

At the 121<sup>st</sup> IOC session staged in Copenhagen it was announced on 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2009 that Rio de Janeiro had been selected to host the 2016 Olympic Games. Thus, for the first time, the games will be held in a South American country.

Not for the first time, Rio de Janeiro will be playing a pioneering role, since, in 1922, in the same city the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*<sup>1</sup> were organised as part of an international exhibition to celebrate the centenary of Brazilian independence. Rio de Janeiro was again the scene of isolympic Games in 2002<sup>2</sup> (the South American Games)<sup>3</sup> and in 2007 (the Pan-American Games). For the 2002 South American Games, Rio de Janeiro, together with São Paulo, Curitiba and Belem, was one of the four event venues that stepped into the breach following the rejections by Córdoba in Argentina and Bogotá in Columbia to stage the games. It is remarkable that the 1922 *Jogos Regionais* were not recognised as the first South American Games by the ODESUR (*Organización Deportiva Suramericana*), the organising committee responsible for the South American Games. The 1978 games held in La Paz were accorded the distinction of being the earliest of its type.

As early as the formative years of the Olympic Movement, Pierre de COUBERTIN sought to include Latin America, Africa and Asia. Indeed, these efforts may be regarded as exceptional compared with those of other international institutions of the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>4</sup> However, international integration didn't start to develop, albeit tentatively and noticeably, until after the end of the Second World War. As far as Latin America was concerned, Pierre de COUBERTIN was able to count on his companion Elwood S. BROWN, the North American Director of the International Committee of the YMCA, who lent massive support to the desire to stage the Olympic Games in Latin America.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript "Qué es el Olimpismo?" published in Spanish in 1917 served to support this aspiration. Pierre de COUBERTIN wrote in this booklet translated by Pedro-Jaime MATHEU:

*"A la intrépida juventud de la América Latina dedico estas páginas, escritas para ella con el objeto de incitarla a prepararse, por una cultura muscular continuada y tenaz, al futuro esplendor de esas regiones privilegiada."* (Paris, December 1917, no page number).<sup>6</sup>

Although interest was expressed in enlarging the Olympic Movement's sphere of activity, it was not yet possible to speak of an all-embracing international movement during the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Tab 1).<sup>7</sup> The officials stemmed mostly from Pierre de COUBERTIN's personal environment, from diplomatic circles predominantly active in Europe or they were simply cosmopolitans (Tab. 2).<sup>8</sup> Before the 1920 Olympic Games only five Latin American countries had participated. The South American athletes also knew Europe well or, like Luis

SUBERCASEAUX, the Chilean participant in the 1896 Olympics, even lived there. At the time of the games, he was working in the Chilean embassy in Athens. That the 1904 games took place on the American continent didn't change the fact that Latin American interest in the Olympic Movement had not yet been awakened.

Between 1896 and 1922, it was only thanks to the dedication of idealistic athletes and various individuals that Latin-American countries participated in the Olympic Games at all. The medal tables of those years support this (Tab. 3).<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, in his article, Wolf KRAEMER-MANDEAU confirmed that the majority of the Latin American IOC members were living in Europe and were committed to the Olympic Movement for purely idealistic reasons. Without exception, they were members of the upper class and had little or no contact to sport in their countries of origin. The affiliation of its members to the Bourgeoisie, meanwhile, is a phenomenon dating back to the early IOC organisation, which is not restricted to Latin America (Tab. 4).<sup>10</sup>

In 1940, Avery BRUNDAGE travelled throughout South America and according to his own account he covered a distance of 20,000 miles. In his correspondence with the then IOC President Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR he reported on the status of sport describing major progress in the field of amateur sport. He touched on several problems, some of which seemed difficult to solve, but he also offered a number of proposed solutions. In his reply Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR didn't seem to be surprised, since, after his own tour in 1922/1923, he also brought back similar impressions to Europe.<sup>11</sup>

At the 1923 IOC session in Rome, Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR, still a member of the Belgian IOC at that time presented his own experiences in South America. Referring to the 1922 *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul* in Rio de Janeiro, he lamented the shortcomings and imperfections of the games, which reflected the sport-political situation in South America. Furthermore, he spoke of a complete ignorance of the rules, which were changed and interpreted as needed. Due to a lack of sporting education of athletes and public alike, there was no respect for referees, the chauvinism of some athletes led to a sporting defeat being misunderstood as a national dishonour. "Leur ignorance était complète" (their ignorance was complete), adjudged the IOC President-in-waiting with respect to the Olympic idea. Henri de Baillet-Latour therefore proposed that National Olympic Committees with direct contact to the IOC be established in all South American countries and a Director of Latin American Games be named.<sup>12</sup>

Even the involvement of the first few South American IOC members was dubious or simply not available. Two early Argentinean IOC members were excluded from the committee. The founder member José Benjamin ZUBIAUR (1894-1907) only turned up at the inaugural meeting in 1894<sup>13</sup>, and took no further part in any subsequent IOC sessions. Manuel QUINTANA (1907-1910)

used his IOC membership for personal gain. Pierre de COUBERTIN wrote of the Argentinean IOC members:

*“In this part of the world we had had many disappointments: a series of Argentinean members who had been of no help at all, and either complete lack of understanding or attempts at independence that were carried to the extreme and were exceedingly annoying for us.”*<sup>14</sup>

In view of a lack of knowledge about the ideals of Olympism by South American members some anxiety seemed justifiable. Since these ideals were considered imperative for the development of sport in Latin America, Pierre de COUBERTIN wrote the document “*Qué es el Olimpismo?*”. He wrote the following comments about this manuscript:

*“... et de M. J.P. Matheu, consul général de San Salvador, l’un et l’autre président et secrétaire général du ‘Comité de propagande olympique de l’Amérique latine’, fondé sous nos auspices, il y a un an. Les publications de ce groupement, conjointement avec la brochure largement répandue par le Comité olympique d’Espagne, ont aidé efficacement à répandre l’idée olympique dans les pays de langue espagnole.”*<sup>15</sup>

*“In Brazil sport was slow in developing, but in Mr. do Rio Branco, a former football captain, and now Minister in Bern, we had a reliable and devoted colleague. In 1916, I was able to set up in Paris an interim Committee, whose kingpin was Mr. de Matheu, Consul General of El Salvador, and which thanks to him carried out the most active propaganda. An illustrated brochure entitled “*Qué es el olimpismo?*” was widely distributed in South American countries, ...”*<sup>16</sup>

Despite these efforts, the principles of Olympism remained widely unknown even after 1922, although the Olympic Movement was progressively catching on in South America.

### Brazil’s Tentative Approach to the Olympic Movement

In 1894, the IOC and hence the Olympic Movement were founded at the Sorbonne in Paris. At the same time, Brazil had abolished the monarchy and was the last country in America to abolish slavery.<sup>17</sup> In the steppes of Bahia in the hinterland of the first Brazilian capital Salvador (until 1763), the government attempted to suppress the *Canudos* movement between 1893 and 1897. Its extremely popular leader, Antônio CONSELHEIRO, campaigned for more rights for the populace in a religious environment. The Brazilian government together with the major landowners crushed the *Canudos* movement,

Continent	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Africa	-	01	02	01	02
America	04	04	07	17	14
Asia	-	01	03	04	07
Europe	21	32	28	42	39
Oceania	01	01	02	02	02
TOTAL	26	39	42	66	64

Tab. 1: Members of the IOC by continent

Name	Country	Member
José Benjamin Zubiaur	ARG	1894-1907
Carlos F. de Candamo	PER	1905-1922
Manuel Quintana	ARG	1907-1910
Oscar N. Garcia	CHI	1911-1914
Raul do Rio Branco	BRA	1913-1938
Carlos Silva-Vildosola	CHI	1919-1921
Francisco Ghigliani	URU	1921-1936
Marcelo T. de Alvear	ARG	1921-1932
Jorge Matte-Gormaz	CHI	1923-1939
Alfredo Benavides	PER	1923-1957
Arnaldo Guinle	BRA	1923-1961
José Ferreira dos Santos	BRA	1923-1962
Ricardo C. Aldao	ARG	1923-1949

Tab. 2: IOC members from South America (entry before 1925)

Year	Country	Medals
1896		
1900		
1904		
1908		
1912		
1920	Brasil	03
1924	Argentina / Uruguay	06 / 01

Tab. 3: Medals for South American countries 1896 to 1924

Origin	1896-1920	1921-1939
Royalty	6	5
Nobility	35	18
President	1	-
Minister	1	5
Ambassador	3	11
Member of the parliament	1	2
Businessmen	11	20
Intellectuals	26	22
Army members	11	8
Sportsmen	2	-
TOTAL	97	91

Tab. 4: Origin of the IOC members

leaving behind one of the most severe economic crises in the history of Brazil.

