

Abstract

This thesis examines the editorial reactions of three Jewish-American newspapers, *The American Israelite*, *The Jewish Advocate*, and *The Jewish Exponent*, to the decision by the American sporting organizations to participate in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. Source material includes editorial articles from when Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933 to the end of 1936, after the conclusion of the Games. An analysis of the three newspapers in question reveals that the editors fought to keep the Games out of Berlin and primarily responded to events in the sporting world concerning the location of the 1936 Olympic Games. The three editors each responded differently to the boycott movement, particularly during the end of the debate. In particular, they challenged Avery Brundage's interpretation of the Olympic Charter over the idea of "fair play." The American Olympic team participated in Germany largely due to the maneuvering of Avery Brundage, who desired a promotion to the International Olympic Committee. Brundage was motivated primarily by professional reasons to have the American team participate in Berlin. There was no clear winner of the Games being held in Nazi Germany: All parties involved had some loss as a result of the controversy. The only clear loser was the Olympic ideal, which was irreparably tarnished as a result of Hitler's influence on the Olympics.

"The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play." –Olympic Charter

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Introduction

Overview of Research

In 1931, the International Olympic Committee awarded the 1936 Summer Olympic Games to Berlin, Germany, only fourteen years after Germany's defeat in World War I. This was considered to be an olive branch from the international community to Germany, after Germany had been banned from the 1924 and 1928 Olympic Games after World War I. At the time, Germany was governed by the Weimar Republic, a democratic government put into place after the fall of the German Empire at the conclusion of World War I. Between 1918 and 1933, the German people had decreasing faith in the Weimar Republic due to increasing unemployment, inflation, and political challenges from all sides. In the ensuing crisis of confidence and increasing instability, Adolf Hitler was able to use this anti-government sentiment to gain enough popular support to become Chancellor in 1933. His despotism in the ensuing twelve years changed the world forever. Early into his tenure as Chancellor, Hitler expedited the passing of extreme anti-Semitic laws that turned Jews into second-class citizens and curtailed their economic participation in German society. As the anti-Semitic violence and persecution escalated in Germany, the United States decided to participate in both the 1936 Summer and Winter Olympic Games. This thesis will report and analyze the reactions of three prominent American Jewish weekly newspapers—*The American Israelite*, *The Jewish Exponent*, and the *Jewish Advocate*—to that decision.

Research Question

In the context of Nazi Germany's anti-Semitic policies, how did the American Jewish press react from 1933 to 1936 to the controversial decision for the United States to participate in both the 1936 Summer and Winter Olympic Games, and what was the significance of this

reaction? In what differing ways did the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), American Olympic Committee (AOC), Avery Brundage, and the editors of these Jewish papers interpret the Olympic Charter in regards to the idea of "fair play?"

Justification and Significance

Most of the current secondary literature examines the events of the Berlin Games, focusing on Hitler's attempt to present the Nazi regime in a more positive light to the world and show off Aryan superiority and prowess. Other literature focuses on Jesse Owens and minority athletes who performed well at the Games, to Hitler's disgust. By contrast, this thesis examines the period before the Games, with the focus on America instead of Germany and exposes the reaction of the Jewish-American press to Hitler's regime. In the process, a new perspective becomes clear—about the editors' information on German persecution of the Jews and about their opposition to America's participation in the 1936 Summer and Winter Olympic Games.

Research Methods and Procedures

The primary research method was to examine the editorial content, letters to the editor, and relevant general articles in three American Jewish newspapers from 1933 to the end of 1936: *The American Israelite*, *The Jewish Exponent*, and the *Jewish Advocate*. This analysis begins with Hitler's appointment as Chancellor in 1933 and ends after the conclusion of the Olympic Games. The three papers are archived and indexed as part of the ProQuest Historical Newspapers database. Content was discovered by performing various searches of the three papers in the database from January 1st 1933 to December 31st 1936. A database filter was used to select for editorial content only. The databases were then searched using a large variety of "key words" designed to identify relevant articles. Each article was skimmed, and articles showing potential relevance were saved to be viewed later. These saved articles were then read thoroughly and

indexed on a timeline, as well as being tagged according to subject matter. The next step was reading the papers to find recurring editorials that were not flagged by the filter. Once discovered, the same procedures were followed to search and save these columns. Next, key dates in the chronology were selected, and the editorial sections of these papers were read one month on either side of these dates to gather additional content.

Chapter 1: Historical Background

History of Germany

World War I and the Treaty of Versailles

In August of 1918, the Allied powers began an offensive which resulted in the beginning of the end of World War I for Germany. Leaders in the German High Command became aware that there was no way for Germany to win the war and that the end was near. This spread throughout the ranks, leading to unrest and dissent among some of the armed forces.¹ The Allies used this unrest to further advance their positions.² Seeing the imminent end of the war, the Kaiser abdicated the throne.³ A new government was quickly put in place which signed an armistice with the Allies on November 11, 1918, ending both the war and the German Empire.⁴ This defeat came as a shock to most German citizens, who were under the impression, due to the press coverage and comments by the local authorities, that Germany was on the brink of victory.⁵

In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was signed by the Allied Powers and Germany. In it, Article 231 stated that "Germany [had to] accept the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies."⁶ This clause, among other aspects of the treaty, such as the restriction on the size of the German military, inflamed many.⁷ Additionally, the "stabbed in the

¹ Mary Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, Cambridge Concise Histories (Cambridge [England] ;New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 157.

² Frank McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, Seminar Studies (Harlow, England: Pearson, 2012), 5.

³ Mary Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, Fulbrook, Mary, 1951- Fontana History of Germany, 1918-1990 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, 1992), 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶ "Peace Treaty of Versailles, Articles 231-247 and Annexes, Reparations," accessed January 25, 2014, <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/versa/versa7.html>.

⁷ Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 164.

back” myth, which claimed that the German army was defeated because internal domestic enemies such as Jews and socialists had betrayed Germany, led to widespread public outrage against these groups.⁸ This myth began to be propagated in the summer of 1918 by army officials who wished to shift the blame over the defeat from the army to a group of civilians.⁹ Since the defeat of the army came as a surprise many people embraced this “stabbed in the back” myth, directing their outrage towards Jews.¹⁰ Much of this outrage was also directed at the new democratic government that signed the treaty, the Weimar Republic.

The Weimar Republic

The constitution of the Weimar Republic called for a president with great power to head the government. The president, elected by a popular vote every seven years, had the power to rule by emergency decree, dissolve the parliament, call for national referenda, and appoint chancellors if no negative parliamentary majority vetoed a vote of no confidence.¹¹ The parliament was known as the Reichstag. Members of the Reichstag were appointed via proportional representation, meaning that if the communist party received twenty-five percent of the vote, then twenty-five percent of the representatives of the Reichstag were members of the communist party.¹² As a result, no party had the possibility of achieving a majority in any of the elections. This led to the need to form coalitions in order to pass any laws. From 1919 to 1933, there were more than twenty of these different coalitions, none of which lasted longer than eight months.¹³ This parliamentary structure contributed to instability in the government.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 20.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 160.

¹² Ibid., 162.

¹³ McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 10.

From 1919 through 1923, the Weimar Republic faced a series of crises that threatened to destabilize the already fragile government.¹⁴ There were numerous attempts at *putsch* (German for coup) from both the political left and right on both a local and national level. Additionally, the army remained neutral and would not support the government or any of the putsch attempts, leaving the fledgling government defenseless against any armed attempt at a coup.¹⁵ In 1923, to support a strike against the French occupation of German territories and to make up for a lack of economic growth, the government started printing massive amounts of currency, which led to catastrophic levels of inflation.¹⁶ This left many lower class people impoverished.¹⁷ However, by the end of 1923, the new government coalition helped end the economic crises with many reforms such as the introduction of a new currency to decrease inflation.¹⁸ Additionally, putsch attempts from both sides of the political spectrum were decisively put down, such as the Beer Hall Putsch that was led by Adolf Hitler.¹⁹

Between 1924 and 1928, there was apparent stability on the surface in the Weimar Republic.²⁰ A series of treaties were signed with foreign governments which helped to lower the debt owed to the Allies, ended foreign occupation of German territories, and gave Germany a place in the League of Nations.²¹ However, appearances were deceiving, and there were dangerous pockets of opposition bubbling beneath the surface within the democratic Weimar Republic. In 1925, Paul von Hindenburg, a former Field-Marshal and military hero, was elected

¹⁴ Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 164.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., 166.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., 167.

²¹ Ibid., 168.

president. Together with the leader of the German army, General Kurt von Schleicher, plans were made for a change in government to more closely resemble Imperial Germany.²²

Hitler's Ascension to Power

In 1919, Adolf Hitler, a disgruntled war veteran, attended a meeting of the Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (DAP) whose major aim was to reduce the working classes' attraction to socialism and communism.²³ Hitler joined the party and became the chief propagandist, quickly growing the party from an insignificant group into an actual political movement.²⁴ Hitler preached the idea that Germany was "stabbed in the back" by domestic foes, such as the new government and Jews. This message rang true with many, especially ex-soldiers who were bitter about the end of the war. This anti-Jewish, nationalist agenda resonated with both the lower and upper-middle classes.²⁵ In 1920, the party changed its name to the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP), commonly referred to as the Nazi Party, and grew to a membership of 3,000 people.²⁶ In 1921, Hitler succeeded, through savvy political maneuvering, to take the leadership of the Nazi Party. Under the complete control of Hitler, the party began preaching the overthrow of the Weimar Republic.²⁷ As a result, the Sturmabteilung (SA), a private army of the party, soon became a paramilitary force.²⁸ The party continued to grow in size throughout 1922 to 20,000 members.²⁹ Inspired by Mussolini's takeover of Italy that same year, Hitler attempted the same in November of 1923 where SA troops marched on and took over a Beer Hall in Munich.³⁰ This attempted overthrow of the Bavarian government, known as the Beer Hall

²² Ibid., 171.

²³ McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 39.

²⁴ Ibid., 40.

²⁵ Ibid., 41.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., 44.

²⁸ Ibid., 42, 44.

²⁹ Ibid., 44.

³⁰ Ibid., 45.

Putsch, quickly failed, and Hitler was soon arrested and imprisoned for one year for “high treason.”³¹ In prison, Hitler wrote his autobiography, titled *Mein Kampf*, published in 1925, which detailed his troubled past and outlined his future plans for Germany.³² Much of the blame for Hitler’s and Germany’s failures was directed towards the Jews.³³ In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler outlined his world view and his plans for transforming the world into a paradise for Germans by eliminating Jews and Marxists from society.³⁴ By the end of World War II, *Mein Kampf* was translated into sixteen different languages and sold over ten million copies, leading to the spread of Nazi ideology and a dramatic rise in Hitler’s notoriety.³⁵

In 1925, after Hitler was released from prison, he determined that the best way to move forward with the party was to pursue a “legal path to power.”³⁶ In other words, Hitler wanted to transform the Nazi Party from paramilitary force to a legitimate political power, using the Reichstag’s proportional representation election system to give the Nazis a voice in the government.³⁷ From 1926 until 1928, the Party unsuccessfully attempted to expand its message to the urban working classes.³⁸ In the Reichstag election of 1928, the Nazi Party only received 0.8 percent of the vote.³⁹ The polling data showed that the Nazi Party could be viable in rural Germany, allowing the Nazis to change their strategy to target the agrarian population by promising them a “special position” in the new Germany.⁴⁰

³¹ Ibid., 48, 68.

³² Ibid., 57; Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 60.

³³ McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 57.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 80.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 83.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 84.

October 1929- The Beginning of the End

On October 29th, 1929, the New York Stock exchange crashed, beginning a period known as the Great Depression.⁴¹ The impact of this collapse was felt globally, especially in Germany, as the American banks withdrew their investments in German banks.⁴² Almost thirty-three percent of the German work force (23,000,000 people) became unemployed.⁴³ This led to widespread dissatisfaction with the current government.⁴⁴ Debates in the Reichstag over unemployment benefits eventually resulted in the collapse of the current ruling coalition.⁴⁵ In March of 1930, under his powers as president, Hindenburg appointed Henrich Brüning as Chancellor via emergency decree.⁴⁶ Brüning was suggested to Hindenburg by General Schleicher and Defense Minister Wilhelm Groener. Brüning did not have a majority in the Reichstag, and was thus forced to govern by emergency decrees.⁴⁷

In July of 1930, Brüning presented a budget to the Reichstag that severely cut the budget and raised taxes.⁴⁸ However, when it was clear that it would not pass, Brüning used the power of emergency decree to implement the budget.⁴⁹ The Reichstag passed a decree in protest, and Brüning chose to dissolve the Reichstag.⁵⁰ Elections were set for September of 1930, and the Nazi Party had 18.3% of the vote, making them the second largest party in the Reichstag.⁵¹ Additionally, support for the Communist party also increased, to the point where “two out of

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ William Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815-1990*, History of Germany, 1815-1985. (London ;New York; New York, NY: E. Arnold; Distributed in the USA by Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1991), 296; McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 85.

⁴⁷ Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815-1990*, 296.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 297.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 46.

every five Germans voted for parties bitterly opposed to the principles on which the republic rested.”⁵²

International Olympic Committee's Selection of Berlin as the Host City

In April of 1931, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) met in Barcelona, Spain to determine which city would host the 1936 Summer and Winter Olympic Games.⁵³ At the twenty-ninth session of the IOC, numerous cities made bids to host the Games: Alexandria, Barcelona, Berlin, Budapest, Buenos Aires, Cologne, Dublin, Frankfurt, Helsinki, Lausanne, Nuremburg, Rio de Janeiro, and Rome.⁵⁴ Of these cities, only Berlin and Barcelona received votes from the IOC members, getting forty-three and sixteen votes apiece.⁵⁵ Despite all of the turmoil occurring in Germany at the time, Berlin was selected as the host city.⁵⁶

1932-1933: The End of German Democracy

In the spring of 1932, Hindenburg, seeing the imminent end of his term as president, decided to run again for another seven-year term.⁵⁷ Hitler decided to run against him, only to lose, as Hindenburg gathered fifty-three percent of the vote to Hitler's thirty-seven percent.⁵⁸ Hindenburg began to distance himself from Brüning and the unpopular government who he felt could reduce his popularity.⁵⁹ This led to Brüning resigning in May after Hindenburg refused to sign one of his drastic emergency decrees.⁶⁰ On June 2nd, Franz von Papen was appointed Chancellor by Hindenburg.⁶¹ Papen used his power as Chancellor to dissolve the local Prussian

⁵² Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815-1990*, 297.

⁵³ Guy Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream* (London: John Murray, 2006), 6.

⁵⁴ “GamesBids.com - Past Results,” accessed January 13, 2014, <http://www.gamesbids.com/eng/past.html>.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 7.

⁵⁷ McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 93.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 94.

⁵⁹ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 50.

⁶⁰ McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 94.

⁶¹ Ibid.

government, giving himself wide-ranging emergency powers.⁶² The Reichstag was soon dissolved, and an election was set for July 31st.⁶³ In this election, the Nazi Party doubled the amount of votes they had received since the Reichstag elections of the previous summer. The Nazis received 37.8 percent of the votes, or 13.8 million votes, making it the most represented party in the new Reichstag.⁶⁴ Hitler used these electoral results to arrange a meeting with Hindenburg to demand the Chancellorship and full emergency powers, which Hindenburg refused.⁶⁵ Instead, Hindenburg offered Hitler a spot on his cabinet, something that Hitler then refused.⁶⁶ The Reichstag, with overwhelming support, passed a vote of no-confidence in Papen.⁶⁷ Without any support from the Reichstag, Papen was forced to call another election that was set for November.⁶⁸

In the November elections, 1932, the Nazis lost nearly two million votes and thirty-four seats in the Reichstag.⁶⁹ This loss of momentum may have been due to Hitler's refusal to join the cabinet and demanding the Chancellorship for himself.⁷⁰ Hindenburg met with Hitler again following the election and offered him the Vice Chancellorship.⁷¹ Again, Hitler refused.⁷² Trying to end the stalemate, Hindenburg appointed General Schleicher to the Chancellorship in early December with the hope that Schleicher could form a new coalition.⁷³ Papen, under the belief that the Chancellorship would tame Hitler and his desire to come to power, began negotiations

⁶² Ibid., 95.

⁶³ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 50.

⁶⁴ McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 96.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 97.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., 98.

with Hitler to form a coalition to take over the government.⁷⁴ Meanwhile, Schleicher was having no success in forming any sort of coalition in the Reichstag.⁷⁵ On January 23, 1933, seeing that a coalition was impossible, Schleicher asked for Hindenburg's permission to transform Germany into a military dictatorship, which Hindenburg refused.⁷⁶ Five days later, Schleicher resigned from his position as Chancellor.⁷⁷ Hitler and Papen went to Hindenburg to propose a new government in which Hitler would be Chancellor but the overwhelming majority of the cabinet would be made up of members of the old conservative party.⁷⁸ Hindenburg accepted this proposal, and Hitler was legally appointed Chancellor of Germany on January 30th, 1933.⁷⁹

The Third Reich

Although Hitler had been appointed Chancellor of Germany, he had still not consolidated enough power to make him the dictator of Germany.⁸⁰ To accomplish this, Hitler implemented a policy of *Gleichschaltung* (coordination), meaning that the new Nazi government would help control German society.⁸¹ Hitler, intentionally failing to reach a parliamentary coalition, proposed new elections for March. However, on February 27th, 1933, the Reichstag was set on fire and burned to the ground.⁸² Hitler declared the fire to be the start of a communist uprising, and passed the Reichstag Fire Decrees, giving himself emergency powers.⁸³ Most civil liberties were suspended, and the government was given the right to arrest and indefinitely detain

⁷⁴ Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 176.

⁷⁵ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 52.

⁷⁶ McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 98.

⁷⁷ Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815-1990*, 308.

⁷⁸ McDonough, *Hitler and the Rise of the Nazi Party*, 99.

⁷⁹ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 52.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Saul, 1932- Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews* (New York: HarperCollins), 17, <http://search.lib.unc.edu?R=UNCb2993070>.

anyone.⁸⁴ On March 5th, the previously scheduled elections took place. The Nazis received 43.9 percent of the vote, still shy of a majority. However, the Nazis formed a coalition with the far-right German National People's Party, giving them a majority in the Reichstag.⁸⁵ The Reichstag met again on March 23rd in a session from which the communists were banned.⁸⁶ In this session, the Reichstag passed the Enabling Act, which gave the legislative powers of the Reichstag to the Chancellor.⁸⁷ With this act, Hitler had legally overthrown democracy in Germany.⁸⁸ Additionally in March, the first concentration camp for political opponents opened at Dachau.⁸⁹ The purpose of this camp and others like it was for the detention, torture, and murder of the prisoners, not the systematic murder apparatus of the later extermination camps.⁹⁰ The Schutzstaffel (SS), a paramilitary Nazi police force and operators of the concentration camps, used these camps to hold the various opponents of the regime that they arrested, striking fear among the German citizenry.⁹¹

For the next two years Hitler steadily pursued a policy to push German Jews to the social and economic fringes and eventually to disfranchise them, by law and executive fiat.⁹² After the March elections, the SA sent the first Jews off to the concentration camps.⁹³ Throughout March, the SA broke into Jewish homes and businesses, beat Jews on the streets, and forcibly closed down Jewish stores.⁹⁴ On April 1st, a state sponsored boycott of Jewish

⁸⁴ Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815-1990*, 310.

⁸⁵ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 17.

⁸⁶ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 573.

⁸⁷ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 17.

⁸⁸ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 57.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Ibid.*, 57, 58, 61, 62, 72; Fulbrook, *A Concise History of Germany*, 181.

⁹³ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 18.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

businesses took place.⁹⁵ On April 7th, the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service was implemented, which dismissed Jews and opponents of the Nazis from the Civil Service.⁹⁶ Also on April 7th, Reich Governors were appointed on a local level in order to have greater control over the local governments.⁹⁷ Throughout the month of April, decrees were passed to restrict Jewish professionals such as doctors and lawyers.⁹⁸ Most Jewish lawyers were disbarred and Jewish doctors were prohibited from practicing in certain clinics and hospitals.⁹⁹ The number of Jews that were allowed to enroll in German universities was capped.¹⁰⁰ Additionally, Jews were barred from the German Boxing Association and tennis competitions.¹⁰¹ On May 1st, a national labor holiday was declared, and on May 2nd, all unions were abolished.¹⁰² Jews were also banned from the German gymnastics association in July.¹⁰³ By July, all political parties had been dissolved or abolished, and on July 14th, the Law Against the Formation of New Parties was implemented, making Germany a one-party state.¹⁰⁴ In September and October, Jews were banned from owning farms and being newspaper editors in order to decrease Jewish economic and political influences on German society.¹⁰⁵

On January 30th, 1934, on the one-year anniversary of Hitler's accession to the Chancellorship, all independent authority was revoked from the German states.¹⁰⁶ Throughout 1933 and 1934, the SA continued to grow in size, strength and unruliness, eventually beginning

⁹⁵ Ibid., 22.

⁹⁶ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 57.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 58.

⁹⁸ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 30.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 29, 30.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 30.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 36; Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 17.

¹⁰² Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 58.

¹⁰³ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 37; Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 17.

¹⁰⁴ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 18; Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 58.

¹⁰⁵ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 33.

