

Welcome to the issue



Volker Kluge
EDITOR

It was a stroke of luck that this year's ISOH Meeting took place in Lausanne. Thus, the members of the Executive Committee had the opportunity to visit the exhibition *OLYMPIC LANGUAGE*, curated by General Secretary Markus Osterwalder in the Olympic Museum. It is well worth seeing, and it was a good idea to place the Mexico'68 design at its centre thereby remembering the Summer Games of 1968 which took place 50 years ago.

No one who thinks of those Games can forget the "Black Power" demonstration. Admittedly, it was a breach of the Olympic Charter. Yet with their silent protest the three medallists started a discussion on human rights in a way which had not been seen before. Ultimately it did more good than harm to the Olympic Movement.

In David Davis' interview we learn how one of the three rebels, former US sprinter John Carlos views the events half a century later. It will give nothing away to reveal that he still regrets nothing. And when it's a question of Mexico and "Black Power", one is forced to talk about the former IOC President Avery Brundage, whom Anthony J. Wall describes as "Montecito's King".

Two articles are dedicated to famous Swedes. Ulf Lagerström has written up the biography of the phenomenal Eric Lemming. He was a multi-talented athlete who took part in four Olympic Games but stood out in the javelin which he was able to win in 1906 as well as 1908 and 1912.

The other is the figure skater Gillis Grafström, whose three Olympic victories and one Olympic silver medal is

still unequalled today. Among the ice-skaters, he was the artist whose idiosyncratic style was rarely understood by his contemporaries. The anniversary of his 125th birthday was cause enough for a German Olympic champion, the walker Peter Frenkel, to organise an event in Potsdam, where Grafström, who lived only to be 44, is buried.

The Sportimonium is the treasure chest of Belgian sports history, in whose creation ISOH Lifetime Award winner, Roland Renson, plays a large part. This time he leafs through the estate of Fernand de Montigny, who as an Olympic medallist in fencing and hockey was not only an all-round athlete, but also a successful architect responsible for the 1920 Olympic Stadium in Antwerp.

Eighty years after the première of the *OLYMPIA* film of Berlin 1936 and 15 years after her death, the legendary German director Leni Riefenstahl returned to the headlines. The present reason: the handing-over of her artistic estate to the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation. Yet not everywhere in the 700 chests of which the name Riefenstahl stands is her work inside. That is proved by the example of the *OLYMPIA* film's prologue, whose true history has been researched by the editor of the *Journal*.

How collectors can enrich Olympic history is shown by ISOH member Christian Kunz. He discovered a series of postcards which show how, a hundred years ago, prisoners of war and internees organised "Olympic Games" behind barbed wire fences.

Enjoy your reading – and hopefully many new insights! ■

ISOH Executive Committee 2016–2020

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Vice-President	Dr. Christian Wacker (GER)
Secretary-General	Markus Osterwalder (SUI)
Treasurer	Ghassan Haddad (USA)
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Message from the President



David Wallechinsky
ISOH PRESIDENT

In the rush to make the Winter Olympics more appealing to a younger audience, is the International Olympic Committee (IOC) risking the health of athletes?

Medical researchers made an extensive study of the incidence of injury at the 2014 Sochi Olympics. (The results for the 2018 PyeongChang Games are not yet available.)

The results were published in the British *Journal of Sports Medicine* as "Sports injuries and illnesses in the Sochi 2014 Winter Olympic Games". The lead author is Torbjørn Soligard of the IOC Medical and Scientific Division.

The study found that 12% of the athletes who competed at the Sochi Games sustained injuries at the Olympics either during training or competition. However, the incidence of injury was much higher in events that have been recently added to the Olympic programme.

The seven events with the worst rates of injury were:

- Freestyle skiing aerials: 48.8% (added in 1994)
- Snowboarding slopestyle: 37.0% (added in 2014)
- Snowboarding cross: 34.4% (added in 2006)
- Freestyle skiing slopestyle: 30.8% (added in 2014)
- Freestyle skiing halfpipe: 25.5% (added in 2014)
- Freestyle skiing moguls: 24.4% (added in 1992)

It is worth noting that the event with the highest rate of injuries at the 2016 Rio de Janeiro Summer Olympics was also a new event: BMX cycling: 37.5% (added in 2008).

As I watched athletes in these new events smash up their bodies at the 2018 PyeongChang Games and then met some of the survivors afterwards, it was clear that they greatly enjoyed their sport. However, I could not help but wonder how many of these young people realized that the battering they were receiving could cause them prolonged pain, suffering and trauma later in life.

Most fans watch these events for a couple hours on television or online and then don't pay attention to them for another four years. It reminded me of the ancient Roman gladiator games, which would briefly entertain the spectators, while the combatants were quickly forgotten.

I find it disturbing that an event in which almost half the participants will be injured (aerials) is allowed to remain on the Olympic programme.

The Sochi and Rio studies also tracked how many athletes became ill, more often than not with respiratory ailments. Not surprisingly, at the Winter Olympics illnesses were most common among skeleton participants: 27.7%.

Take a look at the position of the noses and mouths of skeleton sliders as they speed down the course and you'll see why. The study also found that women are 50% more likely to become ill than men. In the Summer Games, five of the six sports in which illnesses were most common were water sports: diving (12%), open-water marathon swimming (12%), sailing (12%), canoe slalom (11%) and synchronized swimming (10%). The only non-water sport to make the top six was equestrian (11%).

Another recent report that I found interesting is the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA)'s "2016 Anti-Doping Rule Violations (ADRVs) Report", which is updated through the end of 2017. Although extremely detailed, the results have to be considered non-definitive because some National Olympic Committees have been – to put it as delicately as possible – "less than vigilant" in reporting failed doping tests.

It comes as no surprise that two of the sports in which doping is most common are not included in the Olympic programme: bodybuilding and powerlifting. But burrowing into the statistics turns up some unexpected facts. For example, who would have guessed that almost 12% of bridge players would fail doping tests, or that illegal doping was found in snooker, tug of war, cheerleading and bowling? The guilty parties in bridge were all from Italy and Portugal.

Among Olympic sports, the sports with the highest percentage of violations were:

- Long-Distance Canoeing (1000 metres+): 2.8%
- Weightlifting: 1.2%
- Cycling: 1.2%
- Greco-Roman Wrestling: 1.1%

The problem in canoeing led to the entire Romanian canoe team being banned from the Rio Olympics, as was the team from Belarus. ■

Minutes from the ISOH Executive Committee Meeting 2018

By David Wallechinsky and Markus Osterwalder

Lausanne, Olympic Studies Centre, 14th May 2018, 9:00 am

Present: David Wallechinsky (DW), Markus Osterwalder (MO), Ghassan Haddad (GH), Volker Kluge (VK), Philip Barker (PB), Kostas Georgiadis (KG),
Excused: Richard Pound, Christian Wacker (CW), Leif Yttergren

1. Opening by President David Wallechinsky

In his opening speech, DW talked about the funeral of Tony Bijkerk and how important ISOH was to Tony. Even the cover of the invitation to his memorial service mentioned his function as Secretary-General. In his speech to the mourning community, DW talked about Tony's contributions to the Olympic Movement and his commitment to ISOH.

Another topic we discussed is the storage of ISOH documents and donations. Various options were discussed, and it was decided to leave the archive in Herisau with the Secretary-General until his office is handed over to his successor.

DW told us about his job interviewing Olympic athletes who are older than 85. His last interview was with Hans Maier from the Netherlands, who took part in the water polo event in Berlin 1936. He is now 101 years old, and it was Tony who made the contact between Maier and DW.

Hans Maier presented DW with his personal scrapbook about his time in Berlin 1936 as a gift to the ISOH archives.

2. Approval of the minutes from the 2017 Meeting

Unanimously accepted

3. Report by the Secretary-General – MO

MO explained the current member situation within the ISOH. There are currently 427 personal members (22 of whom joined in 2017), 6 honorary members and 47 patron members. All current members come from 49 countries. However, two continents are almost unrepresented: Africa and South America. In addition, most parts of Asia are unrepresented.

Most members are from the USA, Canada and Europe, with some from Australia and New Zealand.

We also discussed the difficulties of recruiting new



members from countries that have had little to do with promoting the study of Olympic history. Certainly it is an advantage if a country has hosted the Olympic Games. However, this is not a guarantee for adding new members. A good example is Brazil.

We also talked about the possibility of translating articles into different languages. At our meeting in Stockholm in 2017, we had already debated this, but in theory this seems easier said than done.

MO also presented statistics on the personal membership structure according to age groups.

BORN	YEARS	MEMBERS	%
1928 - 1937	80 - 90	41	9,5
1938 - 1947	70 - 80	78	18
1948 - 1957	60 - 70	98	23
1958 - 1967	50 - 60	93	22
1968 - 1977	40 - 50	52	12
1978 - 1987	30 - 40	38	9
1988 - 1998	20 - 30	8	2
Without information		19	4,5

Another topic was the current membership list. MO regularly updates this database and makes it available on our homepage from time to time. It was also desired to send the database to the board, which has already been done.

IOH President Thomas Bach met members of the ISOH Executive Committee on the shores of Lake Geneva.

Photo: Markus Osterwalder



GH proposed to organise an event in the United States to recruit new members. DW said it would make more sense to do such an event in countries where there are hardly any members since a large percentage of ISOH members are already from the USA.

4. Report by the Editor of the Journal – VK

VK briefly explained the 3 successful editions in 2017 and warmly thanked the 44 authors with 81 entries from 18 countries who had submitted articles. Most contributions came from Germany, the Netherlands and the USA. Another problem is the translations or corrections of the contributions in which the authors are sometimes dissatisfied with the texts after they have been edited into better English.

In addition, VK proposed sending a newsletter to all members once a month, be it on the homepage or as an e-mail. In this newsletter, current news, information, problems or inquiries could be communicated directly. The direct contact to the members would be strengthened thereby.

The information and texts should mainly be compiled by the current EB, and then MO will take care of the distribution to the members. There is also the possibility that members can address each other via this channel.

5. Report by the Treasurer – GH

GH thanked everyone for being elected treasurer and said he is honoured to be in this position. He also thanked former treasurers John Grasso and Laurel Zeisler for their support.

Another subject of discussion was the storage of data, invoices and financial documents that must be available under American law for at least 7 years. To this end, GH asked VK to provide him with detailed accounting of the German ISOH account from 2017 until March 2018.

GH said that, based on changes to U.S. law since the 11th September 2001, attacks and the 2008 financial crisis, it is preferable that ISOH not have foreign accounts anymore and instead maintain accounts at a single financial

Institution in the U.S. The recommended Institution is Chase Bank because this bank facilitates ISOH business globally.

MO would like to mention that we have recently dissolved the Euro account that CW had opened a few months ago for European payments of annual membership fees. The account which Tony had in the Netherlands has also been closed. Now the only European account is VK's private one, from which transactions take place regarding the income and expenses of the *Journal of Olympic History*.

6. Discussion of possible changes to voting structure – All

DW explains again the proposal presented by CW in Stockholm about the election of members of the EB. Currently, the positions of President, Vice-President, Secretary-General and Treasurer are democratically elected every 4 years by all members. The other 4 board members are elected at-large without specific responsibilities. CW had proposed that these 4 members of the EB not to be elected, but rather searched for and selected by the existing EB in a role-specific manner.

These roles would be:

1. Responsible for the creation of the *Journal of Olympic History*
2. Responsible for the ISOH web site with emphasis on the content
3. Responsible for marketing
4. Responsible for the various ISOH awards

DW proposed an alternative possibility: that the 4 at-large members would continue to be elected, but with the understanding that, if elected, they must take responsibility for one of these roles.

KG proposed that a detailed description of each role should be developed so that the person in charge knows exactly what to do. This will be prepared for the next EB meeting. The final decision on restructuring will be made at the EB meeting in 2019.

7. Suggestions and discussion of awards for 2017 – All

Lifetime Achievement Award

For the Lifetime Achievement Award, it was clear that the person most deserving of the award is Anita DeFrantz. However, because she is an IOC Vice-President, there is an ethical problem with giving an award to an active member of the organisation that helps support ISOH financially. Other possible choices were discussed, but no decision was made. Subsequently, it was decided to present the award to DeFrantz because she is an ISOH member and she is the former member of the LA84 Foundation, which has done much good work to promote the study of Olympic history.

Vikelas Plaque Award

For the Vikelas Plaque, KG presented us with many possibilities based on his personal experience with so many ISOH members. It was provisionally decided to present awards to three members, although in post-meeting discussions VK proposed limiting the awards to 2 persons.

Before discussing the nominees, DW pointed out two considerations to take into account. The first is expense. It is best to present the awards in person in the recipient's home country. Expenses for the president and the secretary-general or another ISOH EC member include travel and accommodation, as well as a dinner for the recipient and his or her spouse or companion.

Sometimes, the National Olympic Committee leadership of the recipient's nation are grateful and cooperative, and ISOH receives positive exposure. DW has experienced this, for example, when he has presented awards in Hungary, Mexico and Latvia. In fact, when DW visited

Prague and Bratislava not on ISOH business, DW contacted ISOH members there, and he was invited to meet with the NOC Presidents of the Czech Republic and Slovakia. He even appeared on Czech television to discuss ISOH.

On the other hand, in countries such as the United States and Russia, the presentations were private and low-key and received only local coverage (USA) or no coverage at all (Russia). In the United Kingdom and Ukraine, the presentations were folded into meetings of the respective national sports federations, and the benefit to ISOH was practically non-existent, although the recipients were, as always, grateful.

All agreed that a Vikelas Plaque should be awarded to Christina Koulouri of Greece, author of numerous works related to the Olympics, particularly with emphasis on Greek Olympic history. This award would be presented in Olympia during next year's IOA meeting of National Olympic Academies. Hopefully, this would inspire the academies to encourage some of their own members to join ISOH.

After post-meeting discussions, it was decided to present the second award to Pedro Córdova, President of the Academia Olímpica de Puerto Rico. This award would be presented in Puerto Rico. This would require greater expense, but we can anticipate greater attention to ISOH from the Puerto Rican NOC and the national media.

Karl Lennartz Memorial Book Award

One of the problems we face with the Book Award is that so many of the books that might qualify are expensive. DW proposed that we write to the publishers of promising books and ask for review copies, which could be sent to VK, MO or DW and then distributed to members who are prepared to read and review each book.

Journal of Olympic History Article Award

VK proposed awarding Michael Dittrich for the article he wrote about the German fencer Matthias Behr and the Ukrainian Olympic champion Vladimir Smirnov, who was killed by accident by Behr. The article was published in the JOH 2017/03. There were no objections.

Ian Buchanan Memorial Scholarship

No proposals, nor any requests

8. Selecting a date and place for the 2019 meeting of the Executive Committee – All

The decision was made in favour of Maussane, France in June 2019.

9. Closure of the meeting by President David Wallechinsky

DW thanks all participants and closes the session. ■



Elizabeth Hanley, Associate Professor of Penn State University was awarded the Vikelas Plaque in 2017. President David Wallechinsky made the presentation in her home city. Photo: Patrick Koliwoski

Lifetime Award to a “renaissance” man

By Philip Barker



A bronze bust of Pierre de Coubertin for 2017 ISOH Lifetime Award winner Jean Durry. IOC President Thomas Bach presented the award.

Photo: Markus Osterwalder

The Olympic Studies Centre in the Villa Centenaire was an appropriate place for Jean Durry to receive ISOH’s Lifetime Achievement Award.

It was fitting that IOC President Thomas Bach should make the presentation. Much of Durry’s working life has been devoted to ensuring that the philosophy of another IOC President, Pierre de Coubertin has reached a wider audience. “You really deserve this prize because of the depth of the work you have achieved in Olympic studies” said Bach. “It is from the bottom of my heart that I hand over this award. It is not only an award for your lifetime achievement, but an encouragement for your future achievements. Take this as an encouragement for the future.”

“It is greatly thanks to you that there is a quotation or a reference to Pierre de Coubertin in my speeches” said Bach. “I remember one of the first conversations we had together. You came up with the visionary idea. Whenever you discuss something to do with Olympism, you discover that Coubertin had discussed it already. I am always looking through his works and trying to find quotations.”

Durry had trained as a lawyer but became involved with a wide range of organisations. He first lectured at

the International Olympic Academy in Ancient Olympia at a time when accommodation was still in tents. He produced a long running radio series “Sport and Man” and also cultivated a deep interest in the world of cinema.

He was also a longstanding member of the IOC Commission on Culture and Olympic Education and was also Secretary of the International Fair Play Committee.

Durry recalled the time he had spoken to an earlier IOC President, Avery Brundage. Asked how much he had read of Coubertin’s work, Brundage replied “I read what I could”.

Durry recounted how he began the study of a man he described as a “visionary and a creator of Utopia. I started to discover and get to know Coubertin” he said.

The winner of the 2017 ISOH Lifetime Award had been an enthusiastic cyclist. He was inspired by reading about André Leducq who won road race team gold in 1924 and went on to win the Tour de France twice. Durry rode as an amateur for CS Montparnasse. His first book was *La véritable histoire des Géants de la Route*.

Cycling was, he said, a “sport of courage, tenacity and intelligence”. He spoke of his “simple pride” when in 1968, he was chosen as part of a cycling escort as the Olympic flame was carried en route to the Winter Games in Grenoble.

“If you are lucky enough to be in the stands of the stadium during an Opening or Closing Ceremony, you feel a human fraternity that is something quite rare. And if you have the extreme good fortune of being inside the Olympic Village, you see that there is between the athletes, as well as their coaches, a common language that goes far beyond all differences.” said Durry.

ISOH President David Wallechinsky paid a warm tribute to a man he described as a “renaissance” man. “Jean Durry has promoted interest in sport and the Olympics with his involvement in many organisations” he said and highlighted Durry’s 38-year tenure in charge of the National Sports Museum of France.

“Among his many achievements in the field of Olympic history, Durry collected for the Museum more than 100,000 documents going back to the 16th century,” said Wallechinsky. In the spirit of the occasion, the ISOH President made his address in French, the first language of the Olympic Movement. ■

Olympic Museum has “The Look”

By Philip Barker



OLYMPIC LANGUAGE is a fascinating new exhibition on the design and “look” of the Games at the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. It is curated by ISOH General Secretary Markus Osterwalder.

“The look is really the face of the Games.” he said. “This is really the first impression and the lasting impression. Through graphics, through colours, typeface and pictograms, you can communicate the message that you have.”

The display has been planned to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the Mexico 1968 Games. “Mexico was really important in graphic terms” said Osterwalder. “It was the first time there was a global impact with the look of the Games having a very colourful impression of Mexican culture in the design of the whole Games, and a very intensive culture. That’s why we decided to bring Mexico into focus.”

The exhibition even recreates the giant plastic balloons which were hung through the city streets in 1968. “I was in contact with a Mexican collector and noticed from photographs that they had these balloons. We made some enquiries and managed to find the firm that made the originals. They were still going, so we asked them to make replicas” said Osterwalder.

The biggest challenge was to decide what to leave out. “To me everything is important, but we had to reduce and reduce and come to the basics. We had to find out which pieces were really the best ones. We had only so much space available.” said Osterwalder.

Tokyo 2020 is included as the next host city but in 1964 the Japanese were at the forefront of design innovation.

“There was one big problem to be solved. Who would be able to read Japanese characters? It was vital that visitors should be made to feel it home in this megalopolis of a capital city. How to communicate?”

The answer was to devise a series of symbols or pictograms. For Munich 1972, the design team was led by the late Otl Aicher and included cartoonist Gerhard Joksch. “I did something with the last poster that most people don’t know about. I included all my team members from that time in silhouette form.” said Joksch. In 1984, designs for Los Angeles used a palette of bright colours very similar to Munich.

The material from Lillehammer 1994 is displayed in a wooden casing reflecting the Norwegian environment. The pictograms, successively enlarged, took on the appearance of cave paintings. Athens 2004 and the controversial logo for London 2012 are shown and there is also a look ahead to 2020 with Tokyo and early designs for Lausanne’s Youth Olympic Winter Games.

There is also a room devoted to mascots. “We had to do things for young people. We especially wanted to tell them about the mascots” said Osterwalder. Outside, an inflatable Cobi from Barcelona 92 welcomes visitors. Inside, amongst the fluffy toy mascots, there are outsize versions of Hidy and Howdy (Calgary 1988) and Håkon and Kristin (Lillehammer 1994) and Wenlock (London 2012).

The display is a combination of Osterwalder’s own personal collection and material held in The Olympic Museum, Quai d’Ouchy 1, 1006 Lausanne, Switzerland, +41 21 621 65 11, Olympic.org/musee. Entry is free. It runs until 17th March 2019. ■



Olympic mascots on parade! A glimpse of the exhibition rooms in the Olympic Museum.

Back to Nature! Lillehammer '94 relied on wood and pictograms. Cave painting, the oldest representation of a skier served as inspiration

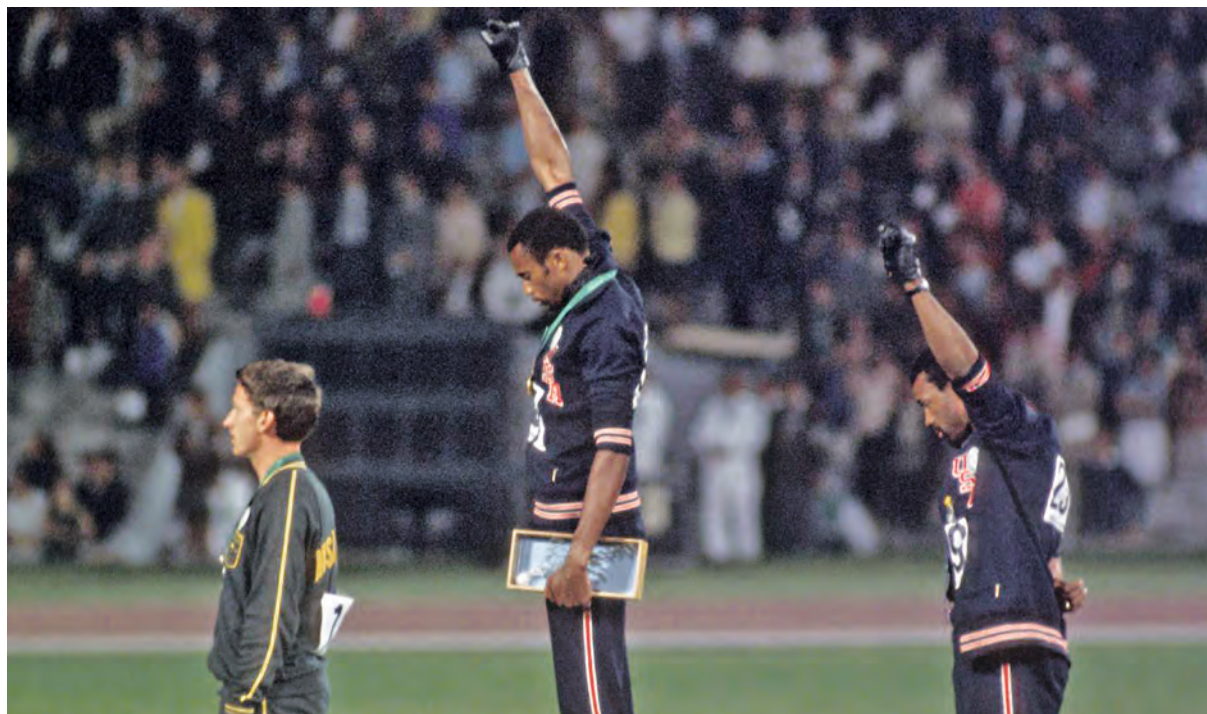
Photos: Markus Osterwalder

“That’s my 15 minutes in the sun”

An Interview with John Carlos

By David Davis

Black Power demonstration after the 200 m race by Tommie Smith (middle) and John Carlos (right). Silver medalist Peter Norman stands at left. They were jeered by the crowd.



Editor’s Note: As the 50th anniversary of the 1968 Mexico City Olympics approaches, the Journal of Olympic History is looking back at some of the key events, athletes, and images from those Games. This interview with sprinter John Carlos was originally published in The Los Angeles Review of Books in October of 2015. The text has been edited very slightly for clarity purposes.

John Carlos knows how his obituary will likely begin: “John Carlos, who along with teammate Tommie Smith shocked the world with their ‘Black Power’ salute on the victory stand at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics ...”

The oft-reproduced image of that moment created a powerful, complicated legacy that has evolved over the past 50 years. In the immediate aftermath, and for decades thereafter, Carlos struggled to find peace. His marriage dissolved, steady employment was a challenge, and he was rebuffed by the powers-that-be that ruled organised sports, despite his credentials as an elite sprinter.

He eventually found a healthy equilibrium. He remarried and worked and coached for many years at Palm Springs High School. Perhaps more importantly, he watched as media coverage and public opinion shifted in

his favour. He and Smith are now respected and praised for their courage in using the Olympic platform to express outrage about racial inequality in America.

San Jose State University unveiled a statue of the podium moment in 2005; John Dominis’s iconic photograph of the demonstration was included in the Life Books anthology *100 Photographs That Changed the World*. Smith and Carlos have been feted and honoured by several halls of fame. Meanwhile, the National Anthem at sporting events in the USA has become a controversial flashpoint for demonstrations and counter-demonstrations.

In 2011, with help from *The Nation* columnist Dave Zirin, Carlos wrote *The John Carlos Story*¹. The memoir taps into the blunt loquaciousness that Carlos attributes to his upbringing in Harlem. Born in 1945, he attended Machine and Metal Trades High School and ran for the vaunted Pioneer Track Club (teammates included Bob Beamon and Vince Matthews). He eventually made his way to San Jose State, which in the 1960s was emerging as a sprint powerhouse (nicknamed “Speed City”) as well as a hotbed for social protest among African-American athletes.

Under the leadership of Harry Edwards, a former athlete who had become a sociology professor, Carlos, Smith, and other athletes formed the Olympic Project for Human Rights. They threatened to boycott the 1968 Mexico City Olympics unless their central demands were addressed: restore the title of heavyweight champion to Muhammad Ali; remove Avery Brundage as the head of the International Olympic Committee; ban South Africa and Rhodesia from Olympic competition; boycott the New York Athletic Club over its racist admission policy; and hire more African-American coaches to national and collegiate teams.

Only one demand was actually met: South African and Rhodesian athletes were barred from participating in the 1968 Olympics. But the athletes decided to compete, realizing that a boycott would only have penalized them. (Lew Alcindor, later known as Kareem Abdul Jabbar, was playing college basketball for UCLA; he refused to compete for the United States in Mexico City.)

On 16th October 1968, Tommie Smith won the 200-metre sprint, clocking a world record time of 19.83 seconds. John Carlos took third as Peter Norman, a white runner from Australia, nipped him at the tape for the silver medal.

Later, the three mounted the podium inside the Estadio Olímpico Universitario and accepted their medals. Smith and Carlos each wore a single black glove; they stood without shoes, in black socks, with beads draped around their necks. Norman wore an Olympic Project for Human Rights button in solidarity. As the National Anthem began to play, Smith and Carlos bowed their heads and raised their black-gloved fists into the gloaming and immortality.

I first met John Carlos several years ago, when he was still living in Southern California. On the occasion of the anniversary of his and Smith's demonstration, I spoke to him by phone from his current home outside of Atlanta.

* * *

DAVID DAVIS: We last spoke when you were living out here in Southern California. How are you enjoying life on the East Coast?

JOHN CARLOS: I'm extremely happy to be back here on the East Coast. I'm a New Yorker. You stay in California so long you almost forget that there's a God, in terms of the autumn leaves and the change of the seasons and so forth.

Do you have family nearby?

My youngest daughter is here in Georgia, and my son is in Virginia, and my oldest daughter is in Jersey. So, we're all pretty close right now.

You write that, growing up in Harlem, you became acquainted with Malcolm X and actually followed him around. How did that come to happen?

I hooked up with Malcolm X because the first time I heard Malcolm X on the radio I was intrigued with what



200 m final: Tommie Smith won in the world record time of 19.8 seconds (electronically 19.83), while John Carlos (left), winner at the US Olympic trials, only took bronze.

he had to say and more so how he was saying it. He said it with so much dignity and so much strength. With the exception of my father, I didn't hear too many black people talk in that manner: somebody with a clear mind saying that I had the right to speak on these issues. I was compelled to go down there to fill some of these gaps in my mind. I was trying to find answers.

I asked my dad, could I go down to the mosque on 116th Street and hear this guy Malcolm X? My dad told me, "Son, you can go down there, but don't go down there and get in no trouble."

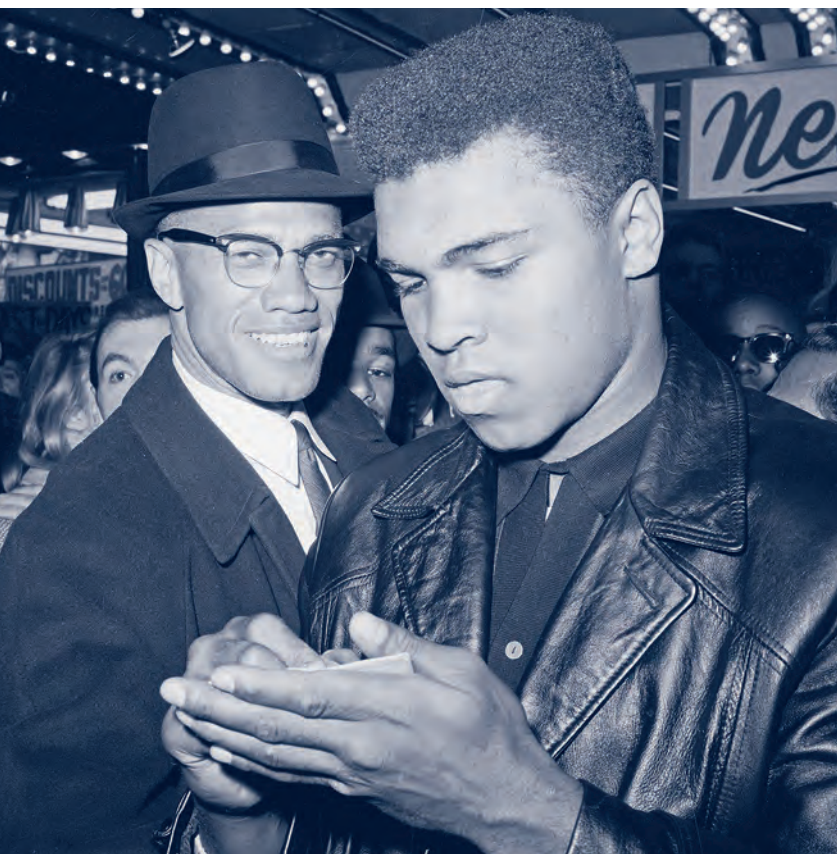
So I went down there and quite naturally when I got there I was in the blind. I didn't know who Malcolm was or what he looked like, anything. Someone had to point him out to me. I remember telling the guy, "Man, that can't be Malcolm X." He said, "That's him." I said, "Can't be." He said, "Why?" I said, "Man, 'cause he's too light-skinned. Malcolm X is a black guy. This guy is like the Black Jew, right?" He went to the podium and began to speak. It wasn't a matter of seconds before I realized that this is the guy.

Did you consider joining the Nation of Islam then or later?

No, I didn't consider joining the Nation of Islam. I didn't need to go with the Muslims. My upbringing was that every man's an island within himself. I've always carried myself that way. As a youngster I also went down to Adam Clayton Powell's church [in Harlem]. I didn't go to his church for religion as much as I went there to find answers to questions that when I asked adults at the time just couldn't give me the answers. I was trying to find answers to fill these voids in my mind.

In the run-up to the 1968 Olympics, you also met Martin Luther King Jr. What was his response to the idea of a boycott?

The boycott was in full swing. Our foundation [the Olympic Project for Human Rights] was developed



Heavyweight boxing world champion Muhammad Ali accompanied by Black Muslims leader Malcolm X. They had just watched the film of Ali's title fight against Sonny Liston in New York in the Trans-Lux News-reel Theater.

Photo: picture-alliance/AP

already. Dr. Harry Edwards was the orator of what was taking place. Dr. Ken Noel was the orchestrator, you might say. And, of course, the athletes – we were the body of the organisation.

What was important about this meeting was Dr. King wanted to make it very clear that he applauded what we were doing or what we were attempting to do. He applauded the fact that we were doing it with such vigor and not having fear, for knowing that we were doing the right thing. The greatest thing of all, he said, was the fact that it was a nonviolent entity.

I had a discussion with Dr. King as regards to why he would get involved in the boycott because he wasn't an Olympian. He wasn't an athlete. He told me,

"It's just like that pebble in the lake. You know, you can take a boat out to the centre of the lake and sit there until everything is serene, and then drop a pebble in the lake. It creates vibrations. It creates waves. That pebble is the Olympic boycott. Everything in the lake will know that there is something amiss. Everything on the shores of the lake will know that something's amiss. The greatest thing is that you will wake society up as to the ills of society and you don't have to harm anybody physically to do it."

You mentioned Dr. Harry Edwards as being the leader and spokesperson for the Olympic Project for Human Rights. Did you or any of the other athletes resent the fact that Edwards did not accompany you to Mexico City once you decided to compete?

Harry Edwards knew that he was in a life-threatening situation, just like Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. did. A lot of things that happened to Professor Edwards leading up to this potential boycott people had no knowledge of. The fact that they grabbed a big black German Shepherd and stabbed the dog and left it in his doorway and left a note on the dog telling him, "Nigger, this is you and you're next." To try and intimidate him, to break him down in as many ways as they possibly could.

I felt that, I'm out there getting ready to run. I'm not concerned about my well-being because I'm committed. The government is supposed to protect me because I'm representing the government. [Edwards] was an outsider to the government. His commitment didn't have to be the same as mine in terms of going into a hostile situation. You know, who's going to protect him? What protection would he have? As time goes on, and you mature, then you begin to look at these things from a different perspective.

One of the demands of the Olympic Project for Human Rights was the removal of Avery Brundage as head of the International Olympic Committee. Did you ever meet or speak with Brundage?

No. I had no personal contact with him. I felt very close to him relative to the issues that were at hand. In other words, when he said certain things, I think it was directed to individuals such as myself and my group. He was in our face saying various things.

I think the only way you're going to come to an agreement is where you have some opportunities to sit down and have dialogue. We didn't have dialogue with nobody relative to the rights or wrongs about that boycott. They were telling us, "You better not do nothing," and we had our attitude: "We're gonna make you all make some changes."

Looking back, do you think Brundage was a racist or was this a generational divide that he did not understand where you were coming from?

I think he was a racist, a bigot. Without a doubt. You can't change history. History speaks for itself. I would have to add that, when Avery Brundage was at the Olympics in 1968, Avery Brundage was an old man. He might have been the head of the Olympics, but he was surrounded by people that had the same flavour, or the same attitude, as he had and that were actually supporting or encouraging him to make his stand or make his statement or do the things that he did. So, it wasn't just Avery Brundage himself. He was the figurehead. But that can never be taken away from his history because he's proven all along where he stood relative to race relations.

[Brundage] participated in 1912 against Jim Thorpe [at the Stockholm Olympics]. I don't think that he was too happy with the fact that Jim Thorpe, being a Native

Indian, was decorated the way he was from those Games. And when you strip a man of everything – to strip him of all his awards, to strip him of all his medals because he took two dollars and fifty cents to feed his family playing a game that didn't have anything to do with the Olympics at the time – it's like you're trying to take his existence away. It was a directive toward Jim Thorpe to send a signal to everyone else. Just like what they did with Tommie and I in 1968, saying to the world, "We took their medals away." Which was nonsense. It was out and out propaganda to intimidate anyone else for having a mind of their own.²

You have forceful words for another iconic figure, Jesse Owens, after he tried to persuade you and other black athletes not to stage a public protest at the Olympics. Why do you think Jesse Owens sided with the establishment?

Jesse Owens truly believed in the Olympic Movement, the ideals of the Olympics. I think Jesse Owens wanted the same end results as we wanted, but based on him being old-school, his attitude was that we should conform and talk and smile, and eventually by us being good guys and great athletes that things will just change, that they'll wake up one morning and say, "Oh, well, let's do the right thing."

