polish pharmacist arrested in spring 1933 on the flimsy grounds of having spread "atrocity propaganda". After a dreadful odyssey through various sites of imprisonment, he arrived in Brandenburg in early September 1933, shortly after the camp's establishment. In his testimony, which was published in 1934 after his escape from Nazi Germany, Praschker testified of violent camp sport he and other Jews had to suffer. Intriguing is his account of the gruesome events that took place on one cold October day when the SS called up all Jewish inmates for *Judenexerzieren* – military drill to be exercised by the Jews:

We had to run, jump over blocks of wood, do leapfrogs (*Froschhüpfen*) until we collapsed. Through cane strokes we were driven on. There were also horse tourneys. We had to sit on the shoulders of a comrade and were forced to attack one another like bulls. One group had to knock over the other. We were not allowed to use our hands for this, only the heads! You can imagine that these head strikes were not soft. Our heads kept aching for days. Afterwards we had to strip completely naked in the biting cold, it was mid October 1933, and continue to perform running and jumping exercises. I collapsed, the only

19 Ibid., 14.

thing I felt were two stabs with a bayonet and then I lost consciousness. I woke up lying on the ground in a pool of blood, surrounded by SS men kicking and mocking me.[20]

What Praschker described is collective mistreatment staged as a series of sporting activities that in reality had very little if anything to do with sports. Jewish prisoners were forced into humiliating poses mimicking animals – frogs, horses, bulls. They had to move in ridiculous ways and attack and violate each other. The exercises' dehumanizing effects were further dramatised by the men's nakedness, which exposed their bodies to the cold climate and made them even more vulnerable to the blows and stabs inflicted by the SS. Ordering inferiors to strip naked is a powerful shaming ritual. Defenceless and exhausted, the prisoner passes out awakened only by a renewed sense of pain stemming from continuous mistreatment.

The horrors of Praschker's ordeal are multiplied in the agonies of his fellow Jewish inmates. The incident is an unsettling example of Jews being singled out as a group to perform excruciating exercises. As such, the mortifying spectacle can be read as a ritual of inversion of the self-confident public displays of Jewish bodies in modern Germany on various occasions. Sporting events enacted already in the Imperial era, for example by the League of Jewish Gymnasts, were highly aesthetic performances. Here, the interplay between the individual gymnast and the whole group was as important as the interaction between the performers and spectators. Daniel Wildmann found that gymnastic performances

> had the function of displaying and evaluating evidence. Each gymnast trained and formed his own body. At the same time, he trained with others in a larger unit. His individual progress was thus credited to both himself and the collective, to which he was subsequently duty-bound. […] – his individual body being the visual appendage of a Jewish collective body.[21]

Nakedness of certain key parts of the body was, as Wildmann stresses, an additional dramaturgical means carefully staged to reveal muscular strength and to enhance the overall aesthetic experience of the spectacle.[22]

In the concentration camp all aesthetics of sporting performances were destroyed. By mocking sport in the most violent form, the abusive spectacle was meant to discredit the cohesive strength of the Jewish collective body.

20 Roman Praschker, "Brandenburg", in *Konzentrationslager. Ein Appell an das Gewissen der Welt. Ein Buch der Greuel. Die Opfer klagen an* (Karlsbad 1934), 134–145, on p. 142. Translations throughout are my own.

21 Daniel Wildmann, "Jewish Gymnasts and Their Corporal Utopias in Imperial Germany", in Brenner / Reuveni, *Emancipation*, 27–43, on p. 32.

22 Ibid., 35.

Instead of being a proud group display, the humiliation ritual neutralised all evidence that Jews could work their bodies into athletic beauty. What is more, collective abuse blocked all flow of synergies between the individual group members and led to their isolation in the individual experience of bodily pain. Instead of combining their forces, Jewish inmates had to attack each other. To come back to Springmann's observation, the ritual of abusive camp sport was meant to highlight the difference between inmates and guards by violating the Jewish collective body and by exhibiting the Jews' supposed bodily failure and physical unfitness. Note that this form of producing difference was not acted out as a direct comparison between guards and prisoners. The SS did not train next to or compete against the prisoners. They watched on, gave orders, and inflicted pain. The spectacle that marked Jewish bodies as weak and degenerate at the same time branded and vilified them as enemies of the German people. It facilitated generic antisemitic attributions of Jews as the "others" or as the "countertype" of the "Aryan", as Mosse has termed it, and could then, in turn, enforce the racial stigma.[23]

When exactly sport turned into torment was impossible for the prisoners to foresee. But they understood, as Ludwig Bendix, another Jewish prisoner in Brandenburg did, that the SS men who initiated the abuse seemingly at random "wanted to distinguish themselves from others by causing us pain".[24] The significance of performing violent rituals in front of others was later also noted by Paul Martin Neurath, a Jewish prisoner from Austria imprisoned after the *Anschluss*. He found that "publicity seemed to play a large role in the amount of mistreatment or teasing the sentries accorded to the prisoners. Apparently the individual guard wanted to show off to their friends and comrades, sometimes to their superiors, and prove what tough guys they were."[25] The prisoners' observations corroborate historian Elissa Mailänder's findings on violence as a social practice. Mailänder, who analyses the everyday routine of female guards in wartime Majdanek, argues that acts of violence are not merely structural features that result automatically from the institutional context of the concentration camp or from Nazi racist ideology. Acts of public violence were spectacles that beyond the perpetrator and the victim involved a large group of onlookers, both inmates and guards, who reacted in different ways to what they saw. Frightened by the sight, overpowered inmates who stood by could experience public acts of violence as being "even more

23 Mosse, *Image*, 177–180. See also Daniel Wildmann, *Begehrte Körper. Konstruktion und Inszenierung des "arischen Männerkörpers" im "Dritten Reich"* (Würzburg 1998), 12f., 18–20.

24 Bendix, *Konzentrationslager*, I: 74.

25 Paul Martin Neurath, *The Society of Terror. Inside the Dachau and Buchenwald Concentration Camps*, Christian Fleck / Nico Stehr (ed.) (Boulder, CO 2005), 73.

traumatic than those suffered on their own body".[26] For the social relationships between the perpetrators, assuming the role of the self-proclaimed master of a violent spectacle meant assuming a leadership position. Analysed within the dynamic structure of power relations between various actors, excruciating camp sport thus emerges as a means for guards to stand out from their peers through what was thought to be particular tough behaviour. As Christopher Dillon has shown in his research on the early Dachau SS, toughness was a key feature of the guards' masculine ideals. Codified in the regulations issued by camp commandant Theodor Eicke in October 1933, the SS maxim of "tolerance means weakness" fostered aggression and sponsored violent conduct towards inmates. While sporting activities exercised by guards away from the prisoner compound built up their male comradeship, the men also had to prove themselves in dealing pitilessly with the enemy: "The guard who wanted to belong had to join in, beating and laughing along with the group."[27] Situations of violent camp sports were attempts to realise this masculine ideal of the tough guard.

The fact that the term *Judenexerzieren* was used for the collective abuse of Jewish prisoners is noteworthy as it points to another important characteristic of camp sport, namely its entanglement with military rituals. References to the training regimen of the army are ubiquitous in the sources, but how was drill exercised in a concentration camp distinct from drill in the total institution of the military? And what can we say about the antisemitic dimension of this ritual? A brief historical contextualisation shows that the emergence of sport in modern Germany had traditionally been very closely associated with the military. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn's *Turnvereine* aimed to mobilise the male population for the defence of the Fatherland. Founded in the early nineteenth century, these institutions were meant to harden young men's bodies making them fit for military service. In a society deeply influenced by Prussian militarism, army service determined social status. Drill was at the core of this form of socialisation and served as the rite of passage to convert recruits from civilians to soldiers. A fixed routine of physical exercise, marching, parading, shooting, etc. was practiced incessantly to become second nature to the soldier.[28] The cultivation of the highly respected military habitus sponsored bodily pride and sport was a means to achieve and maintain it. In the Weimar Republic, when German military power had been truncated to the

26 Elissa Mailänder, *Female SS Guards and Workaday Violence. The Majdanek Concentration Camp, 1942–1944*, (East Lansing, MI 2015), 236.

27 Christopher Dillon, "'Tolerance means Weakness'. The Dachau Concentration camp S.S., Militarism and Masculinity", in *Historical Research* 86:232 (2013), 373–389, on p. 378.

28 Ute Frevert, *Die kasernierte Nation. Militärdienst und Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland* (Munich 2001), 106f.

level of border protection, sport became a way to circumvent the restrictions imposed by the Versailles Treaty. Camouflaged as sport, military training was practiced in paramilitary formations including those of the Nazi movement.[29] With the takeover of power, this tradition informed the topographical setup of the first concentration camps, many of which featured a drill ground. The SA camp in Oranienburg, for example, had a training course with an obstacle wall. It served as the setting for propaganda photos meant to advertise the concentration camp as a place for re-education of prisoners who, so it was claimed, should find their way back into the envisioned *Volksgemeinschaft* through healthy physical exercise.[30] Pictures of Oranienburg inmates exercising on the drill grounds are among the most widely publicised images of early concentration camps. They are printed also in camp commandant Werner Schäfer's *Anti-Brown Book* published in 1934 to counteract the growing number of accounts that denounced SA violence in Oranienburg.[31] The effect that the talk of sports and military drill in the camp was supposed to have on the public was one of normalisation and of downplaying violence. Jane Caplan and Nikolaus Wachsmann have rightly stated that "by borrowing established disciplinary methods – from the prison, the army, and other institutions" the concentration camps could appear less exceptional than they really were.[32]

Camp sport mimicked military drill but, as Springmann demonstrates, it fulfilled very different functions. Whereas in the context of the army, drill should inscribe individuals into the fighting community by hardening their bodies for the battle and by instilling into them discipline and obedience, exercise in the concentration camps was disintegrative, humiliating, and violating.[33] When the SS and SA subjected Jewish prisoners to camp sport, the abuse functioned as a ritual of status reversal, meant to invalidate the claim that Jewish men lay to the military pride of the German nation. Like sport, military service served as a powerful rite of citizenship to German Jews. Jews had proven their patriotism and their sacrifice with their participation in the nation's wars. Attempts to establish and publish an antisemitic census portraying Jews as shirkers could not be supported by the facts. There were

29 Bahro, *SS-Sport*, 23–37.

30 See Paul Moore, "German Popular Opinion on the Nazi Concentration Camps, 1933–1939", PhD dissertation, (Birkbeck, University of London 2010), 41.

31 Werner Schäfer, *Konzentrationslager Oranienburg. Das Anti-Braunbuch über das erste deutsche Konzentrationslager* (Berlin 1934). See also Paul Moore, "'The Truth about the Concentration Camps'. Werner Schäfer's *Anti-Brown Book* and the Transnational Debate on Early Nazi Terror", in *German History* 34:4 (2016), 579–607.

32 Nikolaus Wachsmann, *KL. A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (New York 2015), 63. See also Jane Caplan, "Political Detention and the Origin of the Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany 1933–1935/36", in Neil Gregor (ed.), *Nazism, War and Genocide. Essays in the Honour of Jeremy Noakes* (Exeter 2005), 22–41, on p. 41.

33 Springmann, "'Moorolympiade'".

96,000 German Jews, a significant percentage of the male population, who fought in World War One. Of that number, 12,000 died and 35,000 received medals for their service. As proud citizens in uniform, German-Jewish men experienced military service and the adoption of the soldierly male ideal connected to it as "the last stage of acculturation".[34] In the all-male setting of the concentration camp, guards and prisoners competed for male ideals like that of the soldier. Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity helps to understand this fraught dynamic.[35] Conceptualizing gender as a relational category that contrasts dominant and marginalised positions within a hierarchy of power we can see the perpetrators' constructions of masculinity competing with those of the victims. For the guards, who mostly were too young to have served in the war, the presence of Jewish war veterans proud of their service was a severe threat to their own gendered identity as political soldiers of the new Germany. Jewish merchant Siegmund Herz, interned in Dachau in the autumn of 1933, was such a "fantastical creature". Highly decorated for heroic actions in the trenches he was at the same time admired and abused by the SS.[36] During the time of Herz's imprisonment in Dachau, the SS perpetrated the most brutal collective punishment in the early history of the camp – known as "the great Jew action". On 17 October 1933, Jewish inmates were led to the guards' drill ground located outside the prisoner compound. Staged as a reprisal for the alleged spreading of "atrocity propaganda", they were forced to do excruciating exercises all day long.[37] Like in other such spectacles, the body emerged as the crucial category around which race was organised.[38] Jewish prisoners' inevitable failure in accomplishing the impossible exercises were taken as a demonstration that Jews were unfit for military service. Hence, torture through camp sport was a means to publicly demonstrate the essential differences between the prisoners and their overseers. While it insulted Jews in their male pride and symbolically denied them participation in the prestigious national institution of the German military, it simultaneously enabled camp guards to identify themselves with the soldierly ideal – a powerful ritual of status reversal.

34 Gregory A. Caplan, "Germanizing the Jewish Male. Military Masculinity as the Last Stage of Acculturation", in Rainer Liedke / David Rechter (ed.), *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry* (Tübingen 2003), 159–184. For the number, see Avraham Barkai / Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Aufbruch und Zerstörung 1918–1945. Deutsch-Jüdische Geschichte der Neuzeit*, vol. 4 (Munich 2000), 17.

35 R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge 1995), 76–81.

36 See Dillon, " 'Tolerance' ", 388.

37 See Wiener Library, P.II.h.No. 985, Ferdinand Kapelner, Nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt meiner Erlebnisse in Dachau, 14 January 1934, 2; Horning, *Dachau*, 165–170.

38 Gillerman, "Skin Deep", 473.

Overpowered Jewish prisoners could do little to physically withstand the brutal antisemitic abuse, but some later testified of their intellectual efforts to rescue their dignity. Survivor memoirs are valuable sources that attest to the limits of the perpetrators' attempt to embody the manly "Aryan" ideal of the new Germany by elevating themselves over degraded Jewish inmates in particular. They also tell us how the liminality of camp sport was interpreted by the prisoners. Ludwig Bendix mocked the exercise drill that the Brandenburg SS conducted in front of a visiting delegation of Gestapo officers as a silly way of "playing soldiers": "During the whole ridiculous spectacle the inspectors kept a straight face and their serious posture only increased the contrast and the comic effect."[39] The fact that the prisoners perceived the contrast between the camp guards and the real drill masters of the army as being of such bizarre extent shows that for them, too, camp sport could serve as a ritual that effectively produced difference – difference between soldierly gentlemen and brutish Nazi louts.

But guards' difference from the masculine ideal of the soldier was revealed in more than just their ignorance of military customs. In the attempt to devalue their tormentors, the victims focused on the degenerate forms of their bodies and on their ridiculous if not outright pathological conduct. Depictions of camp perpetrators displaying a lack of discipline and self-indulgent excessive behaviour often carry a sexual undertone. Many inmates perceived the masters of the camp as prone to cruelty and sadism. Reproducing the homophobic moral norms of mainstream society, they castigated SA and SS men as homosexuals. SA Sturmführer Hans Stahlkopf, in charge of interrogations in Oranienburg, is a good example of the strategy. For Kurt Hiller, Stahlkopf was a "lumpish rather than dashing sadist petit bourgeois".[40] Satirically, Stefan Szende found that "[h]e did not live up to his auspicious name. Stahlkopf was only of medium height, almost small. He had a large curved nose that would have rather fitted a Jew's face. Military posture – negative, too. His walk was catlike and sneaky. His head hung forward on a short neck. His gaze wandered around restlessly, signalling fear." The image of a pervert emerges when Szende depicted Stahlkopf lying "half naked" on a sofa, a dog next to him while a prisoner was being tortured.[41] Max Fürst testified how the Oranienburg SA abused him to stage a boxing match:

39 Bendix, *Konzentrationslager*, I: 74.

40 Kurt Hiller, "Schutzhäftlinge 231", part XII, in *Die neue Weltbühne. Wochenzeitschrift für Politik, Kunst, Wirtschaft* (March 1935), 204.

41 Stefan Szende, *Zwischen Gewalt und Toleranz. Zeugnisse und Reflexionen eines Sozialisten* (Frankfurt a.M. 1975), 34, 41.

One of them hit me in the face and when I retreated, the one standing behind delivered a blow; when I tried to protect my face with my hands, the blows hit my stomach and took my breath away. Meanwhile, Stahlkopf, in his perverted spirits, had himself shaved by a prisoner.[42]

Testimonies of victims devaluating their tormentors powerfully attest to the liminality of camp sport that could morph into a private sadistic spectacle put on to please the master of the concentration camp, whom its victim, in turn, perceived as a sexual pervert.

Camp Sport as a Means of Self-Assertion and Defiance

An important characteristic of the liminality of camp sport is the way sport could turn from humiliation into an act of defiance. To thwart the perpetrators' attempts to verify their antisemitic stereotypes, Jewish prisoners tried to withstand the torment of forced exercises and to bear up against the pain. Dachau survivor Hugo Burkhard remembered how it was vital to him and his co-religionists, "not to show any weakness in the presence the SS, to prove that Jewish prisoners, too, are able to endure the exertions and that the cowardice often attributed to us does not exist. We march in goose-step past the commandant's office and sang like never before".[43] In this collective act of defiance, Jews display their bodies with pride in a strong military posture. They are self-confidently moving forward with determination and the singing further strengthens their sense of unity.

As a response to the growing antisemitism of the Weimar Republic, sport had emerged as a means of self-defence for Jews. Founded as a sports association in 1925, the defence unit of the Reich Federation of Jewish Front Soldiers (RJF) trained its members in martial arts such as boxing, judo, and wrestling. Its name, *Schild* (shield), symbolised the organisation's "soldierly bearing and readiness to defend ourselves against those who hold us in contempt and antisemites".[44] Similar to the Zionists and their propagation of the

42 Max Fürst, *Talisman Scheherezade. Die schwierigen Zwanziger Jahre* (Munich 1976), 406.

43 Hugo Burkhard, *Tanz mal Jude! Von Dachau bis Shanghai. Meine Erlebnisse in den Konzentrationslagern Dachau – Buchenwald – Ghetto Shanghai, 1933–1946* (Nuremberg 1967), 46.

44 Hajo Bernett, *Der jüdische Sport im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland 1933–1938* (Cologne 1978), 50, quoted in Gideon Reuveni, "Sports and the Militarization of Jewish Society", in Brenner / Reuveni, *Emancipation*, 50. See also Lorenz Pfeiffer / Henry Wahlig, "Ein Treffpunkt der Gemeinde. Sport im deutsch-jüdischen Sozialleben vor und nach 1933", in Dan Diner et al. (ed.), *Deutsche Zeiten. Geschichte und Lebenswelt* (Göttingen 2012), 141–159, on p. 147.

ideal of the "muscular Jew", Jewish war veterans cultivated physical strength as a value to complement traditional virtues of the Jewish man such as intellectual excellence, erudition and social responsibility. To counter the idea of Jews as physically weak, the aim of the *Schild*, however, was not the strengthening of the community of settler pioneers in Palestine, but the reinforcement of Jewish life in Germany by overcoming their supposed "unheroic conduct".[45]

To be sure, the practice of sport and the promotion of physical fitness were more than a reaction to antisemitism. For German Jews in general and for those interned in the early concentration camps in particular, it was also a means of self-expression and personal achievement. For the political activists among them, exercise was a way to aspire to the masculine ideal of the revolutionary fighter for the class struggle. Styling themselves as tough, resilient and self-controlled even under the extreme physical and mental duress of torture, they strove to manifest their anti-fascist identity. The functionary of the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP) Stefan Szende, for example, emphasised that working for the socialist cause was similar to fighting a "war", the activist being the "soldier". Operating underground, one had to always anticipate arrest and torture. To withstand the camp was only possible "because I had trained my mental-psychological apparatus for months to face torture".[46] Sports, too, became for him a powerful means of self-assertion. Szende remembered how an SS man in the Columbia-Haus concentration camp in Berlin, where he was held in late 1933, ordered him to do knee bends. Despite the injuries he had suffered while tortured, he performed these gymnastic exercises in "a relatively good physical condition". When he had counted 135 knee bends – a tremendous achievement for his aching body – "it was getting boring or too silly for the SS man. He left".[47] This scene is a good example for sport as a liminal state in the violent rituals of the concentration camp. Obviously, Szende's tormentor lost interest in the spectacle when his victim performed well and thereby disappointed the expectation of watching a Jew break down and fail. As his former fellow prisoner Max Fürst reported, Szende was a preferred victim for violent abuse and humiliation. In Oranienburg, his ill-treatment became an obsession for SA man Stahlkopf. To him, Szende's academic title served as a special pretext for abuse. As Fürst testified, " 'The Jewish doctor' suffered horrible pain, his body black from bruises and in places studded by open wounds".[48] Clearly, situations in which Szende could assert himself against the terror of being abused as a "Jewish intellectual" were triumphs in his struggle to combat victimisation.

45 Daniel Boyarin, *Unheroic Conduct. The Rise of Heterosexuality and the Invention of the Jewish Man* (Berkeley, CA 1997).
46 Szende, *Gewalt*, 52.
47 Ibid., 30.
48 Fürst, *Talisman*, 405.

Szende's SAP comrade Erich Drucker, too, emphasised his physical strength in the face of violent oppression. In his prison cell in Columbia-Haus the Jewish activist kept "working out" to toughen up his body. Drucker, too, described an encounter with an SS man that ended unexpectedly:

> I paced up and down my cell: five steps to the door, two steps to the left, five steps to the window, two steps to the right. This way I walked a few kilometres every day. The SS forced the prisoners to do exercises until they dropped. I trained myself. One day, a SS man was watching me through the peephole. He unlocked the door: "Who has ordered you to do this?" – "No one" – "You have become soft then, haven't you?" – "On the contrary, I want to become tough and even tougher" – "This is good. This cannot do you any harm." I had used his terminology.[49]

Watching the prisoner exercising in his cell, the guard saw Drucker as unusual because of his self-determined sporting activity. While he first tried to mock the Jewish inmate, he then acknowledged his efforts. This situation, too, is liminal and could have turned into abuse at any moment. But when the courageous prisoner chose to confront the powerful guard referring to the SS's own discourse of toughness, the tension suddenly resolved and Drucker even earned recognition. In the process, antisemitic stereotypes of the effeminate and physically unfit Jew were invalidated in a counter-ritual to those of antisemitic violence.

Attitudes to the body that emerge from Drucker and Szende's accounts are rooted in a socialist discourse that Jewish men who joined the ranks of left-wing movements had internalised. As Gideon Reuveni demonstrates, socialists, like Zionists, "turned the body into a political variable".[50] The male ideal of the revolutionary should shape not only their thinking but also their attempts to cultivate physical strength. Werner Hirsch, Ernst Thälmann's right hand man who had been captured together with the leader of the German Communist Party (KPD) in early March 1933, conceived of himself as a one of those "steely, fearless front soldiers of the political class struggle" who remained unbroken and found his source of strength to withstand torture in the "bond with the working class, with the revolutionary movement".[51] When these Jewish political prisoners depicted torture as experienced with their own

49 LBIA, MM18, Erich Drucker, *Mein letztes Kapitel zur Familienchronik meines Großvaters* (ca. 1969), 24–26.

50 Reuveni, "Sports", 52.

51 Werner Hirsch, *Hinter Stacheldraht und Gitter. Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen in den Konzentrationslagern Hitler-Deutschlands* (Zurich 1934), 4. On masculinity in the German communist movement, see Eric D. Weitz, *Creating German Communism, 1880–1990. From Popular Protests to Socialist State* (Princeton, NJ 1997), 188–232. I thank Christopher Dillon for pointing me to this study.

bodies, they stressed self-control even under the greatest pressure. Drucker emphasised that he "should be able to bear" 25 or even 50 lashes. If he would have been forced to commit suicide, it would be a conscious and calculated act and "I would rather die than have to reveal something".[52] Suffering was seemingly easier to bear when it could be understood as embedded in a higher logic of the anti-fascist class struggle. In their testimonies, the dignity they lost through abusive humiliation could be restored.

A very different depiction of the body is to be found in Ludwig Bendix's memoir. Coming from a bourgeois-liberal background, the jurist, who at the time of his first camp imprisonment was 56 years old, makes no secret of his physical unfitness. In detail, he wrote about his "extreme short-sightedness (minus fifteen dioptres) and a whole series of other physical ailments (flat feet, shortness of breath, trigger finger, an arm curved by a former fracture, left-handedness and short-sightedness)".[53] All these bodily disadvantages made both camp sport and forced labour a torture for him. Bendix described how his obese body was sweating and aching, how he was short of breath, and how he quickly became the guards' favourite victim for maltreatment.[54] The self-image that emerges from his testimony is that of a man for whom bodily fitness ranked very low in his set of values. Bendix excelled in the intellectual realm and not in the physical realm. He attracted the attention of his tormentors already upon arrival in the camp with heavy luggage including a typewriter. His rationality, wit, and the moral outrage about camp terror are manifestations of the bourgeois male ideal of the educated and cultivated citizen. Sport had not played a role in his life so far, and although the abusive ritual of camp sport caused him pain, it did not threaten his dignity and self-esteem. Quite the contrary, the fact that Bendix was able to openly account for his physical shortcomings shows that for him the body was not the all-important entity through which to construct his identity.

Sport, Game, and Play in the Concentration Camps – A Case Study

I started my investigation of camp sport as a liminal state within the rituals of the concentration camp with examples in which spectacles that remotely resemble sporting activities were staged to abuse Jewish prisoners. I shall end with a case study from the other end of the spectrum and examine a situation of play between SS men and a Jewish prisoner in the Sonnenburg camp in Prussia. But before I proceed with the analysis, let us first reflect more

52 Drucker, *Kapitel*, 24, 26.
53 Bendix, *Konzentrationslager*, I: 42.
54 Ibid., I: 54f., 77.

generally about the relationship between sport and play. The interrelations of the two activities have been investigated in the framework of the social theory of sport. Play theorist Brian Sutton-Smith pointed out that "[b]oth play and sport are protean phenomena. […] We cannot neatly define the character of boundaries between the two terms".[55] The name of the most famous international sporting event of modern times, the Olympic Games, expresses this close entanglement. Scholars who distinguish the relationship between sport and play do so through a set of correlating features, in which play is seen as more private, spontaneous, and enacted in the framework of family or *Gemeinschaft* (community), while sport is mostly public, organised, and occurring in the realm of state and *Gesellschaft* (society).[56] Some researchers find that the concept of play is associated rather with non-violence while they associate violence with sport.[57] Others understand that as a purposeless activity pursued for its own sake, "play is a realm of freedom".[58] With Victor Turner we can see play as a ritual of anti-structure disrupting the routine of the ordinary. Also important is Allan Guttmann's observation that "[m]oments of play appear unpredictably in the most unlikely places, even upon the gallows, and the most ecstatic flights of child's play can suddenly droop into dull compulsion".[59] Given this volatile and unpredictable character of play, which can end as suddenly as it occurred, it should probably not surprise us that the concentration camp, too, could be one of these places.

To find a scene of play between guards and a prisoner captured in the memoir of a camp survivor is unusual. Like all testimonies that venture into the grey zones of social interactions between tormentors and their victims, it is both valuable and perplexing. Because these depictions seem to betray our expectation of the clear-cut order of terror, historians sometimes dismiss them. Taking them seriously, however, is worth the effort for it allows us to get to the grounds of the complex and bewildering reality of the concentration camps, in which the binary divide between all-powerful guards and overpowered inmates could at times blur and become less absolute. With his reflections on the role of functionary prisoners who operated at the liminal zone between the by-no-means-static blocs of victims and perpetrators,

55 Brian Sutton-Smith, "The Idealization of Play. The Relationship Between Play and Sport", in C. Roger Rees / Andrew W. Miracle (ed.), *Sport and Social Theory* (Champaign, IL 1986), 85–102, on p. 85.

56 Ibid., 86.

57 Helen B. Schwartzman, *Transformations. The Anthropology of Children's Play* (New York 1978), quoted in Sutton-Smith, "Idealization of Play", 91.

58 Allen Guttmann, *From Ritual to Record. The Nature of Modern Sports* (New York 1978), 3.

59 Ibid., 13.

Primo Levi was among the first to explore the complexities of social life in the concentration camp.[60] To probe the liminality inherent in the camp's rituals an unusual account of play such as Hans Ullmann's merits attention.

Ullmann was the owner of a paper factory in Altkarbe (today Stare Kurowo, Poland). On the pretext of wage disputes with his workers, the 25-year-old had been arrested together with his father and brother. The three Jewish men were brought to Sonnenburg concentration camp in September 1933. In his testimony, Ullmann told of tormenting camp sport, but he also told of playing the game of *Schinkenklopfen* (literally: "beating the ham"). This game, he wrote, "is normally played by a group of boys. One of them has to bend down and has his eyes closed". Blindfolded, he then has to identify the person hitting him on the behind. Ullmann described how "once a group of SS men came into my cell and said they wanted to play *Schinkenklopfen* with me. I had to bend down and of course my guesses were never correct. Eventually, I put an end to the thing – after all this was officially a game – and I told them that I had to go to the toilet. The SS men took it with good humour."[61] Despite its brevity, the reported scene clearly features the above-outlined characteristics of play: it was spontaneous, purposeless, and acted out in a non-public space. Although the prisoner played along somewhat unwillingly, the game still offered him a brief moment of respite from the regime of camp violence. "Good humour" replaced the terror in the usual conduct of the SS men. Most importantly, it happened, as Sutton-Smith observes with recourse to the book *The Well-Played Game*, that "anyone can stop the course of the game if they are unsatisfied with its direction".[62] The liminality of the scene thus lies in the momentary reversal of the power dynamics of the concentration camp. In the exceptional situation we see prisoner and guards engaging in a kind of comradely play with the prisoner being the one who ends it when he gets tired of it. What is more, Ullmann narrated the scene as a non-violent one. In the play, he let those who normally dominate him touch his body, in fact one of the most sensitive parts of his body, his behind, in a playful manner without harm being done to him, as if he had the power to tame beasts. He assumed an almost magical mastery of the ritual that is further underlined by his capability to end it in mutual consent. The urge to urinate, which concentration camp inmates usually experienced as a terrible loss of control over the body triggered by an equally uncontrollable fear, emerges here as the perfect excuse to stop playing. But not only did a weakness become a strength. As Ullmann's retreat was fully and happily accepted by the guards, the one who normally

60 See Primo Levi, "The Grey Zone", in Id., *The Drowned and the Saved* (London 1988), 22f.

61 Hans Ullmann, "Das Konzentrationslager Sonnenburg, eingeleitet und kommentiert von Kaspar Nürnberg", in *Dachauer Hefte* 13 (1997), 76–91, on p. 88.

62 Sutton-Smith, "Idealization of Play", 92.

was the overpowered victim became the sovereign actor. For the guards, too, the play allowed a role release. While they were usually under pressure to prove their manliness through violent behaviour towards the inmates, they here seem to fall back into a mode of boyish playfulness. To be sure, this game had strict boundaries. The SS men would have never let it get to a situation in which the prisoner hit them on the behind. But still, they were relaxed enough to let him end the spectacle, which for the extreme situation of the concentration camp makes for a remarkable turn.

We know of no other instances of *Schinkenklopfen* being played between prisoners and guards in the concentration camps. Bruno Bettelheim later witnessed *Schinkenklopfen* in Buchenwald and Hermann Langbein observed it in Auschwitz, but in both instances the game was played exclusively among prisoners. It was mostly performed by younger men thereby attesting to its character as a "boy scouts game".[63] Indeed, age plays a crucial role in interactions between prisoners and guards. Ullmann's age of 25 years meant that he was probably not much older than the Sonnenburg SS men – a fact which surely facilitated the ritual of their mutual role reversals. The play scene constitutes an exception in the camp experience of Hans Ullmann who, like his brother and father, was severely mistreated in Sonnenburg. In his testimony, the Jewish former prisoner gave account of his ordeals and revealed that "once I was also sexually abused by an SS man".[64] A sexual dimension of sadomasochistic play also resonates in *Schinkenklopfen* which, when played among inmates, can be seen, as Christian Fleck and Albert Müller have, as hinting at homosexual acts. However, in the interpretation of Ullmann's case the important point seems to me not to lie in the psychosexual function that the play could fulfil but rather in the inherent dynamics of role release. That the one who was usually the victim of abuse could in very rare occasion become the master of a game is an unpredictable turn in the practice of violence and it testifies in a striking fashion to the highly adverse nature of the concentration camp and its rituals. As an example for an extreme form of prisoner-guard interaction it thus needs to be included in a study that probes the liminality of these rituals.

63 Christian Fleck, Albert Müller, "Bruno Bettelheim (1903–1990) und die Konzentrationslager", in Amalia Barboza / Christoph Henning (ed.), *Deutsch-jüdische Wissenschaftsschicksale. Studien über Identitätskonstruktionen in der Sozialwissenschaft* (Bielefeld 2006), 180–231, on pp. 210f.

64 Ullmann, "Konzentrationslager", 85.

Concluding Remarks

This article has analysed sport in the Nazi concentration camp as a highly ambiguous activity especially for Jewish prisoners. A broad spectrum of cases from different early camps explored its various manifestations. We have seen how camp sport was a form of violent abuse of Jewish prisoners meant to collectively brand them as a racially stigmatised group. As rituals of status reversal, these ill-treatments mimicking sport and drill – mockingly termed *Judenexerzieren* – should undo the social and political equality that German Jews had sought to prove in rites of citizenship proudly displaying fit, athletic, and well-formed bodies at sporting events or through military service and combat sacrifice. At the cost of extreme bodily harm, the camps' dramatic spectacles confirmed generic antisemitic stereotypes held by the perpetrators. At the same time, they allowed SS and SA men to neutralise the threats posed to their own fragile masculinity by Jewish war veterans and other male prisoners who did not conform to the Nazi image of the effeminate, frail, and shirking Jew. Attesting to its liminal character, sport was also practised as a means of defence and defiance on the part of the inmates, for whom it functioned as a weapon to effectively invalidate antisemitism. Exercise in the camp was a way of reproducing male ideals dominant in the labour movement that are comprised of images of manhood bound to physical strength, hardiness, resilience, and an unconditional commitment to the political cause. In interactions between guards and prisoners, sport could become a way to experience recognition and respect, to combat victimhood and to regain agency and sovereignty. The role release conditioned by these rituals of anti-structure that suddenly broke with the camp's routine of violence can be most strikingly observed in a situation of play as it occurred in the Sonnenburg concentration camp. This noteworthy example stretches the liminality of camp rituals to the most extreme and thereby proves its usefulness as a theoretical concept that can comprehensively account for the great ambiguities inherent in sport and play in the concentration camp.