¹⁰⁶ Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation : A History of Germany, 1918-1990*, 59.

to rival the army.¹⁰⁷ The leader of the SA, Ernst Röhm, was also beginning to advocate the need for a “second revolution” against Hitler in Germany.¹⁰⁸ In June, in order to better relations with the army and remove the potential SA threat, Hitler ordered the murder of leaders of the SA, including Röhm, as well as many of his political opponents, such as General Schleicher.¹⁰⁹

Despite many of the actions taken by the Nazis in 1933, Jews were still well-established in many economic spheres.¹¹⁰ Hitler’s advisers were aware of this fact and successfully advised him to refrain from any additional economic discrimination against Jews in order to stabilize the economy.¹¹¹ Thus, for the most part until after the Olympics, laws and attacks on Jews were quelled in order to repair the struggling economy and defuse additional outrage towards Nazism on the world stage.¹¹²

Before 1935 Hitler had systematically marginalized German Jews to cripple their social and economic influence. But in 1935 he took the fateful step to disenfranchise them and exclude them from citizenship. At the Nazi Party Convention in Nuremberg in September of 1935, the Nuremberg Laws were passed, legally defining what it meant to be a Jew based on the religious status of one’s grandparents.¹¹³ The Nuremberg Laws banned intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews, deprived Jews of their citizenships, and prevented extra-marital relations between Jews and non-Jews.¹¹⁴ In the summer of 1935, Jews were banned from swimming pools and other public facilities.¹¹⁵ By this time, Jews had become legal non-entities, making them susceptible to additional discrimination in the sporting world, such as continued exclusion from

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 68.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 69.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Carr, *A History of Germany, 1815-1990*, 3233.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 323.

¹¹⁵ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 126, 127.

sporting clubs and bans on participation in many German sporting events.¹¹⁶ Most tragically, removing Jews from the legal system made them vulnerable to the later Nazi policy of systematic extermination.

History of Amateur Sport in the United States

The Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) was founded on January 21st, 1888 in an effort to define and organize amateur sport in the America and soon became the largest amateur sporting organization in the United States.¹¹⁷ This growth was a result of the decision of the newly formed International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1904 to give the AAU the authority to determine which athletes were eligible to try out for the American Olympic team.¹¹⁸ In 1906, a second organization, the American Olympic Committee (AOC), founded in 1894, was given the ability to choose which athletes were able to compete on the American team.¹¹⁹ However, the AOC was primarily led by members of the AAU, and athletes who were ineligible for AAU competitions were thus unable to participate in the Olympic Games.¹²⁰ Therefore, without the certification of the AAU, an athlete would be unable to participate in the Olympic Games on the American team.¹²¹ This remained the case for the 1936 Olympic Games.¹²²

Avery Brundage

It is important here to give a brief background of the chief protagonist in the American debate over participation in the 1936 Berlin Games. Avery Brundage was born in Detroit,

¹¹⁶ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 16.

¹¹⁷ Eugene A. Glader, *Amateurism and Athletics* (West Point, N.Y.: Leisure Press, 1978), 119, <http://search.lib.unc.edu?R=UNCb1590673>.

¹¹⁸ Joseph M., 1964- Turrini, *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field*, Sport and Society (Urbana: University of Illinois Press), 16, <http://search.lib.unc.edu?R=UNCb6354490>.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid., 23.

Michigan on September 28, 1887.¹²³ In 1912, Brundage himself competed in the Olympic Games in both the pentathlon and decathlon.¹²⁴ In 1928, Brundage was elected president of the AAU, and then in 1930 became the president of the American Olympic Committee.¹²⁵ As head of both the AAU and the AOC, Brundage was a staunch supporter of amateurism, passing a number of restrictions to clarify amateur status and ban athletes who violated these rules from the AAU for life.¹²⁶ Between 1933 and 1936 Brundage eventually became the spokesperson for and architect of U.S. participation in the Berlin Games and, as such the target of the editorial ire of these three papers.¹²⁷

History of Newspapers Selected

The Jewish Advocate

The Jewish Advocate is the oldest English language Jewish newspaper that has been constantly circulated in the United States.¹²⁸ Founded in 1902, the paper is published in Boston on a weekly basis. According to the website, the paper has published an issue every week since it began and is the primary Jewish newspaper for New England.¹²⁹ The paper was established by Jacob deHaas, the executive secretary to Theodor Herzl, known as the founder of modern Zionism.¹³⁰ In 1917, the paper was sold to Dr. Alexander Brin, who was the editor and publisher throughout the time period this thesis examines.¹³¹ In this time period, from 1933 to 1936, *The Jewish Advocate* was published biweekly, on Tuesdays and Fridays.

¹²³ Allen. Guttmann, *The Games Must Go on : Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 2, <http://search.lib.unc.edu?R=UNCb1884114>.

¹²⁴ Turrini, *The End of Amateurism in American Track and Field*, 25.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 25.

¹²⁸ “About Us | [Www.thejewishadvocate.com](http://www.thejewishadvocate.com) | The Jewish Advocate,” accessed February 4, 2014, http://www.thejewishadvocate.com/common/Misc/About_Us.html.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid.

The American Israelite

The American Israelite was founded in Cincinnati in 1854, and is the oldest English language Jewish paper in the United States.¹³² It was established by Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, who envisioned the paper as national in scope, focusing on Jewish communities all across the United States.¹³³ However, by the 1930s, the focus was primarily on the Cincinnati Jewish community and other “national and international news of interest to Jews.”¹³⁴ Rabbi Wise was the editor until his death in 1900, when he was replaced by his son Leo Wise until 1928.¹³⁵ In 1928, Leo Wise sold the paper to Rabbi Jonah Wise who then sold the paper in 1930 to Henry and A. L. Segal.¹³⁶ Henry Segal owned the paper and was the editor until 1985.¹³⁷ During his tenure, Segal believed that the paper was the “watch dog” and voice for the Cincinnati Jewish community.¹³⁸ As a result, Segal “dedicated his life to using the paper to build community unity and to fight prejudice.”¹³⁹ From 1933 to 1936, the paper was published every Thursday on a weekly basis.¹⁴⁰

The Jewish Exponent

The Jewish Exponent is a Philadelphia publication that has been in print since 1887.¹⁴¹ It has maintained its headquarters in Philadelphia since its origin and views itself as the voice of the Philadelphia Jewish community.¹⁴² As such, it is the second oldest continually published

¹³² “The American Israelite » History,” accessed February 4, 2014, <http://americanisraelite.com/history>.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ “About,” *Jewish Exponent*, accessed February 22, 2014, <http://www.jewishexponent.com/about>.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Jewish paper in the United States.¹⁴³ The paper was founded by a group of forty-three Philadelphians who allowed anyone to have stock in the paper “to ensure it would be representative of the entire community.”¹⁴⁴ The initial editors of the *Exponent* were Henry South Morais, Charles Hoffman, and Melvin G. Winstock.¹⁴⁵ Between 1933 and 1936, the editor was Felix N. Gerson and the *Exponent* was published every Friday.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ “Our History,” *Jewish Exponent*, accessed March 31, 2014, <http://www.jewishexponent.com/our-history>.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ “About.”

Chapter 2: 1933- The Debate Begins

April 1933: Initial Support for American Boycott of Olympic Games

On April 18th, 1933, nearly seven weeks after Hitler became Chancellor of Germany, *The New York Times* ran an article discussing the cancellation or movement of the Olympic Games.¹⁴⁷ This was the earliest mention of any sort of discontent over the situation in Germany in reference to the Olympic Games. The story ran in *The New York Times* after the subject was originally raised up in an interview in *The Baltimore Jewish Times* earlier that month. The publishing of the article in *The New York Times* gave this story national attention. The story stemmed from an interview that Avery Brundage, then president of the American Olympic Committee, had given to *The Baltimore Jewish Times* and a statement he later gave to *The New York Times*. The issue in question was whether Jews would be allowed to participate. Brundage had said: “If Jews were barred from American Olympic teams, I know that the A.A.U. would voice a stern protest. And I am sure that the American Olympic Committee would do the same. Should this eventually happen I doubt that the United States would be represented in Berlin in 1936.”¹⁴⁸ In that event, Brundage suggested relocating the Olympics to either Tokyo or Rome, or cancelling them, as had been done for the Berlin Games in 1916 due to the outbreak of World War I.¹⁴⁹ Brundage did make it clear that the decision to move the Games was in the hands of the IOC, but that the Americans “are not going to permit the barring of Jews from the Olympics.”¹⁵⁰ Brundage’s position from this interview seems clear: his opposition to the situation in Berlin stemmed from the fear that Jews would not be allowed to compete along with the rest of the

¹⁴⁷ By ARTHUR J. DALEY., “BERLIN FACES LOSS OF OLYMPIC GAMES,” *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, April 18, 1933, 100688878, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2009).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.; Alfred Erich. Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics), 32, 33.

¹⁵⁰ By ARTHUR J. DALEY., “BERLIN FACES LOSS OF OLYMPIC GAMES.”

athletes in the Olympic Games. There was no hint in this interview that Brundage would have wanted to move the Olympics over the issues of discrimination or violence against Jews in general. Rather, the only reason for his discontent was the threat that Jews would be prevented from participating, which would have been a violation of the Olympic ideal of “fair play.”

That same day, April 18th, 1933, *The Jewish Advocate* ran a front page headline with the title “May Cancel Olympic Games Scheduled to Take Place in Berlin.”¹⁵¹ The sub-headline of the article, reacting to the same interview with Brundage as *The New York Times*, stated that the cancellation of the Olympics was the most likely outcome of this scenario.¹⁵² To support this statement, *The Jewish Advocate* used two different statements by Brundage:

My personal, but unofficial opinion is that the games will not be held in any country where there will be interference with the fundamental Olympic theory of equality of all races” and “The Olympic protocol provides there shall be no restriction of competition because of class, color, or creed. The matter will no doubt be taken up by the American Olympic Committee.¹⁵³

In these statements, Brundage was clearly opposed to the potential discrimination against Jewish athletes in Berlin. This article marked the first time that one of the Jewish papers in the study ran an editorial on the subject of the 1936 Olympic Games being relocated or boycotted. This was also where the differing interpretations of Avery Brundage’s remarks began. As time progressed, additional comments by Brundage were interpreted, in error, by *The Jewish Advocate* to mean that he was against the American participation in Germany due to the larger issue of mistreatment of Jews there.

¹⁵¹ “May Cancel Olympic Games Scheduled to Take Place in Berlin,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), April 18, 1933, 888866471, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

In *The American Israelite*, the first article that mentioned the Olympic Games appeared on April 20th, 1933.¹⁵⁴ It was about the fact that the treatment of Jews by the Nazis was leading to international businesses beginning to withdraw dealings with Germany.¹⁵⁵ The article described the various means and methods by which Germany was eliminating Jewish influence and culture from the country.¹⁵⁶ One of the examples used was the removal of Dr. Theodor Lewald, Chairman of the German Sports Federation and Chairman of the German Olympic Committee due to the fact that one of his grandparents was Jewish.¹⁵⁷ Additionally, Dr. Daniel Prenn, the best tennis player in Germany, was removed from the Davis Cup team because he was Jewish.¹⁵⁸ According to *The American Israelite*, these actions were causing the International Olympic Committee to consider withdrawing the Games from Berlin.¹⁵⁹ This article was the first by *The American Israelite* to say that international opinion was in favor of moving the Olympic Games away from Berlin.

On April 21st, *The Jewish Advocate* ran a column in the sports section which, among other things, included a brief reaction at the top of the column to the news of Brundage's interview.¹⁶⁰ Columnist Maurice Rudman began the article by calling Hitler "Germany's gibbering gibbon" and going on to declare that the AAU was already in the midst of figuring out how to take the Olympics away from Germany.¹⁶¹ Already, *The Jewish Advocate* was under the impression that the AAU was adamantly opposed to the Olympic Games being held in Berlin.

¹⁵⁴ "NAZI INTOLERANCE BRINGS LOSS TO REICH TRADE AND PRESTIGE," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), April 20, 1933, 1011676403, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Maurice A Rudman, "SPORTS," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), April 21, 1933, 888867475, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

Again, on April 25th, Rudman wrote another column referencing the controversy, this time focusing on the reactions of German newspapers to Brundage's interview.¹⁶² These papers published reactions either denying any racial discrimination in reference to the Olympics or said that Brundage's thoughts were misguided. Rudman felt strongly about these articles, believing that these papers were intentionally misleading their readers. In doing so, Rudman used strong language to express his feelings: "to say that these items are full of hypocrisy is putting the matter mildly."¹⁶³

After these reactions from the *Jewish Advocate* and *The American Israelite* to Brundage's interview, there was a relative lull in editorials on the subject of the Olympics, until *The Jewish Exponent* published its first piece on May 12th in the recurring editorial section "Domestic Notes: Happenings of Interest in American Jewry."¹⁶⁴ The article mentions that Brundage wrote a letter to a New York Congressman reaffirming his earlier statement that: "The games will not be held in any country which attempts to violate the fundamental principals [sic] of amateur sport by imposing restrictions of race, color, or religion."¹⁶⁵ This quote by Brundage could be interpreted in multiple ways. Based on Brundage's later positions, this quote was more likely asserting that restrictions on race, etc. that interfere with equitable participation of athletes in the Games would be cause for moving the Games. In other words, Brundage as insisting on "fair play" in the Games. However, another, and possibly more common interpretation of the quote, which was how *The Jewish Exponent* and other papers interpreted it, was Brundage believed that any

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ "DOMESTIC NOTES," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), May 12, 1933, 899986302, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

restrictions on race, etc. in a country would be just cause for moving the Olympic Games. This may have also been Brundage's intended meaning.

June 1933: International Olympic Committee Meeting in Vienna

In June of 1933, the International Olympic Committee had its annual meeting in Vienna.¹⁶⁶ Among the three representatives for the United States was General Charles H. Sherrill, a former US Ambassador.¹⁶⁷ He was a well-respected man in the sporting world due to his longtime involvement in sports, which began as a sprinter at Yale, where in 1887 he won the American 100 yard championship.¹⁶⁸ Going into the conference, Sherrill sent a telegraph to the Jewish Congress stating "that I [Sherrill] will stoutly maintain the American principle that all citizens are equal under all laws."¹⁶⁹ This announcement gave the impression to the Jewish Congress and readers of *The New York Times* that Sherrill would do all in his power to ensure that there was no discrimination against Jews in Berlin.¹⁷⁰ Sherrill made the front page of the *Times* on June 5th with the headline "Sherrill Demands Equality for Jews in the Olympics," making the IOC likely the first international organization to react to Hitler's treatment of German Jews.¹⁷¹ Under pressure from the United States and other nations, the German Organising Committee stated that "with the consent of [their] Government [...] All the laws regulating the Olympic Games shall be observed [and] as a principle German Jews shall not be excluded from

¹⁶⁶ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, Sport and Society (Urbana: University of Illinois Press).

¹⁶⁷ "GEN. SHERRILL DIES SUDDENLY IN PARIS," *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, June 26, 1936, 101680681, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2009).

¹⁶⁸ "GEN. SHERRILL DIES SUDDENLY IN PARIS," *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, June 26, 1936, 101680681, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2009).

¹⁶⁹ "OLYMPIC POLICY STATED.," *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, June 2, 1933, 100671534, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2009).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ By The Associated Press., "SHERRILL DEMANDS EQUALITY FOR JEWS IN THE OLYMPICS," *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, June 5, 1933, 100644149, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2009); *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*.

German Teams at the Games of the XIth Olympiad.”¹⁷² This was viewed as a victory by General Sherrill.

Although the International Olympic Committee’s decision to make a statement on behalf of Jews would be expected to spark editorials from these papers, only one editorial was written. This may be due to the fact that these papers viewed General Sherrill’s statement as something that was both obvious and inevitable. Although the IOC’s statement may not have been as strong as some Jewish papers would have liked, the fact that only one editorial on either viewpoint was written about it suggests that opinions were not strong in either direction.

That editorial was published on June 15th, 1933 in *The American Israelite*, and focused on Hitler’s series of “empty promises” to the League of Nations and other bodies, saying that western governments misunderstood Nazi policies towards Jews.¹⁷³ *The American Israelite* decided not to take Hitler at his word because Hitler and his representatives had promised to take corrective action on the anti-Jewish policies but failed to actually implement any change in Germany. The editorial cited other examples of this Nazi hypocrisy and then linked it back to the Olympic promises to treat all athletes the same “regardless of race, color or creed”: “Were Mr. Hitler serious about his obligations to the League of Nations and the Olympic Committee he would not hesitate to promulgate officially a new domestic policy toward the Jewish population of Germany. But Hitler, Goebbels and Goering are cynically winking at each other.”¹⁷⁴

In 1922, Walter Rathenau, the Jewish foreign minister of Germany, was assassinated by right-wing fanatics after signing of the Treaty of Rapallo, which gave up Germany’s territorial

¹⁷² Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 19.

¹⁷³ “EMPTY PROMISES,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), June 15, 1933, 1009419494, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

gains of World War I.¹⁷⁵ Rathenau was likely assassinated due both to the assassins' frustration with the postwar Weimar Republic and their anti-Semitic beliefs, making Rathenau a prime target because he was a Jew.¹⁷⁶ At the time, this assassination was viewed as a tragedy, as hundreds of thousands attended his funeral.¹⁷⁷ However, when the Nazis took power, opinions over the assassination began to change. In a July 27th, 1933, editorial in *The American Israelite*, the editorial board lambasted German citizens for not voicing any protest to the glorification of the assassins of Rathenau, who were receiving a plaque.¹⁷⁸ This was viewed by the editorial board as a clear indication that Germany's promise not to exclude Jewish athletes "has burst like an empty bubble in view of the iron clad regulations which do not permit Jewish sportsmen to be members of German sport clubs or organizations."¹⁷⁹ As a result, the paper called on the American Olympic Committee to refuse to participate if the Olympic Games are held in "Naziland."¹⁸⁰

November 1933: AAU Support for Non-Participation

Four months later, from November 22nd to November 30th, the Amateur Athletic Union had its previously-scheduled annual meeting in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.¹⁸¹ At this meeting, the AAU proposed a resolution not to certify American athletes to participate in the Games "until and unless the position of the German Olympic Committee, of the organizing committee of Berlin and of the German Government is so changed in fact as well as in theory as to permit and

¹⁷⁵ "Walther Rathenau (German Statesman)," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed January 31, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/491966/Walther-Rathenau>.

¹⁷⁶ "The Anti-Semitism Behind the Assassination of Walther Rathenau :: Writing@swarthmore :: Swarthmore College," accessed January 31, 2014, <http://www.swarthmore.edu/academics/writing-program/alchemy/2010-issue/the-anti-semitism-behind-the-assassination-of-walther-rathenau.xml>.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ "FOOTNOTES," *The American Israelite (1874-2000)*, July 27, 1933, 1009419587, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 48.

encourage German athletes of Jewish faith or heritage to train, prepare for, and participate in the Olympic Games of 1936.”¹⁸² The vote was nearly unanimous, with only three delegates voting against the resolution.¹⁸³ The resolution had been proposed by Gustavus Kirby, a former president of both the AAU and the American Olympic Committee.¹⁸⁴ Kirby was adamant about the fact that Germany had not lived up to the promise it made earlier in June to include German Jews on the German teams, as Jews “had not even had an opportunity to train, much less make the teams.”¹⁸⁵ A resolution like this from the AAU, preventing athletes from being certified, would effectively bar them from participation in the 1936 Olympic Games.¹⁸⁶ However, the next day, at the convention of the American Olympic Committee, at the insistence of General Sherrill, the resolution threatening to boycott passed by the AAU was changed “so as to be a protest and not a threat.”¹⁸⁷ This was primarily due to the fact that Sherrill believed that Germany had, and would continue to, honor the pledge they made to him at the IOC meeting in June.¹⁸⁸

Also attending the hearing was Avery Brundage, the president of the American Olympic Committee. Brundage has ambitions far greater than the AOC presidency; he eventually wanted to become a member of the IOC.¹⁸⁹ As a result, Brundage contacted IOC president Baillet-Latour

¹⁸² Duff. Hart-Davis, *Hitler's Games : The 1936 Olympics* (London: Century, 1986), 63.

¹⁸³ ARTHUR J. DALEY Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES By ARTHUR J. DALEY, “A.A.U. Boycotts 1936 Olympics Because of the Nazi Ban on Jews: Governing Body of American Sport Calls on American Olympic Association to Take Like Stand at Meeting Tomorrow -- Pledge Against Discrimination Said to Be Violated. A.A.U. TO BOYCOTT BERLIN OLYMPICS,” *New York Times*, November 21, 1933, <http://search.proquest.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/hnpnewyorktimes/docview/100814597/abstract/F83A56370CB34841PQ/1?accountid=14244>.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 50.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

asking for advice on the boycott.¹⁹⁰ Baillet-Latour responded that the best course of action for the time being would be a strongly worded resolution such as the one the AAU had just passed.¹⁹¹

All three of the papers used here ran editorials on the AAU's resolution. The first was written by *The Jewish Exponent* on November 21st with the title "Olympic Sports Organization Takes Laudable Stand," which praised the actions taken by the AAU.¹⁹² The editorial further criticized the German government for removing Jews from all athletic clubs and the attempts to make it appear like they were cooperating.¹⁹³ The editorial concluded with the sentiment that "True Americans, imbued with the spirit of democracy, and this spirit is especially marked in the sport circles, cannot possibly associate themselves with groups animated by racial animosities."¹⁹⁴ Again, the paper made it clear that there was no way for an American group to associate with any organization that had these anti-Jewish sentiments, and therefore, the Americans could not participate if the Games were held in Germany.

