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Inspired by Cherry Blossoms: The Countdown has Started

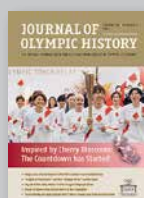


- + Tokyo 2020 Should Become a Manifestation of Human Resilience
- + "Knight of the Pedals" and the "Master Driver" on the Road
- + Impact of the Mass Media on the Image of Olympic Cities
- + Queen of Gymnastics Ágnes Keleti: A True Olympian
- + "A Possibility of a Lady Competitor": Helen Preece and Modern Pentathlon



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On the cover: On 6 April 1896, the Olympic premiere took place at the Panathenaic Stadium in Athens. 125 years later, it was Japan's national women's soccer team, nicknamed Nadeshiko Japan, that opened the 2020 Tokyo Torch Relay. The optimism radiating from their faces gives hope that this Olympic celebration will not go down in history as the “Pandemic Games”. Photo: picture-alliance

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Welcome to the Issue



Volker Kluge
EDITOR

Along with the start of the cherry blossom front, which brings the Japanese islands to bloom from the southwest to the northeast, the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Torch Relay began on 25 March with a year's delay.

There is no going back now! The 121-day countdown, for which extensive hygiene measures have been taken in the host country, undoubtedly poses an enormous challenge until proof can finally be provided – on 23 July, in the National Stadium in Tokyo – that the Olympic Games are able to be celebrated even under the conditions of a global pandemic.

As far as Olympic history is concerned, however, given the current problems, we should not forget an important anniversary. The reference here is to the Olympic premiere in Athens 125 years ago, which people outside Greece often only found out about after weeks – mostly through the reports of a few participants.

How much courage, optimism, and thirst for adventure must have been needed back then to travel at one's own expense to a country on the periphery of Europe and compete in an event, which IOC founder Pierre de Coubertin had called the Olympic Games in order to impart them with a "halo of grandeur and glory" and thus place them under the protection of classical antiquity? One of these Olympians, the road cyclist Anton Gödrich, is remembered in this issue.

While half of the participants in Tokyo this summer will be women, in 1896, only men were admitted. Entirely in the spirit of his caste, Coubertin considered

women's sport to be impractical, uninteresting, and even indecent. His ideal remained the ceremonious performance of male athletics "with the applause of women as a reward". It was a 17-year-old English woman named Helen Preece who refused to accept this barrier. She registered in 1912 for the Modern Pentathlon, which was first held in Stockholm. One suspects that her application was rejected at this juncture, if not before, but it nevertheless earned her a place of fame in the history of women's sports. Her biography is told for the first time in this issue, using previously unpublished memoirs and family documents.

Another female pioneer who made Olympic history is Ágnes Keleti. A Hungarian Jew, she survived the Holocaust by assuming a false identity, and afterwards displayed great ambition and patience in order to still fulfil her Olympic dream as a mature woman of 35 years.

The second part of Dick Pound's Olympic TV history begins with the 1964 Tokyo Games, which marked a milestone. For the first time, there were transcontinental broadcasts. Four years later, the Games in Mexico were aired in colour, and, in 1972, there was "wall-to-wall TV".

The "Television Games" have been a reality ever since, and this time too, despite the coronavirus, it will be possible for billions of people to experience the competitions on screen.

A lot will be different this time. But Tokyo 2020 could be a glimmer of light that strengthens hope for the light at the end of the tunnel. ■

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Olympic History in Popular Culture



Christian Wacker
ISOH PRESIDENT

Olympic history describes a field of historiography that deals with topics of the Olympic Games, the Olympic Movement, and Olympism as a philosophical and ethical superstructure in their historical dimensions. It was and is ISOH's mission to present this Olympic history in an understandable and interesting way for a broad audience, harnessing the powers of storytelling.

At the *Journal of Olympic History*, great importance is attached to ensuring that contributions are well researched according to academic standards, with respect for the differences between primary (e.g.: original letters) and secondary (e.g.: opinions in literature) sources – but also that they are pleasant to read and comprehend. This is because we want to address as many types of readers as possible, who have in common their interest in Olympic history topics.

The Olympic Movement itself is interested in being perceived by a broad audience. Its sporting events are covered by the media worldwide, and Olympic Education Programmes such as the Olympic Values Education Programme (O EVP) have a deep impact on societies through National Olympic Committees, Olympic Studies Centres, and more. The Olympic Movement can thus be counted as popular culture in the best sense of the word, which reflects and serves phenomena in society as a whole.

In contrast to “high culture”, which traditionally caters to an elite audience, popular culture opens up an ambivalence between high culture and mass culture. It uses the mass media to achieve its goals and seeks to satisfy society's need for intense experiences through deliberate changes. These changes, especially in democratic societies that demand and sometimes encourage the dismantling of elitist structures, are expressed nowhere better than in how museums have evolved over the years.

Kevin Moore's important book, *Museums and Popular Culture* (1997), reinforced and spurred a trend to open the doors of museums wide to all segments of the population. This trend is reflected in the creation of numerous sports museums (currently about 1,500 worldwide) and several dozens of Olympic museums. Olympic history and Olympic culture should be accessible and, above all, understandable to everyone.

This is exactly where the concept of popular culture comes in. As Olympic historians and history enthusiasts

on the Olympic Movement, we also seek to promote entertaining approaches to the topic beyond the contributions in the *Journal of Olympic History* or on the ISOH website. Olympic documentaries and feature films are a popular medium for approaching Olympic topics. What Olympic enthusiast can watch *Chariots of Fire* (1981) without being emotionally stirred?

Fans of literature can learn more about Olympic history through myriad novels – even if experienced historians are always happy to expose errors. George Hirthler's book, *The Idealist* (2016), for example, is a great introduction to Pierre de Coubertin. Well researched and rich in detail, the author succeeds in crafting a vivid portrait of an extraordinary person who, in the splendour of the *belle époque* in Paris, launched a movement that today, in Coubertin's spirit, spans the entire world.

On behalf of the ISOH Executive Board, we extend our warmest congratulations to Dr. Thomas Bach on his re-election as president of the IOC. It is a stroke of luck for the IOC, especially in these difficult times of the pandemic, to know that an experienced and thoughtful leader will continue to be at the helm.

Another book recommendation to quench people's Olympic curiosity is the novel *Rings of Sand* (1984) by Tom McNab. In it, the writer describes professional Olympic Games in which each athlete has to pay a participation fee – still fiction at the time. Published before the Games in Los Angeles, the book has the makings of a thriller and even today, after nearly 40 more years of Olympic history, never fails to make the knowing reader smile.

One of the most popularly successful German writers at the moment is Volker Kutscher, whose books inspired the globally successfully streamed series *Berlin Babylon*. His most recent bestseller is his 2020 crime novel *Olympia*. Set in Berlin, it takes the reader through the highs and lows of the extraordinary 1936 Olympic Games. An English translation has been announced; stay tuned! ■

Tokyo 2020 Should Become a Manifestation of Human Resilience



For the second time, the IOC Session was held as a video conference because of the COVID-19 pandemic. President Thomas Bach led the Session from Olympic House in Lausanne.

Photo: picture-alliance

The IOC held a remote Session for the second time from 10 to 12 March 2021. IOC President Thomas Bach chaired the meeting from Olympic House in Lausanne.

In his opening speech, he emphasised the optimism created by the successful organisation of over 270 major sports events with measures in place to safeguard the health of all involved. He also spoke of the widespread support the Olympic and Paralympic Games Tokyo 2020 have received from the United Nations and the G20 and G7 leaders. Reflecting on this, he said: "Encouraged by this support, the IOC is working at full speed together with our Japanese partners and friends to make the postponed Olympic Games Tokyo 2020 a safe manifestation of peace, solidarity, and the resilience of humankind in overcoming the pandemic."

On the exceptional nature of this Olympic year – preparing for two editions of the Olympic Games in parallel – President Bach highlighted the excellent state of preparations for the Olympic Winter Games Beijing 2022.

Valid votes: 94; Yes: 93; No: 1

On the first day of the Session, Thomas Bach was re-elected for an additional four-year term as president. 93 of the 94 IOC members eligible voted "Yes". There was one "No" vote.

Thomas Bach, who won gold with the German foil fencing team at the Olympic Games Montreal 1976, was elected as president at the Session in 2013 in Buenos Aires for a first eight-year term. This term will finish on the closing day of the Olympic Games Tokyo 2020 on 8 August this year. His second term will start immediately after, and will conclude in 2025.

Thomas Bach was a founding member of the IOC Athletes' Commission in 1981, on which he remained until 1988. In 1991, he became an IOC Member and sat on the IOC Executive Board between 1996 and 2013. He served as IOC vice-president from 2000 to 2004, 2006 to 2010, and from 2010 until his election as IOC President in September 2013.

“With Olympic Agenda 2020, we have changed the Olympic Movement”

Adopted by the IOC at its 127th Session in 2014, Olympic Agenda 2020 is a set of 40 detailed recommendations whose overarching goal was to safeguard the Olympic values and strengthen the role of sport in society. Commenting after the unanimous approval of the Closing Report on Olympic Agenda 2020, IOC President Thomas Bach said: “With Olympic Agenda 2020 we turned the challenges into opportunities. With Olympic Agenda 2020, we have changed the Olympic Movement.”