The broad spectrum of cases tells us that when speaking of sport in the Nazi concentration camp, we are dealing with a highly malleable activity. Framing it as a liminal state in the rituals of the camps helps us to grasp its dynamic character and its many different manifestations that would otherwise remain perplexing phenomena standing in isolation. What is more, the concept of liminality is valuable to grasp the diverse character of the group of Jewish prisoners, who came from different backgrounds, made different experiences and reacted in different ways to camp sport. All in all, these findings challenge a common temptation to reduce prisoners to passive victims, tortured by their superiors and merely waiting for death like the *Muselmann*. Showing their reactions to the camps' adverse climate of

violence as well as their ambiguous behaviours ultimately restores their dignity as human beings, the dignity that the Nazi regime of terror tried to strip them of.

Veronika Springmann

"He liked us, because we were good athletes, good workers"

Productive Bodies in Nazi Concentration Camps*

SS-Hauptsturmführer Georg Bachmayer was the compound leader (*Schutzhaftlagerführer*) of the Mauthausen concentration camp from January 1939 onwards.[1] Considered a sadist by many of the survivors – someone who derived satisfaction from personally torturing or killing prisoners – he was extremely brutal in his treatment of inmates, yet there is evidence that in certain cases Bachmayer tempered his cruelty.

Manuel Garcia-Barrado, a Spanish Republican[2] who fought in the Spanish Civil War and was a survivor of Mauthausen, remembers that the notorious Georg Bachmayer granted privileges to him and some of his fellow Spanish prisoners: "He liked us [the Spanish inmates], because we were good athletes, good workers."[3] After the Franquist victory, Garcia-Barrado had fled to France together with fellow Republican fighters and had been interned in Campu de Gure. After the German victory in France, he was eventually sent to Mauthausen, again as a member of larger group of Spanish Republicans. "Red

* I would like to thank Levke Harders, Timothy Messen, Ulrich Prehn, and Anke Hilbrenner for discussion and comments.

1 Gregor Holzinger, "Georg Bachmayer", in Gregor Holzinger (ed.), *Die zweite Reihe: Täterbiographien aus dem Konzentrationslager Mauthausen* (Vienna 2016), 51–56; see also Georg Bachmayer's biography, Bundesarchiv Berlin, SS-Offiziersakten, Bachmayer Georg, 15.05.1913. Bachmayer took his own life 8 or 9 May 1945, see Holzinger, "Bachmayer", 55.

2 Christian Dürr, "Vom Bürgerkrieg ins KZ: Die Deportationen republikanischer Spanier in das KZ Mauthausen", in *Informationen: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift des Studienkreis Deutscher Widerstand 1933–1945* 83 (2016), 25–29.

3 German: "Er mochte uns, weil wir gute Sportler, gute Arbeiter waren." This interview was conducted as part of the Mauthausen Survivors Documentation Project. See Helga Amersberger et al., "'Mauthausen' im Gedächtnis der Überlebenden", in Bundesministerium für Inneres (ed.), *Das Gedächtnis von Mauthausen* (Vienna 2004), 104–121. Archiv der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen (AMM) 0H/ZPI/144, interview by Mercedes Villanova with Manuel Garcia-Barrado, conducted on 16 Nov. 2002. On sports in Mauthausen, Doriane Gomet, "Destructive Practices, Life-Saving Practices: Corporal Activities in Mauthausen (1938–1945)", in *Aloma* 32 (2014), 33–45.For the history of Mauthausen concentration camp, see Florian Freund, "Mauthausen", in Wolfgang Benz / Barbara Distel (ed.), *Orte des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager,* Bd. 4 (Munich 2006).

Spaniards", as they were called, were a community held together by political beliefs and a common experience. For the most part, the Reich sent Spaniards to Mauthausen and the surrounding camps (Gusen).[4] Garcia-Barrado stayed in Mauthausen after the liberation of the camp, married and had two sons. Moreover, he played on the football team ASKÖ Mauthausen and became an honorary member of the postwar community of there. From 1970 until 1982, he was the head of the Mauthausen memorial.

In recalling his experience, Garcia-Barrado explained that although the SS guards had initially treated the Spanish inmates with great brutality, this changed over time as the Spaniards became known for their hard work and especially their athleticism. Garcia-Barrado said that it was Bachmayer in particular who spared the Spanish inmates abuse and violence because of their physical capabilities.

In this chapter I will consider the close interrelationship between work and sport, especially football, in the Nazi concentration camp Mauthausen. First, I will describe the importance of labour in the camp and its evolution over time, before detailing the conditions under which football was permitted and even encouraged. Moreover, the meaning of football for the prisoners who played it will be explored. In conclusion, it will be argued that football cannot be seen as simply incidental to labour in camp; on the contrary, it was an extension of labour. The study of football in Mauthausen reveals the importance of the body and of masculinity, as women did not play football. Furthermore, it allows us to better understand relationships and hierarchies within the camp. Finally, it shows how different the conditions could be for various prisoners. Not least because only inmates who performed particularly valuable labour were permitted to play football. Furthermore, if inmates proved themselves to be good football players, they might also get transferred to a better and more lenient *Arbeitskommando* (labour detachment). Using the group of Spanish prisoners in Mauthausen concentration camp as an example, and with a particular focus on the testimony of the survivor Manuel Garcia-Barrado, I will take a closer look at the link between sport and labour.

Mauthausen Concentration Camp as a Place of Violence and Labour

Established in August 1938 after the *Anschluss* of Austria, Mauthausen was a concentration camp with particularly harsh conditions. It was classified as a Level III (*Stufe III*) camp, especially designed for "extermination through labour". Conditions in Mauthausen were considered extraordinarily hard to

4 David Wingeate Pike, *Spaniards in the Holocaust: Mauthausen, the Horror and the Danube* (New York 2000); Christian Dürr, "Vom Bürgerkrieg ins KZ", 25–29.

bear, even by concentration camp standards. Inmates were subject to malnutrition, torture and abuse by the guards and *kapos*, and exceptionally hard labour. They had to work in granite quarries operated by an SS-owned company called DEST (Deutsche Erd- und Steinwerke GmbH or German Earth and Stone Works Company).[5] In their testimonies, former Mauthausen inmates frequently discuss the quarry work done in the camp. This work is remembered as having been not only physically exhausting, but also as having put the inmates at frequent risk of injuries. One of the most dangerous places was the *Todesstiege* (stairs of death), where prisoners had to carry granite blocks up 186 stairs to the top of the quarry. Many died on those stairs because of accidents.

Another notorious place of fear and death was the *Appellplatz*, where roll was called in Mauthausen as well as in other concentration camps. It was the place for regular abuse and torture of the inmates by the SS and where Georg Bachmayer displayed his exceptional cruelty towards the inmates. A common method of suicide was to deliberately run into the electric fences (*in die Drähte gehen*), as the former Czech inmate Milos Vitek remembered: "Bachmayer assured us, that nobody ever left Mauthausen alive. The only way out was through the chimney and that we might as well go into the electric fences right away."[6] Many inmates singled out *Schutzhaftlagerführer* Georg Bachmayer for his brutality.[7] However, it seems that he showed favour to those whose physical strength was particularly apparent.

A decisive condition of survival was the inmates' ability to preserve physical strength. At the same time the concentration camp paradoxically tried to break this strength. Jean Ámery describes this very struggle: "You had to be strong, but you were weakened systematically."[8] Even in Nazi Germany's early concentration camps, physical work was already a major component of inmate life.[9] Initially, the point was to torment and humiliate inmates with this work, which was always exhausting. For instance, Milos Vitek remembers:

5 Bertrand Perz, "'Vernichtung durch Arbeit im KZ Mauthausen' (Lager der Stufe III) 1938–1945", in Hermann Kaienburg (ed.), *Nationalsozialistische Konzentrationslager 1933–1945: Die Veränderung der Existenzbedingungen* (Berlin 2010), 89–104.

6 German: "Bachmayer versicherte uns, daß Mauthausen noch niemand lebendig verlassen hat, daß der einzige Weg von hier aus durch den Kamin führt und daß wir besser daran täten, gleich 'in die Drähte' zu gehen." AMM, Milos Vitek, V/03/1.

7 Gregor Holzinger, "Georg Bachmayer", in Id. (ed.), *Die zweite Reihe: Täterbiografien aus dem Konzentrationslager Mauthausen* (Vienna 2016), 51–55.

8 Jean Améry, "An den Grenzen des Geistes", in id., *Jenseits von Schuld und Sühne, Bewältigungsversuche eines Überwältigten* (Stuttgart 1980), 18–45, on p. 31.

9 Jens-Christian Wagner, "Work and Extermination in the Concentration Camps", in Jane Caplan / Nikolaus Wachsmann (ed.), *Concentration Camps in Nazi Germany* (New York 2010), 127–148.

"My work detail was the quarry *Wiener Graben* or simply the quarry, as we called it. It was a work assignment deemed to ruin even the strongest in a short amount of time."[10]

Next to the forced labour there was another abusive bodily practice prevalent in the memories of the inmates: "There was a whistle and a shouted command coming from the *Appellplatz*: All Czechs line up! Gym session […] Left, left, down, up. Dogs barking. […] After the gym session for Czech inmates there were always several dead bodies remaining at the *Apellplatz*."[11]

Frantisek Piper, another inmate of Mauthausen concentration camp described the role of sports as an instrument of torture in the daily routine of concentration camp life. Similar descriptions can be found in numerous testimonies of male survivors. The different forms of such "movement on command" were labeled variously as "sports", "exercise", or "punitive drill" (*Strafexerzieren*). The frequency of such descriptions suggests that these violent practices represented a crucial element of terror in the daily experiences and perceptions of the inmates.[12]

Labour and sport were important topics within National Socialist ideology. They were crucial elements in the construction and representation of gendered ideals of "Aryan" masculinity.[13] Closely linked to work as well as to sport is the concept of physical strength. It is striking, that both practices were used to abuse inmates in concentration camps.

But the situation changed over the course of 1942, as labour in concentration camps took on new functions.[14] After Germany's failure to achieve a *blitzkrieg* victory over the Soviet Army in 1941, labour became a scarce

10 AMM, Milos Vitek, V/03/01, 8.

11 AMM, Frantisek Spita, V/3/105.

12 For sport as a practice of violence, see Kim Wünschmann, *Judenexerzieren:* The Role of "Sport" for Constructions of Race, Body, and Gender in the Concentration Camps, in this volume, p. 153–174; and further, Veronika Springmann, "Das ist die Moorolympiade. 'Lagersport' als Differenzproduktion in Konzentrationslagern", in Falk Bretschneider et al. (ed.), *Personal und Insassen von Totalen Institutionen – zwischen Konfrontation und Verflechtung* (Leipzig 2011), 381–394; Veronika Springmann. "Sport als Praxis der Gewalt in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern: Eine Begriffsbestimmung", in Wojtek Lenarzyrk (ed.), *Andreas Mix, Johannes Schwartz und Veronika Springmann, KZ Verbrechen: Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager und ihrer Erinnerung* (Berlin 2007), 89–102.

13 Marc Buggeln/Michael Wildt (ed.), *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus* (Munich 2014); Daniel Wildmann, *Begehrte Körper: Konstruktion und Inszenierung des "arischen" Männerkörpers im "Dritten Reich"* (Zurich 1998); Jan Kleinmanns, "Betriebssport in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus: Alltagsgeschichtliche Aspekte betrieblicher Gesundheitsführung vor dem Zeiten Weltkrieg", in Frank Becker/Ralf Schäfer (ed.), *Sport und Nationalsozialismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus* (Göttingen 2016), 67–85.

14 Marc Buggeln, *Arbeit & Gewalt* (Göttingen 2009), 35–37; Karin Orth, *Das System der Konzentrationslager: Eine politische Organisationsgeschichte* (Hamburg 1999), 162–164.

resource.[15] The war economy was now to be centrally managed by the recently created Reich Ministry of Armaments and Munitions (*Reichsministerium für Bewaffnung und Munition*). In March 1942, Albert Speer, Minister of Armaments and Munitions since February 1942, and Heinrich Himmler as head of the SS, decided that concentration camp inmates would be deployed in the armaments industry. While this turned forced labour into a source of productive labour, this decision certainly did not contradict the general policy of extermination through labour.[16] Although camp labour would now be exploited in order to bolster Germany's war economy, inmate living conditions remained as dire as before, not least in terms of the inadequate quantity of food provided.[17]

Were there any improvements in quality of life or did the work just become more significant? Speer negotiated with the SS about increasing the use of camp labour in the armaments industry. Oswald Pohl, head of the SS Economic and Administrative Main Office (*SS-Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungshauptamt* or WVHA), had been striving since the early months of 1942 to strengthen the economic output of the concentration camp system, increasingly directing inmate labour towards productive activities. The significance of inmate labour underwent a major shift, as demonstrated by the crucial reassignment of jurisdictions. Specifically, the concentration camps were reassigned on 3 March 1942 to the WVHA.[18] And on 16 March 1942, the Concentration Camps Inspectorate (*Inspektion der Konzentrationslager* or IKL) was also incorporated into the WVHA, as its Office Group D (*Amtsgruppe D*); this was headed by Richard Glücks, previously head of the IKL.[19]

However, even though inmate labour became increasingly important for the war economy, this did not translate into better treatment for the inmates. In fact, their living conditions worsened at first as their labour was recklessly

15 Marc Buggeln / Michael Wildt, "Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus", in *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus* (Munich 2014); S. IX–XXXVII, p. XXIV.

16 See for example, Jens-Christian Wagner, "Das Außenlagersystem des KL Mittelbau-Dora", in Ulrich Herbert et al. (ed.), *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung ind Struktur,* Bd. II, 707–279, on p. 720.

17 See also Marc Buggeln, *Arbeit & Gewalt* (Göttingen 2009).

18 Johannes Tuchel, *Die Inspektion der Konzentrationslager 1938–1945: Das System des Terrors* (Berlin 1994), 88.

19 See Buggeln, *Arbeit & Gewalt*, 36–38; Jan Eric Schulte, *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS: Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945* (Paderborn 2001); Jan Erik Schulte, "Das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt und die Expansion des KZ-Systems", in Wolfgang Benz / Barbara Distel (ed.), *Der Ort des Terrors: Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager. Band 1. Die Organisation des Terrors* (Munich 2005), 141–155; Hermann Kaienburg, "Zwangsarbeit: KZ und Wirtschaft im Zweiten Weltkrieg", in Benz / Distel, *Der Ort des Terrors*, 179–194; Johannes Tuchel, *Konzentrationslager: Organisationsgeschichte und Funktion der "Inspektion der Konzentrationslager" 1934–1938* (Boppard 1991), 89.

exploited. According to Pohl's orders in 1942, their work was to be "exhausting" and their working hours were "not bound to any limits".[20] This resulted in high mortality rates, which conflicted with the planning targets of Himmler and Pohl. The need for camp labour in the armaments industry was constantly growing. Therefore, the SS tried to increase productivity by improving the living conditions for concentration camp inmates after a critical number of inmates died. This reorientation of inmate life in the concentration camps had various direct consequences, including the introduction of a day of rest for inmates on Sundays, as specified in an order issued on 15 April 1942 by Rudolf Höss, commandant of the Auschwitz concentration and extermination camp.[21] This allowed them at least a minimum of recuperation time.

The Function of Privilege within the Camp

In order to further enhance work performance, an order was issued on 15 May 1943 with the title "Service Regulations for the Granting of Privileges to Inmates: Bonus Regulations" (*Dienstvorschrift für die Gewährung von Vergünstigungen an Häftlingen: Prämien-Vorschrift)*.[22] These "Bonus Regulations" allowed for the rewarding of good performance by inmates who worked in important *Arbeitskommandos*. Among the privileges listed in the Bonus Regulations were "imprisonment-easing measures" (*Hafterleichterungen*), such as permission to write letters, or for Germans with Reich citizenship to "let their hair grow".[23] Other privileges included extra food rations, cash bonuses, access to tobacco products, and visits to the camp brothel. Besides inmates working in armaments production, the Bonus Regulations also explicitly covered inmates working "for camp workshops",[24] such as those deployed in the sewing, shoemaking and repair workshops, as well as the kitchen and other camp facilities.

20 German: "Die Arbeit ist erschöpfend und an keine Grenzen gebunden." BArch ZwA (Zwischenarchiv Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten): ZM 1072 A.16, Pohl to Camp Commander, 30 April 1942; see also Tuchel, *Inspektion der Konzentrationslager*, 92.

21 Kommandantursonderbefehl Nr. 1/42 vom 15.04.1942, quoted in Norbert Frei et al. (ed.), *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle des Konzentrationslagers Auschwitz 1940–1945*, Darstellungen und Quellen zur Geschichte von Auschwitz. Bd. 1 (Munich 2000), 126. See further, Kommandanturbefehl Nr. 19/43, 27 May 1943, in which this order was repeated in even stronger terms: Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle*, 279, and Standortsonderbefehl, 14 February 1944, which grants "relaxations of all possible kinds to diligent prisoners", quoted in Frei et al., *Standort- und Kommandanturbefehle*, 411.

22 Dienstvorschrift für die Gewährung von Vergünstigungen an Häftlinge. Prämien-Vorschrift. Gültig ab Mai 1943, BArch NS 3/426.

23 German: "die Haare stehen lassen", i.e. avoid head shaving.

24 German: "für den Lagerbetrieb". Dienstvorschrift, cf. BArch NS 3/426, 53.

It was largely men who benefited from the privileges and incentives listed in the Bonus Regulations. However Bonus Regulations were also implemented at the Ravensbrück women's concentration camp, where tobacco trading appears to have been particularly widespread, providing inmates with some relief.[25] On the other hand, the privilege of visits to camp brothels was restricted to male inmates.[26]

These privileges were directed mainly at the so-called *Funktionshäftlinge*, those prisoners in special functions or working commissions. The SS built a system of *divide et impera* in the concentration camps in order to be able to control the camps with little staff and, secondly, to prevent too much solidarity among the prisoners.[27] Manuel Garcia-Barrado was one of the *Funktionshäftlinge* and thus part of the inmates' self-administration. This instrument of camp rule moved a privileged part of the inmates closer towards the SS and granted them power over the other inmates. Each camp chose another collective of inmates for the positions of *Funktionshäftlinge*. In Mauthausen this privilege was granted to the Spaniards among others.

Sport and Labour

Although football was not a privilege mentioned in the Bonus Regulations, they still provided the crucial framework that enabled the game to be played in the camp. The inmate categories listed in the Bonus Regulations were precisely the pool from which football players were drawn. Secondly, due to the

25 Jack G. Morrison, *Ravensbrück: Das Leben in einem Konzentrationslager für Frauen 1939–1945* (Munich 2002), 161.

26 See for the introduction of the bonus-regulation in Ravensbrück: Bernhard Strebel, *Das KZ Ravensbrück, Geschichte eines Lagerkomplexes* (Munich 2003), 409. For the establishment of a camp brothel: Robert Sommer, *Das KZ-Bordell: sexuelle Zwangsarbeit in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Paderborn 2009); more detailed for the camp brothel in Mauthausen Baris Alakus et al. (ed.), *Sex-Zwangsarbeit in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Vienna 2006). More generell on the topic: Insa Eschebach / Regina Mühlhäuser (ed.), *Krieg und Geschlecht: Sexuelle Gewalt im Krieg und Sex-Zwangsarbeit in NS-Konzentrationslagern*, Materialien der Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten, Bd. 3 (Berlin 2008).

27 Martin Broszat (ed.), *Kommandant in Auschwitz: Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen des Rudolf Höß* (Munich 1998); Hermann Kaienburg, " 'Freundschaft? Kameradschaft?. Wie kann das nur möglich sein?' Solidarität, Widerstand und die Rolle der 'roten Kapos' in Neuengamme", in KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme (ed.), *Abgeleitete Macht: Funktionshäftlinge zwischen Widerstand und Kollaboration* (Bremen 1998), 18–50; for Ravensbrück, see Bernhard Strebel, "Verlängerter Arm der SS oder schützende Hand? Drei Fallbeispiele von weiblichen Funktionshäftlingen im KZ Ravensbrück", in *Werkstatt Geschichte* 12 (1995), 35–49.

privileges specified in the Bonus Regulations, these inmates had both the free time and the material resources required for a football game, enabling them to acquire shoes, balls and jerseys.

However, just as the camp brothels were not open to all men covered by the Bonus Regulations, neither was the football pitch, similarly restricted to an elite within this special group. Access to privileges depended on certain prerequisites, such as belonging to an "important" *Arbeitskommando*. This in turn depended on membership in an appropriate inmate category and having the "right" nationality.[28]

Each concentration camp prisoner was assigned a triangle upon arrival at the camp, identifying the prisoner in some way. The triangles categorised prisoners using eight colors and additional marks.[29] Until 1938, most inmates wore the red triangle of political prisoners. Jehovah's Witnesses, imprisoned mostly in Sachsenhausen and Buchenwald, were given purple triangles. Black and green triangles branded "asocial" and "criminal" prisoners respectively, who, alongside political prisoners, were most likely to be *Funktionshäftlinge* or "functionary-prisoners". In the first years, many men with green and black triangles were imprisoned in Mauthausen, in particular many so-called *Zigeuner* or gypsies.[30]

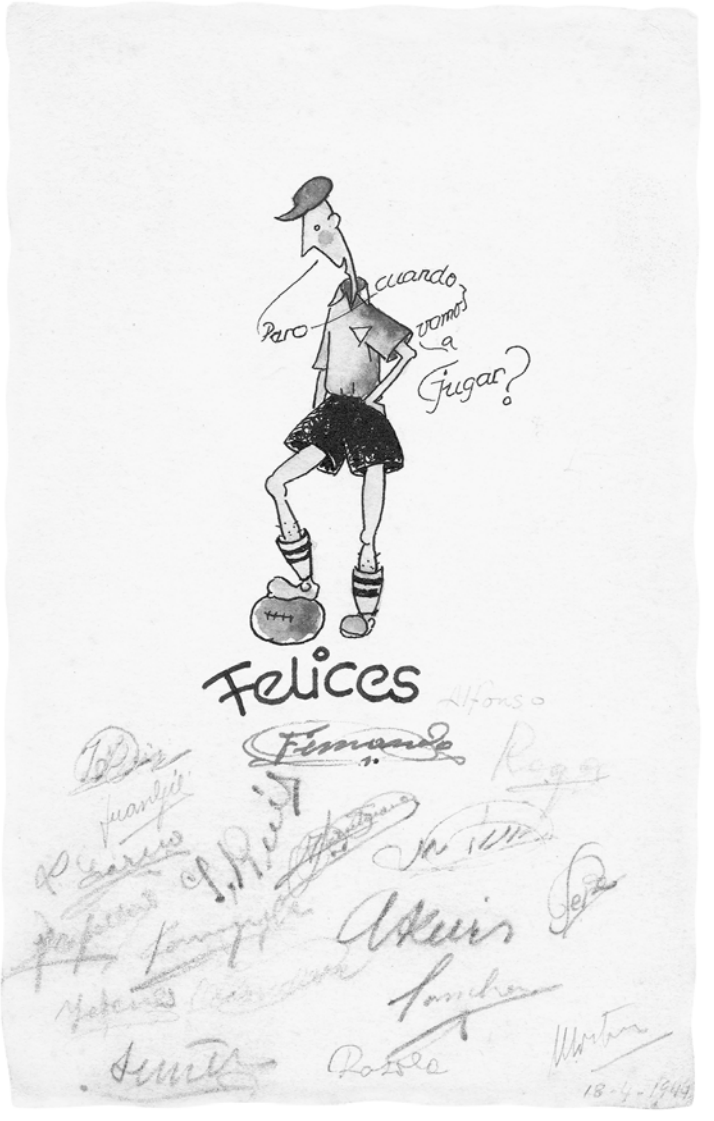
The chances of survival were slim for most of the prisoners in Mauthausen, due in particular to the heavy labour in the quarries. After the war began, new groups of prisoners entered the camp such as Czech and Spanish prisoners.

But while the Czechs had a bad position in the camp, the Spaniards grew into the ranks of *Funktionshäftlinge*. They worked in the kitchen or in other less exhausting work details. Between administrative restraints and the physical limitations of the prisoners themselves and faced with incredible physical stress, only a tiny percentage of the inmates were capable of playing football.

Due to a lack of evidence, it cannot be said for certain whether the different concentration camps began permitting football games at around the same point in time. Even though the Bonus Regulations were issued at the same time for all concentration camps. In Mauthausen for example, according to the testimony of Hans Maršálek, the first football games took place in 1943:

Starting in the summer of 1943, there were also occasional concerts by inmate bands on Sunday afternoons, sometimes also boxing events and football games. Only the few inmates who worked in privileged *Arbeitskommandos*, and who were able to feed themselves relatively well, took part in

28 Cf. Falk Pingel, *Häftlinge unter SS-Herrschaft: Widerstand, Selbstbehauptung und Vernichtung im Konzentrationslager* (Hamburg 1978).
29 Cf. Nikolaus Wachsmann, *KL: A History of the Nazi Concentration Camps* (London 2015), 151.
30 Cf. ibid., 195.



"Pero cuando vamos a jugar?" ("But When Are We Going to Play?") – Drawing from Mauthausen Concentration Camp, Manuel Garcia-Barrado (AMM, F/96/3/14d/1)

these events. Starting in 1943, Mauthausen had football teams of Germans, Poles, Spanish, Viennese, Yugoslavians and Poles; in Gusen, teams were set up by Germans, Poles and Spanish.[31]

An impressive relic from the rarely documented history of sport in concentration camps is this card, drawn by Manuel Garcia-Barrado in Mauthausen. A player of the Mauthausen Spanish team can be seen wearing a cap, gauntlets and shoes, and a blue jersey. Many Spaniards fled to France after the Spanish Civil War and after the German victory over France they were deported to Mauthausen.[32] Since the Republican Spaniards of Franco's Spain were declared expelled, the Spanish prisoners were marked blue, the colour of the stateless.[33] When looking at the picture more closely, it is noticeable that the shoes do not look like football boots, but more like wooden slippers; the ball is a makeshift leather ball.

The meaning of the words "Pero cuando vamos a jugar?" (But when are we going to play?) is unclear. Does the line refer to the next match – or is it a prospect of a future beyond the harsh reality of the concentration camp and Nazi rule? The word "Felices" can be translated in a twofold way, it means either the "lucky ones" or "congratulations". This ambivalence also allows for two possible interpretations: it could be a memorial card because all the players seem to have signed the card. It could also be a greeting card for a fellow player, for example for his birthday. Although these questions cannot be answered with certainty, the card reveals something about the importance of the game for the prisoners involved in it with regard to the perception that is important for the prisoner actors to be in a community.

It is impossible to reconstruct the exact date of when this picture was drawn. Garcia-Barrado was brought to Mauthausen in 1940 together with other Republican Spanish prisoners. At first, this group of prisoners, as survivors later recounted, had a very difficult time in the camp. However they were quickly able to organise and find their way. In particular, the above-mentioned *Schutzhaftlagerführer*, Georg Bachmayer, was lenient with the Spanish prisoners. At any rate, they were able to organise themselves within the camp, which meant they were able to get work in work details that were less physically taxing and therefore less life-threatening. Work in the stone quarries frequently cost Mauthausen prisoners their lives within a matter of months.

31 Hans Maršálek, *Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen. Dokumentation. 3., erweiterte Auflage* (Vienna 1959), 52.

32 The Spanish women were mostly sent to Ravensbrück; see Neus Catala, *In Ravensbrück ging meine Jugend zu Ende: Vierzehn spanische Frauen berichten über ihre Deportation in deutsche Konzentrationslager* (Berlin 1994).

33 Andreas Ruppert, "Spanier in deutschen Konzentrationslagern", in *Tranvia: Revue der iberischen Halbinsel* 28 (1993), 5–9.

Being "well-organized" in the concentration camps also meant building functioning support networks. Manuel Garcia-Barrado drew very well, which got him work in a construction office. This explains why he also had access to resources needed to create such a drawing, such as paper, pens and time. To play football, most importantly the prisoners needed to be physically capable of playing. Also necessary was access to resources that were not easy to come by within a concentration camp: balls, shoes, sometimes also jerseys, a pitch to play on and spare time. Survivors remember it being difficult to organise the games. Finding a ball in particular was a serious hurdle for prisoners. Shoes were another big problem. Testimonies that mention "organizing" or getting hold of shoes reveal much about complicated dynamics and networks in the concentration camps, and about prisoners' practices of appropriation. Before the game itself, deals and trades were made between guards and prisoners.

With the increased labour deployment of inmates as of 1942 and 1943, and its growing importance for German armaments production, there was a tangible easing of camp life.[34] During this period, many Spanish inmates managed to move into physically less demanding assignments and/or indoor work (which was warmer and dryer), such as kitchen duty or barracks duty.[35] For example, Garcia-Barrado initially worked in a quarry, but was then transferred to the construction office because he was a skilled draughtsman. As he himself said, this put him in the "top class" (*Prominenz*) of the unofficial ranking of inmates at Mauthausen concentration camp, and thus among those allowed to play football. His work in the construction office also put him into contact with the Spanish inmates who worked in the kitchen.[36]

Having relatively less strenuous work was in itself a decisive prerequisite for being physically capable of playing football at all. Therefore, one aspect that allowed Spanish inmates to play football was their employment in "good" – meaning physically less demanding – *Arbeitskommandos*.[37]

Functions of Sport, Performance, and the Body

While physical exercise in concentration camps had previously been administered by the authorities, and experienced by inmates, as form of punishment

34 Florian Freund / Bertrand Perz, "Mauthausen – Stammlager", in Wolfgang Benz / Barbara Distel (ed.), *Der Ort des Terrors*: *Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager.* Bd. 4 (München 2006), 293–346, on p. 305.

35 Ibid., 318.

36 AMM, Mauthausen Survivors Documentation Project, Signatur 0H/ZPI/144, Interview von Mercedes Villanova mit Manuel Garcia-Barrado, durchgeführt am 16.11.2002.

37 AMM, Mauthausen Survivors Documentation Project, Signatur OH/ZPI/195, Interview von Mercedes Vilanova mit Carlos Cabeza Letosa, durchgeführt am 27.09.2002 in Paris.

and/or violence, playing football, in contrast to other forms of exercise, took on very different qualities for those involved. It was perceived as something between a survival strategy, empowerment and self-assertion.[38] In contrast to more culturally oriented survival strategies like drawing pictures, keeping diaries, singing songs or making music, playing sports requires a high degree of physical exertion.[39] During and through this practice, the players communicated modern social values such as peak performance, honest competition and fair play, to be showcased in public displays such as football matches.[40] Ideas of performance and competition are particularly relevant not only for sports, but also for work.[41] However football was attractive to the prisoners because of its meaning as a game. A game has its own rules and it creates order. In contrast to their labour, the game introduces a welcome tension, whereby the uncertainty of its outcome releases the prisoners from their daily monotony.[42] This in turn requires that those playing with or against one another are more or less equals. The Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben has called this match and its seeming normalcy the "true horror of the camp". It is the "grey zone" or the mimetic similarity between guards and prisoners created by the game.[43] Thinking further with Agamben, we could say that this game constituted a profanation. Agamben explicated in *Profanations* the link between play or games and ritual. According to the theory of play, play is within the sphere of the sacred. But a game can also function as profanation that "deactivates the apparatuses of power" and returns play to the common space that power had seized.[44] The example of the *Appellplatz,* where roll call was taken, illustrates this thought.

38 Cf. Veronika Springmann, "Zwischen Selbstbehauptung, Gunst und Gewalt: Fußball in nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern", in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nationalsozialistischen Verfolgung in Norddeutschland* 18 (2017), p. 87–96.

39 Singing and playing music are physical practices as well. The sensory aspects of music should not be ignored. Juliane Brauer, "How Can Music Be Torturous? Music in Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps", in *Music & Politics* 10:1 (2016), doi:10.3998/mp.9460447.0010.103. See for the practices of survival, Christoph Daxelmüller, "Kulturelle Formen und Aktivitäten als Teil der Überlebens- und Vernichtungsstrategie in den Konzentrationslagern", in Ulrich Herbert et al.(ed.), *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager: Entwicklung und Struktur*, Bd. 2 (Göttingen 1998), 983–1005.

40 Cf. Thomas Alkemeyer et al., *Aufs Spiel gesetzte Körper: Eine Einführung in die Thematik* (Constance 2003).

41 Bero Rigauer, *Sport und Arbeit: Soziologische Zusammenhänge und ideologische Implikationen* (Frankfurt a.M. 1979).

42 Johann Huizinga, *Homo Ludens, trans. R.F.C. Hull* (London 1949), 28.

43 Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive* (New York 2002), 26.

44 Id., *Profanations* (New York 2007), 77.

On the *Appellplatz*, where prisoners were harassed beyond their limits and very often tormented to death, and where so many ran into the bordering electric fence to be spared their awful fate, we could now play football on our days off. Despite hunger and twelve hours daily of grueling work, a few teams were formed, made up of prisoners of the same nationality or in the same work details. Although the players' equipment, shoes, uniforms, etc., was quite primitive, and although they played on the hard ground of the *Appellplatz*, these games helped the players and the prisoners who watched them to forget their suffering and hunger for a few hours. Even the sickening smell of burning flesh, carried over by the wind from the nearby crematorium, received, when it wasn't too overpowering, less attention during the football match.[45]

As this quote makes clear, football games were a way for prisoners (and for guards, if we include the perspective of the spectators) to step out of their daily lives. Alf Lüdtke has defined the daily or the everyday as routines and habits.[46] To be able to play football, the prisoners needed knowledge of these routines because they needed to know their way around the camp. But the game itself was a way to step out of daily camp life. Football in concentration camps was thus a practice of appropriation by prisoners. However it was not open to all prisoners, but dependent upon the category of prisoner[47] and only to those physically capable of exercising this privilege.

The historians Michael Wildt and Marc Buggeln have recently highlighted the importance of "labour" (*Arbeit*) in National Socialism.[48] They state that the Nazi conception of labour can be summarised by the concept of "labour as service to the *Volksgemeinschaft*"[49] (the term *Volksgemeinschaft* literally means "people's community", understood here as an ethnonationalist body politic). However, work not only meant economic utility, but also included a didactic element, teaching people to be good members of the German *Volk* (signifying both "people" and "ethnonation").[50] Sport performed this function under National Socialism, which helps explain its particular significance

45 Dr. Viktor Matejka, archive of Dachau concentration camp memorial museum, 32103. All translations by Laura Radosh unless otherwise specified.

46 Alf Lüdtke, "Einleitung: Was ist und wer treibt Alltagsgeschichte", in Id. (ed.), *Alltagsgeschichte: Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen* (Frankfurt a.M. 1989), 9–47.

47 Marian Füssel, "Die Kunst der Schwachen: Zum Begriff der 'Aneignung' in der Geschichtswissenschaft", in *Sozial. Geschichte* 21:3 (2006), 7–28.