The desperate economic situation and massive international pressure led to the abolition of slavery in 1888. This extreme tardiness compared with international standards is a testament to the backwardness of Brazilian society in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The nation was morally isolated within the global community. The government and the economic elite could only regain recognition with appropriate concessions to modernisation and try to catch up with the states of the northern hemisphere.<sup>18</sup>

A wave of immigration was linked with the banning of slavery since now workers were needed on a wage basis. Thousands of people from Italy, Portugal, Spain, Germany, Poland and other countries moved to Brazil to cover the acute shortage of skilled workers. With the immigrants, new sporting traditions, such as German gymnastics, were brought to Brazil, which had a lasting influence on national sports developments. The new societies and in particular the German communities retained their language, customs, festivals, music, dances, games and also their sporting traditions, they founded sports clubs and gymnastic associations.<sup>19</sup> Unlike the former slaves, the immigrants were highly rated as workers; they were regarded as strong, physically stable and morally prepared to carry out their work as free people. The universally held view of workers subjected to decades of suppression and slavery was entirely negative. They were regarded as "... vagabundos e ociosos, desorganizados social e moralmente ...", not competent to perform systematic labour.<sup>20</sup> The cultural characteristics of the immigrants, on the other hand, were regarded as enrichment for Brazil.<sup>21</sup>

On 15<sup>th</sup> November 1889, a military putsch put an end to the monarchy in Brazil. Although General Deodoro da FONSECA managed to force the emperor to abdicate his throne without bloodshed, the republic was nevertheless founded by a putsch and not by a social revolution, which of course had to have consequences.<sup>22</sup> The monarchy had already been enormously weakened, after the last emperor DOM PEDRO II had led the country into economic ruin by waging war against Paraguay and had named his daughter Isabel as heir of the throne. This displeased both the military elite as well as the traditionally male dominated bourgeoisie, which had long since favoured republicanism. It was precisely this section of society that longed for modernisation and pressed to implement industrialisation in the country. This first republic lasted until 1920 and was determined by the Brazilian *Belle Époque*, which was most evident in the big cities such as Rio de Janeiro. The modernisation elites, which had also spread across Europe, were sought after and innumerable intellectuals, artists and scientists were lured to Brazil. In this way, the country's international recognition, which had been lost in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, should be regained.<sup>23</sup> The majority of the Brazilian population contrasted

sharply with the elites of the *Belle Époque*. Many former slave families moved to towns like Rio de Janeiro in the hope of finding work and occupied the old dilapidated houses in the centre, which the elites had forsaken in favour of the new districts close to the beach, such as Copacabana, Leblan and Botafogo. Hygienic conditions were disastrous, thus, the slum areas were regularly hit by epidemics and sickness. Solutions had to be found! Therefore, the municipal authorities addressed the three main urban problems: the modernisation of the harbour, a sewage system and an urban planning reform. The engineer Lauro MUELLER, doctor Oswaldo CRUZ and city planner Pereira PASSOS were appointed to translate these plans into action. Jointly, the objective was defined to 'civilize' Rio de Janeiro, to give the city a 'European flavour'. Apart from the essential sewage system, from 1903, public squares and a road network were built. People hoped that this would all herald social and cultural changes, which would open the way to the modern world of capitalism.<sup>24</sup>

Also for the simple folk in the hinterland general living conditions were precarious. In his famous 1902 work "Os Sertões", Euclides da CUNHA reviews the *Canudos* movement and highlights the contrasts between the residents of the coastal regions and those of the wide steppes, which as a rule were completely cut off from any political or economic development. Just before the government armed forces crushed the *Canudos* movement, the first Olympic Games of the modern times were staged in Athens. In crisis-stricken Brazil, people only casually took note of the games, however, in 1896 no less a personage than the national writer Machado de ASSIS reported this event with the following lines:

*"Vamos ter... Leitor amigo, prepara-te para lamber os beiços. Vamos ter Jogos Olímpicos, corridas de biga e quadrigas, ao modo romano e grego, torneios da idade média, conquista de diademas e cortejo às damas, corridas atléticas, caça ao veado [...] É quase um sonho esta renascença dos séculos, esta mistura de tempos gregos, romanos, medievais e modernos, que formarão assim uma imagem cabal da civilização esportiva."*<sup>25</sup>

With the outbreak of the First World War, Europe descended into chaos and Brazil's hopes for renewal and modernisation faded, especially since the most essential partners, England as investor and France as a cultural example, were particularly badly affected by the outbreak of the war. For three years, Brazil remained neutral in fear of a threatened offensive by the German Reich in the Atlantic and it was not until towards the end of the war that they joined the Allies. However, the hope of attaining international recognition in this way was not fulfilled!

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Brazil also started to adopt the rules and procedures of sport generally used in Europe.

Only a few sport disciplines, such as for example rowing, which had been practiced in Rio de Janeiro since 1851, were already institutionalised previously.<sup>26</sup> Roberto TROMPOWSKY junior, a member of the *Comitê Brasileiro de Desportos* CBD, described the situation in Brazilian sports in 1922 as follows:

*“O desporto vencia, e com esta victoria modificava-se radicalmente os habitos, a educação da mocidade que, tambem, a pouco e pouco, ia perdendo o aspecto macilento, a pallidez e a movimentação tarda de outr’ora, ganhando em alacridade, vigor e saude. E foi toda uma floração maravilhosa e intensa de desportividade de tal sorte que o Brasil, em poucos annos, recuperou o que perdera em decadas de inactividade.”*<sup>27</sup>

The development of sport in Brazil went hand in hand with the country’s political development. In the search for modernisation and a nationalism following the fall of the monarchy, products, know-how and culture were imported from Europe. Sport, and in particular English sport, could also be regarded as such an imported product.<sup>28</sup> The CBD defined its tasks in the protocols of July 8<sup>th</sup>, 1914 to December 5<sup>th</sup>, 1916 as follows on page 6:

*“O desporto moderno não é mais simples diversão de gente sem trabalho e rica, que precisava de um meio para matar o spleen; hoje é inspirado por outras ideias, que, de tão elevadas, o transformaram em grande ideal social... Saude, caracter e instrucción são os três termos que synthetizam o fim do desporto... Formar homens com saude, caracter e instrucción e offerecel-os á Pátria, eis a aspiração ultima do desporto.”*<sup>29</sup>

Although the CBD pointed out that modern sport should not be just the preserve of the ‘idle rich’, illiterates were not accepted as amateurs. However, they constituted the majority of the Brazilian population.

The first contact of a Brazilian with the Olympic Movement can be recorded in 1905 when Santos DUMONT along with Theodore ROOSEVELT, Fridjoff NANSEN and William-Hippolyte GRENFELL received one of the first Olympic diplomas.<sup>30</sup> Santos DUMONT was at that time the first man to fly more than 100 miles in an aeroplane. Although he held Brazilian nationality, he lived for most of his life in Paris, where he, as a sporting techno-freak, pursued his passions for steered balloon flight and motor sport. As the son of a rich family, he lived off investment interest and was able to indulge his passions to the full. Santos DUMONT was always described as a sportsman in the international press because of his innumerable balloon flights and his invention of flying models all of which he tested himself.

In 1913, an Olympic Congress was convened in Lausanne, to which the diplomatic representations



The family do RIO BRANCO (standing: Raul do RIO BRANCO, sitting: Baron do RIO BRANCO)

from Berne were invited. Among the guests was also Raul do RIO BRANCO, the Brazilian ambassador in Switzerland, who was a long-standing friend of Pierre de COUBERTIN. The latter grabbed the opportunity to appoint Raul do RIO BRANCO as an IOC member.<sup>31</sup> Raul do RIO BRANCO was the son of the famous historian Baron do RIO BRANCO, who, among other things, defined Brazil’s borders which are still valid to this day. Furthermore, he is considered to be one of the most prominent campaigners for the international recognition of Brazil and ensured the participation of Brazil in the Second International Peace Conference in 1907. Raul do RIO BRANCO accepted the appointment as an IOC member, since he wanted to be of use to his fatherland. As his first official act, on April 30<sup>th</sup> 1914, he sent a circular letter to the various responsible sports officials in Brazil, to encourage them to promote the Olympic idea in their homeland.<sup>32</sup> In the introduction to this circular letter, the newly appointed IOC member obviously seemed surprised:

*“O Barão de Coubertin que me tinha conhecido outrora nos terrenos do Sport e do atletismo e que tinha deixado de me ver durante vários annos, encontra-me de novo agora como Ministro do Brasil na Suissa, declarou-me, com certa surpresa minha, que ele resolvía apresentar a minha candidatura a membro do Comité Olympico Internacional de que elle é presidente, como delegado do Brasil...”*<sup>33</sup>

Then, Raul do RIO BRANCO raised some objections, for example the fact, that he was completely surprised by his appointment, since he had only poor knowledge about sports in Brazil and he would hardly be able to combine his diplomatic duties in Berne with the IOC membership. Pierre de COUBERTIN replied, that many members were working in the diplomatic service after all, and that he, Raul do RIO BRANCO, had already given proof of his sense of responsibility and his competence. He would witness the rebirth of sporting culture

in the world anyway, and could be of real service to his fatherland.

Raul do Rio BRANCO's reply to Pierre de COUBERTINS invitation had quite a personal character, although he was conscious of his roll as a diplomat and thus an advocate of Internationalism. Certainly, he was also influenced by his famous father Baron do RIO BRANCO, who was described by his contemporaries as a "...maior cidadão da patria..." (...most important citizen of his native land...).<sup>34</sup> National concerns must also have been important to his son.