Some key highlights from the results:

- The IOC has completely reformed the way the Olympic Games are awarded with the introduction of the two Future Host Commissions, Winter and Summer, making the whole procedure more cooperative and targeted. This resulted in a decrease in the average



The memorial stone for the IOC presidents in the Olympic Stadium from 1896 will remain valid for another four years. Originally, the 137th IOC Session was planned to take place in Athens. As a result of the pandemic, Hellenic Olympic Committee President Spyros Capralos symbolically opened the Session from the Panathenaic Stadium. The Session in Athens has been rescheduled for 2025. Photo: Gabriele Kluge

candidature budgets for the Olympic Winter Games 2026 to USD 5 million, compared to USD 35 million for 2022, representing a reduction of some 80%.

- By maximising the use of existing or temporary infrastructure, addressing the service levels and other measures, the IOC has significantly reduced the costs of organising the Olympic Games.

This is evidenced by:

- Savings of approximately USD 4.58 billion achieved over the past seven years through joint efforts by the IOC and Tokyo 2020, over and above the IOC's contribution to the Games of USD 1.7 billion. This includes USD 2.2 billion saved during the review of the Venue Master Plan, USD 2.1 billion saved from the operational budget thanks to the New Norm, and an estimated USD 280 million in savings through initial simplification and optimisation efforts to deliver Games fit for a post-coronavirus world.

- For Paris 2024, there is a reduction in overall numbers of about 1,000 athletes and officials. The overall athletes quota has been reduced by 592 compared to Tokyo 2020 (including all additional sports) to exactly 10,500. This will also result in a reduction in the overall number of officials by 400. It is expected that 95% of the venues used by Paris 2024 to stage the Olympic Games will be existing or temporary.

- No new permanent venues are planned for the Olympic Games LA28.

- The IOC has undertaken what is probably the greatest reform of the Olympic programme in history.

- Gender parity will be achieved at the Olympic Games Paris 2024 with exactly the same number of male and female athletes participating, following Tokyo 2020, which will achieve gender equality with 48.8% women participants. At London 2012, prior to Olympic Agenda 2020, women made up 44.2% of the competitors.

- The number of mixed events at the Olympic Games has grown from eight before Olympic Agenda 2020 (London 2012) to 18 in Tokyo 2020 and 22 in Paris 2024.

- Additional sports, which can be proposed to the IOC by the Organising Committees, make the Olympic Games more urban, more youthful, and more female. Tokyo 2020 chose skateboarding, sport climbing, surfing, karate, and baseball/softball. Paris 2024 has selected skateboarding, sport climbing, surfing, and breaking.

- The Youth Olympic Games (YOG) have served as an innovation lab for testing new, more youthful, and more urban sports. Sports initiation programmes implemented for Buenos Aires 2018 attracted 250,000 participants, while at Lausanne 2020 similar programmes attracted 200,000 participants.
- The YOG are now being brought to new cities, helping

to bring Olympism to new territories. The fourth edition of the Summer YOG will be staged in Dakar, Senegal, in 2026, the first Olympic competition to be held on the African continent.

- More than 100,000 Olympians, elite athletes, and their entourage members have signed up to Athlete365, a multilingual one-stop-shop and dedicated platform offering specially tailored programmes and resources in six languages.
- Some 5,500 athletes benefitted in the first year from support programmes offered in the areas of dual careers, career transition, and mental health, as well as a Business Accelerator Programme, delivered in collaboration with the Muhammad Yunus Foundation.
- The Olympic Movement spends USD 260 million during an Olympiad to fight doping, with USD 136 million coming from the IOC directly.
- As a consequence of Olympic Agenda 2020, USD 60 million has been invested in the protection of clean athletes. Of this:
 - The IOC provided a fund of USD 30 million to establish the International Testing Agency (ITA), to create a level playing field for all athletes.
 - A USD 20 million “Protection of clean athletes” fund has been set up:
 - a) USD 10 million is dedicated to developing robust education and awareness programmes on the risks of match-fixing, manipulation of competitions, and related corruption. The latter has led to approximately 50 events reaching around 100 different countries, involving not only representatives from sport but also from police, criminal justice, and betting authorities.
 - b) USD 10 million is dedicated to supporting projects offering new scientific approaches to anti-doping. Of this, USD 6 million was matched by governments, creating a fund of USD 12 million that was used by the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) to support projects selected by the WADA Health, Medical and Research Committee; and USD 4 million has been spent on 16 anti-doping research projects since 2014, 12 of which have been successfully completed.
 - At the Fifth World Conference on Doping in Sport in November 2019, the IOC announced an additional USD 10 million Action Plan, including USD 2.5 million for research; USD 2.5 million for intelligence and investigation, with a broader scope to include those who enable and encourage doping beyond athletes; and USD 5 million earmarked for long-term storage for reanalysis.
- Engagement with the International Partnership Against Corruption in Sport (IPACS) has resulted in the first tool to prevent corruption in sport. IPACS was launched at the IOC’s International Forum on Sport Integrity (IFSI) in February 2017. A multi-stakeholder platform, its mission is “to bring together



international sports organisations, governments, inter-governmental organisations and other relevant stakeholders to strengthen and support efforts to eliminate corruption and promote a culture of good governance in and around sport.”

- 100% of Olympic sports IFs are today compliant with the Olympic Movement Code on the Prevention of the Manipulation of Competitions, including the awareness-raising programme for athletes, entourages, and officials.
- The IOC distributes 90% of its revenues to the wider Olympic Movement.
- During the period of Olympic Agenda 2020, the budget allocated to Olympic Solidarity to support athletes and National Olympic Committees (NOCs) was increased from USD 311 million to USD 590 million for the Olympiad 2021–2024. This is an increase of 90%.
- During the coronavirus crisis, the IOC has actively supported the athletes, NOCs, and IFs through an additional aid package programme of up to USD 150 million. It has supported more than 1,600 athletes with Tokyo 2020 Olympic scholarships, enabling them to continue their preparations for the postponed Olympic Games next year.
- The IOC Refugee Olympic Team was established by the IOC. Supported in their preparation by Olympic Solidarity, 10 athletes competed for the first time at the Olympic Games Rio 2016, sending a message of hope to refugees and displaced persons around the world. Olympic Solidarity is now supporting a group of 50+ refugee scholarship holders aspiring to join the IOC Refugee Olympic Team for Tokyo 2020.
- As a result of Olympic Agenda 2020, the IOC will make the Olympic Games and Olympic Winter Games climate positive from 2030 onwards. This builds on the IOC’s efforts to date, working with the Organising Committees for the Olympic Games to ensure that all upcoming Olympic Games are carbon neutral and have a significantly reduced carbon footprint.
- Today, female IOC membership stands at 37.5%, up from 21% at the start of Olympic Agenda 2020. Female

"Keep your distance" is also the motto of the Olympic Torch Relay, that started on 25 March in Fukushima.



representation on the IOC Executive Board stands at 33.3%, up from 26.6%. Women account for 47.8% of members of IOC Commissions, up from 20.3%.

- The IOC has called on all NOCs to include at least one

woman and one man in their teams for the first time ever in history at the Olympic Games Tokyo 2020.

- The IOC's protocol guidelines have been changed to allow one female athlete and one male athlete from each NOC to carry the flag jointly during the Opening Ceremony.
- A digital strategy has been put in place, beginning with the launch in 2016 of the Olympic Channel, the "always on" platform to connect the Olympic Movement and the wider public.
- Since the launch of the Olympic Channel in 2016, it has garnered some 3.4 billion video views on all platforms; created 25,000+ pieces of athlete-centric content; produced 76+ original series and films; entered into collaboration agreements with 95 Federation partners; gained 10.4 million social media followers; offered content in 12 languages; and has linear distribution partnerships in 175 territories. Some 75% of the engagement on social media is with people under the age of 35. ■

Olympic Agenda 2020+5: A New Strategic Roadmap

The IOC Executive Board has proposed a new strategic roadmap to the IOC Session. Consisting of 15 recommendations, it builds on the results of Olympic Agenda 2020 and act as the roadmap for the next five years. The title, Olympic Agenda 2020+5, has been chosen to reflect the fact that this new roadmap is the successor to Olympic Agenda 2020 and will determine the direction of the IOC and the Olympic Movement until 2025.

The 15 recommendations are based on key trends that have been identified as likely to be decisive in the post-coronavirus world. They are also areas where sport and the values of Olympism can play a key role in turning challenges into opportunities.

The key trends include:

- The need for greater solidarity within and among societies
- Growth in digitalisation, while keeping in mind the need to expand digital capability to the currently digitally underserved
- The urgency of achieving sustainable development
- The growing demand for credibility, both of organisations and institutions
- The need to build resilience in the face of the financial and economic consequences resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic and which will influence priority-setting among governments and enterprises.

The 15 recommendations, which have been inspired by these trends, call upon the IOC and the Olympic Movement to:

- Strengthen the uniqueness and the universality of the Olympic Games
- Foster sustainable Olympic Games
- Reinforce athletes' rights and responsibilities
- Continue to attract the best athletes
- Further strengthen safe sport and the protection of clean athletes
- Enhance and promote the Road to the Olympic Games
- Coordinate the harmonisation of the sports calendar
- Grow digital engagement with people
- Encourage the development of virtual sports and further engage with video gaming communities
- Strengthen the role of sport as an important enabler for the UN Sustainable Development Goals
- Strengthen the support to refugees and populations affected by displacement
- Reach out beyond the Olympic community
- Continue to lead by example in corporate citizenship
- Strengthen the Olympic Movement through good governance
- Innovate revenue generation models.

(IOC/JOH) ■

Overseas Spectators Are Not Allowed in Tokyo

Overseas spectators will not be permitted at either the Olympic or Paralympic Games. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) and International Paralympic Committee (IPC) were informed of the decision in a meeting of the five major stakeholders. For the reason of the safety of every Games participant and the Japanese people, their conclusion is fully respected and accepted by the IOC and the IPC.