48 Cf. Marc Buggeln / Michael Wildt (ed.), *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus* (Munich 2015), IX–XXXVII.

49 German: "Arbeit als Dienst an der Volksgemeinschaft". Cf. Buggeln / Wildt (ed.), *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus*, IX–XXXVII, on p. XV.

50 Cf. Buggeln / Wildt (ed.), *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus*, IX–XXXVII, on p. XVI; Kiran Klaus Patel, *"Soldaten der Arbeit"*, Arbeitsdienste in Deutschland und den USA 1933–1945 (Göttingen 2003), 77.

in the context of the concentration camp.[51] In both sport and work, the primary locus of ideology is the body, with National Socialism holding physical work in particularly high regard. This aspect permeated Nazi propaganda, as Buggeln and Wildt have well described.[52]

Performance and competition were defining parameters that were also reflected in Nazi Germany's wage systems. Of the multiple ways to calculate remuneration, the emphasis was on performance-based wages, piecework systems and supplementary bonuses.[53] In this context, it becomes easier to understand why the bonus system was introduced in the concentration camps too. Rüdiger Hachtmann pointed out that this multiplex remuneration system served not only to incentivise workers, but also to inhibit solidarity between them. In the concentration camps, the bonus system further reinforced the differences that already existed between different groups of inmates. For example, some prisoners were allowed to receive care packages or were given better food rations. While a few inmates were capable of playing football, the vast majority were not. Stefan Hördler has argued that after the camp system began rationalizing in 1943, the categories of "fit for work" and "unfit for work" (*arbeitsfähig* and *arbeitsunfähig*) became one of the most important criteria dictating an inmate's chances of survival.[54] Therefore, the Sunday football games not only provided the inmates with their own space inside the concentration camp, they now also represented an arena where inmates could visibly demonstrate their physical strength and fitness through sport.

Conclusion

The fact that from 1942 the prisoners in the National Socialist concentration camps had the opportunity to play football was due to the changed role of work, which was now increasingly oriented to the economic conditions of the war economy. As I have shown, this did not mean that all prisoners were able to benefit from the privileges, but those who did were prisoners who either

51 Cf. Hajo Bernett, *Untersuchungen zur Zeitgeschichte des Sports* (Stuttgart 1973); cf. also Barbara Keys, "The Body as a Political Space: Comparing Physical Education under Nazism and Stalinism", in *German History* 27(2009), 395–413.

52 Cf. Buggeln / Wildt (ed.), *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus*, IX–XXXVII, on p. XVI. This focus was motivated by antisemitsm, see Harriet Scharnberg "'Juden lernen arbeiten!' – Ein antisemitisches Bildmotiv in der deutschen Bildpresse 1939–1941", in Buggeln / Wildt (ed.), *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus*, 841–872.

53 Rüdiger Hachtmann, *Industriearbeit im Dritten Reich: Untersuchungen zu den Lohn- und Arbeitsbedingungen 1933–1945* (Göttingen 1989), 90–160.

54 Cf. Stefan Hördler, "Rationalisierung des KZ-Systems 1943-1945: Arbeitsfähigkeit und Arbeitsunfähigkeit als ordnende Selektionskriterien", in Buggeln / Wild (ed.), *Arbeit im Nationalsozialismus*, 349–370.

worked in particularly important work details or had contacts with important functionaries. For the prisoners, the football game, as the drawing shows, had an important *vergemeinschaftende* (community building) function.

The inmates playing football visibly demonstrate their "fitness for work" (i.e. capacity for productive work), and also show that they are productive within the realms of Nazi ideology. The function of sport is thus ambivalent. As Agamben has shown, the game created a mimetic similarity between guards and inmates – causing the blurring of borders between them on one hand. On the other hand, the athletes filled their privileged position among the inmates and acted on hierarchy and distinction, sport thus created new borders within the camp community. The privileged inmate-athletes moreover put a National Socialist ideal of body and work on display. At the same time they showed their cultural sovereignty by following their own rules and building their own community of sportsmen within camp society. Moreover they gave the camp space – the *Appellplatz* – a different meaning by symbolically transforming it from a place of torture and death to a place of play. However, the ability of the Spanish inmates of Mauthausen to play, to build a privileged community and to act out their cultural sovereignty nevertheless cannot erase the fact that very few of them survived the camp.[55]

55 AMM, V/03/03. Manuel Garcia said in an interview with Hans Marsalek (05.05.1966): "Von den angekommenen ca. 9000 Spaniern, erlebten den Befreiungstag ungefähr 1800 Kameraden. Die Masse der Sterbefälle gab es in der Anfangszeit. Vor allem im Steinbruch wurden die Spanier bei der Arbeit liquidiert."

Section III

Gregor Feindt

Camps Producing Identity and Memory

Exclusion and extreme violence questioned identities throughout the twentieth century. In his Auschwitz memoirs, Primo Levi revealed the fundamental quality of this contestation when asking, "if this [was] a man".[1] At the same time, Levi's report displays the manifold processes of inclusion, social integration, and community building that helped camp inmates to organise their lives within the camp. Here, these internees related their present experience to the past and underpinned identity with memory, both affirmative of past experiences and in contrast to them. Such dynamics of unmaking and reinventing identity and memory underline the ambivalence of the specific experience of camps.[2] With distance over time these experiences prove even more ambivalent, as Levi suggested with the prosaic style and often technical precision of his account. In Levi's and many other reports, sport exemplified the inability of many former inmates of concentration camps to make sense of their experience and to communicate it to others.[3] In a more general perspective, playing football or performing other types of sport in a place of mass murder embodies a seemingly banal and therefore impossible aspect of everyday life in these spaces. Sporting practices in camps contested the exceptionality of such radicalised forms of violence in the camps and of the inmates' identity and memory. Strikingly, the existing accounts of sport in other, less violent camps underline this alleged banality as they display an often too rosy memory of the camp experience.

Such contestation helps to shed new light on basic definitions of camps and to reconceptualise the spatial and temporal rupture that camps force upon those being held inside. Camps commonly appear as institutions of exclusion and distinguish between inside and outside the camp. Strict regulation of free movement constitutes the very essence of the camp experience providing the basis for all further violence and deprivation of rights. Moreover, the camp experience differs from any other way of life before or after the camp. In contrast to these demarcations, the trajectory of identity in a camp context extends beyond the geographical boundaries of confined spaces. It is important to

1 Primo Levi, *If This is a Man* (New York 1957 [Original 1947]).
2 Gerald Izenberg, *Identity: The Necessity of a Modern Idea* (Philadelphia, PA 2016), 41–61.
3 Debarati Sanyal, "A Soccer Match in Auschwitz: Passing Culpability in Holocaust Criticism", in *Representations* 79:1 (2002), 1–27.

understand that such a relational function is inherent to the rupturing quality of camps. In other words, the camp's spatial and temporal rupture can only be conceptualised in direct relation to the outside and past world.

This introduction to the section will take up the relational function of identity and memory in the camp context and convey these much-debated concepts to the analysis of camp experiences. Therefore, studying identity and memory in camps calls for reconsidering the theoretical understanding of these two concepts. The impossibility of speaking about sport in camps marks off more than a simple blind spot in our understanding of camps and so does the nostalgic disparagement of sport in camps. Both reflect on the epistemic foundations of camps and the lack of inmates' agency in the historical narrative. This section aims at questioning the general understanding of camps and stimulates new insights into the social practices of camp inmates and their individual and collective agency. During their captivity and internment, inmates took up sport for various reasons, both pursuing a former interest in sports and developing a new relationship with such practices. The chapters in this and the other two sections of this edited volume stress the contingent and situational motivation and the broad variety of sporting practices. Given the performative density of camps, the inmates' actions were integral to their self-understanding and their groupness in the camp context. This means that historical research on camp inmates performing sports means more than simply introducing a so far neglected group into the history of sport, but to study the construction of their individual self and their agency in a broader perspective. For the history of camps, this calls for perceiving camp inmates as active subjects of camp life.

Since the 1980s, both concepts – identity and memory – contributed greatly to social and cultural studies but also reflected on specific and often intertwined forms of political mobilisation. Much of social and historical scholarship as well as public discourse followed and follows an essentialist and homogeneous understanding that reifies identity and memory. In radical consequence, such identity politics disregarded individual agency and emphasised the predetermination of individuals and their expression of the self through societal structures and hegemonic discourse.[4] For our example, this means that camp inmates become objects of external identity formations during their detainment and later need to conform to hegemonic interpretations of the past.

In contrast, studying camps through the lens of subjectivity employs a hybrid concept of identity and the dynamic and plural quality of memory.[5]

4 For a critique, see Lynn Hunt, *Writing History in the Global Era* (New York 2014), 78–117.

5 See for instance, Rogers Brubaker / Frederick Cooper, "Beyond Identity", in *Theory and Society* 29 (2000), 1–47; Gregor Feindt / Félix Krawatzek / Daniela Mehler / Friedemann

Although identities claim exclusivity, they are by no means exclusive or singular, but multiple and complementary, if not contradictory. Camp inmates produced identities that both delimitate the camp and their specific group and reach beyond the social role in the camp or the boundaries of the camp. Although mostly separated from the world outside of camps, inmates had contact with the outside world and fostered a sense of belonging that included the outer world. Over time, i.e. in acts of remembering, the re-imagination of the former camp community and its relation towards the rest of society can be similarly ambiguous. It is this ambiguity that historians need to address from an analytical perspective to gain further insights on the social practice of camps. Understanding both identity and memory as social action enables historians to bring together agency and social facts, i.e. following Émile Durkheim's definition, human practices "whether fixed or not, [that are] capable of exerting over the individual an external constraint".[6] As the social action approach acknowledges, both the placing of individuals in social groups and their individual ability to shape the rules of these groups' discourse employ a reflexive relation between self and society. Camps as comparatively small and highly integrated frames of social action pose an important and telling example of such reflexive social processes.

Sport in the Camps' Social Practices

The three articles of this section study very different forms of camps after 1945: camps for the temporal accommodation of forced migrants or displaced persons (DPs) and camps for the internment of Irish Republicans during the Northern Ireland conflict, which in many aspects resembled imprisonment rather than camp internment. Earlier chapters of this volume, especially those of the section on camps as nomos of modernity, have already discussed the crucial role of sport for the construction of camp societies and as Panayi demonstrated such processes of community building drew the interest of, for instance, diplomatic officials visiting such facilities since the very beginning of modern camps.[7] Here, in the cases studied in this third section, sport serves as a broader social practice and aims at integrating more than the camp inmates but relating them to broader communities outside the camps and – in the form of memory – to integrate their experience into a post-camp context.

Pestel / Rieke Trimçev, "Entangled Memory: Toward a Third Wave in Memory Studies", in *History and Theory* 53 (2014), 24–44.

6 Émile Durkheim, *The Rules of Sociological Method: And Selected Texts on Sociology and its Method* (New York 2014), 27.

7 See Panikos Panayi, "Work, Leisure and Sport in Military and Civilian Internment Camps in Britain, 1914–1919", in this volume, 68.

In his article on postwar Germany, Marcus Velke compares two different groups of displaced persons, Jewish Holocaust survivors and Estonian refugees, and examines the function of sport in their diaspora situation. Against the background of the well-researched Jewish DP sport, he argues that sporting events and extensive coverage in the Estonian camp press constructed a public sphere among Estonian DPs and allowed for their inner integration. With manifold sport competitions across Germany and between the different camps such community aimed at the entire diaspora body and situationally imagined the distant polity in exile. However, the inner integration came along with a mostly self-imposed absence from the German majority as especially Jewish sport clubs refused to compete against German clubs.

Such acts of community and identity building referred extensively to nineteenth century narratives and pre-war institutions. Acts of remembering placed at the sporting event or the resulting press coverage provided the means for maintaining the national sovereignty that reached beyond the DPs' situation both geographically and temporally. However, whilst Jewish DPs awaited immigration to Israel and considered their sporting practices as a preparation for their future life which reflected upon inner Jewish conflicts, Estonian DPs could hardly consider their return realistic. In consequence, political confrontations dating back to the interwar period lost their significance and transformed into an uncontested diaspora identity.

Mathias Beer studies the history of a grassroots football club in Stuttgart, the S.V. Rot, founded at the Schlotwiese camp by German expellees from Yugoslavia. In this chapter, the club serves as a micro-historical case study for the admission and later integration of twelve million German expellees after the Second World War. Beer complements the too easy narrative of a harmonic integration and displays the widespread discrimination against the club or their players by local authorities, football associations, and opponents. Against this backdrop, he argues that the club's two name changes – from the Serbo-Croatian Crni Vitez (Black Knights) to FC Batschka with regard to their home region and eventually to S.V. Rot simply referring to their district in Stuttgart – signifies the club's process of integration and the forgetting of its roots. Today's members, especially younger footballers, hardly know of the club's beginnings.

Beer's example also reveals a layered temporality of the members' identity as German Yugoslavs. They were first expellees, and eventually became Stuttgart locals. The club was highly popular with Schlotwiese inhabitants and was thought to represent both inhabitants and the Yugoslav expellee community within local German society. After the closure of the Schlotwiese camp these inhabitants and the club became central to the newly built Rot district of Stuttgart even without a clear and long-lasting reference to their migration history or their place of origin.

Dieter Reinisch enquires into the history of Irish Republican internees in British and Irish prisons and internment camps and, therefore, presents a case that adds the aspect of penal action to this volume. However, Reinisch's example helps to understand the function of sport in a seemingly confined space. As the Irish independence movement had used Gaelic sport in self-delimitation from Britain and the British, sporting practices in camps served both to promote Irish identity and Republican ideology among the internees and contradicted its alleged clarity. Similarly to the learning and usage of the Irish language in the notorious H-Blocks, Gaelic football contributed to the integration of a heterogeneous group of Republicans coming from different social, local, and political backgrounds. However, in the 1980s, a younger generation of working-class Republicans, both during and after imprisonment, followed English football thus neglecting Gaelic sports.

The chapter demonstrates how both British and Irish authorities and Irish Republicans used sport to further their interests, for instance for maintaining the internees' discipline or for the exclusion of political opponents. Reinisch's study helps to understand the ambiguity of inside and outside the camp. As it became common for local GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association) teams to play against camp and prison teams and the media coverage of international sports events was frequent, the clear demarcation of the camps often dissolved in sports discourse. In consequence, Reinisch emphasises the central position of Republican internees for Irish society, both in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, as they became a point of frequent reference and extended their agency beyond the barbed wire.

Moreover, the chapter adds a remarkable example of the function of sport in camps to this section. As interned Republicans continuously considered themselves on active IRA (Irish Republican Army) service, they were forbidden to speak about political factions or conflicts occurring during internment. Here, sport and its groupness, inclusion, and exclusion provided the necessary means to relate such details in memoirs or oral history interviews – and phrases a conflictive past in the alleged banality of sport. In this specific example, sport in camps contributes greatly to the memory of camps and to the ability to verbalise such experiences.

The three chapters of this section unveil the ambivalence of identity and memory in the context of internment camps and make use of the everyday practice of sport as an analytical lens. All three examples demonstrate that the trajectories of identity building and representing the past spread beyond the boundaries of camps. For internees, sports helped to address a fundamental challenge of everyday life in camps: boredom. With its repetitive structure, sports competitions created a reliable structure of everyday leisure and a remarkable occasion of coordinating the inner life of camps. This structure mobilised a sense of groupness and provided social location within the

contingent experience of camp life. The examples of this section, DPs, German expellees, and Irish Republican internees, highlight that this groupness extended beyond those performing sport but also included spectator groups and general camp society. Here, the enclosed and repressive mechanisms of camps stimulated questions of self-understanding and intensified the process of identity formation.

Furthermore, sport in camps connected those participating and watching sporting events with others outside the camp. Beer exemplifies the transformation of such a relation from discrimination against expellees to their assimilation in the S.V. Rot. Velke, for instance, stresses the communicative and imaginative function of sporting events in the diaspora that mobilised a sense of groupness for those Estonian and Jewish DPs scattered across Europe. Reinisch argues that Republican internees even became central actors for Irish Republicanism in general. Here, the connectedness of the camp population and internees appears in two dimensions, as the bridging of spaces and as continuity over time. In the two examples of postwar refugee camps, spatial and temporal connectedness represented absent group members and a distant homeland through discourse. However, in Reinisch's Irish example, the crossing of boundaries obtained a more physical character with internees being released and outsiders actually visiting the camps. Nevertheless, in all three examples identity mobilises references to the future and attributes identity with political or social goals. In this regard, camps should be understood as condensed spaces that stimulated the production of identity.

In this situation, memory appears in two forms, as memory in the camp and memory of the camp, which accordingly take place during or after the camp experience. Velke's two cases of Jewish and Estonian DPs especially demonstrate that the act of remembering earlier social formations and making use of history served both to contest and decontest camp identities. In the Estonian case, the specific camp situation even pacified long lasting political confrontation and identity conflicts.

Taking up the example of Primo Levi's argument that sport in camps both fundamentally questions identities and precludes any remembering after the camp, this section argues to take up this discursive liminality and exploit its analytical potential. Studying why it was impossible – or conversely, possible, maybe even necessary – to speak about certain topics reveals the ambivalence of sport in camps and provides crucial insights to other aspects of camp life that mattered to internees.

Mathias Beer

Sport in Expellee and Refugee Camps in Germany after the Second World War

Expressing Identity between Bačka and Stuttgart

Introduction or Foreign Football Enthusiasts 1945

In September 1945, a group of young football enthusiasts joined together in Stuttgart to form a team. According to their origin and background experience, they called themselves the SK Crni Vitez, which translates as Sports Club Black Knights.[1] Clad in black, the team played their first friendly match on 27 November 1945 in Zuffenhausen, a district in northern Stuttgart. Their opponents were the Bijeli Vitez, the White Knights[2] – likewise established in Stuttgart that same year. The Black Knights beat the White Knights with a resounding 16:0. This victory was the kick-off of a success story that no one would have expected. Up until July 1946, SK Crni Vitez played another fourteen similarly successful friendly matches, counting seven victories, four draws and only three defeats. The team's goal difference of 69:36 in total spoke for itself.

Six months after their first match, the football enthusiasts of the SK Crni Vitez took the first steps towards founding a club, which required licencing by the authorities. The team's incubation period, which had been largely unaffected by club constraints, was now followed by the gradual and unavoidable adaptation to the structures within the football association. If the team was to continue playing, maintain its autonomy and not merge with the established Sportvereinigung Zuffenhausen (Zuffenhausen Sports Association), there was no circumventing the American military government's orders that required licensing also for sports clubs. Bearing the new name Fußball-Club Batschka (F.C. Batschka) the executive board of the newly founded club applied for admission on 29 October. One month later, it had been approved.[3]

1 This chapter is based on the corporate profile of the football club Sportliche Entwicklung des S.V. Rot (Fußball) 1945–1982 and the magazine of the club first published in December 1959, Altregistratur des S.V. Rot, Stuttgart Rot. Most important were the old records of the club. I thank the club for the opportunity to see these documents without which it would not have been possible to write this chapter.

2 Altregistratur des S.V. Rot, Stuttgart-Rot, Freundschaftsspiele 1945/46. There is also information on the friendly matches of the club.

3 Ibid., Unterlagen 1946–1955.

The success story did not end under the new name. Quite to the contrary, in 1947/48 F.C. Batschka won the district championship. In the club's most successful year to date, 1954/55, they won promotion to the A-District-League (the next highest division) of the Stuttgart District.

At the height of their success, the club changed their name for a second time. In an extraordinary general assembly on 31 May 1956, after a heated discussion, the members voted to change the club name to Sportvereinigung Rot (S.V. Rot) with an overwhelming majority.[4] Given the many sport disciplines practiced under its umbrella – football, handball, chess, gymnastics – the Sports Club Rot was no longer only a football club. Nonetheless, the sport the club was founded upon remained the defining one in later years, one indication being the inauguration of the club's own football ground in the late 1950s. Football has remained the mainstay of the club until today, although the success of the early years could not be repeated. The S.V. Rot celebrated its seventieth anniversary in 2015 at its traditional location in Stuttgart-Rot and is active in Stuttgart to this day, presently in District League B1.[5]

At first glance, the story of the S.V. Rot 1945 e.V. is a club history like any other. Yet on further examination, it displays certain particularities that reach far beyond the interests of research in sports science or club history – the post-war context of the club's history, the exotism, expressed in the first two names of the club, and the shared personal history of the founding members. The three most important characteristics will be illustrated in the following.

It is indeed not commonplace for the roots of a club to coincide chronologically with the deepest rupture of recent German and European history. S.V. Rot emphasises this fact by explicitly bearing the historically charged year 1945 in its name and its foundation is situated in the immediate post-war context. Might the context of Germany's unconditional surrender and the end of the war have been decisive for the establishment of the club?

Moreover, not only the metamorphosis of names, but also the names themselves give rise to questions. The first two designations – Crni Vitez and F.C. Batschka – were certainly not local, i.e. Swabian or German, although the club was founded in Stuttgart. Here, in a German-speaking environment, these names sounded foreign. What were the motives for the "exotic" names and the several name changes?

Finally, a further particularity is that the beginnings of the club are situated in a camp. The young football enthusiasts who joined together to form a team in the autumn of 1945 were inhabitants of the Schlotwiese Camp in

4 Ibid., SV Rot III, Jahreshauptversammlungen, Protokoll der Jahreshauptversammlung, 31.05.1956.

5 Sportverein Rot 1945 e.V., Official Website, accessed 3 March 2018, URL: http://www.sv-rot-1945.de/svrot1945/index.php.

Stuttgart-Zuffenhausen. This camp was the largest refugee camp in south-western Germany after 1945. The first decade of S.V. Rot's existence, its development from a group of footballers enthusiastic about their sport to a successful football club embedded in the structures of the Württemberg Football Association, is a camp story par excellence. The club was founded in a camp, rose to success as a camp club, and it defined and influenced the story of the camp inmates and their surroundings significantly and long after the time of internment. Whence, how and for which reason did the football enthusiasts come to the camp on the Schlotwiese? What caused them to play football in the camp? What influence did living in a camp have on physical activity and how did football affect the camp residents?

The outlined characteristics of the S.V. Rot 1945 e.V. constitute the point of departure for this chapter, which examines the contribution of sports, and especially football, to the self-organisation and self-image of camp inmates. It carves out the influence of, on the one hand, sport, and on the other, the external perception of the camp and its residents.

This chapter pays special attention to the reciprocal effects of both mass phenomena – sports and camp – and thus to the relevance of sports in the long-term process of accommodating and integrating a special and to this day largest group of immigrants in German post-war society. Comparable to the two name changes of the club, the inhabitants of the Schlotwiese camp experienced a repeated modification of their legal status until they were finally classified and acknowledged as German expellees. Today, the process they underwent is testified publicly only by the name of the club, S.V. Rot 1945 e.V. Like the club, its history is hardly known in Stuttgart itself or to its present-day members.

This study follows a microhistorical approach.[6] Due to ample records in the form of documents, photographs and biographical interviews, a "thick description" as well as a profound analysis of the history of the S.V. Rot 1945 e.V. in general and the internment time of the club and the significance of football in this context in particular are possible. By focussing on sport in German post-war camps, this contribution sheds new light on two aspects which have by and large been neglected in general research on the accommodation and integration of refugees and expellees in German post-war society, namely sport and camps.[7] As opposed to other

6 Winfried Schulze (ed.), *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie. Eine Diskussion* (Göttingen 1994); Jürgen Schumbohm (ed.), *Mikrogeschichte Makrogeschichte komplementär oder inkommensurabel* (Göttingen ²2000); Ewald Hiebl / Ernst Langthaler (ed.), *Im Kleinen das Große suchen. Mikrogeschichte in Theorie und Praxis. Hans Haas zum 70. Geburtstag* (Innsbruck 2012).

7 For the vast research on the integration on the German refugees and expellees in post-war Germany see David Rock / Stefan Wolff (ed.), *Coming Home to Germany? The*

camps,[8] neither the refugee and expellee camps[9] nor the sporting activities in these camps have received sufficient attention. Thus this contribution aims at encouraging further studies on the topic area of sports in German post-war refugee camps. S.V. Rot 1945 e.V. is certainly a specific example, but may serve as a paradigm to study more general phenomenon.

This chapter proceeds through five steps. First, the development of the German refugee problem at the end of the Second World War will be examined briefly, as it represents the prerequisite for the Schlotwiese camp and the establishment of the S.V. Rot. Second, the history of the Schlotwiese camp and its inmates after the end of the war will be outlined. Third, the camp's football club and the significance of football for self-perception and, fourth, external perception of the camp and its inhabitants. Last, the conclusion will discuss the fundamental relation of sports and camps in the accommodation and integration process of the German refugees and expellees in post-war Germany.

Forced Mass Migration at the End of the Second World War or Germany's Number One Question

The National Socialist politics of conquest, occupation and destruction set Europe in motion.[10] Millions of people of all nationalities were on the move, most of them due to war, per force, coerced: soldiers, prisoners of war, emigrants, civilians, evacuees, deportees, forced migrants, resettled persons, refugees, and expellees. This violent motion did not come to an end on 8 May 1945.[11] Europe went from being a classification yard under war conditions to

Integration of Ethnic Germans from Central and Eastern Europe in the Federal Republic (New York 2002); Andreas Kossert, *Kalte Heimat. Die Geschichte der deutschen Vertriebenen nach 1945* (Berlin 2008); Mathias Beer, *Flucht und Vertreibung der Deutschen. Voraussetzungen, Verlauf, Folgen* (Munich 2011).

8 See the chapters in this volume and the research literature mentioned there.

9 The history of the refugee and expellee camps in post-war Germany is still a desideratum for research. See Mathias Beer, "Die deutsche Nachkriegsgeschichte als Lagergeschichte. Zur Funktion von Flüchtlingslagern im Prozess der Eingliederung", in Henrik Bispinck / Katharina Hochmuth (ed.), *Flüchtlingslager im Nachkriegsdeutschland. Migration, Politik, Erinnerung* (Berlin 2014), 47–71. No research has been done on the topic of sport in refugee and expellee camps.

10 See Eugene M. Kulischer, *Europe on the Move. War and Population Changes 1917–1947* (New York 1948); Joseph B. Schechtman, *Postwar Population Transfers in Europe 1945–1955* (Philadelphia, PA 1962); Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred. Ethnic Cleansing in 20th Century Europe* (London 2001); Philipp Ther, *Die dunkle Seite der Nationalstaaten. 'Ethnische Säuberungen' im modernen Europa* (Göttingen 2011); Michael Schwatz, *Ethnische 'Säuberungen' in der Moderne. Globale Wechselwirkungen nationalistischer und rassistischer Gewaltpolitik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich 2013).

11 Jessica Reinisch / Elizabeth White (ed.), *The Disentanglement of Populations. Migration, Expulsion and Displacement in Postwar Europe, 1944–1949* (Houndsmills 2011).

being a classification yard in absence of war, but under the conditions of the war's legacy – destruction, new borders, deracination, and death. Germany was one of the central junctions of this classification yard.

The survivors of concentration and extermination camps, the forced labourers (now classified as Displaced Persons [DPs]), the evacuees, the German civilians deported to the Soviet Union, the POWs and the emigrants all got the chance to return home. In contrast, the end of the war marked the beginning of homelessness for a great number of other people in Europe, including 12.5 million evacuated, resettled, fleeing and expelled citizens of the German Reich and of members of German minorities in eastern central Europe. In German, the phrase "flight and expulsion" is commonly used to designate the conditions, implementation and repercussions of this unprecedented violent population movement.[12]

Many Germans had been evacuated or resettled by the Nazi authorities in the final months of the war, and thousands had fled the quickly advancing Eastern Front. In addition, there were the hundreds of thousands of expellees in the context of the so-called wild expulsions from Poland and Czechoslovakia immediately after the end of the war. At the end of the year 1945, the organised refugee and expellee transports commenced, on the basis of Article XIII of the Potsdam Agreement, which Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed to.[13] Almost daily, trains full of expellees from the former eastern territories of the German Reich ran from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to the designated stations in the four occupation zones.[14] The "dislocated human" became an archetype of the post-war period, the refugee a "figure of a new era"[15] and camps became makeshift housing for millions of refugees and expellees.

The distribution of the refugees and expellees to the occupation zones and within the various regions took place via a system of camps and was not standardised. In the Soviet zone of occupation, the amount of "resettlers" – the official Soviet term for expellees – was significantly higher than in the western occupation zones.[16] In the 1950 census, refugees and expellees constituted 16.5 per cent of the total population of the Federal Republic of Germany, corresponding to approximately eight million people. About two-thirds of the expellees originated from the eastern territories of the German Reich, while

12 Beer, *Flucht und Vertreibung*.
13 Ray M. Douglas, *Ordnungsgemäße Überführung. Die Vertreibung der Deutschen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Munich 2012).
14 Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (New York 1950), 315.
15 Elisabeth Pfeil, *Der Flüchtling. Gestalt einer Zeitenwende* (Hamburg 1948).
16 Michael Schwartz, *Vertriebene und "Umsiedlerpolitik". Integrationskonflikte in den deutschen Nachkriegs-Gesellschaften und die Assimilationsstrategien in der SBZ/DDR 1945–1961* (Münster 2004).

the other third was comprised of ethnic Germans from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Romania. The number of refugees and expellees continued to rise even after organised expulsions came to an end in the late 1940s. This was caused by the surging flow of refugees from the GDR (German Democratic Republic) since the early 1950s as well as by the stipulations of the Federal Expellee Law (*Bundesvertriebenen- und Flüchtlingsgesetz*) in 1953. In 1961, the last census to take account of refugee and expellee statuses documented a refugee and expellee rate of 21.5 per cent.

In 1949, answers were still mostly lacking in response to the social challenges posed by the influx of such a huge number of refugees and expellees. No one knew yet whether or how it could be defused, but everyone agreed that it needed to be defused as quickly as possible. Even a decade after the end of the war, there were over 3,000 refugee and expellee camps in West Germany, housing more than half a million people.[17] The "homo barackensis" was a part of German post-war daily life, and a visible sign of the refugee question marking Germany.

Contrary to the expectations and prognoses of many contemporaries both in Germany and abroad, a process lasting multiple decades succeeded in deescalating the refugee question and overcoming the conflict of old and new citizens. The feared disintegrating and destabilising impact threatened by "Germany's Problem No. 1" – "Palestinian conditions", as contemporaries said – did not materialise. Of the multiple factors that contributed to finding answers to the refugee question, the aggravation of the East-West conflict leading to the Cold War was one of the most important. It gave rise to an exceedingly favourable context for the package of socio-political measures – equalisation of burdens (*Lastenausgleich*), housing construction, and promotion of economic development – by means of which the German federal governments advanced the integration of new citizens sustainably though unwillingly, and also with foreign support. This went hand in hand with the "formation of a new nation out of 'indigenous Germans' and eastern expellees", an arduous process full of obstacles. In its course, on the one hand, the integration and finally the assimilation of the refugees and expellees took place with immense public and personal efforts, and on the other hand, German society changed.

17 Mathias Beer, "Lager als Lebensform in der deutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft. Zur Neubewertung der Funktion der Flüchtlingswohnlager im Eingliederungsprozeß", in Jan Motte et al. (ed.), *50 Jahr Bundesrepublik – 50 Jahre Einwanderung. Nachkriegsgeschichte als Migrationsgeschichte* (Frankfurt a.M. 1999), 56–75.

The Schlotwiese Camp or a Second Homeland

The inhabitants of the Schlotwiese camp were part of the great refugee question post-war Germany was confronted with, and the camp was only one of many thousands in which refugees and expellees were temporarily put up or languished for years.[18]

The residents of the camp were members of the German minorities in Yugoslavia. Their ancestors had been settled in the territories of the Banat, Bačka, Syrmia and Slavonia by the Habsburgs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since the 1920s, the umbrella term "Danube Swabians" comprised all these different groups of settlers. The Second World War constituted a rupture for these Germans abroad, which the National Socialist German Reich defined as *Volksdeutsche* (ethnic Germans), as well. After the German Reich had defeated Yugoslavia in 1941, it divided the spoils with Italy, Hungary and the newly founded fascist Independent State of Croatia. Due to pressure exerted by Germany, the German minority in the new Croatian Ustaše state obtained the privileged status of a corporate body under public law as the German People's Group in the Independent State of Croatia (Deutsche Volksgruppe im Unabhängigen Staat Kroatien).[19] This autonomy within the Independent State of Croatia protected by Nazi Germany went hand in hand with an extensive (self)instrumentalisation by the German Reich – politically, economically and militarily.[20] Thus the fate of the German minority in Croatia was closely linked to the Second World War and its outcome.

As the Eastern Front advanced, the German minority in the Independent State of Croatia was almost entirely evacuated to the German Reich under the auspices of Heinrich Himmler in his function as Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of German Nationhood (*Reichkommissar für die Festigung deutschen Volkstums*) in October 1944. Some of them experienced the end of the war in a part of Thuringia. Classified as DPs, they were deposited in trains in order to be repatriated in mid-1945. However, as Yugoslavia refused

18 See Mathias Beer / Paula Lutum-Lenger (ed.), *Fremde Heimat. Das Lager Schlotwiese nach 1945* (Stuttgart, Tübingen 1995); Mathias Beer, "Selbstbild und Fremdbild als Faktoren bei der Eingliederung der Flüchtlinge und Vertriebenen nach 1945", in Sylvia Schraut / Thomas Grosser (ed.), *Die Flüchtlingsfrage in der deutschen Nachkriegsgesellschaft* (Mannheim 1996), 31–53; Mathias Beer, "'Ich möchte die Zeit nicht missen.' Flüchtlingslager nach 1945 als totale Institution?", in *SOWI Sozialwissenschaftliche Information* 29:3 (2000), 186–193.

19 Art. 6 der Gesetzesverordnung über die Rechtsstellung der deutschen Volksgruppe und des Volksgruppenführers im "Unabhängigen Staat Kroatien", verabschiedet 21.06.1941, in *Das Schicksal der deutschen in Jugoslawien* (Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa Bd. 5). Ed. by Theodor Schieder et al. (Bonn 1961), 135f.

20 See Carl Bethke, *Deutsche und ungarische Minderheiten in Kroatien und der Vojvodina 1918 –1941. Identitätsentwürfe und ethnopolitische Mobilisierung* (Wiesbaden 2009).

the return of its citizens of German nationality, the trains had to turn back. The westward journey ended in the American occupation zone with Stuttgart at the end of the line. The American military authorities sent the first train detainees to the captured, now empty and dilapidated barrack camp on the Schlotwiese on 13 August. As in the case of most post-war camps, the persons now admitted were not the first inmates.