Raul do RIO BRANCO's quoted letter also refers to the need to found a national Olympic Committee and to appoint additional IOC members from Brazil. Alluding to the status of sports in Brazil, he advocates the promulgation of the Olympic ideals but regards the participation in Olympic Games to be of secondary importance:

*"Por enquanto não se trata ainda de participação dos atletas brasileiros de destaque aos Jogos Olympicos da próxima olympiada que se dará em Berlim em 1916, visto que a escolha d'elles, o seu preparo e as despesas de viagem que difficilmente podem ser supportadas por moços isolados, exigem a fiscalização, a direção e o auxilio das várias federações brasileiras de sport, seja nautico ou terrestre de toda espécie..."*<sup>35</sup>

Obviously, after initial hesitation, Raul do RIO BRANCO took his assignment seriously and participated in innumerable IOC sessions and discussions, which is supported by the relevant files. According to the records, he cannot be suspected of having carried out a political mission on behalf of his homeland, however, he indeed demonstrated enormous enthusiasm at home for the Olympic Movement and the promotion of internationalism.

The most important result and reaction to Raul do Rio Branco's letter was the simultaneous founding in 1914 of the National Olympic Committee and the Brazilian Sports Federation, later to be named the *Confederação Brasileira de Desportos*.<sup>36</sup> The foundation took place on June 8<sup>th</sup> 1914 at the headquarters of the Brazilian Federation of Rowing Societies in Rio de Janeiro with the objective, of taking Brazil to the 1916 Olympic Games to Berlin. Álvaro Zamith refers to Raul do Rio Branco's letter as follows:

*"...Todos vós conheceis as expressões entusiasticas da carta-circular de Raul do Rio Branco, o filho do grande Barão, um dos grandes protectores do sport em nossa terra; saibamos aproveitar a sua boa vontade e competencia no assumpto..."*<sup>37</sup>

Already a year previously, Raul do RIO BRANCO pointed out that rumours of such a foundation were rife:

*"...visto que neste momento mesmo, por inform-*

*ações que elle [Coubertin] acabava de receber, estava se iniciando no Brazil, depois da propaganda de sócios da liga Olympca portugueza, a organização de uma Federação brasileira dos sports e de um Comité Olympico Brasileiro..."*<sup>38</sup>

Álvaro ZAMITH also made reference to this information:

*"...Foi para generalisar que se constituiu em 1913 o Comité Olympico provisório, iniciativa arrojada, mas por isto mesmo digna de apoio, do Jornal do Brazil. Não foi possível, por motivos diversos, fazer o que se desejava; nem tudo, porém, ficou perdido; a semente foi lançada em bom terreno e quer me parecer que em breve poderemos anunciar urbe et orbe, que está constituido o Comité Olympico Nacional..."*<sup>39</sup>

Another important motive for the foundation of the National Olympic Committee was the prospect of international exchange, again reflecting the national craving at that time for international recognition.

*"As palavras do distincto sportman [Zamith] não representavam apenas o pensamento de quem as pronunciara, mas traduziam com fidelidade a aspiração de um nucleo de desinteressados sportmen que viam nas relações internacionais novos elementos para o sport patricio..."*<sup>40</sup>

A somewhat later entry refers to the subsequent election of a Board of Directors:

*"O Comité reuniu-se posteriormente, elegeu a sua directoria, mas não pode dedicar-se a trabalhos positivos, porque logo depois a guerra, que arruina a Europa, annullou todos os projectos, que tinham sido formulados para os jogos olympicos, que deveriam se realizar em 1916, em Berlim..."*<sup>41</sup>

The National Olympic Committee obviously continued to exist in the interim, however, there is no documentary evidence of its existence again until 1920 and thereafter:

*"Tendo conhecimento em 30 de Janeiro de 1920 de que o Comité Olympico Nacional acceitara o convite feito pelo C.O. Internacional para que o Brasil se representasse e resolvera dar a Confederação Brasileira de Desportos a attribuição de indicar e preparar a representação brasileira, effectuou a directoria em 5 de Fevereiro uma reunião conjuncta com os membros do C.O. Nacional para tomars as primeiras medidas, que foram approvadas em 7 de Fevereiro..."*<sup>42</sup>

Despite the existence of a National Olympic Committee,

the teams for the Olympic Games were selected by the *Confederação Brasileira de Desportos* CBD. A corresponding competence was attested to the CBD, which could be compared with other countries and was in accordance with international standards.<sup>43</sup> It should be remembered that a distribution of tasks according to today's standards didn't exist in that time, as both organisations were still in a learning phase. Based on a CBD protocol of 1920, which refers to the Olympic Congress in Lausanne and questions about the venue of the 1922 *Jogos Regionais*, this can be explained.

*“Em 6 de abril de 1921, recebemos um aviso do Sr. ministro do Interior, incluindo um convite do ‘Comité International Olympique’, convidando-nos a participarmos do Congresso Olympico a reunir-se em Lausanne, sob o patrocínio do governo suíço. Por intermédio do Sr. ministro da Relações Exteriores, conseguimos que o Sr. Raul do Rio Branco, nosso ministro em Berna, aceitasse o encargo de nos representar nesse Congresso. Enviámos ao illustre compatriota as instruções relativas á nossa representação e tivemos o prazer de constatar a maneira brilhante com que S.Ex. deu desempenho ao mandato de nós recebido.”*<sup>44</sup>

Once more it becomes clear that the beginnings of the Olympic Movement in Brazil were tied to independent actions and that a coherent organisation was still unable to function. Therefore, the organisation of a team had to be taken over by the CBD.

Thus, the National Olympic Committee was founded in 1914 and it can be safely said that it survived until 1924, however, it rarely acted and always in conjunction with the CBD. Unfortunately, we do not have any information about any activities of the committee from the years 1925 to 1935, so that it was officially relaunched in 1935 with the format that is still valid today.<sup>45</sup>

Brazilian athletes competed at the modern Olympic Games for the first time during the 1920 Summer Olympics in Antwerp, where they achieved respectable results. The marksmen were particularly successful, winning Brazil's first ever gold medal.<sup>46</sup> The Brazilian team was selected and managed by the CBD, generously supported by the activities of the *Comité Olímpico Nacional* CON. To ensure adequate financing of the participation, the CON President, Senator Fernando Mendes de Almeida called on the support of the Congress; however, he only succeeded in extracting a promise of 50% of the costs. Nevertheless, the Brazilian team set off for Antwerp on July 3<sup>rd</sup> 1920, which was reported in the *Jornal do Brasil* on the day as follows:

*“Após uma série de alternativas prós e contra, segue finalmente para a Europa com destino a Antuérpia, a embaixada sportiva brasileira, que vae tomar parte em várias provas das Olympiadas*

*a serem realizadas naquella cidade. Motivos imperiosos obrigaram a Confederação Brasileira de Desportos a retirar da embaixada a delegação de football, com grande pesar daquelles que confiavam no valor e na efficiencia technica do quadro brasileiro...”*<sup>47</sup>

The Brazilian army vessel *Curvello* carried the chosen athletes, who were, of course, accompanied by the entire Rio de Janeiro sporting press to Europe, as the *Jornal do Brasil* sardonically reported on July 4<sup>th</sup> 1920. A document signed by the delegates was presented to the president of the CBD in advance, which emphasized the extreme national importance of the mission:

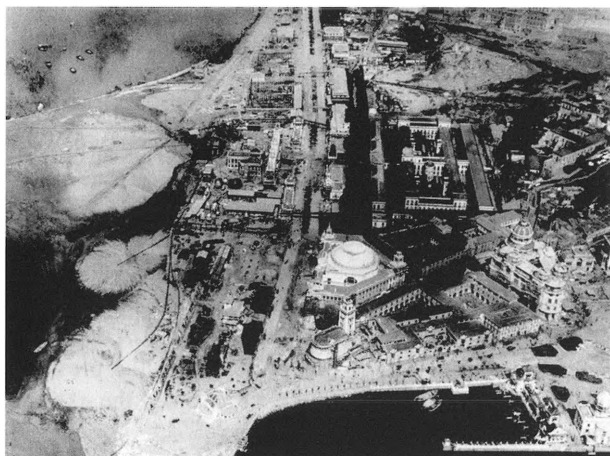
*“Nós, abaixo assignados, membros da delegação desportiva brasileira aos Jogos Olympicos de Antuerpia, animados no mais acrisolado patriotismo, sujeitamo-nos a embarcar no ‘Curvello’ em quaesquer condições, lamentando apenas que tão pequeno seja o sacrificio de nós exigido.”*<sup>48</sup>

