

PEACE IN PRACTICE: HELMUT BANTZ AT THE 1948 OLYMPIC GAMES

Robin Streppelhoff

When the ‘Youth of the World’ got together to celebrate the Olympic Games in London in 1948, Germany was not invited to take part. As they did at the beginning of the 1920s, the IOC distanced itself from the nation that had caused another world war. Even though Carl Diem, general secretary of the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, had finally succeeded in the reformation of a National Olympic Committee for Germany,¹ the IOC ‘decided not to decide’ on this matter during its session in Stockholm in 1947, which meant that Germany would not be allowed to come to London.² In doing so, the IOC violated its own credo not to mix sport and politics. However, the gymnastics team of the host nation illustrated the real meaning of international understanding and peace in practice when they included a former prisoner of war (POW) in their side. This POW, Helmut Bantz, was born on 14 September, 1921 in the city of Speyer, and had been one of the finest German gymnasts in the early 1940s and, apparently, he showed up by accident during the National Gymnastics Championships in Leicester a couple of months before at the so called Austerity Games.³ Thus, Bantz became the only German participant in the Olympic Games of London 1948.⁴ Moreover, he became the unofficial coach of the British Gymnastics team and played a major role in making *Turnen* – the German Gymnastics – popular in Britain from the 1950s onwards.

Much to his father’s resentment, Helmut Bantz was more interested in football during his childhood than in the family tradition of *Turnen*. Often he would come home from kindergarden after hours of playing with his wild team ‘Lochacker’ (hole acre). Asking his parents whether they yet had lunch did not amuse them, given that dusk had already fallen.⁵ Finally, his father threw his football boots into the oven when Bantz junior sneaked into the house



Helmut Bantz; Source: *Deutsches Sport & Olympiamuseum*

with yet another pulled muscle. However, little Helmut became fascinated by gymnastics when he attended the German championships in 1935. From this time on, he concentrated on his new passion, leaving his other interests – like handball, track and field and boxing – aside.⁶

Success followed. In 1939 he became Germany’s Youth Champion, and two years later he was nominated

for the full national squad. Facing call-up for the Second World War, he did not celebrate his first national title in Breslau 1942, and only two weeks later, Bantz was marching to fight the Russians. An injury saw him home again after only a couple of months. Having recovered quickly, he took part in the German Championships (*Zwölfkampfmeisterschaft*) in Augsburg and volunteered afterwards for the paratroopers where élite sportsmen where happily welcomed.⁷

Shortly before Germany surrendered, Bantz was captured by British troops near the city of Wesel, which brought him via London to the prisoner of war camp number 80 in Horbling, part of the city of Sleaford in the North Kesteven district of Lincolnshire.⁸

By this time, Britain had already brought tens of thousands of POWs over the channel – in September 1946 numbers peaked at 402,200.⁹ As a consequence, the camps soon ran out of space and improvised sites had to be built. Most camps complied with the Geneva Conventions, and moreover, many offered opportunities to participate in sporting activities. Due to British casualties, POWs had to labour as agricultural workers and made contact with the British people when the law against fraternisation was lifted at the end of 1946.¹⁰ As there had hitherto been little contact between ordinary Germans and English, stereotypes of ‘the Hun’, ‘the Jerry’ or simply ‘the Nazi’ were common. This negative view was countered by campaigns of such influential British figures as the Jewish publisher Victor Gollancz, the philosopher Bertrand Russell and, later, Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s efforts to rehabilitate the Germans. Only weeks before London hosted the Olympic Games, most POWs had been released and 25,000 of them accepted the British government’s offer to work in the country on limited contracts. Ramsden identifies a growing ‘British sympathy for Germans as individuals’¹¹ during this period.