The camp on the Schlotwiese was one of multiple camps, which had already been built during the war in the Zuffenhausen district. In 1942, the municipality of Stuttgart set up the first camp in a forest clearing that originally served as a local recreation and sports area and was soon expanded. Initially, it was used for POWs and forced labourers, and shortly after the end of the war it became a repatriation camp for approximately 3,000 Soviet forced labourers. After these had left Stuttgart for repatriation, the American military authorities converted the barracks to a DP camp.[21] "The camp was indescribable – completely run down with leftover food all mouldy in the pots […] The Americans unloaded us there and left us to ourselves," one camp resident, who arrive at Schlotwiese with the first transport in August 1945, remembers.[22]

The Schlotwiese camp in Stuttgart-Zuffenhausen was already the fourth camp in the course of one year to provisionally house ethnic Germans. Contrary to the expectations of both the camp inmates and the changing authorities, first American and then German, the admission of the ethnic Germans to the Schlotwiese camp represented the beginning of a post-war story that was to last for over two decades. The temporary measure became a permanent institution.

The number of inmates rapidly reached 1,000; at times it even soared to 1,600. Families separated by the war, flight and evacuation reunited at Schlotwiese. Fleeing and expelled Danube Swabians from Syrmia, Slavonia, Bačka and also Bosnia arrived via Austria and Bavaria. In those uncertain times, they sought out the community of their countrymen on the Schlotwiese. Furthermore, inspired by corresponding rumours, they hoped this might be a transit camp from which they would be returned home in due time. This hope was also substantially fuelled by the fact that the camp inmates were admitted to the Schlotwiese as DPs and for the time being maintained this privileged status as compared to the German population. The DP status provided them with the fundamental prerequisite for being returned to their country of origin, for being repatriated. Apart from the decisive reassurance of returning home, the DP status also meant better treatment. Attended by the United

21 See Mathias Beer, "Zuffenhausen in der Zeit nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg", in *Zuffenhausen. Dorf – Stadt – Stadtbezirk. Redaktion Albrecht Gühring* (Stuttgart 2004), 477–528; Cf. Roland Müller, *Stuttgart zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart 1988).

22 Archiv of the Institut für donauschwäbische Geschichte und Landeskunde (AIdGL), Schlotwiese, Interview with Appolonia K.

Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the camp residents received free and far better fare than the average German population, like all DPs in the then fourteen foreigners' camps in Stuttgart. They were also exempt from the general obligation to work – "yes, those were still good times for us."[23]

The camp inmates for their part, socialised in a multinational environment, did their best to correspond to the altogether advantageous classification as DPs in their conduct and appearance, to confirm this status in their everyday life, as they considered it their ticket home. Not being obliged to work, young football enthusiasts sought a fulfilling pastime. They joined together to form a team and they deliberately chose the Serbo-Croatian name Crni Vitez. Originally designating a club in the suburbs of Belgrade, the name was familiar to them from back home. Furthermore, the only material available in sufficient quantity to provide the entire team with a consistent set of jerseys and shorts so they could appear as a team was blackout fabric. Whether the first football the young people had was a ball of rags, a ball brought along to the camp in the course of evacuation, or a football "organised" in the camp, remains unaccounted for. Their opponent in the first friendly match was also clearly a recourse to familiar structures. They played against the Bijeli Vitez, a team of Yugoslavian officers and soldiers put up in the barracks of Stuttgart-Berg, who could not or did not wish to return home in light of the new balance of power in Yugoslavia. The meticulously recorded match reports of the Crni Vitez were kept in Serbo-Croatian during this time. With its reference to the homeland, the football team was more than a much-appreciated distraction from dreary everyday camp life. Its name was the camp inmates' expression of a deliberately public allegiance to their country of origin, to where they still hoped to be able to return.

The camp residents emphasised this allegiance in other areas of everyday life as well. The theatre group they set up initially performed pieces exclusively in Serbo-Croatian. And the camp school the inmates organised provisionally taught lessons in the language familiar to them from their homeland. The children were to be well prepared for their return home, which the DP status ensured. By accentuating the national reference to their country of origin and putting aside or concealing their ethnicity, those left stranded on the Schlotwiese as "war reinforced outsiders" gave the impression that they were foreign subjects. The national part of their identity, which they emphasised, corresponded to the external perception people had of the camp inmates at that time. The American military authorities considered them to be Yugoslavs awaiting repatriation, and they did everything to keep up that image.

23 Ibid.

On 17 November 1945, however, the prospect of repatriation changed fundamentally. When the repatriation of DPs from the western occupation zones started to falter in autumn 1945, the American military authorities implemented screenings in DP camps in order to identify groups whose return to their homeland seemed improbable.[24] Among these were the "so-called Volksdeutsche, […] persons, who irrespective of their former nationality are, in fact regarded as German citizens, both by their national authorities and by occupying military authorities in the Zones where they are located."[25] By order of the American military government, the inhabitants of four "foreigners' camps" in Stuttgart had their DP status revoked. The administration for the camps was transferred to the municipality.[26]

The change of status had serious consequences and directly affected daily camp life on the Schlotwiese: "When the Americans handed us over to the city of Stuttgart, for three months or four months we only got potato soup",[27] one camp resident reported. Potato soup is a visual expression of the attitude the city adopted towards the camp inhabitants. The responsible welfare agency supplied the inhabitants only with the bare necessities as the city administration insisted on their foreign citizenship that was the prerequisite for their repatriation, which the municipality hoped for as well. The football club's name, which could hardly be pronounced, Crni Vitez, the theatre performances in Serbo-Croatian, the school lessons in Serbo-Croatian and the inhabitants' remaining wish to return home all cemented the image of the inmates as foreigners. It confirmed the city officials in their opinion that the people on the Schlotwiese, be they of German origin or ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), were to be treated first and foremost as Yugoslavs and thus repatriated. This was opposed to the clear decision of the military government according to which the ethnic Germans on the Schlotwiese were not DPs and therefore to be treated as common German citizens.[28] The final word thus spoken by the military government however did not sort out the situation. The city of Stuttgart still attempted to get rid of the camp inmates, also by pointing out that they did not fit into the city. The responsible state ministry ensconced itself behind a formal legal point of view. The "aforementioned group of persons was not forcibly deported, therefore they cannot be addressed as expellees

24 Institut für Zeitgeschichte Munich (IfZ) Fi 01.78, Weekly Report der SHAEF (Supreme Heaquarter Alied Expeditionary Forces), G 5 Divison Nr. 42, 13.09.1945.
25 Ibid., Fi 01.87, Bl. 41: UNRRA Germany Mission DC 66,019. Monthly Report Febr. 1946.
26 Stadtarchiv Stuttgart (StaAS) Ha 4440, Office of Military Government Stadtkreis Stuttgart to Oberbürgermeister Arnulf Klett, 01.11.1945 and meeting 16.11.1945.
27 AIdGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Appolonia K.
28 StaAS, Office of Military Government Stadtkreis Stuttgart to Oberbürgermeister Klett, 29.04.1946.

(eastern refugees) and subsequently neither treated as such." The city was to accord the inhabitants of the Schlotwiese "the basic necessities of life in case of need within the context of general welfare."[29]

In the meantime, a year had passed since the internment of the first transport in the Schlotwiese camp. Due to their citizenship, the camp inhabitants were at first classified as DPs. When this status was revoked due to their German ethnicity, they were suddenly neither one nor the other. The camp inmates were declared stateless and eked out a dire existence of bare necessity. "Thus the Schlotwiese camp was more or less a thorn in the city's side, first as an isolated DP camp, which the city had to put up with, then as a camp of disaffected persons who belonged nowhere,"[30] as is stated in a report of the Stuttgart municipality of April 1947.

Up until then, the sojourn in the Schlotwiese camp had been a balancing act for its inmates. On the one hand, the national connection to their homeland, which was expressed in their DP status and among other things in the Serbo-Croatian name – Crni Vitez – of their football team, but which was refused them by their country of origin, Yugoslavia. On the other hand, the affiliation to a German minority, which the German motherland at this point in time did not consider sufficient reason to acknowledge them as German refugees and expellees. Now classified as stateless persons – those who belong nowhere – both options were denied them, both the desired return to their former home and the reluctant admission to their new home.

The Camp and its Football Team or From Crni Vitez to F.C. Batschka

For the municipality of Stuttgart and the district administration Zuffenhausen, the camp was predominately a hygienic and moral hazard, "a thorn in the city's side". The established population of Zuffenhausen eyed the camp residents with open hostility; they were viewed as new foreign labourers and labelled as gypsies. Since the inhabitants of the Schlotwiese were generally avoided and isolated by their surroundings, they created a veritable (camp) community, a substitute home perforce – "at the end of the day it was a bit of a home away from home."[31] An entirely new district of Zuffenhausen was emerging on the Schlotwiese. At an average of 1,400 and more inhabitants, it was larger than Neuwirthaus or Zazenhausen, which belonged to

29 Ibid., Sozialamt 159, Staatskommissar für das Flüchtlingswesen Bettinger to Oberbürgermeister Klett, 16.05.1946.

30 Ibid., HA 6732–10, Oberbürgermeister Klett an das Innenministerium Württemberg-Baden, 02.04.1947.

31 Mathias Beer/Paula Lutum-Lenger (ed.), *Fremde Heimat. Das Lager Schlotwiese nach 1945* (Stuttgart 1995), 123.

Zuffenhausen. Most of the camp residents found employment in companies in the surrounding neighbourhoods and in households in Zuffenhausen as well. Step by step a structure subordinate to the district administration developed within the camp – directed by the elected camp warden and camp committee, including a typing office and messenger – which was responsible for all concerns of the camp inhabitants and assured communications with the Zuffenhausen, municipal and state administration, as well as the military government. With the help of the health department and the district administration, the camp inhabitants set up an infirmary which was desperately needed in light of the housing conditions. In addition, a camp school affiliated with the Rosenschule in Zuffenhausen, as well as a kindergarten taught more than a hundred children. The Schlotwiese community was completed economically by craft workshops, three shops and a pub, and culturally by a theatre group, multiple youth groups, a choir, a band and the SK Crni Vitez. The residents installed a Catholic chapel in the centrally located barrack. Here, services, wedding ceremonies and baptisms took place. It was also the point of departure and destination of the processions that took place in the camp. The congregation was initially filially supervised by the priest of the St. Antonius church, until they later obtained their own priest. On 19 July 1949, the expellee chaplain of the diocese Rottenburg-Stuttgart consecrated the bell which had been funded by donations from within the camp during a celebratory mass. Bearing the inscription "Saint Joseph, pray for us expellees", it rounded off the barrack community which had evolved on the Schlotwiese. "And slowly but surely the camp established itself like a little village. […] We were all one great big community, and that gave us a lot of strength."[32] As the inhabitants put it themselves, it was a home away from home for these refugees and expellees the war had deposited on the Schlotwiese, and they identified with it, as the self-designation "Schlotwieser" indicates.

The community that had come into being on the Schlotwiese, one of the many "wooden towns"[33] in post-war Germany, offered its inhabitants a trustworthy refuge: "That's how it was there, more or less like before the war."[34] The images of that world were familiar, and so the camp inmates hung on to it as best they could. The camp operated according to the models the camp inmates were accustomed to from their region of origin. But now that they were denied both a return home and admission to German society, these models were no longer geared to their country of origin, Yugoslavia, but, as the language change in the camp illustrates, to their origins as a German

32 AIdGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Appolonia K., S 10.
33 Alfred Karasek-Langer: "Die 'hölzernen Städte'. Donauschwäbische Siedlungsgeschichte der Gegenwart", in *Neuland* 5:29 (1952), 1.
34 AIDGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Eva P.

minority. It was no coincidence that some interviewees described the Schlotwiese as an enclave. On the one hand, the recourse to the past and their own origins offered the desired support in the face of an uncertain present. On the other hand, it reinforced the outlandish impression which outsiders in general and the inhabitants of Zuffenhausen in particular had of the camp residents. "It was pretty bad, because we were just the gypsies."[35] In this process which connected the retreat into the familiar and accustomed with the self-assertion as outsiders, the camp's football team played a role which cannot be overestimated.

The revocation of DP status brought about a change in the role of football in the Schlotwiese camp. Until then it had mainly been a matter for enthusiastic young men, who took advantage of their ample leisure time to keep in shape and compete with teams from their home country. Now, without the protective framework of DP status, the Crni Vitez had to adapt to the club structures of its new surroundings if it wanted to survive. The leisure activity of football enthusiasts developed into a camp team.

The Schlotwiesers laid the foundations for such an adaptation themselves by founding a club. It consolidated the experience of running a club some of the elder men had acquired in their home country with the youthful vigour of the younger men to demonstrate their football skills in their new surroundings. The Schlotwiesers registered their club at the State Sport Federation Württemberg-Baden, division football, under the name Fußball-Club Batschka on 20 July 1946. In the process, they had to resist the local sport and culture association in Zuffenhausen, to which all the established clubs were affiliated.[36] The sport association opposed the petition of F.C. Batschka to be classified as an independent club in Zuffenhausen, with reference to the destruction of the sports fields and the dubious viability of a further small club, offering to admit the members of F.C. Batschka to existing clubs instead. Due to the support of the State Sport Federation, the municipality of Stuttgart and especially the American military government, the club was able to successfully avert this takeover attempt. The executive board of the 185-member-club applied for admission as an independent club on 29 October. The American City Commander of Stuttgart approved the application within one month, in accordance with the occupying power's ruling on the new status of the Schlotwiesers: "According to your application of October 29, [19]46 a license is herewith granted to your association Fussball-Club 'Batschka'."[37]

Licensing heralded a new chapter in the team's history from an organisational point of view. A fresh page was turned by two conspicuous developments

35 Ibid., Interview with Appolonia K.
36 Altregistratur S.V. Rot, Unterlagen 1946–1955, 29.07.1946.
37 Ibid.

as well: the renaming and the new club colours. These were by no means random changes, but deliberate choices of the club members. The former Serbo-Croatian Crni Vitez was abandoned in favour of a German name for the club. In choosing Batschka, a reference to the region of origin of some of the camp's residents was maintained. The greater part of this historical region of southeastern Europe today belongs to the Serbian province of Vojvodina. The new name also expressed the ever widespread expectation of being able to return home: "90 per cent of us still hoped we would be going back to the old homeland. And so we wanted to underline that with our name."[38] The new club name F.C. Batschka, on the one hand, emphasised the origin of the camp inmates, which gave them orientation during their time in the camp. On the other hand, however, it also simultaneously underlined their newly affirmed self-perception as members of a German minority. For they now publicly used their geographical name of origin in their club name, deliberately using German spelling. The latter replaced the Serbo-Croatian spelling *Bačka*, which could be found in the internal club documents in the second half of the year 1946.[39]

The name change went hand in hand with a new outfit for the team, a second major change. The uniform black of the Crni Vitez was abandoned in favour of white trousers and shirts with a red stripe on the chest. Red and white became the new identification of the team and the colours adorn the club pennant to this day. As in the case of the first team's uniform, the necessary fabric for the new attire was the result of "organising" as well. Procuring goods for daily use was even more of a challenge for the Schlotwiese camp inhabitants than for the rest of the post-war scarcity society. The camp inhabitants turned flour sacks of an American bakery where a few of them were employed into the basic fabric for the football garments. The stripe on the chest was fashioned out of the red fabric of a swastika flag. The two fabrics were tailored into trousers and shirts in the camp. In addition, the camp cobbler converted everyday shoes into football boots by equipping them with self-made studs. They had to suffice until circumstances permitted the acquisition of the first proper football boots.

Figuratively speaking, the football uniforms of F.C. Batschka combined the past, symbolised by the recycled swastika flag, and the present, in the form of the American flour sacks. Owing to the improvisational talent of the camp inhabitants, these raw materials became the trademark of the new club. F.C. Batschka also linked yesterday to today inasmuch by choosing their new name they were referring to the past and thus emphasising the foreign origin of the refugees and expellees in the Schlotwiese camp, while they simultaneously

38 AIdGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Anton K.
39 Artregistratur S.V. Rot, Freundschaftsspiele 1945/46.

consciously rose to the challenge of athletic confrontation with the clubs of their new German post-war surroundings in the context of the Württemberg Football Association.

The club clearly endeavoured for more than a mere athletic competition in light of its registration and licensing. F.C. Batschka was not a football team like any other. As the name itself reveals, it was a club of foreigners, and precisely as such it was perceived. Furthermore, the club was the team of a camp, an institution which one faced with caution, a great deal of scepticism and even open hostility, due to the associated images of squalor, lawlessness and debauchery. The inhabitants of Zuffenhausen and the established teams F.C. Batschka played against were only further confirmed in their appraisal by the team's attire, born of necessity. In the eyes of the Zuffenhausen population and the opposing teams their handsome dress was incompatible with the destitution of refugees associated with the camp. Inadvertently, the new football dress reinforced the distrust towards the team of foreigners and the camp and its inhabitants altogether.

From the beginning, F.C. Batschka was confronted with this type of attitude towards the foreigners from the Schlotwiese within the structures of the Württemberg Football Association as well. Although the club was based in the state capital, the team was not assigned to the Stuttgart district association, but to the lower division (B-Klasse) of the neighbouring Leonberg district. Outsiders preferably should be kept out. This could easily be arranged on the basis of the association structures F.C. Batschka was now implicated in. The situation on the football field however was a different one. Here it did not matter where a team was from, but how many goals they scored. F.C. Batschka was able to build upon the series of successful friendly matches of the enthusiastic Black Knights. This only served to fuel the resentment towards the team and the camp which F.C. Batschka represented in public.

The first official game of F.C. Batschka in the B-Division of the Leonberg district took place on 27 October 1946 and was a home match. A clear victory of 3:1 was scored against Friolsheim. Further victories followed. Both at home and away matches, the team was always accompanied and cheered by the many fans from the camp. "We stuck together like glue", one camp inmate accurately stated.[40] At first, a wood gas-powered engine was used to cart the camp residents to the away games. Crucial matches required up to four open lorries, or the club would even charter a train: "Football was everything to us. When a football match came around, half the camp was there. Friends and relatives, grandad or grandkid, one and all showed up at the football field. Even when they played away, we all came along."[41]

40 AIdGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Johann K.
41 Ibid., Interview with Appolonia K.

At the end of its first association season, the club was at the very top. The decision whether they would be promoted or not fell on 22 June 1947 during an away match. About 1,000 spectators, including many from Schlotwiese, attended the game. But even their support was not able to bring about the success they hoped for. A narrow defeat of F.C. Batschka thwarted the triumphant finale of a frequently victorious and thus promising championship. But the team did not end this, their first year, empty-handed. They demonstrated their skill in the district cup and won the competition beating the FC Stammheim 4:3. This was to prove auspicious for the second championship the team would take part in after its foundation.

What F.C. Batschka had failed to accomplish in their first championship, they managed one year later:

> The first team of F.C. Batschka, Zuffenhausen, has achieved promotion to the A-Division in the playing season 1947/48. Following a fair and technically convincing overall performance, the team is worthy to be promoted. True to our ideal philosophy of sport, in the interest of the upkeep of our sport, in the spirit of all sport camaraderie, we warmly wish the entire club best luck for further successes.[42]

That was the wording of a certificate issued by the State Sport Association Württemberg, district Leonberg, division football, district class B. At least as important as the promotion itself was the respect it entailed for the team and thus for the entire Schlotwiese camp. From the point of view of the State Sport Association, in being promoted F.C. Batschka had proven itself "worthy". Their victory in athletic competition publicly attested that the team was on a par with the established teams. Esteem was not only directed at the team, but meant recognition of the camp and its residents as a whole. This strengthened their self-confidence, as well as the bond they shared. The victories of the football team played a major role in the self-assertion of the camp inhabitants, as one of F.C. Batschka's players remembers: "Of course, because of our way of playing, because of our victories […] they had to acknowledge us. The significance of the camp, I would say, was only really noticed because of our football, because that was our flagship."[43]

42 Altregistratur des S.V. Rot, Unterlagen 1946–1955, 06.05.1948.
43 AIdGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Franz B.

Where Do We Belong or from F.C. Batschka to S.V. Rot

The equally unexpected and deserved triumph of F.C. Batschka cannot belie the fact that its success was temporary and limited to one season. In 1947/48 the team left the field as champions, but steadily year by year they had to assert themselves in competition against the established teams. As the team of a critically eyed camp of foreigners with an undetermined status, F.C. Batschka had to prove their "worthiness" on the field and thus in public repeatedly. The related conflicts reached far beyond the limited field of sport, as the trial of strength on the field became a symbol for the admission and recognition of forced migrants in Zuffenhausen, in Stuttgart, and even in Germany after 1945 altogether.

The well-documented reports of each game, the initiated proceedings, and the verdicts pronounced by the Württemberg Football Association hint at the force and impact of the conflicts between the teams of the established population and that of the Schlotwiese outsiders. The Association charged the F.C. Batschka team with, among other things, their right back carrying a small dagger during a match against the Wimsheim team.[44] Because his play was deemed unsportsmanlike, F.C. Batschka's goalkeeper was temporarily suspended. The clashes escalated to the point that the A-Division clubs of the Leonberg district, all of them established clubs, unanimously agreed to play no further official games against F.C. Batschka. The Württemberg Football Association had to energetically intervene in order to dissuade the clubs from this resolution contrary to the statutes. One of the measures taken was to have four matches of F.C. Batschka played under supervision, which meant close observation.[45]

One event in 1947 illustrates the persistent mutual mistrust particularly well.[46] In that year, the district administrator of the Leonberg district announced the "District-Administrator-Schröter-Cup". Due to their outstanding first playing season, F.C. Batschka counted on having good chances. Thus the club applied to participate in the tournament, but received an unexpected refusal. Not knowing the actual reason – only clubs based in the Leonberg district were admitted to the cup – the club, which was assigned to the Leonberg district although based in Stuttgart, found themselves prompted to present a

44 Altregistratur des S.V. Rot, Briefwechsel, Urteile, F.C. Batschka to the Landessportverband Württemberg, 17.03.1948. Here also the proofs for the case mentioned below.

45 Ibid., Württembergischer Fußballverband to all A-Division clubs of the district Leonberg, 07.12.1950. A similar resolution against F.C. Batschka was taken on 12.01.1952.

46 Ibid. Cf. F.C. Batschka to Landrat of Leonberg, 14.05.1947. Here also the further quotation.

very sharp response. The executive board speculated that the decision might be due to the fundamental rejection of the refugees and thus of F.C. Batschka as their representative:

> Because one might be confronted with the notion of having to cede the cup to ethnic German refugees from Yugoslavia (foreigners!!). We however refuse to accept this, that we are denied equality because we are refugees and new citizens. […] How are we to not feel foreign amongst our species and disowned, if we are rejected with such frigidity?

As the letter further states, their lot in life was well known. They had lost all their belongings along with their homeland and had "frequently been worse off as Germans amongst Germans than strangers can be amongst strangers." Fair athletic competition, to which they felt deeply committed, was one of the few means for them to better cope with the burden of their fate and to gain a foothold here in Württemberg. When the misunderstandings had finally been resolved, the executive board of F.C. Batschka addressed the Württemberg Sport Association in a letter in which they expressed thanks for the clarification of the situation, regret for the assumptions directed at the Leonberg district administrator, and explained the reasons that had led to the assumptions. The team was "scorned for no reason by an unfair and prejudiced audience […], mainly our players are harassed by the shouts: These gypsies; these jungle dwellers; knock them down, beat them dead, etc." Thereupon the State Sport Association was requested to make use of its authority to support "our sincere and honest endeavour to incorporate ourselves as a club on an equal footing in the Leonberg district (with exception of the cup matters)" and to help "put an end to the partly remaining spite of the population."[47]

The conflicts concerned far more than the game of football, as these remarks show. The fundamental question was the relationship between old and new citizens, and it concerned the fans of all teams. Insults belonged to the standard repertoire of hostilities: "And at every playing field they yelled – You gypsies! Get out of here", one camp inhabitant remembers.[48] Such taunts repeatedly led to fights that ended up in scuffles and brawls. These were the subject of multiple proceedings of the Württemberg State Sport Association, which brought about severe penalties for F.C. Batschka on account of the behaviour of their supporters.[49] "The Hemminger were the worst. When the Hemminger came, we already knew: There will be some injuries today. Because someone always shouted 'Gypsies' and then off things went."[50] That

47 Ibid., 30.05.1947. This citation encompasses all the quotes in the paragraph.
48 AIdGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Johann K.
49 Altregistratur S.V. Rot, Briefwechsel, Urteile. Cf. Landessportverbandes Württemberg, 26.10.1947.
50 AIdGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Josef G.

particular insult was a red rag for the Schlotwieser, because it put them on a level with the group of persons on the lowest rung of society in their home region. The camp inhabitants by no means wanted to be identified with this group in their fight for recognition and equality, albeit they were indeed situated at the very bottom of the social ladder in German post-war society.

In the same way F.C. Batschka was seen as an outsider, the inhabitants of the Schlotwiese camp found the new surroundings into which the Second World War had flushed them to be a "cold home"[51] for quite some time. The long-established population considered them to be foreigners, aliens, and the camp a thorn in the city's side. The football club contributed considerably to the camp residents' holding their ground in this competition with adverse starting conditions. Following the rhythm of the match schedule and the rules of the game, every match meant a trial of strength with the long-established football teams. Until 1952, those were the clubs of the B-Division of the Stuttgart district. In that year the Württemberg Football Association reallocated its districts: F.C. Batschka, which was based in Stuttgart but had been assigned to the Leonberg district, was assigned the Stuttgart district. Although the rise of the refugee team did not continue to the same degree after the club's seat was consolidated with the players' place of residence, success was not long in coming. The club's most successful year to date proved to be 1954/55: undefeated champion, cup winner and district cup champion. They won 36 out of 37 games, with the remaining game a draw. As a result of their record-breaking goal difference of 165:43, they were promoted to the A-Division of the Stuttgart district.

Precisely under the conflict-ridden conditions of competition with the established teams, F.C. Batschka came to play a constitutive role in the self-assertion of the newly developed camp community on the Schlotwiese. It gave the residents the footing they needed and proved to be the new safe haven to anchor in after the storm of forced migration. It was a refuge in the new surroundings, where the camp inmates were long considered foreigners, alien bodies. In this context, F.C. Batschka was more than a successful club offering the opportunity to engage in physical activity. It embodied a programme aiming at self-assertion, at the acknowledgment of refugees and expellees as equals in the new society the Second World War had created.

On the one hand, the camp was a shelter to its inhabitants, following the traditional way of life, and the football club was the flagship of this shanty town which seemed like an alien world to outsiders. On the other hand, the camp was on the verge of becoming an exclave, a ghetto in Stuttgart, and precisely because of their success, F.C. Batschka seemed to be the confirmation of this exclusion, which had to be fought against athletically. In doing so, the

51 Kossert, *Kalte Heimat*.

camp inhabitants and the football club rather amplified the contrast to their surroundings than being recognised as members of society with equal rights. A way out of this dilemma was offered by the building cooperative "New Home"[52] (*Neues Heim*), established on the Schlotwiese in November 1948. Supported by the incipient public housing subsidies for new citizens, the building cooperative inaugurated the first block of flats in December 1949. This laid the foundation for the new quarter Stuttgart-Rot in the Zuffenhausen district. Ten years later, it was already home to 20,000 people, including bombed out and evacuated old citizens, as well as new citizens – refugees, expellees, resettled persons and DPs.[53]

As the vast majority of residents moved out of the camp, F.C. Batschka once again faced a situation that had seemed overcome by its incorporation in the Stuttgart district association. Increasing numbers of members of the club, players and supporters of the team moved to the new Stuttgart-Rot housing development. Yet the club still had its seat and its clubhouse in the Schlotwiese camp. On this account, F.C. Batschka continued to be perceived disparagingly as a refugee team, the team of a camp. Against this background, the efforts of the club to relocate to the new settlement in 1950 are hardly surprising. They went hand in hand with the aspiration of finally having a local football field in Stuttgart-Rot. For even five years after the club had been founded, F.C. Batschka still depended on using the fields of the established teams for a fee and at times they were assigned by these clubs.

The club pursued a number of paths in order to realise their ambition of obtaining their own sports ground in the new quarter. These included petitions to the district town hall, to the Stuttgart city administration and also to the state ministries. Signatures were collected and the Württemberg Sport Associations were mobilised. In this process, the club continuously stressed the blessing of playing football in regulated club structures for the youth of the refugee camp. The club felt it must continue to fulfil this function in Stuttgart-Rot as well, in order to promote the coalescence of the motley population of the new settlement. Furthermore, the club leaders of F.C. Batschka brought a possible renaming into play. After relocating to Rot, the club was willing to "give up the present club name and adopt the new name 'F.C. Rot-Weiß'

52 Archiv der Gemeinnützigen Bau- und Siedlungsgenossenschaft "Neues Heim" eGmbH, Altregistratur, Protokolle 1948–1989.

53 Hermann Bausinger et al., *Neue Siedlungen. Volkskundlich-Soziologische Untersuchungen des Ludwig Uhland-Instituts Tübingen* (Stuttgart 1963); Herbert Schwedt, *Großstädtische Siedlungen. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung gemeinschaftlicher Lebensformen in neuen Stuttgarter Wohngebieten. Diss. (mschr.)* (Tübingen 1960); Mathias Beer, *Religiöse Beheimatung nach 1945. Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirchengemeinde Stuttgart-Rot* (Stuttgart 2006).

[F.C. Red-White]." This step was intended to "take the idea of the general integration and fusion of all Rotweg inhabitants to one whole into account and to affirm the purely athletic character of the club."[54]

In making this offer, F.C. Batschka's executive board evidently sought to comply with corresponding expectations of the decision-makers responsible for a sports field. The Württemberg Football Association encouraged them to change the name of their club: "This could never be disadvantageous, but only an advantage for your club."[55] The club, however, made a package deal out of the allocation of a sports field of its own and a possible name change from the beginning, as the club's membership meetings reveal: "If we are allotted a sports ground, we will nonetheless do that as well."[56] But this did not succeed in accelerating the municipal decision on a local football field. Five years after the first application to the city administration, and despite all the club's attempts, no progress had yet been made. And so, with a heavy heart, the club decided to pull up stakes.

At the general assembly on 31 May 1956, agenda item number seven was: "Name Change". The club members had been requested in advance to submit suggestions for a new club name in writing. Only one of the suggestions – S.V. Viktoria, Zuffenhausen-Rot – will be discussed here. The submitter referred to the name change as urgent, in order to not endanger the objectives of the club. He explained his proposal as follows: "The name Viktoria still feels a good deal like home and does not digress from our old tradition."[57] Furthermore, the title "Sportverein" (sports club) would easily allow the expansion of the club's activities to further sport disciplines.

The explanation of this proposal in itself exemplifies that the package deal with the new sports ground was not the only reason that the renaming took so long. Apparently, it was above all their self-image, which the members linked to the club name, and for that reason, they were so tenaciously attached to it. For the members, F.C. Batschka was more than a club name and more than a place name. It represented the world of their origin, of their socialisation and of their upbringing. Together, these meant home, and that was something they could not and did not wish to simply leave behind. The traditions of their home region remained the guideline for their conduct more than a decade after their arrival in foreign Germany. But it was neither this suggestion nor other similar ones pointing to the past, to the old homeland, which met with great approval in the annual general assembly of 1956. An overwhelming

54 Altregistratur des S.V. Rot, Verbände, F.C. Batschka to the Bürgermeisteramt Stuttgart and the Württembergischen Sportverband; F.C. Batschka to the Landessportverband and the Bürgermeisteramt Stuttgart, 25.05.1952.
55 Ibid., chairman of the Württembergischen Fußballverband to the FCB, 03.06.1952.
56 Ibid., S.V. Rot III, Protokolle der Mitgliederversammlungen, 12.07.1952 and 16.06.1955.
57 Ibid., Peter Heimann to F.C. Batschka, 22.05.1956.

majority endorsed a name focused on the here and now, on the new place of residence, which had yet to become a new home. The clear voting result was: "Viktoria", 1 vote; "Rot-Weiß", 2 votes; "F.C. Rot", 19 votes; and "S.V. Rot", 90 votes.[58]

What the minutes of the meeting recorded in a few short words and dry figures was, as other documents indicate, the result of intense and controversial discussions. "For many, the old name had meant loyalty both to homeland (*Heimat*) and heritage", making the name change so difficult.[59] Yet with the young generation in mind which no longer had these ties, and because the people outside of the camp "took offense at the name, and then a few things more", the club members decided with an overwhelming majority, albeit to some extent with a heavy heart, to move "these obstacles" out of the way. "After long discussions, we agreed on this step, in order to undertake the so-called 'fusion' here as well." When the executive board informed the Württemberg Football Association of the name change, it stressed anew the clearly desired objective: "In making this decision, our members wished to also provide outward evidence that they have no intention of pursuing a so-called 'life of their own' and distinguishing themselves from other athletes by their very name."[60] Dropping the name of their origin and taking on that of their new residence was meant to explicitly assert the will to become a part of their new surroundings. Following this declaration of allegiance, the executive board reiterated their request for support in the pressing issue of a local sports ground in Rot. This wish was not to be fulfilled until 1959, almost a decade after the first petition.

After the second name change and securing their own playing field, the metamorphosis from a camp club of foreigners to a football club, which emphasised belonging to their new home in their name, was completed, at least on a semantic level. The club had literally and nominally arrived in Rot. The integration process of the Schlotwieser, which was to last decades longer, had reached a new level. "As time went by, we became Germans after all", one of the Schlotwiese camp residents concluded.[61]

58 Ibid., Protokoll der Versammlung vom 31.05.1956.
59 Altregistratur S.V. Rot, SV Rot II, Aug. 1956. Here also the futher citations.
60 Ibid., DFB, WFV, 10.08.1956. Cf. Jahreshauptversammlungen, 12.07.1951, 16.06.1955 and 31.05.1956.
61 AIDGL, Schlotwiese, Interview with Appolonia K.

Conclusion or The Function of Football in the Integration Process of Refugees and Expellees

In the available administrative records and the contemporary media coverage, the refugee and expellee camps of the post-war period appear to be dilapidated shelters lacking food, hygiene and medical care, where life was led literally at the margins of society. That is surely an accurate description, but only one side of the coin. If we take a look at sports and especially the football played in the refugee and expellee camps, a different function of these camps becomes apparent. Not only did the Schlotwiese Camp put an end to an odyssey across half of Europe under the conditions of total war and a chaotic post-war era. It became a lifeline for the refugees uprooted by war and migration. In their homelessness, the camp may have only offered a roof with holes, but a roof all the same. In their dispersion due to the war, living together with fellow countrymen in the camps provided the refugees with the vital warmth and security to gather the strength to build a "temporary home". In its isolation, the camp was the necessary refuge where one could resort to a familiar and undisturbed way of life. Finally, the camp was the sluice facilitating the transition to the new society when the hope of return gave way to political reality. In this process, football played an important role as a means of cultivating tradition and of self-assertion, and in doing so it became an agency of integration.