21 athletes, who participated in the swimming, water polo, high diving, rowing and shooting disciplines, were sent to Antwerp. Adolpho WELLISCH who was living in Paris joined the team in Europe. The CBD secretary general, Roberto TROMPOWSKY junior was appointed leader of this mission and was accompanied by Ferreira SANTOS, the President of the *Associação Paulista de sports Athleticos*, as secretary. As the vessel wouldn't have been able to reach the competition venue in time, the marksmen, whose discipline was scheduled to be first, left the *Curvello* in Lisbon and travelled the rest of the journey by train. Despite poor accommodation and inadequate training facilities, which was blamed on insufficient time for preparations by the organisers and the aftermath of the First World War, the performances of the marksmen were rewarded with one gold, one silver and a bronze medal. Delighted with the result, Roberto TROMPOWSKY junior sent the following telegram to the President of the Republic:

*“Delegação Tiro Brasileiro acaba honrar Pátria Brasileira Brasil campeão mundial revólver Enthusiasticas e respeitosas saudações.”*<sup>49</sup>

On August 14<sup>th</sup> 1920, the opening ceremony took place with the entry of the nations, on which the *Jornal do Brasil* also reported:

*“O Tenente Paraense, campeão mundial de revólver, vinha á frente do team brasileiro, trazendo a bandeira do seu país e tendo como guardas de honra Demerval e Maurity. O Dr. Afrânio da Costa trazia um escudo onde estava gravado o nome do Brasil.”*<sup>50</sup>



Aerial view of the international exhibition area



Entrance to the international exhibition



Pavilion of the brewery 'Antarctica'

In Brazil, they hoped for success by the water-polo players, who, unfortunately, disappointed, as did the athletes in the other disciplines. Nevertheless, one could be happy, as Roberto TROMPOWSKY junior as summarised as follows:

*“A estréia dos desportistas nacionais naquelles Jogos, em que se defrontam os mais cultos e valerosos expoentes da cultura desportiva do mundo, foi mais que auspiciosa, gloriosa [...] Em todas as diversas pugnas em que tomaram parte, os elementos nacionais se destacaram, revelando ao mundo, como que numa aurora esplendente, o surto glorioso de uma nova raça, forte, audaz, grande e viril.”*<sup>51</sup>

On August 27<sup>th</sup> 1920, Roberto TROMPOWSKY junior hosted a banquet in honour of Pierre de COUBERTIN and Elwood S. BROWN, during which the IOC officially promised to support the 1922 Games in Rio de Janeiro. The games were staged as part of the celebrations on the occasion of the centenary of Brazilian independence and, with the consent of the IOC, they were allowed to be classified as ‘Olympic’.<sup>52</sup>

#### The 1922 *Jogos Regionais*

In 1822, Brazil became independent and thus it was planned to celebrate the centenary of this event in 1922. Once more, there was an opportunity, to present itself to the world and to gain international recognition. It was intended to present Brazil with all its unusual cultural features in a national exhibition as a republican nation, which, at long last, had consigned the colonial period to history. Later, countries from Europe, Asia and North America were also invited to participate, which turned the original national presentation of Brazil into an international exhibition for the centennial independence celebrations.<sup>53</sup>

*“Art.1º: A Exposição Comemorativa do Centenário da Independência Política do Brasil, a realizar-se nesta capital, de 07 de setembro próximo a 31 de*



The destruction of the Castelo Hill

*março de 1923, passa a denominar-se 'Exposição Internacional do Centenário da Independência – Rio de Janeiro', compreendendo sob essa denominação, a parte nacional a que se refere o n° 2 do dispositivo acima citado, e a seção estrangeira...'*<sup>54</sup>

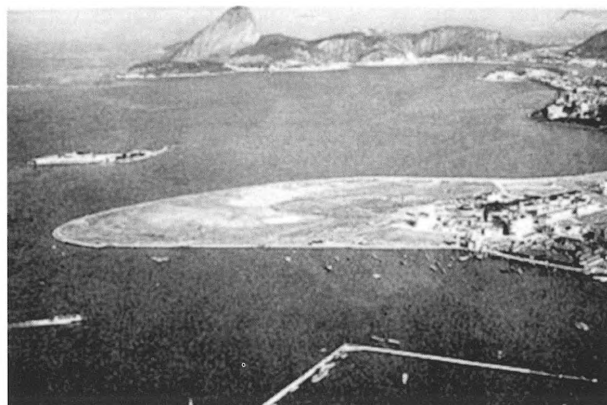
For this international exhibition the biggest possible area had to be found close to the centre, which could only be created artificially in the countryside around Rio de Janeiro, which was characterised by mountains and marine inlets. The city planners' modernisation concept also included the demolition of the slums, for example at the *Castelo Hill*, which was razed and removed by a 1921 municipal decree. The rubble was used to build an artificial peninsula to the west of *Aterro do Flamengo*, on which the Santos DUMONT airport was opened in 1936. This area offered adequate space for the international exhibition.

The *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*, conforming precisely to the Olympic tradition, together with the international exhibition were staged as part of the centennial celebrations.<sup>55</sup> Combined with a South American football competition and the *Jogos Militares*, they were staged as part of the *Jogos do Centenário*, the Games of the Century. The games were renamed *Jogos Latino Americanos*, after the participation of Mexico was announced. However, in the contemporary press, the term *Jogos do Centenário* usually meant only the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*, which explains the misunderstandings and confusion in the nomenclature that persists to this day.<sup>56</sup>

Already on the fringes of the 1920 Olympic Games in Antwerp, the Brazilian delegation was granted Olympic approval for staging the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*.

*"A comissão dos Jogos Olímpicos em reunião desta noite aprovou uma moção reconhecendo os Jogos Latino-americanos de 1922 como 'parte integrante do movimento Olímpico'..."*<sup>57</sup>

The aforementioned commission further agreed, that the



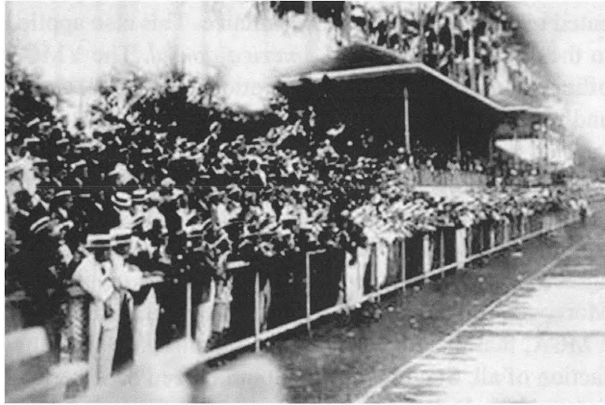
The artificial peninsula for the international exhibition

rules of the 1906 games in Athens had to be followed and that the YMCA should perform a supervisory role. This seemed logical, as the lively and very active YMCA member Elwood S. BROWN had enthusiastically campaigned between 1919 and 1922 in several speeches at the IOC for regional games around the globe.<sup>58</sup> His ideas were well received, however, the YMCA rarely participated in putting the ideas into practice. This also applied to the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*. The YMCA officially supervised the preparations for these games and repeatedly and regularly expressed discontent at the lack of progress of the work. Early in 1922, the organisers in Rio de Janeiro were requested to submit their plans for the games. The deadline for submission of the documents was missed twice and it was not until the third agreed deadline that the documentation was presented.<sup>59</sup> Moreover, the Brazilian government had assured the YMCA, that the games would be organised to the satisfaction of all. Such behaviour could indeed be described as 'typically Brazilian'. In principle, nobody in the organising committee was interested in the concerns of the YMCA. It was precisely this attitude, which gave rise to entirely adverse reports from the YMCA and the Argentinean press, which were prompted from time to time.<sup>60</sup>

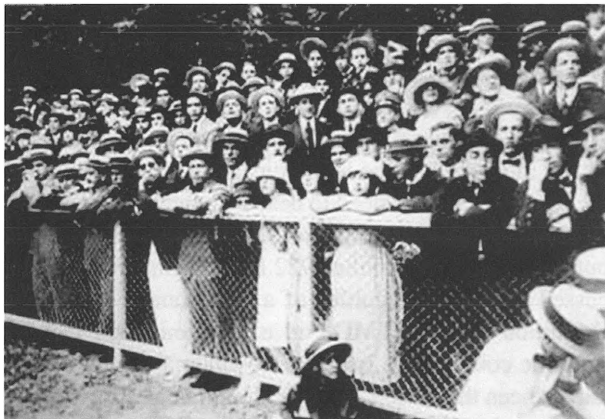
As the organisers of the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul* in Brazil had the ideological and moral support of the IOC, they had no need to deal with the YMCA. While the preparations for the games in Rio de Janeiro ran flat out, the participants of the 1922 IOC session in Paris discussed possible difficulties of a traditionally Protestant institution like the YMCA in a predominantly Roman Catholic country like Brazil.<sup>61</sup> However, this could have hardly been the reason, that the Brazilian YMCA had not been involved in the organisation of the games, since the YMCA in Rio de Janeiro was ecumenically oriented since its foundation in 1893. The Brazilian press, therefore, was happy simply with the presence of Elwood S. BROWN:

*"O Sr. Elwood Brown, representante do Comité Olímpico Internacional, da Federação Athletica Internaional de Amadores e Secretário Geral do Comité Internacional das Associações Christãs de Moços, junto á Comissão Organizadora dos festejos Desportivos do Centenário e que, durante a realização dos Jogos Latino-Americanos permaneceu entre nós..."*<sup>62</sup>