The next editorial was by *Jewish Advocate* on November 28th, with the more objective title of "The A.A.U. and the Olympics."¹⁹⁵ However, the editorial board was clear in its belief that, based on the actions of the AAU, "American athletic officials are determined not to permit Germany to bar its Jewish athletes from participating in the 1936 Olympic Games even if it means an American boycott of the Olympiade [sic]."¹⁹⁶ This editorial mentioned the AOC's resolution and did not criticize Sherrill for his actions, although he was explicitly named in the

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² "OLYMPIC SPORTS ORGANIZATION TAKES LAUDABLE STAND," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), November 24, 1933, 901501502, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ "The A.A.U. and the Olympics," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), November 28, 1933, 886292366, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

editorial as being the reason behind the change.¹⁹⁷ The article concluded with the feeling that the Olympics were likely to be moved somewhere else unless Germany dramatically shifted its policy towards Jewish athletes and that “if Germany remains stubborn the American team will shun the Olympics if they are held in Berlin.”¹⁹⁸ This same editorial was published in *The American Israelite* on November 30th under the title “The A.A.U. Boycott,” even though the resolution stopped short of threatening a boycott.¹⁹⁹

At the conclusion of 1933, all three papers were under the distinct impression that the tide was in their favor and that the Olympics would be moved or boycotted should Germany continue to discriminate against Jews and Jewish athletes. In editorials written by all three papers, the tone suggested that the decision about American participation lay with Germany. If Germany chose not to change its anti-Jewish policies the Games would be moved or boycotted. As a result, the editors saw no need to write more about the issue until well into 1934.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ “The A.A.U. Boycott,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), November 30, 1933, 1009436411, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

Chapter 3: 1934- The Debate Continues, Postponement of the Issue

The lull at the end of 1933 continued into April 27th, 1934, when the *Jewish Advocate* published the first editorial of the year on the subject of the Olympics.²⁰⁰ Seeing the continued restrictions being implemented by the Nazis against Jews in Germany, the *Advocate*'s editor lambasted the American Olympic committee for failing to taking any action despite continued mistreatment of the Jews.²⁰¹ The article, "Question for American Olympic Comm," was short and sarcastic in nature, arguing "that defiling presence of Jews will be eliminated so that good Christian gentlemen may enjoy their athletics in an atmosphere of camaraderie."²⁰² Essentially, the article was calling out the AOC for failing to respond to the mistreatment of Jews, an issue that had not yet been resolved.

In May, *The Jewish Exponent* published its first editorial of the year on the subject of the Olympics.²⁰³ The subject and title of the article focused on Nazi duplicity: the tendency of the Nazis to say one thing publicly and do another.²⁰⁴ The article cited the statements of Dr. Theodore Lewald, now a representative of the German Olympic Committee, saying that there was no discrimination against Jews in Berlin.²⁰⁵ The paper criticized the Nazis for this duplicity, saying that the discrimination and brutality seen across Germany was clear and that their deceptions would fool no one.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ "Question for American Olympic Comm," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), April 27, 1934, 881184876, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ "NAZI DUPLICITY," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), May 11, 1934, 894387985, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

May 1934: International Olympic Committee Meeting in Athens

From May 15th to May 19th, the International Olympic Committee met for its annual meeting in Athens, Greece.²⁰⁷ The committee hoped that the issue of Jewish athletes would be permanently quelled after the media storm of the previous year.²⁰⁸ At the meeting, members of the IOC pointed out that there were historically few Jewish athletes who participated in Olympic sports.²⁰⁹ The Germans suggested that they might not be able to find a Jewish athlete that could participate, but that fact should not be misinterpreted to mean that the Germans were banning Jewish athletes.²¹⁰ In all, only three people brought up the issue at the meetings, and there was not an editorial on the subject, showing that little discussion took place over the subject of the treatment of Jews in Germany.²¹¹

In late May, Count Baillet-Latour, President of the IOC, sent a message to Brundage saying that “Lewald [has] in my opinion settled Jewish question quite satisfactorily [...] Hope German invitation shall be accepted now.”²¹² The vice-president of the IOC, Sigfrid Edstrøm, wrote a letter to Brundage with similar sentiments three days later.²¹³ However, Edstrøm went on to say that he thought the boycott movement was a Zionist conspiracy.²¹⁴ Additionally, in the same letter, Edstrøm mentioned that Ernest Lee Jahncke, an outspoken American member of the IOC,²¹⁵ might be resigning soon from his position.²¹⁶ If that were to be the case, Edstrøm wrote in his letter to Brundage, then “your [Brundage’s] election is clear as soon as Jahncke

²⁰⁷ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 50.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 51.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

²¹² Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 33.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*

²¹⁵ Jahncke was one of three American members of the IOC in 1934, along with General Charles H. Sherrill and Colonel William May Garland.

²¹⁶ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 34.

resigns.”²¹⁷ From this letter, it was clear to Brundage that if he wanted to become a member of the IOC he had to continue to back the directives given to him by members of the IOC, thus ensuring his spot on the committee.²¹⁸ As a result of this letter, it was now clear that Brundage had much to gain from keeping the Olympic Games in Berlin.²¹⁹

June 1934: American Olympic Committee Meeting

According to Arnd Krüger, author of *The Nazi Olympics*, “resentment against participation in Germany was still strong” in the annual American Olympic Committee meeting held on June 4th, 1934.²²⁰ However, the AOC felt that they were not fully informed of the situation in Germany, possibly due to the constant misinformation being provided by the Nazi government, such as mentioned in the editorial titled “Nazi Duplicity” discussed earlier in this thesis.²²¹ In order to learn more, the AOC decided to send Avery Brundage, president of the AOC, on a mission to Germany to find out about the treatment of Jews and gave him the authority to reject or accept the invitation.²²²

The Jewish Advocate ran an editorial following this meeting:

The AOC [...] voted power to Avery Brundage [...] to accept or reject the invitation. It seems to us that the issue is clear. Jewish athletes are taboo in Naziland. Brundage, a real sportsman who believes in the inter-racial and international good will aspects of international sport competition, surely realizes the situation. Only one verdict is possible. The Olympic Games [...] should be withdrawn from Naziland and be transferred to another country. Sportsmanship demands it. We hope that Avery Brundage will act in accordance with his previous declarations.²²³

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 51.

²²¹ Ibid.; “NAZI DUPLICITY.”

²²² *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 51.

²²³ “It Is All Up To Mr. Avery Brundage,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), June 8, 1934, 886944777, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

The *Advocate* went even further, saying that “we have a very rich imagination [and] we cannot visualize” a Jewish athlete being allowed to participate.²²⁴ At this point, it was clear that at least the *Jewish Advocate* believed that Avery Brundage was possibly on their side. However, the *Advocate* was not aware of the correspondence between Brundage and members of the IOC securing him a spot on the IOC if he kept the Games in Berlin.²²⁵ Additionally, the *Advocate* believed that Germany was intent on discriminating against Jews despite their statements to the contrary, and that the best way to deal with this problem was to move the Olympics to a different country.

Later that summer, on July 31st, 1934, *The Jewish Advocate* published another editorial about the Olympics controversy, focusing on policies regarding the use of swimming facilities in Germany.²²⁶ This same article was republished two days later in *The American Israelite* with the alternate title “Not Complimentary — Stupid.”²²⁷ The Germans publicly declared that foreign Jews may use these facilities, but German Jews were still barred from them.²²⁸ The paper drew a connection between this declaration and the German Olympic policy on Jews— that foreign Jews would be welcome but German Jews would be prevented from competing.²²⁹ As in the past, the *Advocate* was critical of this “duplicity” from the Nazi government, calling the Germans “stupid” and “naïve” for believing that foreign Jews would be appeased by these statements and fail to identify with the oppressed Jews in Germany.²³⁰

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 34.

²²⁶ “‘Foreign’ Jews Here May Bathe,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), July 31, 1934, 881185197, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²²⁷ “NOT COMPLIMENTARY -- STUPID,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), August 2, 1934, 1009436432, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

²²⁸ “‘Foreign’ Jews Here May Bathe.”

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

In August, the editor of *The Jewish Advocate* celebrated the comments of Emile Gauvreau, the managing editor of the *New York Daily Mirror*, for his consistent reactions to news of Nazi discrimination.²³¹ Gauvreau suggested that the Jewish Olympians boycott the games as a sign of protest.²³² The *Advocate* did not comment on that idea specifically, but rather praised Gauvreau, stating that “if American public opinion is coming to resent more and more the Nazi persecution of Jews it is due in large measure to such forceful fighters as Emilie Gauvreau.”²³³ This marked the first time that the *Advocate* or any other paper had praised an outside paper for its criticism of the Nazis in the context of the 1936 Olympics.

September 1934: Pendulum Swings Toward American Participation

In September, Brundage took the trip to Germany to assess the situation.²³⁴ However, the outcome of this trip was likely decided before the trip even took place, especially in light of Brundage’s earlier correspondence with the IOC to ensure a promotion.²³⁵ Brundage wrote an article on the way to Germany for the *American Olympic News*, the official publication of the American Olympic Committee, stating that participation in Germany would lead to a “better international understanding... a better human race through the influence of the Olympics.”²³⁶ Since Brundage believed that American participation in Germany would lead to a better human race, it seemed unlikely that there was any chance that Brundage would support boycotting or moving the Games to another country. In Germany, Brundage was given a six-day tour by one of his old friends who Brundage relied on as a translator because he was unable to speak or

²³¹ “A Champion Of Tolerance In New York,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), August 17, 1934, 888991149, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 51.

²³⁵ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 34.

²³⁶ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 51.

understand German.²³⁷ Brundage visited several parts of the country and had supervised interviews with the leaders of Jewish sports organizations in the presence of SS officers, clearly leading to skewed answers which hid the truth of the situation.²³⁸ In his report, Brundage described men of the SS and SA as some of the “hardest young men,” yet he described the Germans as “hospitable — courteous — good hearted — friendly people” who should have a “Germany for the Germans,” and described the Jews as “leaders in Communism.”²³⁹ It is unclear whether Brundage was oblivious to the fact that the accounts he had received from Jewish leaders were clearly coerced or whether he actually believed what he was hearing. Either way, Brundage submitted his report stating that there were no problems in Germany.²⁴⁰ Most importantly, Brundage did not exercise his ultimate authority to accept or reject the German invitation to participate.²⁴¹

On September 21st, *The Jewish Advocate* published an editorial reacting to Avery Brundage’s decision not to use his ultimate authority concerning American participation in the Olympics.²⁴² The paper said that Brundage’s decision not to make a decision was due to the fact that he would receive criticism from both sides.²⁴³ The article made it clear that Brundage had not yet written a report of his findings, so the editors had not realized that Brundage had already made up his mind regarding the decision to participate.²⁴⁴ However, the editorial did say that Brundage’s refusal to make a decision had used up valuable time and left the AOC with less time

²³⁷ Ibid., 52.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 36.

²⁴⁰ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 36.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² “On the Olympics Question,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), September 21, 1934, 886962805, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

to prepare to send a team to Germany, thereby making it less likely that the invitation to participate would be accepted.²⁴⁵

When it received Brundage's report, the AOC unanimously accepted the invitation to compete in Germany on September 26th, 1934.²⁴⁶ This was due to the fact that Brundage's report, and other members of the AOC such as General Sherrill, conveyed the message that the pressure from the AAU and the AOC had in fact made the situation better for Jews in Germany.²⁴⁷ However, American athletes would still not be able to participate unless they were certified by the AAU, which was scheduled to meet again in December of 1934.²⁴⁸

On October 5th, *The Jewish Exponent* issued an editorial which doubted Germany's ability to take seriously its pledge not to discriminate against any Jewish athletes in 1936.²⁴⁹ The *Exponent* made these claims based on actions taken by the German government, such as its self-congratulation on its treatment of Jews.²⁵⁰ The *Exponent* then asked its readers a question to make its point, focusing on the discrimination faced by Jewish athletes in Germany: "With all the odds against them, by all accounts living in a virtual hell, segregated, discriminated against, humiliated, how can they prepare to participate?"²⁵¹ With this questions in mind, the editor laid out Germany's true reasons for making these empty promises: "knowing full well she has forfeited it, Nazi Germany craves the good will of the outside world, especially America [...] to achieve this end she is making all sorts of promises."²⁵² The *Exponent* then concluded with the following sentence: "True sportsmen, however, should not permit themselves to be blinded by

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 52.

²⁴⁷ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 36.

²⁴⁸ Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 52.

²⁴⁹ "GERMANY AND THE 1936 OLYMPICS," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), October 5, 1934, 900032228, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

this hypocritical smoke screen.”²⁵³ Like other editorial boards before it, *The Jewish Exponent* did not believe in the integrity of German promises, and therefore called upon the world sporting community, especially the Americans, to prevent Germany from hosting the Games in 1936.

On October 11th, *The American Israelite*, with its first original editorial about the Olympics in 1934, became the first paper directly to respond to the American Olympic Committee’s acceptance of the invitation to participate in Berlin.²⁵⁴ The *Israelite* attempted to rationalize this decision, stating that all players acknowledged that there was widespread, legal, and violent discrimination against Jews in Germany, but the AOC and Avery Brundage had decided that all that mattered was whether or not Jews were discriminated against in sports.²⁵⁵ In other words, their decision to participate was based on the principle of fair play in sports, not on human rights as a principle. Regarding this matter, Brundage stated in his report that German-Jewish leaders had told him that the situation was fine for Jewish athletes and that the Nazi government could be trusted.²⁵⁶ The article on the whole had a decidedly incredulous tone, as it tried to work through how, despite all the actions of the Nazi government, Avery Brundage could have believed what he saw in Germany and how the American Olympic Committee believed that report and voted to accept the invitation to participate. The writer concluded that the only possibility for this outcome must have been due to a conspiracy among leaders in the sporting world, and when the conspiracy was revealed “the American Olympic Committee will look anything but sportsmanlike.”²⁵⁷

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ “THE SPORTS ANGLE,” *The American Israelite (1874-2000)*, October 11, 1934, 1009423737, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

Two weeks later, *The American Israelite*'s spoke up.²⁵⁸ His editorial, "'True' Sportsmanship," ran again the next day in the *Jewish Advocate*, under the title "An Honest But Misguided Protest."²⁵⁹ The article sharply criticized both Avery Brundage and General Sherrill, mentioning them both by name, and observed incredulously that as "gentlemen of sport, the atmosphere of hate and repression in Naziland did not disturb them."²⁶⁰ Building on the theme of sportsmanship, the writer argued that "the Nazis agreed to let a few Jews slip into the qualifying meets through a back door, and the Americans agreed to consider this a profession of the true spirit of sportsmanship."²⁶¹ The editorial further criticized the double standards of this "Hitler diplomacy:" on one hand, the government was inviting seventeen German Jews to participate, and on the other was still persecuting Jews on the home front.²⁶² And with that in mind, the editor of the *Israelite* declared that "our leaders in athletics have made sport of the whole question."²⁶³ This line was slightly altered in the *Jewish Advocate*, saying instead "that our noble leaders in athletics have made sport of the whole question — just another sport for true sportsman."²⁶⁴ This alteration served to drive home the point of the editorial, that the whole debate over participation was being viewed as a political game by Brundage and other American athletic leaders. However, for these editors and for German Jews, the discrimination and everyday treatment of Jews in Germany was a harsh reality that deserved a serious rebuke from the international community, especially the American sporting leaders.

²⁵⁸ "'TRUE' SPORTSMANSHIP," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), October 25, 1934, 1009437955, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

²⁵⁹ "An Honest But Misguided Protest," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), October 26, 1934, 881102404, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²⁶⁰ "'TRUE' SPORTSMANSHIP."

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ "An Honest But Misguided Protest."

In November, *The American Israelite* added a brief comment about Avery Brundage below one of their editorials, a tactic that would be frequently used by the paper in editorials to come.²⁶⁵ The quip was about how Germany was sending a boxing team to the inter-European boxing tournament under the precondition that no Jewish judges would be officiating the event. It called out Brundage directly, asking: “Does Avery Brundage, president of the American Olympic Committee, continue to fail to realize the despicable dishonesty and unsportsmanlike conduct of the Nazi would-be Olympic hosts?”²⁶⁶ The *Israelite* made it completely clear that it did not tolerate Avery Brundage’s complete disregard of Germany’s actions towards Jews and laid the decision to accept the invitation squarely on his shoulders.

The next day, on November 16th, the *Jewish Advocate* published an editorial with the title “Again the Olympics At Berlin,” referring to the upcoming AAU meeting to discuss whether to certify the American athletes to participate in the 1936 Games.²⁶⁷ After giving the backdrop to the Olympic saga in which the mistaken decision to accept the invitation was placed on Avery Brundage, the editor reminded readers that unless the American athletes were certified by the AAU, “the acceptance [by the AOC] is not worth the paper it is written on. In other words, the A.A.U. will have the last word.”²⁶⁸ The *Advocate* predicted that the AAU would stick with its declaration of 1933 which condemned Berlin and refuse to endorse athletes for the Games.²⁶⁹ This refusal would cause the AOC to withdraw its acceptance, forcing the IOC to move the Olympics to another city.²⁷⁰ The *Jewish Advocate*’s tone and language in this editorial

²⁶⁵ “ANTI-SEMITISM ON TRIAL,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), November 15, 1934, 1009424290, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ “Again the Olympics At Berlin,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), November 16, 1934, 920856200, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

were confident, leading readers to believe that the editorial board correctly predicted that the AAU would refuse to certify the American athletes, thereby forcing the Olympics to be moved.

December 1934: AAU Votes to Postpone Vote on Participation

The Amateur Athletic Union met for its annual convention in Miami, FL in early December.²⁷¹ As a result of Brundage's highly publicized trip to Berlin, many delegates thought that attempting to pass another resolution against participation would be unwise since it might fail, resulting in a catastrophic failure for the attempted boycott.²⁷² This opinion was shared by Charles Ornstein, representative of the Jewish Welfare Board, who encouraged the thirteen other Jewish representatives not to bring up the issue.²⁷³ However, Ornstein and other members of the AAU made it perfectly clear that this issue was not closed and would be reexamined in the next annual meeting scheduled for December of 1935.²⁷⁴ This decision meant that the debate on whether or not to participate was going to remain unresolved for the next year. Additionally, at this meeting, Avery Brundage stepped down from his presidency of the AAU, and Judge Jeremiah T. Mahoney, a former high-jump champion and member of the Democratic Party, was elected president in his place.²⁷⁵ Throughout 1935, Mahoney would become the leader of the boycott movement, using his voice as a powerful tool to fight Nazism and American participation. The battles between Brundage and Mahoney would ultimately decide the fate of American participation in 1936.

²⁷¹ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 39.

²⁷² David Clay. Large, *Nazi Games : The Olympics of 1936* (New York: W.W. Norton), 80.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 52.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

On December 14th, the *Jewish Advocate* responded to the Amateur Athletic Union's decision to postpone the decision about certifying Olympic athletes for another year.²⁷⁶ While the editorial board of the *Advocate* wished for a final decision on the matter, it was satisfied with the decision to postpone because:

The A.A.U. administration conceded two important points: first, that the A.O.C.'s acceptance of Germany's invitation was conditional; and second, that the 1933 resolution of the A.A.U. refusing to participate in the 1936 Olympics unless Germany ceases to discriminate against Jewish athletes is still in effect. To our way of thinking [...] the A.A.U. merely gave Germany another year of grace.²⁷⁷

The *Jewish Advocate* was seemingly satisfied with the decision to postpone, because if Germany continued to discriminate against its Jewish population the AAU would adhere to its earlier declaration and bar athletes from participating in the 1936 Olympics. As a result, the *Advocate* did not condemn the AAU for postponing its decision. This same article was run in *The American Israelite* on December 27th, 1934, under the title "A Year of Grace," encouraging its readers to keep a level head going into 1935 when the issue would be brought up again.²⁷⁸

On December 20, *The American Israelite* published another short comment about the Olympics at the bottom of its editorial page.²⁷⁹ The quip reads: "Since Hitler came to power, world Jewry has raised \$5,300,000 for relief of German Jews. The mere fact that such a staggering sum is needed to rescue a people from its own government is one eloquent reason why the American Olympic Committee—as a lover of true sportsmanship—should shun Berlin in 1936."²⁸⁰ Here, *The American Israelite* took an issue not directly related to the Olympic

²⁷⁶ "The A. A. U. And the 1936 Olympiad," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), December 14, 1934, 881184715, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ "A YEAR OF GRACE," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), December 27, 1934, 1009439013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

²⁷⁹ "Editorial Article 2 -- No Title," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), December 20, 1934, 1009439548, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

controversy—helping German Jews—and showed that the two issues were related. In this case, the *Israelite* was demonstrating that Germany was a threat to the Jews who live there and that Jews around the world realized that and must contribute to help them. As a result of this mistreatment of Jews, the *Israelite* could not see why the AOC would allow athletes to participate.

This editorial showed that *The American Israelite* misunderstood Avery Brundage's position. Brundage was only concerned about the state of Jewish athletes in Germany and around the world. If all of these Jewish athletes were allowed to train and participate, then there was no reason in his mind for the United States not to participate. According to Brundage's "fair play" position, it did not matter what was happening to other Jews in Germany, as long as the athletes from abroad and at home were allowed to compete on an equal playing field. *The American Israelite*, on the other hand, believed that any discrimination against Jews was a violation of human rights and the Olympic Charter, and therefore should result in action taken against Germany in some form. It did not matter to the *Israelite* whether Germany promised to protect its athletes if at the same time it was discriminating against Jews all across Germany. This difference in approaches to the same situation put the paper and Brundage at odds with each other, with more drama unfolding into 1935.

Chapter 4: 1935- Peak of the Debate and the Final Vote to Participate

After the AAU voted to postpone the issue of certifying athletes until December of 1935, there was a relative lull in the number of editorials about the Olympics. There were other matters more pressing for these editors, and the decision to certify athletes was not going to be made until the end of the year. As a result, the frequency of editorials about the Olympics increased throughout the year.

The first editorial that mentioned the Olympics that year was published on February 19th, 1935 in the *Jewish Advocate*.²⁸¹ The editorial was long and jumped from topic to topic, commenting on tidbits of information from many different stories.²⁸² One of those stories focused on Paul Gallico, a writer for the *New York Daily News* who condemned the German sports organizations for their discrimination against Jews.²⁸³ After he wrote this piece, Gallico took a trip to Berlin, to assess the situation for himself.²⁸⁴ The *Jewish Advocate* described what happened next: “listen to what [Gallico] has to say today... We have to quote it in full, because it is the most amazing reversal we’ve ever come across...”²⁸⁵ Gallico described how Jewish sports clubs were “flourishing” and how the Germans intend to include a Jewish athlete on the team.²⁸⁶ There was no additional commentary beyond that, leading the reader to discern his or her own opinion about Gallico’s change of mind. However, by reading articles in *The Jewish Advocate*, a reader could not help but doubt Gallico’s testimony.