Football contributed significantly to bonding the Schlotwiese inmates as a group. It was the football team, which introduced the camp and its inhabitants both to the populace of Stuttgart-Zuffenhausen and to the wider social community. The club was the very flagship of the camp. Football shaped the self-perspective of the camp residents as it did the external perspective of outsiders on the camp and its inmates. In doing so, football had two contradictory functions: it brought them together as their own legitimate community, but excluded them from the larger society. It strengthened the self-confidence of the camp residents. By and by, football gave them the assurance of being not merely refugees, vagrants, foreigners – in a nutshell, vagrant inferiors from a social standpoint – but rather part of a society in which recognition can be earned by performance. In this respect, camp football had an including function. However, inasmuch as football contributed to the camp inmates' perceiving themselves as their own community, it exhibited an excluding effect as well. The camp and its football team were considered alien bodies by the established population. No longer was the individual camp resident considered and treated as an outsider by the established population, but the camp as a whole. Precisely because of its including function, the camp was on the verge of becoming an excluding ghetto for its residents. It was only by the camp inmates' opening as expressed in the name change from F.C. Batschka to S.V. Rot, that this dilemma could be disrupted.

This concurrence of contradictory functions of sport represents an important phase in the protracted process of integration of the millions of refugees and expellees from the eastern territories of the German Reich and a number of eastern central European states, into the four occupation zones during and at the end of the Second World War. The refugee and expellee camps and the sport practised there obviously played an important socio-psychological role for the residents, which made it easier for them to get their bearings in the new surroundings and grow roots in new social contexts. Sport in general and football in particular showed itself to be an agency of integration hitherto underestimated in general research. The evolution of Crni Vitez, founded in 1945, into S.V. Rot – the only remaining active sports club in the Federal Republic of Germany tracing back to a refugee football team – leaves no doubt in that respect.

Marcus Velke

Recreation, Nationalisation, and Integration

Sport in DP Camps for Estonian and Jewish DPs in Post-War Germany

Displaced persons research has so far first and foremost analysed intellectual and cultural phenomena like theatre and music groups, choirs, writing, painting, or the production of handcraft when looking at leisure activities in displaced person (DP) camps. In this context, the period of 1946–1947 could be described as some kind of "golden age". Initially only meant to be run as temporary assembly centres to give refuge, care and maintenance to those who had been forcefully brought to Germany and now waited for repatriation, the camps became permanent habitations until the late 1950s (under the responsibility of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany).[1] After the successful repatriation of most Western European DPs by 1946, the remaining DP group consisted of all kinds of Second World War survivors from Eastern Europe: former concentration camp inmates; forced labourers; prisoners of war, Jewish and non-Jewish; as well as civilian and military refugees who – like the Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians – had not entirely been "typical" Nazi victims but also voluntary or involuntary collaborators with the German occupiers. In the face of the Red Army's advance these refugees decided not to expose themselves again to Soviet terror and fled in the direction of Nazi Germany. The common characteristic among these Eastern European refugee groups was that after the end of the Second World War the vast majority of them were unwilling to return to their country of origin.[2] In this contingent situation, DPs developed a rich cultural life, which included an elaborate camp school system for the children and the youth among the DPs, based on the national curriculums of the interwar period in order to prevent

1 Marcus Velke, "'Wir sind doch auch freie Menschen und keine Gefangenen mehr': Das Stadtwaldlager Bocholt als Displaced Persons-Lager 1945–1951, in Stadt Bocholt (ed.), *Geschichte des Bocholter Stadtwaldlagers* (Neustadt an der Aisch 2015), 161–208, on pp. 163f.; Mark Wyman, *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–1951* (Ithaca, NY 1998), 204.

2 Anna Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism: Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany* (Ann Arbor, MI 2011), 3. The phenomenon that Eastern European Nazi collaborators sought shelter in the Reich is currently studied along the Ukrainian example in a research project at the Helmut Schmidt University, Hamburg, see https://web.hsu-hh.de/fak/geiso/fach/his-ost/forschung/zuflucht-im-dritten-reich (31.07.2017).

a loss of national identity. This cultural life reached its climax in 1946/47, as I would like to argue, and then resettlement[3] scattered the majority of the DPs all over the world. All activities in the field of art, literature, or music were after all imbued with a similar purpose: to keep up, maintain and pass on national identity.

Especially in the case of Baltic DPs, cultural activities focused on folk dancing and choral presentations and thereby took up older performative practices of creating a sense of belonging. During the process of the "national awakening" in the nineteenth century, the collection of folkloristic traditions by German and German-Baltic scholars and clerics had triggered the development of national identity among Latvians and Estonians, a process that was even intensified by the formation of choral societies all over Estonia and Latvia with regular singing festivals. These festivals were especially important in the Estonian case as they were opportunities to bring together a large part of the small Estonian population and to engage in constant communication among them.[4] In this light it is no wonder that folk dance and choral singing became prominent elements of the cultural life in the Estonian DP camps.

During the "golden age" of DP camps, all displaced nations and groups established a rich publishing landscape and printed both old and new works. Even more important were the DP theatres, opera and dancing companies. Successful theatre and opera companies, choirs or orchestras were given the opportunity to tour the camps in all western zones of Germany.[5]

In the context of DP camps, sport usually seems absent. The contributions of sport to the efforts to prevent the loss of national identity remain neglected. If mentioned at all, the description of sporting activities in the camps in the canonical standard and overview works on DP history is limited to a few

3 Next to numerous private welfare and relief organisations like – in the case of Jewish DPs – AJDC (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, or in short, the Joint) in the US Zone of occupation and JRU (Jewish Relief Unit) in the British Zone, UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), one of the first UN organisations, took care of the DPs during 1943–1947. The aim of UNRRA was to repatriate the freed forced labourers, concentration camp inmates and prisoners of war. Since this was only feasible with the Western European DPs, UNRRA was replaced by the IRO (International Refugee Organization), operating within the framework of the so-called Resettlement, which had the mandate to bring the Eastern European and Jewish DPs, who still remained in Germany and who refused to go back to their now Soviet-occupied or Soviet-controlled countries of origin, to countries overseas; see Velke, "Wir sind doch auch freie Menschen und keine Gefangenen mehr", 163–165, 194. For the history of UNRRA and IRO still relevant and without any "modern" successor, see George Woodbridge, *UNRRA: The History of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration I–III* (New York 1950); Louise W. Holborn, *The International Refugee Organization: A Specialized Agency of the United Nations – Its History and Work 1946–1952* (London 1956).

4 Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder* (Munich 2005), 62–65.

5 Woodbridge, *UNRRA II*, 529; Wyman, *DPs*, 99–101, 160.

pages. In contrast, local camp studies and works on particular DP groups and nations deliver more or less detailed information about sport as a part of the daily camp routine, but rarely do these works discuss the meaning of sporting activities for the camp inhabitants. In neglecting sport as a crucial part of camp life, DP research in general runs the risk of remaining incomplete. It was not only the intellectual or artistic talent among DPs that was decisively responsible for keeping up national identity in exile, physical strength and sporting talents in combination with all the structures and performative practises immanent to organised sport also had substantial impact.

This chapter examines sport in Estonian DP camps and compares the example with the well-researched sport in Jewish DP camps arguing that, in its organised-professional form, sport was another very important medium to build, sharpen, maintain and impart national identity. Furthermore, sport could – at least in the Baltic case – even trigger integration into German society for those DPs who could not leave Germany within the resettlement programme offered by the International Refugee Organization (IRO), the successor of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).[6] Both the similarities and the distinctions in the manifestations of DP camp sport that will be shown in this chapter highlighting fundamental differences between the Jewish and the Estonian DP group make the comparison of Estonian and Jewish DP sport indeed a fruitful approach towards the phenomenon of DP camp sport in general. Differences include a large population of Jewish DPs versus a small population of Estonians or the fact that Jewish DPs consisted of survivors and victims of Nazi persecution while within the Estonian camps both collaborators with and victims of the Nazi regime could be found.

In comparing and contrasting these two DP groups this chapter also aims at tempering a certain imbalance of DP research. Much of the scholarly literature concentrates on Jewish DPs and these are well-explored. In contrast, we find a continuous marginalisation of Baltic DP history, mainly arising from the fact that up to today Baltic DPs are mainly perceived as collaborators with the German occupiers in the region, with all the subsequent consequences including participation in the extermination of European Jewry. Of course, collaboration is an important issue when dealing with the Baltic history of the Second World War. But the fact that there had been collaborators among Baltic and other DP groups did not influence the living conditions in the camps, I would argue. All Eastern European DP groups were faced with the same situation of being far away from home and – assumed or in fact – without any possibility to return. It should also be kept in mind that the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian experiences of these years of occupation and war also

6 See footnote 3.

contain persecution and forced migration both by Soviet and German occupation whereby it turns out to be an equitable part of the common (Eastern) European wartime experience.

This chapter proceeds in two steps starting with the example of organised Jewish DP sport in the US Zone of occupation in Germany that swung up to a remarkably high level. After a brief characterisation of the Jewish DP group in general we will have a closer look at the structures, manifestations and aims of Jewish DP sport in the US Zone – concerning this we can rely on already existing historiographical research.[7] A brief look at the sportive situation of Jewish DPs in the British Zone – about which only very little is known, whereas nothing can be said about the French Zone – will complete this part of the chapter. In a second step the Estonian counterpart will be illuminated, a part of Baltic DP history that so far has remained unexplored in the scientific world. At this stage I can provide insights about Estonian DP camp sports in the US Zone of occupation where the Estonian DP camps at Augsburg-Hochfeld and Geislingen turned out to be of major importance concerning sport.[8] An observation of Estonian sportive traditions from the interwar period will clarify to what extent sport could be used to keep up Estonian identity in exile. Despite all the differences between Jewish and Estonian DP camps this chapter will show that in both cases structures of professional sport in the camps developed to the same high level and fulfilled similar purposes.

Sport in Jewish DP Camps

She'erit Hapletah (the surviving remnant or the saved remnant) is what the Jewish Holocaust survivors in occupied Austria, Italy and especially in the Jewish DP camps in Germany called themselves, in analogy to the Book of

7 I have found only the following works from German historiography that deal with sport in Jewish DP camps: Philipp Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München: Der Sport im DP-Lager 1945–1948", in Michael Brenner / Gideon Reuveni (ed.), *Emanzipation durch Muskelkraft: Juden und Sport in Europa* (Göttingen 2006), 190–215; Jim G. Tobias, "'Arojs mitn bal cu di tojzner wartnde cuszojer': Fußballvereine und -ligen der jüdischen Displaced Persons 1946–1948", in *Nurinst* 3 (2006), 105–120.

8 Here the main sources are Ferdinand Kool, *DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal [DP Chronicle: Estonain Refugees in Germany] 1944–1951* (Lakewood, NJ 1999) and the Estonian DP newspaper *Eesti Post*. Kool was himself a DP and immigrated to the United States in the framework of IRO's Resettlement programme. His *Kroonika*, probably the most important source on Estonian DPs, based on contemporary material and started when Kool had moved to the United States, was translated into English in 2014 (Ferdinand Kool, *DP Chronicle. Estonian Refugees in Germany 1944–1951* [Lakewood, NY 2014]); both the Estonian and the English version are used in this article. It must be stated that Estonian DP newspapers are almost never used by non-Estonian historical research when dealing with Estonian DP history at all – which in itself is very rare.

Ezra (part of the Jewish Tanakh, or the Christian Old Testament) where this term is mentioned.[9] Approximately 90,000 Jews were liberated in the former German Reich of whom some 20,000–30,000 died within the first weeks after their rescue leaving around 60,000–70,000 survivors behind. This group of Jewish DPs was in the summer and autumn of 1946 supplemented by more than 100,000 Jews from Eastern Europe (especially from Poland) who fled into the western parts of occupied Germany after new antisemitic pogroms took place, like the one in the Polish town of Kielce. We need to further differentiate this group in itself. Among these DPs were Jews from Eastern Europe who had been repatriated to their countries of origin, vainly hoping to find their relatives and friends and to repossess their properties. The second subgroup consisted of Jews who had survived by hiding or among partisans or even by successfully pretending to be "Aryan". Finally, the third group consisted of those Jews who had come home to Poland after having survived the Second World War in the Soviet Union. Until the beginning of 1948, up to 250,000 Jews left Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and Hungary to seek refuge in occupied West Germany.[10]

According to US historian Atina Grossmann, the *She'erit Hapletah* as a whole exemplified their return to life after the horrors of Nazi persecution and extermination in terms of the body.[11] Connected with the Nazi extermination of the European Jewry were the pictures of weak, distorted "ghetto Jews" and emaciated, rotting Jewish bodies in the concentration camps. After liberation, in the DP camps, the picture changed. The bodies of many survivors became healthy, strong and well-fed again. The body was the entity that could easily be healed and rebuilt with nutrition, medicine, hygiene and sport. A different field was that of the mental devastations the *She'erit Hapletah* had to cope with. In many cases these inner ravages did not manifest themselves immediately but only many years later.[12]

In this context sport served a very important purpose: it became a crucial medium to achieve the big goal of the *She'erit Hapletah*, the creation of an independent Israel for all Jews in the world. Quickly the camp inmates elected

9 Atina Grossman, *Jews, Germans, and Allies: Close Encounters in Occupied Germany* (Princeton, NJ 2007), 132; Angelika Königseder / Juliane Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal: Die jüdischen DPs (Displaced Persons) im Nachkriegsdeutschland* (Frankfurt a.M. 2004), 7; Hagit Lavsky, *New Beginnings: Holocaust Survivors in Bergen-Belsen and the British Zone in Germany, 1945–1950* (Detroit, MI 2002), 74.

10 Grossman, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 1f.; Königseder / Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal*, 9; Marcus Velke, "Die 'alten Ansprüche an das Leben stellen' – jüdische und andere Displaced Persons als Studenten an der Universität Bonn 1945–1951", in Thomas Becker (ed.), *Bonna Perl am grünen Rheine: Studieren in Bonn von 1818 bis zur Gegenwart* (Göttingen 2013), 117–160, on p. 129.

11 Grossman, *Jews, Germans, and Allies*, 204f.

12 Ibid., 204f.

Central Committees in the Jewish DP camps, committees that were to oversee Jewish interests and affairs in the occupational zones to the military government and welfare organisations. One aim of these committees was to "create" a new Jewish human being by physical training, healthy and strong, to build up the prospective Israel. Thus it is no wonder that immediately after liberation mainly Zionist appeals circulated in the Jewish DP camps to go in for sports in order to heal souls and to gain new physical and moral power.[13]

The Jewish sports scene of the US-occupied zone was the most developed and active compared to others, which seems to be due to the fact that the majority of Jewish DPs lived there. More than 140,000 Jews had made it to the DP camps especially in Bavaria, whereas only some 15,000 Jewish DPs lived in the British Zone. The French Zone gave shelter to only 1,000 Jews in 1945, a number that reduced to some 700 in November 1946. Interestingly, the majority of the self-governing bodies of the *She'erit Hapletah* are reported not to have shown much enthusiasm about sport with the consequence that only marginal hints can be found in the existing archival material. Hence it is predominantly the Jewish DP camp papers that provide the material needed to describe sports in Jewish DP camps.[14]

At the end of January 1946, the Central Committee of the Liberated Jews in the US-occupied Zone was founded. The Jews in the British Zone already had their own Central Committee since July 1945.[15] With the organisation of these committees the institutional framework was fixed in which the numerous activities of the *She'erit Hapletah* evolved and some kind of everyday life could be established.[16] The foundation of sport teams was one expression of this new life, distracting from the monotony and dullness of camp life and at the same time ideologically exaggerated to be combat training in the future fights for the prospective Jewish state. Physical survival was secured, and immigration to Palestine on a large scale was not yet possible due to the British refusal to open the gates to their territory.[17] This meant an existence in temporariness, a condition that was not easy to bear, especially when living under the constrictions and social restraints of the DP camps. In addition, massive tensions occurred between the different kinds of Holocaust survivors, especially between the usually Zionistically dominated camp committees (a domination

13 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 190, 192; Königseder / Wetzel, *Lebensmut im* Wartesaal, 81f. Lavsky, *New Beginnings*, 110; Tobias, "Arojs mitn bal", 106f.

14 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 191; Königseder / Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal*, 10.

15 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 192; Lavsky, *New Beginnings*, 110.

16 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 192f.

17 Ibid., 190f., 193, 206; Velke, "Die alten Ansprüche an das Leben stellen", 129.

that could also be observed among the sport clubs) and the largely Orthodox or even ultra-Orthodox Polish Jews who had arrived in the camps in the summer of 1946.[18]

Following Zionist and socialist principles and previous practice, track and field athletes, gymnasts and especially footballers organised themselves in the camps.[19] These traditions reflected in the names of the teams that arose bearing such proud designations like *Makabi* (named after the Maccabee uprising during the second century BCE), *Hapoel* (The Worker), *Hakoach* (The Power), *Ichud* (Unity), *Kadima* (Forward) or *Bar Kochba* (after the leader of the rebellion of the same name 133–135 CE) and many others. In doing so the teams positioned themselves consciously in a rich and heroic Jewish tradition that the Jewish DPs could embrace after the Holocaust.[20]

It is no longer possible to reconstruct when exactly the first sport teams gathered together. The first Jewish DP newspapers were published no earlier than October 1945, with reports about matches between *Ichud Landsberg* and *Makabi Türkheim*, in the presence of more than 2,000 spectators.[21] It is striking that the existing research does not mention female sporting activities in the Jewish DP camps.

In the very beginning sport in Jewish DP camps had twofold structures: the founding of many sport clubs and teams was the result of private efforts of sport enthusiasts while it took some time until "official" structures were established in the camps. One example is the sport department of the Landsberg DP camp founded in October 1945 with departments of basketball, boxing, volleyball, track and field, gymnastic, table tennis and football.[22] In February 1946, a Center far fizisze dercijung (Center for physical education) was established (located at the Munich Public Health Department), took over the supra-regional coordination of sporting activities and supported the camp teams in their efforts to get the necessary equipment.[23]

It was the arrival of Polish Jews in the summer and autumn of 1946 that caused the numbers of sport clubs and teams to increase considerably. It

18 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 206f. Velke, "Die alten Ansprüche an das Leben stellen", 129.

19 Tobias, "Arojs mitn bal", 106f.

20 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 208; Anke Hilbrenner, "Die Wurzeln des jüdischen Sports in Polen: Die Gründung jüdischer Turnvereine in Galizien und im russischen Teilungsgebiet vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg", in Anke Hilbrenner / Dittmar Dahlmann, *"Dieser Vergleich ist unvergleichbar": Zur Geschichte des Sports im 20. Jahrhundert* (Essen 2014), 79–96, on p. 79; Jim G. Tobias / Nicola Schlichting, *Heimat auf Zeit: Jüdische Kinder in Rosenheim 1946–1947* (Nuremberg 2006), 48; Jim G. Tobias, *Zeilsheim. Eine jüdische Stadt in Frankfurt* (Nuremberg 2011), 88.

21 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 193.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

was also the year in which Jewish leagues, especially in the field of football, were established.[24] The majority of the clubs and teams suffered from a lack of equipment and sportswear, in some cases local German clubs helped out. UNRRA was obviously not willing or able to provide material support for the sporting activities; American Jewish and non-Jewish welfare organisations as well as the US Army stepped in and allocated equipment. In some camps with their own workshops, it was even possible to manufacture the necessary equipment. There was a lot of complaining about the somewhat difficult situation in the area of sports, which lead to the foundation of a federation of the Jewish sport clubs in the US Zone in April 1946 that would organise the Jewish leagues and championships. On the scale of the "official" Jewish sport federations the question whether to cooperate with German sport federations and teams or with those of other DP national groups or not was subject of controversial discussions resulting in an "official" ban on such cooperation. In the case of German sportsmen, this can easily be explained with the DPs' disgust toward the Holocaust perpetrators. Interestingly, this "official" line on cooperation with Germans is reported not to have been shared by many "common" Jewish DP sportsmen who allegedly did not perceive it as a problem to play with Germans.[25] That the Jewish sport federations tended to ban cooperation and friendly matches with other DP national groups is likewise understandable in the face of still rampant antisemitism among Eastern European DP nations, for example the Poles or Lithuanians. At the Bergen-Belsen DP camp in the British Zone, for example, a football match between a Jewish and a Polish DP team in summer 1946 became hostile when it became clear that the Jewish team was about to win – some Polish footballers supposedly drew knives and slashed their Jewish opponents.[26]

Looking at the press landscape of Jewish DP camps (which even possessed a special paper for sporting events, the *Jidisze Sport Cajtung* [Jewish sport paper] published 1947–1948), football received especially wide public attention. Among the majority of the Zionist camp leaders, however, boxing was preferred. Of all sportsmen, it was the boxers who seemed best to fulfil the ideal of the "new Zionist human being" (*Muskeljudentum*). One of the *Hasmonea Zeilsheim* boxers even got the nickname *die Szlog Maszin* (the Beating Machine). Jews considered boxing a promise of tremendous training impact on the youth who would be forced to fight for the prospective Israeli state.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., 194–196, 208f.; Tobias / Schlichting, *Heimat auf Zeit*, 71.

26 Königseder / Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal*, 19f.; Lavsky, *New Beginnings*, 142; Kasia Person, "*'I am a Jewish DP. A Jew from the Eternal Nowhere': Jews from Poland in Displaced Persons Camps in the Occupation Zones of West Germany: Encounters with Poles and Memories of Poland, 1945–1946*", in *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów / Jewish History Quarterly* 2:246 (2013), 303–318, on p. 314.

On 6 and 7 July 1946, a boxing championship of all Jewish sport clubs in the US Zone took place at Zeilsheim DP camp, however only the clubs of the DP camps Föhrenwald, Landsberg and Zeilsheim participated. Landsberg won this event and received a silver cup donated by the local UNRRA director. At least one more boxing championship was held at Munich *Zirkus Krone*, where Hitler had given speeches consistently since 1921 during the rise of the Nazi Party. This time 68 boxers from all over the US Zone came together, and *Hasmonea Zeilsheim* emerged victorious from the fights.[27]

The Jewish DP press also mentions athletics championships, for example at Landsberg DP camp in September 1946 – one of the extremely few occasions that female participants are noted. Also in 1946, a basketball league game between Landsberg and Feldafing made it to the columns of the papers, alongside scanty hints of leagues and championships in table tennis and volleyball. The first chess Olympiad of the *She'erit Hapletah* took place at Landsberg DP camp in September 1946. All in all, sixteen players came together, the winner was the chess champion of the US Zone from the Jewish DP hospital St Otilien near Landsberg.[28]

Sport was also an important part in the care and maintenance of unaccompanied Jewish children. One example is the children's home at Rosenheim where infants under the assistance of Zionistic youth movements like *Dror* (Freedom), *Ichud* or *Nocham* were housed – the latter name was a Hebrew abbreviation for "united youth pioneers", an association of adolescent Palestine settlers who prepared in Germany for their future in Israel. Other institutions who placed children at Rosenheim were, for example, *Agudas (Union)*, an anti-Zionistic orthodox movement.[29] The most popular sport among children was football, followed by boxing, track and field, table tennis and volleyball. In wintertime, the correspondent winter sports like tobogganing, skiing and ice skating were popular. US Army soldiers acted as football and volleyball coaches and offered courses in boxing and gymnastics. However, the soldiers failed to inspire the children at Rosenheim to play baseball.[30]

One thing should not be forgotten: the majority of the Jewish DPs participating in sports were not official members in one of the aforementioned teams or sport clubs but used the opportunities to do sport outside the organised structures – for example, in gymnastic sessions that did not lead to obligatory

27 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 193, 196. Tobias, "Arojs mitn bal", 105; id., *Zeilsheim*, 89f.; id., "*Das Schönste am Boxen ist der Heldenmut*", in *Tachles* (10.02.2017), 2f.; For the Hitler speeches at Zirkus Krone, see for example Ian Kershaw, *Hitler 1889–1936* (Stuttgart 1998), 204, 244, 251.

28 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 196f.; Köniseder / Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal*, 202.

29 Tobias / Schlichting, *Heimat auf Zeit*, 47f.

30 Ibid., 71.

involvement and commitment in the clubs. Sport had therefore become a kind of mass activity.[31] The development depicted here does not capture the extent of individual sporting activities of all kinds in relation to the number of DPs who were unwilling sport grumps or just not able (as a consequence of the individual suffering during Nazi reign) to do any sport.

With the Passover tournament in April 1946, Jewish football leagues began to be established, organised by *Ichud Landsberg*. Twelve teams formed the competition; a cup was endowed by the Landsberg UNRRA director A. C. Glassgold who, in his opening speech, expressed the wish that the players might meet again in "Eretz Israel" next year. The preliminary matches were followed by some 3,000 spectators, while the final (Landsberg vs Feldafing) was attended by an audience of 5,000. However, this match had to be abandoned by reason of unsportsmanlike conduct of the Feldafing team towards the referee.[32]

The nine best football teams of the US Zone formed a Premier League after the Pesach tournament. The three other teams that had joined the tournament were – together with many other small teams – pooled in the "A League".[33] The Premier League was further divided into a *Dorem League* [South league] with teams from Bavaria and Upper Palatinate plus a *Cofn League* [North league] with teams from Hesse, Swabia and Franconia.[34] The A League was further divided into the departments Frankfurt, Kassel, Franconia, Bavaria I and II and finally Regensburg. All in all, there were 22 teams in the first tier and 59 in the second tier in 1947.[35]

The football champion of 1946 was *Ichud Landsberg*, followed by Feldafing and Stuttgart. The Landsberg success is easily explained. The DP camp in Lansberg was one of the oldest and biggest Jewish DP camps and had already set up teams when many other camps had not even been founded. Apart from that the Landsberg football players consisted partly of men who had been active footballers before the Second World War, often in Jewish teams.[36] The football season ended with a big ceremony in Munich, and the Centre for Physical Education declared proudly that in the US Zone 95 Jewish clubs were active with about 15,000 DPs.[37] This was in itself a positive development but was accompanied by a few hideous side effects. More and more the football matches and other sporting events ended up in riots, with matches being abandoned, unsportsmanlike behaviour and even frauds. Very often the referees

31 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 196.
32 Ibid., 197.
33 Ibid., 198.
34 Tobias, "Arojs mitn bal", 111.
35 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 203.
36 Ibid., 199.
37 Ibid., 199f.

caused extreme anger with their decisions, but the spectators also tended to show unfair behaviour and sometimes even entered the space behind the goal in order to disturb the goalkeeper. In some cases, teams kept for themselves the entrance fees the spectators had paid instead of sharing them with the opposing team as was common practice. But much more uproar was caused by the fact that some teams were reinforced with non-Jewish footballers – the DP newspapers considered this a severe violation of Jewish "national" pride.[38]

The sporting season of 1947 started with another boxing championship at the Circus Krone in Munich now assembling all Jewish sport clubs in the US Zone at the end of January – a social mega event in the presence of up to 2,000 spectators and high-ranking representatives of the military government and the Jewish Central Committees. The winners of this championship became extraordinarily popular and toured the Jewish DP camps where "victory banquets" were organised for them. Also very popular were boxing matches between Jewish boxers and those of the US Army or football matches with Jewish DP teams from the other Western Zones of occupation.[39] In the football branch, there was an advanced training course for referees, and for all sports, a disciplinary committee was established to avoid the unattractive scenes of the previous season. This committee immediately took drastic action and handed out severe punishments, for example for having fielded "Christian players" or when the fans of a certain team stormed the sports ground. But all this action was not able to prevent spectators as well as players from rioting.[40] Interestingly the disciplinary committee did not have any problem with footballers playing hard, for instance – after the Holocaust it was considered absolutely a duty to show a certain hard conduct on the football pitch, in order to make clear that there was no such thing as an assumed Jewish weakness by which it had been possible for the Nazis to exterminate so many Jews.[41]

The football champion of 1947 was once again *Ichud Landsberg*. The system of Jewish Leagues was well established now, and preparations for the 1948 season started. It was the foundation of Israel in May 1948 and the mass migration involved that brought sport in the Jewish DP camps to its natural end. Along with that came the beginning of the Israeli War of Independence 1948/1949. The sport clubs now called on their members to get involved for Israel, and subsequently whole teams joined the army. In this context it should be noted that the organised Jewish DP sport in total followed a hidden agenda and was – at least in the eyes of their leading personnel – after all nothing more and nothing less than an opportunity to prepare a Jewish army. Very

38 Ibid.
39 Ibid., 200f.
40 Ibid., 204.
41 Tobias, "Arojs mitn bal", 113, footnote 40.

often sporting activities camouflaged a basic paramilitary training. In some Jewish DP camps the *Hagana*, which later became part of the Israeli army, even had central training grounds for this purpose, though they were disguised. How the common Jewish DPs thought about this use of their sporting enthusiasm is unknown.[42]

The Situation of Jewish DP Sport in the British Zone

As already suggested the sports landscape in the British Zone was not as developed as its counterpart in the US Zone, and as far as I have seen nothing is known about DP sport in the French Zone, neither for Jewish nor other DP groups and nations. Sources seem to be rare concerning the British Zone; it is quite conceivable that an evaluation of the Jewish DP press in the British Zone might be able to resolve this situation. Unlike the Jewish DPs in the US Zone, the comrades in the British Zone did not have their own sports magazine.[43]

Sport was obviously the most important leisure activity, irrespective whether it was practised actively or only passively enjoyed on the spectator terraces. For instance, research provides a lot of information on the sporting activities at Bergen-Belsen DP camp, until 1951 the biggest Jewish DP camp in occupied Germany, temporarily also populated with non-Jewish Hungarian and Polish DPs.[44] Although it remains unclear whether associations were mainly situated at Bergen-Belsen or all over the British Zone, seven or eight sport associations had been clearly established until 1947 offering, for example, football, handball, boxing, tennis, table tennis and track and field. Equipment was provided by the Joint, JRU and UNRRA.[45] The British military even allowed its tennis court to be at the disposal of the DP players.[46] As in the US Zone the Central Committee and the welfare agencies regarded sport as an important means of rehabilitation and a way to display Jewish strength.[47] In September 1946, the football league of the British Zone was founded at Belsen. Interzonal football matches (for example, with *Ichud Landsberg* that displayed its football supremacy also in the far north of occupied Germany)

42 Grammes, "Ichud Landsberg gegen Makabi München", 202, 205, 209f.; Tobias, *Zeilsheim*, 91f.
43 Tobias, "Arojs mitn bal", 116f.
44 Königseder / Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal*, 173, 178.
45 Ibid., 201; Lavsky, *New Beginnings*, 161; Tobias, "Arojs mitn bal", 116; for the welfare organisations, see footnote 3.
46 Königseder / Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal*, 201.
47 Lavsky, *New Beginnings*, 161.

were conducted as well as benefit matches whose proceeds were donated to Jewish settlements in Palestine. And like in the US Zone the foundation of Israel ended the Jewish DP sport activities in the British occupied territory.[48]

Sport in Estonian DP Camps

As in the case of Jewish DPs it is quite difficult to determine accurate numbers of how many Balts could be found in the DP camps in Germany. About 200,000 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians had come to Germany since the summer of 1944, the majority as refugees or forced to accompany the *Wehrmacht* retreating the *Reichskommissariat Ostland* when the Red Army advanced into the German occupied territories, among them 35,000–40,000 Estonians. About 12,500 Baltic people already had to live in Germany as forced labourers. Additionally, some 22,000 Estonians made it to Sweden through the Baltic Sea, with an unknown number of thousands of Estonians having lost their lives because of storms or German and Soviet airstrikes during their escape. Altogether about 75,000–80,000 Estonians had left their country and gone to the West.[49]

As US historian Anna Holian remarked so accurately, the DPs in general organised themselves very quickly "into myriad committees",[50] and this observation seems to be especially true for the Baltic DPs at large and the Estonians in particular. In the British Zone, 21 Estonian committees were active in the camps in 1945, excelled by the US Zone with 47 committees. The smallest number of committees was counted in the French Zone with only six.[51] In addition to the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Committees superior Baltic Committees were founded to articulate and to stand up for the common interests of the Baltic DPs to the Western military authorities in occupied Germany.[52] All these committees focused on sport issues from the very beginning of their existence.

Looking at the Estonian DP history in sport terms, two camps in the US Zone crystalise to be of major importance: the camps in Augsburg-Hochfeld (Bavaria) and Geislingen (today Baden-Württemberg). At Augsburg-Hochfeld, a big complex of red brick residential buildings was turned into a camp

48 Königseder / Wetzel, *Lebensmut im Wartesaal,* 201f.; Tobias, "Arojs mitn bal", 117.
49 Aivar Jürgenson, "Lagerleben und Weiterreise nach Argentinien – Erinnerungen estnischer DPs", in Christian Pletzing / Marcus Velke (ed.), *Lager – Repatriierung – Integration. Beiträge zur Displaced Persons-Forschung* (Leipzig 2016), 156–183, on p. 159; Seppo Zetterberg, *Eesti ajalugu* (Estonian History) (Tallinn 2009), 524; Velke, "Die alten Ansprüche an das Leben stellen", 126.
50 Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism*, 4.
51 Kool, *DP Chronicle*, 377f.
52 Ibid., 378f.

for Baltic DPs in July 1945 housing up to 3,000 Estonian DPs (next to Latvian and Lithuanian comrades). The camp lasted until autumn 1951, and Estonians who had stayed there remembered it as a firm mainstay during their time as DPs.[53]

Sport was a part of daily camp life and the Estonians started organizing themselves for sports at once. Once the camp was set up, action was taken to create possibilities for sporting activities. The conditions for this were excellent. A municipal city athletic ground and stadium was situated east of the building complex. Huge open spaces between the residential buildings allowed the setup of sports fields to play, for example, volleyball or basketball. The Estonian Committee at Hochfeld had its first meeting on 6 July 1945, and the discussion of sport issues was one of the first topics. The committee decided to prepare the open spaces between the buildings, and on 22 August 1945 they were opened for sportive use.[54]

On 15 and 16 September 1945, the first of the larger sporting competitions of Estonians in the US Zone was held at a nearby stadium used by the US Army assembling athletes, both men and women, from the camps of Hochfeld, Haunstetten, Ansbach and others. The event started with a ceremonial flying of the Estonian flag and a parade of the athletes to the stadium where the chairman of the Estonian Committee inaugurated the contests. The event included male and female teams, but astonishingly among the children, the teams consisted only of boys. Track and field and heavy athletics competitions were held as well as ball games matches. The winner in the basketball competition was Hochfeld, whereas it is not mentioned whether this was a male or female selection. In women's volleyball Kempten captured the victory; in men's volleyball it was Hochfeld again. In basketball, an Estonian male team mixed from the attendant teams was defeated by an American squad. The event ended with an "Estonian evening" held in the open spaces between the Hochfeld residential buildings with a presentation of traditional choral singing – the first public Estonian celebration in the camp. Already in the run-up to this very first sporting event the Estonian Committee decided to organise a *Spordiring* (Sportclub), a central organisation to coordinate prospect sporting activities.[55]

The circumstances under which this first sports celebration took place already reveal the ingredients future events are made of: ceremonial hoisting of the national flag, a parade and a display of Estonian national culture, although this was not limited to the Estonian DP group alone, as we can observe in October 1945. In this month, the first Baltic Olympics took place at Hochfeld.