During the meeting, the IOC and the IPC were informed on 20 March 2020 that, as outlined in the full statement by Tokyo 2020, the conclusion of the Japanese parties is not to allow entry into Japan for overseas spectators for the Olympic and Paralympic Games Tokyo 2020 due to the prevailing worldwide COVID-19 pandemic. Olympic and Paralympic Games tickets purchased by overseas

residents from the Tokyo 2020 Organising Committee will be refunded.

"We share the disappointment of all enthusiastic Olympic fans from around the world, and of course the families and friends of the athletes, who were planning to come to the Games," said IOC President Thomas Bach. "For this I am truly sorry. We know that this is a great sacrifice for everybody. We have said from the very beginning of this pandemic that it will require sacrifices.

"But we have also said that the first principle is safety. Every decision has to respect the principle of safety first. I know that our Japanese partners and friends did not reach this conclusion lightly. Together with them, the IOC's top priority was, is and remains to organise safe Olympic and Paralympic Games for everyone: all the participants and, of course, our gracious hosts, the Japanese people. We stand shoulder-to-shoulder at the side of our Japanese partners and friends, without any kind of reservation, to make the Olympic and Paralympic Games Tokyo 2020 a great success." (IOC/JOH) ■



Five-party meeting on the monitors (l to r): Tokyo Governor Yuriko Koike, IOC President Thomas Bach, IPC President Andrew Parsons, Tokyo Games Chief Seiko Hashimoto, and Olympic minister Tamayo Marukawa.

Photos: picture-alliance

NEWS

One year before the XXIV Winter Olympics in 2022, IOC President Thomas Bach invited the National Olympic Committees to participate. The Winter Games are scheduled to take place from 4 to 20 February in Beijing.

Brisbane was announced as "preferred candidate city" for the 2032 Olympic Games by the IOC Executive Board at their meeting

on 25 February. The Future Host Commission for the Games of the Olympiad, headed by the Norwegian Kristin Kloster Aasen, had checked the conditions of the potential applicants beforehand. Budapest, Doha, and the Rhine-Ruhr region in Germany also showed interest. Brisbane already ran for the 1992 Olympic Games, but was defeated in the third round in the 1986 vote, with only 10 votes compared to Barcelona (47) and Paris (23).

Preliminary measures against the NOC of Belarus were decided on by the IOC Executive Board on 7 December 2020 – in response to allegations that the current leadership has not adequately protected their country's athletes from political discrimination. These will apply until a new leadership is elected – particularly relating to NOC President Alexander Lukashenko, First Vice-President Viktor Lukashenko, and Executive Board member Dmitry Baskov.

The “Knight of the Pedals” and the “Master Driver” on the Road

By Volker Kluge

Aristidis Konstantinidis: 1896 Olympic champion, who cycled 87 km in record time. The Athens bicycle mechanic was a student of Anton Gödrich and the only Greek to win an Olympic cycling race.

Photo: Official Report 1896



One hundred and twenty-five years ago, no event at the Games of the first Olympiad in Athens excited the Greeks quite as much as the marathon, which was considered to be the most important event in 1896. It was Franco-German philologist Michel Bréal that we should thank for the idea of an event which combined glorious Greek history, embellished with legends and myths, with modern sporting competition.¹

This makes it all the easier to understand how dejected the 70,000 spectators must have been when the rumour spread that Australian Edwin Flack was leading and would be the first to arrive. This news was communicated to them by Anton Gödrich, a German cyclist who had accompanied the runners and ridden out in front of them from the 36th kilometre. “A mourn [of] silence fell on the audience,” says the *Official Report* of the Games.²

Just a little while later, however, another messenger dashed into the stadium. It was Colonel Giorgios Papadiamantopoulos, who had fired the starting pistol at the bridge on the plain of Marathon to set the race in motion after a brief speech. He informed King George that Flack had collapsed from exhaustion after 37 km and that Greek runner Spyridon Louis would soon be first to reach the finish line. “The news spread like wildfire and the excitement which followed is more easily imagined than described.”³

Louis’s victory sparked a wave of national enthusiasm that could hardly have been any greater. And not only that: “The mere name of Marathon and whatever was attached to it excited the interest of the public, particularly so since the victory of Louis, joy over which still filled every Greek’s mind.”⁴ Those words did not refer to the footrace but instead to the “marathon cycling race”, which was held two days later as one of the last competitions of the Games.

Although 21 cyclists had registered, only six showed up at the start line on Kifisias Avenue, where they were seen off by a euphoric crowd across from Evangelismos Hospital. Four of the riders were Greek, the two others were foreigners living in Athens. One of them was Edward Battel who was in service at the British Embassy. As he was a servant, and therefore not a “gentleman” some British residents wanted him barred. They reasoned that he was not being a real “lover of the sport”, and thus as an amateur. The other was the aforementioned German, named Gödrich.

The outward half of the race was from Athens to Marathon along roads that were still unpaved. Cyclists had positioned themselves along the route to act as pacemakers for the competitors, which was then allowed under the rules. Inspectors monitored compliance with these rules at various points. Aristidis Konstantinidis of Greece was the first to reach the village of Marathon at 1:15 pm. He signed in at the checkpoint and hurriedly began the return journey, closely followed by Gödrich.

This turned out to be dramatic for Konstantinidis. He suffered a flat tyre and Battel took advantage of this mishap to take the lead. However, the Greek managed to switch over to the bike of a friend who was there as a pacemaker and was thus soon able to catch up with the British rider. On the road to Neo Faliron, Battel

Gerlsdorf 2. d. h. 1859

| Zeit der Geburt und Taufe, Name des Taufpflings | Namen des Taufpflings | Se. Geistl. Vater | Etern | | Mutter | |
|---|-----------------------|-------------------|--|--|--|--|
| | | | Vater | Mutter | Namen | Stand |
| 1859. 25. September 1859. Carl, geb. Sigmund, Pächter, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. | Anton | 1 | Josef, Leinwandhändler, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. | Anton, Leinwandhändler, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. | Anton, Leinwandhändler, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. | Anton, Leinwandhändler, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. |
| 1859. 25. September 1859. Carl, geb. Sigmund, Pächter, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. | Anton | 1 | Josef, Leinwandhändler, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. | Anton, Leinwandhändler, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. | Anton, Leinwandhändler, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. | Anton, Leinwandhändler, Gerlsdorf, Mäh., Österreich. |

1859/185963

| Haupt-Grundbuchsblatt. | | | |
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| Matrikel-Nr. 1176 | | Blatt-Nr. 2 | |
| Personen-Verzeichnis | | | |
| Geburts-Nr. 1176 | | Geburtsjahr 1859 | |
| Geburts-Ort Gerlsdorf | | Geburts-Stand Pächter | |
| Geburts-Nr. 1176 | | Geburts-Stand Pächter | |
| Geburts-Nr. 1176 | | Geburts-Stand Pächter | |
| Personen-Verzeichnis | | | |
| Geburts-Nr. 1176 | | Geburtsjahr 1859 | |
| Geburts-Ort Gerlsdorf | | Geburts-Stand Pächter | |
| Geburts-Nr. 1176 | | Geburts-Stand Pächter | |
| Geburts-Nr. 1176 | | Geburts-Stand Pächter | |

fell from exhaustion, leaving Konstantinidis to race unhindered towards the finish in the velodrome. By this time, the royal family had arrived to see the finish. Loud calls of "Zito" announced the arrival of Konstantinidis. The *Official Report* says:

*One can more easily imagine than describe the burst of applause which followed when the hoisting of the National Colours announced to the crowd assembled inside and outside the Velodrome that the bicycle race of Marathon had also been won by a Greek. It was, on a smaller scale, a repetition of the scenes of the Friday before.*⁵

Konstantinidis recorded a time of 3:22:31 h over the 87 km, which equates to a speed of about 25.85 km/h.⁶ Behind him, Gödrich came in 20 minutes later for second. He also fell and had to change his bike because of a problem with the mechanics. Battel, by now badly injured, finished third.

Who was Gödrich really?

It is strange that, even after 125 years, all that is known about the only Greek Olympic cycling champion is that he was known as Aris, came from Lefkonikos in Cyprus, and that he worked as a bicycle mechanic in Athens. There seems to be more information about the German rider but much of it does not stand up to scrutiny.

To come straight to the point: Gödrich was neither a nobleman nor a landowner, and he did not speak 12 languages either. He was not from Hamburg, and did not cross the Alps on a stolen bicycle in 1896. He also did not travel as a stowaway on a coal steamer from Italy to

Greece, and it is not at all true that he reached Athens at the last minute, so as to register just in time for the Olympic Games, as some accounts relate.⁷

But who then was he really? Anton Gödrich was born on 25 September 1859 in Gerlsdorf, which at that time was part of Austrian Silesia, one of the territories of the Bohemian Crown, and thus part of the Habsburg monarchy.⁸ The village (today called Jerlochovice and incorporated into the town of Fulnek) is located in Kuhländchen (Kravařsko), a historical region of Moravia. It was mostly inhabited by Germans.⁹ The most famous of these was Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis.

Gödrich's father, also called Anton, was a farmer who, like his grandfather, cultivated leased land. In Anton junior's military papers the entry in the "Personal circumstances" section records that he is "Son of a freight forwarder".¹⁰

By 1866, Prussia had become the leading German power after defeating Austria and Saxony at the Battle of Königgrätz (Hradec Králové). In Vienna, the rulers attributed their defeat primarily to problems of communication in their army. This was drawn from many ethnicities and many were also illiterate.