As well as the restoration of cities destroyed by German bombs, Britain needed to borrow enormous sums in order to keep up the military. This led to an economic crises after 1945 which became known as ‘the age of austerity’.¹² As a result, more and more of the British Empire’s colonies gained sovereignty and independence. The former world power seemed to have lost all its strength – as in politics so in the field of sports. Just before the kick-off in the first post-war football league, this development was commented on by the *Daily Herald* asking ‘What’s Wrong with British Sport?’ The paper’s conclusion was short and sweet: ‘Britain keeps her sporting fame/Though she loses every game.’¹³

Sport also played an important role in the context of the re-education of POWs. Most camps had – at least provisional – football pitches, but few offered the possibilities for gymnastics as the material to build the required apparatus was either not available or too expensive.¹⁴ Helmut Bantz had no opportunity in his camp to practise, but was anyway busy working in the fields during the harsh winter of 1947-48. He not only wrote letters to his



Souvenirs given to Bantz by his British friends, among others the pin of the 1948 Olympic Games; Source: photograph by the author



The 1948 British Olympic gymnastics team with Bantz (first from the left); Source: private archive Erika Bantz



Bantz's identification card for the 1948 Olympic Games; Source: photograph by the author



Bantz at the rings; Source: Helmut Bantz: *So weit war mein Weg*



Friends in competition in 1956: Dickhut (right) and Bantz; Source: Helmut Bantz: *So weit war mein Weg*

family during this time, but also to his gymnastic companion Josef Göhler, who had regularly published the so-called 'Turnerbriefe' ('gymnastic letters') since 1946.¹⁵ Göhler reported in his very first issue that Helmut Bantz was in good health, had been kept in British custody and awaited his repatriation.¹⁶ Göhler already announced Bantz' release in September 1947 and stated that he was now on a civilian contract with an English farmer¹⁷, a statement which Bantz rectified the same year.¹⁸ Obviously, the information flow was not all that slow – at least a reaction followed only a couple of weeks after this unvalidated news had been made public.

Bantz had been working on a farm in Sleaford and the local swimming club invited him to take part in water polo, swimming and (springboard) diving where he showed his acrobatic talent, as there was no gymnastic club for which he could have signed up.¹⁹ While Bantz later claimed that he was not released from POW service until autumn 1948, his Identity Card stated 'Registered as release from POW status for temporary work in agricultural employment [...] 1st July 1947'. It is most likely that he had to report from this time on to the farmer who employed him, but no longer to the officers at his camp. However, exactly one year later he had the chance to leave for home with the last batch of prisoners of war who were freed that month,²⁰ but he had already accepted an exceptional offer which urged him to stay.

He had read in a newspaper that there was to be demonstration of the British national gymnastics team in Nottingham. At first, the 30-mile journey seemed to have been in vain as no gymnasts showed up. But, having left his address with the local barkeeper, only a few weeks later Bantz received an invitation to the British gymnastics championships in Leicester.²¹

On 3 April, 1948 Bantz introduced himself at these championships. In very creditable English he talked about former tournaments where he had beaten the German victor of the 1936 Olympic competition, Albert Schwarzmann. To prove his story, he performed his old routine which – in spite of the fact that he had not practiced for some years – went very well. He was even able to perform the Olympic routine set out for the games in London.²² The official coach of the British team, Arthur Whitford, forthwith sent his 'best regards to the new friends' via the 'Turnerbriefe' of Josef Göhler. Moreover, the German gymnasts were informed that 'their Helmut' was most likely to take part in the 1948 Olympics.²³ From this day on 'Henry' attended the gymnastics squad training sessions in London every two weeks. Although Bantz was considered *de facto* head coach, Whitford kept the official title. The newly-established friendship was also extended to the 'voice of German gymnastics', Josef Göhler, who received an official invitation to attend the Olympics.²⁴

Meanwhile, Bantz was even invited to take British citizenship in order to take part in the games as an athlete. He refused this offer, as well as the gymnasts' request

to march with them as a member of the team into the stadium during the opening ceremony.²⁵ Today, athletes are virtually free to trade their nationality, but back then migration of professional sportsmen was uncommon. However proud Bantz was to be a German, he was also proud to be part of the team and kept the uniform and the Union Jack pin all his life.