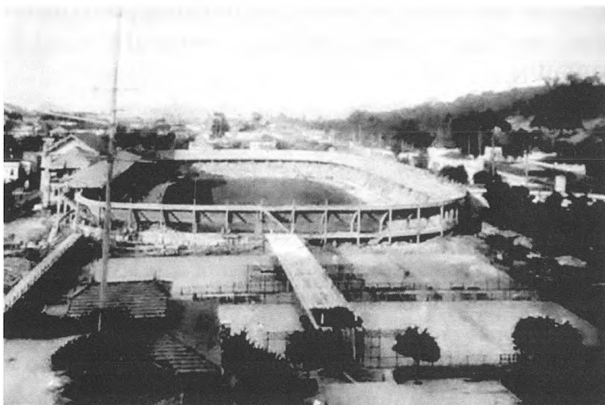
Officially, the *Comitê Brasileiro do Desportes* CBD was ordered by the government to organise the centennial games. In June 1922, a special commission of the sports department of the Brazilian army was appointed to support the CBD in organising the games in a timely fashion. At that time, Coronel Estellita WERNER was President of the military sports department and thus became also the head of the organising committee. His



Spectators at the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*



Spectators at the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*



Opening ceremony at the stadium of *Fluminense FC*

area of responsibility covered all sports events of the *Jogos do Centenário*, i.e. the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*, the South American football tournament and the *Jogos Militares*.

Other nations also took part in the various games of the *Jogos do Centenário*. The teams of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Mexico were represented in all three competition events, whilst Paraguay only participated in football. Teams from Japan, England and the USA also arrived to participate in the *Jogos Militares*. Details of the games, such as the program and procedures, can hardly be established any longer. For sure, the following disciplines were offered at the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*: Boxing, swimming, track and field athletics, tennis, tug-of-war, fencing, shooting, basketball, equestrian sport and high diving. Some sports, such as the equestrian event, track and field athletics and fencing, were offered twice, i.e. at both the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul* and at the *Jogos Militares*. In parallel to the games, horse racing was also on the agenda, the significance of which for Brazilian society was described in a contemporary source.<sup>63</sup>

On September 2<sup>nd</sup> 1922, at 3.30 pm, even before the opening ceremony, the first tennis tournament was held. Under the title "*Os jogos sportivos do centenário*" (The Sporting Competitions of the Century) importance was attached to Brazil's national pride.

*"Hontem, foram iniciadas as provas sportivas latino-americanas, tão ansiosamente esperadas pelos inumeros afficionados reunidos nesta Capital, com a realização da primeira prova de tennis. O Brasil iniciou assim, a commemoração solemne do aniversario de sua emancipação política, consagrando primeiramente o sport, que se propoz abrilhantar grandes festejos, cumprindo assim o dever de levar aos olhos dos estrangeiros amigos que nos visitam, a primeira demonstração do nosso progresso desses cem anos de independencia – o progresso sportivo."*<sup>64</sup>

The opening ceremony took place on September 13<sup>th</sup> 1922 in the *Fluminense FC* stadium, the significance of which for the successful execution of the games will be referred to later.

*"Á 1 hora da tarde chegou o Sr. Dr. Epitácio Pessoa, Presidente da República sendo introduzido na tribuna de honra, onde já se encontravam as seguintes pessoas: Conde de Latour, representante do Comité Olympico Internacional, Dr. Pandiá Calogenas, Ministro da Guerra, General Gamelin, Chefe da Missão Francesa, os Ministros do Chile, da Argentina, do Uruguay, o chefe das delegações estrangeiras, autoridades civis e militares."*<sup>65</sup>

It was originally intended to end the *Jogos Regionais da*

*América do Sul* on October 18<sup>th</sup> 1922 with a closing ceremony; however, this was postponed. Changes to the time schedule and the procedures can be described as symptomatic of these games. Spontaneity was the watchword of the organising committee, thus, for example, competitions were postponed or cancelled and other competitions, such as water polo, were suddenly included.<sup>66</sup> About one year after the games Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR reported:

*“Les Jeux de Rio, dans leur ensemble, n’ont pas été parfaits mais les critiques dont ils ont été l’objet étaient fortement exagérées... Ils furent un miroir reflétant exactement la situation sportive des pays qui y ont pris part, et les causes de leur imperfection trouvent leur origine dans les défauts dont sont affligés les autorités et les athlètes en général de l’Amérique latine...”*<sup>67</sup>



Arnaldo GUINLE

*“Malgré la concurrence des Fêtes du centenaire ils ont été un succès et nous pouvons rendre un légitime hommage au labeur de ceux qui les ont organisés, notamment au regretté Dr. Trompowski, mort malheureusement depuis, qui avait trouvé en MM. Jess Hopkins et F. Brown, directeurs Physiques du Y.M.C.A. à Montevideo et à Rio, des auxiliaires précieux.”*<sup>72</sup>

Despite recognition of the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul* by the IOC, the latter hadn't participated in the organisation or even contributed to the costs of the games at any time. The same also applies to the YMCA, which defined its task as a supervisory organ. The sponsorship of the so-called regional games had also been discussed at the 1923 IOC session in Rome, however, with the sudden death of Elwood S. BROWN the whole subject faded into the background.<sup>68</sup> A last ditch attempt by Argentina, Peru, Chile and Paraguay during the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam to bring the second regional games to South America, also failed.

As a direct result of hosting the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*, Arnaldo GUINLE and José Ferreira dos SANTOS were appointed IOC members. Both were recommended by Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR, who got to know both on his American tour and regarded them as worthy Olympic fellow campaigners. Their appointment took place in Rome in 1923.<sup>69</sup> Arnaldo GUINLE entered the annals of the IOC with a memorable record, since, during his membership from 1923 to 1961, he was absent from 36 sessions. Nevertheless, thanks to the personal efforts of Averil BRUNDAGE, he became an honorary member of the IOC.<sup>70</sup>

Arnaldo GUINLE was the first CBD President and from 1947 till 1950 President of the *Comitê Olímpico Brasileiro* COB. José Ferreira dos SANTOS was President of the COB from 1951 till 1962. Both had personal reasons for supporting the Olympic Movement, which lay outside careers in sport, since the former was a businessman and the latter a doctor. For both, the Olympic idea and its promotion were dear to their hearts.<sup>71</sup>

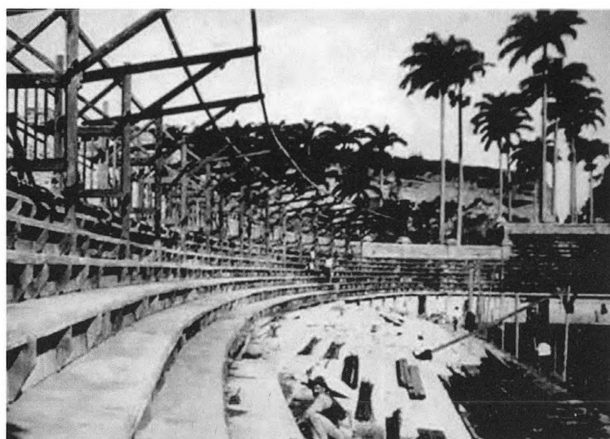
Unfortunately, Roberto TROMPOWSKY junior as one of the central candidates for the Olympic Movement in South America has been largely forgotten since he passed away shortly after the games in December 1922. Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR refers to this fact in his report in Rome 1923.

Through the Olympic Movement, Brazil, which for 300 years had sought international recognition by projecting the image of a harmonious society, of a country of opportunities with a unique cosmopolitan culture, had discovered an opportunity to get closer to achieving its objectives

#### ***Fluminense FC stages the Jogos Regionais***

We have already referred several times to supervisory bodies and organisation committee chairmen of the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*, however, the actual organiser of the games has been lost in the mists of time. Repeatedly, and unfortunately erroneously, it was emphasised, that the YMCA had organised the games. In fact, however, it only played a sometimes delicate supervisory role in the actual staging of the games.<sup>73</sup> Since the Brazilian government had decided that the games should be held in any event, be it with or without international support, they of course, also reserved the right to appoint the commission for mounting the games. During that era of instability, it seemed sensible and secure to entrust the *Fluminense Futebol Club* with the actual staging of the games.