One consequence was a measure to increase compulsory schooling from six to eight years. An exception was made for the pupils of the cadet schools, who were taken on as future officer candidates at the age of 11 to 12 after four years of "normal school" with excellent final results. Gödrich was among them.

After he had attended cadet school for two years, he was drafted into the infantry regiment of Emperor Franz Josef as a volunteer in 1876, one day after his 17th birthday.

Neither nobleman nor landowner: According to the birth register of the municipality of Gerlsdorf in Austria-Silesia, Anton Gödrich (second column) was born on 25 September 1859, the son of a simple farming family. Right: Extract from Gödrich's military files, indicating his height as 1.565 m. His homeland was Moravia.

Source: Austrian State Archives (ÖSTA War Archives), land register sheet; Troppau (Opava) City Archive, Matriky OD IV-15, p. 34



Achievement badge of the ARU, founded in Germany in 1886 as an umbrella organisation modelled on the English Cyclists' Touring Club.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archives

His military service, which, in line with the Defence Act, was to last 12 years,¹¹ came during a time of peace. From this time right up until 1914, the only serious problem came in 1878 when forces occupied the former Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. From this point on, the territories remained a constant source of unrest.

After Gödrich's training in a school company in Olmütz (Olomouc) Fortress on the Austro-Prussian border, for which he received a monthly "bounty" of three guilders,¹² he was accepted into the cadet school of Mostyka near Lemberg (today Lviv, Ukraine). His record shows that he was a very good rider, swimmer, gymnast, and fencer. In 1880, he was appointed carbine shooter of the first class; shortly thereafter, he was promoted to corporal.

During the first few years, his superior officers reported that Gödrich had ambition and a cheerful and good-natured character.¹³ Later the appraisals deteriorated. He stood only 1.565 m tall, and was considered a rebellious spirit, upon whom no fewer than nine sentences were imposed for refusing to obey orders, insubordination, disobedience, and other offences. Over eight years, he had served 99 days in detention, 30 of them "for negligence as a clerk in the squadron office".¹⁴ At the end of 1884, Gödrich was transferred to the reserves of the 12th Dragoon Regiment as sergeant. He moved to the Viennese suburb of Margareten, where he occupied a small apartment at Grüngasse 15.

A bogus "count" and the search for a "solid office chair"

On 21 November 1885, police arrested an elegant young man in the uniform of a Uhlan cadet sergeant, going by the name of Count Teleky, at the Viennese grain market. His true identity was Alexander von Friebeisz, a 23-year-old who had been discharged from the army three years earlier. The detectives discovered a forged leave pass in his possession. This had been issued by Anton Gödrich.

The next day, Gödrich was also arrested. However, while escorted by two police officers, he managed to make an escape, which ended on the fourth floor of a nearby apartment building. During a subsequent house search, the officers discovered stacks of forms for leave passes, several unused passports, and other documents in Gödrich's apartment, which corroborated the suspicion of commercial forgery.¹⁵ The trial of Friebeisz, the bogus count, took place on 22 March 1886. The Viennese jury sentenced him to two and a half years of confinement in irons.¹⁶

Gödrich was also sentenced, but this term was presumably shorter as his name soon reappeared in public. This time in sports reports, albeit with varying spellings. On 30 January 1887, a certain A. von Gödrich took part in the "racing meet" of the Vienna Ice Skating Club, where he caused a sensation, especially due to his style – which involved not gliding but jumping. After being out in front for a short time, he fell twice and only ended up in penultimate place. He again proved that the noble gentleman did not like black ice in the 800 m backwards running race. The press reported: "His ... unspeakably wooden movements ... looked extremely comical and repeatedly activated the laughing muscles of the audience."¹⁷

In the summer, they learned that a "former Austrian Uhlan lieutenant Mr. A. von Göderich" had recently set off from Vienna to Sofia on a penny-farthing, a common sight in those days, aiming to reach his destination in seven days. The reason for the trip was stated as being that the "nobleman" wanted to set down his "light riding bike" there after his arrival "so that he could permanently sit down on a solid office chair".¹⁸

The question of whether things had become too "hot" for Gödrich in Vienna cannot be answered conclusively. What is noticeable, however, is that from now on he also used the first name "August", had a "lieutenant commission", and had acquired the noble title of "Edler von Gödrich" ("Noble von Gödrich") – or also Göderich.¹⁹

Gödrich's search for a "solid office chair" in Sofia was presumably unsuccessful. However, what must certainly be true is that he began to feel comfortable on the seat of a penny-farthing. Because, when a four-kilometre cycle race took place in the Bulgarian capital for the first time, a year after his arrival, the winner was "A. von Gödrich".²⁰



An imaginative sender: "A. de Goedrich" and stamp "General Cyclist Union Consulate Athens – Piraeus". Photo: Collection Rüdiger Fritz

Gödrich had already joined the Rapid Bicycle Club in Vienna. He also became a member of the Allgemeine Radfahrer Union (ARU/General Cyclists Union), founded in 1886, which wanted to bring together German-speaking touring cyclists following the example of the English Cyclists' Touring Club.²¹

To support them on their travels, the umbrella association funded the establishment of consulates, for which suitable ambassadors were sought. At the congress of 1888, when the ARU already had 2,200 members, a decision was also made to award the title of "master cyclist" to the member who had covered the most kilometres in a year.

High-wheeler or safety bicycle?

Cycling, which by now enjoyed great popularity, had undergone a revolution in 1884 after the Englishman James Starley presented the Rover Safety Bicycle. Three years later, its advantages were truly demonstrated for the first time when the Scottish-Irish veterinarian John Dunlop marketed an air-filled rubber tyre, which a certain Robert Thomson had, in fact, already invented 40 years earlier, but the patent had subsequently been forgotten.

However, the high wheel bicycle²² retained its importance for a short time. Ambitious riders achieved speeds of up to 20 km/h with the James Ordinary Racer, which was constructed in England in 1889 and weighed only seven kilos. Gödrich, who in his own words used a two-wheeler with solid rubber tyres even considered himself "unbeatable" with it. This weighed 23.5 kilograms and was 1.35 metres in height.

However, reading the descriptions of his adventurous journeys, in which he is supposed to have ridden completely alone over several thousand kilometres, begins to raise doubts. Here is a sample, which he probably wrote himself:

*In Upper Egypt, the natives simply believed him to be an evil spirit and fled from him in fear, while, among the Bedouins, he only managed to escape an attack from bandits due to the speed of his two-wheeler. He only suffered one serious accident in Lebanon, when something on his velocipede broke, causing him to fall and plummet metres down. While he lay there unconscious, passers-by stripped him of all his belongings, and it took him ten days to recover, while receiving painstaking care.*²³

In the summer of 1889, Gödrich moved from Sofia to Athens, apparently for economic reasons. He went there to open a shop as a representative of Seidel & Naumann, the largest German bicycle factory. At the same time, he was to represent the interests of the General Cyclist Union as consul.



The Dresden company, which originally specialised in sewing machines, had started manufacturing bicycles in 1887. Its first model, a penny-farthing licensed by the Coventry Machinist Company, was named "Dresden". By 1889, safety bicycles were also available. The best known was the "Germania", which had a steel frame and rear brake.

The development of new markets played a major role for company owner Bruno Naumann. The fact that he also thought of Greece might have had something to do with Princess Sophie, the 19-year-old sister of Kaiser Wilhelm II. She was married to the Greek Crown Prince Konstantin on 27 October 1889, which was great publicity for German products.

Back then, Greece had little public transport and was undeveloped. Roads were mostly unpaved and horses and donkeys dominated. There were some bicycles. The first was brought back by King George I from his Danish homeland in 1881, and it was common knowledge that his eight children enjoyed riding two-wheelers at Tatoi Palace, their summer residence.

However, the greatest influence that caused their spread came from Gödrich. It took some time, though, for the German to be noticed. His breakthrough came one Sunday morning in Athens when he appeared in Syntagma Square and announced that he would be riding a two-wheeler through Greece. The crowd showed their admiration for the daring undertaking and bade him farewell with flowers and fanfares.

The horror was therefore all the greater when news came from Arachova, located at the foot of Parnassus, reporting that Gödrich had been attacked and murdered by robbers in Boeotia. Asty newspaper published an

High wheeler or safety bicycle?
The size of the front wheel on the high bikes depended on the size of the rider. Usually the diameter was five to six feet. In contrast to the high-wheeler, the safety bicycle had a chain drive. It replaced the high-wheeled bicycle shortly after 1890.

Photograph: Volker Kluge Archive



Two Americans on the Acropolis. William Sachtleben and Thomas G. Allen Jr began their Bicycle World Tour in Athens in 1890/91, where they also met with "master driver" Anton Gödrich, who viewed them as undesirable competition.

Photo: UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library Department of Special Collections Sachtleben Collection

obituary on 5 December 1890. This set out Gödrich's achievements. He had also organised the first race in the summer of 1890 and opened a cycling school. The Austro-Hungarian delegation asked the Greek government to clarify the circumstances, whereupon soldiers were dispatched, but they were soon able to report to Athens that they had found the globetrotter alive.²⁴

Greek journalist Vassilis Koutouzis suspects that this supposedly tragic death was nothing more than a publicity stunt, because, from then on, business boomed. The first to buy the bicycles were fashionable young Greek dandies.²⁵

Gödrich enjoyed his fame. "I moved to Athens in true triumph," he wrote to Germany, announcing two "world records": he had covered 301 km in 12 hours and 507 km in 24 hours. There were however no witnesses.²⁶

Two US showmen who insulted "true sportsmen"

At the end of 1890, two young Americans arrived in Athens. They were William Sachtleben and Thomas G. Allen, Jr who had undertaken a "Bicycle World Tour" after their studies at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri.²⁷ They travelled first to Liverpool, where they bought two novel safety bicycles by Singer with wheels of the same size, a chain drive, and a handbrake.