²⁸¹ “Choice Bits-- From Here And There,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), February 19, 1935, 885142053, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

On March 23rd, 1935, the American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) conducted a survey to gauge public opinion on the matter of American participation in the Olympics.²⁸⁷ The question asked was “Should America refuse to participate in the Olympic games [sic] which are to be held in Germany this coming year?”²⁸⁸ According to the poll, forty-three percent of Americans responded “Yes,” while fifty-seven percent responded “No,” showing that a majority of Americans believed that America should participate in the 1936 Olympic Games.²⁸⁹ This poll went against the opinion of these Jewish papers that public opinion was on the side of the boycott, a fact that had been and would be targeted in future editorials. However, the information in future editorials may have been accurate, since public opinion might have changed. This was the only Gallup poll taken on the subject of the Olympic Games.²⁹⁰

The next editorial was not written until April 2nd and again appeared in the *Jewish Advocate* under the title “Page Mr. Brundage!”²⁹¹ The editorial focused on an incident in the boxing world, where a match was called off in Germany between a Nazi wrestler and a black man.²⁹² This was due to the fact, according to Julius Streicher, a prominent Nazi and the founder and publisher of the anti-Semitic *Der Stürmer* newspaper, that “it degrades our race to permit a Negro wrestler to fight a white man.”²⁹³ The *Jewish Advocate*, seeing this clear discrimination by Nazis, called on Avery Brundage in this editorial to admit that German officials had broken their promise not to discriminate against visiting athletes, and therefore the U.S. should refuse to participate in the games in Germany. This was not the first time that a Jewish paper had written

²⁸⁷ Hadley, Cantril, *Public Opinion, 1935-1946*; (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Pr., 1951., 1951), 810.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ “Page Mr. Brundage,” *Jewish Advocate (1909-1990)*, April 2, 1935, 885144569, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ “Julius Streicher: Biography,” accessed April 5, 2014, <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007316>; “Page Mr. Brundage.”

an article claiming the double-standard of Nazi actions versus Nazi promises, clearly demonstrating that this was the primary editorial strategy to fight the acceptance of the Olympic invitation.

On April 30th, a new approach to the boycott movement was suggested for the first time in an editorial: the lack of funding to send the American team to Germany.²⁹⁴ The *Jewish Advocate*'s editor informed readers that they should not be surprised if the Olympics would be held in a different country due to the AOC's shortage of funds to send the team to Germany.²⁹⁵ This financial problem was due to the fact that influential donors were refusing to donate money unless the AOC refused to participate.²⁹⁶ As a result, the *Advocate* told its readers to "prepare yourself for a big coup de theatre," indicating that the paper believed that the tide was turning in favor of a boycott.²⁹⁷

The next editorial on the subject of the Olympics was not published until June 13th, 1935 by *The American Israelite*.²⁹⁸ The editor praised the Swiss General Council for refusing to send an athletic team to Berlin because the "Berlin Olympic Games would not be held in the spirit of amateur sport and that Nazism would be likely to contaminate Swiss athletes."²⁹⁹ Seeing Switzerland as an example, *The American Israelite* called upon the United States, France, and other major countries to refuse to participate in the Olympics, and that "no sane mind" would believe that Germany would keep its promise not to discriminate against Jews.³⁰⁰ This strong language from *The American Israelite* indicated its continued position for a United States

²⁹⁴ "Editorial Article 1 -- No Title," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), April 30, 1935, 885142954, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ "SWITZERLAND LEADS," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), June 13, 1935, 1009458393, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

boycott. The fact that Jews continued to be persecuted in Germany, editors argued, should prevent the Americans from participating, based on the 1933 resolution by the Amateur Athletic Union.

August 1935: Strong Editorial Support for Boycott

August marked the beginning of the increase in editorials, most likely due to the pressing issue of the decision to certify American athletes to be made by the AAU in December of 1935. More editorials in these three papers were published in August than between January and July of 1935. All of them ran an editorial on the subject in the first week of August alone, opening an intense debate.³⁰¹

On August 1st, *The American Israelite*'s editor praised the mayor of New York City, Fiorello La Guardia, for denying a permit for a municipal license to a German citizen as a result of Hitler's policies in Germany.³⁰² While this editorial primarily praised Mayor LaGuardia for his actions, it briefly mentioned the Olympic boycott in one clause of one sentence, making the point that the German government expected the Americans to ignore the actual situation in Germany and instead believe the rhetoric that was spewed by the government, a recurring theme in the *Israelite*'s editorials.³⁰³

On August 2nd, *The Jewish Exponent* dedicated an editorial column to the Olympic situation, criticizing recent comments made by Avery Brundage, President of the American Olympic Committee.³⁰⁴ Brundage was quoted as having said "I have not heard anything to

³⁰¹ "LA GUARDIA'S COURAGE," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), August 1, 1935, 1009459670, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000); "OLYMPICS AT BERLIN," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), August 2, 1935, 899983343, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990); "Another Voice," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), August 6, 1935, 886282622, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

³⁰² "LA GUARDIA'S COURAGE."

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ "OLYMPICS AT BERLIN."

indicate discrimination against athletes of any race or religion since last year, when there were reports that Jewish athletes might not be permitted to represent Germany in the games.”³⁰⁵ *The Exponent* condemned Brundage, arguing that “no one can say [that] and expect to be taken seriously.”³⁰⁶ The editor accused of desiring only to “whitewash the German regime.”³⁰⁷ Since Jews continued to be discriminated against in Germany, the editor was disappointed with Brundage’s position on the matter.³⁰⁸

On August 6th, the *Jewish Advocate* praised *The Christian Century*, a prominent Protestant journal, for writing an editorial in favor of moving the Olympics to another country.³⁰⁹ While praising *The Century*, the *Advocate* stated that “the tide is rising,” in reference to the editor’s belief that the sphere of public opinion was shifting toward boycotting the Games.³¹⁰ The *Advocate* used strong language to persuade readers to believe that in the end, the forces behind a boycott would undoubtedly win the debate: “The time is approaching when the moral forces of civilization will no longer tolerate the German monster— when combined action on the part of all world groups will be undertaken for the purging of the world of all that savors of tyranny and illiberalism. [...] Civilization will meet the challenge of barbarism.”³¹¹

On August 8th, *The American Israelite* condemned CBS for arranging a radio test of its ability to broadcast the Olympic Games from Berlin one year prior to the Opening Ceremonies despite knowing that there were serious talks of a boycott.³¹² The *Israelite* described the test broadcast as “tactless,” considering that the Olympic question had not been resolved and that

³⁰⁵ Ibid.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ “Another Voice.”

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² “TACTLESS,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), August 8, 1935, 1009476240, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

“public opinion is surely opposed to the sending of a team to the capital of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism.”³¹³ Again, this editorial continued to cite public opinion as a means of voicing its argument, despite the Gallup poll conducted earlier that year in March 1935 which showed public opinion leaning towards participation.³¹⁴

On August 15th, *The American Israelite*’s editor directly responded to statement issued by Avery Brundage a few days previously.³¹⁵ In this statement Brundage said, “So far, [the AOC] has had no reports whatsoever, official or otherwise, that Germany has failed to give Jewish athletes a fair opportunity to qualify for Olympic teams.”³¹⁶ Brundage’s comments were similar to those he made a few weeks prior that were also criticized in an editorial by *The Jewish Exponent*.³¹⁷ Seeing the recent attacks on Jews and other German citizens by the German government, the *Israelite* was baffled that Brundage was unable to see that the Germans had broken their pledge “respecting the treatment of its own athletes as well as those of visiting countries.”³¹⁸ Again, the difference between Brundage’s attitude and *The American Israelite* was clear. Brundage believed, as evidenced in his quote, that “The Olympics are an international event and must be kept free from outside interference or entanglements, racial, religious or political, if we are to achieve the main objective of spreading democracy and the high standards of amateur sport throughout the world.”³¹⁹ The pledge made by Germany, in Brundage’s mind, said that Germany must not discriminate against any athletes, and all other matters could be ignored in the spirit of the Games. The *Israelite* believed that these outside matters, such as the

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Cantril, *Public Opinion, 1935-1946*; 810.

³¹⁵ “TO MR. BRUNDAGE,” *The American Israelite (1874-2000)*, August 15, 1935, 1009477660, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

³¹⁶ “OLYMPICS AT BERLIN”; “TO MR. BRUNDAGE.”

³¹⁷ Ibid.

³¹⁸ “TO MR. BRUNDAGE.”

³¹⁹ Ibid.

violence against Jews in Germany, was reason alone to protest the Games being held in Berlin. The editorial concluded with that sentiment, asking whether “Mr. Brundage still believes that Germany is the place for the world’s chief adventure in sportsmanship” despite the “unconscionable assaults upon innocent persons during the past few weeks by Germans and the face of the omission of all Jewish athletes from German teams in last week’s international Games.”³²⁰ This discrimination against Jewish athletes would qualify as a violation of the principles of amateur sport, calling into question Brundage’s repeated claims of no reports of discrimination. This would give credence to the views of *The American Israelite*, resulting in their increasingly critical tone. This conflict between the principles of “fair play” and “human rights” continue throughout the year.

September 1935: Germany Capitulates

The American Israelite polled newspaper editors throughout the summer and published the results in early September.³²¹ The poll surveyed editors of daily newspapers in population centers of over 100,000 people from twenty different states.³²² The *Israelite* did not mention the newspapers that responded; it only gave the names of the cities in which these papers were in.³²³ The results showed that editors responded by a ratio of 4:1 against having the Olympics in Berlin, illustrating that public opinion was similar to the opinion of the paper.³²⁴ Around this time, Greta Bergmann, a leading high jumper from Germany, was reported to have been excluded from the German Olympic trials because she was Jewish.³²⁵ This was a major factor in

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ “Daily Editors Stand 4:1 Against German Olympics,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), September 12, 1935, 1009478056, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ “Barring Of Greta Bergmann Because She Is ‘Non-Aryan’ Is a Major Factor When Newspapermen Cast Ballots,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), September 12, 1935, 1009477381, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

the results of this survey.³²⁶ *The Israelite*'s editorial appeared in the same edition as the poll results.³²⁷ The editor opined that "the [questionnaire] speaks for itself" and the "Amateur Athletic Union should heed public opinion and MOVE THE OLYMPICS FROM GERMANY!"³²⁸ However, a survey of newspaper editors is just a survey of newspaper editors—the data does not extrapolate to the readers of said newspapers. A more accurate survey would be the polling conducted in March or the Gallup poll, which showed that Americans on the whole favored the American team competing in the Berlin Olympics.³²⁹ However, the results of that survey might have been different if it had been conducted again in September, especially considering the full editorial barrage that had been taking place all summer. *The American Israelite* would frequently use this survey of newspaper editors to prove that public opinion favored of moving the Olympics out of Germany.

On September 13th, 1935, two editorials appeared on the subject of the Olympics.³³⁰ The first was in the *Jewish Advocate*, whose editor talked about the milestone of 40,000 members reached by the Jewish War Veterans of the United States.³³¹ The editorial only mentioned the Olympics in passing, by stating that at this convention of the Jewish War Veterans, the organization called for the American team to pull out of the Olympics.³³² The editorial offered no commentary on that plea.³³³ The second editorial was by *The Jewish Exponent*, which praised Governor Howard Earle of Pennsylvania for condemning Nazi Germany and calling for the

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ "PUBLIC OPINION SPEAKS," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), September 12, 1935, 1009477083, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

³²⁹ Cantril, *Public Opinion, 1935-1946*; 810.

³³⁰ "Jewish War Veterans," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), September 13, 1935, 883732122, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990); "WELL SPOKEN, GOVERNOR EARLE," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), September 13, 1935, 894392028, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

³³¹ "Jewish War Veterans."

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid.

Americans not to participate in the Olympics: “This [...] pronouncement by a sportsman and a true American should serve as a final answer to those who were still in doubt as to the need for removing the Olympics to another country.”³³⁴ The editorial went on to say that “the Nazis have fully deserved this international rebuke [and] that failure to effect this removal from Berlin will not only seriously jeopardize the success of this athletic venture, but will cast a stigma upon future Olympics not easily to be removed.”³³⁵ The editorial further called upon all sportsmen to use sport for the benefit of mankind by fighting for human equality.³³⁶ Two weeks after the publication of its first editorial on the topic, *The Jewish Exponent* returned with another editorial about Governor Earle, this time defending him against a group of mostly German-Americans who condemned the governor for his comments on the Olympics.³³⁷ The editorial praised him in spite of his critics and encouraged him to keep up the good fight while criticizing the German-Americans for failing to see the facts clearly about the Nazi treatment of Jews.³³⁸

In the next week, on September 24th, 1935, the *Jewish Advocate* wrote an editorial with the title “How Long?,” asking “how long will this madman (Hitler) be enabled to continue?” The editorial also raised other questions related to the world’s seeming acceptance of Hitler’s policies and failure to realize that Hitler was double-crossing them.³³⁹ The editor of the *Advocate* made the argument that, on one hand, the German Olympic organizers were saying there would be no discrimination against Jewish athletes, while on the other hand, Hitler was advocating for an increased number of anti-Jewish laws.³⁴⁰ This point, among others, was used in the editorial

³³⁴ “WELL SPOKEN, GOVERNOR EARLE.”

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ “NAZI REPRISALS FOR GOVERNOR EARLE,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), September 27, 1935, 893152887, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

³³⁸ Ibid.

³³⁹ “How Long,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), September 24, 1935, 885125991, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

argument that the paper was “amazed” by the “inconsistency of the whole regime [but] even more amazing is that there are people who are so blind to the facts that they are unable to see Nazism for what it really is. If there are still those in this country who, after reading Hitler’s speech [...] can maintain that the 1936 Olympics should be held in Germany, they are either ignorant or naïve.”³⁴¹ The *Advocate* again hit on the point that discrimination of any kind by Germany warranted the removal of the Olympics from Berlin.³⁴² Unlike its editorial in April or subsequent editorials by *The Jewish Exponent* or *The American Israelite*, the *Jewish Advocate* chose not to mention Avery Brundage by name and instead focused on all individuals who wanted to hold the Games in Berlin, perhaps trying to shift the battle away from Brundage.³⁴³ Additionally, this editorial, like those of *The American Israelite*, tried to spark outrage among its readers, thereby moving them to become active in the boycott movement.³⁴⁴

On September 25th, Theodor Lewald, chairman of the German Olympic Committee, announced that he was extending a “personal invitation” to Helene Mayer, a world-caliber Jewish athlete, to take part in the German Olympic trials.³⁴⁵ The next day, both Mayer and Greta Bergman, another Jewish athlete, were invited to try out for the German Olympic team.³⁴⁶ These invitations were seen as a blow to the Olympic boycott movement, since they showed that the Germans had kept their promise to invite Jewish athletes.³⁴⁷ However, inviting two Jewish athletes was not the same as not discriminating against them, and this fact was not lost on the Jewish papers, as seen in the first weeks of October.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ “Page Mr. Brundage”; “TO MR. BRUNDAGE”; “How Long.”

³⁴⁴ “How Long”; “PUBLIC OPINION SPEAKS.”

³⁴⁵ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 47.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 48.

³⁴⁷ Ibid., 49.

October 1935: Editorial Support for Boycott Escalates

On October 3rd, *The American Israelite*'s editor commented on the latest developments in the Olympic controversy, namely Germany's new propaganda push to assure the Americans that Germany was not discriminating against Jewish athletes.³⁴⁸ This new German initiative was centered on the invitation of Helene Mayer and Greta Bergman to compete in the Olympics on the German Olympic team.³⁴⁹ The *Israelite* called both invitations a "propaganda stunt," citing how Mayer had yet to receive the invitation and that "terrific pressure will be brought to keep [Bergmann] away from the Olympics."³⁵⁰ Additionally, the *Israelite* noted that "all other Jewish athletes in Germany of Olympic caliber have either been exiled or terrified into retirement."³⁵¹ In these comments, the *Israelite* was quick to dismiss Germany's invitations as simply more attempts to mask the true discrimination throughout Germany against Jews.³⁵² In response to this perceived propaganda ploy, *The American Israelite* insisted that "all Americans who respect the ideals of the Olympic code must intensify their efforts. Nazi propaganda for the Olympics must be met with increased propaganda against the Olympics."³⁵³ This call for the public to speak out echoed editorials from earlier in the year, and the comments about public opinion then followed: "Public opinion in this country is now opposed to American participation because it doesn't trust Germany's promises. This public opinion must be mobilized and expressed."³⁵⁴ Again, the *Israelite* claimed that public opinion was on the same side as the paper and could help prevent participation.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁸ "STAND FAST!," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), October 3, 1935, 1009457947, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ibid.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

The next day, on October 4th, *The Jewish Exponent* published two editorials on the subject of the Olympics, the first time any of these papers had done since the start of the boycott debate.³⁵⁶ The first was commenting on Harvard University's decision not to send any athletes or donate any money to the American Olympic team.³⁵⁷ The *Exponent* commended Harvard for not only setting an example, but also "issuing a challenge to other universities in this country and in other parts of the world."³⁵⁸ This, again, was another in a series of editorials on the Olympics that called on the wider community of public opinion to rise up and fight the AOC's decision to participate. The other editorial referenced the invitation extended to Helene Mayer and Greta Bergmann by the German Olympic Committee to try out for the German Olympic team.³⁵⁹ The *Exponent* took care to note that the athletes had not received the invitations, and their reaction to being invited was unknown.³⁶⁰ The *Exponent* suggested that this invitation was another act of "the present Nazi regime [...] double-dealing in order to create a favorable impression [and] those who have followed events in Hitler Germany are no stranger to these tactics and will not be blinded by them."³⁶¹ This editorial echoed the *Exponent's* first editorial published in 1934 on the Olympics.³⁶² The *Exponent* remained firm in its conviction that this was a ploy; that Jewish athletes from Germany would be denied the right to participate; and foreign Jewish athletes "will be exposed to insult, to humiliation and possibly to bodily harm."³⁶³ Yet again, the *Exponent* cited the fact that public opinion against holding the Olympics in Germany was growing, similar

³⁵⁶ "HARVARD POINTS THE WAY," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), October 4, 1935, 899999234, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990); "HELENE MAYER AND GRETA BERGMANN ACCEPTABLE TO HITLER," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), October 4, 1935, 899999226, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

³⁵⁷ "HARVARD POINTS THE WAY."

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ "HELENE MAYER AND GRETA BERGMANN ACCEPTABLE TO HITLER."

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid.; "NAZI DUPLICITY."

³⁶³ "HELENE MAYER AND GRETA BERGMANN ACCEPTABLE TO HITLER."

to the editorial stance of *The American Israelite*.³⁶⁴ The *Exponent* concluded with the hope that this invitation by Germany would not obscure the true nature of the anti-Semitism practiced by the Hitler regime.³⁶⁵

The issue was kept alive in the subsequent week with minor mentions in the editorial section.³⁶⁶ On October 8th, the *Jewish Advocate* published an editorial titled “Culture Taboo,” which reflected on the decision of the American National Society of Mural Painters to boycott an event tied to the Olympics in Germany.³⁶⁷ The paper commended this decision, particularly in light of the fact that the Nazis were discriminating against artistic expression in general.³⁶⁸ That was the only context in which the Olympics were mentioned in the *Advocate* that week. In the October 10th edition of *The American Israelite*, two brief comments about the Olympics were inserted below two different editorials.³⁶⁹ The first one, below the editorial titled “The President Speaks,” said: “Those travelling American Olympic Committee members who still trust the Nazis might run over to Silesia to get the facts on the recent Nazi slaying of a Jewish football player.”³⁷⁰ This remark referred to the September 15th soccer match between Germany and Poland where a Jewish player was taunted, stoned during the match by a German crowd, and then beaten to death by a mob after the game.³⁷¹ *The American Israelite* used this fact, like many others before, to argue the point that Germany was discriminating against German-Jewish

³⁶⁴ “HARVARD POINTS THE WAY”; “TACTLESS”; “PUBLIC OPINION SPEAKS.”

³⁶⁵ “HELENE MAYER AND GRETA BERGMANN ACCEPTABLE TO HITLER.”

³⁶⁶ “Culture Taboo,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), October 8, 1935, 881188364, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990); “THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), October 10, 1935, 1009441192, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000); “INTELLECTUAL DUTY,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), October 10, 1935, 1009441192, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

³⁶⁷ “Culture Taboo.”

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ “THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS”; “INTELLECTUAL DUTY.”

³⁷⁰ “THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS.”

³⁷¹ “Confirm Report Nazis Killed Jewish Football Player in Silesia,” *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, accessed March 18, 2014, <http://www.jta.org/1935/09/26/archive/confirm-report-nazis-killed-jewish-football-player-in-silesia>.

athletes.³⁷² While on the surface this beating might appear to be a random act of the citizenry, it may have in fact been orchestrated by members of the German government, something that was insinuated by the editor of *The American Israelite*.³⁷³ The second remark appeared below the editorial “Intellectual Duty,” and reads: “‘The reasons why Jews aren’t on Germany’s Olympic team is that Jews lack athletic ability,’ say the Nazis. We suppose that ‘Hank’ Greenburg, championship Detroit baseball-player, is an accident to be charged to the American climate.’”³⁷⁴ Yet again, in this remark, *The American Israelite* was attempting to expose the double-dealing done by Nazi Germany in regards to the Olympics, a tactic that the paper hoped would rally support to their side of the debate.

On October 17th, *The American Israelite* wrote another editorial focusing on the events that had transpired in the previous week to illustrate the point that public opinion was changing in their favor.³⁷⁵ The Baltimore City Council had opposed participation in the Olympics, along with the student board of Columbia College and the National Society of American Mural Painters.³⁷⁶ The *Israelite* went on record showing how each of these organization’s stances was significant in its own way and demonstrated that public opinion was against participation in many segments of the population.³⁷⁷ Once again, the *Israelite* concluded with the sentiment that was meant to inspire its readers, stating that the American population was “determined” to show “that the United States means business when it says it has no use for racial and religious persecution.”³⁷⁸

³⁷² “THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS.”