During the Games, the expertise of the German was also sought by other nations whose competitors quickly recognized him. The Argentinians were so grateful for his advice that they presented him a box of cigars and invited him to a steak dinner. After the years of austerity, it felt like paradise to Bantz, as American, Danish and Irish sportsmen had brought an incredible selection of food with them.²⁶ He was given an identity card for 'a non-immigrant temporary visitor to attend the Games of the XIV Olympiad in the capacity' of an 'official'. Instead of a stamp by the National Olympic Committee he was declared to be a member of the 'Amateur Gymnastic Association'.²⁷ The gymnasts were accommodated in Uxbridge where they discussed their routines on 7 August. In order to illustrate the exercise on the high bar, the judges asked Helmut Bantz for a demonstration.²⁸ The contests were to be staged in the Wembley stadium two days later, but rain made the competition impossible. Thus, the contests were not only delayed but in the end were held in the Empress Hall from 11-13 August. Despite the unexpected counselling, the British ultimately came only 12th of 16 teams. Still, they were some points better than the Egyptians who also had 'signed' a foreign coach (as they had done for the Berlin Games when they hired the German Bruno Johnke from Berlin). The Swiss, Hans Tschudi, had already started to work with this squad in 1947.²⁹ Anyway, the British Gymnastic Association³⁰ (BGA) knew that medals had been out of the question and they were only too happy to have received Bantz' help. This was explicitly stated by a letter by the honorary secretary, E A Simmonds, which read: 'Dear Henry, I am writing to thank you personally for what you have done for our 'boys'. [...] [We] also hope that we shall have the benefit of your advice and assistance in the future. I know my committee will wish me to express their appreciation of your services, but this is my own thanks to you...'³¹ Publicly, the BGA expressed its gratitude through the journal *Health and Strength* in May 1949, publishing an article on Bantz entitled 'Tribute to a Great Gymnast'.³²

Bantz also made a lot of international contacts during those days in London, notably with Italians and Fins. In this regard, he also used his accreditation politically, as he discussed the possibilities for German gymnasts to be admitted to the International Gymnastics Federation (FIG) with the Czech functionary Dr Klinger, who was also chairman of the judges' committee.³³ Moreover, Bantz was allowed as a guest observer to attend the meeting of the FIG that was held in London during the Games.³⁴

Surprisingly, the well-connected German sports leader

and general secretary of the 1936 Olympics, Carl Diem, who had been officially invited to London, did not notice Bantz. Even though Diem knew that Bantz was in British custody, he had obviously not been informed about his fellow countryman's work for the host nation's Olympic gymnastic team.³⁵ Obviously, Diem did not see any of the gymnastic events, as he asked Göhler afterwards about their outcome.³⁶

In addition to his long report from the Games, Bantz also informed his friends in Germany that he might be back home as soon as September.³⁷ Finally, he returned at the beginning of November and immediately focused on his job, which made him turn down an invitation to the national gymnastic championships of his English friends.³⁸ This was his only refusal, and the 'gymnast with the glasses' – as he was called – returned to English soil many times during the following years in order to make his sport more popular. Together with his friend Hardi Frenger, he gave exhibition performances all over Britain. This included a demonstration during half-time of a Newcastle United football match in front of 65,000 spectators, as well as one in the BBC studios in London which was broadcast. They were accompanied by Bantz' wife-to-be, Erika Linnemann, and a mobile horizontal bar consisting of several metal tubes which were nested into one another.³⁹ At this time, the Swedish gymnastic system of Per Henrik Ling was far more popular, but the Germans were asked to write a manual for the use of German gymnastic apparatus.⁴⁰ Initially, Bantz was busy developing a curriculum for a 'Coaching Diploma' together with the Central Council of Physical Recreation, which was soon to yield fruit. In addition to the gymnastic education in Bisham Abbey and Lilleshall, German gymnastics were also introduced in Loughborough. About 90 years after 170 Germans had founded the Gymnastic Society in London,⁴¹ their idea of 'body culture' spread all over the country via school curricula.⁴²