The pair wanted to spend the winter in Athens before starting an 11,000 km journey through Asia in the spring of 1891. They quickly made friends: they were invited to

the house of the American ambassador and befriended the family of the US consul. An Armenian revolutionary informed them of the conditions in the Ottoman Empire, and on 4 January 1891, they took part in the memorial service and funeral for Heinrich Schliemann, who had excavated Troy and Mycenae.

Athens was not a large city in those days so an encounter with Gödrich was inevitable. In his diary, Sachtleben wrote:

He came up, shook us by the hand and proceeded to rattle away at me in German. I understood everything, but Allen only grasped a sentence now and then. He was short (a full 3 inches shorter than us) and stout. He was evidently a cyclist, judging by his dress. He looked as if he was a strong rider.²⁸

Gödrich told them he was a former army officer who had given up his diplomatic career to pursue his hobby as a high-wheeler. He boasted that he had started the first cycling club in Athens two years previously. He related how he had earned his money as a consultant for a large cycle manufacturer in Dresden and as an author of German cycling magazines.

However, though no one questioned his title of nobility, his demeanour did not match it. Sachtleben described him as a "hopeless curmudgeon" who "clung to his big wheel when the whole world was turning to the safety." Gödrich proudly announced that he was a member of the largest bicycle organisation in the world, the General Union of Velocipedists, whereupon the Americans, who valued their independence, declared that they would not spend two cents on such a membership. Despite their shared passion for cycling, the mood between them became distinctly cool.²⁹

What irritated the Americans most of all was Gödrich's egotism. Whatever city or country they mentioned, he had already been there, and so they got the impression that he did not seem to be following a continuous course, but was jumping from point to point. They pointed out that no one in England had heard of him. England was the number one cycling nation at the time and this remark prompted indignation.

Nevertheless, Gödrich made an effort to be friendly. He even insisted that the two of them should visit him at his bicycle club, which was located in two small rooms in his house on Epirus Street. According to Sachtleben these were decorated in Germanic style. They were drinking wine there one afternoon and listening to German songs, because most of the club members were Germans, whom Gödrich had taught would be well taken care of with the ordinary: "There's more fun in the high wheeler. It is more difficult to learn, and when you fall, you fall harder."³⁰

The Americans' round-the-world trip was the inevitable focus of the discussions. But they felt

increasingly uncomfortable, because Gödrich, who had taken the opportunity to announce his own expedition to Asia Minor for next spring, began to offer unsolicited advice. He described roads and routes as impassable. They would have to swim through raging rivers, wade through mud half a metre deep, and run the risk of being attacked by robbers. In short: they would never reach their destination.

The Americans left the club in frustration that evening, determined to ignore all the warnings. As a precaution, though, Allen returned to London to procure two Humber safety bicycles with air-filled tyres, which were considered particularly reliable. They then took the ship to Constantinople, where they began their tour on 3 April 1891. They crossed Turkey, Persia, and southern Russia unscathed before reaching Beijing on 3 November 1892 via the Marco Polo route through the Gobi Desert.³¹

Gödrich, who was said in German newspapers to have cushion tyres and absurdly light bicycles, had the last word on their expedition in which they travelled mostly by train and ship. His verdict: "Showmen like these are an insult to true sportsmen and a menace to cycling."³²

Cash prize rider and record hunter

It has not been proven whether or not "the bold cyclist who wanted to introduce cycling to all the major cities of the Eastern countries"³³ actually carried out the tour he had announced. However, there is evidence that Gödrich rode from Athens to Patras on a penny-farthing in July 1891. There he boarded the Austrian Lloyd steamer to Brindisi, Italy. He made a stopover in Corfu and stayed in the house of former Greek naval minister Giorgios Theotokis, whose sons had been his first cycling students in the still overgrown Athens stadium.³⁴

The purpose of his trip was to attend the ARU Congress, which took place in Berlin in August 1891. Before that, Gödrich cycled to Seidel & Naumann to report back. From Berlin, he went to Leipzig, where the magazine *Das Stahlrad* ("The steel wheel") organised the first long-distance trip across 500 km on 12 September 1891. Victor Anton Blank recorded a time of 27:52 h for the Leipzig-Berlin-Leipzig route. Gödrich, who had been expected to do well, got lost. He eventually finished three-and-a-half hours later in sixth.³⁵

The defeat gnawed at his self-confidence, especially since he had also lost the 24-hour record in early October. He responded immediately and won it back two weeks later – he even mounted the previously rejected safety bicycle to do so, whose advantages he now appreciated. But experts and competitors doubted his claims to have covered 522.9 km. They laboriously made their calculations using the certificates that Gödrich had obtained on the way. In fact, only 415 km were submitted for the award of a gold medal.³⁶

Spurred on by cycling pioneers like Gödrich, numerous clubs were formed in the early 1890s, mostly for citizens or academics. With the development of the safety bicycle and mass production, cycling lost its previous exclusivity. At the same time, international competition increased.

To popularise their brands, companies and magazines organised record attempts over hundreds and even thousands of kilometres. Races and even indirect duels were held on prestigious routes, such as in the spring of 1894 between the French Édouard de Perrodil and the Austrian Adolf "Filius" Schmal.³⁷

With commercialisation, the idea of amateurisation inevitably became the focus of discussion. In search of globally valid rules by which the "true enthusiasts" could differentiate themselves from the "professionals", the International Cyclists' Association (ICA) was founded in London in November 1892.³⁸ The initiator was the British cyclist Henry Sturme, who had already played an important role in the founding of the world's first cycling organisation, the National Cyclists' Union (NCU).³⁹

At the founding Olympic Congress, to which Pierre de Coubertin had originally invited delegates to Paris in June 1894 ostensibly to study the amateur rules, there was no international association. However, the NCU was represented by three delegates who were actively involved in the deliberations of the amateur commission.

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The Dresden company Seidel & Naumann claimed in an advertisement that "Ant. Edler von Gödrich" covered 17,000 km with one of their products. Photo: Collection Rainer Gilles, Dresden

ΥΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΙΑΝ ΤΗΣ Α. Β. Υ. ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΥ

ΔΙΕΘΝΕΙΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΚΟΙ ΑΓΩΝΕΣ

ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΝ ΝΕΩ ΦΑΛΗΡΩ ΠΟΔΗΛΑΤΟΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ

ΗΜΕΡΑ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ

30 Μαρτίου 1896 Σάββατον ὥρα 3 Μ. Μ.

Α' ΠΟΔΗΛΑΤΙΚΟΙ ΑΓΩΝΕΣ

I. Άλλος πρὸς ἄλλον στροφὴς αὐτοῦ.

II. Δρόμος 2 χιλιομέτρων.

III. Δρόμος 10 χιλιομέτρων.

Πάντες οἱ ἀγῶνες γερῶνται ὡς ἐν προέλευσίν τινι.

| Ἀγῶν | Ἀγωνιστὴς | Σωματεῖον | Παράτηρήσεις | | |
|------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| | | | I. Δρόμος | II. Δρόμος | III. Δρόμος |
| 1 | Battel Fr. Angleterre. | | | | |
| 2 | Flameng L. France. | A. V. I. P. | | | |
| 3 | Goedrich A. Allemagne. | D. R. U. | | | |
| 4 | Battel France. | A. C. | | | |
| 5 | Johnson A. Etats Unis. | L. A. W. | | | |
| 6 | Keeping Fr. Angleterre. | | | | |
| 7 | Knaebel B. Allemagne. | D. R. B. | | | |
| 8 | Konditovs Γε. Ἑλλάς. | E. H. E. | | | |
| 9 | Konstantinidis Ἀγ. Ἑλλάς. | E. H. E. | | | |
| 10 | Konstantinou K. Ἑλλάς. | H. S. A. | | | |
| 11 | De Lafrete G. France. | A. V. A. | | | |
| 12 | Leopold Th. Allemagne. | D. R. B. | | | |
| 13 | Macdonald R. Etats Unis. | L. A. W. | | | |
| 14 | Manteufel Fr. Allemagne. | D. R. B. | | | |
| 15 | Masson P. France. | A. V. I. P. | | | |
| 16 | Nicolaidou Στ. Ἑλλάς. | H. S. A. | | | |
| 17 | Porciatti A. Italie. | V. C. G. | | | |
| 18 | Rosemeyer I. Allemagne. | D. R. A. | | | |
| 19 | Schmal Ad. Autriche. | W. B. C. | | | |
| 20 | De Subercaseaux France. | A. V. A. | | | |
| 21 | Welzenbacher J. Allemagne. | D. R. B. | | | |

ΣΗΜΑΤΕΙΑ

| | |
|-------------|--|
| A. V. I. P. | Association Vélocepedique Internationale de Paris. |
| D. R. U. | Deutsche Radfahrer Union. |
| A. C. | Amiens Cycle. |
| L. A. W. | League of American Wheelmen. |
| D. R. B. | Deutscher Radfahrer Bund. |
| E. H. E. | Ἑλληνικὴ Ποδοκίκτικὴ Ἑταιρεία. |
| H. S. A. | Ποδηλατικὸς Σύνδεσμος Ἀθηνῶν. |
| A. V. A. | Association Vélocepedique d'Amateurs. |
| V. C. G. | Velo Club de Grossetto. |
| W. B. C. | Wiener Bicycle Club. |

Β' ΤΕΛΙΚΟΙ ΑΓΩΝΕΣ LAWN - TENNIS

(Finale)

ΔΙΠΛΟΝ (DOUBLE)

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1 | Konditovs Ἑλλάς. |
| 2 | Macdonald A. Etats Unis. |

The programme for the marathon cycle race on 11 April (30 March) 1896 recorded 21 names, including no. 3, Anton Gödrich, who had registered under a non-existent "German Cyclist Union". In the end, only six drivers took part. The race was postponed for a day.