I loved Jesse Owens like he was my grandfather. But I think Jesse Owens realized that he was used, in the sense that he realized that nothing changed. One time, Jesse Owens was in the Rose Bowl Parade [in the 1970s]. I got up around 4 o'clock to go out there, to be at the staging area early. It was cold, misting, raining. I see Jesse, and he's shaking, his nose running all over. I said, "Jesse, what's happening, man? You got no blanket? They didn't get you soup, coffee, anything?" And he said to

me, "John, I keep asking them for it. They keep telling me they're going to bring it, but they never brought anything."

I looked at him and I could see tears in his eyes. He realized that, he didn't mean no more to them than he did when he went to give that speech after he got back from the '36 Olympics. Like, they put him on the freight elevator to bring him up to go give his speech, and then didn't even ask him if he would like to have a cup of coffee or a sandwich. It was the same situation when he was on that float.

I think that he felt like he had made the wrong move by encouraging us not to do certain things. I had to reassure him that he didn't do anything wrong. By my estimation, he did what he felt was right. But at the same time I told myself we all were trying to get to the same point at the end: to try and have some equality among all individuals.

You mentioned that many people believe you were stripped of your Olympic medals, when in fact that did not happen. What do people to this day misunderstand about your protest at the 1968 Olympics?

Well, I don't think they really understand because the story has never really been told from our perspective. Most of the books that you read, I would say that 88 percent or more [of the authors] have never sat down and interviewed John Carlos about what happened. They read Brent Musburger's columns and other individuals' columns and figured they could put a story together. But they never sat down and talked with me. I don't know how much they've talked with Tommie. But I know for a fact that they can't tell a story they know nothing about and not come and inquire from me as to what went down, why it went down, why it was necessary.

USOC President Douglas Roby stood on a table in the Olympic Village to announce to the press that Smith and Carlos had both been expelled from the US team. Below: both athletes left the Olympic Village before this decision.

Photos: picture-alliance/AP



Even when you came to my classroom [in Palm Springs] and we were talking about some books that were written at that time, I said to you then, "These individuals never sat down with me and talked to me." Most of them depicted me as being the villain, the bad guy, out of the whole situation.

Why do you think they painted you with that brush?

For the same reason as Muhammad Ali: because we were the most vocal.

In Mexico City, what were you thinking about just prior to climbing the victory podium?

It started a long time before Mexico. My thoughts were about why it would be necessary to bring about an Olympic boycott. I felt very strongly that it was the correct method. Things were not on an equal playing field. Things were distorted to the outside world – and when I say the "outside world," I'm talking about outside the United States. They had a different interpretation in terms of how blacks or people of colour were treated in the United States, that we ran around the world with the USA jersey on with the impression that all is well, we're happy, we're taken care of back at our homes. Where else better to say that this was not necessarily the truth other than the Olympic Games? I couldn't go to the Super Bowl and do it. I couldn't go out in front of the Apollo Theater and do it. *The New York Times* wouldn't give me the opportunity to do it. But God gave me the will and the power to be an athlete, an athlete that qualified to go to the Olympic Games and get to the podium. That's my 15 minutes in the sun.

If I chose to stand there, put my hands to my side and tears running down my face, that's my prerogative. But if I chose to take that 15 minutes in the sun and speak on the ills of society that people of my race and other races had to endure, and I chose to take that time to exploit those things, then that's what was necessary for me. That was my motivation for training and going to the Olympic Games. It wasn't about going there to win no medal.

How would you describe your relationship with Tommie Smith back then?

We were teammates. Tommie was a little ahead of me. When I got there [to San Jose State], I think Tommie was pretty much done running for the school. When he got done running for the school, and I wasn't eligible to run for the school the first year I got there, we ran for the Santa Clara Youth Village team. We got to be pretty tight. I'm an outgoing guy. Tommie's more like an introvert type guy. But we had respect for one another as men. We had more respect for one another as competitors. I didn't have no misgivings about Tommie.

When was the idea broached to do something on the podium, because there have been various and conflicting accounts about that?

There's been a lot of talk about how it came about, but I'm going to give you my version. My version is, after I

ran that semifinal, I told Tommie that I wanted to make a statement. I was disenchanted with the fact that the Olympic boycott was called off. I said, "What's your take?" He said, "Well, man, I'm with you on that." I said to him, "Well, what do we have to bring to the table?" Artifacts, that is. He said he had some gloves. I said, "Bring 'em." I said I have beads. Bring 'em. He had a black scarf. Bring 'em. I had a black shirt to cover up over my USA uniform. Bring 'em.

We decided that the black socks that we had been running in all day, we would take our shoes off and roll our pants up so they could see the black socks. We would take the gloves to illustrate that we're talking about black people first and black problems first before we talk about the Olympics. The essence of the black gloves was that this was the first time the [Summer] Olympics were actually televised in colour. All of these things played a certain scenario to make the big picture.

I suggested that we take the Puma shoes out there because as a kid in high school I ran in Puma shoes. Not only did I run in Puma shoes, I used to work for the Puma shoe company. I felt I owed an allegiance to Puma. With Adidas, if you weren't a superstar athlete, a known athlete, you couldn't get their product. Puma would give their product to anybody that needed it and a lot of black athletes – girls and guys – needed that. I've never forgotten the fact that they supported those black kids. If you look at the way the shoes were placed on the victory stand, Mr. Smith took his shoes and placed them behind him. I took my shoes and put it where everybody could clearly see the Puma logo. I remember people after the Games said, "Well, the shoe company paid those guys \$2 million to put it out there." Man, they didn't give us two cents.

You have stated that you slowed down the stretch in the 200-metre finals to allow Tommie Smith to pass you, something that he has refuted in his own memoir³. Do you stand by your statement?

The truth is the light. You can be upset all you want. The truth is the light.

Do you think that he would not have participated in the protest without winning the gold medal?

I don't know whether that would have happened. I think it was very important for Tommie to win that race for a lot of reasons. Bottom line is this: I think it was extremely important that two individuals be out there, as opposed to one, because had it been one they'd have wrote you off as being crazy. You'd have been the sacrificial lamb, buried under and forgotten. The fact that there were two individuals doing it was the most important thing. The race was secondary. The only thing essential about the race was that I had to win a medal to get on the victory stand.

Did you anticipate what would happen afterwards, in terms of the negative reaction by the United States

Olympic Committee and the media?

If you remember back in time, years ago when you came out to visit me in my classroom, I told you that I had an epiphany, a vision, when I was a kid. I was in a forum standing on a box. I'm on this box by myself. I didn't know what a stadium was, I didn't know what a podium was. And all the people in the stadium are excited – "Yippee-kayeah!" – and it dawned on my little brain that they must be applauding what I did. By the time I got my arm up there just about where you see it in the actual photo, all the good times and the "Yippee-kayeah" turned to anger and venom. In a split second they started hissing and throwing shit and name-calling.

It scared the shit out of me, to be honest with you. It scared me so much that at dinner that night my father could see that something was wrong. He asked me what's the matter. I said, "Daddy, I was in a movie. Daddy, everybody was happy about something I did, and then they got mad at me and they start throwing things at me and calling me names and spitting at me."

I never forgot this: my father brought me to his chest and said, "Son, no one's going to bother you. My job is to protect you, to love you, to feed you, to house you, to see that you get a good education." Then he said over my head to my mother, "Looks like God has something special in mind for this kid. We're gonna have to wait and see."

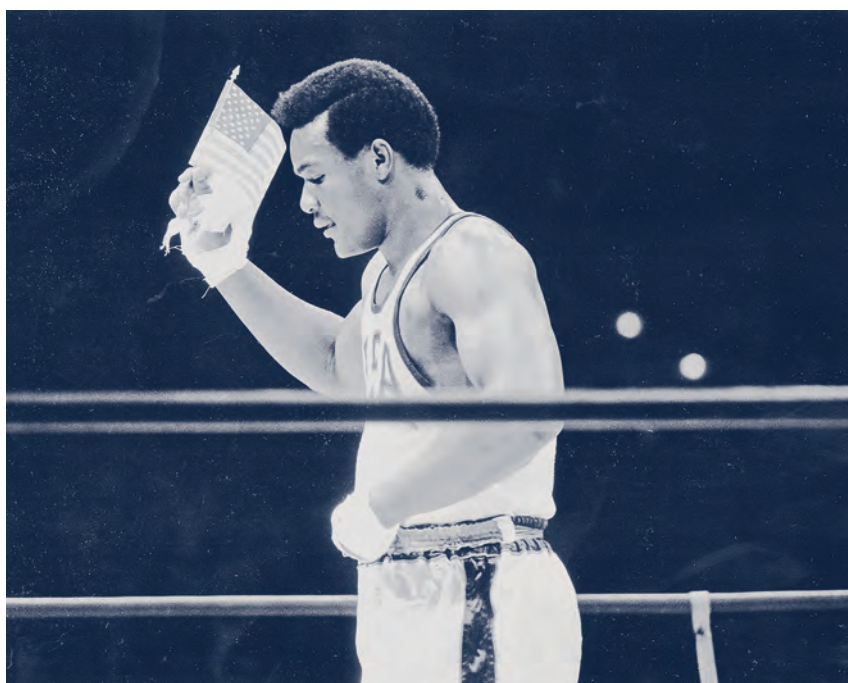
Fifteen years later, man, I'm on that victory stand. That's exactly what happened. So, in terms of the anguish and the attitude that people had, that was in that vision as well. I think the thing that carried me all these years is what my father said when he brought me into his chest. That he was there to protect me and that he loved me. I think that kept me strong through the whole scenario.

You didn't do many interviews in Mexico City right after. Why not?

The BBC interviewed us in Mexico City. We gave them like an exclusive. We didn't talk to anybody but the BBC at that time.

Howard Cosell [with ABC] didn't bring me into the studio. Years later I ran into him and he wanted to talk about the fact that he brought Tommie into the studio and had me sit out in the lobby. He said, "Let me tell you why. Because your mind is so sharp, before I could ask you a question, you've got the answer. You were just too sharp for us at that time and we were scared to bring you out there." I said, "It didn't matter, Howard, because it wasn't about what I said but what I did. That speaks volumes."

I think about this guy Brent Musburger⁴. He was no superstar sports commentator. But when he made that statement calling us "black-skinned storm troopers" – those individuals who had that same mentality were



the ones controlling the media. They fanned the fires and made him their hero. He got his career based on the fact that he didn't give a shit about what the cause was for any minorities at that time. And the deep thing is, since that time he's been making his living [as a sports announcer] on the backs of minorities.

What about the reaction of some of your teammates, like George Foreman famously celebrating his boxing victory by waving an American flag. Did that surprise you?

I was supposed to go to the fight that night. Pappy Gault [the US Olympic boxing coach] gave me four tickets – two for me, two for Tommie. By the grace of God, we didn't go. Now, George and I were very good friends. Very good friends then, very good friends today. But what happened was, Pappy put the flag in George Foreman's hands and pushed George out there. George didn't even realize what he had until the people started going crazy when they saw the flag. And, that was to counteract the demonstration.

Like I always tell people, "I was at highest level in my career [in Mexico City], and George was at the bottom, and we passed along the way as I'm coming down and he's rising up." I have love for George as much then as now. George didn't have any ill feelings against us. I've never called George "Uncle Tom," like some of my teammates did. I've always had respect for George. He was just a young guy from Texas that didn't really have an understanding as to what the real issues were at that time. He was put in a situation, and it helped him immensely.

Sprinter Lee Evans won the 400 metres and wore a black beret on the victory stand. What did you think of that?

Counter-demonstration: heavy-weight boxer George Foreman waves the US flag in the ring after his Olympic victory.

Photo: picture-alliance/AP

In 2016 a ticker tape parade at San Jose University celebrated the homecoming of Tommie Smith and John Carlos.

Photos: picture-alliance/AP



Lee Evans chose to try to straddle the fence. One foot in, one foot out. Like he was saying, "I understand what the black cause is, but I'm afraid to offend my oppressors." One minute you have the Black Panther beret on, and then the next minute you take it off and stand at attention with tears in your eyes. That kind of thing. Either you're with something or you're against it.

What about the African-American women athletes who expressed solidarity with your demonstration?

We were narrow-minded in not having the women have more input into what was taking place. I think that was the only flaw we might have had – the fact that women weren't involved. They should have been involved because the issues affected them, their kids, on down the line. I feel that they'd have been just as strong about what took place, because after the demonstration had taken place, although they might have felt slighted, they were in big support of what we did. They were probably more supportive than a lot of the men were.

The photograph of you and Tommie Smith on the podium has been reprinted so many times over the years that I wonder what goes through your mind when you look at it today?

It's part of our world history. We started out being concerned with black people in particular and people of colour in general. But then over time – almost 50 years, man – it's come full circle to the point where you realize that you don't have to be black or you don't have to be red or you don't have to be yellow: you can be white and still be a very depressed or oppressed race of

people. In other words, that demonstration was like a giant mushroom. It just kept getting taller and wider. It just expanded. I think it's expanded to the point where it's encompassing everyone – even the people leaving Syria right now, the migrants. Everyone is under that mushroom, you might say.

You wrote about how difficult things were for you after the 1968 Olympics. What was the worst thing that happened?

The most devastating thing was that it broke up my first marriage. It drove my wife to lose her mental capacity, to the point where she took her life. So, that was the greatest pain in the whole scenario. Everyone who was involved – from Peter Norman to Tommie Smith as well as myself – the situation broke up all of our marriages.

It was difficult for my kids in school. It was hard on me to have to go out and hustle every day. If there's 30 days in a month, to have to hustle for 29 days to try to get your mortgage together – beg, borrow, or steal – it was exhausting. I might have one day to rest, and then the very next day I had to get back on it again. I just refused to lose my house.

I'll never forget a guy by the name of Ron Freeman, who used to run for Arizona State, came to my house one time. My wife and I were strong individuals, strong to the point where we would never go to anyone and ask them for any handout or anything. He went to get some water in the kitchen and he happened to look into the cabinets and the fridge and he didn't see no food. He went out and came back later on, like two–three hours later, with

bags of groceries for our kids. He brought my wife and I to tears. He stepped up to help his fellow man.

I'd say the first 35 years afterwards nobody came and gave me a nickel for milk for my kids. I'm talking about black people that had succeeded on what Tommie Smith, John Carlos, and Peter Norman did. They knew it was a tremendous sacrifice. They knew that we had kids. It never came.

My sister took her life – this was years ago – so I can relate to the challenges and the unique grief in the aftermath of suicide.

You question yourself and say, "Is there anything I could've done?" You know they're in pain. They're in so much pain. But the greatest pain you have is the fact that you can't do nothing to help them.

You mentioned the span of 35 years: What changed that brought people to respect what you had done? Was it the passage of time?

I think it was a combination of a lot of things. But the main thing is, it goes back to what I said earlier about my convictions. I never wavered. I knew in my soul then – and I know even more so today – what we did was right. I stood fast by what I believed to be right. I think a lot of people admired the fact that I stood by my convictions and, at the same time, they came to see that we were right. Tommie and I were ahead of society.

You write about working for Puma at the 1972 Olympics in Munich. When did you sense that some of the people getting Puma sneakers and warm-ups might not be athletes and, in fact, turned out to be the Palestinian terrorists?

I didn't sense it. I knew for a fact that they weren't the real deal. See, Puma had a shop there in the Athlete's Village and they were giving gear out. I saw all these guys coming in to get Puma gear. I went to people within Puma and told them, "Don't give these guys nothing. This guy's coming in saying he's so-and-so from such-and-such country. He's no athlete. I've never seen him nowhere representing any nation in track and field."

They said, "It's alright, give it to him." I gave it to him. The end result is, when you see the pictures [of the Palestinian terrorists in Munich], they're all decked out in Puma gear. Puma didn't have a clue.

We live in a different world today, where track stars like Usain Bolt and Michael Johnson are paid well and can compete in multiple Olympic Games. If that was the case when you competed, would you have kept running after Mexico City?

I love the sport of track and field. I think I could have run another 10 years and done exceedingly well. The reason why I left track and field is because I felt like I was at the top of the heap. Tommie had retired from track. I was dominating the sprints – the 100 and the 200. The other guys weren't running to beat me anymore. They were running to see who was going to be second. I felt like the only way I could enhance the sport was for me to step aside and take on another challenge. I thought that I would have a decent chance to go and play football [in the NFL, which Carlos did briefly].

If I had to pick a side – whether I would like to run today or run yesterday – I would choose yesterday all the time. I think it was more competitive. I think it was



All smiles from the "rebels" of Mexico: from right, Tommie Smith, John Carlos, Lee Evans, (all USA) and Peter Norman (Australia) smile during the unveiling of a statue at San Jose State University on 17 October 2005.



"No Regrets": at the victory ceremony John Carlos wore his tracksuit jacket open in solidarity with the blue collar workers. With the chain round his neck was a symbol of remembrance for those who had been victims of lynching. Behind him are Tommie Smith and Peter Norman.

Photo: Getty Images

even more competitive on the psychology side as well as the physical side. I see the athletics, but I don't see the psychology in this modern day.

We sit back and smile now and say, "Man, look at these guys making all this money, and they ain't running nowhere near what we ran back then." And, we know it's between their athletic ability and some sort of juice [i.e., steroids].

Did you see any steroid use back then?

There were no steroids among the sprinters at that time. Nobody really knew about them. The only guys that used anything like that – Dianabol or any of that shit – was the bodybuilders that used to lift weights on Randall's Island [in New York City]. At the same time, you can't say steroids were illegal because there were no rules about what you could take and what you couldn't take back then.

As you know, Los Angeles is positioned to host the 2028 Olympics. What do you think about that?

There's a lot of issues. You have a heartfelt concern for the people in the community. At the same time, you want the athletes to have the chance to expose the talents that God gave them. You also want the city to have a capital gain as well. My feeling is, with capital gain, there should be some sharing of the pie. The Olympics generate a tremendous amount of money. Billions of dollars every four years. Why do you think it takes them four years to put on the Olympics Games? Because it takes them that long to count the money.

What do you think about today's generation of African-American athletes? Are they as socially aware or active as previous generations?

It's about consistency. You can be socially active, such as the players from the St. Louis Rams coming out on

the field with the "Hands Up" sign [in the wake of the fatal shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri]. People came and told them that it was wrong and that they didn't have the right to do that. I know a lot of them got silenced about it. They should never be silenced about what's right. They did the right thing. They had the right to step up because they have wives and daughters and sons that they have to be concerned about. They can't talk out of both sides of their mouths, like [former NBA-star-turned-TV-announcer] Charles Barkley.

Socially active? Yeah, we have some of them that's out there. But the difference between me and them is that for nearly 50 years I've been consistent. They're going to have to be consistent in order to try and make change. You can't do a fly-by-night. You can't be, "Well, because people were disenchanted by what I did or how I did it or what I said, I'm going to put my tail between my legs and run." You ain't throwing no firebombs, you ain't shooting nobody. You're just expressing your views on what's happening in your life and time.

Where do you keep your bronze medal from Mexico City?

My medal is with my kids. The medal has no significant value to me.

What are you doing these days now that you're retired?

Generally, I try to make my wife happy. Do a little traveling, go on a couple of cruises. I still go around the country and lecture. I always try and enlighten people as much as I can and at the same time pick up knowledge where I can.

How's your relationship with Tommie Smith? I understand that he lives near you.

Yeah, Tommie's in Georgia. But he's a separatist.

Do you still do appearances together?

Yeah, very occasionally. I let Tommie live his life. I do my thing and let him go and do his thing. My attitude is, we're one. Regardless of what you might think of me, we're joined at the hip for eternity. Long after we're dead and gone, they're not going to mention your name without mentioning mine, nor will they mention mine without yours. But he doesn't seem to understand that, and I guess after 45 years or more I just threw my hands up and said, "God, it's in your hands. I'm done. I can't deal with it no more." ■

1 John Carlos, Dave Zirin, *The John Carlos Story*, Haymarket Books, 2011

2 Thorpe was stripped of the medals he won in Stockholm after it was discovered that he had received money for playing minor league baseball. That violated the amateur-only rules of the Olympics of that era. Later, after Brundage became head of the IOC in 1952, he rebuffed efforts to restore Thorpe's medals and records.

3 Tommie Smith, David Steele, *Silent Gesture: The Autobiography of Tommie Smith*, Temple University Press, 2007

4 At that time a reporter with the Chicago American newspaper.

The Third Man on the Podium

By Volker Kluge

At the Annual General Meeting of the Australian Olympic Committee (AOC) on 28th April 2018, President John Coates conferred the Order of Merit on Olympic champions Catherine Freeman, Shane Gould and Ian Thorpe. Another medallist received the distinction posthumously. His name: Peter Norman.¹

The 26 year old schoolteacher from Melbourne, who contested an event for the first time on an artificial track and at a altitude of 2248 metres at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City, came as an outsider with a 200 m best performance of 20.5 seconds. He won his heat in 20.2 seconds, for a short time holding the Olympic record. He repeated this result in the semi-final, narrowly beaten by John Carlos. He clocked 19.7 seconds at the US Olympic trials on 12th September 1968. But this time was not recognised as a world record because of the forbidden "brush" spikes.

At this time no expert would have accepted the bet that the order would be reversed in the final. Yet it turned out differently. Carlos did turn into first place on the straight, but his compatriot Tommie Smith countered. Ten metres before the line Smith raised his arms in triumph, while Carlos – perhaps annoyed about the lost "private duel" – did not notice that two lanes to his right another man pushed past him: Peter Norman.

Before the victory ceremony, at which the US athletes appeared with black gloves and in black stockings, Norman had assured them of his solidarity, having already become friends with Smith. Norman told the late ISOH member Harry Gordon in 1993: "When he visited Melbourne in 1968, at a time when his wife was about to give birth, I gave him booties for the baby. I was happy to identify with him, and the principles he believed in."²

Norman, a working-class boy (his father was a butcher), wore on his tracksuit jacket the button of the Olympic Project for Human Rights. He had received this from a member of the US rowing team when the medallists were waiting in the stadium tunnel for the start of the ceremony. By doing so, he had opposed the "White Australia" policy of his government, which was supported by the conservative media. There were more than a few voices demanding that he be punished. One of those who placed himself protectively in front of him was the Australian team's Chef de Mission, Julius Patching, who said to Norman privately: "They're screaming out for your

blood, so consider yourself severely reprimanded. Now, you got any tickets for the hockey today?"³

Although Patching had advised him to hold back any statements, Norman strengthened his position after Mexico. To reporters he explained: "I believe in human rights. Every man is equal, and should be treated that way."⁴ That corresponded not only to his belief, and his commitment to the Salvation Army, but also to the almost identical Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁵

After two less than stellar years, Norman again showed ambitions to qualify for the Olympic Games. In late 1971 he ran the 100 m in 10.2 and 200 m in 20.5 s, but at the Olympic trial he was third and not nominated for Munich 1972. Disappointed, the now 30 year old left the international stage and played football for a time.

While Norman's family later maintained that, after Mexico, he was ignored by the Australian authorities, the AOC indicates that he was never on a blacklist. He was said to have been invited to some festivities before the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney, and he also was among the Olympic torchbearers. It took till 2012 before the Australian Parliament acknowledged his role in fostering racial equality and it apologised for his treatment.



Melbourne 2006. Tommie Smith (left) and John Carlos led the line of the pallbearers at the funeral of Peter Norman.

Photos: picture-alliance

Peter Norman died of a heart attack on 3rd October 2006. At his funeral six days later Smith and Carlos led the coffin-bearers. One year earlier Norman had taken part in the inauguration of the memorial at San Jose University. At his own request, Norman's place on the podium had been left empty. It is may be used by visitors for photographs. In the Museum of African History in Washington, D.C., where there is another memorial, he can be seen with the two Americans in the legendary iconic pose. ■

- 1 www.olympics.com.au. AOC Annual General Meeting – Orders of Merit to Australian Sporting Greats, 28th April 2018
- 2 Harry Gordon, *Australia and the Olympic Games. The Official History*, Queensland Press, 1994, p. 281
- 3 Michael Carlson, "Peter Norman – Unlike Australian participant in black athlete's Olympic civil rights protest", in: *The Guardian*, 5th October 2006
- 4 Gordon, p. 281
- 5 United Nations, General Assembly, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 10th December 1948, A/RES/217, UN-Doc. 217/A-(III)

Avery Brundage – The Man Who Would Be King

By Anthony J. Wall

Avery Brundage wearing the US Olympic uniform in 1912. At the Stockholm Olympics he came sixth in the pentathlon, but after the disqualification of Jim Thorpe he moved up a place. In the decathlon he was so disappointed by his performances that he did not start in the final event the 1500 m. As a result he was not ranked.

Photo: Avery Brundage Collection



In the annals of Olympic history, much has been written about Avery Brundage, the long-time President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). He was perhaps best known for holding Olympic athletes to a strict standard of amateurism, a rule now long abandoned. His insistence that Olympians receive no material benefits and endure Spartan living conditions while they pursue their Olympic careers was in sharp contrast to how Brundage himself lived his life. Starting from a modest background, Brundage not only ardently pursued wealth and luxury throughout his life, but also the trappings of royalty.

Avery Brundage was born to humble circumstances in Detroit, Michigan in 1887. He was the proverbial

hardworking newspaper boy who made good.¹ A strong man and exceptional athlete, Brundage was also blessed with sharp intelligence and became an athlete-scholar in the classic mold. Garnering an engineering degree at the University of Illinois, he went on to represent the USA in the pentathlon and decathlon in the 1912 Olympics, competing against the legendary Jim Thorpe.²

Brundage was not only smart and athletic, but was also a striver. He pursued wealth throughout his life. Contrary to the standards to which he later would hold Olympic athletes, the young Brundage actively sought to parlay his athletic achievements into wealth. Using his notoriety as an Olympic athlete to gain financing,³ Brundage built a respectable fortune in the rough-and-tumble Chicago construction industry during the boom years of the 1920s.⁴ He solidified his new-found wealth and social status by marrying a wealthy Chicago socialite, Elizabeth Dunlap, in 1927. Capitalizing on his Olympic, business and social achievements, in 1929 he secured the prestigious presidency of the American Olympic Committee (AOC).⁵

As quickly as Brundage's construction business grew in the boom years of the Twenties, it just as quickly went bust with the Great Crash of 1929. He found himself back in the penniless status of his youth.⁶ But resourceful as always, Brundage again used his notoriety as a sportsman, AOC connections and creative financing to aggressively enter the hotel and real estate market, opportunistically buying foreclosed properties at Depression Era prices.⁷ He rebuilt his lost fortune, though the roller-coaster ride would not be over before he died.

Brundage's ascent to Olympus

Brundage was not satisfied with merely being a wealthy Midwestern American businessman. The burly former newspaper boy yearned to enhance his class standing and personal prestige. Brundage once remarked to



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an associate, in jest the associate thought, that his ambition was to marry a princess.⁸ There was no better opportunity for Brundage to hobnob with blue-blooded royals than to move up from the U.S. Olympic Committee to the IOC. The members of the IOC then included Prince Axel of Denmark, Comte Albert Gautier Vignal of Monaco, and Baron A. Schimmelpennick von der Oye of the Netherlands.⁹

Brundage's courting of aristocracy was regarded as sometimes embarrassingly obvious.¹⁰ But he was man who got what he wanted and, embarrassing or not, his ardent pursuit of royals paid off when in 1936 he was elected to the IOC. Brundage had also by this time begun to use his now-considerable wealth to build a serious art collection, a hallmark of any aspiring aristocrat.

No sooner had Avery Brundage ascended the peaks of financial and social prestige than, in almost Shakespearian fashion, cracks would begin to show in the great man. The dark whispers about Brundage had always been that he was an anti-Semite and Nazi sympathizer. There is unfortunately much evidence to support those accusations.

After the Nazis assumed power in Germany in 1933, calls arose in the US for a boycott of the upcoming 1936 Olympics in Berlin. Brundage brusquely dismissed such concerns as the work of "a Jewish/communist conspiracy." However, when Germany then began holding the Nazi version of Woodstock at its extravagant "Nuremberg rallies," it became obvious to many that the Berlin Olympics would be used as a propaganda tool to celebrate the "Master Race." Spurring the calls for a US boycott were reports that Jews would not be allowed to compete in Berlin.

To head-off the boycott threat, Brundage assured US officials that he had pressured the Nazis officials into dropping their exclusionary policy. He had successfully averted the boycott, but allegations later arose that Brundage had done so by cutting a backroom deal with the Nazis, at the expense of Jewish athletes.

The only Jews on the 1936 US Olympic track team were Marty Glickman and Sam Stoller. To show there would be no exclusion, Glickman and Stoller traveled with the US team to Berlin. Their race was the 400-metre relay, which was to be run in Berlin Stadium on a day Adolf Hitler happened to be attending. However, on the morning of the relay, when it was then too late to re-ignite a boycott threat, US officials without warning removed Glickman and Stoller from the relay team, denying them the gold medals their team would go on to win. Glickman would later attribute the decision to pressure from Brundage.¹¹

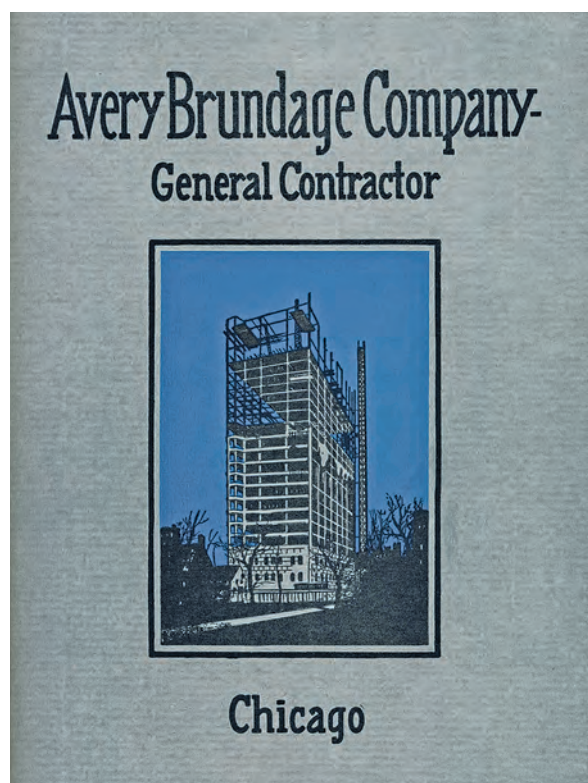
After the Berlin Games, many in the USA were disgusted that Hitler had been allowed to debase the Olympics by making them a political showcase for the Nazis. Upon returning to the US, Brundage sought to counter

such criticism by praising the Nazi regime at a Madison Square rally.¹² In thanks, Nazi authorities sent Brundage a letter recognising his pro-Nazi sympathies, and his construction company later was awarded a contract to build the German Embassy in Washington, D.C.¹³

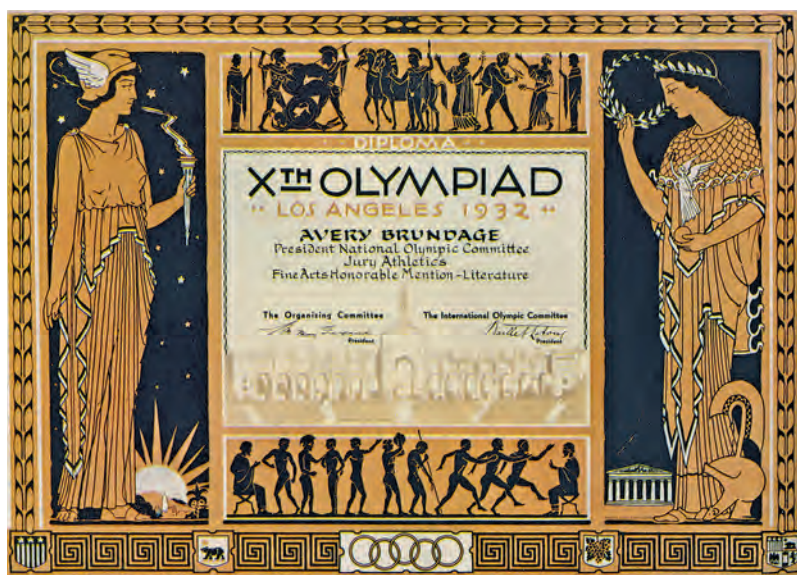
To show the Berlin Olympics as a Aryan race triumph, the Nazis hired filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, fresh from making the notorious *Triumph of the Will* glorifying the "Nuremberg rallies", to make a film of the Berlin Olympics. Her *OLYMPIA* was released in 1938, by which time events like so-called Kristallnacht left little doubt about the Nazi's Jewish agenda. With its slow-pan shots of Hitler and smiling Berlin crowds proudly giving Nazi salutes, American movie theaters refused to show *OLYMPIA*. Shrugging off growing anti-Nazi sentiments in the USA, Brundage breathlessly praised the propaganda film and even organised private screenings at his own expense.¹⁴

A Chicago businessman in California

After the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and WWII followed, property values in the West Coast areas of the United States plunged, as fears of a sea invasion by the Japanese and other economic concerns spread.¹⁵ Brundage began buying California coastal properties at depressed prices.¹⁶ He chose the pretty coastal town of Santa Barbara, California as his focus, particularly its wealthy enclave of Montecito.



Brundage – the building speculator: a company brochure. His organisation helped change the skyline of Chicago. Photo: Avery Brundage Collection



At the 1932 Olympics in Los Angeles Avery Brundage took part in the art competitions. He was awarded an "Honorable Mention" and received a diploma for his piece "The Significance of the Amateur Sport"

Photos: Avery Brundage Collection

In 1946 he purchased a large property there called Escondrijo (the Hidden Place) and built a lavish estate he would rename La Piñeta (the Pines). Brundage filled the Spanish-style mansion with his by-then-extensive Asian art collection. The estate's formal gardens were regarded as spectacular, with manicured hedges, walkways, pools, a fountain and sculptures.¹⁷

Brundage used La Piñeta not only for social entertainment of IOC blue bloods, but also as a base for refocusing much of his business fortune on Santa Barbara real estate. He purchased the Montecito Golf and Country Club and the El Paseo complex in downtown Santa Barbara, which included restaurants, shops and offices.

Brundage would the acquire the El Presidio business block in downtown Santa Barbara, and later a hotel in Montecito that had first been built by Charley Chaplin when he lived there. Local press at the time touted the significance of the Chicago businessman's purchases. As one of many local civic honors, Brundage was bestowed with honorific of "Excelentismo Señor de Santa Barbara."¹⁸ He had become a local celebrity.

Ever the skilled politician, by 1952 Brundage had climbed his way up to the presidency of the IOC, a post he would hold for an unprecedented 20 years. During that period Brundage would rule with an iron hand as "King of the Olympics." He did much to advance the Olympic Movement during that reign, but just as much to damage in it in the view of many.

The conflict with the African-Americans

Although Brundage throughout his life voiced a desire to "keep politics out of the Olympics," it was often his own actions that drew political attention to the Olympics. In the 1960s, South Africa was under a continuing Olympic ban due to its apartheid policies. Disregarding public

sentiment as always, Brundage pushed through a re-admission by the IOC of South Africa for the upcoming 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. Widespread protests ensued. *Déjà vu* of 1936 and Berlin, the now 80-year-old Brundage found himself again fighting calls for a boycott of the Olympics, this time by black US athletes. While Brundage had been able to work skillfully behind the scenes in 1936, the "King of the Olympics" was now put front-and-center in the 1968 controversy.

Black US civil rights leaders and black-owned magazines like *Ebony* went after Brundage personally, publicly exposing that he owned a business that excluded Jews and African-Americans, the Montecito Country Club.¹⁹ Such exclusionary policies unfortunately were not rare in the US social venues when Brundage bought the Club in the 1940s.

However, under Brundage's ownership, the Montecito Country Club was seen as maintaining its racist walls long after many other private clubs had torn theirs down.²⁰ Publicly branded a racist and hypocrite in the press, Brundage reluctantly yielded to disinviting South Africa from the '68 Games. However, this public humiliation apparently did not embarrass him enough to open up the Montecito Country Club to Jews or blacks.