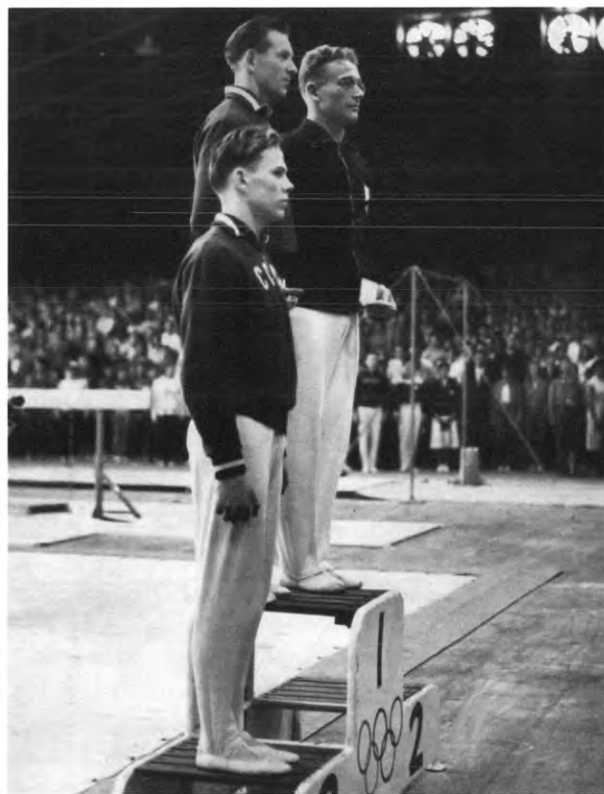
Helmut Bantz became a student at the Sport University Cologne and stayed on as a lecturer in gymnastics until 1984.⁴³ His active career was crowned in 1956 when he won the gold medal in the vault at the Melbourne Olympics.⁴⁴ The 18-times German champion died 3 October, 2004.

The story of Helmut Bantz and the British gymnasts in 1948 is a prime example of the disparity between stereotype and personal acquaintance. Although only a few years had passed since the German bombing of England, this representative of the enemy's nation was warmly welcomed in the ranks of the British Amateur Gymnastic Association. Due to the well-known German tradition of Turnen as well as Bantz' practical and theoretical skills, the gymnasts were willing to accept him as a teacher. It might also have played a role in sustaining the illusion that sport, especially the Olympics, was a politics-free zone. Nonetheless, the gratitude seems to have been limited to the personal level of those who had had contact with Bantz. In this respect, the letter by Simmonds is telling

as he expressed his 'personal' thanks and not those of the National Olympic Committee or any other official institution. Bantz' Olympic passport was also confined to the BGA and not to the NOC of Great Britain. It seems as if his work with the gymnasts was off the record. British officials who did not have a personal relationship with him might not have wanted to go public about including a former enemy in their team. Furthermore, one can assume that officials were afraid of public reaction to the embracing of a stereotypical 'Hun'. While the reasons for not publicising the story of the British having a German coach are speculation, Bantz' assistance as coach, translator, organizer – he had lent a hand to calculate the final scorings – or in his ability to demonstrate the high bar routine was of great value for the technical operation of the contests. This entente on the personal level was very likely easier in a time, before commercialism, when competition rules were less strict. What started with a chance meeting at the championships in Leicester ended with the forging of a strong relationship through which German gymnastics became – at least in some regions – part of English school education. ■