Despite a multitude of opposing opinions, they managed to agree on a seven-point definition that authorised only amateur sportsmen to take part in the Olympic Games, which were first planned for 1896. According to this definition, an amateur was considered someone who:

*has never participated in open competitions, who has never taken part in a competition in return for money or prize money of whatever origin, in particular if it were entrance fees, who has never challenged professional athletes, and who has never been a sport teacher or a coach for money...*⁴⁰

Gödrich's own amateur status was questioned, even before this rule, which most international sports federations adopted as a matter of principle. Since German sponsors had been using his name for

advertising purposes for a long time, Gödrich's entry for the 500 km Vienna–Graz–Trieste race of 1892 was rejected in Austria, where a powerful industry had by then also emerged – without a reason being given.⁴¹

Gödrich then travelled to Germany, where there were no such concerns about his participation in the 500 km championship advertised by *Stahlrad*. When it subsequently became known that he had received 50 gold marks for his victory there,⁴² the *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung* (ASZ) demanded "to put a quick end to this gentleman's amateurism".⁴³ In order to avert sanctions, Gödrich therefore converted his honorary award into a donation for the Leipzig touring club. However, he informed critics in a letter to the editor that he would not be embarrassed about accepting cash prizes if they were to be allowed soon, as he hoped. The ASZ countered by stating that Gödrich "is not the right man to take the floor in the discussion of the question of cash prizes".⁴⁴

The newspaper was also increasingly critical of his self-promotion. He had entered his name in the "foreigners' list" at Hotel Florian in Graz with the professional title of "writer and world traveller"⁴⁵: "A. v. Gödrich knows how to make a name for himself wherever he goes – you have to give him that." According to the ASZ, the former officer, who claimed to have covered 60,000 km on his bike in five years, met with particularly gullible minds at an event in Lützen near Leipzig. "Now we just need all these robber stories to be true, and then things will be wonderful!"⁴⁶

Austrian, German, or ...?

The Leipzig organiser of the 500 km race revealed in the ASZ that Gödrich's result would by no means be accepted as a record.⁴⁷ This was justified by the different nature of the routes. This decision was in line with the NCU, which in 1890 had banned races on public roads – with the exception of time trials, during which the riders were sent into the race at intervals. Only performances achieved on racetracks were recognised as records, which seemed sensational compared to the times achieved on roads.⁴⁸

In this respect, it was not surprising that the first version of the cycling programme for the 1896 Olympics contained only four track competitions.⁴⁹ The call for entries bore the handwriting of the Greek Konstantinos Th. Manos,⁵⁰ who had graduated from Balliol College in Oxford and was guided by the rules of the International Cyclists' Association.

It was only after 3 March 1896, when the first qualifying races for the Greek Olympic team took place in the newly built velodrome in Neo Faliron in the presence of the royal family, that the one-lap event (333 1/3 m) and the road race were added to the programme.⁵¹ It was announced that the latter would be contested over

84 km, at which a newspaper commented: "The great distance riders will hardly be catered for."⁵²

In fact, there were only a few long-distance experts among the 21 registered participants. Six of those who had signed up did not even show up to the start line – they probably chose not to make the trip.⁵³ Another, an Italian named Airal di, fell victim to his honesty. When he arrived in Athens, he was invited to the palace by the Crown Prince to meet him. He mentioned in a conversation there lasting several hours that he had won a prize in the Turin to Barcelona race, and was subsequently rejected by the competition committee because he was ruled to be a professional. The Crown Prince offered to reimburse him for his expenses, but Airal di (or Airoldi) refused.⁵⁴

The name Schmal was also on the "black list". The four representatives sent by the German Cyclists' Association (DRB) protested against his participation. In fact, he had ridden as "Filius" in a race for cash prizes in Steyr in 1895, but did not receive one, and so was able to avert disqualification.⁵⁵ However, he opted not to start on the road; instead, he won the 12-hour race in the velodrome the next day.

The DRB representatives ignored both events after already coming away empty-handed in the other four. Professor Ferdinand Hueppe, who accompanied the German delegation to Athens as a doctor and referee, described cycling as a "failed part of the Games". He suggested to the Germans that it would have been better for them if they had stayed at home.⁵⁶

Neither Hueppe's detailed description of the Olympics nor the reports in the German newspapers, with the exception of *Sport im Bild*⁵⁷ magazine, mentioned Gödrich's second place, although, according to the start list, he had entered the race on behalf of "Allemagne". Schmal and swimmer Otto Herschmann wrote for the Austrian newspapers but they did not recognise Gödrich's success either. He was an individualist who felt that he did not belong to either team, which is also evident from the club name given in the list. The German Cyclists Union (DRU), under which Gödrich had registered, did not yet exist at that time.⁵⁸

The Olympic Games were followed in 1897 by the Ottoman–Greek War. This was a defeat for the Greek troops under Crown Prince Konstantin. Only then did Gödrich's name reappear in the newspapers. Once again, he announced a "round-the-world trip" on his bike, this time going from Athens to Paris. He was now 38 years old but still aimed to cover the distance of 3,500 km in less than 14 days.⁵⁹

Throughout the journey he provided bulletins updating his position to editorial offices until his tour came to an abrupt halt. According to a report, the evening after his arrival in Vienna, his bicycle had been stolen. It was worth 300 guilders. In addition, there

had been banknotes to the value of 100 German marks and 200 French francs in his tool bag.⁶⁰ The thief was suspected of being a 23-year-old official of the workers' health insurance provider. Gödrich, the "record rider" had left the bike in his care for a few minutes. Whether the fugitive was ever caught, and whether he had even existed, remains unclear.

Gödrich was apparently able to continue his journey after receiving a new bike in Vienna. However, reports came from the destination in Paris that he had been sick there for a long time.⁶¹ Six weeks later, however, an advertisement announced that Gödrich had covered the route in 19 days and 6½ hours. This was "despite the terrible heat in the south," as was reported, despite "days of persistent rainy weather, and despite terribly bad mountain roads." However, the Excelsior Pneumatic tyres proved their worth – "better than all the others".⁶² From then on, all trace of Gödrich was lost.

The 77-year-old guest of honour came to Berlin by bike

Gödrich's name did not emerge again until many years later. In September 1916 at the height of the First World War, he was one of the 60 Germans, Austrians, and Hungarians who had to leave their adopted home at the request of the Allies, who blocked the Greek ports. Their property was confiscated without compensation. Those who were expelled were deported to Kavala on a Greek steamer.⁶³ After an adventurous journey via Sofia, they finally landed under German protection in Silesia, together with the Fourth Greek Army Corps.⁶⁴

Gödrich returned to Kuhländchen (Kravařsko) and to Fulnek, where he lived in the Postgasse (Post Alley). Twenty years later, as an Olympic medallist, he was invited as a guest of honour by the organising committee of the 1936 Berlin Games. Appropriately perhaps, Gödrich decided to cycle the 550 km to the capital of the Reich although he was by now nearly 77 years old. Grocery wholesaler Ernst Englisch gave him a new F.K.Z. company bike.⁶⁵

However, it remains uncertain whether he actually did complete the ride. Whatever method he used, he did definitely make it to Berlin, because on 10 August he was photographed as he personally congratulated French rider Robert Charpentier who won the individual road race.

Gödrich died on 16 March 1942 in Fulnek. It is unlikely that there was an estate which could fill in the gaps in his biography. As a result of the displacement of the Sudeten Germans after the Second World War, numerous documents were lost. However, it is gratifying that in 1989 the residents of Fulnek remembered the "first Olympic champion born in what is now the Czech Republic"⁶⁶ and started a bike race in his honour. ■

Farewell to an Olympic guest of honour in Fulnek. For the trip, Gödrich, then almost 77 years old, received a new bike as a present, with which he rode the 550 km to Berlin. Was it legend or truth? We may never know, but he did arrive at his destination.