Following Brundage's cave on South Africa, almost all black athletes on the US Olympic team would go to Mexico City. However, one young college basketball player would follow through with a personal boycott. Lew Alcindor of UCLA, later known as Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (perhaps the greatest basketball player in history), refused to join the US team in Mexico due to his distaste for the earlier pro-Nazi comments of Brundage.²¹

Although Brundage had averted a black athlete boycott of the 1968 Olympics, he could not extinguish the racial fires he had now lit. During the Games he withdrew from his traditional role of making medal presentations after some black athletes said they would refuse their medals on the stand if presented by Brundage.²² One of the athletic highlights of the 1968 Games was when American sprint star Tommie Smith blazed to a gold medal in the 200 metres in spectacular world record time, with teammate John Carlos sweeping in for the bronze. But then, in what would become one of the most famous images of 1960s protest, at the medal ceremony the two African-Americans proudly stepped up on the stand only to then lower their heads and raise black-gloved fists in a power salute as the US national anthem played. Brundage had no one but himself to blame for this the incident. His ill-conceived support of apartheid South Africa had primed the pump for an Olympic protest.

Tommie Smith said it was a silent protest against continuing discrimination suffered by blacks throughout the world.²³ Nevertheless, "the King" was outraged and promptly kicked both Olympic heroes off the US team,

evicted them from their housing in the Olympic Village, and even tried to get Mexico to kick them out of the country.

However, the once politically savvy Brundage was now just pouring more fuel on the fire. This was now 1968, Vietnam War protests were sweeping the US, and long gone were the days when young athletes, particularly black athletes, would quietly kowtow to the commands of an 80 year-old man wrapped in the prejudices of the past.

The day after Smith and Carlos were expelled another black athlete, 4x400-metres gold medallist Vince Matthews, pulled the sheets off his bed in his Olympic Village room, painted on them the words "Down with Brundage," and hung them out his window "for the world to see."²⁴ Back in the USA, civil rights activist Dr. Harry Edward called Brundage "our version of Bull Connor" (the notoriously racist police chief of Birmingham, Alabama). Tommie Smith would later write in his autobiography that Brundage "was our Hitler."²⁵

The writing was now on the wall for the old bear, as calls for Brundage to give up control of the IOC would continue to build. But he would hang on for one more Games, proudly returning the Olympics to his beloved Germany in 1972. But the Munich Games would be marred by politics of a much worse sort, as Arab terrorists murdered Israeli athletes. Some of Brundage's public remarks following that tragedy were seen as insensitive



Among the guests gathered in Chicago in 1967 to congratulate Brundage on his 80th birthday were Jesse Owens, winner of four gold medals in Berlin and his wife Ruth.

Photos: Avery Brundage Collection

to the Jewish Israeli who had died. Brundage would shortly thereafter step down from this 20 year reign over the Olympics, the King was dead. He quietly retired to his estate in Montecito.

Brundage's conflicts with Jews and African-Americans are well known, and accounts vary as to his attitudes toward women as Olympic competitors. But however conflicted Brundage may have been over women as athletes, he clearly enjoyed their company in this personal life, particularly the younger ones. His socialite wife, Elizabeth, was the gracious hostess of many grand soirees the Brundages held at La Piñeta for Asian art connoisseurs and Olympic Committee dignitaries (rarely for any Olympic athletes of course, as that would be like inviting the help to dinner).²⁶ The two remained married until her death in 1971.

However, Brundage lived a double life. He was rumoured to have had numerous affairs throughout his marriage, with women in multiple countries. His most deeply guarded secret was his long-term relationship with a Finnish mistress, Lilian Dresden. At 29 years old, she was 32 years younger than Brundage when the relationship began.

He fathered two sons with her in the early 1950s (he had none with Elizabeth). To avoid a scandal that might jeopardize his role on the blue-blooded IOC, Brundage kept his name off his children's birth certificates²⁷ and maintained this second family at a good distance, in a house he bought for them in San Francisco Bay area.²⁸ That house (as well as La Piñeta) was kept in the name of Brundage's long-term secretary Frances Blakely, who was also his lover and reportedly hoped to marry Brundage one day.²⁹



Outgoing President J. Sigrid Edström handed the ceremonial keys to his successor Avery Brundage on 14th August 1952. The IOC was then based in the villa "Mon Repos". Photo: IOC Archives



After Brundage's house in Santa Barbara was destroyed in a forest fire in September 1964, he had a new residence built nearby.

Photo: Avery Brundage Collection

The "dream marriage" of an 85-year-old

In 1964, one of the large brush fires for which California is known roared through Montecito. The staff of the Montecito Country Club was quickly commandeered to La Piñeta to rescue its art treasures. Although at first it seemed the fire might shift away, the winds changed, the inferno swept downhill to La Piñeta. Brundage's twenty-room mansion was completely destroyed and many art objects lost despite the desperate efforts of the Club's hard-working busboys and caddies.

Brundage stayed in Montecito, buying an estate called Brünninghausen, after a castle in West Germany. Brundage liked the heritage of the estate. Brünninghausen had been built by a Prussian Baron Maximilian (Max) Hugo Converse Wilhelm von Romberg in 1928 for his new bride Emily Hall.³⁰

Like Brundage, Hall was a socially ambitious American. Born in rustic Butte, Montana, a mining town in the Rocky Mountains, by the age of 20 she had married into a rich Westphalian noble family, when the young Baron von Romberg was only 18.

Hall took the title of Emily, Baroness von Romberg. Five years later, she filed a divorce decree against the young Baron "for neglect and discourtesy," but on their way to the courthouse they changed their minds. However, Baron von Romberg later died in a plane crash in 1938, aged 27, flying his own plane back from a wedding party.

Although one of Brundage's sons was given his name "Avery," Brundage would never publicly recognize his two sons nor his relationship with their mother. His paternal legacy to his sons appears to have been limited to offering them a trust fund, though on the condition that they release all claims to his other assets.³¹

Even after his wife Elizabeth passed away, Brundage would not legitimize his relationship with Dresden by marrying her.³² Although one might think that was because Brundage was by then too old to re-marry, it was clearly not the case. Fulfilling his earlier expressed dream, in 1973 Brundage married an actual princess, a German one of course. Marianne Charlotte Katharina Stefanie von Reuß was 37 years old at the time. Being himself then 85, Brundage had married nearly 50 years younger.³³ She was the daughter of Heinrich XXXVII Prince of Reuß zu Köstritz³⁴, a tiny (15 square kilometers) principality that had long since vanished into communist East Germany.

Unfortunately for Brundage, a princess does not come cheap. During the first 18 months of their marriage the Brundages spent millions on property and jewelry, causing an advisor to tell Brundage he would soon be bankrupt.³⁵

Brundage soon died in 1975. He was on holiday in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. It had been the winter location of the Nazi-controlled 1936 Olympic Games, which to the end Brundage maintained were the greatest Olympic Games ever held.³⁶

Few others had led such a high-profile life in Montecito as Avery Brundage, yet almost nothing remains of his legacy there today. He chose to be buried back in Chicago. His gravesite on the Rosehill Cemetery has been the target of Jewish activists.³⁷

In Montecito, Brundage left only ruins

Brundage had assembled one of the finest collections of Asian art in the world. He donated the 8000-item collection to San Francisco on the condition that the city would build a new museum to enshrine it. In 1966, the Asian Art Museum opened as a wing of the De Young Museum. It is today the largest museum in the United States devoted to the art of Asia.³⁸

By the time Brundage died, his art treasures had left Montecito, his grand La Piñeta was in ashes, and his once baronial local real estate holdings had been liquidated to fund the lavish lifestyle he would maintain through his sunset years. In his will, he left no significant local endowments, but instead made only a few grants to institutions in Illinois (leaving nothing at all to his sons).

He left neither diaries nor any collection of letters or memorabilia.³⁹ The little that survived of La Piñeta after the Coyote fire included the concrete walls and roof of a partially underground garden colonnade. The property was later purchased in by "self-taught artist, poet, musician and filmmaker" Rowena Pattee Kryder with the proclaimed purpose of creating a "temple".

Ms. Kryder converted the colonnade into a dwelling, embellishing it with panoramic, symbolic mosaics drawing on precepts from various world religions, and



**“Where are you from?
No, originally?”**

WHOSE ART IS THIS?

The City founded this museum to permanently house a collection of Asian art that this man, who lived in Chicago, amassed as a memorial to himself.

Instrumental in making this happen was the Society of Asian Art, formed by an art historian and “a group of prominent socialites.”

Questions all too familiar to Asian Americans—as perpetual foreigners. What happens when you ask the same of this museum’s Permanent Collection?

- **Looted?** In contrast to collections of European art, this one is largely lacking in provenance (ownership history), which leaves open the possibility that many objects were originally stolen.
- **Violent Conquest:** Much of this was acquired from countries suffering the turmoil, hardship, and aftermath of war.
- **Desecration of Sacred Sites:** While experts may speak of Cultural Property and National Patrimony, it’s important to keep in mind that many of these objects were never meant to be owned by anyone.

QUESTIONS

- How is this collection used to project an image of Asia that keeps us seen as *perpetually foreign*: ‘timelessly exotic, mysteriously spiritual, luxuriously sensuous, eternally unchanging’
- How does **PHANTOMS** deploy this collection to keep *contemporary art* of Asia trapped within this fixed, essentializing gaze of Asian Tradition?

AVERY BRUNDAGE (Defining Characteristics)

*Note: “Avery Brundage, imperialist” returns 5,092,000 results

He caressed with Hitler, wanted women out of Olympic competition, and as IOC President suspended Tommy Smith and John Carlos in the Mexico City Olympics in 1968 for their raised fists.

BUT IT’S OUR MUSEUM

In addition to the annual millions in city funding (to keep honoring this guy and his Orientalist gaze, in part), last year the City bailed out the museum, so we are now liable for its nearly \$100 million debt. www.asiansart.org

Category	Google Search Results (x1000)
MUSORNIUS	~40
INDUSTRIALUS	~40
FRACIST	~60
FASCIST	~80
ANTI-SEMITE	~100

naming it “Cave of Dawning.” She “wanted to amplify a power spot by transforming an abandoned ruin into a place where subtle energy could circulate and radiate.” She hoped her work at La Piñeta would “release the ancient past embodied in my soul’s mythic journey and ... transfigure old symbols into a comprehensive whole relevant to the present.”⁴⁰ We can only speculate as to whether her efforts transfigured whatever may have remained there of Avery Brundage. ■

- 1 Sid Marks, *The Newspaper Boy’s Hall of Fame*, House–Warven Pub., Hollywood 1953; Maynard Brichford, “Avery Brundage: Chicago Businessman,” *Journal of The Illinois State Historical Society* 91:4 218, Winter 1998 (“Brichford I”)
- 2 “Avery Brundage,” www.wikipedia.com
- 3 Allen Guttmann, *The Games Must Go On*, Irvington, NY, Columbia University Press 1983, 40 (“Guttmann”); “Avery Brundage,” www.wikipedia.com (citing “The Olympic Story”, ed. James E. Churchill, Jr. (Grolier Enterprises Inc. 1983) (“Churchill”))
- 4 Id.; Brichford I 218
- 5 “Avery Brundage,” www.wikipedia.com
- 6 Guttmann 41; Maynard Brichford, “Avery Brundage: Money and Olympic Ideology,” *Critical Reflections on Olympic Ideology*, 61 (“Brichford II”)
- 7 Guttmann 40; Brichford II 61
- 8 Guttmann 257
- 9 Guttmann 267–277
- 10 Guttmann 111
- 11 “Avery Brundage,” www.nationmaster.com
- 12 “Avery Brundage,” www.nationmaster.com
- 13 *Hitler’s Pawn: The Margaret Lambert Story*, produced by HBO and Black Canyon Productions
- 14 Churchill in “Avery Brundage,” www.wikipedia.com
- 15 Guttmann 44
- 16 Ibid. 44
- 17 Guttmann 45
- 18 *Santa Barbara News Press* 1/23/49; *Santa Barbara News Press* 1/3/50; Guttmann 44–45; Bichford I; *Santa Barbara News Press* 8/21/08
- 19 Ferdinand Landry, *Sport in the Third Millennium*, International Symposium 1991 (“Landry”); Fleur Taylor Jaher, Frederic Cople, *The Secret history of the Olympics. Anti–Semitism in American Athletics* (“Jaher

- and Cople”); “Should Negroes Boycott the Olympics?,” *Ebony*, March 1968
- 20 Paul N. McCloskey, Jr., “Machinations of the Anti–Defamation League,” *The Journal of Historical Review*, Sept.–Dec. 2001 (Vol. 20, No. 5–6), p. 13–24; Landry; Jaher and Cople
- 21 Biography: Kareem Abdul–Jabbar, Academy of Achievement, www.achievement.org
- 22 Guttmann 243 (citing *New York Times* 10/16/68)
- 23 Tommie Smith with David Steele, *Silent Gesture, The Autobiography of Tommie Smith*, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2007), 139 (“Smith”)
- 24 Vincent Matthews with Neil Amdur, *My Race Be Won*, New York Charterhouse, 1974, 197
- 25 Smith 165
- 26 Guttmann 47; Brichford II
- 27 William Oscar Johnson “Avery Brundage: The Man Behind The Mask”, *Sports Illustrated*, 4th August 1980 (“Johnson”); Tax, Jeremiah. “An In–depth Look At Both The Seemly And Seamy Sides Of Avery Brundage”, *Sports Illustrated*, 16th January 1984; Wikipedia; Guttmann 48–49
- 28 Guttmann 48–49
- 29 Johnson, cited in Guttmann 49
- 30 *Montecito Journal*, Vol. 19, Issue 21 (May 2013). The moated castle Brünninghausen near Dortmund was owned by the von Romberg family from 1483 to 1927. After the city of Dortmund had bought it in 1928, it was heavily destroyed in a bomb attack at the end of World War II.
- 31 Guttmann 49 (citing Trust Agreement, Bank of America March 30, 1955)
- 32 Guttmann 257
- 33 Johnson, Guttmann 258. Princess Reuß [Reuss] (1936–2003) was married from 1987 to 1994 with the native Swiss Friedrich Feldmann.
- 34 Heinrich XXXVII Prince von Reuß zu Köstritz (1888–1964) was a Submarine Commander in the First World War and Lieutenant General of the Flak Artillery in WWII.
- 35 Guttmann 261; Brichford II
- 36 David Clay Large, *Nazi Games: The Olympics of 1936*, WW Norton NY, 2007, p. 336
- 37 “Avery Brundage” www.nationmaster.com
- 38 www.asiansart.org.
- 39 Guttmann; Le Compte, *Journal of Sport History* 17:1 (1990)
- 40 Rowena Pattee Kryder, *Sacred Ground to Sacred Space: Visionary Ecology, Perennial Wisdom, Environmental Ritual and Art*, (Bear & Co, 1994) pp. 249–250; Mary Every, “PEOPLE: Rowena Pattee Kryder’s Life Mosaic of Creativity,” *Santa Barbara News Press*, March 1979; Scorecard, *Sports Illustrated*, Edited by Robert W. Creamer.

IOC President Brundage presented part of his collection to the Memorial Museum in 1959 on condition that a new museum be built in the Golden Park of San Francisco. Three years after the opening in 1966 he made a further bequest from his collection. Today the Asian Art Museum has a collection numbering 18,000 pieces. It is the largest American museum dedicated exclusively to Asiatic art. However there remain questions over the ownership of some pieces. (See Flyer).

Photo: Avery Brundage Collection

Gillis Grafström – the Artist among the Figure Skaters

By Volker Kluge

Gillis Grafström, the most successful Olympic figure skater in the world with three gold medals and one silver

Photo: Vera Schickel Collection



Figure skating encompasses six basic jumps, with approximately 100 more derived from these six. Four jumps bear the names of their inventors.

The Norwegian Axel Paulsen performed the "Axel" for the first time in 1882 at the Ice Festival of the Viennese Skating Club (WEV). It is considered the most difficult and is known as the "king's jump" because it is the only one in which one takes off skating forward.

It was followed in 1909 by the "Salchow", created by the Swede, Ulrich Salchow. In his long career Salchow, born in Denmark, became the first Olympic champion in figure skating in 1908, and no fewer than ten times world and nine times European champion.

In 1909 the German Werner Rittberger appeared in the Berlin Ice Palace, where he skated to melodies of the "King of the Operetta" Walter Kollo. Suddenly, the drummer struck his instrument so powerfully that the 18 year old jumped backwards in shock and also landed.

The "Rittberger" was born, which the Americans call the "Loop".

Four years later came the "Lutz", for which a young Viennese named Alois Lutz is responsible. He was left no time to present the jump internationally. At the age of only 19, he succumbed in 1918 to a lung inflammation.¹

The "figure skating artist" Jackson Haines became Grafström's model

Gillis Emanuel Grafström, who was born in Stockholm 125 years ago – on 7th June 1893 –, did not invent a jump. Yet the Swede possessed another unique characteristic. He is the only figure skater who was three times Olympic champion and, in addition, won an Olympic silver medal. This hat trick was achieved among the ladies only by the Norwegian Sonja Henie and the Russian, Irina Rodnina.

Grafström's father came from a peasant family, which originally bore the everyday name of Larsson.² In Stockholm, Claes August Grafström became a wealthy property owner. He lived in the quarter of Östermalm at Styransgatan 47. In winter it was traditional to spray the parental yard with water so that the sons – Börje, Gillis, Lars and Nils – could skate on the ice.

When Gillis was 13 years old, he joined in 1907 the upmarket Stockholm Allmänna Skridskoklubb (SASK) of which celebrities like Salchow were members. He achieved his first successes in 1909 as winner of the junior class of the Swedish school championships.

After his Abitur, which Grafström sat in 1912 at the venerable Östra Real Gymnasium, he began to study at the am Royal Institute of Technology (KTH). The same year his name appeared for the first time at the European Championship in Stockholm, which his club fellow member, Gösta Sandahl, won from the Russian, Ivan Malinin, and the Norwegian, Martin Stixrud. On the programme was also a "senior" figure skating competition in which Grafström took part and in which he attracted attention by "superlative skill".³

Grafström's model was the "figure skating artist" Jackson Haines, whom he knew only by word of mouth. The American came to Europe for the first time in 1865. On the 24th January he appeared in Berlin in the Greater Tiergarten, which attracted 10,000 visitors, including Prussia's King Wilhelm I. After that he travelled to St. Petersburg, where he skated for the Tsar. For his big number, "Le Novice", in which he played a clumsy beginner, he received stormy applause.⁴

The next winter Haines stopped in Stockholm. The stands at Nybroviken were occupied to the last seat. King Karl XV, who was among the spectators, was so enthusiastic that he resolved to found a royal skating club.⁵

Among Haines's secrets was that he used skates of steel, screwed on to the sole of his shoes. In contrast, they skated on wooden runners in Europe, to which they fitted iron runners fastened with leather or strings. But even when he was not on the ice, Haines was very busy. The theatre managers had discovered the "original genius" for the stage, on which he appeared with roller skates. For weeks he was a guest in autumn 1867 in Vienna's Carl Theatre.

Haines gave the impetus for the foundation of the Viennese Skating Club, to which on the 12th November 1867, the concession was given to erect an ice rink at the market hall. To help it financially, he declared himself prepared to give five performances, which were attended by several thousand spectators.⁶ He sent the club on its way by saying that the ice rink was "no playground for gawkers, but a school for decency and grace."⁷



The American Jackson Haines on the Nybroviken in Stockholm, where thousands watched him from the bank in 1866.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

Vienna versus Stockholm – the struggle for "world supremacy"

Haines's appearance became a turning point. With him as a leading figure there arose the "Viennese School". As a basis for the development of competitive sport was the "Viennese Programme" of 1882. Only then did the systematic building-up of what was later described as "Schulfiguren" occur.⁸ Vienna became the veritable centre of power, which saw itself in sharp competition with Stockholm, where the unchallenged winner Salchow represented quite different concepts.

During the evaluation of the compulsory figures – at that time the first and more highly esteemed part of every competition – more or less objective criteria existed, even if opinions about the free skating, the composition of which was left to each competitor, were often divergent. Salchow, who was a proponent of a technically perfect but unornamented-powerful style, rejected any type of "cheap showmanship". His view: "Art has nothing to do with these false, often sentimental poses. These serve often rather to conceal a lack of skill. The skater should in his bearing be simple, modest."⁹

Salchow spoke from the heart to those experts who demanded an exact figure from a skater. The pragmatist, who after a one year pause in 1913 had once again taken part in a European Championship (and won), became a wholesaler and professional official, who in his own factory produced skates to which he lent his name. As for other models, Jackson Haines acted as godfather. But Salchow brought a small saw on bow of the skate, which permitted the athlete a better jump and secure pirouettes.

Grafström, on the other hand, thought himself an artist and aesthete. He refused a strict corset. It was his dream to bring figure skating out of the narrowness of the study rooms. However, the great practical tests still awaited him. At his first World Championship, which took place in 1914 in an icy wind on the frozen harbour of Helsinki, he fell and hit the back of his head. Although he had only come seventh of 14 participants, his lecture was popular, and it read:

**Olympic Gold No. 1:
Gillis Grafström in
1920 in Antwerp at
the Palais sur Glace**

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

Grafström has very good school and is certainly with the correct training a very likely competitor for the championship in the coming years. Now he is still somewhat unprepared.¹⁰

Five months later the First World War began, to which the Games of the VI Olympiad, which the IOC had awarded to Berlin, fell victim. Against the resistance of the Scandinavians, who feared for the significance of their Nordic Games, an Olympic "Winter Sports Week" was for the first time to be part of the programme.¹¹

Despite the war Grafström, who could have won an Olympic medal in 1916, found himself in a comfortable situation. As a "neutral" he was allowed to take up the study of architecture at the Royal Technical School (TH) in Charlottenburg, which he concluded in the last year of the war. He could even continue to practise figure skating. To be sure, the splendid Berlin Ice Palace from 1915 was used as a cool room for pork, yet in the Admiral's Palace in Friedrichstreet the sport went on, so that Grafström could bring himself into form in good time for the Nordic Games of 1917. The victory in the Stockholm Olympic Stadium was not to be taken from him.

**Salchow labelled Grafström's picture
as an egocentric misfit**

With the exception of Scandinavia and North America, international competition was in a bad place. In Austria even the national championships had to be cancelled for lack of ice and electricity. Thus it was a great performance when Belgium, badly affected by the war, declared itself prepared to carry out the 1920 Olympics, including figure skating and ice hockey, in Antwerp. That, however, under the condition that the losers in the war – the "Central Powers" – would not take part, which was sanctioned by the IOC.

Without the competition from Austria, Germany, Hungary and Soviet Russia (involved in a war with Poland), Antwerp for Grafström represented no great challenge. With over 200 points ahead of the Norwegian Andreas Krogh, and a rating of 8, he achieved his first Olympic gold.¹² Bronze went to the 44 year old Martin Stixrud, also from Norway.

Only eighteen months younger than Stixrud, Salchow – since 1919 President of the Swedish Skating Federation – tried to make a comeback, which for him ended joylessly with a fourth placing. He did master the compulsory figures perfectly, but his free skating looked heavy. The changing of the guard was long completed.

Among the curiosities was that the International Skating Union (ISU), founded in 1892, was wrapped in silence. Its last congress had taken place one year before the outbreak of war, when the ISU still had twelve national federations and ten clubs as members.



When the Netherlands in 1919 pushed for the Union to reorganise, the Swedish General Viktor Balck, who since 1895 had held the presidency, reacted with hesitation.

Only when the representatives of six countries met in May 1921 for a "Congress of Neutrals" did he accede.¹³ At the invitation of the Dutch federation the national organisations including Germany and Austria met in October for the first time with the exception of Russia. It was agreed to continue the title contests after a gap of eight years. The World Championships of 1922 were awarded to Stockholm, where they took place during the sixth Nordic Games. The European Championship of the gentlemen was transferred to Davos.¹⁴

Grafström did not go to the European Championship, which thus became a sure thing for the Viennese. For two decades they had access to the Engelmann ice rink and the new site of the Viennese Skating Club in the Haymarket; thus, there were two performance centres with artificial ice and a reservoir of class skaters. The new star was the Klagenfurter Willy Böckl, who in Davos was able to put the last title holder of 1914, Fritz Kachler, into second place.

A week later at the World Championship the order changed. Kachler lost to the Swede, although the latter had fallen in the compulsory section, which had six figures for the first time after the new competition order had been introduced. After that, Grafström offered such a brilliant free skating programme, where he not only

made up the ten points needed, but also pulled out a lead of 2.45. „He showed in his pirouettes an acrobatic and a skill, which aroused astonishment“, enthused the Viennese *Sport-Tagblatt*.¹⁵

From 1919 Grafström had ignored the Swedish championships and left the field to his seven years younger brother Lars, who took the title in 1922.¹⁶ The following year, Lars was second in Djursholm behind ex-world champion Gösta Sandahl, surprisingly putting his brother into third. Sandahl was then sent alone to the World Championship in Vienna, where he landed in fourth place behind three Austrians – Kachler, Böckl und Dr. Ernst Oppacher.

What was wrong with the titleholder? Grafström stayed again in Berlin, where he educated himself further. The training had to take a back seat, as the only available artificial rink in the Admiral's Palace had to close for economic reasons in March 1922. Only with the start of the next winter did Grafström travel to Davos, where in January 1924 the European Championship took place, for which he cherished no ambitions. He explained his non-participation as caused by a weak heart which prevented him from going more frequently to compete. A hint of his early death, which was to hasten for him 14 years later?

He did, however, not want to miss the Olympic "Winter Sports Week", which began a few days later in Chamonix, and it saw him in dazzling form. Five of the seven judges – not a Swede among them – placed him in the compulsory figures in place number one. Two – both Austrians – saw him in place two. Only Czechoslovakian Hynek Kott fell out of the role, when he rated the free skating of his compatriot Josef Slíva 20 points higher than those of Grafström. Even with a "second best" free skating, he was ahead of Böckl.¹⁷

The World Championships of 1925 ended with a scandalous pairs skating victory of the Austrians, Herma Jarosz-Szabo and Ludwig Wrede, over the French pair of Andrée Joly and Pierre Brunet. For some time there had been talk of a dictatorship of the hosts, the Viennese Skating Club, which caused many foreigners to avoid events on the Danube, because they feared being given poor marks.

The ISU could no longer avoid involving itself with the so-called judging question. At its next congress the Judges Committee was dissolved and re-constituted. The chairman was Salchow, who also replaced the 81 year old Viktor Balck as president.

Salchow and Grafström were never friends, but after Chamonix their relationship deteriorated further. The soloist Grafström had travelled to the World Championship in February 1925 in Manchester only at the last minute and took part prior to the competition in a skating exhibition. He was used to having his own way. Salchow contributed considerably to the negative



Seventy years after Grafström's third Olympic victory, the Swedish Post Office honoured him with a special stamp. He had to share the honour with swimmer Arne Borg (1500 m freestyle champion in 1928).

picture, especially what the Swedish press wrote of Grafström. For them he was considered an egocentric misfit.

Alone against everyone! After the championships in which he had easily asserted himself against Böckl, Grafström was suddenly without money. In vain he asked the Swedish federation for help, but was refused. Completely without means, he had to make his way to Great Britain. Fortunately, he found a position as an architect in London. He received a contract for a theatre building, so that he could support himself with this fee.¹⁸ He informed his club that in future he would no longer represent Sweden, but only perform as an individual, which was permitted by the international competition rules.

Fabulously built and handsome: the man who "skates music"

With the new winter season Grafström moved to Switzerland, where he found ideal training conditions in Davos and St. Moritz. He showed no interest in the next European Championship in Berlin – the first international championship that was given to Germany since 1914.¹⁹ He thought the continental title contests were superfluous, which is why he never took part in them.

Even with the expectations of the ambitious Viennese, he burned for an "Olympic revenge" and remained unfulfilled. Grafström left Böckl his title as world champion without a fight. In the lion's cage, his non-appearance was explained by saying that Grafström was probably afraid to place himself before the Viennese jury. That could not be dismissed as this was composed of three Austrians and two Hungarians.

Grafström, who at the same time competed in an international event against weak British rivals, had another strong motive. In St. Moritz he had met Cécilie, the great-granddaughter of the famous German composer, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy.²⁰ The 27 year old was married to the jurist, Benoit Oppenheim, who came from the extremely rich family of the Jewish banker and art collector of the same name.²¹

Wonderfull summer in Sweden: Cécilie von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Gillis Grafström, who had met in 1925. Adjacent: Training on the Baltic Sea.



Cécilie fell in love with the artistic Swede, who in the Netherlands had begun to collect drawings of ice skating history. On his travels he searched in antique shops and in flea markets, and he was emotional when he could find a new rarity. He acquired paintings, drawings, lithographs and woodcuts, porcelain figures, silver miniatures, plates and wall tiles, books and postcards, sheet music. Nor could he go past wooden skates, which were worn in Holland in the 18th century.²²

In his homeland Grafström met with lack of understanding. What did this Bohemian live on? Where did he get the money if not from dubious sources? Grafström refused to compete in the Nordic Games, which took place for the last time in 1926, but he demanded a certificate as an amateur sportsman in order to be able to send in his entry for the next World Championship in Berlin.

The officials were furious. At the last minute they sent him the wished-for document, but as the executive committee had agreed only by 3-2 votes, Grafström decided not to compete. Much to the regret of Böckl, who had announced a "struggle for life or death".²³ Salchow, who in Berlin was acting as referee, saw himself embarrassed, which is why he threatened Grafström with a ban: "... and not just for competitions but also for exhibition skating".²⁴

For the public, Grafström remained a sphinx. But those who knew him better thought he was a friendly and cheerful person, of whom the German skater Arthur Vieregg sang genuine songs of praise:

*It was once said of Gillis Grafström by an authoritative source: we are all only figure skater, Grafström is the artist. And in fact one who has seen Grafström in his compulsory routines and free skating will have to come to the same result. With Grafström every movement looks aesthetic, elegant and beautiful; it is a delight to observe him with the set figures and especially with the free skating. He skates to a certain extent music, and it is as if he could draw on the ice the piece of music by which he skates. As in addition he is a fabulously grown, handsome man, there is a big plus on his side.*²⁵

Grafström's free programme was not as difficult as some of his competitors, but the simply skated curve often looked stronger than the hardest jump of others – art in the truest sense of the word.

A skater is sought to become Olympic champion for the third time

Grafström's one year ban had run out on 1st February 1927. It took until summer for the Swedish NOC to start selecting a team for the Olympic Winter Games of 1928 before he was remembered. The skating federation resolved to be represented in St. Moritz by Grafström.

No one knew to which address an enquiry should be sent. It was assumed that he was permanently occupied in Berlin, but exact information could not even be supplied by his Swedish relatives. "Grafström is sought!" ran the headline of a newspaper which quoted Salchow:



Knickerbockers were *en vogue*: Gillis Grafström 1928 in St. Moritz. Adjacent: Grafström with Cécilie's daughters Luise and Vera on the Bornstedt pond in Potsdam.

Photos: Vera Schickel Collection, Volker Kluge Archives

*We are ready to do everything for Grafström's preparations for the Olympic Games, if he just reports to us. He can easily be back in the special class if he does some training. Grafström is only 35 years old, the best age for a figure skater., and he has no rival in technique, approach and experience.*²⁶

How the times had changed! Especially when a federation had no more medal candidates available. On the other hand, Salchow underestimated his arch-enemy, who despite the ban had continued to work hard. In the Berlin Sports Palace, still the regular training site of the Berliner Schlittschuh-Club (BSC), he knew almost every metre. In winter he also trained on the frozen Havel lakes in Potsdam, where he had found a new home with Cécilie and her two daughters.²⁷

After the Swedish federation had fully rehabilitated Grafström and taken back the accusations that he had broken the amateur rules, he declared himself ready to attack his third Olympic Games. Traditionally, he went in early January to St. Moritz. Suspiciously observed by the competition, who met at the same time in Troppau at the European Championship, they did not trust the news that Grafström had allegedly injured his knee. Now it could be speculated: a trick? Or did the "injured knee" mean that he was not fit?

All the rumours ceased when the Winter Games began. Grafström wore a knee protector and a rubber bandage, and he ended the compulsory figures on the ice rink of the Kulm Hotel just behind Böckl. Four of the seven

judges, who for the first time, had come from a different country, placed him first. Two of them placed him third. The Austrian – Eduard Engelmann, Jr. – wanted to see his compatriot win. The Belgian judge speculated on a bronze medal for Robert van Zeebroeck, which in the end he won.

It was the 14th February 1928 when the foehn broke over St. Moritz. Its consequence was a temperature rise from three degrees in the morning to 25 degrees in the hours around noon, which made the timetable collapse. As the ice surfaces were under water, the free skating, planned for the next day in the Olympic Stadium, had to be postponed. When it could take place 72 hours later, the ice was still soft, which was no advantage for the sturdy Böckl. However, he was overwhelmed with congratulations. All the greater was the consternation when the jury, after lengthy discussion, declared Grafström to be the winner.²⁸

In the self-image of the Viennese they had again lost the battle against Stockholm. The defeat was even more painful because Grafström remained in sunny St. Moritz instead of travelling to the World Championship in Berlin. He needed to recover, he told the public.

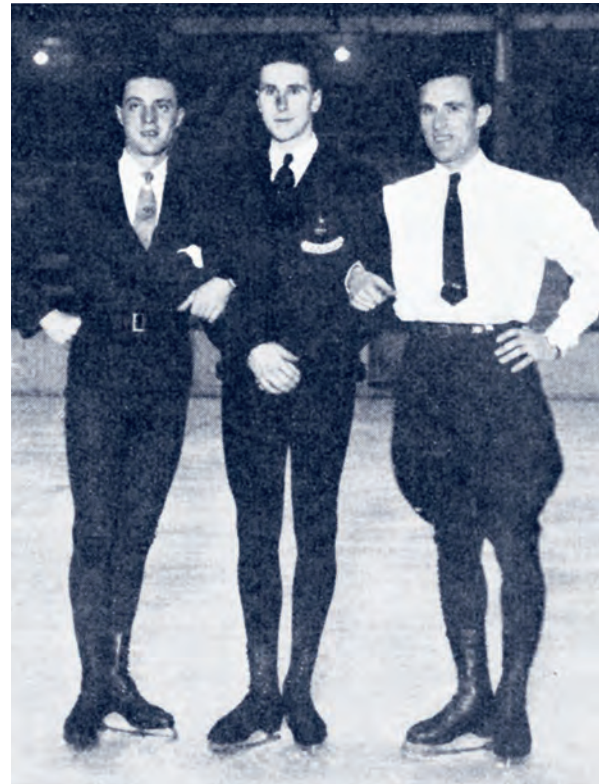
Without his rival, Böckl's joy at his fourth title was only half so great. And not only that: the Austrian lost his desire to skate and announced his resignation. He went to America, where he was employed as manager of the New York Skating Club.

Had Böckl suspected that Grafström did not intend to retire, he would perhaps have changed his mind.

In 1931 Grafström granted the wish of King Gustav V and appeared once more in Sweden. At the opening of the Stockholm Ice Hall he wore Swedish national costume.

Far right: The Olympic medallists of Lake Placid in 1932 (from left): Karl Schäfer (Austria/gold), Montgomery Wilson (Canada/bronze), Gillis Grafström (Sweden/silver).

Photos: Vera Schickel Collection; Berättelse över Olympiska Spelen 1932



Cracking the hard nut was left to the young Karl Schäfer, who seemed to have the necessary self-confidence. Grafström was training that very week in Davos, when Schäfer won his first European title there. Schäfer admired the posture of the Doyen, but his free programme had, he thought, no content, he announced cheekily: "Every Austrian senior would be better in that respect than the Olympic champion."²⁹

Five weeks later that sounded quite different, when Grafström in London (in addition to his Olympic victory) also won the third gold medal of a world champion. In their decision the judges were largely united: Grafström received rating 6, Schäfer the ten. "This time Grafström still remained the winner!" prophesied the Viennese *Freiheit*, which allowed Schäfer a period of rest. Grafström, it was said, still had an important argument on his side, his famous name.³⁰

For the media mob, who wanted to see Grafström in a "permanent loop", in constant competition with the new "miracle skater", he remained a puzzle. They did not know that he was engaged in a large project of the Berlin Underground stations nor that one of his colleagues was called Ernst Baier, and that the latter had recognised in him his shining model. Ten years after their first meeting – in 1936 – Baier became Olympic champion in the pairs with Maxi Herber.³¹

Only a few suspected with what seriousness Grafström thought about skating, which he wanted to point in a new direction. Not everyone could grasp his ideas. When in February 1931 in Berlin in skating exhibitions, he danced to the Swedish folk dance,

Hambo (related to the Polka-Mazurka), individual whistles were heard, but by the next performance, the public gave vent to their enthusiasm.