President Epitácio PESSOA, who had held office since 1919, was about to hand over to his successor Artur BERNARDES on November 15<sup>th</sup> 1922, who had been



The construction of the stadium



Officials observing the constructions at the stadium



The Coupe Olympique at the Musée Olympique in Lausanne



The diploma for the Fluminense FC

elected on March 1<sup>st</sup> 1922. Shortly after the election, it already became apparent that Artur BERNARDES' term of office would be plagued by innumerable rebellions and attempted putsches. Usually, it was the left wing and communist groups who wanted to take over political control, since the government had plunged Brazil deeper and deeper into debt. In March 1922, the Communist Party of Brazil was founded, which wasn't accorded recognition until five years later. However, Rio de Janeiro witnessed the first bloody rebellion, which was triggered by left-wing armed forces as early as July 1922. These revolts continued and, from 1925 to 1927, led to a march of communist factions of the armed forces throughout Brazil, which achieved no results and was largely unsuccessful. This so-called *Tenentism* movement shook the republic to its foundations, however, it was finally crushed.<sup>74</sup> Despite all the difficulties and turbulence, Epitácio PESSOA persisted with his policy of Internationalism and promoted the centenary of independence together with the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*.<sup>75</sup>

Due to the recognition by the IOC, these games had already become an international project, thus its cancellation on the grounds of a difficult economic situation was unthinkable. The *Confederação Brasileira de Desportos* CBD was officially appointed by the government to host the games but they had neither the necessary stadia nor the appropriate infrastructure for such an international competition. Thus, it was indeed fortuitous, that the later IOC member Arnaldo GUINLE was both CBD President from 1916 to 1920 and President of the traditional *Fluminense Football Club* from 1916 to 1930. Furthermore, after 1920, Oswaldo GOMES, a former *Fluminense FC* player, managed the CBD. Since the club had already taken over the responsibility for staging the South American football tournament within the framework of the *Jogos do Centenário*, it seemed reasonable, to also entrust *Fluminense FC* with the organisation of the *Jogos Militares* and the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*. On May 5<sup>th</sup> 1922, the Board of Directors of the Club signed a corresponding contract with the government, which committed the latter to paying for the extension of the stadium and all other necessary expenses.<sup>76</sup> After the construction work was started on July 1<sup>st</sup> 1922, it soon became evident, that the budget was inadequate. Although the start of building was officially authorised by Coronel Estellita WERNER, the head of the organising committee, the Brazilian government escaped its financial obligations. Nevertheless, *Fluminense FC* implemented the games by raising a mortgage on its assets. "The club got stuck with the debts, while the government accepted the plaudits", adjudged Paulo Coelho NETO in his commemorative publication on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of *Fluminense FC* in 1952.<sup>77</sup>

The involvement of the football club was heartily approved by the IOC and Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR had already paid tribute to *Fluminense FC* for its ser-

vices to the fatherland, as they spared neither effort nor expense to stage the games in the name of the government, various sports associations and the public.<sup>78</sup> Formal recognition did not follow until 1949 with the presentation of the *Coupe Olympique* by the IOC to *Fluminense FC*. This cup has been awarded to institutions that had provided outstanding services to the Olympic Movement annually since 1906 and only intermittently since 1998. Usually, this cup is awarded to associations and communities; this was the only time it had been awarded to a football club: namely *Fluminense FC* in 1949.

*“Ainsi que nous vous l’avons communiqué télégraphiquement, nous avons l’honneur de vous faire savoir que lors de sa session de Rome de Comité International Olympique à l’unanimité à attribué à votre club la coupe olympique pour 1949.”<sup>79</sup>*

The club had applied for the *Coupe Olympique* as early as 1924, which was declined at that time, when the IOC was still chaired by Pierre de COUBERTIN. A second attempt also failed in 1936, before the Brazilian IOC member José Ferreira dos SANTOS finally succeeded in 1948 in reserving the cup for *Fluminense FC*. By the way, after this award, the IOC decided, that the *Coupe Olympique* could not be again awarded to Clubs in the future.

### Outlook

Backed by the experience of the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*, Rio de Janeiro applied for the first time to host the 1936 games; however, it did not even reach the final elimination round. Further applications followed for 1956 (equestrian competitions), 1960, 2004, 2012 and 2016. On October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2009, Rio de Janeiro was granted the honour to host the 31<sup>st</sup> Olympic Summer Games.

The early Olympic Games including those of 1920 were time and again accorded a regional character, which had little in common with today’s global sports festival. The sporadic participation of South American athletes and the engagement of a few isolated sport officials are the result of personal networking by Pierre de COUBERTIN and fit this image. For Europeans it was far easier to support the Olympic Movement in an honorary capacity, since interested parties from overseas continents had to contend with high costs and time-consuming journeys by sea. Thus, it is not surprising, that most of Pierre de COUBERTIN’s South American fellow campaigners lived and worked in Europe.

Feelings for the Olympics were first awakened in parts of South America by the *Jogos Regionais da América do Sul* in Rio de Janeiro in 1922. The Olympic Games acted as godfather to this international sports festival, which was also attended by Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR as a representative of the International Olympic Committee. Despite slight criticism from different parties the games had been regarded as a success. The authorities at the

IOC therefore required continuing with similar events around South America.

*“Viennent ensuite les ‘Jeux de l’Amérique latine’, qui ont été inaugurés à Rio en septembre 1922 et sont destinés à se renouveler tous les quatre ans.”<sup>80</sup>*

*“Whether the Games at Rio were to become a truly stable, regular institution or not, it was worthwhile seeing them renewed in the near future for the benefit of other cities further apart from each other – as a result of inadequate transport rather than actual distance – than was the case in Europe.”<sup>81</sup>*

*Fluminense FC* staged the games together with the *Jogos Militares* and a South American football tournament as part of the *Jogos do Centenário*. These sporting events were part of the international exhibition on the occasion of the centenary of the independence of Brazil and reflected Brazil’s great desire for international recognition.

But it was not until the 1936 games in Berlin, that several teams from South America participated, which speaks well of an Olympic awareness or even of an Olympic Movement within the corresponding national sports associations.<sup>82</sup> The National Olympic Committees have been systematically strengthened since then, which has led to isolympic games conducted along the lines of the Olympic example, although, at continental level. The *Pan-American Games* have been held regularly since 1953 and the *South-American Games* since 1978. ■

### Notes and References

\* Many thanks should be addressed to the following institutions and people: *Fluminense FC*, *Defesa do Brasil*, Janice Zarpellon MAZO, Mervyn ILES.

- 1 Titles and terms such as “*Jogos Regionais da América do Sul*” or “South American Regional Games” are always quoted verbatim in this article.
- 2 The term “isolympic” is employed in the same context as the ancient Greek expression “isolympikos” which was used to describe festivals and athletic competitions, which were staged according to the example set at ancient Olympia at various locations across the known world in the Greek and Roman imperial era. See KYLE, Donald G.: *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*. Malden (Mass.) 2007, p. 229ff. Following this analogy, the Pan-American and Asian Games are termed “isolympic”, as are the Mediterranean and Pan Arab Games.
- 3 As, in various documents on the subject, South America is often termed Latin America, a clear definition of the two geographic terms is necessary. South America is that continent, which, like Colombia, borders on Panama and hence Central America, excluding the Caribbean Islands. Latin America embraces the countries of the American continent in which a Latin language such as Spanish, Portuguese or French is spoken. Canadian Quebec is therefore per definition part of Latin America, Jamaica, on the other hand, is not. However, in the literature, which was studied on this subject, these definitions have become blurred.
- 4 Bibliography and literature, which would enable more detailed information on this topic, were studied in Norbert MÜLLER’s