Notes and References

- 1 See BUSCHMANN, Jürgen & LENNARTZ, Karl: 'Germany and the 1948 Olympic Games in London', in: *Journal of Olympic History* 6(1998)3, pp. 22-28; VOGEL, Heinz: 'Olympischer Wiederbeginn – London 1948', in: ROTTER, Gunther: *Rückkehr nach Olympia*. Munich: Copress 1989, pp. 60-67.
- 2 See LYBERG, Wolf: *The IOC Sessions*, Typoskript. Lausanne 1989, p. 238.
- 3 Meanwhile two extensive journalistic accounts have been published on the 1948 Olympics: HAMPTON, Janie: *The Austerity Olympics – when the games came to London in 1948*. London: Aurum 2008 and PHILLIPS, Bob: *The 1948 Olympics: How London Rescued the Games*. Cheltenham: Sport sBooks 2007. However, Daphne Bolz is working on a scholarly account of the 1948 Games which is due to be published soon.
- 4 Other, formerly German, athletes – especially Jews – who fled from the National Socialist terror regime in the 1930s also took part in these Games. For example, on the US team were the hockey players Claus Gerson (b. 12 November 1917 in Hamburg) and the goalkeeper and later one of the best known Wall Street managers, John Slade (b. 20 May 1908, d. 12 September 2005), who was born in Frankfurt as Hans Schlesinger. Also some gymnasts of the US team were supposedly born German. See 'Olympische Spiele in London 1948', in: *Schweizerische Turnzeitung* 91(1948)33, i.e. 17 August 1948, p. 455. The former resident of Berlin, Inge Melle de Preiss, competed for Argentina. See 'Olympische Spiele ohne Israel', in: *Der Weg* 27 August 1948, S. 7-8. The youngest competitor, Gunter Mund, certainly had German roots as well. See HAMPTON: *The Austerity Olympics*, p. 324. Hampton's thoroughly researched work also devotes a couple of pages to Bantz (pp. 256-259), largely based on oral information from Frank Turner and translations of the autobiography by Helmut Bantz. BANTZ, Helmut; *So weit war mein Weg*, Frankfurt a.M.: Limpert 1959, pp. 44-48.
- 5 BANTZ: *So weit war mein Weg*, p. 8.
- 6 See BANTZ: *So weit war mein Weg*, pp. 14ff.
- 7 See HIBO, 'Seine Frau nennt ihn „Meister“', in: *Kölner Stadtanzeiger* 14 January 1955 as well as BANTZ: *So weit war mein Weg*, pp. 36f. With his 20 pull-ups during his entrance examination, Bantz



Winner's ceremony 1956: Gold for Muratow and Bantz, third place for Juri Titow; Source: Helmut Bantz: *So weit war mein Weg*

- was immediately well known due to the fact that only the former boxing champion Max Schmeling had been able to do more. Still, it is unclear why he volunteered for this unit. The fact remains that top-level sportsmen were happily welcomed at the paratroopers and they enjoyed exceptional treatment, which might also have attracted Bantz. See TEICHLER, Hans-Joachim: *Internationale Sportpolitik im Dritten Reich (Wissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe des Deutschen Sportbundes, Bd. 23)*. Schorndorf: Karl Hofmann 1991, pp. 323 ff. During his war service, Bantz also met other outstanding athletes like the tennis player Georg von Metaxa. For Metaxa see GILLMEISTER, Heiner: 'Georg von Metaxa: Eine Reminiszenz zum 100-jährigen Jubiläum des Österreichischen und Deutschen Tennisverbandes', in: *Stadion* 28(2002)1, pp. 53-76. All quoted newspaper accounts in this article were accessed in the *Carl und Liselott Diem-Archive*, file number 726.
- 8 This is what Helmut Bantz noted on the questionnaire of Werner FIEBIG, who gathered information for Aidan HARRISON in 1994. Harrison intended to write a book on prisoners of war. All quoted documents are in the possession of Bantz' widow Erika who was so kind to show them to the author of this article.
- 9 See WOLFF, Helmut: *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in britischer Hand. Ein Überblick* (Band XI/1, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des Zweiten Weltkriegs, ed. Erich Maschke). Munich 1974, p. 21.
- 10 See ROEMER, John E., LEE, Woojin & VAN DER STRAETEN, Karine: *Racism, Xenophobia, and Distribution. Multi-Issue Politics in Advanced Democracies*. London: Harvard University Press 2007, p. 135f. See also BREITENSTEIN, Rolf: *Der hässliche Deutsche? Wir im Spiegel der Welt*. Munich: Kurt Desch 1968, p. 71.
- 11 See RAMSDEN, John: *Don't Mention the War. The British and the Germans since 1890*. London: Little/Brown 2006, p. 251.
- 12 See for example GLANVILLE, Brian: 'Britain Against the Rest. The Decline of British Sporting Prestige', in: Michael SISSONS (ed), *Age of Austerity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1964, pp. 149-166