Still, Grafström for now did not plan to compete. He rejected the incoming tendency to acrobatic skating, but he had a high opinion of Schäfer, whom he thought had a natural talent. His only criticism: he missed in Schäfer still "the cultivated, artistic".³²

Many, who presumed it was generational conflict, could not believe their eyes, when the two of them trained peaceably together for over an hour in St. Moritz. The windows and balconies of the surrounding hotels were full when the pair danced over the ice, with Schäfer in the lead. When "naughty Karli"³³ – as a Viennese newspaper wrote – with his bubbling over-strength added a double Rittberger, Grafström left the ice, to come back half an hour later to practise his tango.

The Olympic silver medal of 1932 was his "most beautiful victory"

At the end of 1929 Grafström was awarded the *Svenska Dagbladets* guldmedalj.³⁴ In addition King Gustav V expressed the wish to see him skating one day in Sweden.³⁵

It looked as if his homeland had made peace with him. But a new conflict broke out when the young Vivi-Anne Hultén, on whom great hopes were placed, was only fourth in the 1931 European Championship in St. Moritz, whereupon her mother during the awards ceremony, furiously pulled her out of the ballroom. After that,

Salchow accused her in a letter that he would favour the Norwegian Sonja Henie. Never again, said Mrs. Hultén, would her daughter compete for Sweden as long as Salchow was in charge.³⁶

It was a perfect scandal. To calm the waves Salchow had no choice but to resign. With that the barrier disappeared which had held Grafström back – he stood shoulder to shoulder with Hultén, from challenging for his fourth Olympic Games. He used a short trip to Stockholm in order to announce his participation “at any price”, which was printed by *Dagens Nyheter* under the headline, “Message of joy”.³⁷

Grafström had not promised too much. After two exhibitions at the Christmas holidays in the Berlin Sports Palace, the nearly 39 year old travelled to America, where the duel of two generations was sold as a big hit. The Viennese newspapers continued to doubt that Grafström would compete, and when it was announced that he had injured his knee in the Olympic Arena, that was treated as a “bluff” and “manoeuvre” to upset Schäfer.³⁸

The opposite was the case. The chronic damage to the knee, from which Grafström had suffered for a long time, compelled him to narrow his programme. In the compulsory figures, training for which he had neglected in the last few years, he showed himself unsure. He fell during one figure which meant a preliminary decision. All seven judges placed Schäfer in first place.

But in the free skating, held in front of a sell-out house, Grafström showed himself to be just as good as ever. Certainly, he did not have the difficulties in his repertoire of his 15 years younger rival, yet what he presented in terpsichorean harmony was so impressive that neither the public nor the media at the end of evening knew who had won.

Artur Steiner, the only Austrian journalist to accompany Schäfer to Lake Placid, felt as if he was at a “trial” with an uncertain outcome. He wrote:

The hours stretched out endlessly. Midnight was long past, it moved to quarter past, to half past. Messengers were sent out to spy out whether inside in the consultation room had finally come to a result. Nothing!

Our gaze hung expectantly at the door, but nothing moved. But suddenly some twenty journalists up to their room, in which they had some Morse machines with which they telegraphed all over the world. We want to stop them, but they have no time. Every second is valuable. Only as they run past do they shout to us: “Schäfer first, Grafström second!”³⁹

The article does not merely offer an interesting glimpse into the restricted possibilities of reporting, but also the method, unimaginable today, of decision-making by the jury which required several hours to announce the result. Definitely, it could only be found in the *Official*



Munich 1937: Grafström as ice skating instructor. Left the Austrian Felix Kaspar, Olympic bronze medallist in 1936, right: the Olympic pairs champions Maxi Herber and Ernst Baier of Germany

Report which appeared long after, from which it emerged that five judges had put Schäfer first and two Grafström.⁴⁰

Schäfer celebrated the triumph over the “seemingly unbeatable” Grafström years later as his greatest success.⁴¹ Others saw in the silver medal which the Swede won his “most beautiful victory”.

Among the few who thought they should have to criticize him again was Salchow, who characterised his compatriot as a moody prima donna and a spoiled star. For him the “case” was closed with Lake Placid.⁴² He just could not change. For a long time there had been dissatisfaction about his presidency, but he stayed on for a further five years as ISU President, until he was voted out in 1937.⁴³

Beyond his active time, Grafström remained a phantom. Several times it was said that he was hoping to make a comeback. But that was just as untrue as the rumour that he would train with Vivi-Anne Hultén for the pairs. In fact he prepared her with his brother Lars for the Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, in which Hultén won individual bronze.

In the late summer of 1936 Grafström opened, in Munich's Prinzregenten Stadium,⁴⁴ his own skating school. He moved in late 1937 to Berlin, where the intention was to install him as Reichstrainer, a foreigner to be treated at a distance. The intention remained.

Grafström was taken to hospital in Potsdam in January 1938 with reported flu, where he caught up what he had missed. He married Cécilie on 8th February, whom he soon made a widow. He died on 14th April 1938 of a heart muscle inflammation.



Student Janosch Klein had cleaned up the site of the grave before the 2018 memorial event.

Photo: Peter Frenkel

The German poet Friedrich Schiller wrote 220 years ago: *Posterity weaves no garlands for the Mime. And so he must be chary with the present, Must fill the moment that is his entirely, Assure himself of his contemporaries' favor, And in the feelings of the Best and Worthiest ... Erect a living monument to himself. Thus he anticipates his name's eternity, For one who's done enough to satisfy The Best of his own time has lived for all time.*⁴⁵

The prologue to *Wallenstein's Camp* ends with the sentence: „Our lives are earnest and our art serene.”⁴⁶ ■

- 1 Among the jumps forgotten today are the “Euler” (also called “Thorén”). Its inventors were the Viennese brothers Carl und Gustav Euler, 1900 European champions in gentlemen’s pairs. The same is true of the “Walley”, first shown in 1934/1935 Open Professional Championships by the American Nathaniel “Nate” Walley. Cf. James R. Hines, *Figure Skating in the Formative Years. Singles, Pairs, and the Expanding Role of Women*, University of Illinois Press, 2015
- 2 The Larssons were a family of farmers who owned a farm in Grafhult in Westgotland. When one of the four sons, Gustav Adolf, was staying in Göteborg for his education, the director of the local seminar made him the proposal to name himself after the paternal property. Thereupon he chose the name “Grafström”, which his brothers Johan, Viktor and Claes (the father of Gillis) adopted. In 1962 the Grafströms founded a family federation that meets even now in Grafhult. [www.http://goto.glocalnet.net/grafstromska/](http://goto.glocalnet.net/grafstromska/)
- 3 *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 12th February 1912
- 4 *Illustrierte Zeitung*, Leipzig, 11th February 1865, p. 100. The appearance in St. Petersburg took place on 19th February 1865 in the Tauride Garden.
- 5 Sweden was the country that Haines loved the most. When, aged 35, he died in June 1875 in Gamla Karleby (since 1977 Kokkola or Karleby) in Finland of tuberculosis, he wished to be buried in Stockholm.
- 6 As a fee Haines received 2435 Gulden, of which he donated 1405 for the Viennese “Poor funds”.

- 7 *Neue Freie Presse*, Vienna, 10th April 1868
- 8 Cf. Demeter Diamantidi/Carl von Corper/Max Wirth, *Spuren auf dem Eise. Die Entwicklung des Eislaufes auf der Bahn des Wiener-Eislauf-Vereines*, Alfred Hölder, Vienna 1881
- 9 Ulrich Salchow, *Das Kunstlaufen auf dem Eise*, Grethlein, Leipzig, o.J. (ca. 1914), pp. 43–45. The Swedish edition *Handbok i konståkning på skridskor* appeared in 1906.
- 10 *Illustriertes Sportblatt*, Vienna, 7th March 1914
- 11 The Berlin Ice Palace was the intended venue, where the competitions were to take place from 4th to 6th February 1916.
- 12 Of the seven judges Grafström was placed second in the compulsory figures only by the Norwegian Knut Ørn Meinich. He marked his compatriot Krogh higher. In the free skating the Frenchman Louis Magnus saw the Norwegian Martin Stixrud in front.
- 13 Benjamin T. Wright, *Skating around the World. The One Hundredth Anniversary History of the International Skating Union*, Davos 1992, pp. 38–40. The six “neutral” national federations were Denmark, Finland, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland.
- 14 The European Championships of the women and the pairs were not introduced until 1930. In Davos in the pairs an “international championship” was carried out, won by the Austrians Helene Engelman and Alfred Berger.
- 15 *Sport-Tagblatt*, Vienna, 16th February 1922. More important than the points total was the decisive rating 7, while Kachler received 8. Of the five judges three placed Grafström first, while two had him second. Behind Kachler Böckl with rating 15 was third.
- 16 Lars Grafström (1900–?) was as early as 1917 third in the Swedish championships as well as runner-up in 1920. Later he appeared in stage shows, in which he showed remarkable acrobatic performances on extremely narrow stages.
- 17 Grafström was first with rating 10 and 2575.25 scores from Böckl (13/2518.75) and the young Swiss Georges Gautschi (23/2233.50). Slíva, who had been third in the free skating could not do better than fourth.
- 18 Unfortunately, the name of the theatre could not be found. Allegedly, it was the Devonshire Theatre, built in 1884 in Victorian style, though it was not in London but in Eastbourne.
- 19 As Berlin at that time had no artificial ice rink and the winter had turned out very mild, the European Championship was held after several postponements in Triberg in the Black Forest.
- 20 Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809–1847) was one of the most significant German musicians of the romantic period. He was the grandson of the Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), who in Berlin played an important role in the epoch of the “Enlightenment”.
- 21 Benoit Oppenheim (1876–1934) had married Cécilie von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1898–1995) in 1920. Her father, Otto von Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1868–1949), who in 1907 was ennobled at his own request, was the main shareholder of the chemical enterprise Agfa, founded by his father. The company, known for its photographic products, joined I.G. Farben A.G. in 1925. Oppenheim’s father (1842–1931), named “the elder” owned the Bankhaus R. Oppenheim & Sohn, founded by his father and later taken over by the Deutsche Bank. The family is remembered inter alia by the “Villa Oppenheim”, built in neo-classical style on the Baltic island of Usedom.
- 22 *Der Eislauf in Kunst und Kulturgeschichte. Aus der Sammlung Gillis Grafström*, Stockholm, Altonaer Museum, Hamburg, 11th December 1965–30th January 1966. The collection was shown in 1963 also in the Nordic Museum in Stockholm and (inter alia) during the 1976 Winter Olympics in Innsbruck. After the move of the widow of Västerås to Hamburg she left the collection to the World Figure Skating Museum in Colorado Springs.
- 23 *Die Bühne*, Vienna, No. 61, 1926, p. 18
- 24 *Dagens Nyheter*, March (no date available) 1926
- 25 *BZ am Mittag*, 20th December 1926. Arthur Viereggs (1884–1946) took part in the World Championships of 1923 and in the European Championships of 1922, 1924 and 1926. The later judge and lecturer at the Deutsche Hochschule für Leibesübungen was the author of the book *Der Eislauf*, August Reher, Berlin 1921.
- 26 *Sport-Tagblatt*, 8th December 1927
- 27 Cécilie Oppenheim, who divorced in 1928, lived in Potsdam, Bertinistraße 1 (“Casa Bartholdy”), built between 1906–1908 (today “Villa Mendelssohn-Bartholdy”). After her father had been classified as a Jew by the Nazi race laws, the villa was taken over and rented to the Reichskommissar für die Seeschiff-Fahrt.



Celebration on the occasion of the 125th anniversary of Gillis Grafström in the Bornstedter Church in Potsdam

Photos: Walter Wawra

- 28 Comité Olympique Suisse, *Résultats des concours des 11^{mes} Jeux Olympiques d'hiver, St. Moritz 1928*, pp. 5–6. Grafström won with rating 12 and 1630.75 scores from Böckl (13/1625.50). Engelmann placed the 18 year old Austrian Karl Schäfer second. He did him no favours with that, as the Czechoslovakian judge, who wanted to bring his compatriot Slíva to the front, punished him with ninth place. In the general classification Schäfer was fourth and Slíva fifth.
- 29 *Neues Wiener Journal*, 29th January 1929
- 30 *Freiheit!*, 6th March 1929
- 31 Interview Volker Kluge with Ernst Baier (1905–2001), 19th October 1993. Baier had lived in Berlin since 1922 and from 1924 studied architecture. About Grafström he said: "At that time he was twenty years ahead of me."
- 32 *Sport-Tagblatt*, 28th March 1930
- 33 *Ibid.*, 3rd February 1931
- 34 The gold medal donated by the newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet* in 1925 is considered the highest Swedish distinction. It was awarded to Grafström together with Sven Utterström, who in the same year had won the 50 km cross-country ski race as the first Swede on the Holmenkollen.
- 35 Grafström fulfilled this wish in December 1931, when in connection with the inauguration of the Stockholm Ice Hall (a former hangar for aeroplanes) he opened the programme with an appearance.
- 36 *Dagens Nyheter*, March (no date available) 1931
- 37 In a three part series of articles, published by *Dagens Nyheter* in autumn 1931, he promised to fight for the fourth Olympic title "until the last drop of blood".
- 38 During training on 1st February 1932 Grafström stumbled over a photographer's apparatus, which had been assembled by the ice rink. Thus an old knee injury broke out again, so that he had break training for two days.
- 39 Artur Steiner, "Mit Karl Schäfer in Amerika", in: Alexander Meisel, *Karl Schäfer, Meister der Welt*, Vienna 1932, pp. 21–25
- 40 III Olympic Winter Games Committee, *Official Report III Olympic Winter Games, Lake Placid 1932*, pp. 218–219. Three of the seven judges rated Grafström's free programme higher than that of Schäfer. The final result: 1. Schäfer 9/2602.0, 2. Grafström 13/2514.5. Only the former Norwegian pairs skater Yngvar Bryn placed Grafström in compulsory and free in third place.
- 41 For the film *Weißer Traum* Schäfer explained in 1943 in front of the camera: "I beat him because I had the better nerves, because I took the last attack with absolute calm – and from then on I was world champion in figure skating".
- 42 *Sport-Tagblatt*, 17th February 1932
- 43 Salchow lost the last sympathies at the 20th ISU Congress in 1937,

- when he railed repeatedly against the Viennese skating school and the Winter Olympics. In the ensuing election he received only six of 17 votes. The new president was the Dutchman Gerrit van Laer.
- 44 On the free surface, opened on 16th December 1933, Sonja Henie as well as the later pairs Olympic champions Maxi Herber and Ernst Baier prepared for the Winter Games of 1936.
- 45 Friedrich Schiller. *Wallenstein: A Dramatic Poem*. Translation and Notes to the Text by Flora Kimmich. Introduction by Roger Paulin. Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2017. <http://dx.doi.org/10.11647/0BP.0101>
- 46 Friedrich Schiller, spoken as a prologue at the reopening of the Weimar Playhouse, 12th October 1798



The double figure skating world champion and Olympic silver medallist of 1968, Gabriele Seyfert, laid flowers on Grafström's grave in Potsdam on 7th June 2018 to mark the 125th anniversary of his birth. Left: Vera Schickel with the silver cup that her stepfather had received in 1925 from the Swedish Skating Federation. Far left: the Vice-President of the German Olympic Sports Confederation (DOSB), Stephan Abel. On the right: the 1972 Olympic 20 km walk champion, Peter Frenkel, who had organised the ceremony.

Eric Lemming – A Nordic athletics phenomenon

By Ulf Lagerström



Swede Eric Valdemar Lemming (1880–1930) with his prizes and medals.

Eric Lemming was a monumental figure in early Swedish athletics, from the early 1900s and on – an idol. His gift to the local athletic community included a series of world records and four golden Olympic medals, the last one in 1912, at the javelin throw. He was a giant on the world scene, winning totally seven Olympic medals, in four events, and being invincible with the javelin for years. His competitive fire was second to none.

The world scene, however, was somewhat restricted at the time, as a few great track nations had not yet awakened to the call of javelin throwing. USA, Great Britain, and France, were three of those nations.

On the other hand, the Nordics were to continue to dominate the event for decades, even when international competition became more challenging. Lemming's foremost foreign opponents were above all the Finns, and there also were a couple of excellent Norwegian throwers.

Like most athletes of those days, he dabbled at other events as well. He was an excellent discus and hammer thrower, a fine shot putter, and an able high- and long jumper, winning pole vault honours as well. He was a fine but erratic triple jumper, for good measure. On occasion he entered multi-event competitions albeit detesting the running events.

His Olympic medal tally included those captured at the "extra" Games in 1906. Lemming did not really appear to be a star in throwing events, with his almost slender build. He was 1.91 m tall and weighed 90–93 kilos, which did not show.

His principal local adversary, Otto Nilsson, was a strong, heavily built lad, who devoted himself to so many sports that he did not have much time for training with the javelin. Still Nilsson would manage to get a bronze at the 1908 Olympics.

Even at a young age (11–13 years) Eric Lemming already was winning target board throwing with a javelin, and even at senior competitions in club meets.

The Lemming saga began in 1895 when he was 15 years of age. Legend has it that he then attended an athletics meet, where his task was to bring the javelins thrown back to the competitors. He began to throw the implement back, and his first throw was so long that a shocked competitor was all but speared.

That did it. He took up training for the event, and even a year later, at 16 years of age, he threw 36.45 m, which length placed him in the group of the world's best dozen javelin throwers. His placing reflected his ability as well as the still poor general standards at that time.

Eric came from the sport of gymnastics, and he was a member of a club in his home town of Göteborg, known for gymnastics. A leading local club for athletics, abbreviated LS, soon invited him to join them and so he did. Even in the autumn of 1896 he represented the LS team, which included the well-known all-round athlete Harald Andersson (later Arbin), being inter alia a national javelin record holder.

In 1897 he upped his best to 40 m-plus (40.70 m), and on one occasion was beaten by Otto Nilsson of Göteborg, who was almost of the same age.

A year later, 1898, he again was defeated by Nilsson and showed only modest progression (41.81 m best). Similar to 1897 he competed in various events, nearly winning them all. That autumn he was even appointed instructor by his club's management.

He made his debut at the national championships in 1899. The javelin throw was a both-hand event at that time, and Eric managed to dominate Nilsson with a 76.90 m.

He also won the pole vault though it was a fairly lucky win, decided by lottery instead of a jump-off. As usual, there were relatively few meets for him, and so far he had not gone abroad to compete. His one-hand best at 49.32 m achieved in June placed him for the second time at the very top of the (modest) world list. In 1900 he went abroad.

Lemming's first Olympics

Eric Lemming was selected for the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris. However, for some reason he was not at his best that season. His 47.80 m did put him in third place in the world, but unfortunately the javelin event was not included by the organisers.

In other events he was placed fourth in the hammer, tied for fourth in the pole-vault, was fifth (or tied for fourth) in the high jump. In the discus throw he ended eighth and in the long jump twelfth. In the triple jump he had no valid jump. Not bad at all, though he very probably he had hoped for medal.

In 1901 he was off form. Maybe he had devoted more time to piano playing, which was another forte of his all since childhood. He was regarded as a prodigious talent at that time. In the nationals he was thrashed by arch rival and friend Nilsson. Despite all, his relatively unimpressive year-best of 44.37 m earned him second place on the world list, well behind 19-year-old Hannes Karlsson of Finland.

In the following season, 1902, he was back on the winning trail. After crashing through the 50 m barrier with a 50.44 m world record in the Swedish title meet, he threw 51.95 m at Göteborg a week later. It was the longest throw in the world in 1902. It was a remarkable improvement on his best of a year earlier. In fact, it was his third so-called world record. These were pre-IAAF records, which means that they were all unofficial though legitimate. In the Swedish championship he outclassed Nilsson. In the shot putt (both hands), however, Nilsson beat him albeit only by a few centimetres.

That year he was graduated from high school in his Göteborg home town, at 22 years of age, and commenced to attend a local one-year commercial institution.

His fourth and fifth javelin record came about in 1903. At the end of May in Stockholm, he made a shambles of Nilsson and Karlsson. In the qualification rounds Lemming's longest best-hand throw was measured at 52.27 m, another world record.

In the next day the final took place. Lemming then managed a magnificent throw, the javelin landing at 53.79 m, still another record. His two main contenders's throws landed significantly behind. On the year's world



Paris 1900: the 20 year old Eric Lemming (seated below right) took part in no fewer than six disciplines and came fourth on three occasions. The javelin was not yet on the Olympic programme.

list he was full five and a half metres ahead of the next man, Nilsson! In the national event he was also head and shoulders above the competition.

Sprinter and thrower Knut "Knatten" Lindberg (javelin silver at the 1906 Olympics) earned second place and Eric's half-brother Oscar third place.

1904 was another Olympic year, the Games being staged in St. Louis. Sweden, like many other nations, sent no athletes, obviously for financial reasons. At home, Lemming did not much of note, his best being a 50.05 m (world list third).

Karlsson was dominating the event that season, trying to erase Lemming's record and succeeded in coming reasonably close with a 53 m-plus throw. Eric again captured the national crown, this time only a metre ahead of Nilsson. He was also placed in other events, even ending second in the triple jump. Indeed he was a versatile athlete. That year Lemming was employed by the Göteborg Police department, after working for a bank during a brief period. He was to stay with the Police until 1910.

In 1905 he regained his world number-one position. He threw 51.40 m for his best, while both Nilsson and Karlsson seemed to be phasing out. Yet Nilsson would be back. Once more his throws humiliated the opposition in the Swedish championship.



Athens 1906: Eric Lemming on the "Thalia" – even during the crossing from Trieste to Piraeus it was still possible to train.

Adjacent: The top four places in the javelin were occupied by Swedes (from left): Bruno Söderström (3rd), Eric Lemming (1st), Hjalmar Mellander (4th) and winner in the pentathlon) and Knut Lindberg (2nd).

Photos: Sveriges och OS; Sveriges deltagande i Olympiska Spelen i Athen 1906

Lemming's second Olympics

1906 was the year of the so-called intercalated Olympics held in Athens and began as early as April. Lemming already was on form. He won his event with a mighty 53.90 m throw, again a record. He was followed by three other Swedes, the best Finn ending fifth and a Norwegian sixth. Sven Lindhagen wrote:

In his classical, beautiful style Lemming threw the javelin high above the heads of the officials marking where the implements hit the ground, and it seemed to continue to fly direct into the royal box. A horror-struck cry filled the stadium, yet was transformed into enthusiastic cheering when the javelin landed at 53.90, a new world record.¹

Eric participated in no fewer than eight (!) events, and was rewarded with bronze medals in the shot putt, pentathlon, and tug-of-war. Furthermore, he was fourth in the discus and stone throws. He was no success in the two horizontal jumps (thirteenth in the triple jump at best). In the javelin throw Lindberg was second and two other Swedes third and fourth, ahead of Verner Järvinen of Finland and two Norwegians.

After all, these Games could be regarded as substitute for the 1904 Olympics in a way, especially as far as the Europeans were concerned. An extremely low number of European athletes were present in St. Louis in athletics. In addition, the javelin throw was not included in the programme.

In September 1906 in Stockholm, Lemming battled with a new Finnish hope, Jarl Jakobsson. The latter had achieved impressive lengths utilizing the Finnish so-



called Ankyle type of javelin binding. The Swede fairly easily managed to defeat the guest. They did not reach 50 m. Reportedly, before the competition the javelins were checked, and the one that the Finn wished to use was too short and also irregular in another respect (finger holds). Eric's javelin was too light. The problem was solved by the officials, by their tying copper wire around the javelins. They were approved and the competition could get started.

After the competition the pair of them threw with the Finnish javelins, unmodified, and Eric managed 55.08 m, four good metres longer than Jakobsson's throw. In October he again tried the Ankyle method and his spear flew still longer.

The Berlin fiasco and London success

Hesitatingly he accepted an invitation to compete at a pentathlon in Berlin in June 1907. He did not like the idea that much, since he had heard negative comments about German meets.

His fears came true. In the javelin event there was a lot of confusion, different javelin methods being involved, and in the end he was disqualified, quite unjustly in his opinion. Feeling bitter, he wrote home that in his opinion Swedes should not participate at competitions arranged by the Germans until further.²

In July 1907 he started in the decathlon in Sweden, and ended fourth after passing up the 1500 m run. He did not like running. If he posted 13 seconds at 100 m, it was just fine (although he once was timed in a windy 12.0 and did not believe in what the watches showed).

In September three Finnish throwers, led by 91 m

performer 20-year old Villiam Siikaniemi, went to Stockholm to challenge Lemming. They did not reach 50 m, whereas Eric did 54.15 m, a new world mark, and a little longer in an extra throw. Later he produced another magnificent throw, but because of the sloping ground his mark was never accepted.

1908 was another Olympic year. In the Swedish championships meet Eric was in his element. That was in early June. Eric won all three throwing events and the shot putt as well. His enormous 57.33 m with the javelin outclassed his previous world record. Four of his throws went beyond 54 m.

Lemming was the obvious favourite for the Olympic gold in London. Another medal candidate was Arne Halse of Norway, whereas the Finns did not appear to be serious threats, for a change. The able Hungarians preferred to compete with the end-grip style.

However, Lemming's start there was jeopardized. Being employed by the Police, and because of a state of conflict there, at first he seemed to be prevented from leaving. Yet, finally he was allowed to pack his things and go.

At the Games the towering Swede led the qualifiers and then improved to 54.82 m in the final on 17th July 1908. Halse took the silver and Nilsson the bronze. Four Finns followed. There also was a free-style event, which Eric won at 54.44 m. He threw with his usual style though.

Both in Finland and Sweden the run-up was limited to 10 metres. At the Games there was no such rule and consequently both countries abandoned that restriction.

In September 1908 in Stockholm he out-threw one of the best Finns, Jalmari Sauli, by five metres. Eric's 56.28 m was his second-best that season. His 1908 campaign turned out splendidly, his best up to then. At no fewer than eight competitions his winning mark surpassed 54 m. He displayed an amazing consistency.

At the Olympic trials he did disappoint the spectators, however. Being in a bad mood for some reason, he only threw once, then left.

In 1909 his winning streak continued. At best he did 56.64 m. In the both-hand event he was approaching the magic 100 m mark, thanks to better left-arm performances. With a new left-hand record of 43.53 m he set the both-hand national record at 98.53 m in September. The only classy foreigner he met was the Norwegian second-string, Jonas Lie. Eric beat him to the ground.

Lemming's fourth Olympic Games

Eric Lemming did not quite reach his best of the previous season in 1910, yet he won four meets with throws landing at 55-56 m and the longest at 56.60 m. Despite all, he again went to Berlin to compete, and obviously was treated in a better way this time. His victory there



was an easy one. He started at the national decathlon and was fifth. As usual he did not run the 1500 m.

In Finland, a young newcomer, Lauri Kesäjärvi, a 21 year old, surprised most by achieving a world-leading 56.87 m (only bested 46.80 m in 1909). That performance beat Lemming's seasonal best.

Julius Saaristo, the Finnish champion, travelled to Stockholm and did well, as did Urho Aaltonen (Kalle's brother), even defeating Eric in the qualification. However, the Finn was injured and unable to continue throwing.

It was Lemming's turn to suffer injury, affecting negatively his throwing with the left arm, in 1911. Consequently, he did not show his usual form in the nationals staged a week later, winning the both-hand title by only a metre over Hilding Sonne from the northern part of the country. That was at the end of August. As there was nothing wrong with his right arm, Eric set up a new world record with 58.27 m on 10th September.

When Aaltonen threw both-hand 95 and 96 m in Stockholm late in September, Lemming was not there to try to keep him in line. He was prevented from participating, due to his left arm problem. He also changed jobs, leaving the Police to work as an accountant for a very special sales/distribution company for alcoholic beverages by name of AB Göteborgssystemet.

In Olympic year 1912 the old master of the event, aged 32, was training harder than ever, though handicapped to some extent by the old injury to his left shoulder.

He won the Olympic trials in early June with 57.45 m (both-hand 97.44 m). He did not start at a later June meet because of a foot injury.

London 1908:
Lemming won both javelin competitions. In the "freestyle", in which many athletes grasped the javelin by the back end, he threw 54.44 m. Two days later he recorded 54.83 m in the discipline "middle grip".

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

Stockholm 1912
and Olympic gold
No. 4. In the javelin
right and left
Lemming came
fourth behind
three Finns.

Photo: V Olympiad. Olympic
Games Stockholm 1912 in
pictures and words



On the other hand, Saaristo made sensational news on 25th May. In Helsinki he managed big throws, exceeding the world records. He threw 61.45 m and 48.19 m = 109.64 m.

On 6th July 1912 in Stockholm, Lemming and forest officer Saaristo met up to battle for the Olympic gold. The Swede led the qualifiers with 57.42 m in the third round. In the final, in the fourth round, he put everything together and the spear touched down at 60.64 m. The crowd went wild, cheering their hero.

The Finn then threw 58.66 on his last attempt, worth the silver, while Eric fouled his last two. The Hungarian athlete Mór Kóczán, at home mostly using the end-grip style, was third. In the book *Friidrottens Främstra* it says about the competition:

Lemming carefully steps out his run-up, then places himself at the head of it. He balances the javelin in his hand for a last time, then this throwing machine made by flesh and blood gets moving. Five metres before the scratch-line, a white strip, he withdraws his arm, moving it lightning-fast straight backwards. A fraction of a second later he catapults the vibrating javelin forwards and upwards, with great strength ...³

At the Olympic both-hand competition Eric did not score well due to his left-arm weakness. Three Finns, headed by Saaristo, made him drop to fourth. The Finlander even recorded 61.00 m on his best attempt, surpassing Lemming's mark.

Shortly after winning his tenth – and last – national javelin title, Lemming suffered unexpected defeat in Kristiania (Oslo) by the Norwegian champion, Daniel Johansen, twelfth at the Games. Later he easily turned the tables on him before his Göteborg home crowd.

Eric did not easily accept losing his record to Saaristo. He intensified his training and on 29th September 1912 in Stockholm, he was ready to attack. His first throw was approximately 60 m. His next did it – 62.32 m, a new world record. Their five best meet results in 1912: Lemming: 62.32 60.64 58.33 57.45 57.14 (= 295.88); Saaristo: 61.45 61.00 58.66 58.55 58.38 (= 298.04). For an event like the Javelin throw, the consistency of their performances was truly impressive.

The ending of an amazing career

To Eric Lemming the word "retire" did not exist. Despite sore limbs and an aging body he was determined to try to stay at the top in his favourite event.

On 1st June 1913 in Stockholm he made his last great performance, yet it did not stand up as the winning one since it was a both-hand contest. Eric's 62.16 m in the second round, a world leader, was ruined by his left-hand 42.71 m although surprisingly good for his condition. The Finnish champion, Urho Peltonen had a total of 109.43 m, more than four metres better than Eric did. Lemming later participated at a city match, and reportedly he was in such a bad state that he only threw both-hand 70 m, ending a loser.

At the end of August, in the national title meet, he had sufficiently recovered to settle for the second-place behind a new, brilliant Swedish prospect, Yngve Häckner, aged only 18. A year earlier Häckner shocked the spectators of the annual, national school meet. He threw both-hand 93.65 m. With his best hand, he threw 54.65 m. (In 1917 he was to set a both-hand world mark). Two weeks later Lemming was trying to get revenge but failed.

In 1914 he was selected for the Baltic Games held at Malmö in southern Sweden, as was Häckner. They ended fifth and sixth, neither feeling well.

Jonni Myyrä, a 22-year-old Finnish farmer, captured the gold with an enormous albeit unrated 63.29 m throw. Eric did not enter the nationals that year and Häckner got the title.



Special stamps by the Swedish post office to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm. A photo showing Lemming in training gear served as the template for the design. Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

In Finland it was Juho Halme, another versatile athlete, who became javelin champion. Tragically, he would be killed four years later in Helsinki, during the civil war in the country.

In the 1915 Swedish championship Häckner was absent, being seriously ill with typhoid fever. In his place Erik Blomqvist handled Lemming owing to a much longer left-hand effort. Eric's fine best-hand 57.32 m did not save him from defeat. Later he twice beat the new titlist. Before the nationals he produced fine 59.16 m. However, Myyrä recorded stupendous 64.81 m.

In the summer of 1916 Häckner was already back to the competitions. At the Swedish Games⁴ he improved on Lemming's both-hand national mark. The latter did not risk his ailing shoulder and only competed at the shot putt – and won.

After throwing the javelin 57.25 m, a seasonal best, in early August he passed up the event in the national meet, only achieving a third or fourth place with the hammer.

In September he went to Kristiania, only to be thrashed there by another Swede, Bror Ryde, third in the nationals, who surprised many by throwing 57 m. For Lemming it was a lacklustre season.

It was Häckner who made the headlines in 1917. After a throwing both-hand 109.40 m in August, he did 114.28 m (61.81 and 52.47) on 30th September. That was the last ratified world record of the event. Lemming ended as many as thirty metres behind, his shoulder only permitting a 30 m left-hand effort.

As regards Eric there were just two things for him to enjoy that season. One was that he again won the top-ranked Swedish throwers' triathlon (shot putt, discus throw, javelin throw) in Stockholm, on the strength of his three second-place finishes. The other was his national shot putt victory. It was his twenty-fifth and last Swedish title. In fact, he had begun to devote more time to training for that event.

His 1918 campaign did not turn out very differently. In the championships he nipped the silver in both the hammer throw and shot putt. Yet in the javelin event he dropped to fifth.

Three weeks later he performed better, throwing the javelin 58.21 m, a seasonal best. He ended third at the both-hand contest, won by Häckner (108.92 m). Virtually this was his last season at the national top. His time was over, but his fighter's heart was still there.

That year he contracted the so-called Spanish flu, which even killed people, in the worst cases, and it probably had a lasting, bad influence on Eric's heart condition.

In the following seasons he was listed with modest javelin performances. He did capture still another championship medal, in the hammer throw in 1922 (bronze). In 1924 he finally gave up competition.



Stockholm 1912: King Gustav V presented the javelin "king" with the gold medal and placed a victor's wreath on his head.

Photo: Ulf Lagerström Archive

Summing-up

In total Lemming won no fewer than 57 (individual) medals in the Swedish championships, won in eight (!) events. No doubt, there would have been more medals for him, if the both-hand title competitions had been abandoned much earlier by the federation. At Olympic competitions with the "regular" style of javelin throwing, he won three straight golds.

He set various pre-IAAF world marks. Most sources mention nine, though there were other sources that stated both higher and lower (8) numbers. His last one (62.32 m), produced in 1912, was duly ratified by the new IAAF body.

Lemming's technique with the spear was considered textbook. Many throwers tried to adopt his style. He was kind of a model thrower. Lemming himself developed the style. About his mental fitness, he once disclosed that before every Olympic gold that he won, he always had a shot of cognac.⁵

Myyrä, eighth at the 1912 Olympics, became Eric's successor as record setter and Olympic gold medallist. He might even have been able to duplicate his Olympic achievements, had the 1916 Games not been cancelled because of the First World War. The Finn won in 1920 and 1924.

His competitive spirit was as irrepressible as Lemming's. Yet, like the latter he suffered arm/shoulder injuries ("javelin arm"). He was said to use a style all of his own.

Bronze plaque for Eric Lemming on the outer wall of the Stockholm Olympic Stadium

Photos: Volker Kluge

Homage to Eric Lemming? Carl Fagerberg (1878–1948) at the end of the 1930s created three sculptures for the Stockholm Olympic Stadium, of which that of the javelin thrower was declined. The criticism of the well-known sports journalist Torsten Tegnér was decisive. Thereupon the sculptor presented the naked figure to his home town of Sundryberg. Sixty years later – in 1999 – the javelin thrower was allowed to return to Stockholm as a smaller copy.

Myyrä emigrated to the USA in 1924/25 and continued his career there.

Eric Lemming was elected managing director for AB Göteborgssystemet in 1923. He passed away in 1930, at age 50, when his heart stopped beating.

He left two children born to him and his wife, and an illegitimate boy, who later became well known as a brilliant actor.

He was regarded as the nation's foremost athlete during a long time. In addition, he was very much appreciated for his personal qualities, and was always prepared to help a fellow athlete with pieces of advice and other things.