- private archives in Mainz, Germany and in the *Musée Olympique* in Lausanne.
- 5 TORRES, César: “Jogos Olímpicos Latino-Americanos de 1922 – Rio de Janeiro”, in: DA COSTA, Lamartine (ED.): *Atlas do Desporto no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro 2006, p. 206-207.
  - 6 “I dedicate these pages to the intrepid youth of Latin America, written for them with the objective of prompting them to prepare themselves for an unremitting and enduring muscular culture, for the future glory of those privileged regions.” The booklet “Qué es el Olimpismo?” was written by Pierre de COUBERTIN in 1917 and translated into Spanish by Pedro-Jaime MATHEU in order to propagate Olympism also in Latin America. A copy of this booklet was kindly provided by Otto SCHANTZ.
  - 7 LYBERG, Wolf: *Fabulous 100 Years of the IOC – facts – figures – and more, much more*. Lausanne 1996, p. 45.
  - 8 IOC (ED.): *The International Olympic Committee One Hundred Years – the Idea – the Presidents – the Achievements*. Vol. II, Lausanne 1994, pp. 215-228.
  - 9 KRAEMER-MANDEAU, Wolf: “National and International Olympic Movements in Latin America”, in: NAUL, Roland (ED.), *Contemporary Studies in Olympic Games Movement*. Frankfurt 1997, p. 182-204. Although, according to the Olympic Charter, medals are won by athletes and not by countries, the list in question is arranged by country.
  - 10 LYBERG: *Fabulous 100 Years*, p. 45.
  - 11 This information was taken from Norbert MÜLLER’s private archives. Box 42, page 5: Letter from Avery BRUNDAGE to Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR; box 42, page 1: Reply from Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR to Avery BRUNDAGE.
  - 12 Norbert MÜLLER’s private archives, Box 42, page 1: Reply from Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR to Avery BRUNDAGE.
  - 13 José Benjamin ZUBIAUR is not portrayed on the famous foundation photo of 1894!
  - 14 IOC (ED.): “Pierre de Coubertin, Olympic Memoirs”, 2nd edition Lausanne 1997, in: MÜLLER, Norbert (ED.), *Pierre de Coubertin. Olympism*. Lausanne 2000, p. 466. (Original in French, 1932).
  - 15 COUBERTIN, Pierre de: “Circulaire du président du C.I.O.”, Lausanne Janv. 1919; COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE (ED.), *Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis Vol. II*. Zürich 1986, p. 674. “... and of Mr. J.P. Matheu, Consul General of San Salvador, respectively the President and Secretary General of the “Latin American Olympic Propaganda Committee”, founded under our auspices one year ago. The publications of that group, along with a pamphlet widely distributed by the Spanish Olympic Committee, have been effective in spreading the Olympic idea in Spanish-speaking countries.” For the English translation see: MÜLLER, Norbert (ED.), *Pierre de Coubertin. Olympism*. Lausanne 2000, p. 738.
  - 16 IOC (ED.): “Pierre de Coubertin”, p. 466.
  - 17 The so-called *Lei Áurea*, which abolished slavery in Brazil, came into effect on 13th May 1888.
  - 18 SKIDMORE, Thomas E.: *Uma História do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro 1998, p. 101.
  - 19 PINTO, Leila: “A Legitimidade do Moderno Sentido de Esporte: Um olhar sobre a história do Esporte no Brasil”, in: *Coletânea do IV Encontro Nacional de História do Esporte Lazer e Educação Física*, Belo Horizonte 1996, p. 177.
  - 20 “... vagabonds and never-do-wells, socially and morally disorganised ...”. WISSENBACH, Maria Cristina: “Da Escravidão à Liberdade: Dimensões de uma Privacidade Possível”, in: SEVCENKO, Nicolau (ED.): *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*, Vol. III, São Paulo 1998, p. 49-130.
  - 21 SEYFERTH, Giralda: *Imigração e Cultura no Brasil*. Brasília 1990, p. 98.
  - 22 SKIDMORE: *História do Brasil*, p. 108.
  - 23 SEVCENKO, Nicolau: “O Préludio Republicano, Astúcias da Ordem e Ilusões do Progresso”, in: SEVCENKO, Nicolau (ED.): *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*, Vol. III, São Paulo 1998, p. 14-15.
  - 24 MARINS, Paulo César: “Habitação e Vizinhança: Limites da Privacidade no Surgimento das Metrôpoles Brasileiras”, in: SEVCENKO, Nicolau (ED.): *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*, Vol. III, São Paulo 1998, p. 143.
  - 25 “We have to prepare, dear reader, to lick our lips. We have to go to the Olympic Games with two and four-horse chariot races as in Roman and Greek times, mediaeval tournaments, laurel wreaths for the winners, ladies strolling, athletes racing and hunting deer (...) as in a dream, the centuries will be relived in this blend of Greek, Roman, Medieval and modern eras, to form a comprehensive impression of sporting culture”. From a quotation by SEVCENKO, Nicolau: “A Capital Irradiante: Técnica, Ritmos e Ritos do Rio”, in: SEVCENKO, Nicolau (ED.): *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*, Vol. III, São Paulo 1998, p. 568. All Portuguese quotations are given in original writings of the certain era and are not transferred to modern Portuguese.
  - 26 JESUS, Gilmar: “Os Esportes e os Espaços Públicos na Belle Époque Carioca”, in: *Coletânea do VI Congresso Brasileiro de História do Esporte, Lazer e Educação Física*, Rio de Janeiro 1998.
  - 27 “Sport has won, and this victory is radically changing habits. Youth education is changing bit by bit and they are losing their emaciated looks, pallor and sluggish movements and are gaining enthusiasm, energy and health. And there was a wonderful intense flourishing of sportsmanship in Brazil in but a few years, which has regained the losses of decades of torpor.” TROMPOWSKY Jr., Roberto: “Desportos”, in: *Dicionário Histórico, Geográfico e Ethnográfico do Brasil (Commemorativo do primeiro centenário da Independência, Vol. I)*, Rio de Janeiro 1922, p. 413.
  - 28 MELO, Vitor: “O Esporte no Contexto Cultural do Rio de Janeiro do Final do Século XIV–Um projeto de Pesquisa”, in: *Coletânea do IV Encontro Nacional de História do Esporte Lazer e Educação Física*, Belo Horizonte 1996, p. 522.
  - 29 “Modern sport is no longer simply a preserve of the idle rich, who needed a means of countering boredom; today it is inspired by other ideas, is well developed and has become a great social ideal ... Health, character and education are the three terms that define the objectives of sport ... Develop healthy, morally strong and well-educated individuals and present them to the fatherland, this is sport’s highest aspiration.” The early CBD protocols are not divided into months, weeks or days but are preserved as a total package in the archives of the *Comitê Brasileiro de Futebol CBF*.
  - 30 DA COSTA, Lamartine: “Santos Dumont: O primeiro herói Olímpico do esporte brasileiro”, in: *Coletânea do IV Encontro Nacional de História do Esporte Lazer e Educação Física*, Belo Horizonte 1996, p. 229-233. The diploma itself as well as any contemporary documentation about it is unfortunately missing.
  - 31 Relevant documents are available in the archives of the *Musée Olympique* in Lausanne.
  - 32 The relevant letter can be found in the Sr. Raul do RIO BRANCO file in the *Musée Olympique* in Lausanne.
  - 33 “Baron de Coubertin who met me once on a sport and athletics ground and hadn’t seen me for several years since, now finds me again as Minister of Brazil in Switzerland. He told me, somewhat to my surprise, that he had decided to submit my application for membership as a Brazilian delegate to the International Olympic Committee, of which he is president, ...”.
  - 34 INSTITUTO HISTÓRICO E GEOGRÁFICO BRASILEIRO (ED.), *Rio Branco*. Rio de Janeiro 1931, p. 4; AZEVEDO, Fernando: *A Cultura Brasileira*. Brasília 1996, p. 180.
  - 35 “At the moment it is not yet possible for Brazilian athletes to participate at the next Olympic Games, which will take place in Berlin in 1916, since their selection, preparation and travel expenses are difficult to support and the young isolated men require the super-