- 13 Daily Herald, 24 June 1946, cit. op. BAKER, Norman: 'Sports and National Prestige: The Case of Britain 1945-48', in: *Sporting Traditions* 12(1996)2, pp. 81-97, p. 82. See in this context also the further studies by BAKER, Norman: 'Olympics or Tests: The disposition of the British sporting public, 1948', in: *Sporting Traditions* 11(1994)1, pp. 57-74; 'The amateur ideal in a society of equality: change and continuity in post-Second World War British sport, 1945-48', in: *International Journal of the History of Sport* 12(1995)1, pp. 91-126; 'The Games that almost Weren't: London 1948', in: BARNEY, Robert K (ed), *Critical Reflections on Olympic Ideology: Second International Symposium for Olympic Research*, London 1994, pp. 197-116.
- 14 See FAULK, Henry: *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in Großbritannien. Re-education* (Band XI/2, Zur Geschichte der deutschen Kriegsgefangenen des Zweiten Weltkriegs, ed. Erich Maschke). Munich 1970, pp. 540-552. Exercises in gymnastics are documented for Camp 2, Toft Hall in Knutsford, Cheshire, and for the officer's camp 18, Featherstone Park in Haltwhistle, Northumberland. See *ibid.*, pp. 543 and 549.
- 15 In 1982, Göhler (1911-2001), a classical scholar during the Third Reich, also published a general article on the development of gymnastics at the Olympic Games but he only mentions Bantz in the context of the 1948 Olympics as a curiosity. See: GÖHLER, Josef : 'Die Turnkunst bei den Olympischen Spielen', in: *Stadion* VI(1982), pp. 157-186, here p. 169.
- 16 GÖHLER, Josef.: *Erster Turnerbrief*, Hösbach/Spessart, December 1946, p. 3. The author owes his gratitude to the archivist of the German Gymnastics Association, Wilhelm Pappert, who made the Turnerbriefe available.
- 17 GÖHLER, Josef: *Achter Turnerbrief*, 1.9.1947, p. 10.
- 18 GÖHLER, Josef: *Zehnter Turnerbrief*, December 1947, p. 13.
- 19 GÖHLER, Josef: *Achter Turnerbrief*, 1.9.1947, p. 10.
- 20 See WOLFF: *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in britischer Hand. Ein Überblick*, pp. 68. For the release modalities see FAULK, *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in Großbritannien. Re-education*, pp. 652ff.
- 21 BANTZ: *So weit war mein Weg*, p. 46.
- 22 See the interview with Frank TURNER, member of the British Olympic gymnastic team in 1948, as seen in the BBC film documentary by Dominic SUTHERLAND, *A Very British Olympics*, London: BBC 2005; see also the radio interview with Helmut BANTZ on WDR 5, broadcasted 19 May 2002, 7.20-7.45 h.
- 23 GÖHLER, Josef : *Vierzehnter Turnerbrief*, 23 May 1948, S. 9.
- 24 Due to visa problems, Göhler did not go to London in the end. See GÖHLER, Josef: *Fünftehnter Turnerbrief*, June/July 1948, p. 10.
- 25 Radio interview with Helmut BANTZ on WDR 5.
- 26 BANTZ, Helmut: 'Ich erlebte die Olympiade in London', in: Dietmar REPPIN (ed.), *Köhlers illustrierter Sportkalender 1950*. Minden/Frankfurt [1949/50], S. 106-110.
- 27 All quoted documents are in the possession of Bantz' widow Erika who kindly showed them to the author of this article.
- 28 'Olympische Spiele in London 1948', in: *Schweizerische Turnzeitung* 91(1948)33, i.e. 17 August 1948, p. 454. See also: BANTZ, Helmut: 'Helmut Bantz berichtet aus London', in: *Siebzehnter (?) Turnerbrief*, September 1948, p. 8-9. Bantz wrote this published letter from Evedon on 15 August 1948.
- 29 See GÖHLER, Josef : *Zehnter Turnerbrief*, December 1947, p. 6.