He knew well the rules and organisation of meets, and sometimes interfered with the work of the officials, when not properly done in his opinion. By nature he was authoritarian.⁶ ■



ERIC LEMMING AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES

Year	Event	Rank	Result
1900	High Jump	=4	1.70
	Pole Vault	=4	3.10
	Long Jump	12	5.50
	Triple Jump	AC	
	Discus Throw	=8	32.50
	Hammer Throw	4	*
1906	Standing Long Jump	26	2.535
	Triple Jump	13	12.195
	Shot Put	3	11.26
	Stone Throw	4	18.21
	Discus Throw	4	35.62
	Discus Throw, Greek Style	AC	
	Javelin Throw, Freestyle	1	53.90
	Pentathlon (Ancient)	3	–
Tug-Of-War	3	(team)	
1908	Discus	AC	
	Discus Throw, Greek Style	AC	
	Hammer Throw	8	43.06
	Javelin Throw	1	54.83
	Javelin Throw, Freestyle	1	54.44
1912	Discus Throw, Both Hands	11	67.08
	Javelin Throw	1	60.64
	Javelin Throw, Both Hands	4	98.59

AC = also competed, result not available; * No result available

Note: In javelin, Lemming in 1906 set an Olympic record in the first round (49.66) and a world best performance in the second and final round; in 1908 (orthodox style) and 1912 he set Olympic records in both the qualifying rounds (53.69 and 57.42 respectively) and the finals.

Lemming's Personal Bests:

HJ – 1.70 (1900); PV – 3.20 (1900); LJ – 6.34 (1906); TJ – 12.72 (1903); SP – 13.10 (1918); DT – 44.90 (1917); HT – 46.84 (1917); JT – 62.32 (1912)

Source: *Olympedia*

Courtesy: Ove Karlsson, Stockholm.

References

Nordisktdrottslif; Start; Idrottsbladet; Erik Bergvall; *Vid målsnöret*; Steinsviks Förlag, 1946; Anders Borgström

- 1 Cf. Sven Lindhagen, *Rekordmän på kolstybb*, Tidens forlag, Stockholm 1954
- 2 His letter was published in *Nordisktdrottslif* in 1907.
- 3 Jonas Hedman, *Friidrottens Främsta*, (no date available), p. 389
- 4 Cf. Ove Karlsson, The Swedish Games of 1916, in: JOH, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2014, p. 17
- 5 Note by Anders Borgström: This information was given in connection to Swedish Championships 1918, to my father, Eric Borgström, when he asked for advice how to handle the stress situation at a big competition.
- 6 *Idrottsbladet*, 2nd February 1920, by the paper's editor-in-chief Torsten Tegnér, prior to Lemming's 40th birthday. Tegnér was himself a promising javelin thrower and a very good friend of Lemming.

Fernand de Montigny (1885–1974): multiple Olympic champion and architect

By Roland Renson



An elegant pose from young épéist Fernand de Montigny

Photo: Jean-François de Montigny (JFdM) Archive

Berlin. He won four Olympic medals: gold in Antwerp 1920, Chamonix 1924 and St. Moritz 1928, and silver in Lake Placid 1932.

The American skier Colin Stewart (1927–2015), who participated in the slalom at the 1948 St Moritz Winter Games, was awarded his degree in architecture from Harvard in 1955, and there are probably several other Olympians like him who combined their passion for sport with architecture.

On the other side of the medal, there was the Dutch architect Jan Wils (1891–1972), who had designed the Olympic Stadium of the 1928 Games in Amsterdam and who won the gold medal in architectural designs in the Olympic art competitions of these Games, but Wils never competed in any Olympic sporting discipline.

The Belgian fencer, skater, ice and field hockey player Fernand de Montigny (1885–1974) was a multiple Olympic champion who won six official Olympic medals in 1908, 1912, 1920, 1924 and one non-official medal at the 1906 “Intercalated” Games. He was also the architect of the Antwerp Olympic Stadium where the Games of the VII Olympiad took place in 1920. This article will therefore focus on his remarkable career, both as a sportsman and as an architect.

I would like to thank sincerely Jean-François de Montigny, the son of Fernand, who provided first-hand information, documents and pictures of his father. Moreover, he donated many of these valuable documents to the Sportimonium (Sport and Olympic Museum, Zemst, Belgium) where they now reside and can be consulted.

Introduction: sport and architecture

There have been many Olympic champions, who were – or became – professional architects, such as Alfréd Hajós (1878–1955), who won in the 100 m and 1200 m freestyle swimming during the 1896 Athens Olympics while an architecture student in Hungary. More than that, he won the silver medal for architecture in the 1924 art competitions at the Paris Olympic Games with his plan for a stadium. He had devised the plan together with his compatriot Dezsö Lauber (1879–1966), who had played tennis at the 1908 London Olympics.

Swedish figure skater Gillis Grafström (1839–1938), was born in Stockholm but lived from 1925 onwards in Potsdam, Germany, and had studied architecture in

Athletes are born first ... than made

Fernand Alphonse Marie Frédéric de Montigny was born on 5th January 1885 in the port of Antwerp in Belgium in a well-to-do family. His son Jean-François wrote: “One of our forefathers wrote that the family was of French origin and that one of his ancestors had to seek refuge in Thuin (now Belgian Province of Hainaut) to escape from the consequences of a duel in which he had been involved in France during the reign of King Louis XIV (1643–1715), who enforced strong laws against duelling. So far, there has been nothing to prove this contention” (Montigny: L’origine s.d.).

Primary schoolboys at the Notre-Dame Jesuit College of Antwerp, posing before their yearly 'shields game'. Young Fernand de Montigny is first from left in the second row. He is looking to his left and not at the photographer.

Photo: JFdM Archive



Fernand de Montigny attended the Collège Notre-Dame of Antwerp, which was run by the Jesuits, where, after primary school, he studied Greek-Latin humanities. Young Fernand was particularly enthusiastic about the so called 'jeu du bouclier' (shields game) which was only played on special occasions and in which teams of young pupils would throw small, hard balls at each other while trying to protect themselves with shields. These balls were the 'balles pelotes' used in the wall games practiced daily during recreation time.

All secondary and higher education courses in Belgium were at that time still only taught in the French language, even in the Flemish part of the country, with Antwerp as its major city. This would only change in 1932 when Flemish became the official language in local government and lower and secondary education.

French, however, was often spoken up to the 1950s by the upper echelons of society, and was thus also the language of the majority of the 'sporting class' in Flanders (Renson 1998). This explains why all official correspondence and documents concerning the 1920 Olympic Games (except for some local newspapers) were only in French.

Fencing with style (1901–1920)

Fencing would become a part of the family lifestyle. Fernand started his career as a young fencer at the age of 16 in the private fencing hall of master Cyrille Verbrugge (1866–1929), which later became the prestigious Cercle de L'Épée with Charles Cnoops (1870–1928) as president. As junior champion, he was selected to participate in the 1906 "Intercalated" Games of Athens and was trained by

fencing master Verbrugge himself. The Belgian Olympic Committee was founded on 18th February of that same year to enable the participation of a Belgian delegation. The initiative was taken by Colonel Clément Lefébure (1861–1928), an ardent promotor of Swedish gymnastics and Commander of the Normal School for Gymnastics and Fencing of the Belgian Army (Delheye 2003; Renson 2006: 35–37).

The Belgian delegation left by train from Brussels on Sunday 15th April for Trieste (Italy), where they took the boat to Athens on 17th April. Cyrille Verbrugge won two gold medals in Athens in the competitions for fencing masters, one for épée and one for sabre.

These competitions between fencing masters, who were later considered not to be 'amateurs', only took place at the 1900 Paris Olympics (where Verbrugge ended 15th in the foil competition [Mérillon 1901: 147; Mallon 2009: 116]) and during the 1906 Games. His pupil, Fernand de Montigny, participated in the épée and the foil individual competitions and won a bronze medal in

The Belgian épée team, which won bronze at the Second International Olympic Games in Athens 1906. From left to right: Edmond Crahay, Fernand de Montigny, Constant Cloquet and Philippe le Hardy de Beaulieu.

Photo: JFdM Archive





Far left: Members of the Cercle de l'Épée d'Anvers, with president Charles Cnoops (seated left) and fencing master Cyrille Verbrugge (seated right), after they won the 1911 Belgian championship in Ostend. Fernand de Montigny, second standing from the left.

Adjacent: The cup awarded to the champion of the Cercle de l'Épée. It was won 14 times by Fernand de Montigny.

Photos: JfDM Archive

the team épée with his companions Constant Cloquet, Edmond Crahay and Philippe le Hardy de Beaulieu (Ameys 2006; Renson 2006: 38–39).

For the 21-year-old architecture student, the voyage to Athens was like a pilgrimage to the cradle of European culture. Among the photographs he took, there are many pictures of ancient Greek monuments and pillars, which seem to have inspired him later when he designed the Antwerp Olympic Stadium of 1920.

Although Montigny sometimes handled the sabre, he was in the first instance an excellent épée and foil fencer. He was ambidextrous but with a dominant left hand, which often confused his right-handed opponents.

Two years later, at the 1908 London Olympics, Montigny fought in the individual and team épée competitions. He won his first official Olympic bronze medal with his teammates Paul Anspach, Désiré Beurain, Ferdinand Feyerick, François Rom, Victor Willem and Fernand Bosmans.

At the Stockholm Games of 1912, he participated in the foil and épée individual competitions, but he won the gold medal with the Belgian épée team consisting of Paul Anspach, his brother Henri Anspach, Robert Hennot, Jacques Ochs and François Rom.

The Cercle de l'Épée won the Belgian fencing championships of 1911 in Ostend. A year before the outbreak of the First World War, Montigny became Belgian foil champion in 1913, a sporting feat he would repeat in 1921. Moreover, he was 14 times club champion of the Cercle de l'Épée of

Antwerp between 1908 and 1928. After his 12th victory, he was allowed to keep the champion cup permanently, which still is one of the family memorial pieces today.

High sport society: the Beerschot Athletic Club and the Palais de Glace (1902–1920)

One year after he had become member of the Cercle de l'Épée, the 17-year-old Fernand de Montigny joined the elitarian Beerschot Athletic Club. The club had been founded on 1st February 1900 on the initiative of Alfred Grisar (1881–1958), who had become inspired by the British sporting culture when a student at Brighton College in Sussex, England. Grisar and several of his friends had left 'The great old' Antwerp Football Club in 1899 and started the new club on the Kiel grounds which Grisar's father Ernest (who died the same year) had recently bought. The families Van den Abeele, Grisar, Havenith, Gevers and Osterrieth, the prime instigators of the new club, had all been members of the prestigious Cercle d'Escrime d'Anvers, founded in 1887 by Frédéric Van den Abeele. They all belonged to the 'haute société' of the city (Montigny: Le sportifs.d.; Den Hollander 2006: 146–149).

Montigny played tennis and also field hockey at the 'holy grounds' of the Beerschot AC. In 1911 the Belgian field hockey team beat the French 6–2, and Montigny played for both the men's and the mixed team, composed of 6 male and 5 female players. These two

Fernand de Montigny plays a tennis match against René Havenith on the 'hallowed grounds' of Beerschot Athletic Club in 1910.

Far left: A remarkable picture: fencers who participated in the 1906, 1908 and 1912 Games pose together during the Stockholm Olympic Games. Montigny standing fourth from left in the straw hat.

Illustration: Collection Sportmonium





Fernand de Montigny (third from right) with the mixed field hockey team of Beerschot Athletic Club, which won the 1913–1914 Belgian championship.

Photo: JFdM Archive

Beerschot Athletic Club hockey teams won the Belgian championship of the 1912–1913 season against their rivals from Brussels.

But Fernand de Montigny still had another play ground in his home town: the famous Palais de Glace in the Gezondstraat (Rue de la Santé in French, nowadays Van Heurckstraat). A roller skating rink had been established there in 1910 and that year the Antwerp Skaters Club already numbered 250 members and the Federation of Belgian Societies of Roller Skating was founded (Den Hollander 2006: 178). The location was a meeting place for elegant young women and men of leisure. The weekly *La Semaine* (22.10.1912: 4) wrote: "... the Skating of the Cercle is a very restful institution where the families can send their young daughters without fear ..." Moreover, it was also the place where Fernand would meet his future wife (Montigny: *Le sportif* s.d.).

Montigny and his five team mates of the Beerschot Athletic Club won the 1910, 1911 and 1912 Belgian roller skating hockey championship. They also won the so-called Coupe Percy by 3–1 against the Centaur Roller Club de Paris in 1911.

In 1913, the large hall was changed into an ice skating rink with the prestigious name Palais de Glace and a new Cercle des Patineurs Anversoïis was founded (Den Hollander 2006: 178–180). The Belgian Ice Hockey League had been founded a year before in 1912 (*Ligue Belge* 1943: 1). Strangely, this exquisite location was not mentioned in the luxurious brochure *Aurons-nous la VII^e Olympiade à Anvers en 1920?* (Comité Provisoire 1914), which was edited in 1914 with the aim of bringing the 1920 Olympic Games to Antwerp. Although figure skating had been accepted as an Olympic discipline at the London Games of 1908, it had not appeared on the programme of the Stockholm Games in 1912 for lack of an indoor skating rink. However, both figure skating and ice hockey competitions would be staged for the first time in the Olympic history at the end of April 1920, four months before the official opening of the VII Olympiad (Renson 1996: 23–26).

The vocation of architecture – Architects are trained problem solvers

Sport and architecture are closely linked and have a long-standing and impressive history, ranging from the ancient Greek stadia to the modern soccer or Olympic stadia (Verspohl 1976). The British geographer John Bale (1985–1993) laid the basis for the geographical (spatial) dimension of sport and the German scholar Henning Eichberg, who moved to Denmark, held an 'alternative plea' for a new social ecology of sport (Eichberg 1988; 1993). Some of the recent sporting 'megalodromes' are indeed rightfully qualified as 'vandalist monumentalism' (Kirkegaard 1984) or as 'white elephants' because of their temporary character (Mangan 2008; Alm e.a. 2016). Nevertheless, Benjamin S. Flowers stated in his recent book *Sport and architecture* (2017: 3) that: "In spite of myriad examples of the rich and complex relationship between sport and architecture, there is relative paucity of scholarly work on the subject."

We hope therefore to shed some light on the difficulties faced by the young architect Fernand de Montigny, who, together with his companion Louis Somers, had accepted the challenge to transform the Beerschot Stadium into an Olympic Stadium.

Jean-François de Montigny, Fernand's son, wrote: "It is difficult to determine what was paramount in my father's life, as he has constantly mingled his talents of aesthetic, artist and architect with his sporting passion, especially for fencing, which he considered as an art in itself." (Montigny: *Mon père* 2012).

From an early age, Fernand de Montigny showed his talent for drawing, and before long also for water colours. A friend of the family, the well-known Brussels architect Paul Saintenoy (1862–1952) convinced him, however, to become not an artist but an architect because "... an artist has seldom the opportunity to see his creations again once these are sold, whereas an architect can endlessly revisit his most beautiful constructions ..." (Cit. in Montigny: *Mon père* 2012). After finishing his secondary education (Greek-Latin humanities) at the elite Antwerp Jesuit College, he entered the Antwerp Academy of Fine Arts where he started his architecture courses in 1902. Already inspired by 'classicism' in architecture, his voyage to Greece to participate in the 1906 Games of Athens marked him profoundly (Montigny: *Mon père* 2012). He studied an extra year at the Higher Institute of Fine Arts in Antwerp and moved in 1908 to France, to perfect himself in the Atelier Pascal in Paris. On his return to Antwerp in 1909, he finished his internship with art nouveau architect Emile Thielens (1854–1911), where Louis Somers, his later associate, was his fellow trainee. The least one can say is that they were a 'complementary twosome': Fernand the creator and Louis the executor.

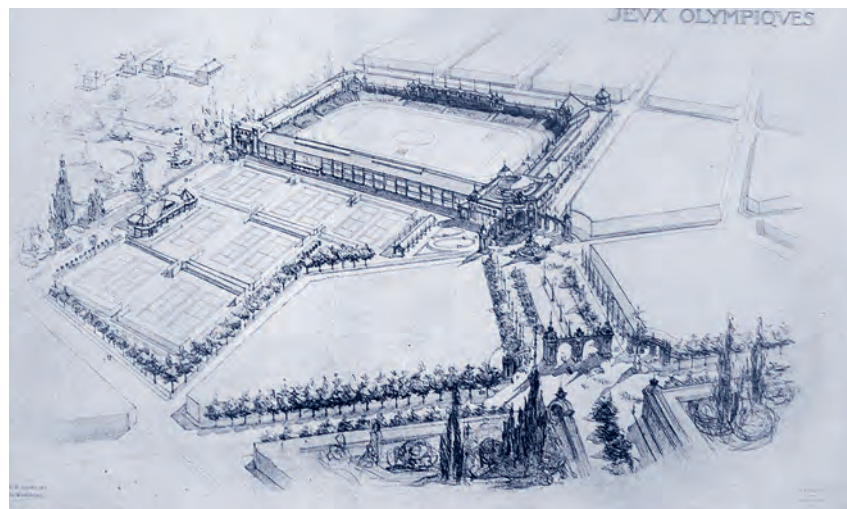
"Always on the lookout for new ideas, strongly engaged in his intensive practice of multiple sports and in his daily lifestyle, more attracted by the artistic component of the projects than by the supervision of the construction sites, and with high esteem for the deep professional knowledge of his fellow Louis Somers, an excellent practitioner who came from an entrepreneurial background, he was very happy to associate himself with him." (Montigny: *Mon père* 2012).

One of his first accomplishments was the Aquarium and the Reptiles Pavilion in the Antwerp Zoo, which were inaugurated in 1911 (Montigny: *Mon père* 2012), but his whole architectural oeuvre was impressive. Among the sports facilities he designed were the new facilities of the Beerschot Athletic Club in 1913, the transformation of these facilities into the 1920 Olympic Stadium, the adjacent tennis pavilion and tennis courts, the Olympic Aquatic Stadium, the club house of the Antwerp Polo Club and the race course in Hoogboom, and the club house of the Antwerp Golf Club in Kapellenbos (both near Antwerp City). Furthermore the Fencing and Gymnastics Hall of master Verbrugge and the Concorde Fencing Hall, both in Antwerp, a sports field and pavilion in Uccle (Brussels), two indoor tennis halls (one in the city of Verviers and one for the Beerschot Athletic Club) and finally an indoor swimming pool in the centre of Antwerp (Montigny: *L'oeuvre* 2011).

When consulting the Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Flanders (Inventaris 2018 a, b, c), Montigny is cited for having designed or restored one parish church and one residential palace, and Somers for one villa and one eclectic mansion, but together they are cited for three parish churches, one presbytery, twelve mansions in different styles ranging from neoclassic to art deco, five villas either in neo-rococo or cottage style, one castle, one municipal school, two rows of houses in residential streets, an apartment block and the original Seamen's Hotel of Antwerp. Strangely, none of the sport facilities he and his colleague Somers created are registered in the inventory. One reason might be that most of them have since vanished, another that some 'conservationists' still do not have the term 'sport' in their vocabulary ...

The 1920 Antwerp Olympic Stadium: building with the available bricks ... or plaster

On 9th August 1913, a Provisional Committee was founded in Antwerp and an official bid was made to host the 1920 Olympic Games. A magnificently-illustrated, 109-page promotional brochure was published in 1914 under the title *Aurons-nous la VII^e Olympiade à Anvers en 1920?* (Comité Provisoire 1914) to support the bid. The brochure already showed a ground plan and an aerial view of the planned facilities of the 1920 stadium designed by Montigny and Somers. However, World War I intervened



and it was only on 5th April 1919, barely sixteen months before the actual opening of the Games, that the city of Antwerp was officially selected (Renson 2006: 11-14).

The *Official Report* of the 1920 Games, edited by the Secretary-General of the Executive Committee, Alfred Verdyck, cites that Baron de Coubertin visited Antwerp on 13rd September 1913 (the report erroneously states 1915) in order to meet the Belgian Olympic Committee (BOC) and the members of the Provisory Committee of the VII Olympiad, and visited the stadium of Royal Beerschot Athletic Club, which was "... proposed as theatre of the Games." (Verdyck s.d.: 6)

Coubertin declared himself to be pleased with the plans of the installations and of the planned facility expansions. Montigny added in crayon "... proposed by the architects F. de Montigny and L. Somers on the instructions of Mr. Ch. Cnoops." (Verdyck s.d.: 6).

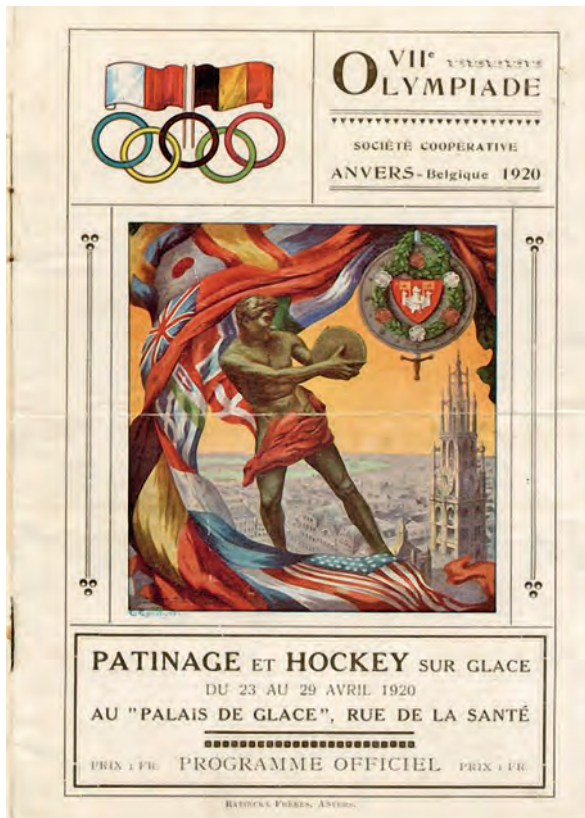
The report also reminds us that the day after the Armistice Coubertin had beseeched the Belgian Count Edouard d'Assche in Bern to inform the Belgian King and government of his wish to propose Antwerp as the venue of the VII or the VIII Olympiad. Verdyck commented: "This enterprise, which already looked hazardous in 1914 to those who were aware how youngish the Belgian sporting organisation still was, now almost became a folly in 1918." (Verdyck s.d.: 10).

The laying of the first stone of the new Olympic Stadium, actually the 'temporarily upgraded' Beerschot Stadium, took place on 4th July 1919 in the presence of Count Henry de Baillet-Latour, the Antwerp city mayor Jan De Vos, Charles Cnoops, many civil and military representatives and, of course, the architects Fernand de Montigny and Louis Somers.

Money was very short and the original 1914 plan had to be slimmed down, but architects are trained problem solvers! Instead of building the Entrance Gate and the so-called Marathon Gate in solid Belgian brick or decorative stones, much cheaper, temporary constructions in wood and plaster were opted for. This also held true for the

Bird's-eye view of what would become the Olympic Stadium of 1920 by Montigny and Somers in a promotional brochure *Aurons-nous les Jeux de la VII^e Olympiade à Anvers en 1920?*

Illustration: Comité Provisoire 1914: 69



majestic rows of classical Greek pillars, which surrounded the contours of the Stadium. The global construction looked very classic and prestigious although it was mostly a beautiful layer of make-up. This creative adaptability is expressed in sporting terms as “rowing with the oars you have got” and was dubbed by Coubertin himself as a “... record ... de la Débrouillardise” (a record of problem solving) in his opening speech in the Antwerp town hall on 17th August 1920 (Coubertin 1920).

Building under time pressure: a look at the original sources

In 2017, an inventory entitled *Pièces en instance* (Matters pending), which was meticulously kept by Verdyck and his assistants between 17th April 1919 and 22nd June 1921, was discovered in the archives of the Belgian Olympic and Interfederal Committee in 2017 and donated to the Sportimonium (Comité Exécutif 1919–1921). It contains a wide-ranging overview of meetings, correspondence, contracts, and so on. From it, I have distilled the notes related to the construction – or rather transformation – of the Beerschot Stadium into the Olympic Stadium by the architects de Montigny and Somers (M&S). These are the primary sources from which one can obtain an idea of the difficulties faced by the Executive Committee on the one hand, and the architects on the other hand. Well aware that these are only fragmental notes, I have tried to reproduce and translate these notes as literally as possible and to structure them under five headings.

• Honorarium architects:

24.04.1919 ‘Honorarium of the architects’ to be handled by Mr. Havenith and Mr. Cnoops; 27.06.1919 ‘Supplementary works’: authorisation to undertake supplementary works; 26.07.19 M&S: Proposal of 8 monthly payments of 3875 fr.; 23.07.19 M&S: Examination of the plans of the Stadium and request for supplementary works. [Such requests for supplementary works show up regularly]; 5.09.19 (pavement); 16.10.19 (gas and water); 8.11.19: The architects are warned that their requests will be no longer taken into consideration when not justified by a general plan (8.11.19); 13.01.20 M&S: Request of official documents concerning 5000 fr.; Request on 19.01.20 to acknowledge receipt of 306,566 francs H [?]; idem on 15.03.20 for cheque of 105,960.00; 6.04.20 ‘M & S’: Request to acknowledge receipt of 1500.00 (stands); 30.06.20 M&S: Request to provide some explanation concerning the 2184.65 fr. which they claim as supplementary honorariums; 7.07.20: Explanation concerning supplementary costs for stairs in granite 9.09.20: Examine Montigny’s demand to obtain the payment of 775 frs for ‘places plan’ and 3250 frs for plan of Telephone Pavilion (Letter 26.09.20).

The relationship between Verdyck and Montigny was always rather cool and businesslike, both belonged moreover to two different local sport ‘clans’: Antwerp FC and Beerschot AC.

• Contract with Humphreys company:

11.06.1919 ‘Entreprise Humphreys’: Seeldrayers will translate the file for the stadium in English for the Humphreys company; 27.06.1919 ... Meeting with the two architects, the lawyer and the delegate of Humphreys on 1.07.1919; 15.12.19 M&S: Request to acknowledge receipt of cheque of 200,000 fr. for Humphreys; 23.04.20 M&S: “... transmit him (sic) 105,265.00 f for Humphries”.

Humphreys Ltd was an international construction company with offices in London, Antwerp, Dublin and Buenos Aires, specialising in the building of large halls for exhibitions (e.g. Brussels 1910) and football stadiums (e.g. Manchester United). Apart from the Olympic Stadium, they also constructed the Aquatic Stadium and the tennis courts of Beerschot AC. (Written note by Montigny in Verdyck s. d.: 172)

The running track was built by Charles Perry of the London Athletic Club, who had already assisted the Greeks in 1896 preparing the track and its infield. He also laid the tracks at London in 1908 and Stockholm in 1912 (Polley 2011: 97). According to Verdyck’s official report, the Antwerp track stayed in excellent condition despite the heavy rainfall in August (Verdyck s. d.: 49). This statement was, however, contradicted by some of the pictures which show athletes (for instance Albert Hill, winner of the 800 m), running on a ‘plowed’ track!

- **Maquettes (models)**

17.06.1919 'Plaster maquette': the constructors are asked to make this model in two pieces for its transport; 13.08.19: M&S: Decision to buy a second model. Total prize may not exceed 1800 fr.

- **Various**

14.01.20 M&S: Request for providing information on the tug-of-war pitch; 3.02.20 M&S: Request to provide plans of athletic lockers, press room, chalets, streets around the Stadium; Request on 15.03.20 to know the number of flagpoles; Request on 3.04.20 to submit drawing and plan of Post Pavilion; Request on 3.04.20 to send Stadium plan and supplementary works; Request on 13.04.20 to send urgently the quote for the furniture; 2.06.20: Demand to explain the sum of 500 fr. paid to decoration firm; 8.06.20: Immediate request of duplicate of the estimates of the works undertaken by Mr. Holt in the Palais de Glace; 8.07.20 'Somers architect': Request to provide purchase price of the flagpoles and of the name boards of the nations during the parade; 12.07.20: Repair of zinc plates and maintenance of wooden laths ... make connection with the sewer of the new main road; 15.07.20: Start clearance of Stadium. Finish stair next to café terrace; 15.07.20: Contact the Administration of the Postal Services in order to install post boxes;

- **Clearance sale**

17.11.20: 'Enclosure of the Beerschot [Stadium]': It's important to fix as soon as possible the day of sale of the enclosure of the Beerschot [Stadium] and to inform Count de Baillet and his father (senator); 22.06.21: 'Drapeaux olympiques': France is prepared to take over the Olympic flags from us (Note from M. Count de Baillet).

When the Games were over, the Executive Committee was faced with enormous financial problems, which would lead to the failure of the Belgian Olympic Committee (Triaille 1988: 60–79; Renson 1996: 78–84; Mallon & Bijkerk 2003: 8–10). This explains why Verdyck and his collaborators tried to sell the impressive but temporary colonnade (enclosure). The last dated note in *Pièces en instance* (Comité Exécutif 1919–1921) expresses the same concern to recuperate some money from the Olympic event by trying to sell the Olympic flags, which were flown for the first time in Olympic history during the Antwerp Games.

The origins and socioeconomic factors of this Olympic bankruptcy have been analysed in the chapters 'Merchants and arrivistes' and 'The roots of the financial debacle' of *The Games reborn: The VIIth Olympiad Antwerp 1920* (Renson 1996: 78–84) and in a separate article (Renson & den Hollander 1997).

Let's therefore return to our central person: Olympic champion and Olympic architect Fernand de Montigny.

Versatile Olympic athlete and sportsman (1920–1952)

A Belgian team participated in the ice hockey competitions, which were staged for the first time in the Olympic history at the end of April 1920 in the Palais de Glace. Montigny did not play for the Belgian team but he was, with André Poplimont, official secretary of these 'Winter Games' (Montigny to Mollet 1965). Montigny was urged by Verdyck (Comité Exécutif 1919–1921) to transmit the results of the figure skating events by return mail (28.05.20) as well as the results of the ice hockey competitions (10.06.20). The Belgians were beaten 8–0 by the Swedish team, which would finish fourth (Renson 1996:26).

At the Antwerp Games, he competed again both in the foil and épée individual competitions and ended sixth in



The Palais de Glace with the signature of Fernand de Montigny. In addition to figure skating, an ice hockey tournament was also held for the first time. This was won by Canada.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

The Belgian field hockey team, which took the bronze Olympic medal at the 1920 Games. Montigny stands second from the left.

Photo: Charles François Du Houx (1885–1965), Collection Sportimonium



the foil ranking. The Italian épée team – with the famous Nedo and Aldo Nadi – won gold, but the Belgian épéeists captured the silver medal. Fernand de Montigny's successful team mates were Paul Anspach, Victor Boin (who had taken the Olympic Oath), Joseph De Craecker, Maurice De Wee, Ernest Gevers, Felix Goblet d'Alviella, Philippe le Hardy de Beaulieu and Léon Tom.

Montigny's Olympic fencing feats have already been highlighted, but during the same VIIth Olympiad, he also won a bronze Olympic medal as a member of the Belgian field hockey team. This is quite remarkable because fencing and field hockey require quite different sporting skills! Gold went to the British team and silver to the Danish. The Belgians lost 12–1 to the British team and 5–2 to the Danish, but managed to win 3–2 over the French team, which lost all its matches. According to a written note in Montigny's archives, there were also so-called European Field Hockey Championships "... at the occasion of the Olympic Games", but, understandably, the results were the same as above as no teams from outside Europe participated (Montigny: handwritten annotation in his copy of Verdyck's *Rapport officiel* s.d.: 78 addendum).

In February 1924, Montigny travelled with ice hockey team captain André Poplimont and his men to Chamonix to the 'Winter Sports Week', which was later officially recognized as the First Winter Olympic Games. Montigny, however, was not in the hockey team, but acted as judge for figure skating (Renson 2006: 59–60).

Montigny was again present at the 1924 Paris Games, where he competed both in the Belgian foil and épée teams. Both teams won silver: Montigny's fifth and sixth 'official' Olympic medal! His fellow foil fencers were Désiré Beaurain, Marcel Berré, Charles Crahay, Albert De Roocker and Maurice Van Damme (Bronze foil individual). His épée team mates were Paul Anspach,

Joseph De Craecker, Charles Delporte (Gold épée individual), Ernest Gevers and Léon Tom.

He took second place in the individual épée at the European Championships in Ostend in 1926 and continued his fencing practice, gradually shifting more to foil than to épée, until 1952 when he had already passed his 65th birthday.

Conclusion: the waning of the sporting class

Fernand de Montigny's biography is a perfect illustration of the lifestyle of a social and cultural elite, which has been labelled 'the leisure class' by Thorstein Veblen (1899). These fortunate sportsmen had enough time, money and physical energy to indulge in elegant sporting pastimes. All this is well documented and illustrated in *Vingt-cinq années de vie anversoise 1903–1928* (1928). Fencing had a long-standing chivalric tradition and was therefore considered a perfect preparation for young gentlemen like Montigny. Fair play was the watchword of the gentleman amateur – a notion which came under pressure when team sports like football and rugby were taken up by the working classes. Professional players were considered by the defenders of amateurism as spoilsports, who no longer played the game for the game's sake (Renson 2009).

However, this "Belle Epoque for the happy sporting few" was abruptly brought to an end by the First World War. The Antwerp 1920 Olympics, which had been conceived by the Antwerp pre-war sporting elite, brought this class distinction clearly to light. Fernand de Montigny can therefore be seen as a true representative of the 'old school' of this sporting ethic.

Montigny married Germaine Vrancken in 1921, whom he had met ... at the Palais de Glace! They were both excellent waltzers both on ice- and roller-skates.

Mrs. Montigny was, moreover, a skilful tennis player. Their son Jean-François, born in 1925, commented: "Despite all his talents, he never aspired higher public functions or leadership. An explanation could be that he was not gifted with eloquence, at least not in public." (Montigny: Mon père 1912).

But in the world of sport there were two notable exceptions: in 1934 he received a gold 'Sport Merit' medal from the Minister of Sport at the town hall of Antwerp and he also received the Golden Palms of the Crown Order "... for services rendered to physical education in the performance of his functions" (Montigny: Mon père 2012). Moreover, he founded and presided the Belgian Association of Olympic Medallists (ABMO) after the Second World War (founded 1st January 1951).

Let us conclude this biographical contribution to this exceptional Olympian with the respectful words of his own son: "My father liked to say that he had been an architect in the service of sport and a sportsman in the service of architecture." (Montigny: Palmarès sportif 2012). "He was the antithesis of an ambitious person and even more the antithesis of an opportunist." (Montigny: Mon père 2012). ■

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Membership card for Belgian Association of Olympic Medallists. This was founded in 1951 by Fernand de Montigny who became its president.

Illustration: Collection Sportimonium

Anatol, the “Torchbearer”

The truth about the prologue to Riefenstahl's *OLYMPIA*

By Volker Kluge

Box 309: On top of the pile was Anatol, the “torchbearer”

Photo: Jörg Krauthöfer



In February 2018, fifteen years after the death of Hitler's favourite female director Leni Riefenstahl, the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation took delivery of some 700 boxes of material from her estate. It was an announcement which caused some excitement and was probably a source of great disappointment to many who collect Olympic or Nazi era memorabilia.

For historians however, it was good news. Not only did it ensure Riefenstahl's artistic legacy was preserved, but also that this would be done in a public institution which offered the guarantee of scientifically funded research. At least this was the intention of President Hermann Parzinger spoke of the “particular responsibility for a critical debate”.¹

Two months later the media had their first opportunity to what was of some of the archive boxes. There was great expectation when Box 309 was opened. On its lid were the words “ATTENTION! Do not take any pictures out. Unique templates for repros!”.

The director of the Museum of Photography carefully lifted out the top exposure. This was from the prologue of *OLYMPIA* – “Anatol, the torchbearer”. The photo, slightly wrinkled and with a hole in the left edge, formed a strange contrast to the white gloves in which it was held.

The media were shown only a fraction of the archive. After Riefenstahl's death in 2003, it had been deposited in her villa in Pöcking near Munich. Apart from Riefenstahl and partner Horst Kettner² no one was permitted access. To this day it remains a Black Box of film history: the rolls of film alone fill 140 chests. A further 170 cardboard boxes contain written material, among them two ring binders bearing the inscription “Special letters”.

Who corresponded with the controversial director? It is possible to speculate but under the letter “H” for Hitler, there is nothing sensational. Riefenstahl, who lived to be 101, had time enough after the war to “denazify” her legacy. Anything else was confiscated by the occupying powers or was lost, among it much filmic material.

To find answers to open questions it is not necessary to wait for the preparation of the legacy by the Prussian Foundation.³ Even in the accessible archive material many new and hitherto unknown insights are to be discovered.