- vision, direction and assistance of various Brazilian sport federations of all types, be they nautical or terrestrial...". The relevant letter can be found in the Sr. Raul do RIO BRANCO file in the *Musée Olympique* in Lausanne.
- 36 This information can be gathered from the protocols of the *Confederação Brasileira de Desportos CBD* in the *Comité Olímpico Brasileiro COB*: Pages from 8th June 1914 to 5th December 1916.
- 37 "... You all know the enthusiastic reactions in the circular letter from Raul do RIO BRANCO, the son of the great Baron, one of the great protagonists of sport in our country; we know how to appreciate his goodwill and competence in this matter." Pages from 8th June 1914 to 5th December 1916, p. 10.
- 38 "... because at this very moment, he [Coubertin] had received the information from the Olympic partners of the Portuguese league, that Brazil should have founded the Brazilian Federation of sports and a Brazilian Olympic Committee ...". The relevant letter can be found in the Sr. Raul do RIO BRANCO file in the *Musée Olympique* in Lausanne.
- 39 "... to sum up, in 1913 the Olympic Committee was provisionally inaugurated on the initiative and with the very valuable support of the *Jornal do Brazil*. For various reasons it was not possible to achieve the objectives; however, all was not in vain; the seed was planted in good soil and it seems to me that we may soon announce *urbe et orbe*, that we have a National Olympic Committee...". Pages from 8th June 1914 to 5th December 1916, p. 10.
- 40 "The words of the distinguished sportsman [Zamith] did not only represent the thought of the person who uttered them, but faithfully translate the vision of a core of disinterested sportsmen who recognise international relations as a form to be introduced to the national sports." Pages from 8th June 1914 to 5th December 1916, p. 11.
- 41 "The Committee met later to elect its board, but could not make a positive contribution, because soon after the war, which laid Europe to waste, it cancelled all projects that had been planned for the Olympic Games and which should have staged in 1916 in Berlin." Pages from 8th June 1914 to 5th December 1916, p.12.
- 42 "Having been informed on January 30th 1920, that the National Olympic Committee accepts the invitation by the International Olympic Committee that Brazil will be represented by and the decisions made through the Brazilian Sports Confederation to select and prepare the Brazilian delegation. On 5th February a meeting with members of the National Olympic Committee will be organised to discuss the first steps, which should be approved on 7th February." The protocols of the *Confederação Brasileira de Desportos CBD* are kept in the archives of the *Confederação Brasileira de Futebol CBF*. See p.34.
- 43 TROMPOWSKY Jr.: "Desportos", p. 414.
- 44 "On April 6, 1921, we received a message from the Minister of the Interior, including an invitation from the 'Comité International Olympique', inviting us to participate in the Olympic Congress in Lausanne, under the patronage of the Swiss government. Thanks to the intervention by the Minister of Foreign Affairs we were able to get the consent of Raul do Rio Branco, our Ambassador in Berne, to represent us [CBD] at the congress. We sent the instructions to represent us to our illustrious compatriot and we were pleased to see the brilliant way in which His Excellency performed the mandate he received from us." Protocols of the *Confederação Brasileira de Desportos CBD*, p. 21.
- 45 DE FRANCESCHI NETO-WACKER, Marcia: "Brasilien und die Olympische Bewegung 1896 bis 1925", in: *Stadion* 25, 1999, p. 131-137.
- 46 This medal is kept in the well-ordered *Centro de Memória do Esporte* in Porto Alegre.
- 47 "After a series of alternative pros and cons, the Brazilian sporting delegation which is going to take part in various Olympic events to be held in that city, finally left for Europe, destination Antwerp. Compelling reasons forced the Brazilian Sports Confederation to withdraw the football delegation; this was done with great regret as much trust had been placed in the value and technical efficiency of the Brazilian team ...". *Jornal do Brasil* of 3rd July 1920, p.10.
- 48 "We, the assigned, members of the Brazilian sports delegation to the Olympic Games in Antwerp, are bursting with ardent patriotism and are embarking on the 'Curvello' in adequate conditions. We only regret that the sacrifice required from us is so little." Protocols of the CBD 1920/1921, p.36.
- 49 "The Brazilian shooting delegation has earned honour for the Brazilian homeland of Brazil being the world individual military revolver marksmanship champion. Enthusiastic and respectful greetings." Telegram from 5th August 1920, quoted in the *Jornal do Brasil*, p. 10.
- 50 "Lieutenant Paraense, the world individual military revolver marksmanship champion, marched ahead of the Brazilian team, carrying the flag of his country flanked by the guards of honour Demerval and Maurity. Dr. Afrânio da Costa brought a shield engraved with the name Brazil." *Jornal do Brasil* of 16th August 1920, p. 9.
- 51 "The premiere of the national sportsmen in those games, facing the most experienced and courageous exponents of sports culture in the world, was more than auspicious, it was glorious (...) The national elements stood amongst all the various competitors who took part, heralding the dawn of a new bright world, the glorious emergence of a new strong, brave, tall and masculine breed." TROMPOWSKY Jr.: "Desportos", p. 414.
- 52 Protocols of the CBD 1920/1921.
- 53 TÓRTIMA, Pedro: "Exposições Mundiais e Nacionais: A Participação do Brasil", in: ADONIAS, Isa (ED.): *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro – 150 Anos*, Rio de Janeiro 1990, p. 294.
- 54 "Article Number 1: The exhibition commemorating the centenary of political independence of Brazil, to be held in this capital from 7th September to 31st March 1923, shall be called the 'International Exhibition of the Centenary of Independence – Rio de Janeiro', included under that title are the national section, referred to in paragraph 2 of the document mentioned above, and the foreign section ...". This paragraph was published in decree No. 15569 dated 22. July 1922. ADONIAS, Isa: "Exposição do Centenário da Independência do Brasil – Rio de Janeiro – 1922", in: ADONIAS, Isa (ED.): *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro – 150 Anos*, Rio de Janeiro 1990, p. 313.
- 55 A comparison with the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris, St. Louis in 1904 or London in 1908 springs to mind. MUELLER, Norbert & WACKER, Christian (ED.): *Pierre de Coubertin and the arts*, Lausanne 2008, p. 72.
- 56 Die *Jogos Regionais da America do Sul* were termed by contemporary commentators and in secondary literature as *Jogos do Centenário*, *Jogos Olímpicos do Centenário*, *Jogos Regionais*, *Jogos Regionais da América Latina*, *Jogos da Feira Internacional do Rio de Janeiro* etc.. DA COSTA, Lamartine: "Exposição Internacional do Rio de Janeiro – 1922: Um marco histórico do Movimento Olímpico na América Latina", in: *Coletânea do IV Encontro Nacional de História do Esporte Lazer e Educação Física*, Belo Horizonte 1996, p.411-416.
- 57 "In this evening's meeting, the commission of the Olympic Games approved a motion recognising the Latin American Games of 1922 as 'an integral part of the Olympic Movement'...". *Jornal do Brasil* of 24th August 1920, p. 6.
- 58 BUCHANAN, Ian: "Elwood S. Brown", in: *Journal of Olympic History* 6, 3, 1998, p. 12-13.
- 59 TORRES, Cesar R.: "'Spreading the Olympic Idea' to Latin America", in: *Journal of Olympic History* 16,1, 2008, p. 18.
- 60 TORRES: "Spreading", p. 16-24.
- 61 LENNARTZ, Karl: "Le Présidence de Henri de Baillet-Latour (1925-1942)", in: IOC (ED.): *The International Olympic Committee 100 Years – The Idea – The Presidents – The Achievements*, Vol. I,

- Lausanne 1994, p. 283.
- 62 “Sr. Elwood Brown, representing the International Olympic Committee and the International Amateur Athletics Federation being also secretary general of the International Young Men’s Christian Association, stands together with the organizing commission of the Centenary Sports celebrations and stays with us during the Latin American Games...”. *Jornal do Commercio* of 24th October 1922, p. 3.
- 63 CALMON, Francisco: “Desportos”, in: *Diccionario Historico, Geographico e Ethnographico do Brasil (Commemorativo do Primeiro Centenário da Independência – Vol. 1)*, Rio de Janeiro 1922, p. 416.
- 64 “Yesterday the Latin American sports competitions, so eagerly awaited by innumerable fans united in this capital, began with the first tennis event. Brazil started well, holding a solemn commemoration of the anniversaries of its politics of emancipation, honoring first of all sports, which may enliven great festivities, thus fulfilling the duty of presenting to the foreign friends visiting us, the first evidence of our progress after one hundred years of independence – sporting progress.” *Jornal do Commercio* of 3rd September 1922, p. 9.
- 65 “Dr. Epiácio Pessoa, President of the Republic arrived at 1 o’clock and was introduced to the VIP spectators’ box, where he met the following dignitaries: Conte de Latour, representing the International Olympic Committee, Dr. Pandiá Calogenas, Minister of War, General Gamelin, Chief of the French Delegation, the Ministers of Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, the head of the foreign delegations, civil and military authorities.” *Jornal do Commercio* of 14th September 1922, p. 10.
- 66 Surprisingly, the Belgian water polo team turned up in Rio de Janeiro (!) and played against the Brazilian selection.
- 67 “The Rio Games on the whole have not been perfect but the criticism to which they were subjected were highly exaggerated ... They were a mirror reflecting the exact sportive situation of the nations that participated, and the causes for their imperfection find their origin in defects which, in general, afflict the Latin American authorities and athletes...”. Visit report by Henri de BAILLET-LATOUR on the occasion of the IOC Session in Rome 1923, p. 1.
- 68 TORRES: “Spreading”, p. 16-24; BUCHANAN: “Elwood”, p. 12-13.
- 69 Files of the IOC-Session in Rome 1923 in the IOC.
- 70 LYBERG: *Fabulous 100 years*.
- 71 PAIOLI, Caetano: *Brasil Olímpico*. São Paulo 1985, p. 37.
- 72 “Despite competition from the centenary celebrations, the games have been successful and we can pay a legitimate tribute to the work of those who organized them, including dear Dr. Trompowski, who unfortunately has since passed away, and who found valuable aids in Jess Hopkins and E. Brown, the YMCA physical directors at Montevideo and Rio.” Files of the IOC-Session in Rome 1923 in the IOC, p. 2.
- 73 DA COSTA: “Exposição Internacional”, p. 411-416; TORRES: “Spreading”, p. 16-24.
- 74 PRESTES, Anita Leocadia: *Os militares e a reação republicana: As origens do tenetismo*. São Paulo 1994.
- 75 Epiácio Pessoa was also not unknown on the international political stage. For example, as the leader of the Brazilian Delegation, he participated in the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 and was elected as a judge at the Permanent Court of International Justice, later to become the International Court of Justice at The Hague.
- 76 COELHO NETO, Paulo: *A Historia do Fluminense*. Rio de Janeiro 1952. With grateful thanks to the marketing department of Fulminense F.C for further information.
- 77 COELHO NETO: “Fluminense”.
- 78 With grateful thanks to the marketing department of Fulminense F.C for this information.
- 79 “As we informed you by telegraph, we have the honour to confirm to you that, at its meeting in Rome, the International Olympic Committee unanimously awarded the 1949 Olympic Cup to your club.” Original letter held in the Marketing-Department of Fluminense FC.
- 80 “Then there had been the “Games of Latin America”, which were inaugurated in Rio in September 1922 and are intended to be renewed every four years.” COUBERTIN, Pierre de: “Avant les Jeux Olympiques. La formule d’une organisation,” in: *Le Gaulois, 28 avril 1924*. See also: COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIQUE (ED.): *Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis Vol. II*. Zürich 1986, p. 341-342.
- 81 IOC (ED.): “Pierre de Coubertin”, p. 496.
- 82 DE FRANCESCHI NETO-WACKER, Marcia: “Brasilien und die Olympische Bewegung 1896 bis 1925”, in: *Stadion* 25, 1999, p. 131-137; WACKER, Christian: “Brasilien und Berlin 1936. Die brasilianische Beteiligung an den Olympischen Sommerspielen in Berlin 1936”, in: LENNARTZ, Karl & WASSONG, Stephan & ZAWADZKI, Thomas (ED.): *New Aspects of Sport History. The Olympic Lectures*, Saint Augustin 2007, p. 228-233.