Photo: Franz Gödrich, Welzheim



- 1 On the origins of the marathon, see: Hans Giessen, "The 'Inventor' of the Marathon Race: Michel Bréal," *JOH*, vol. 22, no. 2/2014, 31–39.
- 2 Pierre de Coubertin, Timoleon J. Philemon, Athens 1896. *The Olympic Games B.C. 776–A.D. 1896*, vol. 2 (Athens, London, 1897) 88. The two-volume book is considered the Official Report of the Games of the I Olympiad. The name "Goederich" is mistakenly used in it.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Ibid, 100.
- 5 Ibid, 102.
- 6 Ibid. There are a number of other times recorded. In Bill Mallon and Ture Widlund, *The 1896 Olympic Games. Results for All Events, with Commentary* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, 1998), 84, the winning time for Konstantinidis is noted as 3:21:10, and for Gödrich in second place as 3:31:14. There is no discernible reason why one should doubt the result mentioned in the *Official Report*.
- 7 There are three exemplary sources for this among German publications: "Per Anhalter nach Olympia," *die tageszeitung*, 5 July 1996; "Sport und Spiele. Von Olympia nach Athen," www.dikigoros.tripod.com; Klaus Zeyringer, *Olympische Spiele. Eine Kulturgeschichte, Band 1: Sommer* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2016), 70.
- 8 Opava City Archives, Matriky OD IV–15, 34, Gerlsdorf (Jerlochovice) birth register, 8. Today, the village is part of Fulnek, Czech Republic.
- 9 According to the 1880 census, 36% of the residents of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown were Germans, also known as Sudeten Germans.
- 10 Austrian State Archives (ÖSTA War Archives), land register sheet for "Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia," box no. Div.–164, assent year 1876, no. 343.
- 11 Wehrgesetz ("Defence Act"), 5 December 1868, AT–OeSt/KA PersStAP. The conscript was required to complete three years military service in the ranks (active service). This was followed by seven years in the reserves and two years in the reserves of the Landwehr.
- 12 The Guilder (fl = florin) was introduced instead of the Thaler in 1867. Three Guilders would today be the equivalent of 10 Euros.
- 13 AT–OeSt/KA PersStAP, Conduct List, Imperial–Royal Uhlan Regiment Graf St. Quentin, no. 3, assent year 1876, land register sheet no. 343.
- 14 Ibid., penal extract, Grodek, 21 October 1884.
- 15 *Das Vaterland*, 23 November 1885, 4; *Wiener Abendpost*, 23 November 1885, 3; *Tages-Post*, Linz, 25 November 1885, 3; and others.
- 16 *Die Presse*, 22 March 1886, 5; *Welt-Blatt*, 24 March 1886, 8. The Viennese newspapers do not specify the sentence handed down to Gödrich.
- 17 *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung (ASZ)*, Vienna, 30 January 1887, 97.
- 18 *Mährisches Tagblatt*, 26 September 1887, 6.
- 19 Derived from *Edler Herr* ("Noble Lord") and comparable to the English "Knight". However, the title of nobility could only be bestowed by the monarch, which happened a multitude of times under the Habsburgs. The noble court society looked upon the "Second Society", which consisted mostly of entrepreneurs, civil servants, officers, and artists, with contempt. They were viewed as upstarts and were also disparagingly referred to as "parvenus". The right to use aristocratic titles was radically abolished in Austria after the 1918 revolution and made a criminal offence. *Adelsaufhebungsgesetz* (Law on the Abolition of the Nobility), § 2.2., 3 April 1919, National Law Gazette (StGBI) no. 37/1919 and no. 392/1919.
- 20 *Das Stahlrad*, Leipzig, no. 4/1888.
- 21 In contrast to the ARU, which consisted of personal members, only clubs could belong to the German Cyclists Association (DRB), founded in Leipzig in 1884.
- 22 Also known as a penny-farthing or ordinary.
- 23 *Wiener Extrablatt*, 11 February 1890. This text appeared almost word for word in other German and Austrian newspapers.
- 24 *Die Presse*, Vienna, 10 December 1890, 14.
- 25 www.koutouzis.gr. Τα πρώτα ποδήλατα στον Πειραιά (The first bicycles in Piraeus). Koutouzis is the only one who mentions a wife, named Frida (Frieda), with whom Gödrich is said to have undertaken the tour.
- 26 *Das Stahlrad*, 18 December 1890. In the previous issue from 11 December, the magazine had reported Gödrich's death and relocated the crime scene to Athens.
- 27 Thomas Gaskell Allen, Jr and William Lewis Sachtleben, *Across Asia on a Bicycle: The Journey of Two American Students from Constantinople to Peking*, with Additional Notes by Michael W. Perry (Seattle: Inkling Books, 2003).
- 28 Quoted in David V. Herlihy, *Lost Cyclist: The Epic Tale of an American Adventurer and His Mysterious Disappearance* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010), 42. Sachtleben's diaries are in the Special Collections of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA).

- 29 Ibid., 43.
 30 Ibid., 44.
 31 Sachtleben (1866–1953) and Allen (1868–?) were received by the Chinese Viceroy in Tianjin. They had covered 11,630 km on their tour, 10,674 km of which by bicycle. During their trip, they took 2,000 photographs, which are now held in UCLA's Special Collections. Two years later, in early May 1894, the German-American Frank G. Lenz, wanted to cover the same route in reverse but he was shot dead by robbers in the district of Erzurum, eastern Anatolia.
 32 Herlihy, 45.
 33 *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, 31 July 1891, 6.
 34 Siegfried Beier, "Ein Olympiasieger aus Fulnek: Anton Gödrich," *Mitteilungsblatt des Vereins Heimattreuer Kuhländler*, January/February 2010, 29. The German speaking sister of Prime Minister Trikupis, introduced Gödrich to high society. Through her, Gödrich got to know Georgios Theotokis (1844–1916), who later served four times as Greek Prime Minister. His sons were Nikolaos (1878–1922) and Ioannis (1880–1961). The elder of the two was the Greek Minister of War from 1921 to 1922 and was executed for high treason in the "Trial of the Six". Ioannis was lord-in-waiting to Queen Sophie and briefly Prime Minister in 1950.
 35 ASZ, Vienna, 27 September 1891, 1042.
 36 Ibid., 6 December 1891, 1280; 3 January 1892, 11.
 37 Volker Kluge, "The Business Trips of 'Herr Filius'," *JOH*, vol. 26, no. 1/2018, 36–47.
 38 The International Cyclists' Association first held world championships in 1893 during the Chicago World's Fair. Since the member associations had only granted observer status to the largest French organisation, the Union Vélocipédique Française, a dispute arose when France was to host the world championships in 1900. The problem was solved with the foundation of the Union Cycliste International (UCI). Great Britain was not admitted until 1903.
 39 Henry Sturmey (1857–1930) was the editor of *The Cyclist* magazine and author of the bestseller *The "Indispensable" Bicyclist's Handbook* (1887). Together with James Archer, he invented the Sturmey-Archer three-speed hub for bicycles. In 1878 the Bicycle Union was established with the aim of enforcing the rights of British cyclists. It merged with the Tricycle Association in 1882 and was renamed as the National Cyclists' Union (NCU) in 1883.
 40 Volker Kluge, "The Rebels of 1894 and a Visionary Activist," *JOH*, vol. 27, no. 1/2019, 4–18.
 41 ASZ, 16 October 1892, 986; 23 October 1892, 1013.
 42 The race that Gödrich won in 28 hours was held on a 100 km course between Leipzig and Dresden that had to be crossed five times. Out of 11 participants, only two made it to the finish.
 43 ASZ, 13 November 1892, 1072.
 44 Ibid., 27 November 1892, 1110–1111. In fact, the IX Congress of the General Cyclist Union in Regensburg in 1894 almost unanimously decided that its members could take part in races for cash prizes. *Radfahr-Sport*, no. 26, 17 August 1894, 10–11.
 45 *Grazer Tagblatt*, 31 August 1892, 11. Gödrich was previously a guest of the Schwalben Cycling Club in Marburg, founded in 1891, which had awarded him honorary membership. Provincial Archives of Styria, Graz, club files, Statth. 53–18.573/1891. According to the information from the archives on 11 January 2021, the files have since been handed over, perhaps to Marburg (now Maribor, Slovenia), where they are not registered.
 46 ASZ, 6 November 1892, 1055.
 47 Ibid., 1054–1055.
 48 The world records set by French professional rider Auguste Stéphane (1863–1947) on 13 September 1892 on the Buffalo racecourse in Paris were considered sensational. He rode the 500 km route in 17:02:31 h; in 24 hours, he had covered 673,816 km. In the 1,000 km on 6–7 January 1894 in the Paris Velodrome d'Hiver, he recorded a time of 39:28:08 h.
 49 *Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques*, vol. 2, no. 3, January 1895. The first version is dated 12/24 November 1894. The following races were advertised: 2,000 m (1¼ miles), 10,000 m (6¼ miles), 100 km (62 miles), 12-hour timed race.
 50 Colonel Konstantinos Th. Manos (1869–1913) served as secretary of the Olympic organising committee in 1896.
 51 Konstantinos Georgiadis, *Olympic Revival. The Revival of the Olympic Games in Modern Times* (Athens 2003), 148–149.
 52 *Die Presse*, Vienna, 20 March 1896.
 53 Frenchmen Jules Hatté and Gustave de Lafreté, the Chilean Luis



The former Olympic master and his successor: Anton Gödrich, assisted by a lucky chimney sweep, congratulates Robert Charpentier of France, who won the road race in 1936.

Photo: Heinrich Hoffmann

- (de) Subercaseaux, who lived in Paris, Italian Angelo Porciatti, and Americans John Johnson and Ray MacDonald were absent.
 54 *Radfahr-Sport*, no. 17, 24 April 1896, 388. In later sources, Carlo Airoldi (1869–1929) is referred to as a marathon runner. There may have been a mix-up, because there was a successful cyclist in Italy at that time by the name of Luigi Airoldi, who won the Florence–Milan road race as a professional on 13 September 1896.
 55 Ibid., no. 19, 8 May 1896, 440. In a letter to the editor, Schmal defended himself against the allegations by accusing the Germans of professionalism. Among them was Munich's Josef Welzenbacher, who had participated in the same race in 1895.
 56 Ferdinand Hueppe, "Griechenland und die jetzigen und einstigen olympischen Spiele," ASZ, 1896, offprint, 11–12. Hueppe (1852–1938), who taught as a professor in Prague from 1889 to 1911, co-founded the German Football Association (DFB) in 1900 and was its first president from then until 1904.
 57 *Sport im Bild*, no. 20, 1 May 1896, 282.
 58 *Radfahr-Sport*, no. 12, 30 March 1896, 252–254. There was intense discussion about the merging of the six German and German–Austrian cycling associations to form a General German Cyclist Association (ADRV), but a DRU was not formed until 1920, after the General Cyclist Union (ARU) had disbanded in the First World War.
 59 ASZ, 30 July 1898, 893.
 60 *Das Vaterland*, 10 August 1898, 3.
 61 *Radfahr-Sport*, no. 36, 9 September 1898, 848.
 62 Ibid., no. 42, 21 October 1898, 946.
 63 *Pester Lloyd*, Budapest, 16 September 1916, 3.
 64 *Volksblatt*, Vienna, 24 September 1916, 4. The Greek troops, 6,100 soldiers and 430 officers, were transported in ten railway wagons to Görlitz, where they lived with their families in a camp as "guests of the government of the Reich for the duration of the war". When they were repatriated in 1923, around 200 decided to stay in Germany permanently.
 65 *Mitteilungsblatt des Vereins Heimattreuer Kuhländler*, January/February 2010, 29. The F.K.Z. company Fuchs & Co. in Zuckmantel (today Zlaté Hory/CZE) was founded in 1907 and expropriated by the Czechoslovak government in 1946.
 66 Josef Pavlíček, "Anton Gödrich, medailový olympionik z Fulneku," *Novojičínský deník.cz*, 16 March 2014.