The theme of this contribution is the prologue of the Olympia film. It depicts a fictional return of the Greek gods. They arise from the ruins of the Acropolis amid mist and smoke in Riefenstahl's work.

Function and significance of the Olympic film

Since the IInd International Olympic Games of 1906 in Athens there have been films, but these were seldom more than somewhat disconnected reports. The first more or less complete documentation came for Paris 1924 and the Winter Games of Chamonix, which were recognised in retrospect.⁴

It was only in 1930 that the *Olympic Charter* stipulated that the organising committees be responsible for making "the necessary arrangements for making a record of the Games by means of photography and moving pictures".⁵ Those responsible in 1932 in Los Angeles took the charter at its word when held to that they permitted four American production companies to produce "news reel" reports.

The organising committee of the 1936 Olympics in Berlin was presided over by Carl Diem, an experienced sports official of many years standing. Diem was ambitious and determined to surpass what the Americans had done. Despite the effects of the world economic crisis they had staged the 1932 Games to a high standard in every aspect.

To Diem's surprise, the possibilities became almost infinite after Hitler came to power in 1933 and declared the 1936 Games to be a national affair and a question of the prestige of the "Third Reich".⁶ For the first time Olympic preparations were not made and carried out by an organising committee but by rather by the machinery of a totalitarian state with all its organisations, agencies and facilities. For this reason, the true cost of these Games can only be estimated.⁷

Hitler entrusted Joseph Goebbels with looking after Olympic publicity and propaganda at home and overseas. The Reich Propaganda Minister was also responsible for the film industry. In 1935, this led to conflict with creative spirits such as Diem and the President of the Organising Committee, Theodor Lewald, who did not want a run of the mill documentary record of the Games. Rather, they wished to create an artistically valuable Olympic film. It would be the first time this had been done. In particular it was intended to especially impress foreign countries.

"Who is creating the Olympia film?" asked the *Reichsportblatt* in 1935. They highlighted the film *Wunder des Fliegens* [*Miracle of Flying*] as a positive example. The Nazi regime wanted to encourage enthusiasm for flying amongst young people. In this movie well-known pilot Ernst Udet played himself.⁸

For the Olympia film, the choice fell finally on the extremely busy actress and director Leni Riefenstahl, who had just made a film about the 1934 Nazi rally or Reichsparteitag at Nuremberg – *Triumph des Willens* [*Triumph of the Will*]. For this work Riefenstahl had been awarded the "National Film Prize" on 1st May 1935.⁹

Placing the job and financing

For decades Riefenstahl maintained that she had been charged with making the film in 1936 by the IOC. In her *Memoirs* she maintained that this offer was made to her during a meal in a restaurant at the Berlin Emperor Wilhelm Memorial Church by the Swiss national Otto Mayer, who she variously describes as President or Treasurer of the IOC.¹⁰ This was the product of fantasy, for Mayer at that time had no office at all with the IOC, and only became its chancellor in 1946.

In fact she received this job from Hitler. When she appeared before the Denazification Commission in Freiburg on 6th July 1949 she testified:

In the summer of 1935 I was again summoned to the Reich Chancellery, where it was revealed to me by Hitler that it was his wish that I should take over the Olympia film, because he knew nobody who possessed the experience necessary for the felicitous production of such a film. As the production of this film for me demanded a very great sacrifice of time, while I had to neglect for this work my own ideas, and also could not be an actress which entailed financial losses of a considerable extent, I tried to pass this job on. But I did not succeed, although I brought Dr. Fanck's outline for the production of this film to Dr. Goebbels, because I assumed that Goebbels would eagerly use this opportunity to help someone else in my place to this job."



OLYMPIA. Fest der Völker. Programme of the 1st part of the Olympia film

Illustration: Volker Kluge Archive

Leni Riefenstahl and her team in the Berlin Olympic Stadium. In the centre with hat: production director Walter Traut.

Photo: Rolf Lantini



Why did she, someone completely foreign to the subject, receive the job? In 1938, she gave an interview and stated that:

I was entrusted at that time with the still completely unmissable task, because my films 'Sieg des Glaubens', 'Triumph des Willens' und 'Tag der Freiheit' were great successes and because I am familiar with sport and sport film technique through my work on many mountain and ski films.¹²

In other words, her propaganda films about the Nazi rallies (Reichspartei days) had pleased Hitler. So it was no wonder that she was granted unprecedented opportunities by Goebbels, although she had experience of difficulties with his agencies whilst working on the Nuremberg films. Goebbels allocated her 1.5 million Reichsmarks (RM) from his budget, to which was added a loan from the Film Credit Bank, also controlled by him, of 550,000 RM.¹³

This torrent of money gave Riefenstahl personally, technically and logistically an amount never before permitted to any director. By the end of the Games, the lists show that she had employed 41 permanent staff, to whom were added the three chief camera operators Hans Ertl, Walter Frentz, Guzzi Lantschner and his brother Otto, who produced a documentary about the creation of the Olympia film.

In addition she engaged as "temporary" workers, 50 cameramen and 120 assistants, of whom many had already worked on the Reichsparteitag films and some on her mountain films.

Riefenstahl had no financial risk, as Goebbels paid her a total fee of 250,000 RM, with the prospect of an increase of 100,000 RM after the film had been screened.¹⁴ In May 1938 to February 1939, when she visited 23 countries on a promotional tour for the film, she received 5000 RM each month in expenses.¹⁵

The public of course learned nothing of this. They were only informed in a press statement that Goebbels had assigned "the entire filming rights" to Riefenstahl and that other companies were not permitted to shoot the Games.¹⁶ An exception was made for the German newsreel shot by the UFA agency. This was on condition that they made their material available to Riefenstahl afterwards free of charge. Private individuals were permitted to film from the stands, but only with 8 mm cameras.

The Reichspropaganda Ministry did not want to officially appear as the producer. An Olympia Film GmbH was founded as a "front" organisation. Riefenstahl and her brother Heinz were entered into the trade register as partners on 9th December 1935.¹⁷ This was a deliberate move, which the director later described as a "formality undertaken for tax reasons".¹⁸

Just how comfortable Riefenstahl felt with this arrangement was demonstrated when the ministry made some inquiries on 8th October 1936, less than two months after the Games. This revealed organisational confusion and a great waste of money. Even the basic capital of the company, which was set extremely low 18,000 RM for Leni Riefenstahl and 2000 RM for brother Heinz. This had not been paid in by the siblings at that time.¹⁹

In the end it proved a rewarding business for her. The production costs reached 2,831,355.41 RM, a gigantic sum for the time. The film grossed 3,448,191.62 RM.²⁰ Riefenstahl received 20 per cent of the profits.

Conception of the content

Riefenstahl later claimed to have filmed the Reichsparteitag films and the Olympia film completely independently of the Nazi leadership. Yet as early as 17th August 1935, Goebbels indicated in his diary that Riefenstahl had reported to him about her previous works. His entry for 5th October 1935 noted: "Discussed her Olympia films with Leni Riefenstahl. A woman who knows what she wants."²¹ Then on 13th October: "Contract with Leni Riefenstahl in respect of Olympia film granted. My view is agreed in everything. I am very happy about it."²²

Even if Goebbels' own viewpoint is not made entirely clear from these entries it seems inconceivable that they would only have discussed contractual arrangements.

These notes contradict the legend propagated by Riefenstahl until the end of her life. She claimed "the Propaganda Ministry or other National Socialist party or

state agencies neither had an influence on the Olympic Games nor on the production or creation of the Olympia film".²³

Of all people Carl Diem, called by her as a crown witness, noted on 4th February 1936 during the Olympic Winter Games in Garmisch-Partenkirchen:

*P.m. worked and at 5 o'clock with Leni Riefenstahl together with Klingeberg²⁴ long discussion about the coming films. She is subordinate, as she said, formally to Goebbels, in reality only to the Führer and is completely independent in her work. 1.5 million marks are at her disposal for this film, without obligation to get her involved again.*²⁵

Hitler's expectations connected with the distribution of the job cannot be ascertained. He probably did not want to let all that money melt away into the sand, but expected "added value".

According to Riefenstahl "the 'idea' of the film already in the winter" of 1935 had taken shape. It is at least not improbable that she might have laid her intentions under "Hitler's Christmas tree" when she was a guest in his Munich private flat on 25th December.²⁶

Hitler and the ancient Greeks

In order to understand how the prologue for *OLYMPIA* came into being, it is necessary to examine Hitler's vision of the world. For him the Philhellenes took were very important. He described Sparta as the "clearest racial state" and he held the Greek ideal of beauty in high esteem. In his book *Mein Kampf* Hitler tried to play this out against the excessive emphasis on purely spiritual instruction in a chapter about the educational principles of his future "völkisch state".²⁷

He however did not propagate the superiority of a "Nordic-Germanic race" whereas Nazi chief ideologue Alfred Rosenberg did so.²⁸ Even when Hitler invented stories with much pathos about a "Germanic Reich", he like to devalue this and especially the Neanderthals²⁹. He said:

*Somewhere a skull is found and the whole world says: that's what our forefathers looked like. Who knows if the Neanderthaler was not an ape? In any case our ancestors did not sit there at that time! Our country was a filthy land through which at the most they went through. If we are asked about our forefathers, we must always indicate the Greeks.*³⁰

Seven days later Hitler simply reversed the facts:

*If we look at the Greeks, who were also Teutons, we find a beauty which lies high above what we can demonstrate today. ... One needs only to compare the head of Zeus or of Athene with that of a medieval crucified person or of a saint.*³¹



Hitler and the Discobolos of Myron. The "Führergeschenk" was given to the Munich Glyptothek in 1938.

Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München/Bildarchiv

It was no accident that Hitler should announce the resumption of German excavations at Ancient Olympia when he gave a reception for IOC Members at the Reich Chancellery to celebrate the opening of the 1936 Games. The work on the site had begun in the 19th century but had ceased in 1881. By 1938 there would be as a further "gift of the Führer" to the Munich Glyptothek, one of the five known marble heads of the Discobolos of Myron by the Roman Lancelotti family purchased for 6 million lire – just – one million Reichsmark.³²

In the press brochure for the first part of the Olympia film (*Fest der Völker*) Riefenstahl emphasises that she wished to create a "timeless work" and that "there was never a thought given to an actual reportage of the Games".³³ As the main motifs, she described "the eternal longing in the human being for perfection and beauty". She called her film a "hymn to the strength and beauty of humanity" with the aim of "making visible the healthy mind in the healthy body".³⁴

If beauty and health exist, with this theory there is also the opposite. The final Olympic fanfares had hardly sounded when ten weeks later, the rooms of the Berlin National Gallery for Contemporary Art were closed on the orders of Reich minister Bernhard Rust. The confiscated works went into a "chamber of horrors", which served as a precursor for the exhibition "Decadent Art" at the Munich Hofgarten in the summer of 1937.³⁵

To this day it is not known if Riefenstahl had any kind of shooting script at all for her "film without a plot" or whether she did not just simply let things be filmed. There are hints about the latter. Immediately after the

Film worlds:
A Russian "Greek"
lights the Olympic
Flame on the beach
of the Baltic under
the Nordic sun at
the stump of an
"antique" column
made of paper
maché.

Photo: Prolog Olympia-Film /
Willy Zielke



Games she identified three themes. There were "struggle for victory", "beauty" and the "idea of Olympia", whatever she understood by that.³⁶

Seen after an interval of 80 years, this corresponds with strategic aims which are outlined in a "Circular on the activity of the Political Police" of 17th July 1936:

*A generous and trouble-free running of the Olympic Games of 1936 in Berlin is of far-reaching significance for the respect of the new Germany in the eyes of all foreign guests. The Olympic Games are to be by the will of the Führer an unanimous recognition of German desire for peace and of German hospitality and is to demonstrate to foreign visitors the tidiness and discipline of the National Socialist state.*³⁷

A statement that placed the reality of the concentration camp state on its head.

The Function of the prologue

The concept of "pro-logos" was the province of the ancient Greeks. Aristotle defined it as the "whole part of the tragedy before the entry of the chorus"³⁸. The "pre-speech" served to introduce the main characters.

Later – as with Goethe – their action was often connected with the play in order to raise the entire work to a high level. *Faust*, as is well-known, begins with the "Prologue in Heaven" with a "Job's wager" between

God and Mephisto as to whether Doctor Faustus can be steered off the correct path by the devil.

In the present day, the prologue can take the form of a trailer (film), preface (book), preamble (lecture), intro (music), overture (opera) but also as an abstract (presentation) or editorial.

Riefenstahl opened her *OLYMPIA* with a homogeneous 15 minute long "Filmdichtung", with which she wished to transform her work "from the start from the region of a mere sports reportage to the elevated sphere of art".³⁹

Hilmar Hoffmann, former President of the Goethe Institute and occasionally critic, has described the prologue as her real "masterpiece" for this very reason.⁴⁰ In his view this prologue is the most important indication for the judgement of what Jean Cocteau described as Riefenstahl's genius: the staging of a filmic illusory world by using the metaphorical and allegorical with the aim of a pragmatic semantics in the service of politics

In this film, it achieved the alignment of antiquity with the present day Olympic Games of 1936 as legitimatisation of Nazi ideology through allusion to the classical-Greek tradition. From a technical viewpoint it is a film montage which climaxes in a hymn of rejoicing.

Initially an ancient landscape of ruins is shown, above which the smoke billows. There is dismal silence. The day begins to dawn and in the background the Parthenon comes into view on the Athens Acropolis. The camera moves along the blocks of stone and remains of columns



The Greek runner Konstantin Kondylis was the first torchbearer in the relay but did not satisfy Riefenstahl's aesthetic requirements. The blond Jürgen Ascherfeld (far left) was initially used instead. He was soon replaced by the 18 year old Anatol, who had been discovered by the director on the side of the road.

Photos: Arthur Grimm; Volker Kluge Archive

to marble statues. There is Aphrodite with her eternal smile, then Apollo, Alexander the Great, Achilles and the face of the Medusa. A naked youth – the Barbarini Faun – stretches himself lasciviously.

The Discobolos moves into the picture and slowly awakens from his paralysis. The film dissolves from the statue into an athlete of flesh and blood, who steps out of his frame, hurls the disc, putts the shot and throws the javelin.⁴¹

Now, the masculine power gives way to the tender-limbed female dancers, shown in against the light and from whose circling movements a flame is lit.

The rays of the sun announce the new morning. On the stump of a column burns the fire from which a youth lights a torch which he carries from the kingdom of the dead. His path leads over mountains to the stadium of Delphi, thereafter along the seashore and through olive groves until he is relieved by the next runner.

The Olympic torch relay through seven countries was revealed as a brilliant idea to countdown to the Games. It was intended by Diem that with every kilometre covered the Olympic mood of anticipation would be intensified. The radio reporters who had travelled with the relay knew how build excitement with their broadcasts. Here too the Goebbels ministry ruled the roost with the aim of strengthening the feeling of belonging with the "Volksdeutschen" and incidentally to validate territorial claims.

What really happened on the route was not revealed to the public except in sanitised form. The "hours of remembrance" in Vienna turned into Nazi rallies but this was not highlighted. When runners in Czechoslovakia were attacked by anti-Nazis with stones this too went unreported.

"Typical Greeks" as Olympic torchbearers

Riefenstahl did not stay long in Greece, but what she experienced in this time did not correspond with her ideas at all. Three camera teams were sent to the event but although her crew shot extensively (in her memoirs she spoke later contemptuously of "pure newsreels"⁴²), these were scarcely considered for her film. Instead she shaped the torch relay according to her own tastes and ideas.

The first runner, a young Greek diplomatic worker named Konstantin Kondylis, did not satisfy her aesthetic standards, she replaced him with what she saw as a "typical Greek". He was a blond called Jürgen Ascherfeld, a 26 year old who had been sent to Athens by Diem as a representative of the organising committee.⁴³ Instead of the black gymnastic shorts worn by many of the relay runners, a short "loincloth" was created for a photo. In fact, where for the sake of speed a hotel towel had to be held. In this way Ascherfeld's photo reached many German newspapers, and in the very next year Diem

The author of the prologue on the Acropolis: Willy Zielke

Photo: Filmmuseum Potsdam/Sammlungen/Nachlass Willy Zielke



chose the picture as the cover for his book *Olympische Reise*⁴⁴.

Scarcely had Jürgen Ascherfeld served as a model than Riefenstahl discovered another photogenic 18 year old on the road to Pyrgos. On the spot, she made him a tempting offer. It was to appear in *OLYMPIA* and to come with her to Germany for "further work".

By doing so Riefenstahl cause a storm of outrage in Greece.⁴⁵ The Athenian press even spoke of an "abduction" and did not calm down even when it became known that the youth, one Anatol Dobriansky was not a Greek but a Russian refugee. He had been born in Odessa on 15th February 1918. His father had been a major with the remains of the Tsarist Denikin army and in the early Twenties the family relocated to Crete. Later Dobriansky moved with his parents to Pyrgos.⁴⁶

In her *Memoirs* Riefenstahl maintained that Dobriansky had been the fourth runner in the relay⁴⁷, yet he is not listed in the register of participants. The Hellenic Olympic Committee believes that he was out in only at the 27th kilometre, whereby appeal is made to the newspaper *Anexartitos* of the 23rd July 1936.⁴⁸

An article in the *Hellenikon Mellon* perhaps offers more reliable evidence. On the front page is a headline "The torchbearer of Pyrgos who is becoming a UFA star. Riefenstahl's protégé", and notes that the director had discovered the young man in Pyrgos "among the crowd of gawpers".⁴⁹

While in Berlin the Games began and Riefenstahl, returned from Greece, had the army of her cameramen shoot 400,000 metres of film. This was done without a detailed shooting plan. It was calculated that Riefenstahl only used around two percent of the rushes in the final film. Goebbels for one, was unhappy with the waste.

One segment that was included was that shot when Dobriansky played his role as "torchbearer" in the ruins of Delphi. This particular segment of the film was shot by the avant-garde cameraman Willy Zielke⁵⁰ and this was not his only role. He was also a director based in Munich and had written the screenplay for the prologue. In fact he signed a contract of the 11th May 1936 to deliver two versions: "1st His own concept based on the existing manuscript, 2nd A version according to the concept of Ms. Riefenstahl (The manuscript has still be handed in)." Zielke was to be paid 10,000 RM as well as a camera of his choice suitable for the prologue.⁵¹

As part of the contract he also directed the other sequences at the Grabschen Haken in the Curonian Spit not far from the Lithuanian border, where a camp had been built as accommodation. There he first produced the sequence with the naked "temple dancers". Thirty performers were chosen from some 300 female sports students in Berlin. They had been select for their beauty and the nudity was carefully shot.

In order to be present with the male actors, Zielke next had a visit from Riefenstahl, who was joined not only by his wife Elfriede, but also the handsome Anatol. He was supposed to light of the "Olympic" flame on the stump of a pillar which had been installed by a set designer. The steeply falling Northern sunlight produced superior images to those obtained in Greece.

There was immediately a dispute when Riefenstahl, who insisted on posing with the female dancers in front of the camera. Zielke described her figure later as "on the plump side"⁵² but managed in the end to persuade her not to pose. Instead her hands were seen.

The tension escalated in January 1937. Zielke, who had delivered the finished version on time as per contract and now waited impatiently for days in a Berlin hotel for the approval of his prologue. He was not sure of the decision when there was another argument. This ended when Riefenstahl declared him to be "crazy". Zielke was sent back to Munich, where he suffered a nervous breakdown.

Zielke described a young man he named as "Russian X" as an "agent provocateur" and continued "whom Frau Riefenstahl recently had added to her film team".⁵³ According to Zielke the Russian was supposed to provoke him "to acquire proof of my homosexual inclination!"⁵⁴

On 13th February 1937 Zielke's wife took him to the Psychiatric Department of a Munich hospital, where he was diagnosed with "severe schizoprenia", which he



later described as “abduction”. He maintained that Riefenstahl wanted to put him behind bars so that she could take control of his work. “This woman was my enemy” he said.⁵⁵

This episode is open to an alternative interpretation. The letters of Elfriede Zielke demonstrate a plausible concern for the well being of her husband. She had suddenly left been without any money after her husband had spent the fee for the prologue on an expensive Askania camera, there is a quite believable concern about the fate of her spouse.⁵⁶ It is impossible at this distance to establish the truth.

Zielke spent six years in the asylum of Munich-Haar and in the so-called Healing and Nursing Institute of Eglfing. Only after he had been compulsorily sterilised was he released in September 1942. He was placed in the care of his mother in Blankenburg/Harz.

Surprisingly Riefenstahl approached Zielke in late 1944, when because of the “total war” her staff had left, to persuade the allegedly “crazy” cameraman to make “completion pictures” for her film *Tiefland*.⁵⁷ Although he saw her at least as co-responsible for his time of suffering, he felt compelled to agree as since Olympia film, he had been without an income.

However he was once shocked to discover that in Riefenstahl’s archive, which she had meantime moved to Kitzbühel, his name was completely missing from the credits and that she claimed to be the originator of the

prologue, although she had only cut around two tiny sections.⁵⁸

It was the same story with the de luxe volume *Schönheit im Olympischen Kampf*, which had appeared at the end of 1937 before the film was premiered. The author is listed as Riefenstahl but the first 40 pages are Zielke’s photographs. He is not mentioned until the last page as originator of the “pictures of the temples, statues and nudes” – mostly enlargements from the prologue.⁵⁹ The photographers Arthur Grimm⁶⁰ and Rolf Lantin⁶¹ looked after templates.

The original film disappeared without trace

The authentic Olympia film, first screened on 20th April 1938 which was Hitler’s 49th birthday, can no longer be found. It is said that at the end of the war, the original negative was stored in the Alps along with together with the films of the Reichspartei days and other Nazi works.⁶²

There were versions in German, Italian and French. The latter with the title *Dieux du Stade (Gods of the Stadium)*. In addition Riefenstahl produced an English and an American cut but it was not a success in the British Empire and there Americans refused to screen it.⁶³ No rental company was prepared to take on the film.

Not until 1948 was it shown in the USA an abbreviated version under the title *Kings of the Olympics*.⁶⁴ Originally Riefenstahl intended to sell this film to the American

Fresh from the register office: Anatol married a young Berlin girl in 1938.



Olympic Committee during her USA tour at the end of 1938 for an "amazing sum"⁶⁵. This however was a deal which did not come to pass.

What many know today is thus only a reconstruction of the Olympia film which Riefenstahl had pieced together in the mid-1950s. To do that she was able to use a German copy which she had bought from a cinema owner. She also acquired a damaged French strip which had been returned by the Parisian authorities and an American version which had been in the possession of IOC President Avery Brundage.

Riefenstahl, who had been banned from working after the end the war, only managed that after years of struggle, in which it was a question of her mere existence. The films she made from 1926 to 1933 had been overtaken by time. Her Nazi films were forbidden and her last production, *Tiefland* was incomplete. Thus *OLYMPIA* was the only way she could make money.

The first person she spoke to was Diem, who had started to develop what later became the German Sport University in Cologne in 1947. He tried to secure the release of the film material confiscated by the French authorities in Kitzbühel. Diem's efforts proved in vain. IOC Member Marquis de Polignac, who had once been sympathetic to the National Socialists, let Diem know that he had lost influence in France.

The contact with Otto Mayer proved more fruitful. Mayer, a jeweller in Switzerland had now become IOC Chancellor. He despatched the Olympic Diploma to Riefenstahl. This had been awarded in 1939 at the request of Avery Brundage but it had never been formally handed over.⁶⁶ In return he requested a copy of the "splendid film"⁶⁷, which the Olympic Museum did not own.

It would not be until 27 years after the film's release that Riefenstahl was in a position to fulfil this wish, however at a price of 4200 German Marks (DM). In late 1965 the secretary of the IOC, Lydie Zanchi, confirmed that the rolls of film had arrived in Lausanne and the bill was paid.⁶⁸

Riefenstahl's priority at this time was to get the film released so that it could again be shown in cinemas. However she failed to convince the censors who made permission dependent on an additional commentary which was to contain the truth about the "Third Reich". Riefenstahl was not prepared to allow that.⁶⁹ The letters of protest from Diem, Mayer and other office-bearers whom Riefenstahl had enlisted had no effect.

It was only when she agreed to the proposals of the controlling authority and to shorten certain sequences that permission was granted to allow the film to be exhibited. The cuts are often somewhat clumsy. In the film 86 metres are missing mainly from the first part, from which she had to remove all the images of Hitler.

A swastika flag and the head of Hitler had originally filled the screen as a transition from the torch relay to the Olympic Stadium ended on the cutting room floor. Other cuts included the march in of the Austrian team, Rudolf Ismayr's Olympic Oath, some spectator scenes and three victory ceremonies for German athletes.⁷⁰

The prologue did remain untouched even though the authorities had demanded its removal on the grounds that it had nothing to do with the Olympic Games. There

Stage free! The Berlin Varieté-Theatre "Scala" engaged Dobriansky in the foreground of the premiere of the Olympia film for a performance as torchbearer. The payment for the evening was 130 Reichsmarks. Adjacent: A much sought after document: without membership of the Reichsfilmkammer (controlled by Goebbels) it was not possible to work as a film actor in the "Third Reich"

Photos: Estate Anatol Dobriansky



was suspicion of the great deal of incense and the naked flesh. The year 1958 was during the austere "Adenauer era" when people were quick to reproach other over what they saw as pornography.

Yet the release was only a half victory, because the film evaluation office which had the task of judging the artistic or historical quality then refused it a classification.⁷¹ *OLYMPIA* could be shown, yet the cinema owners lacked the interest in a piece of film for which an official recommendation was missing.

Even the rights to the prologue were gifted to Riefenstahl

Where there is a prologue, the epilogue should not be missing. Riefenstahl's "Tolik", as Dobriansky was called, remained in Germany even after filming of *OLYMPIA* had ended. Riefenstahl's affection went so far that as to finance his training as an actor as well as language instruction. She even arranged his membership in the Reichsfilmkammer, from which opposition and Jewish filmmakers were excluded.

Dobriansky had however to earn his own living. He appeared in the forefront of the Olympia film premiere as "torchbearer" in the Berlin revue theatre "Scala" Through Riefenstahl's agency he got a supporting role in the film *Revolutionshochzeit*.⁷² However this film career was to be short lived. In front of the camera he confused who was cook and who waiter. Also his voice was considered "shaky".⁷³

Soon after that Anatol married a Berlin girl, and Riefenstahl's interest cooled. It had not been for entirely artistic reasons. Anatol was still stateless, and he was deported to the armament industry in Brunswick, where he worked as a technical draughtsman.

From 1941 he served in the navy which trained him as a wiretapping specialist because of his talent for foreign languages. At the end of 1944 he was transferred to the Kleinkampfverbänden [Small Fighting Units], a suicide squad with very small U-boats.⁷⁴

After a short internment he returned to Berlin where he was became a stocking salesman. He like moving amongst the Russian emigre circles who had gathered on the Kurfürstendamm around the last member of the family of Prince Kropotkin.⁷⁵ After Dobriansky's marriage had failed he moved to Bavaria with a new partner. He died on 24th July 1982.

Dobriansky had the good fortune that his blond double lacked. Sergeant-major Jürgen Ascherfeld was missing in action at the end of August 1942. He was only 33 kilometres from Stalingrad.⁷⁶

Zielke the creator of the Olympia prologue fought in vain for his recognition as a victim of political persecution and for restitution. It was not until 1987, only two years before his death, that he received 5000 DM in compensation.



Whilst he struggled with bureaucracy and civil servants, Riefenstahl signed a contract worth millions with Federal Transit film company GmbH. This was formally agreed on 16th January 1964 although it was undoubtedly clear from the papers of 1941 that it was not Riefenstahl but the German Reich which was listed as "owner of the originator's and exploitation rights".⁷⁷

Yet, "in the interest of an undisturbed continuing exploitation" the rights were now more or less gifted to her and the profit from the exploitation divided 70:30 in favour of Riefenstahl. She and her heirs continued to earn with every metre of film recorded by cameramen like Zielke.

When Riefenstahl then prepared a video cassette in 1990 for the IOC, she included some of the sequences which had previously been cut from the film. However the dvd offered for sale nowadays remains an incomplete version of the film.

The exploitation rights of the Olympia film did not as return as agreed after 30 years to the Transit company, but remained with Riefenstahl. A press statement of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation notes: "The commercial exploitation rights were passed on by Gisela Jahn", Riefenstahl's last secretary, "to the firm La Tresor Kreativhandel GmbH".⁷⁸ Nowadays, the business from Unterföhring is better known for the representation of pop stars.

It cannot be excluded that the arguments about the Olympia film and its copyright is only properly beginning now. The gift of 700 cardboard boxes is unlikely to change much more. ■

During the Second World War Anatol Dobriansky served in the German navy. He was trained to monitor enemy submarines. In the last years of the war he joined the "small fighting units", with one-man U-boats ordered to sink enemy shipping. He was spared from anything serious.

Photo: Estate Anatol Dobriansky

1 Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, Press statement, 12th February 2018

2 Horst Kettner (1942–2016) was Riefenstahl's cameraman from 1968. They were a couple from 1978. After Kettner's death the estate was dissolved by the long-serving secretary Gisela Jahn. From 1924 to

From film star to a sales rep. for stockings: Anatol in West Berlin after the war.

Photo: Estate Anatol Dobriansky



- 1926 Riefenstahl had been engaged to tennis player Otto Froitzheim (1884–1962). Her first husband was Peter Jacob (1909–1992) an officer in the alpine military section who was a holder of the Knight's Cross. They were married from 1944 to 1947. After the divorce Jacob married the daughter of Hitler's personal photographer Heinrich Hoffmann. Henriette von Schirach (née Hoffmann) had separated in 1950 from her husband Baldur von Schirach, sentenced to 20 years imprisonment (former Reich Youth Leader and Gauleiter of Vienna).
- 3 *Die Welt*, 20th April 2018. The director of the German Kinemathek, Rainer Rother, suggested that a period of six to eight years would probably be need for cataloguing and digitalisation. This estimate had been calculated taking into account how long had been needed to process the estate of German actress Marlene Dietrich.
 - 4 www.criterion.com/films/29360-100-years-of-olympic-films-1912-2012
 - 5 IOC, General Rules applicable to the Celebration of the Olympic Games, XXVII, The taking of photographs and cinematograph-pictures, Berlin 1930, p. 30
 - 6 Bundesarchiv (Barch), R 1501/5608 Reichsministerium des Innern, letter Theodor Lewald to Hans Pfundtner, Vertrauliche Aufzeichnung, 5th October 1933
 - 7 Henry Picker (Ed.), *Hitlers Tischgespräche*, Ullstein Verlag, Berlin, 1993, pp. 216–217. Hitler boasted that the building of the Olympic Stadium had cost 77 million Reichsmarks and the Games had generated half a billion in foreign currency for the state. The estimate of the Reich interior ministry is considered more reliable. It puts the cost of the stadium at 40 million RM.
 - 8 *Reichssportblatt*, Vol. 2, No. 31, 3rd August 1935, pp. 863–864
 - 9 The first performance took place on 28th March 1935. Before that she had already produced a propaganda film about the 1933 Reichsparteitag with the title *Der Sieg des Glaubens*.
 - 10 Leni Riefenstahl, *Memoiren 1902–1945*, Ullstein, Berlin 1990, p. 236–237
 - 11 Staatsarchiv Freiburg, Badisches Staatskommissariat für politische Säuberungen, minutes, meeting, 6th July 1949, D 180/2, No. 228165/1, p. 22. Moreover she was classified as “not involved” by a civilian court responsible for denazification with the indication that Riefenstahl had already been an “internationally recognised film star”.