53 Kool, *DP Kroonika*, 116, 125.
54 Ibid., 116, 168f.
55 Ibid., 169.

All three Baltic States were represented in the organising committee by the chairmen of the particular national committees compounded by a number of sportsmen.[56] Until now no research has been done on the question in which ways this Baltic cooperation took place and to what extent efforts were made to overcome Baltic political tensions and antagonisms of the interwar years.[57]

The Olympics started with a ceremonial parade under the national flags of the former independent Baltic states from Hochfeld to the nearby stadium, followed by speeches of the leaders of the national and the superior Baltic committees. The opening ceremony closed with the playing of the national anthems. The kind of sports executed at these first Olympics were track and field (with Latvia winning, followed by Estonia and Lithuania), shot-put, discus, football, basketball and volleyball. The Olympics closed with a big celebration at an open-air theatre on the ground where, amongst others, the Estonian mixed choir and a troop of Estonian modern gymnasts of Hochfeld performed. For the sake of completeness, I would like to mention here that the Baltic Olympics, according to the DP camp newspaper *Eesti Post*, were held annually, at least until 1949, and at changing locations.[58]

After the first Olympics the *Spordiring* at Hochfeld was further extended. The club consisted of departments of heavy athletics, track, folk dance, female gymnastics, volleyball, basketball and football. Additionally, boxing, chess, table tennis and skiing were offered. Equipment was provided by UNRRA, the YMCA and the US Army or could be found in the ruins of the Augsburg city sports ground nearby. By the end of 1945 alone, eight volleyball, nine basketball and twelve football competitions were held at Hochfeld, and several gymnastics and folk dance groups were established. Altogether 126 Estonians became active sporting members of the *Spordiring*: 78 men, 44 women and four adolescents.[59] These meagre numbers show that doing sports in an organised and professional way was not a mass phenomenon at Hochfeld. And at present there are no statements possible on how the common and individual Estonian DP in the camp thought about sports. Existing photo material in the DP newspaper *Eesti Post* shows at least that the sporting events must have been attended by huge crowds.

At Geislingen, the other Estonian DP camp of major importance concerning sport issues, about 2,000 DPs, initially consisting mainly of Poles (about 1,800), citizens of the USSR (number unknown) and some 300 Balts were assembled in this small town today's Baden-Württemberg. Poles and

56 Ibid.

57 Joachim Tauber, "Die Geschichte der baltischen Staaten bis 1945", in Michèle Knodt / Sigita Urdze (ed.), *Die politischen Systeme der baltischen Staaten. Eine Einführung* (Wiesbaden 2012), 17–54, on pp. 21–24.

58 Kool, *DP Kroonika*, 169f.; id., *DP Chronicle*, 176; Wyman, *DPs*, 118.

59 Kool, *DP Kroonika*, 170.; id., *DP Chronicle*, 176f.

Soviets were housed within the city if they were former forced labourers, and out of town in case they had been kept as prisoners of war. One camp in Geislingen had served as a satellite camp of KZ Natzweiler for female inmates. The Balts present most of whom worked in the metal processing industry of Geislingen at the well-known WMF (Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik) were placed separately.[60]

In October 1945, the local military government decided to establish a large-size DP camp in Geislingen exclusively for Estonian DPs from Württemberg which made it necessary to confiscate German living space in the town since it had not been part of the plan to place the Estonians in the barrack camps where the Polish DPs had to stay and were transferred to other assembly centres or repatriated to Poland under violent protest by the end of October 1945.[61] Originally planned to be a temporary home for no more than 1,500 Estonians, by the end of 1945 about 4,000 of them had entered the camp, which made it indispensable for the military government and required the expulsion of the German population from their houses in the three Geislingen districts. Two of these districts were separated from the German population by natural obstacles like woods or a slope and by railways; only in the third district were Germans allowed to stay among the Estonians. The military authorities issued a strict communication ban for the Germans, who were also not allowed to enter the two other districts where Estonians were housed. Due to overcrowding, Geislingen was closed for Estonian new arrivals from 1 January 1946. In March 1946, it became necessary to transfer Estonians to other assembly centres. Nevertheless, the Estonian population reached its climax in the summer of 1946 with 4,500 inhabitants settling down to a number of 3,500–3,700 Estonian DPs living continuously at Geislingen until 1950.[62]

In the beginning, the three Estonian districts that formed Geislingen DP camp all had their own infrastructure like a police station or kindergartens. From 1947 on there was an Estonian Mail with DP postmen and special stamps. The best hotel in town was turned into a place for Estonian celebrations and dance events, likewise the *Jahnhalle*, the biggest venue in Geislingen. Both venues were forbidden to Germans. Other buildings outside the actual camp were confiscated to serve as Estonian schools or workshops. A sauna and a sports hall were established in a former building of the *Reichsarbeitsdienst*.[63]

The Estonian DP camp newspaper *Eesti Post* reveals a lot about the sporting activities at Geislingen. In March 1946, the Estonian heavy athletics

60 Holger Köhn, *Die Lage der Lager: Displaced Persons-Lager in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone Deutschlands* (Essen 2012), 249–252.
61 Ibid., 252, 263.
62 Ibid., 254, 256, 260–263.
63 Ibid., 259.

championship of the US Zone took place there at the "Estonian sports hall".[64] Also in March 1946, we learn that the Estonian YMCA organised tennis courses with about 40 participants (approximately half male and half female) that also took place at the "Estonian sport hall".[65] In the same month, the Eestlaste Spordikeskus (Estonians sport centre) for the Estonian DPs in the US Zone was founded at Geislingen and decided in its first meeting that in the summer of 1947 sports and gymnastic celebrations should be held at Augsburg-Hochfeld.[66] At present, it is unknown if this new institution was to replace the *Spordiring* at Augsburg. Obviously, there was also some kind of Baltic football championship in the US Zone in April 1946 whose opening match, Lithuania vs Estonia, ended 8:1.[67] Also in April 1946, an "international boxing contest" ("international" in this context meant that the three Baltic states competed) was staged at Augsburg in which the Estonian boxers won in all weight classes.[68] These few examples (in combination with what was said about Ausgburg-Hochfeld) show that the Estonian DP sport was at least as well organised as its Jewish counterpart.

Heavy athletics, track and field, ball sports of all kind – all these disciplines performed in the DP camps had supported the moulding of Estonian "autochthonous" national identity in the interwar period and before. At this point, a brief look at Estonian sport history in order to understand the manifestations of Estonian DP sport and its meaning for the process of keeping up national identity in exile seems to be required.

Estonian Sport History – A Short Introduction

Sport in what was to become Estonia started in the late nineteenth century with wrestling, weight lifting and Estonian "strong men" who became national heroes. The first Estonian club exclusively for sports was named Tallinna Vabatahtlik Atleetide Klub [The voluntary athlete's club of Tallinn] was officially registered in 1892 and offered training in heavy athletics. The club started touring and got an invitation to St Petersburg in 1895 from the local heavy athletics club – the ticket for the members of the Tallinn Club to start a career as "iron men" in the Russian Empire.[69]

64 "Raskejõustiku esivõistlused Ameerika tsoonis" (Heavy athletics championship in the US Zone), in *Eesti Post* 47 (19.03.1946), 4.
65 "Tenniskursused käimas" (Tennis courses in progress), in *Eesti Post* 48 (22.03.1946), 7.
66 "Moodustati Ameerikatsooni eestlaste spordikeskus" (The sports centre of the Estonians in the US Zone founded), in *Eesti Post* 49 (26.03.1946), 4.
67 "Leedu – Eesti 8:1" (Lithuania – Estonia 8:1), in *Eesti Post* 53 (09.04.1946), 6.
68 "Poks Augsburgis" (Boxing at Augsburg), in *Eesti Post* 54 (12.04.1946), 4.
69 Karsten Brüggemann, "Sport und Sportvereine in Estland: Eine Skizze", in Jörg Hackmann (ed.), *Vereinskultur und Zivilgesellschaft in Nordosteuropa: Regionale Spezifik und*

At the age of fifteen the wrestler Georg Lurich (1876–1920) joined the Tallinn Club and became also part of its delegation touring the Russian Empire.[70] In 1898 and 1899 Lurich – already very popular in the Estonian governorate – embarked on a tour to Western Europe where he went from victory to victory.[71] His performances triggered a tremendous outbreak of sports enthusiasm among fellow (male) Estonians, especially in the field of heavy athletics. A feeble child, Lurich was successful in overcoming his weakness through sport. During his career, he was an educator and propagated a healthy and sporting lifestyle declaring that hard liquors and tobacco were public enemies and should be avoided in order to create more successful sportsmen like him.[72]

Obviously the "national awakening" in Estonia was connected with modern sports, and Lurich was one of the most prominent exponents in this context. In public, he always emphasised his Estonian origin and used his popularity to lift Estonian national self-esteem and was widely perceived by contemporaries as the leading Estonian personality. Or to put it more abstractly: the sporting successes of sportsmen like Lurich stimulated the development of an Estonian national identity within the Russian Empire and helped Estonians to distinguish themselves from the previous Russian and German Baltic culture bearers. It was the latter who had founded the first sport clubs on the soil what would become Estonia, with a preference for sailing, rowing and cycling. However, the Baltic provinces in general stayed an integral part of the Russian international sport teams and won several medals for the Russian Empire at the Olympic Games, for instance in 1912 in Stockholm. Estonian wrestlers and weightlifters were considered to be the best in the Czarist empire. Even as a part of Russian teams, sporting activities functioned as a valve for the increasing Estonian awareness of belonging to a nation, making sport interesting for the cultural and intellectual Estonian elites of that time. Unfortunately, Lurich, the "Samson of the twentieth century", was never perceived to be an Estonian outside Russia, but figured as the "invincible Russian".[73]

europäische Zusammenhänge. Associational Culture and Civil Society in North Eastern Europe. Regional Features and the European Context (Vienna 2012), 293–306, on pp. 296, 298f.

70 Id., "Imperial Careers and National Recollection: Baltic Wrestlers and the Organization of National Sports in the Late Tsarist Empire (Using the Example of Estonia)", in Sandra Budy et al. (ed.), *Euphoria and Exhaustion: Modern Sport in Soviet Culture and Society* (Frankfurt a.M. 2010), 133–157, on pp. 134, 142; id., "Sport und Sportvereine in Estland", 299.

71 Id., "Sport und Sportvereine in Estland", 299f.

72 Id., "Imperial Careers", 142; id., "Sport und Sportvereine in Estland", 300.

73 Id., "Sport und Sportvereine in Estland", 296, 300f.; id., "Imperial Careers", 134f.; Olivia Griese / Carol Marmor, "Ringer, Segler, Langläufer"; Anke Hilbrenner et al. (ed.),

The career of Lurich went along with a strong increase of the number of sports clubs that more and more began to be political. One example is the cycling club Kalev (named after the father of the Estonian national hero Kalevipoeg) founded in Reval/Tallinn in 1901 and later on the biggest sports club in Estonia. Declaring to be a cycling club obviously was one of the few possibilities to get a license from the Russian authorities. Kalev was after all nothing but a camouflage under which an elitist group of Estonian civil servants, businessmen, teachers, journalists and lawyers gathered together to discuss possibilities of a prospective independent homeland.[74]

After the 1905 revolution Kalev concentrated increasingly on sport since it was more or less impossible to follow up plans of independence. The club tried now to get more influence on the development of Estonian sports, especially in the field of tennis, gymnastics, track and field, swimming and football – an area with a vivid German Baltic sporting scene. In this context Kalev became the founder of Estonian track and field. In 1913, Kalev established a new sports club covering the whole of Estonia, Eestimaa Spordiselts Kalev (Estonian sports federation Kalev), followed by the Eesti Spordi Liit (Estonian Sports Union) and the foundation of the Estonian National Olympic Committee in 1923. After that the rise of Estonian sport began; until the end of the 1930s Estonia became part of the world elite in such disciplines like wrestling, boxing and football.[75]

During the reign of Konstantin Päts sports were used as a means to promote *eestlus* ("Estonianness"). In 1934 and 1939 *Eesti Mängud* (Estonian games) were celebrated with a lot of national pathos and mass performances of gymnastics and folk dance. Gymnastics, especially popular among Estonians since the 1870s, was used to create a public amalgamation of the individual athletes into a single "national body". Physical culture and sports were declared to be natural incarnations of national traditions. Already in the dim and distant Estonian past – this is what Estonian propaganda declared – sporting competitions had taken place on Estonian soil that had laid the foundation for the extraordinary success of Estonian sports in the present.[76]

It is not a coincidence that heavy athletics and track and field were practised in the Estonian DP camps, and in combination with the already described ceremonies on official occasions like matches or Baltic Olympics they curdled to manifestations of national self-representation. Unlike the Jewish DPs – and

Handbuch der Sportgeschichte Osteuropas, Preprint forthcoming, accessed 7 April 2017, URL: http://www.ios-regensburg.de/ios-publikationen/online-publikationen/sportlexikon/inhalt.html, 3f.

74 Brüggemann, "Sport und Sportvereine in Estland", 301–303.

75 Ibid., 304f.; Anonymous, "Ringer, Segler, Langläufer", 5f.

76 Brüggemann, "Sport und Sportvereine in Estland", 295, 297. Anonymous, "Ringer, Segler, Langläufer", 6.

astonishingly, as I would argue – the Estonian DP sport teams, clubs and associations did not adopt the names of the famous sport clubs from the interwar period or of the "fathers" of Estonian sport to remind of the "proud" past; no "Kalev Augsburg" or the like took part in the sporting competitions.

Geislingen DP camp even experienced a new edition of the *Eesti Mängud* in August 1946, as *Eesti Post* headlined: "Eesti Mängud Geislingenis: Kolm päeva pingerikkaid võistlusi spordiväljakuil" (Estonian games at Geislingen: Three days of exciting competitions on the sports ground), with Augsburg-Hochfeld as the overall winner.[77] Looking at existing film and photographic material the observer detects a clear analogy between the Estonian Games of the interwar period and the exile edition of 1946 at Geislingen DP camp. It is obvious: The aim of Estonian organised sport at Geislingen was to transport national identity and *eestlus* in exile, with a clear message: Estonia might be occupied but lives on. It has a strong and beautiful youth that keeps the traditions alive and – just by its existence – makes sure that Estonia will not disappear.

The Estonian DP camps were nothing more and nothing less than representations of the free Republic of Estonia, as the historian Dorothee M. Goeze has stated. Baltic DPs in general – and Estonians in particular – very often considered themselves to be active representatives of their countries of origin. In the camps, attempts were made to restore the lost homeland by using national symbols like the flag or by setting up reproductions of the *Pikk Hermann* (Tall Hermann), the tower on the cathedral hill at Tallinn. The same function had the meticulous compliance of national holidays.[78] And sport in its organised form fitted perfectly into these attempts.

The Surplus of Including Sport History into DP Research

Both Jewish and Estonian DP sports in their organised form were used to fulfil a nationalist agenda. Sport served in both cases as one important means in the process of nation building. In the Jewish case, it was used to raise an ideally young and powerful people able to build up and defend a prospective Jewish state and in order to overcome the stereotype of the weak Jewish body. The Estonian case seems to be more difficult. No prosperous future seemed to be waiting. Estonia was occupied and everything lost that had made up an individual's life. The initial hope among many Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian

77 *Eesti Post* 88 (20.08.1946), 3f.

78 Dorothee M. Goeze, "Alltag estnischer DPs in Deutschland: Die Sammlung Hintzer im Herder-Institut Marburg", in Christian Pletzing / Marianne Pletzing (ed.), *Displaced Persons: Flüchtlinge aus den baltischen Staaten in Deutschland* (Munich 2007), 29–61, on p. 59; Jürgenson, "Lagerleben und Weiterreise", 173.

DPs that post-war tensions between the USSR and its former Western Allies might lead to a new war restoring lost independence proved to be false.[79] Faced with that situation Estonian DPs took action to prevent the disappearance of their identity as Estonians, to keep the memory of a free Estonia alive and continued – as I have shown – the process of Estonian nation-building that had been interrupted by the Soviet and German occupations. The performance of "traditional" sports in the Estonian camps, the renewed celebration of *Eestimängud* and the new format of Baltic Olympics contributed to the aforementioned purpose of turning every Estonian DP camp into a "little free Estonia". Obviously Estonian DPs sought to behave as if nothing had happened. *Eesti Mängud* and Baltic Olympics were celebrated as if one was back home, and the DP newspapers reported about it as if they were issued in Estonia. This observation can also be made when looking at the celebration of national holidays.

Looking at Baltic DP sports in general and the Estonian example in particular widens our understanding of the dissemination and perpetuation of national identity in exile. As I have shown in the Estonian case, sporting successes like those of Lurich, or the achievements of Estonian sport in the 1920s and 1930s, generate positive memories especially in small, young nations and provide self-esteem.[80] So, on the one hand, it appears to be a consequent behaviour for an exile community to seek refuge in activities that are connected with positive memories and possibly provide strength to get along with the exile situation. On the other hand, this sticking to old traditions and nationalistic conduct as it is represented in the reissue of the *Eesti Mängud* left over from the authoritarian reign of Konstantin Päts makes it difficult or even impossible to begin a new chapter of life and fosters the formation of parallel societies – a process that still needs to be researched in the case of Estonian DPs.

In the case of Latvian and Polish DPs (unfortunately not yet in the Estonian case), it is known that talented sportsmen were headhunted by local German football clubs.[81] Research should therefore be done on the question of the

79 Kaja Kumer-Haukanõmm, "The Repatriation of Estonians, 1945–1952", in Corine Defrance et al. (ed.), *Personnes déplacées et guerre froide en Allemagne occupée* (Brussels 2015), 97–114, on p. 98; Juris Rozenvalds, "Baltische Staaten und ihre Gesellschaften nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg", in Michèle Knodt / Sigita Urdze (ed.), *Die politischen Systeme der baltischen Staaten: Eine Einführung* (Wiesbaden 2012), 55–74, on p. 57.

80 Brüggemann, "Imperial Careers", 133.

81 See, for example, Stefan Schröder, *Displaced Persons im Landkreis und in der Stadt Münster 1945–1951* (Münster 2005), 268, about the Latvian DP Eduard Freimanis who in 1946 was headhunted by the football club SC Greven 09 and led the club to sporting successes in the regional league.

extent sport was useful to integrate those DPs who could not leave Germany in the long run. I am convinced that lots of touching stories could be found in this context.

Dieter Reinisch

Performing Resistance

Sport and Irish Republican Identity in Internment Camps and Prisons*

On 11 August 2014, the Irish Republican prisoners' group *Cogús* issued a press release titled "Further medical issues for Republican POWs", stating:

> Last week, Cogús POW Department learned that Roe 3 POW Danny McClean broke his arm while playing a game of football in the Maghaberry prison yard. Cogús were informed that Danny would be taken out of the prison to a hospital, where he would undergo an assessment to deem if the arm was broken.[1]

Cogús is one of the various groups supporting those Irish Republican prisoners currently held in prisons like HMP Maghaberry and HMP Hydebank Wood, both in County Antrim in the North of Ireland, and Portlaoise Prison in the Republic of Ireland. The prisoners' group complained about McClean's inadequate medical treatment following a "football" accident in the prison. As this statement illustrates, sport is part of the political prisoners' lives in today's Ireland.

In this chapter, I aim to examine the role leisure and sport played for internees and prisoners during the 30 years of conflict in the North of Ireland from 1968 until 2000. I will demonstrate that Irish Republicans used to sport in two ways. First, in resistance to the British prison regime and, second, to reinforce and maintain Irish Republican identity within the British internment camps and prisons. I will furthermore examine what sports the prisoners practised and used to uphold and strengthen identity. Certainly, as

* I want to thank Laura Lee Downs (European University Institute, Florence), Gregor Feindt (Leibniz Institute of European History, Mainz), Patrick McDonagh (EUI), Nicola Owtram (EUI), Robert W. White (Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis), and Victoria Witkowski (EUI) for their very useful comments. Furthermore, I want to thank Seán Bresnahan (Omagh), Maurice Dowling (Tralee), Josephine Hayden (Dublin), Laurence McKeown (Dundalk), Líta Ní Chathmhaoil (Dublin), and the Republican ex-prisoners organisation Coiste na n-Iarchimí for their support in establishing contact with the interview partners. They are not responsible for any errors or the opinions expressed in this paper.

1 *Cogús*, "Further medical issues for Republican POWs", in *Republican Network for Unity Blog*, accessed 25 January 2015, http://www.republicanunity.org/cogus-further-medical-issues-for-republican-pows.

the conflict inside and outside the prisons evolved during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, the prisoners' routines changed, their political and cultural views developed, and their approach to sport transformed. By using the concept of *critical junctions*, I will give examples of three key periods during the 1970s through the 1990s to illustrate how sport formed identities in the internment camps and prisons, and how the focus changed from traditional Gaelic games to what Irish Nationalists called "foreign games" like soccer[2] in the aftermath of the hunger strikes in 1980 and 1981. While the given examples in the 1970s and 1980s mainly focus on the Northern internment camps and prisons, I will outline the role that sport in prison played during the conflict transformation in the 1990s by analysing the situation in the Republic's Portlaoise Prison.

Based on written and oral remembrances of former internees and prisoners, I will show how the prisoners remember their experiences with sport – Gaelic football and soccer, in particular – in internment camps and prisons. Focusing on oral history and memory studies, the chapter is based on the interview transcripts of former Irish Republican prisoners from Long Kesh/HMP Maze, Magilligan Internment Camp, Mountjoy Prison, and Portlaoise Prison. All quoted interviews were conducted between summer 2013 and autumn 2015. Additionally, I use written published and unpublished memoirs of former Republican prisoners, and archival sources from the National Library of Ireland, the National Archives of Ireland, the Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Linen Hall Library, and private collections.[3]

I will, furthermore, provide insight into the situation in the Republic of Ireland, namely in its only high-security prison Portlaoise, Co (County) Laois, while focusing on the internment camps and prisons under British jurisdiction in the North, mainly Long Kesh/HMP (Her Majesty's Prison) Maze and Magilligan Internment Camp. Historiography on the recent Irish Republican movement tends to focus on developments in the North; this regional divide is most obvious in academic research on political imprisonment in Ireland since 1968. Conversely, I argue that an all-Ireland understanding of political imprisonment is necessary to recognise its implications for the conflict transformation process. Therefore, I will focus on Northern developments and developments in Portlaoise Prison south of the border in order to underline my argument. In other words, the conflict in Ireland was not limited to the

2 In Ireland "football" is mainly referred to as "soccer", whereas the term "football" is used to describe "Gaelic football".

3 For a detailed introduction to the oral history methodology used see Dieter Reinisch, "Frauen in der irisch-republikanischen Bewegung nach 1969 Überlegungen zu Oral History, sensiblen Daten und dem Nordirlandkonflikt", in *BIOS* 28:1–2 (2017), 231–249; id., *Die Frauen der IRA. Cumann na mBan und der Nordirlandkonflikt 1968–1986* (Vienna 2017).

war in the North; hence, the role of political prisoners in the conflict transformation cannot be fully understood when narrowing the research on the situation in British prisons.

With the outbreak of the so-called Troubles in the North of Ireland, the Republican prison population reached its highest numbers on both sides of the Irish border since 1923. The British government introduced internment in August 1971 in the North of Ireland. Although there are not sufficient data on Republican imprisonment available for the Republic of Ireland, it is estimated that between 20,000 and 25,000 both Republicans and Loyalists were either interned or imprisoned in British internment camps and prisons between 1969 and the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998.[4] The main internment camps and prisons were, among others, Long Kesh/HMP Maze, Co Antrim, and Portlaoise Prison, Co Laois. There are currently approximately 30 prisoners held on the Republican landings Roe three and Roe four of HMP Maghaberry, the high-security prison housing male Republican and Loyalist prisoners in the North of Ireland; the Republic of Ireland holds another 50 to 60 prisoners belonging to Republican organisations in Portlaoise Prison. While these prisoners are referred to as *Irish political prisoners*, *Republican prisoners*, or *Prisoners of War*, the status of the internees' and prisoners has always been disputed between Irish Republicans and the British and Irish governments.[5]

Within the general topic of the volume, this chapter opens the analysis of sport from camps to prisons. Internment camps holding Irish prisoners differ from the early concentration camps of the late nineteenth century and the death camps of the middle of the twentieth century. The main difference is, of course, mortality. However, there are also several similarities between the early concentration camps in South Africa, the Philippines, and Cuba on the one hand, and the internment camps holding Irish prisoners after 1916 in Wales and in the 1970s in Ireland.[6] First, both types of camps opened as a direct response to guerrilla campaigns during a colonial conflict. Second, they were directed against a significant section of the population, in the Irish case against male Catholics suspected of Nationalist sympathies. Third, the

4 A report by the Office of the First Minister and Deputy Minister (OFMDFM) also estimates that there are up to 30,000 former political prisoners in the North of Ireland. Bill Rolston, *Review of Literature on Republican and Loyalist Ex-Prisoners* (Belfast 2011).

5 For a detailed discussion on the use of the term see Liam O'Ruairc, "Common Criminals or Political Law Breakers", in *TPQ Blog*, 21 August 2010, http://thepensivequill.am/2010/08/common-criminals-or-political-law.html; Andrew Silke, "Terrorists, Extremists and Prison: An Introduction to the Critical Issues," in Andrew Silke (ed.), *Prisons, Terrorism and Extremism. Critical Issues in Managment, Radicalisation and Reform* (London 2014), 3–15; Clive Walker, "Irish Republican Prisoners. Political Detainees, Prisoners of War or Common Criminals?", in *The Irish Jurist* 19:2 (1984).

6 John McGuffin, *Internment* (Tralee 1973).

camps served as collective punishment of the Nationalist community.[7] The internment policy was reintroduced in the North of Ireland in the summer of 1971 and formally ended in December 1975. However, the criminalisation policy of Irish Nationalists succeeded and the newly build H-Blocks of HMP Maze became its centre after 1976. Thus, this chapter will lead from the internment camp experience of Gaelic Athletic Association (*Cumann Lúthchleas Gael* or GAA) sport to the situation in the British and Irish prisons where both soccer and GAA games were played in the 1980s and 1990s.

Sport held a pivotal position at the beginning of the national movement of the Irish people in the nineteenth century. The formation of *Cumann Lúthchleas Gael* boosted the appeal to allegedly ancient Celtic games such as Gaelic football, camogie, hurling, and handball. Certainly, the GAA was far more than a mere sports organisation; it was, together with the *Conradh na Gaeilge* (Gaelic League), the driving force of the cultural and political Gaelic Revival in Ireland.[8] Gaelic sports soon developed into a propaganda vehicle for nationalist sentiments and agitation. The British colonial administration subsequently banned the playing of these sports on Sundays. Accordingly, in 1897, the GAA itself introduced Rule 21 which banned members of the British security forces from membership of the GAA and thus from playing Gaelic games. Until recently, Rule 42, furthermore, prohibited the playing of non-Gaelic games, the so-called foreign games, in GAA stadiums. Even more striking was Rule 27, which banned GAA players from actively and passively taking part in "foreign games" such as soccer or rugby.[9] Under those circumstances, sport had evolved from the cultural awakening of the Irish people into an anti-colonial battlefield of Irish nationalism.

Despite this outstanding role of sports in the modern history of Ireland and the boom in research in the last two decades on both political imprisonment in Ireland and sport in Ireland, the relationship between Irish Republican prisoners and sport has so far not inspired scholarly interest. Existing studies on political imprisonment tend to ignore social and cultural activity in prison rather focusing on political developments;[10] equally, studies on the relation-

7 Jonathan Hyslop, "The Invention of the Concentration Camp. Cuba, Southern Africa and the Philippines, 1896–1907", in *South African Historical Journal* 63:2 (2011), 251–276.

8 Timothy G. McMahon, *Grand Opportunity. The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893–1910* (Syracuse 2008).

9 Mike Cronin et al. (eds.), *The Gaelic Athletic Association 1884–2009* (Dublin 2009); Donal McAnallen et al. (ed.), *The Evolution of the GAA: Ulaidh, Éire Agus Eile* (Belfast 2009).

10 The most significant among recent publications are Thomas Hennessey, *Hunger Strike. Margaret Thatcher's Battle with the IRA* (Dublin 2014); Laura McAtackney, *An Archaeology of the Troubles. The Dark Heritage of Long Kesh/Maze Prison* (Oxford 2014); Seán McConville, *Irish Political Prisoners 1848–1922. Theatres of War* (London 2003); id.,

ship between sport and Irish nationalism and Republicanism tends to ignore post-1969 Irish Republicans.[11] Notable exceptions are Brian Hanley's chapter on attitudes towards sport and Irish Republicans, the works of Alan Bairner on sport in the North of Ireland, and David Hassan's analysis that shows that sport helped develop a separate Northern identity within Irish nationalism.[12]

This chapter will add to the literature on sport in Irish and British internment camps and prisons during the conflict in North of Ireland. The role of sport over the decades was twofold. First, prisoners practised sport for recreational and training purposes; and, second, prisoners used sport to maintain and reinforce national and cultural identity. By discussing the use of sport in a prison context, the chapter will focus on three key issues. First, the role that Gaelic sports played in building and maintaining Irish Republican identity in the internment camps Long Kesh and Magilligan; second, the changing identities in the course of the 1980s and the debate on the "foreign game," soccer, inside HMP Maze and the wider Republican movement; and third, the use of sport and sport facilities in Portlaoise Prison in order to support the peace process in the 1990s. A description of the role of sport by both prisoners and political actors outside the prisons will shed light on the interaction of, on the one hand, political prisoners and, on the other hand, their political movements and wider community outside of the prisons. By understanding these developments, I will show how even the seemingly politically insignificant activities of internees and prisoners had an impact on the conflict transformation process in Ireland's recent past. In particular, this approach will contribute to the understanding of camps and prisons as integral places of

Irish Political Prisoners, 1920–1962. Pilgrimage of Desolation (Oxon 2014); William Murphy, *Political Imprisonment & the Irish, 1912–1921* (Oxford 2014); Ruán O'Donnell, *Special Category. The IRA in English Prisons, 1968–1978, vol. 1* (Dublin 2012); id., *Special Category. The IRA in English Prisons, 1978–1985, vol. 2* (Dublin 2015).

11 Among the most valuable recent publications are Mike Cronin, *Sport and Nationalism in Ireland. Gaelic Games, Soccer and Irish Identity since 1884* (Dublin 1999); James Kelly, *Sport in Ireland 1600–1840* (Dublin 2014); Peter Rouse, *Sport and Ireland. A History* (Oxford 2015).

12 Alan Bairner (ed.), *Sport and the Irish. Histories, Identities, Issues* (Dublin 2005); id., "Sport, the Northern Ireland Peace Process, and the Politics of Identity", in *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research* 5 (2013), 220–229; id., "Still Taking Sides. Sport, Leisure and Identity in Northern Ireland", in Colin Coulter / Michael Murray (eds.), *Northern Ireland after the Troubles. A Society in Transition* (Manchester 2008); id. "Sport, Sectarianism and Society in a Divided Ireland Revisited", in John Sudgen / Alan Tomlinson (eds.), *Power Games. A Critical Sociology of Sport* (London 2002); Alan Bairner / John Sudgen, *Sport, Sectarianism and Society in a Divided Ireland* (Leicester 1993); Brian Hanley, "Irish Republican Attitudes to Sport since 1921", in Dónal McAnallen et al. (eds.), *The Evolution of the GAA. Ulaidh, Éire Agus Eile* (Belfast 2009); David Hassan, "Sport, Identity and Irish Nationalism in Northern Ireland", in Bairner, *Sport and the Irish*, 123–139.

the nationalist and political struggle, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, sport as a politicised mirror of developments outside the prison walls.[13]

Gaelic Sport and Internment

Following the partition of Ireland in 1921,[14] the Irish Republican movement continued its work in pursuit of a united Ireland, which resulted in numerous internees and prisoners throughout the twentieth century.[15] Throughout the 1960s, the civil rights movement demanded equality for the Catholic population by organising mass protests in the North of Ireland. These protests culminated in regular clashes with the paramilitary police RUC and pro-British Unionists and Loyalists. As a direct result of pogroms, the British army was eventually deployed in the region in the summer of 1969.[16] Two years later, in August 1971, the British government launched Operation Demetrius, which included mass arrests and internment. Internment camps were opened on the former Royal Air Force base of Long Kesh, near Lisburn, Co Antrim, as well as Magilligan in Co Derry; internees were also held on the Maidstone Prison Ship in Belfast. The policy of internment lasted until December 1975 and during that time, British authorities interned 1,981 people; 1,874 of them were Nationalists.[17] Indeed, recreation, training, and fitness were not the only reasons for playing Gaelic sports in the internment camps and prisons.

The playing of Gaelic sport was always a central part of the recreational time in these internment camps. During the decades from 1916 until the 1970s, the prisoners overwhelmingly played Gaelic handball and Gaelic football. However, the rules of football were adapted to the particular situation in

13 I had a similar thesis regarding Irish Republican prisoners and the Irish language in Dieter Reinisch, "Political Prisoners and the Irish Language: A North-South Comparison", in *Studi irlandesi* 6 (2016), 239–258.

14 On the impact of the partition on sport, see Rouse, *Sport and Ireland: A History*, xf.

15 On internment and imprisonment of Irish Republicans in the twentieth century, see, inter alia, McConville, *Irish Political Prisoners 1848–1922*; id., *Irish Political Prisoners, 1920–1962*; John Maguire, *IRA Internments and the Irish Government. Subversives and the State, 1939–1962* (Dublin 2008); McGuffin, *Internment*; Murphy, *Political Imprisonment*.

16 On the outbreak of the conflict in the late 1960s, see Thomas Hennessey, *The Evolution of the Troubles, 1970–72* (Dublin 2007); id., *Northern Ireland. The Origins of the Troubles* (Dublin 2005); Simon Prince, "'Do What the Afro-Americans Are Doing'. Black Power and the Start of the Northern Ireland Troubles", in *Journal of Contemporary History* (2015), doi:0022009414557908; Simon Prince / Geoffrey Warner, *Belfast and Derry in Revolt. A New History of the Start of the Troubles* (Dublin 2012).