- 30 At this time the correct name was 'British Amateur Gymnastic Association'.
- 31 Letter from Simmonds to Bantz dated 23 August 1948.
- 32 RGN, 'Tribute to a Great Gymnast', in: *Strength and Health*, May 1949, p. 27. It is a pleasant duty to thank Meg Warren for sending me a copy of this article and for further advice.
- 33 See the appendix of BANTZ: 'Helmut Bantz berichtet aus London', p. 9. The letter published in summary had been written by Bantz during the harvest on 7 September 1948.
- 34 This suggests a letter from Göhler to Diem dated 18 September 1949, p. 1, in which Göhler refers to the situation in London 1948. All letters from or to Carl Diem were also accessed in the *Carl und Liselott Diem-Archive*.
- 35 Diem knew that Bantz was in British custody as Bantz' father, Friedrich, had informed him of this. Letter from Friedrich Bantz to Carl Diem dated 20 September 1947. However, it is unlikely that Diem also was aware of the fact that Bantz had become an 'Official' for the duration of the Games. Diem's intensive correspondence with Göhler stopped some months before the Olympics and began again only weeks afterwards. The German sports journalist, Walther von Adelson, was also present in London. The sports production director of the *Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk* in Hamburg must have overlooked Bantz, too, although he did not produce any reports on his fellow countryman.
- 36 Letter from Diem to Göhler, 10 November 1948.
- 37 BANTZ: 'Helmut Bantz berichtet aus London', pp. 8-9.
- 38 ZELLEKENS, Albert: *Turner-Brief*, January 1949, p. 12.
- 39 See BANTZ: *So weit war mein Weg*, pp. 65 ff. Some information also stems from telephone calls with Erika BANTZ on 6. February 2007 and with Hardi FRENGER on 9 February 2007.
- 40 See BANTZ, Helmut: *Eine Untersuchung über die Stellung des deutschen Turnens in England, dem Mutterlande des Sports*, unpublished diploma thesis, (German) Sport University Cologne 1952, p. 35.
- 41 See ANTHONY, DON: *Britain and the Olympic Games*. Birmingham: British Olympic Association, 1984, p. 5. The directors of the German Gymnastic Society were the cartographer Ernst Georg Ravenstein, son of the 'Frankfurter Turnvater' and August Ravenstein, pupil of 'Turnvater' Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. See also BERNETT, Hajo: 'Vom Schwarz-Rot-Gold zum Schwarz-Weiß-Rot. Die Geschichte des Deutschen Turnvereins in London 1861-1916', in: Andreas LUH/Edgar BECKERS (eds.), *Umbruch und Kontinuität im Sport: Reflexionen im Umfeld der Sportgeschichte*, Festschrift for Horst Ueberhorst. Bochum: Brockmeyer 1991, pp. 298-309 and KRÜGER, Michael: 'Karl Völker und die Anfänge des deutschen Turnens in England', in: HOFMANN, Anette R. & KRÜGER, Michael(eds.): *Südwestdeutsche Turner in der Emigration*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 2004, pp. 11-26. Generally see WILDT, Klemens Carl: *Auswanderer und Emigranten in der Geschichte der Leibesübungen (Beiträge zur Lehre und Forschung der Leibesübung, Bd. 19)*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 1964, pp. 149f.
- 42 BANTZ: *Eine Untersuchung über die Stellung des deutschen Turnens*, p. 34.
- 43 Even before Bantz was released from custody, his father had asked the rector of the Sport University Cologne about the formal criteria for enrollment. See letter from Friedrich Bantz to Carl Diem dated 20 September 1947.
- 44 The Russian Valentin Muratow received the gold medal, too, as they gained the same rating.