- 12 “Leni Riefenstahl gossips out of school”, in: Walter Trömel (Ed.), *Olympia. Der Film von den XI. Olympischen Spielen in Berlin 1936*, Verlag Deutsche Volksbücher, Wiesbaden 1938, p. 12
- 13 Barch R 55/503, Reichspropagandaministerium (RMVP), Bericht der Kassen- und Rechnungsprüfung bei der Olympia-Film GmbH, 16th October 1936
- 14 Barch R 55/1327, RMVP, Finanzierung der Olympia-Filme, 23rd November 1938
- 15 Barch R 55/1328, letter RMVP to Olympia-Film GmbH, 1st February 1939
- 16 Barch, R 43 II/731, RMVP, Pressenotiz, 18th May 1936, The Deutsche Nachrichten-Büro (DNB) however did not publish the statement until 10th June 1936.
- 17 The partners' shares of the propaganda ministry was administered by Riefenstahl (18,000 RM) and her brother (2000 RM) about on trust. The company was wound up from 1940 and dissolved on 9th January 1942.
- 18 *Memoiren*, p. 248
- 19 Barch R 55/503, RMVP, Bericht der Kassen- und Rechnungsprüfung bei der Olympia-Film GmbH, 16th October 1936
- 20 Barch, R 55/1327, Olympia-Film GmbH, final balancing, 31st December 1941
- 21 Barch R 003/001610, Goebbels Diaries, Vol. 3, p. 874
- 22 *Ibid*, p. 899
- 23 Carl und Liselott Diem-Archiv (CuLDA), Cologne, Leni Riefenstahl, *About the production of the Olympia films* (False statements and their contradiction), Response to the resolution of the film evaluation agency of Wiesbaden of 30th January 1958
- 24 Werner Klingeberg (1910–1982), from 1935 to 1936 director of the sports department in the Organising Committee of the Olympic Games 1936 in Berlin, then IOC adviser for the 1940 Olympic Games in Tokyo and Helsinki as well as designated IOC General Secretary. See also *JOH*, Vol. 3, No. 3/2015, pp. 14–27
- 25 Carl Diem, *Diaries*, Vol. 9, pp. 47–48
- 26 *Memoiren*, pp. 249–251
- 27 Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, Franz Eher Verlag, München 1938, p. 453. The second volume first appeared in 1927.
- 28 Cf. Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Hohen-eichen-Verlag, München 1930
- 29 A prehistoric human, whose remains were found near Düsseldorf, Germany.
- 30 Henry Picker (Ed.), *Hitlers Tischgespräche*, 18th January 1942, nachts (Wolffschanze), Bibliothek der Zeitgeschichte, Ullstein, Berlin 1993, p. 85
- 31 *Ibid.*, p. 93
- 32 Barch B 323/683. At Hitler's wish the Italian foreign ministry in May 1938 granted the sale of the Discobolos. As with the excavations in Olympia the statue was paid for by a specially created “Führer fund”. In 1948 the Italian government demanded the statue back. It had been stored in the American Central Collecting Point Munich.
- 33 *OLYMPIA. Fest der Völker*, Erstes Presseheft, Tobis Filmkunst GmbH, Berlin 1938, p. 9
- 34 *Ibid.*, p. 31
- 35 Cf. Stephanie Barron, *Entartete Kunst. Das Schicksal der Avantgarde im Nazi-Deutschland*, Hirmer Verlag München und Museum Associates, Los Angeles County Museum of Art 1992
- 36 Olympia Film GmbH (Ed.), “Das Manuskript”, in: *Leni Riefenstahls Olympia-Film*, Berlin 1938
- 37 Barch, R 58/2320, Preußische Geheime Staatspolizei, Circular on the activities of the Political Police regarding the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, 18th July 1936
- 38 Aristoteles, *Rhetoric*, III, 14
- 39 *OLYMPIA*, Presseheft, p. 47
- 40 Hilmar Hoffmann, *Mythos Olympia. Autonomie und Unterwerfung von Sport und Kultur*, Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin 1993, p. 135
- 41 The discus and javelin throwing athlete were represented by the muscular Erwin Huber (1907–2003), who placed fourth in the decathlon in 1936. Riefenstahl also engaged Luz Long as a shot putter. He won long jump silver behind Jesse Owens in Berlin.
- 42 *Memoiren*, p. 262
- 43 Jürgen Ascherfeld (1909–1942), a trained sports teacher, was employed in the organising committee as an expert on the sport of antiquity. For the book *OLYMPIA* (Atlantis Verlag Berlin 1935), which included three lectures by Ernst Curtius from the years 1856 to 1880, Ascherfeld published “Erläuterungen über den Sport und

- die Kampfarten der Griechen". His article "Der Knabe aus Tralles", appears in *Olympische Rundschau*, Vol. 2, No. 6, July 1939, pp. 19–23.
- 44 Carl Diem, *Olympische Reise*, Deutscher Schriftenverlag, Berlin 1937
- 45 Barch R 58/2320, Deutsche Arbeitsfront, Zentralbüro Amt Information an Geheime Staatspolizei (Gestapo), Betr.: Bericht der „Fliegenden Redaktion“ des „Angriffs“ über die Vorgänge beim Olympia-Staffellauf in einzelnen Staaten, 14th August 1936. On the Riefenstahl expedition it states on p. 4: "Her propaganda rolled over all the rest. The press were only the tail of a comet. As is well known the Greek press started a campaign against Frau Riefenstahl because she wished to take a young Russian with her to Germany."
- 46 Interview by Volker Kluge with Michael M. Dobriansky (son of Anatol), Berlin 2009
- 47 *Memoiren*, p. 263
- 48 HOC Press Office, Information from Tassos Papachristou, 19th November 2014. The list of the torchbearers shows "A. Dobrogiannis" as runner number 24.
- 49 *Hellenikon Mellon*, 15th November 1937
- 50 Willy Zielke (1902–1989), director and cameraman, described himself as a "cultural film producer". From 1927 to 1933 he worked as a lecturer at the Bayerischen Staatslehranstalt für Lichtbildwesen. Riefenstahl became aware of him through his film *Das Stahltier*, which he produced in 1934/35 for the Deutsche Reichsbahn. The first showing was prevented by Goebbels who felt it was "too modern and too abstract".
- 51 Willy Zielke, Filmarchiv Potsdam, N 001/0041 429–446. In the contract of 11th May 1936 with the Olympia-Film GmbH is stated: "By reason of the work plan, manuscript and projected costs laid before us, which may not exceed 60,000 RM, we hand over to you the completion of the Olympia prologue proposed by you." As delivery date the 31st October 1936 was agreed.
- 52 Filmarchiv Potsdam, N 001/0041 429–446, "Kurze Beschreibung meiner Freiheitsberaubung im 3-ten Reich" [Short description of my deprivation of liberty in the 3rd Reich], p. 12. The 18 page document arose as an appeal against the refusal of his calling by the compensation office of Berlin (West) of 24th January 1958.
- 53 *Ibid.*, p. 6
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 13
- 55 *Ibid.*, p. 8
- 56 Barch R 9361 V/115350, letter Elfriede Zielke to Professor Carl Froelich (from 1939 President of the Reichsfilmkammer), 3rd August 1937, as well as application "re: donation 'Künstlerdank'", 12th November 1938.
- 57 *Ibid.*, Riefenstahl-Film GmbH to Reichsfilmkammer, application for "general special permission" for Willy Zielke, 6th November 1944
- 58 *OLYMPIA, Teil 1: Fest der Völker*, arte Edition, Kinowelt Home Entertainment GmbH (DVD). Apart from Riefenstahl only the composer Herbert Windt (1894–1965) is named.
- 59 Leni Riefenstahl, *Schönheit im Olympischen Kampf*, Deutscher Verlag, Berlin 1937
- 60 Arthur Grimm (1908–approx. 1990), who was a member of the Nazi Party from 1933, worked on Riefenstahl's films as a stationary photographer and was responsible for templates. During the Second World War he was special leader of a propaganda company.
- 61 Rolf Lantin (1903–1978) worked from 1934 to 1945 for Riefenstahl as a photographer, inter alia on the feature film *Tiefeland*.
- 62 *Memoiren*, pp. 405–406. According to Riefenstahl three metal chests, which on the instructions of the Nazi leadership were stored in an unknown site in the Alps, came as far as Bozen (Bolzano). There is no trace of them now.
- 63 In addition Riefenstahl had more foreign language variants produced, partly some included different images, to suit domestic audiences in the territories where they were to be shown.
- 64 Riefenstahl's promotional tour to the USA (28th October 1938 to 26th January 1939) was a disaster. Through the call for a common boycott of the American Jewish Congress and the Jewish Labor Committee there were no public performances. There were only two private performances on the 20th November 1938 in the house of Avery Brundage in Chicago and on 14th December in the California Club in Los Angeles with over 140 guests (among others with Olympic champions Marjorie Gestring, Glenn Morris and Kenneth Carpenter). In addition the Deutsche Handelskammer issued invitations to a showing on 2nd January 1939. Also it came about that Riefenstahl's press chief Ernst Jäger left the travel party in which Klingeberg was a third member. Jäger remained in the USA. In June 1939 he wrote a series of articles in the *Hollywood Tribune* entitled "How Leni Riefenstahl became Hitler's Girlfriend".
- 65 CuLDA, letter AAU Secretary-Treasurer Daniel Ferris to Diem, 8th April 1947
- 66 Staatsarchiv Freiburg, D 18C/2, No. 228165/1, letter Otto Mayer to Riefenstahl, 6th April 1948
- 67 *Ibid.*, 28th May 1948
- 68 Olympic Studies Centre (OSC), Lausanne, letter Zanchi to Riefenstahl, 19th November 1965
- 69 CuLDA, Freiwillige Selbstkontrolle der Filmwirtschaft (FSK), Wiesbaden, 9th January 1958
- 70 As the Austrians had marched in with their right arms raised, that could be misinterpreted as the so-called German greeting. Ismayr had sworn the Olympic Oath on the swastika flag. (At the time the national flag was always used for this ritual)
- 71 CuLDA, Claim against the decision of the evaluation committee, 30th January 1958. According to the procedure regulations of today's Deutschen Film- und Medienbewertung (FBW) films receive no classification, which inter alia breach the constitution or the law as well as "serve political propaganda in a derogatory way".
- 72 *Revolutionshochzeit*, Regie Hans H. Zerlett. The cast included Brigitte Horney and Bernhard Minetti in the leading roles, Terra Filmkunst 1938
- 73 Interview Michael M. Dobriansky
- 74 Deutsche Dienststelle (WAST), Berlin, 18th March 2011. Dobriansky was interned by the British on 18th August 1945. His last rank was Bootsmannsmaat (Marine Corporal).
- 75 Barch, R 9361-IX Kartei/23491129. With the death of Nikolai Kropotkin (1924–2014), who had joined the Nazi Party in 1942, the 109th generation of the Russian princely family was extinguished, from which with Peter Kropotkin also a significant theoretician of anarchy had emerged.
- 76 Volksbund Deutsche Kriegsgräberfürsorge e.V., Kriegsgräberstätte Rossoschka
- 77 Barch R 109 I/2163, Agreement Transit-Filmgesellschaft with Riefenstahl, 16th January 1964
- 78 Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, Press statement, 12th February 2018



Willy Zielke fought for years for recognition as a victim of political persecution. It was not until 1987, shortly before his death, that he received compensation for his years behind bars.

Photo: Willy Zielke, documentation of *Die Wahrheit*. Ein Film von dem Leidensweg des Deutschen Arbeiters (1934).

Behind Barbed Wire – The ‘Olympic’ Games of 1918

By Christian Kunz and Volker Kluge

Mustering of recruits: a chauvinistic “joke” postcard. The message was that only weaklings, drunkards and tramps opposed the German “Superman”.

Illustrations:
Volker Kluge Archive



In 1944, Polish prisoners of war (POWs) proved that even in the darkest times of war, the Olympic Idea would not be suppressed. They organised “Olympic” Games in July and August 1944 in the German camps of Woldenberg and Gross-Born. The Polish Museum of Sports and Tourism commemorated this seventy years later with an exhibition. (*JOH*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 2014, pp. 64–67)

Less well known are the sports competitions which took place behind barbed wire during the First World War. This conflict came to an end on the 11th November 1918, almost exactly a century ago.

“We’ll be home by Christmas”

The images of early August 1914, are all too familiar. Soldiers set out for the front in enthusiastic fashion. It is an attitude which seems incomprehensible today. In Germany, departing soldiers had flowers and branches on their rifles. The railway carriages which took them to war carried slogans like “breakfast in Paris” or “We’ll be home by Christmas”. What the men really felt can only be guessed.

However there were more than a few who were genuinely excited by the prospect of war. These were often students and senior school pupils, who knew of it only from books or stories. The last conflict to involve Germany had taken place 43 years previously. Although these young people were often not even of an age to be enlisted, they rushed in their blindness to the recruiting offices because they all feared being forgotten in the call-up. And perhaps there were also afraid that victory might be achieved without them.

One of these volunteers was the General Secretary of the 1916 Olympic Games, Carl Diem¹. He described such scenes in his diaries. For himself he claimed very much later that he could not share the “rejoicing enthusiasm” of his sports comrades.²



Dr. Christian Kunz | *1953 in Teterow / Mecklenburg, Germany; Study of Humane medicine at the University of Rostock, general practitioner; since 1968 interested in the history of the Olympic Games; collector of Olympic autographs and memorabilia; member of the collector organisation IMOS.



“Like clowns on the burial of a corpse”

The German postcard industry played an important part in this chauvinism. At the start of the war it was world leader in its area with an annual turnover of around 33 million marks. In an almost grotesque fashion, it tried to increase this misplaced love of the fatherland by glorifying its own soldiers as “supermen” and ridiculing their opponents. “Joke” postcards which bore phrases like “Serbien muss sterben” [Serbia has to die] and “Jeder Schuss ein Russ, jeder Stoss ein Franzos, jeder Tritt ein Britt, jeder Klaps ein Japs” [Every shot a Russ, every push a French, every kick a Brit, every pat a Jap] attained a questionable popularity.

A popular trend was to show the war as a sporting contest, albeit totally one sided. On the one side the German soldier as a tall, powerful athlete, on the other the weaklings who sought their salvation in flight. The whole thing was often depicted as “Olympic Games 1914”.

Even after the first few weeks, such a mocking prospect of victory no longer fitted the official propaganda. The Prussian Interior Ministry felt obliged to check the flood of postcards and when necessary proceed against it with “compulsory measures”.³ What many still regarded as “healthy humour” was finally contradicted by the real progress of the war. The press took a dim view of the cards. In the opinion of the newspaper *Die Post* the “Ulk”- or “Scherz” cards were as inappropriate to the battlefield “as clowns on a corpse’s burial”.⁴

Yet it was not until 1916, after the dreadful battles and heavy losses on the Western front around Verdun and the Somme that a “reorientation of the policy of propaganda” appeared on the agenda. In order to combat the increasing war-weariness of the “home front”, some 300 new staff were taken on. They were drawn from teachers, artists and instructing officers, who were to act as disseminators.⁵

It was decided that “measures of keeping up a reliable mood among the people” be undertaken. These included photographic lectures as well as illustrated leaflets, to be dropped on enemy territory. The Western Allies had an advantage when employing this tactic as the wind mostly blew from their direction.



War as a sporting measurement of strength: boxing on a propaganda card from France.

Adjacent: “Olympic Games” of 1914 from a German viewpoint.

The propaganda of the Triple Entente – France, Great Britain, Russia – was indistinguishable from that employed by the Central Powers. In the first months of the war the Germans were presented as pickelhaube-wearing village idiots, who could be knocked out with a powerful punch. These caricatures very soon gave way to macabre representations of soldiers who devoured babies. This was supposed to build a feeling of increasing hatred toward an enemy which was now known universally as “the Hun”.

As the war went on and on, there was a degree of sentimentality. Postcards now showed women and children saying farewell to the husbands or fathers off to the front. Portraits of war heroes were sold to raise money for charitable causes and the proceeds were to be used for widows and orphans.



Propaganda war on postcards: the sinking of the “Lusitania” by a German submarine represented a turning point in the warfare.

Hand over hand for a bet on an Italian propaganda card: Germany vs France, Austria vs Serbia.

Adjacent: "Olympic Games 1914" in the imagination of a German caricaturist.

Illustrations:
Volker Kluge Archive



"War Championships" and everyday life behind barbed wire

The war had dragged on for four years and any laughing and joking had now ceased. The "turnip winter" of 1916/17, had caused hunger strikes in Germany and in Russia it ended in Revolution. The patience of the population was exhausted. That did not prevent the military leaders still tried to exhort the exhausted troops into even more new offensives to win back the initiative.

Even so, sport was still played in Germany in the last year of the war was kept going albeit on a "low gas". In the German Stadium, built for the 1916 Olympic Games in Berlin, "War Championships" in athletics and swimming were held for the fourth time.

The programme had been adapted to military requirements. Throwing the hand grenade was won by a lieutenant Luther with 48.87 m. The "war free jumping" from the tower was won by the 1912 Olympic diving silver medalist Hans Luber. The "war relay" consisting of swimming breast stroke, side, back and hand-over-hand, was won by Hellas Magdeburg. In their team was the 17 year old Erich Rademacher. He would have to wait another decade for his shot at Olympic glory at the 1928 Games.

Sport also played a part in everyday life inside the numerous prisoner of war camps.⁶ Although this is less well known. These camps held between 6.6 million to 8 million prisoners. This figure was to rather more than ten percent of all those mobilised.

It was the first time in history that such a large number of people had to be accommodated and fed. In the German Reich alone there were 2.5 million prisoners. They came from 13 states and were distributed into 175 central camps. At the start of the war the military leadership had believed the campaign would be short. They had only reckoned on a maximum of 150,000 to 160,000 prisoners.

Even in the case of war no space free of law

Most governments still regarded the "ius ad bellum" ("right to war") as a legitimate means of solving conflicts between states, but in 1899, a peace conference at The Hague was backed by Russia's Tsar Nicholas II. For the first time, this set down rules for a "humanised" conduct of war in the form of an agreement under international law. The Hague Land War Order (or Hague Convention) still valid today, was agreed initially by 25 states. At a second conference, held in the same city in 1907 the signatories had increased to 51. Among these were all the great powers, who recognised that even in armed conflict there should be no space without law.

That referred especially to the treatment of prisoners of war, who were divided according to rank. Officers received their own camps, where they could claim special privileges, amongst others, this included freedom from compulsory work. On the other hand the ordinary ranks had to earn their own food and drink.

Mostly they were allocated to agriculture, to mines or to building roads. The time at work was eight to ten hours. The only free day was Sunday.

Puchheim, near Munich offers an example of what life was like in a German camp.⁷ It was erected at the end of October 1914 on the instructions of the Bavarian War Ministry on the ground of an airfield with a capacity of 10,000 places. But it only took a few months until it was completely full. In the last year of the war there were ultimately around 17,000 prisoners, mostly Russian and French.

Anyone who had imagined a swift return home in 1914 was soon forced to change his mind. What was thought of as temporary soon changed to "provisional permanent state". The huts were made to withstand the winter, streets and squares put in. Numerous civilian buildings were constructed. Initially spontaneously and with time ever more institutionalised.⁸

To prevent what the Puchheim authorities described as "boredom and depression", prisoners were allowed to organise their own strictly limited free time with sporting and cultural activities.⁹ At the same time the "privileges" served discipline, and could be withdrawn at any time by the authorities in the event of bad behaviour, e.g. refusal to work, resistance or attempts to escape.

Along with sporting activities, theatre or circus performances, music making and painting as well as card playing were preferred. No monetary stakes were permitted. If the rule was breached the cash was taken off the prisoners.

Football and Faustball (a variation on volleyball) were especially popular. In several camps there were fixed teams and leagues to give the sports organisation an authentic feel. With an increasing degree of organisation the communications improved. There were "camp newspapers" in which the team selections and results were reported.

The Hague Land War Order of 1907 also permitted the POWs to send and receive post. This included parcels up to five kilos. According to the rules of the Prussian War Ministry, postal traffic had to remain "open", i.e. every item was checked most exactly, for which purpose postal checking stations had been placed in the camps. There

all letters and cards were read by interpreters and all "secret messages" checked. Passages that were suspect were simply cut out. After that the items received the stamp "Geprüft" [checked] and were sent off free of charge.¹⁰

A little bit "Olympic Flair" from Japan to the British Isles

Through the many picture postcards which have survived it is still possible today to build up a picture of camp life. They were also of use for those who ran the camps. In this way it could be proved to hostile and neutral countries abroad that the rules were being kept and the prisoners treated humanely. This circumstance also gives us the information that Puchheim even became the showground for "Olympic Games".

These probably took place in the summer of 1918. A French prisoner called Alexandre Richard noted the date on his postcards. These show athletic events like the standing long jump and relay race as well as a French football team.

Puchheim was not unique. This is demonstrated by another picture postcard. This shows a gymnastic area surrounded by spectators, inscribed as follows on the back: "War pictures from the Vosges. Olympic Games of our 'Feldgrauen'. Markirch in September 1916". As the term "Feldgrauen" is used, this indicates that the card was about competitions for German front soldiers.

Markirch in Lorraine (today Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines) had become known for its minerals. From 1871 to 1918, it was part of the German Reich. In 1914 and 1915 the only mountain battles on the Western front were fought here. At least 30,000 soldiers died. After the battle of Verdun (21st February to early August 1916) the front froze and the fighting became trench warfare. It is probable one of these breaks in the fighting was used for these "Olympic Games" – a more than wistful reminder of the Olympic festival that had been planned for that summer in Berlin.

The same thing can be said for the "Olympiad" which was held in July 1916 in a British prisoner of war camp at Leigh-on-Sea on the Essex coast in South East England.



In 1918, "Olympic Games" were celebrated in the Bavarian prisoner of war camp at Puchheim

Illustrations:
Christian Kunz Collection

**"Olympic"
gymnastics in 1916
during a break in
the fighting in
the Vosges**

Illustration:
Christian Kunz Collection



Several thousand German soldiers captured at the end of August 1914 after the battle of Mons in Belgium were interned alongside many civilians. These had been arrested as "hostile foreigners" after the sinking of the British passenger ship "Lusitania" by a German submarine on 7th May 1915.¹¹

Joining them were sailors from German merchant ships, which had been surprised at sea or in foreign ports by the war, an entire Zeppelin crew as well as two well-known tennis players: 1908 Olympic silver medallist and 1914 Wimbledon singles finalist, Otto Froitzheim, and the 1912 Olympic bronze medallist Oscar Kreuzer, also a familiar face at Wimbledon.¹²

The precise details of the sporting competitions in Leigh have not yet been established. An "Olympic Diploma" awarded to the winners of the contests still survives but does not give specifics.

Another German Olympian was interned on the Isle of Man. His name: Carl Schuhmann. He won four Olympic titles at the 1896 Athens Games and had followed the call of the German Gymnastic Society to London in 1898, where he worked as a gymnastics teacher until the outbreak of the First World War. In 1915 he was deported to the Knockaloe Internment Camp. As the camp on the Isle of Man was for "men only", Schuhmann's family were forced to remain in London. His wife and the six children had to manage without the breadwinner.

The Knockaloe camp had been built in November 1914 for 5000 civilians. The population doubled however after the sinking of the "Lusitania".¹³ By the end of the war there were no fewer than 23,000 inmates. They had been divided into 23 compounds each holding 1000. Beside Germans and Austrians, there were also Bulgarians, Hungarians and Turks.¹⁴

Schuhmann offered gym lessons, partly in order to make their stay more bearable for his fellow-prisoners and also to toughen them up physically. With the permission of the camp commandant he organised gymnastic festivals between the individual camps. The Emperor's birthday on 27th January was celebrated with displays. In Cunningham's Camp in Douglas it ended with a threefold "Kaiserhoch" in which, astonishingly, the British officers joined in.¹⁵

Boxing proved the most popular sport of Knockaloe, even though it was still officially forbidden in Germany. Many of the fighters had first come into contact with it in Great Britain or on the ships of the naval and merchant fleet.

Among them was a waiter called Toni Abele, who had learned boxing in a London gymnastic hall and who gathered others interested around him in Knockaloe. The commandant gave him permission to start up boxing schools in the compounds, where the members moved around.

Thus the Isle of Man became a nucleus of German boxing, from which Hans Breitensträter emerged. A young seaman, he became the much admired champion of the camp. In 1916 he knocked out a black fighter from Bremen in a 20 round contest. This brought him prize money of seven pounds and ten shillings.¹⁶ After his return home, the "blonde Hans" turned professional. He became the first German sport and media star before the advent of Max Schmeling.

Sports competitions were also part of camp life in most Japanese POW camps. The Japanese were fighting to be the leading power in East Asia. After a three month siege of Tsingtao¹⁷ they occupied the German colony of Kiautschou in November 1914. The best known camp was Kurume in Fukuoka Prefecture, where 4600 Germans were held. There, football and gymnastics were very popular.¹⁸

Liberal conditions also prevailed in camp of Bandō, where an understanding commandant encouraged the prisoners to productive, cultural and sporting activities. The interned civilians worked mostly in their normal jobs. There were courses for further education, exhibitions, concerts, theatre groups and a band. Printed matter like the *Tägliche Telegrammdienst Bandō* and the camp newspaper *Die Baracke* appeared.

Outside the camp, there were nine grounds where sports like football, tennis, hockey, Korfball or Faustball as well as competitions in athletics and gymnastics took place. Combat sports like boxing, wrestling and even fencing were allowed. The two lakes inside the area could be used for rowing or sailing. The only interruption came with an outbreak of Spanish flu, which reached Bandō in November 1918.¹⁹

From Knockaloe directly to the Berlin Sports Palace

It was at this time that the revolution began in Germany, which Kaiser Wilhelm II was forced to abdicate on 9th November 1918. The republic was proclaimed.

Two days later, when Austria's Kaiser Karl I also gave up his crown, an armistice, initially restricted to 30 days was signed in the forest of Compiègne. It was based on the "Fourteen Points" of US President Woodrow Wilson, announced in a speech on 8th January 1918.



“Olympic Games” were also organised at the British POW camp in Leigh-on-Sea. There were diplomas and home-made medals for the winners.

Left: the German waiter Toni Abele (right) was the Knockaloe boxing star on the Isle of Man, where thousands of German civilians were interned.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

The main conditions beside the cessation of all hostilities, included also the immediate release of Allied prisoners of war from the countries but the same concession was not granted to the Central Powers. The repatriation of the prisoners and internees from the defeated powers did not for the most part begin until 1919. The process continued until the end of 1920.

For the person affected, every kind of imprisonment is a hard fate. After all he is being robbed of his freedom. But compared with those who bled to death on the fronts the POWs still had a better fate. In the four years of war, ten million had been killed and 20 million wounded and crippled.

Otherwise it could not be explained how in summer 1918 German soldiers gave themselves up or even deserted en masse. The sailors on the warships could not do so in quite the same fashion but the first mutinies took place in the autumn.

Many of the 800,000 imprisoned Germans found their way to sport in the camps, to which they often remained faithful. The great boxers of Knockaloe, in whom the British officers had so much pleasure, were the first to be released.²⁰ For some of them their path led straight to the Berlin Sports Palace. ■

1 Carl Diem, *Aus meinem Kriegstagebuch*, in: *Olympische Flamme*, Deutscher Archiv-Verlag, Berlin 1942, Vol. 3, pp. 1549-1619. Erst-abdruck in: *Jung-Deutschland-Buch*, Scherl Verlag, Berlin 1915.
 2 Carl Diem, *Ein Leben für den Sport*, A. Henn Verlag, Ratingen, 1974, p. 94
 3 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Berlin-Dahlem, I. HA Rep. 77, Ministerium des Innern, 2nd November 1914

4 *Die Post*, 17th October 1914
 5 Geheimes Staatsarchiv, PK I. HA Rep. 76, Kultusministerium, 20th November 1916
 6 In Germany reports included those published in *Sport im Bild*, Vol. 22, 1916, No. 2, p. 23; No. 6, pp. 66-68
 7 Cf. Erich Hage/Ellen Echtler, *[GEFANGEN] IN PUCHHEIM*, Volk Verlag, München 2014
 8 Rainer Pöppinghege, “Leben im Lager”, *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, No. 149, 1999
 9 Bayrisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abt. IV, Kriegsarchiv, Lagerbefehle 6th December 1915, 10th September 1916, 12th December 1916 and 9th September 1918.
 10 *Ibid.*, Erlasse des Kriegsministeriums, 2nd October 1914
 11 1198 people died in the sinking of the British passenger “Lusitania” of the Cunard Line on the way to New York by a German U-Boot off the south coast of Ireland. The casualties included 124 Americans and this worsened relations with the USA. Yet it was not until the sinking of the “Laconia”, a sister ship of the “Lusitania” that the USA finally declared war on Germany on 6th April 1917.
 12 *New York Times*, 14th February 1915. Kreuzer und Froitzheim were sent to the camp in Lofthouse Park near Wakefield. As Froitzheim had the rank of a lieutenant, he was however later moved to the officers’ camp at Donnington Hall, Leicestershire.
 13 *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, 15th May 1915
 14 National Archive, London, NA/HO 11025/410118, Report of the Directorate of Prisoners of War, September 1920
 15 F.L. Dunbar, *Die Männerinsel. Bericht einer Kriegsgefangenschaft*, Paul List Verlag, Leipzig 1940, p. 239. The latter artist was interned in a privileged camp, where inmates could claim extra services and paid servants (among others a man servant who was also interned).
 16 Hans Breitensträter, *Meine Kämpfe*, Dr. Eysler & Co. AG, Berlin 1923, p. 36-37
 17 What remained of the German colony in today’s Qingdao is the brewery, where a popular Chinese beer is produced.
 18 Cf. Takehiko Seto, *The Soldiers from Qingdao World War I and German Prisoners of War*, 2014, www.nippon-com/en/in-depth/a03303/
 19 Cf. Hiroshi Muneta, *A History of the POW Camp Bandō. Friendship beyond the Border*, Tokyo 2006
 20 *Sport im Bild*, Vol. 25, 1919, No. 15, p. 283

The Biographies of all IOC Members

Part XXVII

By Pierre Gricius, Volker Kluge and Ruud Paauw



424. | HRH The Infanta Doña María del Pilar de Borbón | Spain/FEI

Born: 30 July 1936,
Cannes, France
Co-opted:
17 July 1996
Resigned:
1 May 2006
Honorary Member
since 2006
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 11,
Absent 2



The Infanta and Duchess of Badajoz is the sister of King Juan Carlos I and the grand-daughter of King Alfonso XIII who left Spain in 1931 when the Republic was declared. The family were in exile in various European cities and left Rome to settle in Lausanne in 1942 after the bombing of the Italian capital began.

After General Franco had formally re-established the monarchy in 1947, the Infanta, as first born, had claim to the throne. When she married Luis Gómez-Acebo y Duque de Estrada, Count von Torre, a commoner, she was obliged to renounce her claim in favour of her younger brother.

Fluent in six languages, she manages the family's business investments and serves on the board of directors of several companies in Spain, France and the USA.

An active horsewomen in her youth, in 1994 she succeeded Britain's Princess Royal as President of the International Federation of Equestrian Sports (FEI).

Corresponding to the then rule 20.1.3 of the Olympic Charter she was called into the IOC in 1996, where she served until 1 May 2006 when the Jordanian Princess Haya was elected FEI President. (VK)

425. | Guy Drut | France

Born: 6 December
1950, Oignes,
Pas-de-Calais
Co-opted:
17 July 1996,
Replacing
Philippe Chatrier
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 25,
Absent 2



The son of a French father and an English mother, Drut was born on the same street as another great French athlete, Michel Jazy, world record holder over a mile and 3000 m as well as 1960 Olympic silver medallist in the 1500 m.

After setting national junior records in the 110 m hurdles, pole vault and decathlon, Drut concentrated on the 110 m hurdles, winning an Olympic silver medal in 1972 and gold in 1976. He was also European champion in 1974.

Drut served in the office of Jacques Chirac (1975–1976) and was elected a Member of Parliament for Seine-et-Marne in 1986. He was re-elected five times.

Drut also was elected Mayor of Coulommiers from 1992 to 2008. Between 1995 and 1997 he served as Minister of Youth and Sport in the conservative government of Alain Juppé.

His political career in Chirac's Neogaullists (RPR) received a setback when it emerged that he had been paid from 1990 to 1992 for a "fictitious job" in

426. | Lu Shengrong | People's Republic of China / IBF

Lu Shengrong had an outstanding career as an international sports administrator. She held a number of posts nationally, including Vice-President of the China Badminton Federation in 1988 and an Executive Member of the Chinese Olympic Committee in 1996.

She was elected to the Council in 1983 and was Vice-President (1984–1993) and Deputy Chair of Council (1990–1993) before being unanimously elected President of the International Badminton Federation (IBF– since 2006 Badminton World Federation) in 1993.

Madam Lu was the first Asiatic woman to head an international sports federation and the first Chinese President of any international sporting organisation.

During her presidency, she became a member of the IOC, appointed under rule 20.1.3. of the Olympic Charter. After the Briton Craig Reddie, who was elected in 1994, she was the second representative of her sport on the IOC. From 1996 to 2001 she represented the interests of women as a member of the inaugural Women & Sports Working Group.

After Madam Lu had been re-elected twice as IBF President, the former Deputy Prime Minister Korn Dabbaransi from Thailand succeeded her.

She has been an BWF Honorary Life Vice-President since 2005 and was admitted to the Badminton Hall of Fame in 2006. (VK)



Born: 27 November
1940, Province of
Shangdong
Co-opted:
17 July 1996
Resigned:
3 June 2001
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 8,
Absent 0

Roland Baar has died

The double Olympic medallist and five-time world champion in rowing, Dr.-Ing. Roland Baar, lost his life on 23rd June 2018 in a traffic accident at the age of 53. He was a member of the IOC from 1999 to 2004. Since 2011 he had been teaching as a professor at the Technical University in Berlin.

His biography will follow in the next edition.

public administration. In reality, he was active for the RPR and supporting Chirac's presidential campaign. He was convicted by French courts (receiving a 15-month suspended prison sentence) at the end of 2005 the offence.

As a consequence, on 16 December 2005 he was suspended by the IOC Executive Committee on the recommendation of the Ethics Commission. However, the following year he was granted amnesty by President Jacques Chirac, under a rarely-used clause of the 2002 amnesty law allowing the President that power for people who had made great contributions to France. The move caused great controversy in the French parliament.

After Drut had tried in vain to be elected a member of the IOC Executive Committee, he became Chairman of the International Relations Commission (2002–2005). He was a member of several commissions, among them the Evaluation Commissions of the Olympic Games in 2016 and 2020. (VK)



427. | Irena Szewińska | Poland

Born: 24 May 1946,
Leningrad, RUS
Died: 29 June 2018,
Warsaw
Co-opted:
17 July 1998,
Replacing
Włodzimierz Reczek
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 27,
Absent 0



Irena Szewińska, née Kirszenstein, was one of the most successful female athletes of all time. She attended five Olympic Games from 1964 to 1980 and achieved three golds, two silver and two bronze medals in distances from 100 to 400 m as well as in the long jump.

From 1966 to 1978 she was five times European champion and 26 times Polish champion. She set ten world records. In 2000, she was elected "Athlete of the 20th Century in Poland".

Irena Szewińska was born in the former Soviet Union, where her father, who came from Warsaw, studied from 1938 and worked during the Second World War as an electro-acoustic engineer. Her mother came from Kiev. The family moved to Warsaw in 1947.

She came to athletics in the autumn of 1960 through the triple Olympic champion from Rome, Wilma Rudolph, whose wonderful running style she took as a model. As a stage actress at the time (including playing Ophelia in Hamlet), it was two years before she finally decided on sport.

In 1967, she married the photographer Janusz Szewiński who, as a 400 m hurdler, had been a member of the Polish national team and who occasionally trained his wife. In 1970, their son Andrzej was born.

During her sporting career she did a long-distance programme of study in Poznań in the sports sciences. She was then awarded a degree in Economics at the University of Warsaw. In 2007, she received an honorary doctorate from the Academy of Physical Education and Sport in Gdańsk.

From the mid-1980s she took on numerous functions in administration, including being a member of the Women's Committee of the International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF/1984–2007), Council Member (1995–2007), then Honorary Member (2007–2018) of the European Athletics Association (EAA), Vice-President of the Polish NOC (1988–2018), President of the Polish Olympian Association (1997–2009), Vice-President (1995–1999) and then EC Member (1999–2003) of the World Olympians Association (WOA), Board Member of the International Olympic Truce Foundation (2005–2018), and President of the Irena Szewińska's Foundation "Vita Activa".

The First Lady of the Polish sport died in a Warsaw hospital after a battle with cancer. (VK)



Athlete Charter to establish fundamental rights and responsibilities

A Steering Committee of 20 athlete representatives from around the world, assembled by the Athletes' Commission (AC) of the IOC, released the initial components of an Athlete Charter to address and protect the fundamental rights and responsibilities of athletes.

The current draft of the Athlete Charter has been shaped by the input of almost 200 athletes representing all continents across the globe. The initiative is another concrete step in the implementation of the IOCAC's strategy.

The meeting on 31 May 2018 marks the next phase of the Athlete Charter's development, whereby the Steering Committee is inviting elite-level athletes worldwide to share their voice and contribute to a second-phase survey that will continue to shape this important document.

The Athlete Charter aims to articulate the rights of athletes, and their responsibilities in an inspirational, yet straightforward document developed through an inclusive process. The goal is a body of fundamental principles that are both universal and flexible enough to adapt to athletes' need across the full range of sports and countries.

The Steering Committee is composed of 20 athlete representatives from across the Olympic Movement, with 10 from International Federations, five from the Association of NOCs, one from the International Paralympic Committee, one from the World Olympians Association and three from the IOCAC. (IOC/JOH)

428 . | HRH Grand Duke Henri de Luxembourg | Luxembourg

Grand Duke Henri is the eldest son of Grand Duke Jean, the Luxembourg Head of State from 12 November 1964 to 7 October 2000. The Grand Duke was co-opted to the IOC on 3 September 1946, and remained for 15 years to become the longest serving member. He resigned at the 107th Session in Nagano in 1998, whereupon, on the proposal of President Juan Antonio Samaranch, Henri was elected his successor.

On 4 March 1998, Prince Henri of Nassau was appointed lieutenant representative by his father. Since his abdication on 7 October 2000, he has been the Luxembourg Head of State. His numerous titles include of Duke of Nassau, Prince of Bourbon-Parma and Count of Sayn.

Prince Henri studied political science in France and Switzerland. During his studies at the University of Geneva he met his future wife, the Cuban-born Maria Teresa Mestre y Batista. The couple married on 14 February 1981 and have four sons and a daughter: Princess Marie Astrid (*1954), today Archduchess of Austria, Prince Jean of Nassau (*1957), Princess Margaretha of Liechtenstein (*1957) and Prince Guillaume of Nassau (*1963).

Henri is a multi-talented sportsman. He regularly plays tennis, as well as sailing, swimming and water-skiing. Since 1998, he has been a member of the Luxembourg NOC as well as Patron and Honorary President of several national sports federations. He has been a member of the IOC since 1999 of the Olympic Solidarity Commission.

The Grand Duke has a great affection for the Games of Small States of Europe (GSSE) which have taken place every two years since 1985, and which he attends regularly. (PG)



Born: 16 April 1955, Betzdorf Castle, Luxembourg
Co-opted: 5 February 1998, Replacing Grand Duke Jean
Attendance at Sessions: Present 21, Absent 6

429. | General Mounir Saleh Sabet | Egypt

The son of an Egyptian paediatrician and a Welsh mother, he studied Military Science and in 1956 was awarded a degree in Aeronautics. He became Chairman and Managing Director of the Board of the Egyptian Marsa Alam Aviation Services (EMAAS) and of the Egyptian Aviation Services (EAS).

Sabet was a rifleman and was part of the Egyptian national team in 1965. From 1984 to 1992 and from 2000 to 2008 he was President of the Egyptian Shooting Federation. He was head of the Egyptian delegations to the Olympic Games (1988, 1992), to the Mediterranean Games (1991) and to the Pan-Arab Games (1992). From 1991 to 2013 he was President of the African Shooting Confederation as well as a Council Member of the International Shooting Sport Federation (ISSF).

General Sabet served from 1990 to 1992 and from 1996 to 2009 as President of the Egyptian Olympic Committee. In 2009, he was named Honorary President.

After his election to the IOC he was a member of various commissions, among them Culture and Olympic Education (1999–2015) and Culture and Olympic Heritage (2015–2017). He also was a member of the Coordination Commission for the 2004 Games as well as of the Evaluation Commission for the Games of 2016. He was also Delegate Member for Security (2002–2012).