17 Martin McCleery, *Operation Demetrius and Its Aftermath. A New History of the Use of Internment without Trial in Northern Ireland 1971–75* (Manchester 2015).

each prison or internment camp. The hard, wooden Hurleys were forbidden in all prisons, thus, the game of hurling could not be played. In the situation playing Gaelic games was a reaction to the British sporting culture for Irish Nationalists.[18] Rouse writes:

> Sport was central in the adoption of certain symbols – among them flags, crests, and anthems – and these symbols were often adopted enthusiastically. Sport offered a platform to display patriotism at best and chauvinism at worst.[19]

This statement is even more apparent for the Irish Republican internees and prisoners in the British camps. The political activists believed in these sentiments and most of them were active GAA members, taking their cultural identities and sports with them into the camps. The manifestation of Irishness through commemorations, sport, language, and history classes within the British camps were among the first forms of resistance shown by the internees.[20]

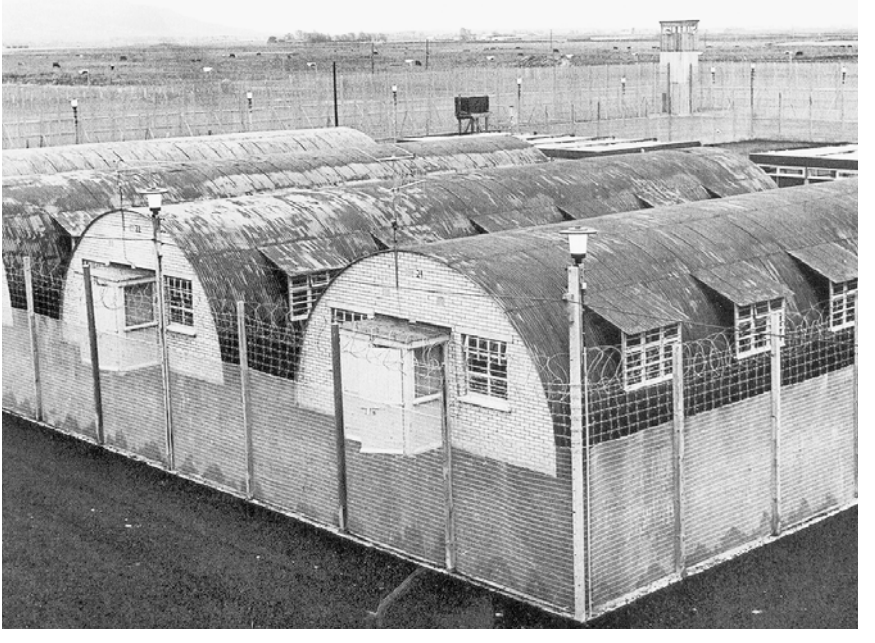


Fig. I: Huts at the Magilligan Internment Camps, Co Derry, where Republican and Loyalist internees were held in the 1970s. The same type of Nissen huts was also used in the Long Kesh Internment Camp in Co Antrim. (Photo credits: Frankie McCarron)

18 Rouse, *Sport and Ireland*, 3.
19 Ibid., 4.
20 Reinisch, "Political Prisoners".

Irish Republicans understood the playing of Gaelic games as continuing their political activism inside the camps. The work of Republican internees focused on political and historical debates and lectures, drills, parades, commemorations, preparations for escapes, and sports competitions. The playing of Gaelic games was one tool to promote and uphold the Irish nationalist culture in the prisons. Further ways to underpin the Irish culture among the prisoners were promoting and using the Irish language, singing Irish songs, or organising lectures in Irish history. By doing this particular work, the Republican prisoners aimed to underline that they "are political prisoners instead of ordinary, criminal prisoners".[21]

In his recollections of the time in Long Kesh internment camp, Bobby Devlin recalls one Gaelic football match between the teams of two cages. Devlin was born and reared in the Falls Road area of Belfast. He left school at 14 years of age; he later joined the RAF (Royal Airforce) for five years before becoming a postal worker. He was interned in Long Kesh from 1972 to 1974, his memories narrate this period:

> Each Cage was allowed the use of the football pitch at least once a week. Gaelic football was the most popular of all there, and it certainly was the most competitive. If there were medals at stake then it became a pitched battle. Whenever any game was over, you would have a scene like Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in football boots.
> There would be broken limbs, steakers (black eyes) and bruises galore. The most famous or infamous match was fought out between Cage Two and Cage Three. Each team contained excellent players, but they suffered from what I called "medal fatigue."
> […] It was a pity because those cages had two excellent teams. However, it was all in line with our policy of promoting Irish Culture.[22]

Gaelic football features a number of times in Devlin's memories and it was indeed the main team sport played by the internees in these early years of the camps. Devlin stresses the violent aspect of playing Gaelic football in the prison while, at the same time, enjoying the sport. This aspect underlines the competitiveness of the game, particularly in the prison. Behind the prison walls, the internees and convicts perform those activities that significantly break the routine. Thus, Gaelic games were performed with more intensity. This competitiveness made it appear more violent than games played outside prisons.

Apart from running and training in the gym, Gaelic football was the most favoured sports activity for two reasons; first, it was a political statement, and

21 Interview with Dan Hoban, Newport, Co Mayo, 15 April 2015.
22 Bobby Devlin, *An Interlude with Seagulls. Memories of a Long Kesh Internee* (London ²1985), 32.

second, it was an opportunity to keep physically fit. In other words, being an active member of the GAA was a political statement in order to promote Irish culture in opposition to the British culture. Playing Gaelic football, hurling, and handball were, thus, acts of cultural resistance, in particular, for northern Nationalists. Devlin explains the personality of some internees and their roles during football matches: "One of the main reasons for Cage 22 being a good disciplined place was due to the fact of Jimmy Roe being in charge. In his youth, Jimmy was a hard-tackling back on the last great Antrim Gaelic Football side of 1951".[23] The Republican Movement tried to push the promotion of the Irish culture among the internees and prisoners even further by organising Irish classes and Gaelic football competitions. All internment camps had football pitches. A drawing from the late 1970s shows that the Long Kesh camp had two big football pitches plus another small pitch.[24] Another camp, Magilligan Camp in Co Derry, also had two football pitches.[25] Indeed, it was

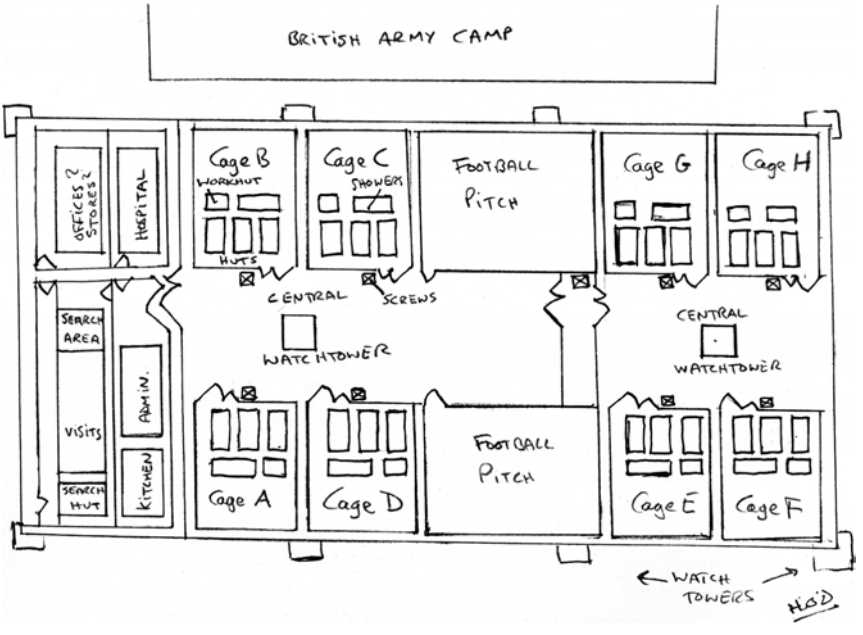


Fig. II: A map drawn by a former Irish Republican internee of the Magilligan Internment Camp, Co Derry, showing two football pitches that were used by both Republican and Loyalist internees during the 1970s. (Photo credits: Frankie McCarron)

23 Ibid., 59.
24 Provisional Republican Prisoners, *Prison Struggle. The Story of Continuing Resistance Behind the Wire* (Belfast 1977).
25 Frankie McCarron, *Magilligan. POW Memories from 1974 to 1980s* (Derry 2013), 10.

in the interest of the movement to have physically fit internees and prisoners so that they would be prepared to continue their activities immediately after their release.[26]

As mentioned in the first statement by Devlin, the Republican inmates did not solely hold football matches on an individual basis, rather they organised tournaments. The Irish nationalist community outside the camps, especially sympathising GAA clubs, usually supported these competitions by donating medals, balls, or jerseys. Frankie, who was an internee of Magilligan in the 1970s, relates the following:

> I remember the soccer and GAA leagues in Magilligan. They were very competitive. There were medals and cups sent in from outside for us to compete for. I won a few of those medals but don't know what happened to them. The fiercest competition came from the matches between Cage D and Cage G. For some reasons Cage F always seemed to have the weakest team in both cup competitions. We had some cracking GAA matches because there were always some intercounty POW players in Magilligan. […] Keeping fit was a big thing in Magilligan, be it soccer, football, running or workouts, it kept the guys busy.[27]

Like Long Kesh internee Devlin, Magilligan internee Frankie remembers that the matches were usually organised between the various cages. The support from GAA clubs was highly appreciated by the Republican prisoners, not only because the facilities were very poor in the early days of the camps but also because it kept the spirit of the inmates intact by proving to them that there was support for their cause on the outside. By doing this, prisoners and their supporters established links that broke the distinction between inside and outside; this distinction is usually a typical feature for camps and prisons. In a pamphlet published by the Provisional Republican Movement, the prisoners write:

> I suppose it would be difficult for someone on the outside who has never experienced the Kesh or any other Concentration Camp to imagine the pleasure when some football club or individual sends in a new leather ball or a badly needed set of jerseys.[28]

With the help of outside GAA clubs, the prisoners furthermore organised tournaments such as the Jimmy Steele Cup held in Belfast Prison in September 1972. Steele was a leading Belfast Republican who had died in August 1970. As these testimonies and articles show, before the opening of the H-Blocks,

26 Prisoners, *Prison Struggle*, 41.
27 McCarron, *Magilligan*, 72f.
28 Prisoners, *Prison Struggle*, 41.

HMP Maze, and the removal of de facto political status for the Irish Republican prisoners under British jurisdiction in 1976, the internees in Long Kesh had wide-ranging rights. There were, indeed, few restrictions on the performing of sport in the camp.

While the focus was put on Gaelic games, internees and prisoners performed other sports as well; so-called Mini Olympics were held in various camps and prisons, such as Long Kesh, Mountjoy Prison, and Portlaoise Prison.[29] In Long Kesh, the first Mini Olympics were held during a festival that lasted several days on the anniversary of the introduction of internment, Devlin was one of the organisers and writes:

> I remember on the first day we held the four hundred and forty metre heats. […] The next event was the half-mile and the favourite was the "White Tornado" Eamon Caughey. He could really go in the shorter distance races. The half-mile race involved four circuits of the cage. There were about a dozen entrants at the start and Peadar McIlvenny with Eamon Caughey zoomed off as if it was a hundred yards sprint. This absolutely wrecked me after one circuit but I knew if I could keep in touch with the first four then I would be in the medals. For the next three laps I hung on and got in behind Eamon and Peadar going down the home straight and I gave it all I had which wasn't much, yet I tied a second place with Peadar until Gerry Maguire (God Forgive Him) shouted: "There's another lap to go." By now I had come to a halt but then everyone dashed off again. That "fifth" lap nearly killed me as I struggled around on "rubbery" legs to finish outside the medals. I was exhausted and had to lie down.[30]

Devlin's account on sport in the camp reflects the joy the prisoners felt when doing these activities, and both the competition and feeling of community among prisoners. In another account, he remembers doing sport in winter to overcome depression on Christmas Eve 1973.[31] Apart from running, Gaelic sports, and occasionally handball, the Republican inmates played soccer. However, Irish Nationalists consider soccer a "foreign game" and, therefore, the Republican leadership did not promote it. However, Bairner argues that the discouraging Gaelic games sparked the interest of some Republican internees and prisoners in soccer.[32] Although this may be true, Gaelic sports held a pivotal role in the cultural resistance of the Republican leadership. Additionally, sport served to maintain the physical fitness of the prisoners and brought

29 Interview with Seosamh Ó Maileoin, Tyrellspass, Co Westmeath, 30 April 2015; and interview with Vivian Hayden, Dublin, 14 April 2015.
30 Devlin, *An Interlude*, 54f.
31 Ibid., 55.
32 Alan Bairner, "'My First Victim Was a Hurling Player…'. Sport in the Lives of Northern Ireland's Political Prisoners", in *American Behavioral Scientist* (2016), 10, doi: 0.1177/0002764216632842.

them "back into shape" before their release in order to maintain their political and paramilitary activities immediately on the outside.[33] Soccer only played a marginal role in the early internment camps. It was, as Bairner writes, either promoted for ideological reasons by the prison authorities, or it was followed by a small group of northern Nationalist inmates supportive of various Irish Nationalist clubs in the North, such as Derry FC, the then-dissolved Belfast Celtic, or Glasgow's Celtic FC, a Scottish club with a significant support base among Nationalists in Ireland.[34] However, the political standing of soccer rapidly changed following the 1981 hunger strikes.

Fig. III: A photo showing Republican internees doing "physical training" in Long Kesh internment camp. The photo was published in the booklet *Prison Struggle: The Story of continuing Resistance behind the Wire* in March 1977.
The text in the booklet reads: "There are entries for the breath-taking egg-and-spoon race, the gruelling 30 times round the Cage marathon and the three legged race. The sportsday is very popular and great fun. All these athletic activities serve some purpose either by breaking the prison monotony, relieving tension or just providing fun and entertainment."

33 Prisoners, *Prison Struggle*, 41.
34 Gareth Fulton, "Northern Ireland Fans of the Republic of Ireland Soccer Team", in Bairner, *Sport and the Irish*, 140–156; Hassan, "Sport, Identity and Irish Nationalism"; Rouse, *Sport and Ireland*, 303.

Soccer in HMP Maze

On 1 March 1976, following an earlier announcement by the new Labour Secretary of State Merlyn Rees, Special Category Status for Irish Republican prisoners was phased out. This meant that anyone convicted of a scheduled offence after March 1976 would be treated as an ordinary criminal and, thus, would have to wear a prison uniform, do prison work, and serve their sentence in the new HMP Maze, in what became known as the H-Blocks due to their architecture. Later that year, Kieran Nugent was the first Republican to arrive in the H-Blocks; he refused to wear a prison uniform and instead, wrapped himself in a blanket, the only available item in his cell. Nugent's protest marks the start of a new form of protest by Republican prisoners, known as the "blanket protest". Through their protest, the prisoners demanded recognition as political rather than criminal prisoners; thereby, they tried to show that the struggle for Irish unity was indeed a political struggle and not a criminal, terrorist one as portrayed by the British government. The "blanket protest" and the subsequent "dirty protest" – i.e., the refusal to leave cells to shower or use the lavatory because of attacks by prison officers, culminated in two hunger strikes. During the last hunger strike in 1981, ten Republican prisoners died, seven were members of the Provisional IRA and three were members of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA). Following the end of the hunger strikes in autumn 1981, the British government gradually granted most of the demands.[35]

The Republican movement experienced previously unknown waves of support during the hunger strikes[36] and a great number of people from not traditionally Republican backgrounds joined the movement.[37] Some of these people had moderate Republican views. One of the pre-1981 Republicans and one of the ten dead hunger strikers, INLA member Kevin Lynch, was also a member of the St. Patrick's GAA Club in Co Derry and captained Derry to win the 1972 All-Ireland Under-16 finals. After his death, the club was

35 For an overview of the prison protests, see, inter alia, David Beresford, *Ten Men Dead. The Story of the 1981 Irish Hunger Strike* (London 1987); Brian Campbell et al., *Nor Meekly Serve My Time. The H-Block Struggle, 1976–1981* (Belfast 1998); Hennessey, *Hunger Strike*; Laurence McKeown, *Out of Time. Irish Republican Prisoners, Long Kesh, 1972–2000* (Belfast 2001).

36 F. Stuart Ross, *Smashing H-Block. The Rise and Fall of the Popular Campaign against Criminalization, 1976–1982* (Liverpool 2011).

37 Robert W. White, *Provisional Irish Republicans. An Oral and Interpretive History* (Westport, CT 1993); Robert W. White / Demirel Pegg, "Social Movements over Time. Recruitment, Splits, Revolution Versus Reform", in Lorenzo Bosi / Gianluca DeFazio (eds.), *The Troubles. Northern Ireland and Theories of Social Movements* (Amsterdam 2017).

renamed the "Kevin Lynch GAA Club".[38] The influence prisoners had with their outside communities further diminished the distinction between inside and outside the prison walls.

With the arrival of the new prisoners, the popularity of sport in the H-Blocks shifted from football to soccer. The growing interest in the "foreign game" soccer within the Provisional Republican Movement was reflected both inside and outside the prison. There are two main reasons for this development. The first reason is the arrival of new members of the movement. Republican veteran John Hunt remembers his experience with these new, mainly northern activists: "I was always suspicious of these new people. They were Nationalist, not Republicans. They wanted human rights, things like that, but they were not Republicans".[39]

Indeed, during the 1970s, the recruitment shifted from the southern Republic to the North. The Catholics in the northern cities of Belfast and Derry historically sympathised with Nationalism, rather than Republicanism. Hunt outlines, that Nationalist activists were demanding civil rights and equal opportunities for Irish Catholics, Republicans were fighting for a United Ireland. The shifting membership was reflected in the new political ideas developing within Sinn Féin.[40] The introduction of new political ideas was accompanied by the opening up of traditional Irish Republican values. In other words, it was not only the politics that changed due to the influx of new activists; it furthermore led to the introduction of new cultural ideas by activists from urban areas.

A defining year in regards to sport was 1982. In that year, the Northern Irish team reached the quarter-final stage at the FIFA World Cup and the main Republican newspaper *An Phoblacht* (The Republic) carried some of their first articles about soccer. In one of these articles, Brian Martin wrote: "The 'foreign sport' tag on this occasion, given that the World Cup is an international sporting event, is perhaps misplaced and too introverted-looking."[41]

A fierce debate on the letter pages of the paper about "foreign games," and "imperialist, British culture" followed these comments.[42] However, these articles on the soccer World Cup finals in 1982 reflected the changing times in the movement both outside and inside the prisons.

The new prisoners from urban areas, culturally and politically socialised in a British environment, brought with them their own values, ideas, and

38 Rouse, *Sport and Ireland,* 304.
39 Interview with John Hunt, Ballybunion, Co Kerry, 6 August 2015.
40 Ed Moloney, *A Secret History of the IRA* (London ²2007); J. Bowyer Bell, *The Secret Army. The IRA* (Dublin 1997); Richard English, *Armed Struggle. The History of the IRA* (Oxford 2003).
41 Brian Martin, "Football Crazy", in *AP/RN*, 1 July 1982, 10.
42 Hanley, "Irish Republican Attitudes to Sport".

interests. Although they were fighting British occupation in Ireland, one of their main sports interest was the "foreign game" soccer. Soccer, similarly to the situation in Scotland, reflects political and, far too often, sectarian sentiments within Northern Irish society. Support for English and Scottish soccer teams mirrors the allegiances of diaspora communities in these countries; for example, Glasgow's Rangers are a Protestant club supported by Northern Irish Loyalists, while Celtic is mainly supported by Irish Catholics in Scotland and Ireland; similarly, the Merseyside club Everton FC was founded by Methodists, whereas rival Liverpool FC is supported by sections of the Irish Catholic community in the city. This is also true for those Irish Nationalists who do not follow GAA games. Hence, supporting Nationalist soccer teams such as the defunct Belfast Celtic, Derry City, and recently Cliftonville FC provides for David Hassan a sense of "localised identity" and "a forum for counter-hegemonic activity".[43] However, the support for soccer is an urban phenomenon, thus, the "battle lines in these discussions" sharpened with the influx of new prisoners "with prisoners from country areas more likely to make the case for Gaelic games while prisoners from the cities […] were more inclined to favour 'soccer' ".[44]

Indeed, soccer became an important part of the daily life of Republican prisoners in the North of Ireland. In his eulogy for the late Brazilian player Sócrates, former Republican prisoner Anthony McIntyre writes:

> That summer of the World Cup we were not out of the blanket protest a full year. The tournament we managed to see in fits and starts due to being confined to our cells every second evening. Soccer-mad, it was excruciating to miss crucial clashes. The Italy-Brazil game was one of those denied us. We could snatch snippets from the black and white TV in the canteen and were in no doubt as to how it was going. The competition appeared to die with Brazil's exit, only to be revived by a controversial France-West Germany semi-final.[45]

McIntyre remembers the 1982 World Cup finals because these were the first matches the prisoners watched inside HMP Maze and it was one of the first positive experiences the prisoners had after years of the blanket and dirty protests and the hunger strikes.[46] Additionally, increasing the interest for soccer among the prisoners and strengthening their "localised identity" was the fact that the Northern Irish team enjoyed spectacular success in the 1980s,

43 Hassan, "Sport, Identity and Irish Nationalism in Northern Ireland", 133.
44 Bairner, "My First Victim", 11.
45 Anthony McIntyre, "Socrates", in *TPQ Blog*, 9 December 2011, http://thepensivequill.am/2011/12/socrates.html.
46 Bairner, "My First Victim", 14.

qualifying twice for the World Cup finals in 1982 and 1986.[47] This success not only augmented interest for soccer among prisoners in general but also instigated support for the Northern Irish team, while historically Nationalists supported the southern Republic of Ireland team.[48] Furthermore, prisoners who grew up in Northern ghettos and developed support for Third World Socialism in prison, identified with players from similar political and social backgrounds, like the Brazilian soccer player and Socialist activist Sócrates.

However, in the early years, prisoners were able to follow soccer results on radio and TV but not play soccer themselves, as former Republican hunger striker from Belfast, Laurence McKeown, writes:

> For the first time in five years, we could get out of our cells, eat in the canteen, go to the yard for exercise, watch television during association time, listen to the radio, get access to the library and have weekly visits. We were still on protest, however, as we refused to do prison work and thus continued to lose remission and other privileges such as access to the gym, football pitches and shop facilities.[49]

This situation finally changed in 1983, and during the course of the 1980s and 1990s, soccer turned from a mere spare time interest from newly arriving prisoners into a tool to improve the situation of the prisoners during the emerging peace process. McKeown writes that the prisoners used the 1994 World Cup finals in the United States with its matches late into European night to end the nighttime lock-ups; he quotes the then Officer-in-Command of the Provisional IRA in HMP Maze, Seán Lynch:

> The camp staff discussed the possibility of using the World Cup as an issue to end the night-time lock ups. […] It was decided we would make the admin aware of our intentions to refuse to lock up. All OCs were briefed on all aspects of the plan: that is, what would happen if the riot squad was sent in, etc. In the meantime, the loyalists got wind of our plans and they let the admin know that they would do likewise.[50]

The prisoners eventually succeeded in their attempt to end the night time lock ups and Lynch was furthermore granted permission "to move around the camp to explain to all republican prisoners what had been agreed upon and why". It was indeed the first time since the beginning of the hunger strikes fourteen years earlier that this concession had been granted, thus McKeown concludes that using the World Cup finals to improve the living conditions

47 Rouse, *Sport and Ireland*, 305.
48 See, inter alia, Fulton, "Northern Ireland Fans"; Cormac Moore, *The Irish Soccer Split* (Cork 2015).
49 McKeown, *Out of Time*, 81.
50 Ibid., 198.

of the prisoners "was a critical milestone in the prison struggle of republican prisoners".[51] The gaining of these conditions empowered the prisoners to press for further demands and political recognition.

In essence, the political values and programmes of the Republican movement shifted with the influx of new recruits as a direct result of the war in the North and the prison protests. These new developments were reflected within the prison population and the daily routine of the prisoners. In the Northern prisons, newly arriving prisoners from urban areas were introduced to soccer in HMP Maze, which sparked an interest in the World Cup finals and Premier League seasons. Thus, the changing regional, social, and generational background of the Northern Republican Movement was not only reflected in policy changes[52] but also habits towards sport within HMP Maze.

Sport in Portlaoise Prison in the 1990s

Support for the prisoners during the peace process was a necessity for the Republican leadership outside the prisons; both governments, the Irish and the British, were aware of the pivotal role of prisoners. Thus, the British and Irish governments gained the prisoners concessions in order to prove their willingness to continue their dialogue. Among these concessions were an improvement of and accessibility to sports and its facilities. The 1994 World Cup finals were used to end the nighttime lock-ups in HMP Maze, but south of the border in Portlaoise Prison sport also played its part in deepening the peace process.

The south of Ireland, in particular, the southwestern counties Kerry and Cork, were traditionally areas with strong Republican support. It is also in these areas that the GAA is strong. Under those circumstances, the situation in Portlaoise Prison developed differently from the situation in the Northern prisons during the 1980s and 1990s and the traditional role of the Gaelic games remained central among the Republican prisoners in Portlaoise Prison.

In the 1990s, the situation in Portlaoise Prison became the focus of both public attention and the Republican movement. Although holding a few hundred prisoners since the early 1970s, the Republican movement considered the prisoners in Portlaoise to be less important than those in the northern prisons. Matt Treacy, a former Portlaoise prisoner from Dublin who works as a columnist for *An Phoblacht* and as a political writer, explains the situation: "No one took us seriously at that time. We were not important for the movement.

51 Ibid., 199.

52 On the political changes that occurred with the Provisional Republican Movement during the 1980s, see Moloney, *A Secret History*; White, *Provisional Irish Republicans*.

We were not the prisoners in the North, in Long Kesh or so, we were in the South, in Portlaoise and no one in the movement cared what we were saying".[53] However, this situation changed during the peace process because the Republican movement demanded signs from both the Irish and the British government that these two governments were willing to fulfil the Republican demands. Under these circumstances, Portlaoise Prison developed an essential position in the early days of the negotiations for a peace deal. In order to prove the goodwill of the Irish government towards the peace process, the prison regime in Portlaoise Prison was significantly relaxed and the British and Irish governments transferred prisoners from the notorious H-Blocks to Portlaoise Prison; conforming prisoners were furthermore invited to address the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis (annual party AGM, Annual General Meeting) in support of the peace process in 1995 and 1996.[54] Again, Matt Treacy explains the changing importance of the Portlaoise prisoners with following words:

> We had no formal votes, no votes. One of the reasons why they did let them out to go to the Ard-Fheis was because to boost the leadership's position. They used the prisoners as some sort of moral blackmail because they wanted to convince those people that were against the ceasefire because it was like: "Listen, if you don›t want this, we are not getting out." It was a bit dishonest.[55]

On the one hand, the Republican movement outside used the prisoners to promote the peace process; on the other hand, the Irish government also used them for the same reason. Hence, in order to convince the prisoners that times were changing, educational and sports facilities were significantly improved. Among these improvements was the refurbishment of the football field, extended times in which the field and the yard could be used, as well as providing new balls and jerseys for the prisoners. Consequently, the prisoners in Portlaoise Prison were able to organise regular Gaelic football tournaments. These tournaments were organised between counties, if possible, however, due to the peace process, significant numbers of prisoners were released. Thus, the composition of the teams was constantly subject to changes. Republican-friendly GAA clubs, provided jerseys and medals mainly from clubs north of the border, for these tournaments.[56] Treacy talks about sport in Portlaoise prison in the 1990s:

53 Interview with Matt Treacy, Dublin, Co Dublin, 14 April 2015.
54 Brendan O'Brien, *The Long War. The IRA and Sinn Féin* (Syracuse 1999), 388.
55 Interview with Matt Treacy.
56 Interview with Seosamh Ó Maileoin.

Sport was very popular, in particular, the playing of football, soccer, basketball, gym. Actually, the Gaelic football was very good because we had a lot of people who played for Dublin, for Kerry, Tyrone, there were actually a few people who played the All-Irelands. There was a lot of tension coming out during the football matches. […] We had a lot of games.[57]

As Treacy tells it, the prisoners played both Gaelic football and soccer in the 1990s, as well as basketball. The existence of the basketball court and the enthusiasm for playing basketball was also mentioned by other prisoners in Portlaoise prison.[58] Due to the size of the football pitch, only 7-a-side matches were possible. Treacy furthermore says that Gaelic football and soccer matches were alternately played on Sundays. When asked how the Gaelic football matches were organised, he gives the following answer:

We didn't want to encourage [County teams], anyway, Dublin would have won it. (laughing) Only a joke! I don't know, I think we just picked the teams randomly. So it wouldn't be the same team all the time. We also played Portlaoise GAA. They used to send in teams every so often.[…]

How often did you play with them?
We used to play once or twice every six months or so.

I find it quite unusual that they allowed a GAA team to go to the jail to play against you.
It was very relaxed at that time and I know some of the prison officers were involved with some of the Portlaoise folks, so it was arranged.

What do you think it was like for them playing inside the prison?
Ehm… (Thinking), well, quite unusual. You played the match and then you had a concert afterwards, it went on for two or three hours. It wasn't very abusive at that time, inside. You had a lot of other people coming in as well, drama performances and so.[59]

During his interview, Treacy regularly stressed the "relaxed" situation in Portlaoise Prison during the 1990s. The fact that the Prison administration allowed the organisation of periodic GAA matches in the prison is astonishing, both from a political and security point of view. Similar concessions to Republican prisoners were new on both sides of the border. I argue that this was in order to improve the situation in Portlaoise Prison and to underline the

57 Interview with Matt Treacy.
58 See, for example, the following interviews: Seosamh Ó Maileoin; Seán Óg Ó Mórdha, Dublin, 17 April 2015; and Matt Leen, Tralee, Co Kerry, 19 April 2015.
59 Interview with Matt Treacy.

goodwill of the Irish government during the peace process. In other words, the Irish government in order to deepen the peace process between the British government and the Provisional IRA during the 1990s encouraged the playing of Gaelic games in Portlaoise Prison. However, the smoothing of the regime had also a positive impact on other sports:

> Gaelic football and soccer would be the most popular team sports. Running was by far the most popular sport in there, people used to run, everybody used to run. When the things relaxed after the ceasefire, they stopped locking us up at 4 o'clock and we used to run for three or four hours. Some people did marathons even in the prison. So, you had 14 laps a mile.[60]

The Republican prisoners in Portlaoise Prison held a pivotal role in promoting the peace process within the Republican movement. Both the Republican leadership and the Irish government encouraged the prisoners to support the transformation of the struggle publically by allowing delegates to attend the Sinn Féin Ard-Fheis in 1995 and 1996. The prison regime was significantly relaxed in order to convince the prisoners of the advantages of the peace process. Among the concessions for the prisoners was the organisation of GAA matches with local teams and increased opening hours of the yards and football pitches. Thus, the Irish government and the Portlaoise Prison administration used, among other means, sport to sell the peace process to the Republican prisoners.

Transforming Conflict through Sport in Prisons

The use and the meaning of sport within the internment camps and prisons reflect the political developments within the Irish Republican Movement throughout the twentieth century. As the three examples have shown, the prisoners used sport to uphold and promote their Irish cultural identity, particularly until the hunger strikes in 1981; thus, sport was a form of resistance of Republican prisoners in the British camps. The prisoners encouraged sport to keep "in shape" in order to continue the fight immediately after their release. From an analytical perspective, sport reflected the changing political developments due to an inflow of people from different social and political backgrounds in the Republican movement in the aftermath of the prison protests. Finally, the Irish and British governments used sport to foster political developments during the peace process in the 1990s. In essence, I argue

60 Ibid.

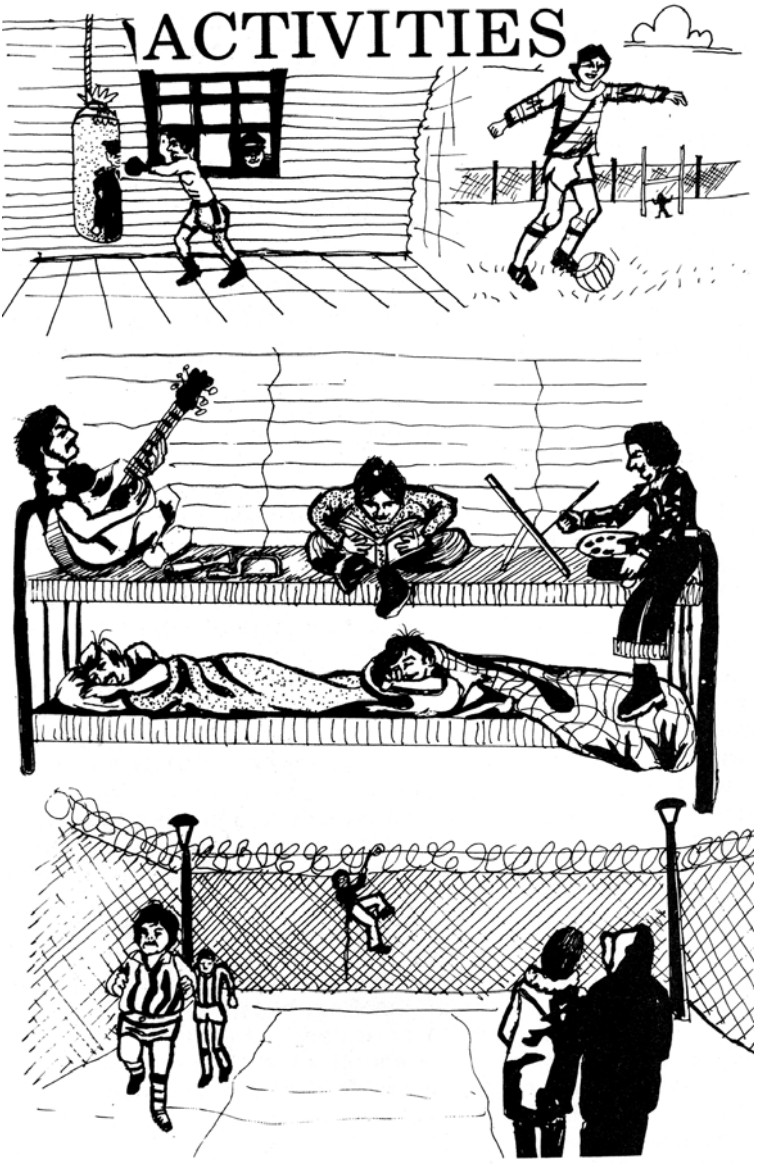


Fig. IV: A sketch introducing the chapter "Activities" in the Republican booklet *Prison Struggle: The Story of continuing Resistance behind the Wire* in March 1977. The booklet was compiled and the sketches drawn by internees in the Long Kesh internment camp. The sketch shows prisoners in the camp boxing and playing Gaelic football outside their huts (top); playing guitar, reading, painting, and sleeping in their huts (centre); and prisoners in the yard running in sports clothing, escaping, and talking (below). The text underneath it reads: "Recreation, constructive pastime or participation in some sort of leisure activity is essential to a POW whether or not he is serving a long or short sentence".

that sport was used both by the Republican Movement as well as the prison authorities, the British and Irish governments to influence political developments outside the prisons and internment camps.