³⁷³ Ibid.; “Confirm Report Nazis Killed Jewish Football Player in Silesia.”

³⁷⁴ “INTELLECTUAL DUTY.”

³⁷⁵ “ANSWERING NAZI PROPAGANDA,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), October 17, 1935, 1009458209, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid.

On October 20th, Justice Jeremiah T. Mahoney, former New York Supreme Court Justice and current president of the Amateur Athletic Association, wrote a letter to Dr. Theodor Lewald, chairman of the German Olympic Committee, which vehemently critiqued Nazi Germany's stances and policies not only relating to the Olympics but also as a whole.³⁷⁹ This letter was republished in *The New York Times* on October 21st. *The Jewish Exponent* subsequently featured Mahoney's letter on the front page of the paper on October 25th.³⁸⁰ In this letter, Mahoney examined whether or not Germany had lived up to its prior promises by outlining a number of reasons of why the AAU opposed holding the Games in Germany: the barring of German-Jewish athletes from participation; political links between Olympic policies and German government; distrust of the Nazis due to the anti-Semitic signs throughout Germany; persecution against Protestants and Catholics; and reports of "dead, exiled, or barred" Jewish athletes.³⁸¹ Each of these points was a header in Mahoney's letter, and each header had sub-points and evidence to back them up.³⁸² Throughout the letter, Mahoney questioned each of the statements and promises made by Germany about the Olympics and provided evidence that these promises were not being kept, in contrast to German statements.³⁸³ Mahoney concluded with the sentiment that "participation under the swastika implies the tacit approval of all that the Swastika symbolizes" and "therefore, I hope that all Americans will join with me in opposing American participation in the Olympic Games and aid me in having the games transferred to another country."³⁸⁴ In this letter, Mahoney asked for the same public support that the Jewish papers had been advocating all along, and reaffirmed their belief that the Olympics would be moved and that public opinion was

³⁷⁹ "Justice Mahoney Launches Scathing Denunciation of Nazi Anti-Semitism," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), October 25, 1935, 894392327, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

³⁸⁰ Ibid.

³⁸¹ Ibid.

³⁸² Ibid.

³⁸³ Ibid.

³⁸⁴ Ibid.

on their side.³⁸⁵ This letter set the stage for the ensuing battle to come in December, where the President of the AOC, Avery Brundage, a staunch supporter of the Olympic Games being held in Germany, would face off with Justice Mahoney, a leader of the opposition movement.

On October 25th, an editorial in *The Jewish Exponent* reframed the debate from a traditional argument over fair play in sport to the recognition of Nazi Germany on a global scale.³⁸⁶ If the Olympics were to be held in Germany, the *Exponent* argued, Germany and all of her policies would be given global recognition and tolerance.³⁸⁷ The *Exponent* went on to contrast two of the major actors on each side of the debate, General Sherrill and Justice Mahoney.³⁸⁸ The *Exponent* lauded Mahoney, claiming that “no one reading the letter [...] can harbor any doubt as to the merits of the case [to move the Olympics]. Should the present effort to remove the Olympics from Berlin fail, this letter will stand as permanent indictment of the entire sports world.”³⁸⁹ With this quote, the *Exponent* adopted Mahoney as the leading spokesperson for moving the Olympics away from Germany. The editor then contrasted Mahoney with General Sherrill, who said he had gone to Germany “for the purpose of getting at least one Jew on the German Olympic team.”³⁹⁰ Sherrill was then accused of attempting to “befog the issue” by making numerous claims which were “full of contradiction, evasion, [and] innuendo.”³⁹¹ The *Exponent* sarcastically accused Sherrill of “repaying Adolf Hitler for the four days or more [Sherrill] spent with him as his guest.”³⁹² This portrayal of Sherrill as a friend of Hitler served to discredit the General and boost support for Mahoney for the debate to come. The editorial

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ “JUSTICE MAHONEY, GENERAL SHERRILL AND THE NAZI OLYMPICS,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), October 25, 1935, 894385221, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

³⁸⁷ Ibid.

³⁸⁸ Ibid.

³⁸⁹ Ibid.

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid.

concluded a new observation, that “Hitler views the Olympics as an opportunity to hurl in the face of the whole world his defiance of the fundamental laws of humanity.”³⁹³ The paper concluded, as in most editorials of this month, with a call for the general public to rise up and “counteract” the Nazi forces.³⁹⁴ This editorial sharply raised the rhetorical temperature of the debate. It placed Mahoney as the head of the boycott movement and pitted Sherrill as the friend of Hitler and therefore the enemy of human rights. In so doing, it constructed the debate over participation by pitting the two opposing sides against each other in the press.

Additionally, on October 25th, the *Jewish Advocate* also ran an editorial on General Sherrill’s statements about the Olympics.³⁹⁵ It began with a conciliatory tone, stating that the editor “respects the General’s views [that] the Nazi government has nothing to do with the Olympics and that an American team should be sent over.”³⁹⁶ This tone starkly contrasts with other editorial writers, such as *The American Israelite*, who had lambasted anyone for having opposing views. However, the *Advocate* went on to criticize Sherrill for his argument that anti-Semitism would grow in the United States should Americans refuse to participate and the “disproportionate representation given to Jews [in the US] is raising hell.”³⁹⁷ The *Advocate* declared these statements to be “anti-Semitic propaganda” and closed by asking the reader whether “General Sherrill [had] shown his true colors.”³⁹⁸ In this editorial, the *Advocate* showed the world that it was unwilling to tolerate anyone who made any sort of anti-Semitic remarks.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ Ibid.

³⁹⁵ “Unmasked,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), October 25, 1935, 883730791, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Ibid.

On October 31st, *The American Israelite* published a lengthy editorial criticizing Avery Brundage and General Sherrill for their insistence on holding the Olympics in Germany.³⁹⁹ First, Brundage was criticized for implying that everyone who wanted to boycott the Olympics had communist ties.⁴⁰⁰ The *Israelite* refuted that claim by listing the names of approximately seventy-five individuals and organizations that had come forward in opposition of the Games.⁴⁰¹ The article again became very critical of Brundage, using colloquial sayings in order to make the point, and called on its readers to carefully scrutinize Brundage's statements.⁴⁰² Referencing Sherrill's trip to Germany as his "love-feast [sic] with Herr Hitler," the editor of the *Israelite* pointed out that Sherrill was making his point by saying that it took several months to convince the Germans to invite Jewish participants of their own: "If General Sherrill cannot appreciate that that statement by him proves definitely that Germany is guilty of discrimination, how can we expect him to take up the battle of sportsmanship and fair play?"⁴⁰³ The editorial board went on to criticize Sherrill's fear of anti-Semitic uproar in the United States if the Games were moved: "let General Sherrill understand here and now that we have altogether too many 'friends' of his degree. So long as he has the face to urge true sportsmen to go today to Germany for the world's greatest sport classic, we can't just consider him a friend of sportsmanship or the Jews."⁴⁰⁴ After lambasting Brundage and Sherrill, the *Israelite* offered its thanks for all that Judge Mahoney had been doing on behalf of the protest movement, and hoped that "he triumph in his gallant endeavor to see that the 1936 Olympics are transferred to another land."⁴⁰⁵

³⁹⁹ "It's Mutiny, Mates," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), October 31, 1935, 1009458551, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

November 1935: The Stage is Set

On the first day of November, the *Jewish Advocate* published an editorial about its disgust at the German athlete Helene Mayer's decision to accept the German invitation to participate in the 1936 Games, exclaiming "How could she!"⁴⁰⁶ The *Advocate* cited this as the biggest detriment to the case for not participating in Germany.⁴⁰⁷ The editor claimed that he wished to "regard Miss Mayer as something more than an ambitious athlete who is willing to sacrifice her principles, who is willing to condone injustice, merely for further opportunity for athletic achievement," but did not go that far, hoping that instead Mayer was more of a biblical Queen Esther figure, who disguised herself and hid her Judaism only to expose herself when the Jews were about to be killed.⁴⁰⁸ The paper hoped that Mayer would do the same and that when she participated in the Games she would expose the Nazis for who they truly were.⁴⁰⁹ This disapproval of Helene Mayer shows how high the tension over this topic was and how close to home some of these arguments were. In fact, the two sides of this story might be appropriately summarized as professional ambition versus personal discrimination.

On November 7th, in a non-editorial article, *The American Israelite* posted a photo on its front page showing a venue where some of the winter Olympic sports were to be held, with the sign "Admission of Jews forbidden" posted in front of the arena.⁴¹⁰ This was proof, according to the paper, that Jews were being denied access to athletic facilities in Germany.⁴¹¹ Additionally, another article on the front page of the same paper suggested that, according to preliminary

⁴⁰⁶ "Helene Mayer," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), November 1, 1935, 881200600, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ "Photo Belies Brundage-Sherrill Nazi Claim," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), November 7, 1935, 1009440953, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

polling, the AAU would vote against participation in Germany next month.⁴¹² This went along with statements from former Olympic athletes who had petitioned the IOC to move the Olympics elsewhere.⁴¹³

On November 21st, *The American Israelite* published an editorial responding to the speech given on November 14th by Justice Mahoney calling for the Olympics to be moved from Germany.⁴¹⁴ The editorial, titled “1933 and 1935,” outlined the points that Mahoney had made in his speech.⁴¹⁵ He pointed out that Brundage and Sherrill were instrumental in the 1933 resolutions by both the AOC and AAU demanding that Germany pledge to uphold fair play, and since then both had reversed their stances.⁴¹⁶ Additionally, Mahoney pointed out that both Brundage and Sherrill had raised the issue of Germany’s discrimination in 1933 “without qualms about ‘meddling’ in Germany’s domestic affairs,” but now “brand the opponents [...] as ‘meddling’ in Germany’s internal affairs.”⁴¹⁷ Finally, since 1933, neither the IOC nor the AOC had reexamined the question of participation at a full meeting, something that both were obligated to do based on the 1933 resolutions.⁴¹⁸ The *Israelite* stated that if Brundage and Sherrill “had not closed their eyes and ears to the truth they could not help but be convinced of the error, to put it mildly, of their policy” if they had listened to said speech.⁴¹⁹ Besides that

⁴¹² “On The Olympics,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), November 7, 1935, 1009442664, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁴¹³ Ibid.

⁴¹⁴ “1933 AND 1935,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), November 21, 1935, 1009457737, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000); Special to The American Israelite, “A. A. U. Chief Takes His Olympic Fight To The American People,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), November 14, 1935, 1009442631, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁴¹⁵ “1933 AND 1935.”

⁴¹⁶ Ibid.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

comment, this editorial offered few other opinions regarding the Olympics and was comparatively more civil in tone than prior editorials.⁴²⁰

On November 22nd, *The Jewish Exponent*'s editor commended the German American League for Culture's (GALC) recently passed resolution which advocated the postponement or removal of the Olympics from Germany.⁴²¹ This was viewed by the *Exponent* as "the best answer that could be given the philo-Nazis in this country."⁴²² The GALC thought that "it is common and universal knowledge that the Hitler regime has barred all but Nazi sports activity in Germany," a point that the paper had been repeatedly trying to make.⁴²³ The *Exponent* concluded by thanking the organization for supporting the cause.⁴²⁴

On November 28th, *The American Israelite* struck again with another editorial titled "The Myth of Nazi Sportsmanship."⁴²⁵ The article began with the following statement: "The readiness of intelligent men to believe the Nazi Government's Olympic non-discrimination promises continues to amaze us."⁴²⁶ This vehement criticism of supporters of participation was this time directed at William Bingham, director of Harvard athletics and a member of the AOC.⁴²⁷ Bingham had suggested that a reason for participation would be to "do all in our power to preserve the independence of amateur sport and keep it free from political, religious, and racial interference."⁴²⁸ As in the past, the *Israelite* refused to give this argument credence, as it felt that

⁴²⁰ Ibid.

⁴²¹ "GERMAN-AMERICANS OPPOSE OLYMPICS IN BERLIN," *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), November 22, 1935, 900007216, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Ibid.

⁴²⁵ "THE MYTH OF NAZI SPORTSMANSHIP," *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), November 28, 1935, 1012762945, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Ibid.

the Olympics were being politicized by Hitler himself.⁴²⁹ The *Israelite* responded with the simple question that it had asked before, “then why give the Olympics to Politician Hitler” who used Nazism to influence the Olympics?⁴³⁰ The editorial concluded with a final criticism of Bingham and all supporters of participation by saying that the “world will go on as usual” if the Olympics were in Germany, but the *Israelite* will “have to revise our foolish ideas about the meaning of sportsmanship and fair play, and some of the men entrusted with leadership of collegiate athletics.”⁴³¹

The next day, on November 29th, *The Jewish Exponent* published the final editorial before December, the month of the scheduled AAU meeting to decide whether or not to certify American athletes to participate in the 1936 Olympics.⁴³² The editorial praised The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America for, among other things, demanding the withdrawal of the American team from the Olympics.⁴³³ This demand was praised by the *Exponent* as “a brilliant page in contemporaneous Christian thought,” and resulted in the editor thanking the Council for its stance.⁴³⁴

December 1935: AAU Convention: The Final Vote to Participate

On December 5th, one day before the scheduled the convention of the AAU, *The American Israelite* published an article summarizing each side of the debate but from the viewpoint of the opposition.⁴³⁵ The editor acknowledged that since the convention was the next

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ Ibid.

⁴³¹ Ibid.

⁴³² “THE CONSCIENCE OF CHRISTENDOM IS AROUSED,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), November 29, 1935, 894392138, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ “PUBLIC OPINION AND THE A. A. U.,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), December 5, 1935, 1009457897, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

day little he said would have any influence over the outcome of the convention.⁴³⁶ The sides were summarized as follows:

Those who view the Olympics as no more than a contest for athletic supremacy have made it clear that they believe that America should continue to march to Berlin and that politicians (American, we suppose) should keep their hands off. Those viewing the Olympics as the world's supreme adventure in fair play and sportsmanship have made it equally clear that America should not be interested in burlesquing the Olympics by staging them in a land where fair play is dead and a 'non-Aryan' is, by governmental decree, unfit to compete in athletics or anything else.⁴³⁷

In this summation, the paper was less critical than usual of the proponents of participation, possibly signaling a desire to remain calm while awaiting the decision of the AAU.⁴³⁸ However, as it had consistently done in the past, the *Israelite* concluded by calling upon the AAU to “heed the voice of public opinion— and to hold the Olympics in one of four other European countries where stadia are available.”⁴³⁹

On December 6th, the day of the AAU convention, *The Jewish Exponent* published two editorials on the subject of the convention.⁴⁴⁰ The first was titled “General Sherrill Spokesman for Fascism in America.”⁴⁴¹ The editorial itself was not about the Olympics but was purely devoted to a scathing critique of Sherrill.⁴⁴² The article began with observing that Sherrill had a “considerable change of heart” since 1933 and “despite the repeated, flagrant violations of human rights and human decency [...] the General could see no reason why an ill word should be uttered of Hitler Germany.”⁴⁴³ Continuing, the editor of the *Exponent* asserted that “Hitler

⁴³⁶ Ibid.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Ibid.

⁴³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁰ “GENERAL SHERRILL SPOKESMAN FOR FASCISM IN AMERICA,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), December 6, 1935, 894392377, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990); “AMERICA’S PART IN OLYMPICS TO BE DECIDED TODAY,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), December 6, 1935, 894391675, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁴⁴¹ “GENERAL SHERRILL SPOKESMAN FOR FASCISM IN AMERICA.”

⁴⁴² Ibid.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

became one of his [Sherrill's] idols, and for a number of weeks he [Sherrill] has kept rather busy singing his praises."⁴⁴⁴ The editorial continued in this manner, citing instances of Sherrill's speeches praising fascism across the country and even advocating for fascism to become the form of government in America.⁴⁴⁵ The editorial concluded that people who agreed with Sherrill were "no friends of the American people."⁴⁴⁶

The second editorial of the day on the Olympics by *The Jewish Exponent* was titled "America's Part in Olympics to be Decided Today," and like the editorial from *The American Israelite* the day before, summed up the reasons why America should not participate in the Games, namely due to the fact that the Olympics "will be utilized for the purpose of an out-and-out anti-Jewish demonstration."⁴⁴⁷ As a result, the paper hoped that the AAU would take into account the voices from all aspects of society who protested participation and vote against it.⁴⁴⁸ Again as the editor of the *Exponent* had done before, in the last editorial before the meeting, called on the AAU to heed public opinion on the matter, showing consistency in the paper's approach up until the very end.⁴⁴⁹

The *Jewish Advocate* also published an editorial on the Olympics, though of a different nature than the other two papers.⁴⁵⁰ This article was similar to editorials published throughout the year: It did not sum up the arguments and hoped for the best.⁴⁵¹ The editorial praised Ernest Lee Jahncke, an American member of the IOC who was of German descent, for his statement that

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ "AMERICA'S PART IN OLYMPICS TO BE DECIDED TODAY."

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ "A German Speaks," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), December 6, 1935, 885146644, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

America should not participate in the Olympics in Germany.⁴⁵² This was due to the fact that Jahncke had no faith in the German promise not to discriminate against Jewish athletes.⁴⁵³ Jahncke's statement declared that Nazism was in direct opposition to the principles of the Olympic movement: "The Olympic Code which recognises [sic] in the realm of sports the absolute equality of all races and of all faiths is the direct antithesis of Nazi ideology which has its cornerstones in the dogma of racial inequality."⁴⁵⁴ The *Advocate* decided that Jahncke's statement "should be framed in gold and hung in the offices of every Olympic Committee throughout the world."⁴⁵⁵

Between December 6th and December 8th, the Amateur Athletic Union held its annual meeting in New York at the Hotel Commodore.⁴⁵⁶ From the beginning, Brundage maneuvered around between the delegates and the sporting organizations trying to turn votes his way.⁴⁵⁷ Throughout the first day, Brundage and Mahoney engaged in a parliamentary battle of words and trickery, each invoking different tactics to outwit the other.⁴⁵⁸ Each AAU district was given three votes, and each sporting organization that was associated with the AAU (like the YMCA) was given one vote.⁴⁵⁹ Seeing that Mahoney had the support of most of the AAU districts, Brundage sought the votes of the sporting organizations to help him win the vote.⁴⁶⁰ This strategy paid off, and on the second day of the convention, after five hours of debate, the resolution against participation was rejected by a margin of 2.5 votes.⁴⁶¹ The AAU districts voted in favor of a

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 52.

⁴⁵⁵ "A German Speaks."

⁴⁵⁶ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 56.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., 57.

⁴⁵⁸ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 62.

⁴⁵⁹ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 57.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid.; Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 62.

boycott, by a vote of 54.5 to 41.5, while the athletic associations voted against the boycott by a vote of 15 to 1.⁴⁶² The three decisive votes were cast by a member of the German Athletic Union, an anti-Semite, and a member of the National Cycling Association. As a result of this defeat, Mahoney resigned the presidency of the AAU.⁴⁶³ As a result of his victory, Brundage was then elected president of the AAU, and in the next week, received a letter from Count Baillet-Latour, head of the IOC:

I congratulate you very sincerely on the issue of your struggle with the Mahoney group. You have fought [sic] like a lion and deserve great praise for your achievement. I realise [sic] that you have not reached yet the end of your troubles. The money is still to be found. But you have saved the principle and succeeded in having the sporting spirit defeating the politic [sic] aims of our enemies.”⁴⁶⁴

Brundage’s victory resulted in great professional gains for him, notably the presidency of the AAU and high praise from the head of the IOC. Eventually, this victory helped promote Brundage to membership in IOC, where he later served as president for twenty years.⁴⁶⁵ However, Baillet-Latour’s letter mentioned the next target of some in the boycott movement, the funding to send the team to Germany.

On December 10th, the *Jewish Advocate* became the first paper to respond to the decision of the AAU to certify athletes for participation in the 1936 Olympics.⁴⁶⁶ In an editorial titled “What It Means”, the editor attempted to turn the defeat of the boycott movement into somewhat of a victory.⁴⁶⁷ Rather than curse the AAU or Avery Brundage for the failure of the boycott movement, the editor looked for the positive factors in the decision.⁴⁶⁸ The *Advocate* shed light

⁴⁶² *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*, 57.

⁴⁶³ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 62.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 62–63.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 313–317.

⁴⁶⁶ “What It Means,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), December 10, 1935, 886969619, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

on fact that the AAU acknowledged in their resolution that there was still discrimination in Germany that violated the Olympic principles, something that the editorial described as a “slap in the face at the Nazi government.”⁴⁶⁹ The paper also took solace in the AAU’s definitive statement which rejected any endorsement of any of the principles of Nazism.⁴⁷⁰ The editorial concluded with the sentiment that the *Advocate*’s editorial board was not “disheartened at the A. A. U. decision,” and that “Adolf may have chuckled with glee when he read of the decision, but his face probably dropped when he discovered the jokers in the resolution. American athletes will be present in Berlin, but in spite of Hitler.”⁴⁷¹ With this statement to conclude the editorial, the *Jewish Advocate* was making it readily apparent that American participation did not mean defeat in the fight against Nazism. Rather, the participation and the verdict of the AAU could be used in the fight for human rights everywhere. In this way, the *Advocate* was assuring its readers that this defeat, while seemingly earth-shattering, was in fact not much of a loss at all.

Similarly, *The American Israelite*, published an editorial titled “Too Close for Nazi Comfort” on December 12th that also attempted to make the AAU decision to certify athletes for the 1936 Olympic Games look like a victory.⁴⁷² The editorial began with this sentiment of a moral victory: “Think of it: A nation with who [sic] we are not at war with barely escapes repudiation.”⁴⁷³ The editorial continued with a list of reasons not to blame voting members of the AAU for their votes because some were fighting for jobs with the Olympic team, and there were other rivalries at stake.⁴⁷⁴ The paper echoed its earlier sentiment near the end of this list that “the

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁷¹ Ibid.

⁴⁷² “TOO CLOSE FOR NAZI COMFORT,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), December 12, 1935, 1009458497, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid.

vote shows clearly that Germany's moral credit is at a serious 'low' in the United States."⁴⁷⁵

Finally, credit was given to Jeremiah Mahoney, who "has won a great moral victory and all lovers of fair play are deeply grateful to him."⁴⁷⁶ With this editorial, the *Israelite* attempted to do the same thing as the *Advocate*, appease its readers with the thought of a moral victory and assure them that all was not lost.

The Jewish Exponent followed on December 13th in a similar vein as the other two papers. However it did concede that the pro-participation side had in fact won the battle.⁴⁷⁷ Like the other papers, the editor of the *Exponent* made it very clear that the "attitude as expressed in the discussions [of the AAU], were much more significant than the technical decision" that would send Americans to compete in Berlin.⁴⁷⁸ The editor of the *Exponent* also stressed the fact that "speaker after speaker made it clear beyond any doubt that he abhors the policies and tactics of the present moral regime."⁴⁷⁹ The loss was blamed on a technicality, the fact that the amateur sport organizations showed up in full force to vote for participation, "of [which] these Hitler apologists took full advantage," but even so "the victory, dubious in its value, was by a narrow margin."⁴⁸⁰ Unlike the other papers, the *Exponent* focused on Mahoney's comments that "the fight is not yet over," and as a result, ended up taking a more aggressive stance in relation to the loss of the vote.⁴⁸¹ Although the *Exponent* still assured readers that the loss was not as devastating as it appeared and acknowledged that it had lost this battle, the war was far from over. This was *The Jewish Exponent's* last editorial of 1935 on the subject of the Olympics.

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ "1936 OLYMPICS--A DOUBTFUL TRIUMPH," *The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990)*, December 13, 1935, 900011984, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

On December 19th, *The American Israelite* praised Colonel “Bob” Newhall for repeatedly criticizing American participation in the 1936 Olympics.⁴⁸² While this editorial was short, it raised the fact that the *Israelite* declared the matter of participation to be “still very pertinent.”⁴⁸³ As will be seen in 1936, *The American Israelite* had not given up on the cause of the boycott.

The last editorial published by any Jewish paper on the subject of the Olympics in the year 1935 appeared in the *Jewish Advocate* on December 20th, 1935.⁴⁸⁴ Titled “Missing,” the *Advocate* criticized the Maccabee Sports Organization, a Jewish group, for failing to speak up at all regarding the 1936 Olympics.⁴⁸⁵ Based on that, and other factors, the *Advocate* questioned whether the group was still functioning.⁴⁸⁶ Again, as seen with the *Israelite*, the *Advocate* had returned to criticism, making it appear that the fight was not in fact over and more work would need to be done in 1935 to prevent American participation. At the end of 1935, all three papers still held out the hope that the Games would not be held in Germany.

⁴⁸² “TO ‘BOB’ NEWHALL,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), December 19, 1935, 1009459009, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁴⁸³ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁴ “Missing,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), December 20, 1935, 884193627, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid.

Chapter 5: 1936- Fallout From the Debate and the 1936 Olympic Games

The American Israelite returned on January 9th with its usual bite regarding Avery Brundage in a quip below one of its other editorials: “Fuehrer Avery Brundage [...] has demanded the resignation of those members of the committee who oppose American participation in the Germany Olympics. He may have seen no signs of persecution during his stay in Germany but he apparently knows something of the technique of Nazi purge methods.”⁴⁸⁷ From the start of the year, the *Israelite* showed that it was clearly unhappy with the results of the vote to participate in the Berlin Games from the previous month.⁴⁸⁸ The initial attack was directed at Avery Brundage because the editors blamed him for the fact that Americans were now going to participate in the 1936 Games.⁴⁸⁹ Calling Brundage the “Fuehrer” and commenting on his call for dismissal of certain committee members shows the *Israelite*’s clear disdain for Brundage and their opinion of him as nothing more than a complete hypocrite.⁴⁹⁰

The next editorial in these papers about the Games was not published for nearly a month.⁴⁹¹ On February 4th, the *Jewish Advocate* ran an article which focused on the Nazi government’s order to remove all anti-Jewish signs that were on display in Munich, site of the Winter Olympics.⁴⁹² This directive was issued to give the general appearance to the outside world that news of discrimination in Germany had been greatly exaggerated by the world press, directing the *Advocate* to announce that “the order has created little surprise abroad, for it has

⁴⁸⁷ “LORD READING,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), January 9, 1936, 1009461303, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ “Evidence Removed,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), February 4, 1936, 881200973, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁴⁹² Ibid.

long been expected.”⁴⁹³ The *Advocate* was also completely aware of the fact that this was a temporary measure by Germany, and not a complete reversal in policy.⁴⁹⁴ As a result of Germany’s desire to hide the true nature of its anti-Jewish policies from the outside world, the *Advocate* stated that they “do not expect any violence during the coming season” and that “Jewish visitors to Germany, and Jewish athletes on visiting teams [...] will be treated with consummate tact and diplomacy. Nazi officialdom is far too wise to let the cat out of the bag with an audience around.”⁴⁹⁵ The paper concluded that it was “tempted to wish for an anti-Semitic outbreak” during the Olympics so that the world would see Germany’s true nature, but dismissed that thought as “sacrilegious.”⁴⁹⁶ The *Advocate*, through this editorial, acknowledged that Germany would be able to pass off to the world a vastly different picture from the reality, and that the world was helpless to do anything about it.

February 1936: Winter Olympics at Garmisch-Partenkirchen

The 1936 Winter Olympics, held in the German village of Garmisch-Partenkirchen, began on February 6th and concluded on February 16th. On February 14th, both *The Jewish Exponent* and the *Jewish Advocate* published editorials that remarked on the Winter Olympic events currently being held.⁴⁹⁷ The *Exponent* viewed the “glowing accounts” of the Olympics in newspapers all over the world as no surprise, since Hitler ensured that the reporters were “adequately taken care of.”⁴⁹⁸ Additionally, the paper remarked on how Germany’s directive to remove all of the anti-Jewish signs was giving the appearance to the tourists that all was well in

⁴⁹³ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ “THE COLOSSAL DECEPTION AT GARMISCH-PARTENKIRCHEN,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), February 14, 1936, 894393276, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990); “At the Olympics,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), February 14, 1936, 884185149, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁴⁹⁸ “THE COLOSSAL DECEPTION AT GARMISCH-PARTENKIRCHEN.”

Germany and that the actions of these tourists and writers were “playing into the hands of the Nazi publicity bureau.”⁴⁹⁹ The editor prophesized that this would “prove costly, not alone to the Jewish inhabitants and the other persecuted peoples now within the borders of that ill-fated country [Germany], but to all civilized mankind.”⁵⁰⁰ The *Jewish Advocate* commented on a different aspect of the Olympics, mainly the reactions of the Nazi fans to Rudi Ball, the only Jewish athlete on the German Winter Olympic team.⁵⁰¹ The editorial imagined the Nazi crowd’s reaction to the Jewish hockey player’s performance, saying that “perhaps, Ball’s brilliant play brought a shout to Nazi lips— a shout which was rapidly repressed.”⁵⁰² This editorial echoed a common theme— the hypocrisy of the Nazis in cheering one who was not an Aryan, while discriminating against others.

On February 18th, the *Jewish Advocate* published the last editorial during the Winter Olympics, commenting on Hitler at the closing ceremonies.⁵⁰³ According to the *Advocate*, there was a mob that was caused by thousands of fans simultaneously trying to get closer to or move away from Hitler during his speech.⁵⁰⁴ The *Advocate* remarked that like any mob, it may one day turn on Hitler, but that was unlikely to happen.⁵⁰⁵ No other commentary was made about the Olympics; the editorial only focused on Hitler.

The next editorial was published on February 28th, again by the *Jewish Advocate*.⁵⁰⁶ The editorial focused on the speech of Dr. Henry Leiper, a Christian leader who had spent eight years

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ “A LESSON FOR THE NAZIS,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), August 14, 1936, 900048781, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁵⁰² “At the Olympics,” February 14, 1936.

⁵⁰³ “Still a Wolf,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), February 18, 1936, 886341220, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶ “A Parallel,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), February 28, 1936, 886344877, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

in Germany and was well-versed in the current state of affairs.⁵⁰⁷ Leiper attempted to describe the apparent discrepancy between the discrimination widely reported in the press and the accounts of German citizens and visitors who had seen no discrimination whatsoever.⁵⁰⁸ Leiper cited the statistic that over 90,000 people died in the United States from accidents each year, but few ever witnessed these accidents.⁵⁰⁹ If these accidents were not widely reported in newspapers, it would come as a surprise to many to hear that that many people died per year.⁵¹⁰ He argued that this analogy could be applied to Germany, where the acts of discrimination were not published in the press, so unless one happened to be an eye-witness, one might have been unaware of these occurrences.⁵¹¹ The article concluded with yet another criticism of Avery Brundage, who was called naïve for not seeing any signs of persecution and believing those stories were myths.⁵¹² Therefore, the editors urged, Brundage had much to learn from Dr. Leiper.⁵¹³ This criticism of Brundage was consistent with earlier criticism by the *Advocate* and other papers, who put most of the blame for the American participation squarely on Brundage's shoulders.

In its next edition, on March 3rd, the *Jewish Advocate* ran another editorial that echoed the subjects of its April 30, 1935 editorial and Baillet-Latour's letter of December 1935: the lack of funding of the AOC to send the Olympic team to Germany.⁵¹⁴ According to the *Advocate's* editorial board, the American Olympic Committee only had ten percent of the funds needed to

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Ibid.

⁵¹³ Ibid.

⁵¹⁴ "Pegler Speaks," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), March 3, 1936, 898312001, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990); "Editorial Article 1 -- No Title"; Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 62-63.

send the American team to Berlin in the summer.⁵¹⁵ The paper mentioned a number of sports organizations such as Princeton University who had refused to donate funds and felt “sorry for the hundreds of athletes throughout the country who are being promised trips to Germany, which will never materialize. [...] Nothing less than a miracle will put a complete American team in Berlin this summer.”⁵¹⁶ It was clear in March, that the *Advocate* believed that due to a lack of funds there was no possibility that the American teams would be travelling to Berlin. According to the *Advocate* this lack of funding was because of the overwhelming public opinion against American participation, a consistent theme in the paper throughout the past two years.⁵¹⁷

On March 12th, *The American Israelite* published an editorial that also addressed the lack of funding by the American Olympic Committee. However, like most editorials in this paper, it was more critical in tone than the other papers, and all of the criticism was directed at Avery Brundage.⁵¹⁸ The editorial, titled “One White Man’s Burden,” referring to Brundage, was clear its message from the start, offering fake pity for Brundage: “A tear for Avery Brundage.”⁵¹⁹ This tone of sarcastic pity was directed at the lack of funding by the AOC, something that Brundage was reportedly trying to secure from the Government and which the *Israelite* opposed: “The height of brass-bound nerve is to be found in the Brundage hope that the United States Government may allot funds for this purpose.”⁵²⁰ This article shows that the *Israelite* still believed that the fight over the Olympics was not over and that the continued battle in the public sphere would result in a lack of funding for the American team. This would achieve the same end

⁵¹⁵ “Pegler Speaks.”

⁵¹⁶ Ibid.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ “ONE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), March 12, 1936, 1009462786, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

result as the boycott: there would be no Americans competing in Berlin. The *Israelite* still had its sights set on Brundage, whom the editors blamed for all that had gone wrong.

On March 19th, *The American Israelite* returned with an editorial praising Westbrook Pegler, a columnist from the Scripps-Howard newspapers, for his stories from the Winter Olympics that accurately depicted the situation in Nazi Germany.⁵²¹ One of the reasons that the *Israelite* was so fond of Pegler was because “Pegler did not mince words in his dispatches,” highlighting the apparent similarities between Pegler’s articles and the *Israelite*’s editorials.⁵²² Pegler went so far as to “call Hitler a baby-killer,” referencing Hitler’s treatment of Jewish youth, since the anti-Semitic laws were depriving them of a future.⁵²³ The paper suggested that Pegler be sent to tell everyone who did not believe in what was happening in Germany the truth about the harsh realities.⁵²⁴ Again, the *Israelite*’s editor used pointed language in order to get its points across, namely by charging the people who said that discrimination in Germany was exaggerated with being utterly mistaken.

On April 3rd, *The Jewish Exponent* praised Martha Graham, a preeminent American modern dancer, for refusing to participate in a festival tied to the Olympics in protest against the fact that many other artists had lost their creative freedom in Nazi Germany.⁵²⁵ This was similar to the October 1935 article by *The American Israelite* which praised mural painters for doing the exact same thing in pulling out of a German festival tied to the Olympics.⁵²⁶ The *Exponent* was

⁵²¹ “WORSE THAN A BABY-KILLER,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), March 19, 1936, 1009444069, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁵²² Ibid.

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁵²⁴ Ibid.

⁵²⁵ “WELL SAID, MISS GRAHAM!,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), April 3, 1936, 893528075, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁵²⁶ “Culture Taboo.”

eager to single out anyone who was willing to stand up for human rights in Germany, and this was the latest example of an editorial praising one of those figures.

On April 10th, the *Jewish Advocate* published an editorial titled “Out of Step,” which focused on one Jewish-American’s desire to compete on the American Olympic basketball team.⁵²⁷ This Olympian said that he was going to take part in the Games in order “to show the Nazis that a Jew has as much right to be an athlete as anybody else.”⁵²⁸ This decision was frowned upon by the *Jewish Advocate*, for “he is defeating his own end by flying in the face of the decision made by national Jewish leaders” not to participate in the Berlin Games.⁵²⁹ The paper went even further, saying that this was “decidedly in bad taste” and that the athlete was “displaying impetuosity which [...] is called a foul by all the world.”⁵³⁰ The editor’s animosity towards the decision of this athlete goes back to the consistent argument of public opinion, where the papers called on all people to stand together as a united front against Nazism. The *Advocate* believed that if one athlete decided to break from the ranks, no matter how noble the apparent reason, it would undermine the goal of the Jewish community. Although not considered as great a betrayal as Helene Mayer’s participation, the *Advocate* still viewed as this athlete’s attitude as an affront to the Jewish cause. Therefore, they responded in kind with criticism.

On April 23rd, *The American Israelite* published an editorial which focused on anti-Semitic and racist comments made by Bruno Malitz, a Nazi spokesman.⁵³¹ In a book that was subsequently declared a “must read” by Joseph Goebbels, the German Minister of Enlightenment and Propaganda, Malitz wrote that “Frenchmen, Polaks, and ‘Jew Niggers’” should not be able

⁵²⁷ “Out of Step,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), April 10, 1936, 886939501, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ Ibid.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ “WELCOME, STRANGER,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), April 23, 1936, 1009445219, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

to compete alongside Germans or travel in Germany.⁵³² The editor of the *Israelite* saw no reason why the black American athletes should participate in the Olympics in the face of these racist remarks: “Just how definitely must a man be insulted by a ‘host’ before he decides to decline an invitation [...] in the face of such a slur?”⁵³³ This strong opinion should come as no surprise, since the *Israelite* had been consistently advocating for equal treatment for everyone. *The American Israelite* was a Jewish paper, and as such, its primary focus was on the treatment of Jews. Yet, in the face of discrimination against another group, the *Israelite* responded in kind. The editorial concluded with a statement on whether the “German Olympics matter” was a closed subject, to which the paper responded that “we [*The American Israelite*] have the idea—which seems to be quaint in some quarters—that the issue of justice and sportsmanship is never a closed matter and that those today who are careless about these principles just because they themselves aren’t hit may view the matter in another light tomorrow if their own rights should fall into peril.”⁵³⁴ The editor went even further, saying that anyone who did “business with avowed foes of God and truth and humanity [...] is appalling to us.”⁵³⁵ These strong statements on behalf of equality and human rights define the editorial board of *The American Israelite* not only with regard to the Olympics but all matters where human rights were in jeopardy.

On May 5th, *The Jewish Advocate* published an editorial focusing on the attempts made by the American Olympic Committee to procure public funds to send the American team to Berlin.⁵³⁶ The *Advocate* thanked the “watchful citizens” who spotted the bill and protested it at the hearings, leading to its failure.⁵³⁷ As a result of this, the *Advocate* advised that citizens “must

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ Ibid.

⁵³⁴ Ibid.

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ “Not One Cent!,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), May 5, 1936, 889018207, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

constantly be on the watch for these things.”⁵³⁸ This article highlighted two recurring themes: the power of public opinion and the issue of fundraising to send the athletes to the Games. While the editor did not directly criticize proponents of participation, he did advocate that the public speak out to prevent the Olympic team from getting funds.

On May 7th, *The American Israelite* inserted a quip under an editorial remarking on how the AOC had only raised ten percent of the funding necessary to send the American team to Berlin: “Only one-tenth of the \$300,000 needed to finance the American Olympic athletes’ voyage to Berlin has been contributed and we do hope that Messrs. Avery Brundage and Charles H. Sherrill will understand that there’s nothing personal about it.”⁵³⁹ It had already reported news of the lack of funding in early March, but this remark allowed the *Israelite* to keep trying to convince its readers into believing that there was still a fight to be had against the American Olympic Committee.⁵⁴⁰ This was especially evident with the sarcasm aimed directly at Brundage and Sherrill, the two figures that *Israelite* had labeled as the chief villains for the past two years.⁵⁴¹ This rhetorical tactic was designed to rile up public opinion to fight the AOC in any way possible.

The next editorial on the subject appeared in *The Jewish Exponent* six weeks later on June 19th, 1936.⁵⁴² It did not focus on the Olympics itself but rather on the outpouring of anti-Nazi organizations in Germany.⁵⁴³ This was “due to the respectable front that the Third Reich leaders wish to present to the visitors of the Olympic Games.”⁵⁴⁴ This was the only mention of

⁵³⁸ Ibid.

⁵³⁹ “A PLAY-DAY IN CINCINNATI,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), May 7, 1936, 1009445554, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁵⁴⁰ “ONE WHITE MAN’S BURDEN”; “A PLAY-DAY IN CINCINNATI.”

⁵⁴¹ “A PLAY-DAY IN CINCINNATI.”

⁵⁴² “VENGEANCE PLANNED FOR NAZI LEADERS,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), June 19, 1936, 900048518, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁵⁴³ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

the Olympics in this editorial. However it did touch upon the usual theme of the hypocritical Nazis who were attempting to hide the true nature of the discrimination against the Jews from the world.⁵⁴⁵

July 1936: Final Thoughts Before the Olympics

On July 2nd, one month before the scheduled August 1st start of the Summer Olympics, *The American Israelite* published an editorial with a complete change in both message and tone, as evident from the opening sentence: “The Olympic Games in Berlin will be a huge success if the American Olympic Committee can manage it.”⁵⁴⁶ That success would be a result of the fact that “The Stars and Stripes will be carried into the Berlin arena by no fewer than 395 athletes, an all-time high for American participation.”⁵⁴⁷ The editorial then talked of the strained relations between the French and German governments and how that might lead to the French not participating in the Games.⁵⁴⁸ The editorial concluded with the editor of the *Israelite* applauding everyone in the anti-Olympic movement: “The anti-Olympic forces in this country have put up a courageous fight. That American participation has reached such record proportions is not their fault.”⁵⁴⁹ This statement was conciliatory in nature, implying that the war was now over—American participation was inevitable. This explained the dramatic reversal of the *Israelite* from vehemently denouncing the American Olympic Committee to hoping for a success for all American athletes. This was *The American Israelite*’s last published editorial before the 1936 Summer Olympics.

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁶ “OLYMPIC RECORD,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), July 2, 1936, 1011700503, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid.

The next day, on July 3rd, *The Jewish Exponent* published an editorial that was similar in style to its previous editorials, implying that the fight was still well and alive, unlike *The American Israelite*.⁵⁵⁰ With two weeks left to secure funding to get the American team to Berlin on time, the Associated Press reported that the American Olympic Committee was still \$150,000 short: only fifty percent of the funds had been raised.⁵⁵¹ With the sarcastic editorial title of “Pity the Poor Olympics,” it was clear that the *Exponent* was rejoicing in this monetary shortage. This gloating was even more apparent in the last sentence of the editorial: “If the latter [shortage of \$150,000] is the case, it is extremely gratifying.”⁵⁵² According to the *Exponent*, this shortage have been due to the fact that the public was better informed about the true status of Jews in Germany after the Winter Olympics.⁵⁵³ Clearly, with this editorial, the *Exponent* was suggesting that the fight was not over and that public opinion had been leveraged to prevent the AOC from receiving the necessary funding to send the Olympic team to Berlin.

On July 17th, the *Jewish Advocate* published an editorial that, like the editorial from *The American Israelite* two weeks previously, came to terms with the imminent reality of American participation in the Berlin Games in less than two weeks.⁵⁵⁴ The editorial, appropriately titled “Facing Facts,” constructed its main argument around the complaints of a reader who criticized the paper for publishing an article stating that many Jewish-Americans had made the American Olympic team and were going to participate in Berlin.⁵⁵⁵ According to the concerned reader, the act of printing that article gave “the impression that the Jews have been defeated on this issue

⁵⁵⁰ “PITY THE POOR OLYMPICS,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), July 3, 1936, 900042701, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁵⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵⁵² Ibid.

⁵⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁴ “Facing Facts,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), July 17, 1936, 886979999, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990); “OLYMPIC RECORD.”