As the brother of Suzanne Thabet Mubarak, wife of the long-serving Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, General Sabet was involved in the Arab Spring uprisings, which escalated in February 2011 with the removal and arrest of President Mubarak. Sabet was accused of corruption and arms dealing, and placed under house arrest which prevented him taking part in IOC Sessions. (VK)



Born: 29 October 1936, Qena
Co-opted: 5 February 1998, Replacing Ahmed E. Touny
Resigned: 31 December 2016
Honorary Member since 2017
Attendance at Sessions: Present 16, Absent 8

430. | Nawal El Moutawakel | Morocco

Born: 15 April 1962,
Casablanca
Co-opted:
5 February 1998
Attendance at
Sessions:
Present 25, Absent 0
Executive Board
Member No. 87
Elected Member:
7 August 2008 –
26 July 2012
Second term:
Appointed
3rd Vice-President
26 August 2012
Appointed
1st Vice-President
10 September 2013 –
4 August 2016



Nawal el Moutawakel comes from a keen sporting family. Her father was a judo international, her mother played basketball, and her brothers were athletes.

She began in 1977 with hurdles and broke all Moroccan records in her age groups. A year after winning the 100 m and 200 m at the Arab Championships in 1981, she won at the African Championships in Cairo in both hurdles races. As a reward, King Hassan II granted her a bursary to study at Iowa State University, which she concluded in 1989 with a BSc in Physical Education.

From 1983 Nawal el Moutawakel was one of the international top class in 400 m hurdles. She became French champion (56.22 s) and reached the semi-final at the 1st World Championships in Helsinki.

In 1984, she crowned her career in Los Angeles with Olympic victory in a personal best time (55.37 s). She was the first Muslim woman to win an Olympic gold and, after Esther Brand (RSA) who had won the high jump in 1952, the very first second Olympic champion from Africa.

In 1987 she was a triple winner at the Arab Championships and winner over 400 m hurdles (56.28 s) at the Mediterranean Games in Latakia. That year a knee injury ended her career.

From 1990 she worked in the Administration and in the Management of the Moroccan Athletics Federation. She was Deputy Technical Director in 1993, then Vice-President in 1997. From 1995 she was a member of the Council of the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF). From 1997 to 1998 she served as Secretary of State to the Minister of Social Affairs, responsible for Youth and Sport. In 2007, she was nominated as a minister until 2009.

She was a pioneer for Muslim and Arab athletes and a pioneer of women's sport which she represented from 1995 also in the IOC Commission Women and Sport. She was Chair of the IOC Commissions for the Evaluation of the Olympic Games 2012 and 2016 as well as a member of the Coordination Commission for the of 2012 Olympics and of the Evaluation Commission for 2024.

Nawal El Moutawakel is married to Mounir Bennis, who is in the wood business. They have two children. (VK)

431. | Melitón Sánchez Rivas | Panama

Born:
8 November 1934
Co-opted:
5 February 1998
Retired:
31 December 2014
Honorary Member
since 2015
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 20,
Absent 0



The former baseball and softball player was the organiser and director of Baseball and Softball Leagues (1965–1975), then President of Panamanian Softball Federation (1975–2010). From 1981 to 1988 he led Central American and Caribbean Confederation (CONCACAS). In the International Softball Federation (ISF) he was initially President for Latin America (1984–2000), and then Executive Board Member from 2000. In 1991 he was elected to the Hall of Fame.

In the Panamanian NOC he served as Treasurer (1972–1980) and President (1982–2007), then as Honorary President for Life. He was Chef de Mission of the Panamanian Olympic team at the Summer Games of 1972 and 1976, at the Central American and Caribbean Games of 1974 to 1982 and the Pan-American Games of 1975 and 1979.

He began his career as a chain of supermarkets and industries (1957–1976). He then worked as a certified public accountant. He was founder and general manager of the accountancy and consultancy firm Sánchez Rivas Associates and accounts director of other companies in Panama.

At the IOC he was a member of the commissions Women and Sport (2002–2015) and Olympic Education (2006–2015). (VK)

432. | Dr. Leopold Wallner | Austria

Originally, the son of a lumberjack family wanted to become a pastor, but then decided to study at the Vienna University for World Trade and in 1961 he got his doctorate. From 1964 to 1967 he was Economic Advisor of the Austrian Federal Chancellor Josef Klaus, who entrusted him with cleaning up the lottery.

Wallner conceived a new limited company called Spielbanken AG (since 1985 Casinos Austria AG), which he developed into a tourist attraction. In 1977 he led the foundation of the Austrian Spielbanken Consulting AG (today Casinos Austria International), whose President he became.

Worldwide Wallner realised more than 200 international casino projects and in 1986 introduced in Austria further games of chance. For that purpose the Lotto Toto Gesellschaft (since 1991 Austrian Lotteries) was founded, whose chairman of the board he was from 1986 to 2007.

He began his career in sports administration as Vice-President of the Austrian Sports Aid Foundation (1981–2009). For 19 years from 1990 he was President of the Austrian NOC (ÖOC). He gave up this office at the end of 2009, after financial irregularities in connection with application of Salzburg for the Olympic Winter Games of 2014 emerged. The proceedings against him by the State Prosecutor were abandoned because of his age.

His successor as NOC President and later as member of the IOC was Karl Stoss, who had already take over from him in May 2007 as General Director of Casinos Austria.

In the IOC, Wallner was a member of the IOC Finance Commission (2000–2014), the Audit Commission (2006–2012) and the Ethics Commission (2009–2012). In addition, he was Honorary Senator of the Vienna University of Economics and Business at the University of Salzburg and member of several supervisory councils, among them the Viennese Volksoper, the Schönbrunn Zoo and, until 2011, also with Casinos Austria and the Austrian Lotteries. (VK)



Born: 4 November 1935, Amstetten
Died: 29 July 2015, Vienna
Co-opted: 5 February 1998
Retired: 31 December 2014
Honorary Member since 2015
Attendance at Sessions: Present 19, Absent 0



433. | HM King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands | The Netherlands

From his early childhood Crown Prince Willem-Alexander was very interested in sport. Over the years he practiced running, skating, skiing, sailing, golf and equestrian. At 18 he skated under pseudonym (but he was soon recognized) the famous 200 km long Elfstedentocht. In 1992 he ran the New York marathon.

In 1998 he became a member of the IOC. It was agreed between the Dutch government and the crown prince that he would abstain from voting in politically sensitive cases and that he would retire when he became king.

Within the IOC he has mainly used to stimulate sport in Africa. Like his grandmother and mother the crown prince studied at the Leiden University. He graduated in 1993 with a degree in history.

He became king on 30th April 2013 and had to give up his IOC membership which happened at the 125th Session in Buenos Aires. At this occasion IOC President Jacques Rogge granted him the Olympic Order in gold. As Honorary Member King Willem-Alexander is present so far at every Olympic Games encouraging with great enthusiasm his countrymen in the Olympic arena. (RP)



Born: 27 April 1967, Utrecht
Co-opted: 5 February 1998
Retired: 10 September 2013
Honorary Member since 2013
Attendance at Sessions: Present 15, Absent 2

Obituaries



Robert Lynn "Bob" Clotworthy (USA), *8 May 1931 in Newark, New Jersey; †1 June 2018 in Salt Lake City, Utah. The diver Bob Clotworthy attended the Ohio State University where he won 11 Big Ten, NCAA and AAU Championships before he crowned his career in 1956 as a member of the New York Athletic Club in Melbourne with the Olympic victory in the 3 m springboard. Previously he had achieved bronze medals at the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki and at the 1955 Pan Am Games.

After retiring from competition, Clotworthy coached at West Point and Dartmouth. Then he returned to New Jersey, where at Princeton University among others he looked after the swimmers Jed Graef (1964 Olympic gold 200 m backstroke) and Ross Wales (Olympic bronze 1968 100 m butterfly).

In 1970 he joined the Peace Corps. With his family he lived in Caracas, Venezuela, where he trained coaches in diving. After his return to the United States he worked as a teacher at various universities. He ended his professional career in 2006 as youth trainer with the Taos Swim Club in New Mexico.

Clotworthy was a longtime ISOH member. In 1980 he was accepted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame. (VK)

Alexander Kurlovich (URS), *28 July 1961 in Hrodna (BLR); †6 April 2018 in Hrodna. The Belarussian weightlifter continued the Soviet dominance in the unlimited class and claimed the title of world's strongest man by winning the super-heavyweight class at the 1988 and the 1992 Olympics, winning gold medals in both occasions. In 1996, he came in fifth.

Kurlovich first came to international prominence when he finished second at both the 1973 European and World Championships to his fellow Ukrainian Soviet, Anatoliy Pysarenko. In 1984, he and Pysarenko were considered as the main favorites for Olympic super-heavyweight gold, but they missed the Olympics due to the Soviet boycott. Later in 1984, both were arrested at Mirabel Airport in Montréal when customs officials searched their luggage and found anabolic steroids. The two were convicted by Canadian authorities and fined. Soviet officials dismissed them from the national team and stripped them of their status as "Masters of Sport", thus losing all the funding and benefits.

Kurlovich worked his way back to the Soviet national team. Despite no funding and no support from Soviet officials, Kurlovich made it back to the national team in 1987 and returned stronger than ever. He won the 1987 World Championship with a world record and repeated this victory in 1989, 1991, and 1994. He was also European super-heavyweight champion in 1989 and 1990.

During his career Kurlovich set 12 super-heavyweight world records: six in the snatch, two in the clean & jerk, and four in the total. In 2006 Kurlovich was elected to the International Weightlifting Federation Hall of Fame. (TK/WR)

Branislav Pokrajać (YUG), *27 January 1947 in Belgrade; †5 April 2018 in Belgrade. Pokrajać was considered the best left-winger in the world of handball in the 1970s.

He competed at two Olympics for Yugoslavia, leading them to the gold medal in 1972. During his club career he played for ORK Belgrade, Crvena Zvezda (Red Star), and Dinamo Pančevo. Pokrajać earned 180 caps, scoring 510 international goals, and also won bronze medals at the 1970 and 1974 World Championships.

He later became a renowned handball coach, leading Yugoslavia to Olympic gold in 1984, silver at the 1982 Worlds, and bronze at the 2001 World Cup. He coached several clubs in Yugoslavia, including Dinamo, Crvena Zvezda, Lovćen Cetinje, Partizan, Kretej, and Porto. He also coached overseas with Egypt, Qatar, Spain, and the USA. (BM/WR)

Albin Vidović (YUG), *11 February 1943 in Zagreb (CRO); †7 March 2018 in Bjelovar. Vidović was considered one of the best half left-wingers in the world of handball in the 1970s. He competed for Yugoslavia, helping them to the gold medal in 1972. During his club career he played for RK Partizan Bjelovar, winning six national championships and one national cup. He won the European Champions Clubs' Cup in 1972. He earned 36 caps, scoring 44 international goals. In 1977 he played for a half season for the West German Bundesliga club THW Kiel. (WR)

Rudolf Mang (FRG), *17 June 1950 in Bellenberg; †12 March 2018 in Bellenberg. Mang was a heavyweight lifter, whose duels with the Soviet athlete Vasili Alexeyev became legendary. He burst into the national scene fairly young with 14 years, when he dueled opponents four years older than himself. At the 1968 Games, he finished fifth in the heavyweight class and four years later in Munich he won the silver medal in the unlimited class.

He entered the podium winning silver medals also at the 1972 and 1973 World Championships in the unlimited class, and at the 1972

European Championships. Mang also won bronze medals at the 1971–73 European Championships. He set two unlimited world records: one in the press in 1972 and one in the snatch in 1973.

Mang later owned a company producing training tools and a sports studio. He died from a heart attack. *(WR)*

William Thomas “Bill” Smith (USA), *17 September 1928 in Portland, Oregon; †20 March 2018 in Humboldt, Iowa. The American wrestler won the gold medal in the welterweight freestyle event at the 1952 Olympics. While at Iowa Teacher’s College (now Northern Iowa), he won two NCAA championships in 1949 and 1950, and three straight AAU titles, starting in 1949.

After winning his gold medal, he continued to wrestle competitively, and at the 1956 Olympic Trials he became the only person to ever give Dan Hodge a decisive defeat. But Smith did not wrestle at Melbourne, because he was taken off the team when it was revealed that he had been paid to coach in an Illinois high school, which was then a violation of amateur status.

His career was as a high school teacher and he coached wrestling at both the high school and collegiate levels. *(BM/WR)*

Jiichirō Date (JPN), *6 January 1952 in Saiko, Prefecture Oita, †20 February 2018 in Chofu, Tokyo. The Japanese freestyle wrestler won the gold medal in the welterweight division at the 1976 Montreal Olympics, beating American Stan Dziedzic in the semifinals and Iran’s Mansoor Barzegar in the final. He won six of his seven matches by fall.

Four years earlier, in Munich, he went off in round three in the Greco-Roman welterweight. In 1973 he surprising won the World Cup. At the 1975 Worlds he claimed the bronze medal. Sadly, he never got the opportunity to defend his Olympic

title, as Japan joined the boycott of the Moscow Games in 1980.

After the 1980 Games, Date returned to Kokushikan to become the school’s coach. He also served in various coaching positions with the Japanese team in the late 1980s and was a member of the staff at the 1992 Olympics. From 2015, he was serving as general manager of Kokushikan’s sumo wrestling club. *(WR/VK)*

Arnaud Geyre (FRA), *21 April 1935 in Pau, Pyrénées-Atlantiques; †20 February 2018 in Château-Thierry, Aisne. The French road cyclist was selected for the national road race team in 1956. He finished eighth at the World Championship road race, and then at the Melbourne Olympics he helped his team to win the gold medal, finishing second individually in the road race to Italy’s Ercole Baldini.

Geyre turned professional and rode with Helyett from 1958–60, winning the 1958 Paris-Auxerre race, and two stages of the Tour de l’Aude. In 1959, he won the Boucles du Bas-Limousin and the Nocturne de la Liberation. In 1961, riding for Mercier/BP/Hutchinson, he won the GC at the Tour de l’Herault, and won another stage at Tour de l’Aude. He continued racing as a professional through 1963, but had no further major wins, and then retired. *(BM)*

Durward Knowles (BAH/GBR), *2 November 1917 in Nassau; †24 February 2018 in Nassau. Taught to sail at a young age by his father, Knowles’ first major success in the Star Class on the international scene came in 1946, when he won a bronze medal alongside Basil Kelly at that year’s World Championships. The following year, with Sloane Farrington, he took gold and was selected for his first of eight Olympic teams. In 1948, he represented Great Britain and came in fourth with Farrington, but from 1952 on, Knowles represented the Bahamas. In 1952, he and Farrington were fifth,

but they earned their first medal, bronze, in 1956, which became the nation’s first Olympic medal. Farrington remained with Knowles through 1960, when they placed sixth, and then retired in favour of Cecil Cooke.

At the 1964 Games, Knowles and Cooke won Bahamas’ first Olympic gold medal, its last medal of any colour until 1992, and its last Olympic title until 2000. Knowles competed with his stepbrother Percy in 1968 and Montague Higgs in 1972, placing fifth and thirteenth respectively.

When he made a surprise return at the 1988 Games, with Steven Kelly, he became one of only four Olympians at the time to have competed in eight editions of the Games (the others were Danish sailor Paul Elvstrøm and Italian equestrians Piero and Raimondo D’Inzeo). He was also one of only four Olympians at that time to have competed over a span of 40 years (the others were Elvstrøm, the Norwegian sailor Magnus Konow, and the Danish fencer Ivan Osier).

Knowles was the oldest competitor at the Games, carried the Bahamian flag in the Opening Ceremony, and finished 19th with a partner who had not even been born when Knowles had taken part in his first two Olympics.

In addition to his Olympic accomplishments, Knowles also took silver at the 1954 World Championships, with Farrington, gold at the 1959 Pan-American Games, again with Farrington, and bronze at the 1974 Worlds, with non-Olympian Gerald Ford.

Knowles received the Olympic Order in Silver in 1989 and was knighted in 1996 for his accomplishments. Upon the death of Sándor Tarics in May 2016, he became the oldest living Olympic champion. *(BM/PT)*

Roger Bannister (GBR), *23 March 1929 in Harrow, Greater London; †3 March 2018 in Oxford, Oxfordshire. Middle-distance runner Bannister started running seriously at Iffley



Road in 1946 when, as an undergraduate, he won the Oxford University Freshman's Mile, timed seven seconds under five minutes. He was considered for the 1948 London Olympics, but felt at age 19 he wasn't ready to compete at such a high level.

Two years later, in 1950, he won the 800 metres bronze medal at the European Championships. In 1951, he captured the first of four AAA titles, when he won the mile. He won the 880 yards in 1952 and the mile again in 1953 and 1954. At the 1952 Olympic Games he could only finish fourth in the 1500 metres.

In 1954, during the annual Oxford University versus the AAA race at the University's Iffley Road track, six runners set off on a mile race that would electrify the world. At the end of the race, with Bannister collapsing into the arms of the Reverend Nick Stacey, his fellow Olympian, the trackside announcer, Norris McWhirter, later of Guinness Book of Records fame, announced to the crowd: "The result of event number six, the one mile, winner R. G. Bannister of Exeter and Merton Colleges, in a time which will be a new English record, a new track record, a new British Empire Commonwealth record, a European record, a world record – in three ..." The rest of the time could not be heard above the cheering and applause of the crowd, who had witnessed the breaking of the four-minute barrier in the mile. McWhirter eventually read out the remainder of the time which was: "Three minutes, 59.4 seconds."

Bannister obtained his medical degree in 1955, when he was awarded the CBE, and also published his first book *The First Four Minutes*. Bannister was soon established in his profession as a consultant physician before he started training in neurology after completing his two years National Service in 1959. He became one of the Britain's leading neurologists. Bannister was knighted for his services to sport in 1975, and

was made a Companion of Honour in the 2017 New Year's Honours. The Iffley Road track at Oxford is now rightly called the Roger Bannister running track in Bannister's honour. (IM/NWR)

Liz Chase (ZIM), *26 April 1950 in Mutare (ZIM); †9 May 2018 in Johannesburg (RSA). Liz Chase was born in Umtali (later renamed Mutare) in the far east of Rhodesia but was educated in Salisbury, the capital city. During her time at the Salisbury Girls High School she represented the national schools hockey team from 1966, and then graduated to the under 21 and full international teams. Chase then went to university in South Africa to study physical education and, during her studies, played firstly for the state team then the South African B team. Finally, in 1976, she was called to play for the South African national team.

With no sign of sanctions being lifted against South Africa and the newly renamed Zimbabwe emerging from its own sporting ban, Chase returned to her native country to teach physical education at one of Harare's girls schools whilst continuing her hockey career at Old Hararians HC.

Zimbabwe was late invitees to the Moscow Olympics, when the women's tournament was decimated by the Western boycott. With Chase installed as vice-captain, the team was unbeaten as they strode to the most unlikely gold in Olympic hockey history. Shortly after the Olympics she returned to South Africa, where she eventually became the head of the Physical Education Department at Wits University until her retirement at age 65 in 2015. Unfortunately, she was struck with a serious illness shortly afterwards and died in 2018. (IM)

Evert Kroon (NED), *9 September 1946 in Hilversum; †2 April 2018 in Hilversum. Kroon was considered one of the world's best goalkeepers in water polo. Participating with the

Dutch team in the Olympics of 1968, 1972 and 1976 Kroon's finest hour came during the Montreal Games. Thanks greatly to Kroon, who did one formidable save after another, the Dutch succeeded in eliminating world champion Soviet Union (3-2). After the match the Russian coach described Kroon as 'an octopus with arms that reached from goal post tot goalpost'. Later on in the tournament the Dutch team, under the legendary coach Ivo Trumbi, captured the bronze medal which no one in the Netherlands had expected.

Kroon was a member of HZC De Robben which won many national titles. (RP)

Eugène Van Roosbroeck (BEL), *13 May 1928 in Noorderwijk; †28 March 2018 in Noorderwijk. The Belgian racing cyclist became 12th individual at the 1948 Olympics in London in the cycling road race. Together with his teammates Lode Wouters (3rd place) and Léon DeLathouwer (4th) he became Olympic champion in the team race. The result was calculated by the addition of the individual times.

The race in Greater Windsor Park was adversely affected by rain and storm and a bad course. Of 101 racers only 28 crossed the line. Many had to quit because of damage to tyres. After that the chaos continued. As a result the team race was not announced, and so the next day the Belgian riders set off for home without their medals. Only later did they find out they had won.

Over 50 years later – in 2010 – did Van Roosbroeck read in the newspaper that the Belgian sailor André Nelis, who lost his two Olympic medals (silver 1956, bronze 1960) in a fire, had received replacement medals from IOC President Jacques Rogge. Thereupon Van Roosbroeck enquired of the Belgian NOC where his gold medal was. But as it could not be found, Rogge handed the 82 year old a copy on 4th June 2010,



which later Wouters also received. For DeLathouwer, the honour came too late. He had died in 2008.

After the 1948 Olympics Van Roosbroeck changed to the professional ranks, riding in the pro peloton through 1955. He rode a few one-day classics but never finished near the top. His best professional performances came in minor races, with a second at Roubaix-Huy in 1951 and third at Kessel-Lier in 1955. (BM/VK)

Sven-Olov Sjödelius (SWE), *13 June 1933 in Svärta; †29 March 2018 in Nyköping. Sjödelius was a Swedish canoeist, who won gold medals both at the 1960 and 1964 Olympics in the K-2 1000 metres teaming with the legendary Gert Fredriksson and with Gunnar Utterberg. His nephews Anders and Bengt Andersson were also race canoeists.



A trained mechanic, he had won silver at the World Championships in 1950 (with the K-4 1000 metres), 1963 (K-1 0,000 metres) and a bronze in 1958 with the K-1 4x500 relay. (WR)

Brigitte Ahrenholz (GDR), *8 August 1952 in Potsdam; †3 March 2018 in Werder/Havel. As a medical student who rowed for the Sport Club Berlin-Grünau, Brigitte Ahrenholz celebrated her greatest successes in the eights: in 1971 she became runner-up in the European Championships, in 1974 world champion and in 1976 Olympic gold medallist. In 1973, she won the European title in the double fours.

She was also successful in her

profession. After her studies she achieved a doctorate in 1983. She worked as a surgeon in the city hospital in Berlin. In the early 1990s she opened her own practice in Werder near Potsdam. She continued to take an interest in rowing. She was president of the local rowing club.

Dr. Ahrenholz was seen alive for the last time on the evening of 3rd March 2018. The next day she was reported missing by her daughter. One month later her body was found in the reeds of a lake. The police, who had also brought in the media in their search, assumed it was suicide. (VK)

Mait Riisman (URS), *23 September 1956 in Tallinn (EST); †17 May 2018 in Moscow. The Estonian began with water polo in 1966 with Kalev Tallinn. With the beginning of his study of journalism, speciality television, he moved to Moscow, where he played for the sports club Burevestnik and became Soviet champion in 1979.

The halfback was member of the USSR national team from 1978, he also won the Spartakiad tournament. In 1979 and in 1980 he became Olympic champion.

From 1989 to 1991, Riisman managed the team of Dynamo Moscow and became vice-coach of the Soviet national team. Then he went to Paris, where he looked after the Racing Club de France (1991-1996). After his return he came chief trainer of Dynamo Moscow, whose team won the European Cup in 2000 and became the four-time Russian champions (1998, 2000-2002). In 2001 he was elected president of the Dynamo water polo club and in 2005 chairman of the trainers' council of the Russian swimming federation.

As a member of the conservative people's party, Riisman was a candidate at the communal elections in Tallinn. But he received only 0.6% of the votes cast. He was the author of several publications, among them a novel with the title *Veepalluri (The Water Polo Player)*, which appeared in 2015. (VK)

Viktor Nikolayevich Shamburkin (URS), *12 October 1931 in Leningrad; †11 May 2018 in Moscow. The sports marksman achieved his first Soviet title in 1957. In 1958 he became world champion in three positions with the small caliber rifle in the individual as well as in the team. At the 1960 Olympics he won the gold medal in this discipline, in which he equalled the world record with 1139 points.

Shamburkin, who was a member of the paramilitary sports club, DOSAAF in Leningrad, repeated his national successes in 1964 and 1968, yet at the Olympic Games of 1964 he did no better than ninth place (three positions event) and 21st (small calibre rifle, prone 60 shots). After he had become Soviet champion for the last time in 1971 and 1972, he became chief trainer of the national team. (VK)

Aureliano Bolognesi (ITA), *15 November 1930 in Sestri Ponente; †30 March 2018 in Genoa. Bolognesi was the Italian lightweight boxing champion of 1951 and 1952, coming into the Helsinki Games. In his first match, he faced the tournament favourite Bobby Bickle, and beat the American in a close fight in a 2-1 decision. Winning his next three bouts, Bolognesi returned home with the gold medal.

With an excellent amateur record (just 1 defeat and 4 draws in 151 fights), he turned pro. His career was mostly confined to Italy, and he wound up with 17 wins in 21 fights.

After working as a colleague with the Italian boxing federation, he founded his own boxing school. (BM)

BM = Bill Mallon, IM = Ian Morrison,
PT = Paul Tchir, RP = Ruud Paauw,
TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge,
WR = Wolf Reinhardt



The ISOH offers the families of the deceased its sincere condolences.

BOOK REVIEWS



Erik Nielsen and Matthew P. Llewellyn (Eds.)

The British World and the Five Rings

Routledge, Abingdon England

pp. 124, Softback £36.00, ISBN-13: 9781138502444

Hardback £110.00, 9781138909588

Reviewed by Philip Barker

This is a very interesting collection of essays which provide a fascinating view of Great Britain's relationship with the wider Olympic world. "It would be hard to underestimate Britain's historical influence on sport and the Olympic Movement" assert the editors in their introduction.

The study concentrates on the relationship with the nations which Britain's "dominions" at the start of the twentieth century. This is described as "an unprecedented cultural political and sporting influence".

The constituent parts of the United Kingdom compete separately in sporting team competitions in football, rugby union and hockey but come together under the aegis of the British Olympic Association (BOA) for the Olympics.

Both Llewellyn and scholar Tom Hunt approach this question. The latter offers a fascinating window on the Republic of Ireland and its quest for Olympic recognition and the role of Lord Killanin, the Irishman later to become IOC President.

In "The emblem of One United Body" Robert Barney and Michael Heine offer a fascinating examination of the Maple Leaf symbol for Canada. "It was in the realm of sports

that a genuinely Canadian single symbolic expression of national identity was presented to an international audience."

Co-editor Erik Nielsen charts Australia's story from 1900-1938, and highlights the part played by Richard Coombes, an official at the turn of the 20th century. He was a key figure in Australia's emergence in international sport.

Geoffery Kohe's chapter on New Zealand trains the spotlight on two Olympians, Sir Arthur, later Lord Porritt and Jack Lovelock who both lived much of their lives outside the country, yet played an important part in ensuring that New Zealand's voice be heard.

The Rhodesia question caused the Olympic Movement great problems in the sixties and seventies. Andrew Novak charts a bitter 15 year saga from UDI until the newly named Zimbabwe was welcomed into the Olympic Movement.

In the final essay in this anthology, Mark Dyreson notes the writings of John Astley Cooper whose suggestion for of a "Pan Britannic Festival" is often cited as one of the early soundings which ultimately led to the foundation of the Commonwealth Games.

He highlights that Astley Cooper intended his festival to include other English speaking peoples such as those from the United States of America, which famously broke away from Britain in 1776.

In common with many academic publications of this type, the text is laden with references which in some cases have rendered the text somewhat unwieldy. Too often there is a preponderance of secondary or academic sources.

When a primary source is mentioned, an illustrative quotation would be of value. Not all readers will have access to all the relevant original archive. The most important thing is that the valuable material is read and consumed by the widest audience possible.

There is also the matter of pricing. Of course, the economics of publishing come into play with specialized material such as this but even the paperback version of this volume works out expensive and the hardback edition is approximately a pound a page putting it beyond the pocket of many interested readers.



Stephen Wagg

The London Olympics of 2012: Politics, Promises and Legacy,

Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 220, £60.00

ISBN-10: 1137326336, ISBN-13: 978-1137326331

Reviewed by Luke J. Harris

London 2012 is now very much part of Olympic history and consequently historians have begun to analyse the Games, both on and off the sporting field. In this monograph, by Professor Stephen Wagg, a specialist in the politics of sport, there is extensive focus upon the politics of the Games, primarily upon that which took place before and during the Olympics, but also its legacy. This is published by Palgrave Macmillan and is part of their 'Global Culture and Sport Series' and is a critical reflection upon the Games.

The book begins with the initial London bid and how London defeated Paris for right to host the 2012 Olympics. There is particular attention paid to London's presentation to the IOC and the young people who took part in it, a group which Wagg believes might feel 'used'. The focus then moves onto the controversy that surrounded the redevelopment of

the area that was to become the Olympic Park in Stratford, East London. Following this, there are chapters upon the Olympic torch relay (primarily focusing upon the commercialisation of the event by sponsors), a group which Wagg describes as a mixture of 'the inspiring and the celebrities'.

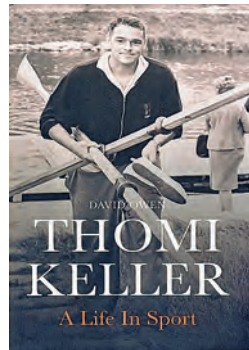
The fifth chapter provides one of the more intriguing aspects of the book and the representations of British identity within the opening ceremony. This goes far beyond simply looking at Britain's sporting identity and reflects upon the perceptions of the events in modern British history played out within the ceremony. This chapter and the two following chapters, which are upon security, sponsorship and the cult of celebrity at the Games (with the focus upon the differing outlooks of Jessica Ennis, Mo Farah and Bradley Wiggins) are the only ones which directly at the events which took place between 27 July and 12 August 2012.

The final chapters focus is upon the other term addressed within the title; 'legacy'. The legacy of these Olympics which set out to 'Inspire a Generation' is looked at from both a positive and negative standpoint, and Wagg makes a strong case for both sides of the argument.

Throughout, Wagg makes excellent use of the liberal print media to make his argument, with British dailies *The Independent* and *The Guardian* frequently utilised. Both are well integrated and provide context to the contemporary debates which existed around the Games, both from a positive and negative perspective.

This monograph is one of the first works to reflect upon the politics and legacy of the London Olympics. It is certainly valuable to anyone with an interest in these Games, but also the modern history of the Olympic Movement and the International Olympic Committee. In some regards it is still too early to assess the 30th Olympiad and there will be more

research that analyses the longer-term legacies, but this work is an excellent starting point for analysis of London's third Olympic Games.



David Owen

Thomi Keller – A Life in Sport

Independent Publishing Network London 2018

£18.99, Hardback 978-1-78808-468-0

Reviewed by Philip Barker

This is the story of a man who dared challenge the supremacy of the IOC and was for a significant period, one of the most influential figures in world sport.

The author was *Financial Times* sports editor for many years and is now a regular correspondent for the popular *InsidetheGames.biz* website. By his own admission a non oarsman, Owen was approached to undertake the biography by Keller's son Dominik.

He has made excellent use of private archives and primary sources to produce a beautifully crafted biography. The illustrations are very well chosen and importantly they have been well produced in a book which is impressively produced.

Keller's own Olympic heartbreak as a rower is detailed. Selected for the 1956 Games in Melbourne, he was even issued with his Olympic identity card before the Swiss team was withdrawn.

His rise to the presidency of FISA at a young age is well told. He was to lead the sport for more than 30 years. Most fascinating of all is the struggle for supremacy in the

world of sporting politics. Keller's role in what eventually became GAISF (AGFIS/Association Générale des Fédérations Internationales de Sports) is highlighted.

He seized his opportunity to make an explosive and critical address at the 1973 Olympic Congress in the Bulgarian resort of Varna called for the modernization of sport. It made what veteran sportswriter John Hennessey described at the time "a special impact" from "a big man with a big future".

During the seventies, Keller enjoyed considerable influence. Such were his business connections that he even paved the way for another Swiss executive to join FIFA. His name? Sepp Blatter.

IOC President Lord Killanin subsequently invited him to join the Olympic Programme Commission, though membership of the IOC itself never came his way and in the Samaranch era, his influence in the Olympic world became less.

Keller remained at the helm of World Rowing until his death his passing Peter Coni, then supremo of Henley Royal Regatta gave this assessment. "Literally, he has been the sport of rowing". This book is a worthy record of his life.



The Union of Italian Olympic and Sports Collectors have produced a new album about TORINO 2006. Compiled by Mario Capuano and Pasquale Polo, it is available from: UICOS c/o CONI Servizi, Piazza Lauro de Bosis, 15, Foro Italoico, 00135 Roma, Italy.

Special issue stamp for a special Olympic collector

It does not often happen that an Olympic collector is honoured with a special stamp. This happened in Greece, where the Hellenic Post on 16th November 2017 issued a commemorative set of six stamps, of which one stamp is dedicated to Georgios Papastefanou-Provatakis (1890–1978).



Papastefanou began as a stamp collector with the special area of Athens 1896. He was a friend of the legendary marathon victor Spiridon Louis, who he accompanied to Berlin in 1936 to the Olympic Games. For the first Olympic torch relay he made numerous postcards and letters which were provided with special postmarks. Many also bear the autograph of Spiridon Louis.

On the 3rd September 1961 he opened in the older grammar school in Olympia a private museum with the name "Athlofiloteliko Olympic Museum", in which he exhibited his valuable collection. It was his initiative that the Hellenic Post should permit every four years in connection with the lighting of the Olympic Flame special postal stamps which were used in the post office of Olympia.

On the 28th March 1964 Papastefanou gifted the Museum to the Hellenic Olympic Committee. He himself became director of the now-existing Museum of the Modern Olympic Games, for which from 1968 to 1972 a new building was erected with a floor surface of 400 square metres. Among the most valuable pieces on exhibition were all Olympic torches, the box in which the heart of Pierre de Coubertin was taken to Olympia, rare Olympic stamps, medals, ancient coins of Elis, documents, photographs and other memorabilia. Regrettably the Museum was closed a few years ago on grounds of cost.

One of many cards with a special post-mark from the opening day of the 1936 Berlin Games bears the autograph of 1896 marathon winner Spiridon Louis. Georgios Papastefanou sent this to himself.



Illustration: Rüdiger Fritz Collection

News

The obelisk in downtown Buenos Aires will be the site for the opening ceremony for the Youth Olympic Games 2018 on the 6th October 2018. Up to the 18th October young athletes from all over the world aged from 15 to 18 will produce the best in 21 types of sport. Four new sports are on the programme: roller speed skating, karate, breaking and sport climbing.

Angelina Jolie intends to produce a film of the life story of Jim Thorpe, provisionally entitled *Bright Path*. Martin Sensmeier (*Wind River*, *Westworld*, *The Magnificent Seven*) will play the role of the Olympic champion in the pentathlon and decathlon of Stockholm 1912, who one year later was disqualified because of a breach of the amateur rules. Sensmaier is an Alaska Native actor of Tlingit and Koyukon-Athabaskan descent. Thorpe's family will also be involved in the production. (JOH)

Six NOCs have expressed official interest in hosting the Olympic Winter Games 2026. These and the cities are: Austria (Graz), Canada (Calgary), Italy (Cortina d'Ampezzo/Turin), Japan (Sapporo), Sweden (Stockholm), Turkey (Erzurum). The applications must be handed in by the 11th January 2019. The host city will be elected by the 134th Session in Milan in September 2019. (IOC)

Within twelve months retrospective medal ceremonies are to take place in future. That was decided by the IOC Executive Committee. After that an athlete has the choice when and where the handing over of the medal has to be: at the next Olympics, at a big event in his or her sport or e.g. in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. Of the medals of the Olympic Games of 2008 and 2012 75 were retrospectively newly awarded – mostly without public attention. (IOC/JOH)

"Hope lights our way" is the motto of the Olympic Torch Relay Tokyo 2020. After the Olympic Flame was traditionally lit in Greece, the start on the Japanese islands is to take place in the region of Tohoku, which was especially severely affected by the earthquake and tsunami of 2011. (JOH)

Stanislav Pozdyakov was elected on 29th May 2018 to be President of the Russian Olympic Committee (ROC). The five times Olympic champion in sabre fencing of 1992 to 2004 (four times team, once individual) is the successor of Alexander Zhukov, who after eight years was no longer a candidate. (IOC/JOH)

The building works in the conserved Olympic Village of 1936 near Berlin are due to begin in autumn. In the first building section in the "Dining House of Nations" 90 flats are to be constructed. Where formerly bungalows stood for the athletes, in the next three years town houses will be built. (JOH)

Jean-Jacques Guyon (and not Guyot) is the name of the late French equestrian Olympic champion of 1968 (JOH, No. 1, p.73). We apologize for the mistake.