This influence on outside events by the political prisoners was possible because of the fading boundaries between prison and the community outside. The distinction between inside and outside the prison is characteristic for camps and prisons. In this chapter, I argue that Irish Republican prisoners are not on the margins of society but in a central position. In other words, I have shown that the distinction between inside and outside is blurred. Thus, Irish Republican prisoners have authority in their communities and play a pivotal role in developments within their political movement and community.

This article made use of Republican prisoners' experiences on both sides of the inner-Irish border. Two examples of sport in camps and prisons were taken from the North of Ireland, while the third example outlines the role of sport during the peace process in the high-security prison Portlaoise in the Republic of Ireland. Indeed, an All-Ireland perspective of the conflict in the North in general and Republican imprisonment, in particular, will offer a key to a better understanding of the conflict transformation in Ireland.

In conclusion, Republican prisoners perform a leading role within their communities. This role enables them to influence developments outside the prisons. In this article, I argue that both prison authorities and the Republican movement used the playing of sport to further their interests. On the one hand, the prison authorities and the British and Irish governments used sport to give the prisoners concessions during the unfolding peace process; on the other hand, the Republican movement reinforced Irish cultural identity among the prisoners through GAA games. By doing this, the prisoners held a pivotal role both in the conflict transformation process and the strengthening of Irish cultural identity within the Nationalist communities in the North of Ireland.

Conclusion

Manfred Zeller

Games of Transgression

Camp Sports and the Fate of the Body Modern

"Sport was not the reason why penal and internment camps were constructed." This comment by one of the contributors to this volume during the conference is true.[1] It does not turn sport into a marginal subject, though. Camp sports seem to be the perfect subject to face the question of what modern life means in the age of extremes. To be sure, in his introductory remarks, Alan Kramer rejects generalising claims. He points to the "context of imperialism" to describe the contingent, but nevertheless transnational developments of penal and internment camps in the twentieth century: "Colonial counter-insurgency" at the turn of the century, as well as industrialised mass violence of the First World War made camps "the creature of modern warfare" (see chapter 2).

By contrast, however, the overall volume still intends to engage in generalising debates on modern subjectivity and bodies, agency of inmates, as well as the revision of the categories actors had employed themselves. Without dismissing historical contextualisation, this volume's chapters provide cases for diachronic comparison. To further reflect on the results of this approach, this chapter will look at camp sports from a sport historian's perspective. What do histories of sport in concentration, work and internment camps add to the debate on modernity? Are camp sports an integral part of "modern sport" in general?

Physical culture and sport are among the most fruitful subjects to discuss modernity. Their dimensions run across the most crucial aspects of modern life. Studies of sports history reflect on bodies, technology, media, nations, and many dimensions more. Sport historian Allen Guttmann defines modern sports by the following elements: secularism, equality, bureaucratisation, specialisation, rationalisation, quantification, and "the obsession with records".[2] The debate around whether these features are specifically "modern" or not seems to be less important than to specify contexts and discourses in the

1 "Violence, Discipline, and Leisure: Sport in Penal and Internment Camps", conference, Bonn University, 23–25 September 2015.

2 Allen Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York 1994), 3.

nineteenth through the twenty-first centuries.[3] New research, to take just three examples, focuses on the construction of sport infrastructure,[4] on the discursive interconnectedness and professionalisation of training and tactics,[5] and on medialisation and the consequences of cultural transfers and global interdependencies.[6] First, training and body culture existed before, but training facilities, medical supervision, and professional training methods started to produce high-performance bodies over the course of the twentieth century. Doping and the misuse of medication does not contradict this assessment, but underlines the notion of modern sport as an integrated structure of technologically and discursively shaped bodies. Second, sport facilities and media coverage are not completely new phenomena, but stadium construction on a mass scale and global (multi-)media coverage transformed sports into gigantic spectator sports events. The interconnectedness of modern sport produces global sport events that are intense arenas of national and transnational identification.[7] Companies use such events to influence consumer decisions. Politicians stage themselves as supporters of their local and national teams.[8] However, spectators are not at the mercy of such influences. Spectators, in

3 For the British origin of modern sports, see Christiane Eisenberg, "*English Sports*" *und deutsche Bürger: Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 1800–1939* (Paderborn 1999). For the complex interplay between local adaptations and the "British model", see Christoph Jahr's contribution to this volume.

4 Alexandra Köhring, "'Sporting Moscow': Stadia Buildings and the Challenging of Public Space in the Post-war Soviet Union", in *Urban History* 37 (2010), 253–271; Kay Schiller / Christopher Young, *The 1972 Olympics and the Making of Modern Germany* (Berkeley, CA 2010).

5 Hans-Joachim Braun / Nikolaus Katzer, "Training Methods and Soccer Tactics in the Late Soviet Union: Rational Systems of Body and Space", in Nikolaus Katzer et al. (ed.), *Euphoria and Exhaustion. Modern Sport in Soviet Culture and Society* (Frankfurt a.M. 2010), 269–294; Nikolaus Katzer / Stefan Rohdewald, "Sport, Wissenschaft und Technik", in Anke Hilbrenner et al. (ed.), *Handbuch Sportgeschichte Osteuropas*, accessed 19 June 2017, URL: http://www.ios-regensburg.de/fileadmin/doc/Sportgeschichte/Katzer_Rohdewald_Technik.pdf.

6 Richard Giulianotti / Roland Robertson (ed.), *Globalization and Sport* (Victoria 2007); Cynthia Fabricio Pelak, "Local-Global Processes: Linking Globalization, Democratization and the Development of Women's Football in South Africa", in *Africa-Spectrum* 41:3 (2006), 371–392; Christiane Eisenberg, "Fußball als globales Phänomen: Historische Perspektiven", in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 52:26 (2004), 7–15; Barbara Keys, *Globalizing Sports: National Rivalry and International Community in the 1930s* (Cambridge 2006).

7 For the role of generational ties for such identification processes, see Wolfram Pyta, "Sportgeschichte aus der Sicht des Allgemeinhistorikers: Methodische Zugriffe und Erkenntnispotentiale", in Andrea Bruns / Wolfgang Buss (ed.), *Sportgeschichte erforschen und vermitteln: Jahrestagung der dvs-Sektion Sportgeschichte vom 19.–21. Juni 2008 in Göttingen,* 9–21 (Hamburg 2009).

8 For some examples from the Soviet case, see Robert Edelman, *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sports in the USSR* (New York 1993); id., "A Small Way of Saying 'No': Moscow Working Men, Spartak Soccer, and the Communist Party, 1900–1945", in *The American Historical Review* 107:5 (2002), 1441–1474.

turn, make use of such events as well by appropriating and adding individual meaning. Architecture, body culture, and medialisation are but three examples to show how technological and discursive developments not only impacted, but enabled those phenomena which are summarised today with the highly ambivalent term "modern sports".

How do sports in penal and internment camps fit into this picture of the set-up of infrastructure, medialisation, and the subsequent discursive interconnectedness and cultural transfers? It becomes apparent that they fit perfectly and function as a magnifying glass for this debate on moving bodies in modernity. The chapters in this volume show how bodies were shaped and disciplined. Exemplifying the ambivalent nature of modernity, they add how camp violence destroyed bodies and how inmates maintained their bodies, and thereby their independence and self-will. Both in sports and camp sports, the battle of and for ideas, ideologies, and power was held on the surface of the bodies of those involved. A comparative, possibly global history of sports in Gulags, Nazi concentration camps, POW and other camps is a history of disciplined modern bodies, of transgression, of violence. It is a history of bodies, but these bodies are signifiers for more general trajectories of modern history, i.e. individual sustainment for nations and empires.[9] Studying bodies in camp sports condenses the history of modern sports and carves out analytical insights well beyond this focus – without the potentially misguided illusions one may have when dealing with the supposedly "fun" topic of sports history.

First, the articles in this volume present camp sports as means to foster discipline, to educate, and to increase productivity. As Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal points out, Soviet Propaganda on Soviet Labor Camps staged camp sports as an "integral part of the Soviet state building process".[10] This example perfectly fits into the development of *fizkul'tura* in the early Soviet Union in general. Soviet propaganda imagined sports as a performative means to transform ordinary people into new Soviet men. Research on Soviet sports representation in the arts, for instance, found that the very notion of spectator sports was controversially debated in these years. Why just watch, if you could move yourself, and thereby become part of a new people?[11] As we learn in this volume, this was far from limited to the Soviet case. According to Floris van der Merwe, camp sports were part of the education programme

9 For sports history as body history, see Anke Hilbrenner / Kateryna Kobchenko,"Körper und Sport: Zur Konstruktion von Körperbildern mithilfe des Sports", in Anke Hilbrenner et al. (ed.), *Handbuch Sportgeschichte Osteuropas*, accessed 19 June 2017, URL: http://www.ios-regensburg.de/fileadmin/doc/Sportgeschichte/Hilbrenner_Kobchenko_Koerper_Sport.pdf.

10 See Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal's chapter in this volume, pp. 131–151.

11 Mike O'Mahony, *Sport in the USSR*: *Physical Culture – Visual Culture* (London 2006).

for Boer children in camps and thereby part of the "Anglicisation policy"[12]. In Nazi POW camps for officers (*Offizierslager*), too, sport was used as a tool to educate. As Doriane Gomet shows, sports, among other activities, eased the situation for French officers in such camps, but the Nazi and Vichy regimes used it as a way of "educating the (former) enemy".[13] Even in Nazi concentration camps, sport practices were related to work productivity – at least for some categories in the camps. Veronika Springmann reconstructs the close interconnectedness of labour and sports in these camps, and the conditions under which sports, such as football, were permitted, and were a means to enhance work productivity and to represent inner-camp hierarchies. As she points out, even sadistic SS leaders could show some respect for some inmates that were able to present themselves as "good athletes, good workers".[14] In all these examples, sports constituted rational strategies to enhance productivity and discipline, or to educate inmates.

However, second, the chapters of this volume present camp sports as a "liminal state" of violence to reproduce "hegemonic masculinity".[15] Kim Wünschmann in particular shows that camp sports not only excluded, but also served to de-humanise Jewish inmates in early Nazi concentration camps. *Judenexerzieren* meant to torture intentionally and to destroy bodies of this specific group of inmates, and altogether to put bodies in a racial hierarchy. As Christoph Jahr points out, the latter was true of POW camps in the First World War as well. Back then, barracks of a British POW camp in Berlin-Ruhleben, formed competing football clubs, with the exception of one particular barrack which was known as "negroes barrack".[16] Such notions of hegemonic versus broken masculinities were complemented with the concept of camp sports as a means to survive, to strengthen oneself, to ascertain one's masculinity.

Should practices, such as *Judenexerzieren*, even be called sports? After all, Jewish inmates had to perform practices which also could be described as torture. For instance, Jews had "to sit on the shoulders of a comrade", "were forced to attack one another like a bull", and "were not allowed to use our hands for this, only the heads". While Kim Wünschmann's uneasiness to use the term "sports" for such practices makes perfect sense, a striking similarity to modern sports in general seem to be at hand: the very modern approach towards the body. Zygmunt Bauman has characterised modernity as a process that produces deviation and dichotomies: between modern and traditional, or

12 See Floris J.G. van der Merwe's chapter in this volume, pp. 57–59.
13 See Doriane Gomet's chapter in this volume, pp. 103–121.
14 See Veronika Springmann's chapter in this volume, pp. 175–189.
15 See Kim Wünschmann's chapter in this volume, pp. 164.
16 See Christoph Jahr's chapter in this volume, pp. 96.

between "civility" and "barbarism".[17] Consequently, it is modern to mark difference, to hierarchise and, potentially, to eliminate difference.[18] In this sense, *Judenexerzieren* seems to establish borders along racial lines, which separated those who had to take part from those who did not. To look a bit closer, these practices transgressed borders on an individual level, too. Individual bodies[19] were not only racially coded, but also intruded on these forms of torture. Camp sports identified individual bodily targets in order to humiliate and destroy them. The same cannot be said for sports in general. However, the approach towards the body seems to be the same. In general, sports practices enhance health or the (high-)performance of bodies, and thereby reproduce their very individuality. As we have seen, this is true for camp sports as well. During the First World War, as Christoph Jahr points out, camp authority had a "self-interest" in keeping POWs "in a good physical and mental shape".[20]

Both features of the ambivalent nature of camp sports, discipline and education, versus transgression and violence, can be explained with the direct influence of military practices in camp sports. Springmann and Wünschmann emphasise the "mimicked military drill", which accompanied the abuse of the inmates' bodies. Such a transfer from one field to another is also relevant for the history of sports in general. There, connections between war experiences and post-war leisure cultures have been fruitful to some degree. For instance, for post-war spectator sports, the specific meanings of international matches of former war enemies, but also the militarisation of post-war societies are relevant.[21] Camp sports allow the investigation of militarisation processes more directly as practices of hegemonic masculinity. This is true for military inspired, rationalised, and perverted drills.

Even though drill could be used by camp authorities to discipline and to reiterate power relations, inmates also used football games as a step out of the daily camp routine. Inmates thereby counteracted the introduced time and space regimes of daily life in the camps. For instance, POW inmates in the First World War used sports to fight "boredom", "their major enemy".[22] To the same end, some contemporary Irish republican prisoners even did

17 Zygmunt Bauman, "Gewalt – modern und postmodern", in Max Soeffner / Hans-Georg Miller (ed.), *Modernität und Barbarei: Soziologische Zeitdiagnose am Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a.M. 1996), 36–67, on p. 36.

18 Ibid., 37.

19 For individual bodies as a modern construct, see Michael Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York 1977).

20 See Christoph Jahr's chapter in this volume, pp. 87–101.

21 Manfred Zeller, *Das sowjetische Fieber: Fußballfans im poststalinistischen Vielvölkerreich* (Stuttgart 2015), 47–144.

22 See Panikos Panayi's and Christoph Jahr's chapters in this volume, pp. 63–85 and pp. 87–101.

marathons inside the prison[23]. In this sense, camp sports appear at the intersection of several modern power discourses.[24] Fundamentally integrated in oppressive camp structures, the inmates' bodies nevertheless had to follow another rule set during sports events: the rule systems of modern sports.[25] Once these two discourses intersected within the culture of rationalised, as well as transgressive violence, their blend allowed small spaces of "normality", but it also could multiply terror and violence. Both aspects, discipline and transgression, are not mutually exclusive but are two expressions of the modern need to create and transgress boundaries.

This body history would be incomplete without dealing with the meanings of sport performances. Sport in penal and internment camps, as the chapters of this volume thirdly indicate, produced body practices as signifiers for nations and empires.[26] If modernity is about creating and destroying borders and boundaries, socio-cultural representations on bodies would be like border stones or landmarks. They are "material expressions" on these bodies to let modern ideological concepts come true. It is the imprints on bodies, where older views are contested, overwritten, like on a "wax-tablet".[27]

Floris van der Merwe refers to sports as a means of educating Boer children in camps and thereby "contributing to the expansion of the glorious British Empire"[28]. Christoph Jahr introduces us to the complexities of POW camps during the First World War. German POWs in Japan made British football popular among the local Japanese population close to the Bando POW camp – which posed a possible threat to German identity. At this very camp, however, the "German Turnen" was introduced to dozens of Japanese teachers as well, thereby introducing German culture to its future ally in the Second World

23 See Dieter Reinisch's chapter in this volume, pp. 245–266.

24 In an Foucauldian sense. See Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*; id., *The History of Sexuality Volume 1: An Introduction* (London 1976); id., "The Order of Discourse", in R. Young (ed.), *Untying the Text: A Poststructuralist Reader* (Boston, MA 1981), 48–78; Philipp Sarasin (ed.), *Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse* (Frankfurt a.M. 2003); id., "'Mapping the Body': Körpergeschichte zwischen Konstruktivismus, Politik und 'Erfahrung'", in Sarasin (ed.), *Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse*, 100–121.

25 Guttmann, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism*, 3.

26 A broad literature is interested in identification, identity, and representation of political or public meanings through sports. See, for instance, Robert Edelmann, *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sports in the USSR* (New York 1993); id., "A Small Way of Saying 'No': Moscow Working Men, Spartak Soccer, and the Communist Party, 1900–1945", in *The American Historical Review* 107:5 (2002), 1441–1474; Mike O'Mahony, *Sport in the USSR* (London 2006); Manfred Zeller, *Das sowjetische Fieber.*

27 Philipp Sarasin, "'Mapping the Body'. Körpergeschichte zwischen Konstruktivismus, Politik und 'Erfahrung'", in Id. (ed.), *Geschichtswissenschaft und Diskursanalyse*, 107. Following Sarasin I tend to dismiss the idea of a possible differentiation between *Leib* as a non-language experience, and *Körper* as the possible target internal and external representation. Cf. Barbara Duden, *Body History: A Repertory* (Wolfenbüttel 1990).

28 See Floris J.G. van der Merwe's chapter in this volume, pp. 49–61.

War.[29] Marcus Velke detects "a nationalistic" agenda in camp sports of both Estonian and Jewish displaced persons after the Second World War. Sports as a tool for nation building refer to one nation state that just lost its independence (Estonia), and another that was about to achieve it (Israel).[30] Mathias Beer also focuses on the integrative function of sports. He investigates sports in German expellee and refugee camps after the Second World War, where football helped the camp population regain "self-confidence", but also separated them from the outside world, which perceived their team as "alien bodies".[31]

Dieter Reinisch enriches this picture of the role of sports performances for drawing lines between political entities and groups. Focusing on contemporary Irish republican prisoners, he points to crucial shifts in the last thirty years. Originally, inmates preferred traditional Gaelic games to express their identification with the Irish republican cause – and rejected (originally British) football as a symbol of British dominance and empire. In the early 1980s, however, due to a new generation of inmates, football was perceived more and more as a universal game. Penal and internment camps sports appear to be a very specific focus to deal with the complexities of identity and identification in multiethnic contexts – colonial as well as post-colonial.

However, from a sports history perspective, some findings of this volume require further reflection – especially the chapters that identify a gap between the mentioned representations of struggling male bodies and the non-representation of female bodies in camp sports. At first, this seems to be counterintuitive, if we think of the omnipresence of the female body in sports representations in general.[32] Even in the history of fan culture, the body of a female fan continuously appears as a point of reference, because fan culture is a battleground for conflicting ideas of gender relations.[33] We should not forget about important exceptions, such as women's dances in DP camps, but if there are no female bodies in the narratives of several kinds of camps, what does this mean?

The non-representation of female camp sports reflects on gendered body representations in the respective historical contexts and the heavy impact of modern militarism on camp life. According to violence research, the "body reality" of destroyed bodies of male and female victims may represent very different things. For instance, dead bodies of soldiers may represent the

29 See Christoph Jahr's chapter in this volume, pp. 87–101.
30 See Marcus Velke's chapter in this volume, pp. 223–244.
31 See Mathias Beer's chapter in this volume, pp. 199–222.
32 See, for instance, Stefan Wiederkehr, "'If Jarmila Kratochvilova is the Future of Women's Sports, I'm not sure I'm ready for it': Media, Gender, and the Cold War", in Nikolaus Katzer et al. (ed.), *Euphoria and Exhaustion* (Frankfurt a.M. 2010), 315–335; Joan Williams, *A Beautiful Game: International Perspectives on Women's Football* (Dorset 2007).
33 Manfred Zeller, *Das sowjetische Fieber*, 180, 185, 270.

potential – or rather, non-potential – of a political entity to defend itself.[34] By contrast, female bodies are imagined as potentially endangered, possibly representing the order or nation itself, which no longer is defended.[35] This is why it seems to make sense that mostly male bodies were humiliated in early concentration camps, not female bodies, whose subordinate position was established already. Only male bodies implied agency that had to be destroyed.

Moreover, distinct female strategies of survival can be observed in camp life,[36] which support the notion of underlying gendered body representations. In turn, the specific function of sports for male survival again could be conceptualised by pointing to overlapping discourses, which intersect on the surface of bodies. It then would be the polysemic nature of bodies, which opens them to both become marked by educative and disciplinary discourses, as well as individual meanings, leisure, and entertainment.

Still, however ambiguous the potential of camp sports was, its performances must not be confused with post-structural sign games. Camp sports were performances with clear purposes and ends. This is why the relationship between inclusion and exclusion – which has been studied quite intensively in sports history – and between leveling divides and establishing hierarchies is crucial.[37] This is not a question of discourses (or text) alone, but context. As we have seen with the examples cited above, camp sports performatively reconstructed communities, nations, as well as empires.

Finally, if senses of belonging, of difference, and of exclusion, were being rehearsed through camp sports, it is crucial to study how camp sports were translated to the outside world. How were they explained and remembered by those who endured camp life and experienced sports during this time? How did the memory and legacy of camp sports work? The chapters of this volume mostly discuss the limitations of memory as a source of historical evidence, so far. Some of the remembered images appear too rosy to be true. Others seem to be distorted by a specific guilt of the survivor, which in particular applies for the survivors of extermination camps.

34 Ruth Seifert, "Der weibliche Körper als Symbol und Zeichen: Geschlechtsspezifische Gewalt und die kulturelle Konstruktion des Krieges", in Andreas Gestrich (ed.), *Gewalt im Krieg: Ausübung, Erfahrung und Verweigerung von Gewalt im 20. Jahrhundert,* 13–33 (Münster 1995), 20.

35 Ibid., 23.

36 Meinhard Stark, Deutsche Frauen im GULag. Der subjektive Horizont: Interviews mit Überlebenden, in Dittmar Dahlmann / Gerhard Hirschfeld (ed.), *Lager, Zwangsarbeit, Vertreibung und Deportation: Dimensionen der Massenverbrechen in der Sowjetunion und in Deutschland 1933–1945* (Essen 1999), 317–335.

37 See for instance, DFG-network "Integration and Disintegration: Social and Cultural History of East European Sport in International Comparison", accessed 19 June 2017, URL: https://www.igw.uni-bonn.de/de/abteilungsseiten/osteuropaeische-geschichte/forschung/netzwerk-sportgeschichte-osteuropas/ueber-uns.

From my point of view, further analysis of camps sports should focus on the potential of memory sources. It may help us to understand the legacy of camps in post-war biographies, communities, and societies, and find answers to the question of how these experiences were translated into post-camp or post-war societies. What was the meaning of these sporting events and how was it transformed to points of reference for later memory communities? How important were photographs and other images, which are preserved until today, in stabilizing individual and collective memory? To take another example from sports history: Ukrainian war memory played a role in its Sovietised version of Ukrainian fandom in the 1960s and 1970s.[38] Its Ukrainian nationalist version only came back fully established after the breakup of the Soviet Union and gained importance around the Euromaidan revolution in Ukraine in 2014. What are the memory, post-memory, and non-memory, i.e. the forgetting, of camp sports in the twentieth century? And what were the functions of these experiences of camp sports in the evolving post-war societies of the countries we investigated?

To look at sport events in penal and internment camps helps scholars to learn more about the nature of sports and modernity in general. The modern desire and habit to set boundaries, divide, compare, and shape is an ultimate condition for modern sports. Borders are constructed and transgressed. In this volume, both integrative and des-integrative body performances in camp sports are observed and analysed. They show how rationalisation and liminality – as contradictory as they seem – arise from this very condition. As a contribution to sports history, they challenge the omnipresent myth of the peacefulness of modern sports – a present day variation of the myth of a civilizing, peaceful modernity. Camps sports were, indeed, an integral part of modern sports.

38 Gregor Feindt, "Erinnerung an das 'Todesspiel von Kiew': Perspektiven für eine Erinnerungsforschung zu Sport in Osteuropa", in Anke Hilbrenner et al. (ed.), *Handbuch der Sportgeschichte Osteuropas,* accessed 19 June 2017, URL: http://www.ios-regensburg.de/fileadmin/doc/sportlexikon/Feindt_Erinnerungen.pdf; Volodymyr Ginda, "Beyond the Death Match: Sport under German Occupation between Repression and Integration, 1941–1944", in Nikolaus Ketzer et al. (ed.) *Euphoria and Exhaustion*, 179–200 (Frankfurt a.M. 2010); Manfred Zeller, " 'Our Own Internationale', 1966: Dynamo Kiev Fans between Local Identity and Transnational Imagination", in *Kritika* 12:1 (2011), 53–82.

Contributors to this Volume

Mathias Beer is managing Director of the Institute for Danube Swabian History and regional Studies and Lecturer at the History Department of the University of Tübingen. He is interested in modern Europe and South-Eastern Europe, the history of nationalism, migration history, and the history of minorities. Among his key publications are *Flucht und Vertreibung der Deutschen. Voraussetzungen, Verlauf, Folgen* (Munich 2011), and the edited volumes *Über den Tellerrand geschaut. Migration und Ernährung in historischer Perspektive, 18.–20. Jahrhundert* (Essen 2014) and *Migration und Mythen. Geschichte und Gegenwart – Lokal und global* (Ulm 2014).
Contact: mathias.beer@idgl.bwl.de

Dittmar Dahlmann is Professor emeritus of East European History at the University of Bonn. His work centres on the history of Russia and the Soviet Union from the eighteenth to the twentieth century, especially the history of Siberia and the Far East, the history of sport and the history of science and expeditions. Among his recent publications are *Sibirien: Vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, (Paderborn 2009; Russian translation: *Sibir's XVI v. i do nastojashchego vremeni*, Moscow 2016), Carl Heinrich Merck, *Beschreibung der Tschucktschi, von ihren Gebräuchen und Lebensart sowie weiterer Materialien und Berichte*, (ed. with Diana Ordubadi / Helena Pivovar, Göttingen 2014) and *Auf den Spuren der modernen Sozial- und Kulturanthropologie: Die Jesup North Pacific Expedition (1897 bis 1902) im Nordosten Sibiriens*, (edited with Diana Ordubadi and Matthias Winterschladen, Fürstenberg an der Havel 2016).
Contact: d.dahlmann@uni-bonn.de

Gregor Feindt is postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Leibniz Institute of European History in Mainz. He is interested in the social and intellectual history of Central Europe, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia, in the twentieth century. Recently, he has published *Kulturelle Souveränität: Politische Deutungs- und Handlungsmacht jenseits des Staates im 20. Jahrhundert* (edited with Bernhard Gißibl and Johannes Paulmann, Göttingen 2017) and *European Memory: Universalising the Past?*, Special Issue of the *European Review of History* 24:4 (2017), edited with Félix Krawatzek, Friedemann Pestel, and Rieke Trimçev.
Contact: feindt@ieg-mainz.de

Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal is Lecturer and Research Assistant at the University of Heidelberg. She is interested in the history of Stalinism, Soviet Forced Labour Camps, Nazi occupation policies in Eastern Europe as well as Russian and Polish terrorism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Her publications include *Die »inhaftierte« Presse: Das Pressewesen sowjetischer Zwangsarbeitslager, 1923–1937* (Wiesbaden 2011); *(Hi-)Stories of the Gulag. Reality and Fiction* (ed. with Karoline Thaidigsmann, Heidelberg 2016), and *Explosive Melange. Terrorismus und imperiale Gewalt in Osteuropa*. Special Issue of *Osteuropa* 63:4 (2016), edited with Manfred Sapper, Volker Weichsel, and Anke Hilbrenner.
Contact: felicitas.fischer.von.weikersthal@zegk.uni-heidelberg.de

Doriane Gomet is Senior Lecturer in Sports Sciences (STAPS) and in Contemporary History. She is working at the Institut de Formation en Education Physique et Sports d'Angers and in the research center "Violence, Identities, Politics and Sports" of the University of Rennes II (France). She is particularly interested in the history of the practices of vulnerable people, notably those in situation of captivity during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Recently, she published "Between Survival Strategy and Bloody Violence: Boxing in Nazi Concentration and extermination camps 1940–1945", *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 33 (2016); "Pratiques corporelles et genre dans les camps nazis", *International Review Sport and Violence* 8 (2014); "Assauts derrière les barbelés: l'escrime dans les camps de prisonniers de guerre français durant la Seconde Guerre mondiale", *in* Luc Robène (ed.), *Le sport et la guerre XIX^e^ et XX^e^ siècles* (Rennes 2012).
Contact: doriane.gomet@wanadoo.fr

Anke Hilbrenner is Professor of East European History at the University of Göttingen. She is interested in Jewish history as well as the history of terrorism. Moreover, she is currently researching sport and violence during the Second World War in occupied Europe. Her recent publications include "Sport und die jüdische Suche nach Gemeinschaft in den (ost-)europäischen Metropolen der Zwischenkriegszeit", *Aschkenas* 27:1 (2017), and *Explosive Melange. Terrorismus und imperiale Gewalt in Osteuropa*. Special Issue of *Osteuropa* 63:4 (2016), edited with Manfred Sapper, Volker Weichsel, and Felicitas Fischer von Weikersthal.
Contact: anke.hilbrenner@uni-goettingen.de

Alan Kramer is Professor of European History at the University of Dublin, Trinity College. He is interested in the history of warfare in the twentieth century and the global history of concentration camps. Among his most important recent publications are "Recent Historiography of the First World

War", *Journal of Modern European History* 12:1 (2014), and 12:2 (2014), "Blockade and economic warfare", in Jay Winter (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the First World War,* vol. II: *The State*, (Cambridge 2014), and *Welt der Lager. Zur "Erfolgsgeschichte" einer Institution* (co-edited with Bettina Greiner Hamburg 2013).
Contact: alkramer@tcd.ie

Christoph Jahr is *Privatdozent* at the Humboldt-University in Berlin. He is interested in the history of antisemitism, legal history, and military history. His key publications include: *Antisemitismus vor Gericht: Debatten über die juristische Ahndung judenfeindlicher Agitation in Deutschland (1879–1960)* (Frankfurt a.M. 2011); *Gewöhnliche Soldaten: Desertion und Deserteure im deutschen und britischen Heer 1914–1918* (Göttingen 1998); *Lager vor Auschwitz: Gewalt und Integration im 20. Jahrhunderts* (co-edited with Jens Thiel, Berlin 2013), and Paul Nathan: Publizist, Politiker und Philanthrop, 1857–1927 (Göttingen 2018).
Contact: christoph.jahr@web.de

Floris van der Merwe is Professor emeritus at the Department of Sport Science, Stellenbosch University, South Africa. His interest lies mainly in the nineteenth and twentieth century South African sport history. His latest book is entitled *James R. Couper. Vader van Suid-Afrikaanse boks* (Stellenbosch 2015).
Contact: floris@sun.ac.za

Panikos Panayi is Professor of European History at De Montfort University, Leicester and studies the history of internment and the persecution of minorities in wartime. His most recent publications include: *The Germans in India: Elite European Migrants in the British Empire* (Manchester 2017); and as editor, *Germans as Minorities during the First World War: A Global Comparative Perspective* (London 2014); and *Prisoners of Britain: German Civilian and Combatant Internees during the First World War* (Manchester 2012 and 2014).
Contact: ppanayi@dmu.ac.uk

Dieter Reinisch is Researcher at the Department of History & Civilization, European University Institute in Florence, and an Editorial Board members of "Studi irlandesi: A Journal of Irish Studies" (Florence University Press). He is interested in Contemporary European history, British and Irish history, and Oral history. In 2017, he published *Die Frauen der IRA: Cumann na mBan und der Nordirlandkonflikt, 1968–1986 (*Vienna 2017) and edited a special monographic issue of *Studi irlandesi* on Resistance in Modern Ireland 7 (2017). He is also the author of "Frauen in der irisch-republikanischen Bewegung nach

1969: Überlegungen zu Oral History, sensiblen Daten und dem Nordirlandkonflikt" *BIOS* 28:1/2 (2015).
Contact: dieter.reinisch@eui.eu

Veronika Springmann is postdoctoral Research Fellow at the FU Berlin with a project on Homosexual movement and legal framework in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1945-2002. She is interested in the history of gender, the history of the body and history of violence. Amongst her publications is "Zwischen Selbstbehauptung, Vergünstigung und Gewalt: Fußball im Konzentrationslager Neuengamme", *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus in Norddeutschland* (2017); "'Entertainment' und 'Punishment'. Die Darstellungen von Sport in nationalsozialistischen Lagern auf den Zeichnungen von Alfred Kantor", in: Frank Becker / Ralf Schäfer (eds.), *Sport in der Geschichte* (Frankfurt a.M. 2014).
Contact: veronika.springmann@fu-berlin.de

Marcus Velke works as a freelance historian and is a PhD student at the University of Bonn. He is interested in the history of Displaced Persons, especially those from Estonia. Furthermore, he enquires into the history of German homosexual emancipation in the 20th century. Among his key publications are *Lager – Repatriierung – Integration: Beiträge zur Displaced Persons-Forschung* (co-edited with Christian Pletzing, Leipzig 2016); *Queer/Gender/Historiographie: Aktuelle Tendenzen und Projekte* (co-edited with Norbert Finzsch, Münster 2016); *Geschichte der hessischen Ärztekammern 1887–1956: Autonomie – Verantwortung – Interessen* (with Benno Hafeneger and Lukas Frings, Schwalbach am Taunus 2016).
Contact: velke@uni-bonn.de

Kim Wünschmann is Lecturer in Modern and Contemporary History at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität Munich. Her research interests centre on German-Jewish history, Holocaust studies, gender and the history of civilians in war. Her publications include »*…der schrankenlosesten Willkür ausgeliefert«: Häftlinge der frühen Konzentrationslager 1933 bis 1936/37* (co-edited with Jörg Osterloh, Frankfurt a.M./New York 2017), *Revenge, Retribution, Reconciliation: Justice and Emotions between Conflict and Mediation. A Cross-Disciplinary Anthology* (co-edited with Laura Jockusch and Andreas Kraft, Jerusalem 2016) and *Before Auschwitz: Jewish Prisoners in the Prewar Concentration Camps* (Cambridge, MA 2015).
Contact: Kim.Wuenschmann@lmu.de

Manfred Zeller is Research Fellow with the Research Centre for East European Studies at the University of Bremen. He is interested in Russian and Ukrainian

history, the history of sport, as well as memory culture. In 2015, he published »*Das sowjetische Fieber: Fußballfans im poststalinistischen Vielvölkerreich*« on football fandom in the Soviet Union (Stuttgart 2015).
Contact: zeller@uni-bremen.de