⁵⁵⁵ “Facing Facts.”

which they have fought so bitterly.”⁵⁵⁶ The *Advocate*’s editors defended themselves by saying that a large campaign against participation had been mounted by the paper and others, and that “the great tide of public opinion was overwhelmingly on this side of withdrawal [against participation].”⁵⁵⁷ This was another instance of the *Advocate* using the argument of public opinion to make the point against participation, admitting that they had been using this tactic to convince readers to oppose American participation. However, due to a technicality,⁵⁵⁸ the *Advocate* argued, sporting organizations voted for American participation.⁵⁵⁹ The *Advocate* then accurately summarized how “opponents of the Nazis then concentrated their attention on hitting contributions to the Olympic fund and have succeeded in so curtailing the funds that a smaller team than usual will leave,” citing the efforts of the boycott movement but admitting the apparent futility of their actions.⁵⁶⁰ Since American athletes had been allowed to try out, many Jews did, and successfully made the team.⁵⁶¹ As a result, according to the *Advocate* “there is no use hiding our heads in the sand [...] and insisting on American non-participation. The truth must be faced even if it is unpleasant. If it makes Jews feel bad to know that American Jews are going to Berlin as guests of the Nazis it is just too bad, but that is no reason why we should deny the facts.”⁵⁶² The *Advocate* went even further, stating that the Jews who wanted to hide the unfortunate facts “minimize anti-Semitism in this country and tell us not to be too jittery.”⁵⁶³ In response, the *Advocate* declared that “facts must be faced boldly, and the sooner the Jew learns

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ This “technicality” was the fact that the amateur sport organizations showed up to vote at the AAU convention in larger force than usual against the boycott movement.

⁵⁵⁹ “Facing Facts.”

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid.

⁵⁶² Ibid.

⁵⁶³ Ibid.

to face facts [...] the sooner will he learn to overcome evils and master his difficulties.” To conclude, in somewhat of a manifesto or creed, the editorial stated the following:

The Jewish Advocate takes pleasure in printing news of Jewish honors, achievements, and progress. Regretfully, but with determination to present the uncolored truth, it also presents news that is not quite so cheerful, even depressing, perhaps. Problems can not [sic] be solved if they are avoided; fear will never conquer difficulty; dislike of a bitter truth will not alter one jot of it.⁵⁶⁴

This editorial accurately summed the *Jewish Advocate*’s editorial response to the American participation: The paper was not happy about it, but it could not deny the facts. Therefore the participation must be accepted in order to further advance the Jewish cause. Living in denial, the editorial argued, did no good for anyone, and at this point in the year, with only two weeks until the opening ceremonies, it was best for the *Advocate* to embrace the painful reality that the fight was over and that Americans would be participating in the Berlin Games, much to the chagrin of the editors. This editorial also allowed the reader to see into the mindset of the *Advocate*’s editorial board throughout this entire battle. It reiterated the talking point used in prior years about “overwhelming public opinion,” and reviewed all of the different arguments that had been made over the last few years. However, in the end, the cause was lost, and the *Advocate*, in accordance with its pledge to print Jewish news, did so, whether it liked it or not. As a result of this editorial, *The Jewish Exponent* was the only one of these three newspapers to continue the fight in the editorial pages.

On July 24th, *The Jewish Exponent* printed an editorial that scathingly criticized the Nazis and highlighted their hypocrisy.⁵⁶⁵ Titled “Laugh Fritz, Laugh!,” the editorial describes the supposed order issued by Hitler “to all the inhabitants of Berlin to put on their best smiles and to

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁵ “LAUGH FRITZ, LAUGH,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), July 24, 1936, 900048147, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

laugh, even if it hurts, until the Olympics are over.”⁵⁶⁶ This would confirm the editorial arguments of the *Exponent*, who had for years argued that the Nazis were hiding the truth from the outside world, and that Germany would put on a disguise for the Olympics.⁵⁶⁷ The paper did add that “this will be no easy task for an agonized people writhing in the throes of Nazi barbarism,” highlighting the *Exponent*’s opinion of the Nazis.⁵⁶⁸ This article served to show that the *Exponent* was continuing to criticize the Nazis for the things that the *Exponent* predicted would happen all along. The *Exponent* was the only paper which continued the battle until the very end.

This continued battle was seen in another editorial in the *Exponent*, titled “The Olympic Shame.”⁵⁶⁹ The primary focus of this editorial, as evidenced in the title, was how the Nazis were going to ruin the Olympic movement with their ideology trampling over every aspect of the Games.⁵⁷⁰ The editor of the *Exponent* clearly believed that it felt the Winter Olympics “was exploited to the utmost by the Nazi propaganda machine [and] that bigotry and race played an important part [in the Olympics].”⁵⁷¹ Based on this, the *Exponent* was convinced “that these tactics will be repeated in an intensified and more elaborate form” and that “Nazi Germany is making no secret of it.”⁵⁷² These arguments were consistent with arguments that had been made by the *Exponent* and the other Jewish papers over the previous three years, so it came as no surprise that in the week before the Olympics the *Exponent* would reiterate these points to prove that the side it had chosen in the debate was the correct one, and it would be able to say “I told

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁹ “THE OLYMPIC SHAME,” *The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990)*, July 24, 1936, 900044624, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² Ibid.

you so” after their fears were confirmed.⁵⁷³ The editorial concluded with a reflection on the last few years and the boycott movement.⁵⁷⁴ However, these differed from the reflections of the *Israelite* and the *Advocate* published in the previous weeks.⁵⁷⁵ The *Exponent* was disappointed that, despite the movement for a change in venue, the American Olympic Committee declined to respond as requested.⁵⁷⁶ As a result of this perceived failure by the American Olympic Committee, the *Exponent* lamented:

And so, the winter sports took place and the summer sports are about to take place in total defiance of the spirit of the earlier Olympics and contrary to the intent and the motives of those who revived this ancient sports carnival. Just another illustration of an opportunity lost to show Nazi Germany what civilized mankind thinks of her—an opportunity of which the Nazis are taking full advantage.”⁵⁷⁷

This defeat was tinged with a hint of bitterness at those figures in the sporting world who let this tragedy unfold. Unlike the other two newspapers, the *Exponent* did not in any way attempt to make this situation look like some sort of victory. It completely accepted the fact that the pro-boycott movement had been defeated and that there was nothing favorable in it.

Similarly, on July 31st, *The Jewish Exponent* published another editorial titled “The Olympic Spirit,” which criticized Avery Brundage for his comments that “No nation since ancient Greece has captured the true Olympic spirit as has Germany.”⁵⁷⁸ The editorial summarized Brundage’s role in the decision to participate, arguing that he was an instrumental piece of the puzzle who favored participation.⁵⁷⁹ Those who supported Brundage claimed that “he was not in sympathy with the Nazi government and that he was absolutely in earnest in his

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.; “OLYMPIC RECORD”; “Facing Facts.”

⁵⁷⁶ “THE OLYMPIC SHAME.”

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁸ “THE OLYMPIC SPIRIT,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), July 31, 1936, 901514043, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁵⁷⁹ Ibid.

belief that the Nazis would not inject themselves” into the Olympics.⁵⁸⁰ However, based on the Winter Olympics and events leading up to the Summer Games that would begin the next day, the *Exponent* argued that “there is not the slightest doubt that Nazi Germany has taken every precaution and has taken every preparation with the view of similarly exploiting the summer contests beginning tomorrow.”⁵⁸¹ However, despite this knowledge, Brundage declared that Germany embodied the true Olympic spirit, to the great displeasure of the *Exponent*’s editor, who criticized Brundage for his actions.⁵⁸² According to the editor, Brundage’s long-held claims that Nazi Germany would keep its promise were clearly false, and Brundage’s failure to acknowledge that, or to alter his original stance in any way, therefore deserved this rebuke.⁵⁸³

The editorial focus of this same editorial in the *Exponent* then shifted to the funding for the American Olympic team.⁵⁸⁴ Suddenly, it seemed as if the financial obstacles crumbled, and the team had received enough funding to make the trip to Berlin.⁵⁸⁵ The *Exponent* even suggested that foul play might have been involved and called for an investigation about where the money came from “so that the American public might be fully informed regarding all that has taken place behind the scenes.”⁵⁸⁶ The *Exponent* did not know where the money came from or how this last possible push to fight against participation had been defeated.⁵⁸⁷ Not thinking highly of Brundage or the AOC, the *Exponent* suggested foul play, a likely conclusion for a paper that could not think any less of the sporting world at that time.

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁸¹ Ibid.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid.

On July 31st, the *Jewish Advocate* wrote an editorial titled “Smiles,” which commented on the supposed order from Hitler for all Germans to be on their best behavior and smile for all of the visitors.⁵⁸⁸ Like the editorial in the *Exponent* the prior week, this editorial suggested that this disguise would be uncovered by outside visitors upon closer inspection.⁵⁸⁹ The editorial served to prove what the *Advocate* had been telling its readers all along: that Germany would disguise itself to help show off the appeals of Nazism and its effect in transforming Germany into an Aryan paradise, instead of displaying the true racism beneath.

August 1936: Summer Olympics at Berlin

The 1936 Summer Olympics at Berlin, held from August 1st to August 16th, have been called the “Nazi Olympics” or “Hitler’s Olympics” due to the amount of influence Nazi ideology and policy had on the outcome of the events.⁵⁹⁰ The Olympics were primarily used by the Germans to show off the supposed benefits of Nazi ideology to the world and how happy Germans were as a result, hiding the true nature of the Nazi state.⁵⁹¹ The benefits of Nazi ideology were also seen in the performance of the German athletes, who won the most medals of any nation, supposedly proving Hitler’s theory of Aryan superiority and showing off Nazi strength.⁵⁹² The fact that Adolf Hitler considered the Olympics a success illustrated how thoroughly the Games were used to benefit the Nazi movement.⁵⁹³ According to the work by Duff Hart-Davis titled *Hitler’s Games*, “99 out of 100 people who went to Germany came away

⁵⁸⁸ “Smiles,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), July 31, 1936, 889021434, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.; “LAUGH FRITZ, LAUGH.”

⁵⁹⁰ *The Nazi Olympics : Sport, Politics and Appeasement in the 1930s*; Hart-Davis, *Hitler’s Games : The 1936 Olympics*; Christopher, 1944- Hilton, *Hitler’s Olympics : The 1936 Berlin Olympic Games* (Stroud: Sutton, 2006).

⁵⁹¹ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 296.

⁵⁹² Ibid., 299, 301.

⁵⁹³ Ibid., 300; Hart-Davis, *Hitler’s Games : The 1936 Olympics*, 228.

thinking the Nazi regime could not be as bad as rumor claimed. Both at the level of the ordinary tourist and in the highest diplomatic circles, the regime had scored a triumphant success.”⁵⁹⁴

On August 7th, *The Jewish Exponent* became the first paper to publish an editorial mentioning the Olympics during the Games themselves.⁵⁹⁵ The editorial did not comment on the events of the Games, but instead prophesized that the situation in Germany for Jews would likely worsen after the Olympic charade had ended: “All indications point to a more aggravated situation in Nazi Germany, immediately following the summer Olympics. In Poland and in many of the other East European countries dark clouds are gathering, with little of a hopeful nature in the offing.”⁵⁹⁶

On August 13th, *The American Israelite* published the first direct reaction to the Olympic Games in Berlin in an editorial titled “Mr. Hitler Gets an Error.”⁵⁹⁷ The editorial was referring to the events in which black athletes, such as Jesse Owens, had won Olympic medals, and Hitler had left the Olympic venues before congratulating them on their successes.⁵⁹⁸ The *Israelite* noted that the anti-Olympic movement had “charged repeatedly [in the months prior] that Germany would be—to state it mildly—impolite to ‘non Aryans’ and that the games would be prostituted to the ends of Nazi propaganda.”⁵⁹⁹ By congratulating the black athletes, the *Israelite* argued, Hitler would have had the opportunity to prove all of his critics wrong.⁶⁰⁰ Instead, he did what was predicted and fled from the scene.⁶⁰¹ The *Israelite* used columnist Westbrook Pegler’s words

⁵⁹⁴ Hart-Davis, *Hitler’s Games : The 1936 Olympics*, 228.

⁵⁹⁵ “J. D. C.’S RECORD OF SERVICE,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), August 7, 1936, 900048206, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁷ “MR. HITLER GETS AN ERROR,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), August 13, 1936, 1011668764, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁵⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

(whom the editors had praised in March 1936 for his coverage of the Winter Olympics) to counter the official Nazi excuse for Hitler's behavior—that he had had to hurry out of the stadium to avoid heavy traffic.⁶⁰² Pegler said sardonically, “It has been explained that Caesar [Hitler] had to leave on time in order to avoid traffic congestion, but this is hardly credible, considering that in Germany all traffic stops for Caesar.”⁶⁰³ Finally, the editorial closed with another statement about public opinion: “Germany won the privilege of playing the host to the 1936 Olympics but so far as world-opinion is concerned she would have been far better off without the Games.”⁶⁰⁴ This editorial applied the theme of public opinion more broadly. Since Hitler's slighting of the black athletes, the *Israelite* now believed that the full scale of what was occurring in Germany was clear. The *Israelite* could have chosen to gloat at the fact that its prophecy had been fulfilled, or commented on how the Games had allowed Hitler to display his message around the world. Instead, for now, the *Israelite* chose to close its argument here.

The next day, on August 14th, *The Jewish Exponent* published an editorial also commenting on Hitler ignoring the black medalists in the Olympics.⁶⁰⁵ The *Exponent* quoted *The Philadelphia Inquirer* in its coverage of Owens, which stated that even though Hitler may have ignored these athletes and preached Aryan superiority, he could do nothing to prevent them from winning medals.⁶⁰⁶ The *Exponent* remarked that “it is to be regretted that Owens and the others who together with him have been branded as inferior by the Nazi madmen, had to go to the camp where their people are not wanted, in order to prove their fitness and their equality.”⁶⁰⁷ However, the editor decided, there may have been a silver lining, since the performances of these black

⁶⁰² Ibid.

⁶⁰³ Ibid.; “Pegler Speaks.”

⁶⁰⁴ “MR. HITLER GETS AN ERROR.”

⁶⁰⁵ “A LESSON FOR THE NAZIS.”

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

athletes “may help dispel the fallacious race theories preached by the Hitler cohorts, and bring a measure of light to the misled and deluded Germans.”⁶⁰⁸ With this editorial, the *Exponent* continued its aggressive tone towards the Nazis. Additionally, the *Exponent* remained consistent in its demanding of equal human rights for all. They were attacking the Nazis in print not only to defend Jews but also to defend the black athletes who had been slighted by Hitler. These editorials show clearly that the *Exponent* was arguing for an equal playing field for all athletes, not just Jewish ones.

On the same day, on August 14th, the *Jewish Advocate* published an editorial, titled “At the Olympics,” that reported on how Jews fared in, and were affected by, the Olympics.⁶⁰⁹ From the opening sentence, the tone of the article was grim: “The fate of the Jews in the Olympics is living up to expectations.”⁶¹⁰ The editorial mentioned that two Jewish-American track athletes had made the trip to Berlin but were replaced just before the event.⁶¹¹ Helene Mayer, the German-Jewish Olympic jumper, was upset in her quest to win a gold medal.⁶¹² She had been the subject of much controversy in late 1935 because she had accepted the invitation to participate on the German Olympic team, dashing the hopes of anti-Olympic protestors who had hoped that no Jews would compete on the German team.⁶¹³ And yet, a Jewish Hungarian wrestler won a

⁶⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁹ “At the Olympics,” *Jewish Advocate (1909-1990)*, August 14, 1936, 885130497, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁶¹⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹¹ Ibid. Marty Glickman and Sam Stoeller were the only two Jewish-American athletes on the US track team. They were both selected to compete in the 4 x 100 meter relay. The day before the event, Glickman and Stoeller were replaced by two African-American athletes, Jesse Owens and Ralph Metcalfe, who both had already won medals at the Games and were faster sprinters. This substitution was a surprise to the entire US track team. The reasons for this substitution were due to the fact that Coach Dean Cromwell and Avery Brundage feared that the Germans had two “super sprinters” that were being saved for this event, so the substitution was necessary for the US relay team to win the gold. These German super sprinters did not exist, and the German team came in third place by a considerable margin. Many speculate that the substitution of these Jewish athletes was Brundage’s desire to save Hitler from being embarrassed by having two Jewish athletes on the Olympic podium (Glickman).

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Ibid.; “Helene Mayer.”

gold medal.⁶¹⁴ However, the *Advocate* argued, “the role of the Jew in the 1936 Olympics is important for what he did not do, rather than for his accomplishments.”⁶¹⁵ This was referring to the fact that the few Jewish athletes in Germany did not perform well.⁶¹⁶ If they had, it would have discredited Hitler’s charges of Jewish inferiority.⁶¹⁷ However, this desire for Jewish athletes to perform well contradicts the *Jewish Advocate*’s earlier message from November of 1935 which scathingly criticized Helene Mayer for accepting the invitation to participate on the German team, imploring that Jews should form a united front and not participate in the Games.⁶¹⁸ This idea of all Jewish athletes refusing to participate had come up in the *Advocate* again only four months prior to this editorial, in which the *Advocate* criticized a Jewish-American member of the basketball team for trying out for the American Olympic squad despite some Jewish organizations calling for all Jews to boycott the Games.⁶¹⁹ Although the *Advocate* had partially reversed its position from earlier in July, that did not preclude the fact that the *Advocate* might have been partially responsible for the lackluster turnout of Jewish athletes.⁶²⁰ Had the *Advocate* pushed for the participation of Jewish athletes to stand up to Hitler instead of vehemently criticizing Jewish athletes who cited the desire to “prove Hitler wrong” as their sole reason for participating, there might have been a greater number of Jewish athletes who signed up to participate in the Games instead of the few that had to participate against the wishes of a powerful editorial voice of the Jewish community. However, in this same editorial of August 14th, the *Advocate* told its readers that Jews could take pride in the performance of black athletes,

⁶¹⁴ “At the Olympics,” August 14, 1936.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid.

⁶¹⁶ Ibid.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid.

⁶¹⁸ “Helene Mayer.”

⁶¹⁹ “Out of Step.”

⁶²⁰ “Facing Facts.”

because their accomplishments had turned Hitler's race theories on their head.⁶²¹ The paper did note that, unfortunately, more likely than not, most of the German citizenry would have been unaware of these performances due to the mass censorship in the German press.⁶²² This was yet another example of a Jewish paper standing up for equal treatment for all while continuing to lambast the Nazis, although the motive in this editorial was mainly for the purpose of bashing the Nazis.

Post-Olympic Commentary

Avery Brundage, President of both the American Olympic Committee and Amateur Athletic Union, was largely responsible for the American team's participation in 1936 Berlin Games. Therefore, following the Olympics, editorial responses in these papers tended to focus on Brundage. Because of his actions, and some speculative thinking on their part, the editors took much of their anger out on Brundage by scrutinizing for the remainder of the year everything he had done and said up to that point.

On August 25th, after the conclusion of the Games, the *Jewish Advocate* published an editorial that attacked Brundage and expressed longstanding outrage over the Olympic Games.⁶²³ The editor used this platform to vent all of his frustration over the broken promises and various defeats along the way and directed all of that fury towards Brundage, the person whom the editor viewed as most responsible for the outcome of the Olympics.⁶²⁴ The editorial was framed as a sarcastic letter to Brundage: "How do you do, Mr. Avery Brundage. Welcome back to America. There should be a grand and glorious welcome awaiting you from the citizens of the United

⁶²¹ "At the Olympics," August 14, 1936.

⁶²² Ibid.

⁶²³ "How About It," *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), August 25, 1936, 881202395, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

States, the same citizens to whom you told such lovely fairy tales a few months ago.”⁶²⁵ As suggested here, the *Advocate* felt that for the past three years Brundage had been deliberately lying to the world, and the *Advocate* was now prepared to expose him. To further emphasize its point, the editorial author took the stance of a naïve reader who was completely unaware of what had been taking place over the last few years: “Mr. Brundage, we have been hearing some strange stories about what happened in Berlin [...] and we should appreciate hearing your explanation.”⁶²⁶ This style had the effect of being condescending towards Brundage while asking him to answer a reasonable question: could he explain the discrimination that took place during the 1936 Olympics despite Hitler’s promises to the contrary?⁶²⁷ The editorial then referred to the many previous trips that Brundage had taken to Berlin, whereupon his return Brundage had assured the public that “on the matter of discrimination against the Jews you told us that you had received personal assurance from Mr. Hitler himself to the effect that no such thing existed.”⁶²⁸ However, it was clear to the *Advocate* that discrimination in the Olympics was evident, and therefore, the paper wanted Brundage’s story on the matter.⁶²⁹ The editor cited as evidence of discrimination against other athletes and Germany’s broken promises, a list of events that included: Hitler’s shunning of black athletes; the replacing of two Jewish athletes on the American track team with two African-American athletes at the last minute;⁶³⁰ the numerous copies of anti-Semitic publications that freely circulated in Berlin, such as *Der Stürmer*; and Brundage’s post-Olympic parade around Europe to raise money for the AOC, “profiteering at the expense of young people.”⁶³¹ After citing the evidence, the editor asked Brundage if he had any

⁶²⁵ Ibid.

⁶²⁶ Ibid.

⁶²⁷ Ibid.

⁶²⁸ Ibid.

⁶²⁹ Ibid.

⁶³⁰ See Footnote 611.

⁶³¹ “How About It.”

explanations for these events.⁶³² The editorial concluded with the following statement: “We hesitate to recall some of our comments uttered prior to America’s final decision to participate, but we cannot resist the temptation to say just once: ‘We told you so!’”⁶³³ It was clear that the editor of the *Advocate* felt a moral mandate to cry out against a disgraceful Olympic Games that violated the Olympic spirit, just as the paper had been predicting since 1933. In its fury towards Brundage as the person responsible for America’s participation in the Games, the *Advocate* raised questions about the profiting from amateur athletes that it believed had taken place.⁶³⁴

On August 28th, 1936, *The Jewish Exponent* published two editorials.⁶³⁵ The first charged that since the Olympics had finished, Germany was returning its pre-Olympics policy of discrimination, fear, hatred, and violence.⁶³⁶ The major instance of this “return to ‘normalcy’” was the suicide of Captain Wolfgang Fürstner, commander of the Olympic village, after his dismissal from the army due to his Jewish lineage.⁶³⁷ This suicide was covered up by the Nazi officials to make it look like an accident.⁶³⁸ The *Exponent* then predicted increased discrimination against Jews in the upcoming years, especially the Jews living in Germany: “One rumor has it that all land owned by Jews [...] will be declared forfeit to the state [...]. Another rumor is to the effect that Jews who own more than \$20,000 worth of property will be required to surrender their passports [...].”⁶³⁹ There was no more reflection on the Olympics; this editorial

⁶³² Ibid.

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ Still a very relevant issue in 2014.

⁶³⁵ “GERMANY RETURNING TO ‘NORMALCY,’” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), August 28, 1936, 901526741, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990); “OLYMPICS IN THE BRUNDAGE SPIRIT,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), August 28, 1936, 901526721, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁶³⁶ “GERMANY RETURNING TO ‘NORMALCY.’”

⁶³⁷ Ibid.; “The Nazi Olympics: Berlin 1936 | Continuing Persecution,” accessed March 28, 2014, http://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/olympics/?content=continuing_persecution&lang=en.

⁶³⁸ “GERMANY RETURNING TO ‘NORMALCY,’” “The Nazi Olympics: Berlin 1936 | Continuing Persecution.”

⁶³⁹ “GERMANY RETURNING TO ‘NORMALCY.’”

primarily served to educate its readers on the increasingly terrifying situation for Jews in Germany.

The second editorial published by *The Jewish Exponent* on August 28th was more directly related to the Olympics, titled “Olympics in the Brundage Spirit.”⁶⁴⁰ As stated in the title, it directly and unequivocally criticized Brundage for his actions before the Games.⁶⁴¹ From the beginning, the editor set a grave and pessimistic tone by declaring that “the 1936 Olympics were by and large were not an inspiring occasion” due to numerous factors: foreign writers being pressured by German propagandists, the charade of the Nazi citizenry forced to “keep smiling,” and the “daily reports of incidents and decisions clearly indicative of restraint, repression, irritation, fear, snap judgment—manifestations of unsportsmanlike behavior entirely foreign to the true Olympic spirit.”⁶⁴² The reasons for this, according to the *Exponent*, were simple “The 1936 Olympics were contaminated by unclean hands.”⁶⁴³ This applied to the international as well as to the American aspect.”⁶⁴⁴ And according to the *Exponent*, in the United States, those unclean hands were those of Avery Brundage.⁶⁴⁵ The paper cited several other questionable dealings that Brundage had been involved in, such as his time on the [H. O. Stone] Bondholders’ Committee [in Chicago] where allegedly he had “us[ed] this position [chairman] for the purpose of making fees and profits for himself, his friends and his associates.”⁶⁴⁶ According to the *Exponent*, there was “nothing to be gained by crying over spilt milk,” even though the paper was doing so itself in this editorial.⁶⁴⁷ The shame of this whole situation was not the fact that America had

⁶⁴⁰ “OLYMPICS IN THE BRUNDAGE SPIRIT.”

⁶⁴¹ Ibid.

⁶⁴² Ibid.

⁶⁴³ In Judaism, the cleaning of the hands was necessary in ancient times to attain ritual purity. By having “unclean hands” the *Exponent* was saying that Brundage was contaminated and impure, a very serious charge.

⁶⁴⁴ “OLYMPICS IN THE BRUNDAGE SPIRIT.”

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid.; Guttman, *The Games Must Go on : Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement*, 41.

⁶⁴⁷ “OLYMPICS IN THE BRUNDAGE SPIRIT.”

participated, but the fact that the sporting world “had a splendid opportunity to become an extraordinary force for good” if it had chosen to boycott Germany.⁶⁴⁸ However, the mistakes that haunted the AAU could be remedied by getting rid of Brundage.⁶⁴⁹ The editors put this as a top priority: the “first thing the Amateur Athletic Union can do is to rid itself of the Brundage Spirit which animated and contaminated it in 1936.”⁶⁵⁰ With this statement, the *Exponent* directly blamed Brundage for all that had taken place over the past three years and argued that the negative events of the Olympics were the realization of all of its fears. Rather than complain about what had just happened, the *Exponent* maintained its fighting spirit by calling on the AAU to remove Brundage from his position, something that would hopefully lead to positive change in the sporting world.

There were no editorials about Brundage or the Olympics published in September. The newspapers, by-and-large, were able to voice their displeasure with the Games immediately afterward. Since American participation was a *fait accompli*, there was little left for editors to say following the Games. Criticism only appeared when specific individuals associated with the Games acted in what editors deemed to be immoral or in bad taste. In this context Avery Brundage once again became the target of editorial outrage and anger.

For example, on October 6th, 1936, the German-American Bund, a pro-Nazi organization, held a rally in Madison Square Garden celebrating “German Day.” One of the speakers at this rally was Karl Strölin, a Nazi politician who had assisted in the deportation of over two thousand Jews to Nazi death camps.⁶⁵¹ Another speaker that day was Avery Brundage, who in his remarks

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁵¹ “Trials of German Major War Criminals: Volume 10,” accessed March 29, 2014, <http://www.nizkor.org/hweb/imt/tgmwc/tgmwc-10/tgmwc-10-90-11.shtml>.

declared that “We can learn much from Germany. . . We too must take steps to arrest the decline of patriotism [...] Germany has progressed as a nation out of her discouragement of five years ago into a new spirit of confidence in herself.”⁶⁵² In his notes for the speech, he had written the following: “Hitler [...] a god [...] given back self-respect [...] a man of people.”⁶⁵³ This speech predictably resulted in editorial responses from each of the three papers.

On October 8th, *The American Israelite* became the first paper to respond to Brundage’s speech, but not with a full editorial, only a brief remark below another editorial simply stating that “Avery Brundage has come out for the Nazis. And the Dutch are still for Holland.”⁶⁵⁴ This quip implied that although Brundage’s speech may have seemed like breaking news to others, it was of no surprise to the *Israelite*, which all along had assumed, based on Brundage’s actions, that he had sympathy for the Nazis and admired Hitler.

On October 9th, the *Jewish Advocate* published a “Letter to the Editor” from one of its readers responding to Brundage’s speech, rather than writing its own editorial on the subject.⁶⁵⁵ The letter was from Mark Harris, the Acting Chairman of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.⁶⁵⁶ In this letter, Harris stated that he was not surprised that Brundage had supported Nazism in his speech.⁶⁵⁷ Speaking directly to Brundage, he said: “That you should extol Nazism has become a rather expected fact; but that you should offer it to the people of the United States as an example and a paragon of a worthy governmental form is a demonstration of a crude and

⁶⁵² “BRUNDAGE AT IT AGAIN,” *The Jewish Exponent* (1887-1990), October 9, 1936, 901526547, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Exponent (1887-1990).

⁶⁵³ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 35.

⁶⁵⁴ “PARIS AND LONDON: A LESSON,” *The American Israelite* (1874-2000), October 8, 1936, 1011677325, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000).

⁶⁵⁵ MARK HARRIS, “OPEN LETTER TO AVERY BRUNDAGE,” *Jewish Advocate* (1909-1990), October 9, 1936, 883717752, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.

vulgar arrogance.”⁶⁵⁸ Throughout the letter, Harris criticized Brundage for his many statements that praised Germany, citing various Nazi acts of book burning and discrimination that Brundage apparently supported and wanted brought to America.⁶⁵⁹ This letter to the editor, although not an original creation of the *Jewish Advocate*, presumably expressed the opinions of that paper because Harris’s letter matched the Advocate’s usual hostile rhetoric towards Brundage.

The final editorial response to Brundage’s speech also came on October 9th and was published in *The Jewish Exponent* under the title “Brundage at it Again.”⁶⁶⁰ Like the other two newspapers, the *Exponent* remarked that it was not surprised that Brundage had praised the Nazis: “that Brundage feels that way is not news.”⁶⁶¹ The matter of greater concern to the editorial writers was the fact that twenty-thousand people in New York City had applauded his speech and others like it that praised Nazism.⁶⁶² This editorial, which was much shorter than the previous editorials, also lacked the previous fighting spirit.⁶⁶³ The *Exponent*’s opinion of Brundage, as evidenced in this editorial and others, could not have been any lower. As a result, the editorial lacked its typical vehemence because the editors had been doing that exhaustively for the last three years and no longer thought Brundage was worth the effort. This was the final editorial in *The Jewish Exponent* on any subject relating to the Olympics in the period between 1933 and 1936.

Throughout the rest of October and November there was no mention of the Olympics or Avery Brundage in any editorial context. This was largely due to the fact that the Olympics had concluded, and there were no major events in the sporting world. The next, and final mentions of

⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁰ “BRUNDAGE AT IT AGAIN.”

⁶⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶⁶² Ibid.

⁶⁶³ Ibid.

the Olympics were in December of 1936 in response to the AAU annual convention held in Houston, Texas. Brundage decided not to run again for President of the AAU, since his promotion to the IOC was imminent.⁶⁶⁴ In this convention, Jeremiah T. Mahoney, ousted president of the AAU due to his failure to secure an American boycott, was reelected president of the AAU largely based on the events of the 1936 Olympics.⁶⁶⁵ Mahoney was elected over the other candidate Patrick Walsh, who was a puppet of Brundage.⁶⁶⁶ The vote was 199 3/7 for Mahoney and 127 4/7 for Walsh.⁶⁶⁷ Both *The American Israelite* and the *Jewish Advocate* responded to this election.⁶⁶⁸

On December 10th, *The American Israelite* published the first editorial response, titled “The Olympic Returns Come In And Mr. Brundage Goes Out.”⁶⁶⁹ This editorial remarked that Mahoney “was running on one issue: was he right or wrong in his stand last summer against American participation in the German Olympics.”⁶⁷⁰ Mahoney’s victory was a sign to the *Israelite* that the AAU had acknowledged its mistakes and reversed its course.⁶⁷¹ The rest of the editorial was purely devoted to lambasting Brundage, which among other things, declared that Brundage “is an ambassador without a country. He is a representative without a constituency. He is a ‘lame duck’ who will not admit his wings have been clipped.”⁶⁷² This statement, and others about Brundage, were typical of the *Israelite*’s criticism of a man that they thought was

⁶⁶⁴ Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 62.

⁶⁶⁵ By The Associated Press., “Mahoney Beats Walsh, Brundage Choice, in Bitter Fight for A.A.U. Presidency,” *New York Times (1923-Current File)*, December 7, 1936, 101645299, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times (1851-2009).

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁸ “The Olympic Returns Come In And Mr. Brundage Goes Out,” *The American Israelite (1874-2000)*, December 10, 1936, 1011686405, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The American Israelite (1854-2000); “Triumph,” *Jewish Advocate (1909-1990)*, December 11, 1936, 888854304, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Jewish Advocate (1905-1990).

⁶⁶⁹ “The Olympic Returns Come In And Mr. Brundage Goes Out.”

⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁷¹ Ibid.

⁶⁷² Ibid.

responsible for all that had gone wrong.⁶⁷³ The *Israelite* concluded this editorial with a reflection on its part in the boycott controversy: “*The American Israelite* is proud of whatever share it had in the Olympic controversy.”⁶⁷⁴ The editor went further, reflecting on the entire sequence of events over the past few years:

The implications of Olympic participation were so clear, the truculently Fascist approach of Mr. Brundage and certain of his fellows was so obvious, the broad American appeal for non-participation crystallized such a heartening response from press and public, that we are convinced that the battle was well worth the effort. In retrospect, we regret not a great deal that the Americans actually participated.⁶⁷⁵

These statements show that the *Israelite* was proud of its strong stance against American participation, and though it lost, the outcome was tempered by the fact that the sporting world had righted its wrongs: “The A.A.U. itself now has acted in a way that must gladden the hearts of that great group of Americans who believe that sport is a vain and futile thing when staged in a land that knows not the meaning of sportsmanship.”⁶⁷⁶ Up until the very end, the *Israelite* was consistent in its tone, criticizing all those who opposed the boycott, especially Brundage. Even in this editorial, the *Israelite* still invoked its tried-and-true rhetorical tool, public opinion, in this case to applaud those that fought on their side. However, at the end of the day, as in all of the *Israelite*’s pieces throughout the three year period, the sole issue that mattered was equitable rights for all, something that the *Israelite* fought for until the bitter end. This was the last editorial about the Games in *The American Israelite* over this time period.

On December 11th, 1936, the *Jewish Advocate* published its response to the election of Jeremiah T. Mahoney as president of the AAU, titled “Triumph.”⁶⁷⁷ Like the article in the

⁶⁷³ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁷ “Triumph.”

Israelite, the *Advocate* summarized up the election of Mahoney “a triumph for decency and fair play in American sports.”⁶⁷⁸ The *Advocate* also saw the vote for Mahoney as an affirmation of its stance on the Olympics in 1935 and a condemnation of Brundage: “But in defeat he [Mahoney] was victorious, for his predictions were realized. Avery Brundage, generalissimo of the pro-Olympic forces, not only made a mess of things but returned as a Nazi propagandist.”⁶⁷⁹ The editor pressed his point even further in the next paragraph, saying that “The election of Mahoney is tantamount to a reversal of the A.A.U.’s 1935 decision. It is an admission of error, for many of the district associations that backed Brundage a year ago voted for Mahoney this year.”⁶⁸⁰ As a result, Mahoney’s election was seen as a victory for the paper and a *de facto* condemnation of Brundage, something that the *Advocate* had been hoping for ever since Brundage had outmaneuvered the pro-boycott forces one year previously to get the American team certified by the AAU to participate in the Berlin Games. This was also the last editorial published about the Olympics by the *Advocate* or any of the other papers during this time span.

⁶⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid.

Conclusion

The editorial boards of these three Jewish papers, *The American Israelite*, the *Jewish Advocate*, and *The Jewish Exponent*, all did their absolute best to prevent the 1936 Olympics from taking place in Germany. However, the boycott movement failed, and the 1936 Olympics took place in Germany where Hitler was allowed to broadcast his message of hatred to the world. The three papers began with the same editorial response in 1933: once Avery Brundage had suggested the relocation of the Olympics due to Hitler's treatment of the Jews, all three editors believed that the Olympics would, in fact, be moved as long as Hitler was in power and that Brundage would champion their cause along the way. In 1934, Brundage struck a deal with the heads of the IOC in order to gain a future promotion and began to advocate for American participation in the Berlin Games. This apparent reversal in policy on Brundage's part led to swift condemnation by *The American Israelite*, with the *Advocate* and *Exponent* to follow thereafter.

After Brundage's apparent reversal, all three papers began running articles and editorials about the Olympics at a much greater rate. As before the reversal, the editors mainly responded to events happening in the sporting world, rather than laws passed or actions taken by the Nazis. The papers continued to advocate the ideals of fair play in order to appeal to those who did not think that the political situation in Germany should apply to the Olympics, but they also championed the cause of equality and human rights. These papers did their best to show that the political and sporting worlds were almost one and the same, since Hitler's political agenda would prevent all athletes from competing in an atmosphere of equality and pure sport. The papers tried to expose the duplicity of the Nazis by highlighting their promises and showing clear evidence that they had been broken. The *Israelite* went on the attack against Avery Brundage and General

Charles Sherrill, frequently publishing editorials and remarks directed solely at their actions. The other two papers followed in that manner, but were not nearly as intense in tone and content. Public opinion was also used as a tactic from the end of 1935 on, when the *Israelite* published a poll that supposedly reflected public opinion on the side of the boycott, despite Gallup polling to the contrary.⁶⁸¹ After this poll by the *Israelite*, the other two papers also tried to rally public opinion to their side in order to prevent participation.

However, in December of 1935, when the AAU did decide to certify the American athletes, the tones of the papers began to change. Both the *Advocate* and the *Israelite* began to concede that they had put up a valiant effort but had lost the war, but the *Exponent* would not admit that the fight was over. All three papers remained extremely critical throughout 1936, leading up to the Summer Olympics. But when the Olympics came, only the *Exponent* refused to admit to reality and kept on fighting. Unlike the other two papers, it refused to reassure its readers that there were some victories to be had in the way that events unfolded.

However, even after the events of the Olympics, the editors of all three papers were quick to criticize Brundage whenever possible, because they all considered him to be the villain of this saga. They framed the battle over participation in terms of a debate of fair play versus Avery Brundage. The editorials in all three papers made it clear that something needed to be done about what was happening to Jews in Germany. However, Brundage seemed only to want to further his political career, thereby pitting these two sides against each other. The editors thought that human rights should be championed above all else and fought to the bitter end in order to prevent what they thought was an affront to basic human rights and dignity.

⁶⁸¹ "Daily Editors Stand 4:1 Against German Olympics"; Cantril, *Public Opinion, 1935-1946*;

But was it in fact a reversal on Brundage's part? In his interview with *The New York Times*, Brundage was clear that he was concerned with discrimination against Jewish athletes, especially against American Jewish athletes.⁶⁸² Germany did in fact let Jewish athletes participate in the Olympics, and on Brundage's tour he was apparently given no evidence that the Jews were being discriminated against. However, it is impossible to believe the fact that Brundage truly believed, despite irrefutable evidence to the contrary, that all was fine for Jews in Germany. This suggests that it is much more likely that Brundage's professional ambitions were the primary driver in his advocacy for the Games to be held in Berlin. Brundage, after all, was after professional gain, as seen by the fact that he colluded with members of the IOC to secure a position for himself and changed the tide of the boycott debate with his 1934 report on the situation for Jews in Germany.

If the IOC had not offered Avery Brundage a position, it is hard to imagine that Avery Brundage would have risked his professional career by going against the American sporting world on the issue of the boycott. As evidenced in the 1935 AAU Convention, the overwhelming majority of districts voted against participation. If it were not for Brundage's manipulation of the sporting organizations, the American team would have boycotted the 1936 Olympic Games. Brundage was clearly aware of this resistance to participate in the American sporting world, and for the sake of his career, would have most likely stood by his earlier position from 1933 which advocated for an American boycott in the face of German discrimination. However, Brundage was offered something that he always wanted, a position on the IOC, causing him to reverse his stance on American participation.

⁶⁸² By ARTHUR J. DALEY., "BERLIN FACES LOSS OF OLYMPIC GAMES."

The saga of the Olympic boycott ended tragically for all of those who supported it, including these three papers. The 1936 Olympics were held in Germany, and as many had feared, Hitler used them to show the supposed benefits of Nazism to the world. Hitler used the Olympics to demonstrate Nazi power and the strength of fascist government over democracy. He also wanted the Berlin Games to show that Germany worked together as a nation to put on the largest Olympic Games on record.⁶⁸³ More importantly, the discrimination against the Jews in Germany was hidden to the best of the Nazi government's ability during the Games. This had the impact of making the discrimination that was reported against the Jews seem exaggerated, which only made the likelihood of international uproar against the Nazis on behalf of the Jews even slimmer. Over the next few years, Hitler continued to persecute the Jews, and at the end of 1941, began the systematic mass murder of all of the Jews in Nazi-controlled Europe. At least fifty of the athletes who had participated in the Olympics were killed as a result of Hitler's actions, whether from serving in the armed forces or from being murdered in an extermination camp.⁶⁸⁴

Speculation over what might have happened if the Jewish papers had succeeded in their aim of boycott is not very practical but does prompt some serious thought. One asks: if the international community, especially the United States, had stood up against Nazism and moved the Games away from Germany, would Nazism have suffered a serious blow and rebuke in the international community? This could have possibly led to internal dissent among the German people or increased international sanctions. At the very least, more attention would have been drawn on a global scale to the situation of Jews in Germany, which could have possibly led to some sort of change. Or, little could have happened, since the Germans had already considerably

⁶⁸³ Walters, *Berlin Games : How Hitler Stole the Olympic Dream*, 300.

⁶⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 317, 318.

armed themselves for war, leaving little chance that anything could have been done to stop Hitler militarily without the full participation of Allied forces this early.⁶⁸⁵

The legacy of the Games in the sporting world is significant as well, as there was no clear winner from the Games being held in Germany. Shortly after Brundage fell from power and into public disfavor in 1936, he went on to become a member of the International Olympic Committee soon thereafter in March of 1937.⁶⁸⁶ In 1952, Brundage became the president of the IOC, a position that he held for twenty years, making him the only American to hold this position.⁶⁸⁷ Besides Nazi Germany, Brundage may have gained the most from the Olympics being held in Germany. The 1936 Olympics was a clear example of the use of an Olympic Games for promoting a political agenda, something that would again be exhibited in future Olympic Games, such as the boycotts of the 1980 and 1984 Summer Games by the United States and the Soviet Union due to tensions of the Cold War, and the 2014 Winter Games in Sochi with Russia's anti-gay laws.⁶⁸⁸ The Olympics have also been used by individuals and groups to impose their views, such as in 1968 in Mexico City where Tommie Smith and John Carols gave the "black power" salute on the podium or 1972 in Munich when eleven Jewish athletes were kidnapped and murdered by a Palestinian terrorist group.⁶⁸⁹ The politicization of the 1936 Games set the stage for these future acts of protest, diminishing the Olympic ideal of fair play for all "without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual

⁶⁸⁵ Hart-Davis, *Hitler's Games : The 1936 Olympics*, 227.

⁶⁸⁶ Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 62.

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid., 66.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid., 3, 157; "Vladimir Putin Turned 2014 Sochi Olympics into Another Power Play," *SI.com*, accessed April 3, 2014, <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/more/news/20140401/vladimir-putin-olympics/>.

⁶⁸⁹ Senn, *Power, Politics, and the Olympic Games*, 137, 151–152.

understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play."⁶⁹⁰ The 1936 Olympics were a clear violation of this major principle.

⁶⁹⁰ "Olympic Charter - Official IOC Document Downloads | Olympic.org," accessed March 31, 2014, <http://www.olympic.org/olympic-charter/documents-reports-studies-publications>.

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