The Impact of the Mass Media on the Image of Olympic Cities (Part 2)

By Richard W. Pound

The cosmic age began with Syncom III in 1964. At the second attempt, the 39 kg US communications satellite was launched from Cape Canaveral into space on 19 August, where it transmitted television images from Japan to Point Mugu in California from an altitude of 38,000 km. However, the reporters' comments were sent via cable to recipient countries, where image and sound had to be synchronised.

Photo: Official Report Tokyo 1964



Looking back, the additional revenues derived by the IOC from television were miniscule, even once it became an important factor in attracting audiences that had never before had significant access to the Olympic Games. In relative terms, however, for an organisation that lived almost literally from hand to mouth and had to assess its own members for funds, even a few thousand Swiss francs of additional revenues were hugely significant, as was the expansion of its global reach and impact. Radio had been the most recent technical miracle and would remain important for many decades after television emerged, but sound alone was far less dramatic than the visual impact of television.

The IOC continued its efforts to understand the medium and to try to find effective means to come to grips with the potential of the technology as well as its promotional and economic aspects. Progress was not always easy or smooth. There were many competing interests to be served. The pace of technical change accelerated almost on a daily basis. Small wonder that

many of the early considerations seem, in hindsight, almost comparable to prehistoric cave drawings. They are, however, part of a fascinating continuum that has made the Olympic Games one of the most important of world phenomena.

The 1964 Games in Innsbruck and Tokyo were both broadcast successfully and the IOC had held off the NOC demands for a share in the related television revenues.

By mid-1965, however, it was clear to the IOC that the NOCs were going to insist on a share of the television revenues. An IOC Executive Board meeting with the NOCs was scheduled for Madrid in October. The NOCs themselves were meeting in Rome prior to that meeting. It was expected that they would form an association and elect a president and committee. The principle of such a meeting had been accepted by the IOC the previous year in Tokyo, on the understanding that the NOCs could consult together in order to propose resolutions adopted

in common to the IOC. As expected, the association was formed under the name of General Assembly of National Olympic Committees (GANOC). Giulio Onesti (ITA), then president of CONI, the Italian NOC, and the former president of the 1960 Rome organising committee, had been the instigator of the meeting of the NOCs.

Brundage disliked Onesti and was not warm to the idea of the NOCs forming their own organisation. The practical reality, however, was that he had little choice in the matter and had had no protocol alternative but to appear in Rome to open the assembly, since (likely in an effort to keep his enemies close at hand) he had agreed with cooptation of Onesti as an IOC Member in 1964.¹

Once a collective voice had been established for the NOCs, they had no hesitation in demanding a share of the television revenues, arguing that they were the ones who, on the one hand, financed the International Federations (IFs), presumably through their support of the national federations and, on the other, had the biggest expense for transportation, housing, and maintenance of the athletes at the Games. The IOC recognised that an equitable distribution would not be easy.²

The IFs and NOCs demand a share of TV revenues

At the 1965 IOC Session, Onesti clarified that the resolution adopted in Rome had asked for distribution of funds from television rights to NOCs, but only to those in difficult circumstances, not for all NOCs. He said that the IOC should evaluate the needs of those NOCs and make the distribution, and thus ensure the independence of those NOCs which, at that time, had to appeal to their governments for funding. Brundage responded by saying that a general study would be undertaken by the IOC, adding the Olympic Academy

to the then existing list of those organisations seeking television revenues – namely the IOC, OCOGs, IFs, and NOCs in difficulty.³

At the Session the following year, the Executive Board had considered a number of proposals, looking only at revenues from the 1972 Games, since Brundage had declared that the distributions of 1968 rights had already been definitively settled. He said that, in principle, the television rights to the Olympic Games belonged to the IOC, reversing the previous ill-considered decision to acknowledge that the rights belonged to the organisers, with only a designated share of the revenues to be allocated to the IOC. There could, he said, Brundage-like, be no doubt on the subject. The IOC would like the money to be entirely devoted to the Olympic Movement. The IOC would examine the claims of the three other (four, if the Olympic Academy were counted) interested parties: the organising committees, the IFs, and the NOCs. The organising committees would face enormous expenses: if the IOC continued to increase the number of sports, Brundage warned that candidate cities would become increasingly rare.

He cited the example of the 1972 Games, in respect of which three candidates had withdrawn for financial reasons. The revenue distribution proposal submitted to the Session was that the first million dollars go entirely to the IOC, which would divide it into thirds, one each for the IOC, IFs, and NOCs. The organising committee would receive no part of the initial sum, in order to encourage it to obtain as much as possible from the television companies. The second million would be divided, one-third going to the organising committee and two-thirds to the IOC for the equal division contemplated for the first million. Starting from the third million dollars, two-thirds would go to the organising committee, and



Mobile television for the first time: The marathon was accompanied in 1964 by a cameraman driving ahead of the runners and by a helicopter belonging to the Japanese television company NHK. Right: The big TV experience – watching the Olympic Games with the family.

Photos: Official Report Tokyo 1964, Volker Kluge Archive

Since the mid-1950s, the “three sacred treasures” in 90% of Japanese households were the washing machine, refrigerator, and the television – on which the 1964 Olympic Games could be watched. Far right: The Pacific telephone cable, inaugurated in 1964, used to send reports via Guam and Hawaii to North America and Oceania. When a ship accidentally destroyed the cable, reporters were involuntarily given a two-day break from broadcasting.

Photos: Official Report Tokyo 1964, Volker Kluge Archive



one-third to the IOC for the equal partition. The same progression for Winter Games would start from \$200,000. This was agreeable to the IOC Members.

As part of the discussion of the proposal, the Marquess of Exeter, David Cecil (also known as David Burghley) gave a (not entirely accurate) description of the evolution of the matter:

*The Marquess of Exeter recalled the history of this question of television rights and of a distribution to the International Federations. At the Games of Melbourne, there were no television rights. At the Games in Rome, the money received by the Organizing Committee was very small, because the television was not very developed and scarcely reached beyond the borders of the country. In Tokyo, the television came up against the difficulties of intercontinental transmission which was accomplished by shipments of film. When Mexico City was chosen to organize the 1968 Games, the Teletars did not yet exist and no one could suspect at the time the prodigious development that television has since had nor the extraordinary sums that would be offered for the Games. No one can foresee what the situation will be at the time of the 1972 Games. The proposed table of distribution takes into account future development.*⁴

Rights owners form first pool

The 1968 Mexico Games were the first to be televised partly in colour. This development brought with it the need for better lighting and a far more complex

organisation for the benefit of the broadcasters. Estimates by the Mexican organisers regarding potential television spectator audiences were conservatively fixed at 400 million. The organisers were also considering a closed-circuit system to be installed in auditoriums, conference rooms, and gymnasias at all primary, high school, and higher learning institutions in Mexico City and elsewhere. Since the broadcasts would take up a considerable number of hours for several days, the public would be invited to watch by paying a moderate fee, which would help cover the expenses of installing the sets, which would remain as the property of the same schools, making it feasible for them to develop new audiovisual systems for teaching. The material inheritance of the television sets for the schools would have an important and immediate impact on teaching systems.⁵ Indications of the increasing interest in Olympic television appeared at the Executive Board meeting early in 1967, at which Exeter announced that the distribution table would have to be reviewed in light of information from the Mexican Organizing Committee that additional funds would be made available.⁶

The IOC Executive Board had no idea of the primitive state of television in Mexico or the difficulties affecting the broadcast of the Games. Telesistema Mexico was barely television at all and had only two black-and-white channels. There was not the slightest possibility that the domestic broadcaster could act as the host broadcast organisation (HBO) for the Games. The result was that the broadcast rights holders themselves (ABC, EBU, NHK, and CBC) created their own pool to do what

the HBO should have been able to do, each providing facilities, mobile units, and equipment. Each appointed a coordinator. The EBU "contribution" for this project was Manuel (Manolo) Romero, a young Spanish engineer, who volunteered for the job, which required an engineer who could speak both Spanish and English.

This turned out to be the beginning of an uninterrupted connection, which lasted until 2012, for Romero with Olympic television, in which he was central to many of the innovations which have made Olympic television second to none in the level and creativity of sports broadcasting.⁷ Despite the many difficulties and the lack of a sophisticated domestic broadcaster, colour coverage of track and field, swimming, and gymnastics was produced. The first satellite station was established for a single international channel, but it could not accommodate the commentary, which had to go by underwater cable and be spliced to the video coverage at the receiving end. Compounding the difficulties, the cable had been accidentally cut and was repaired just in time for the Games.

Mobile cameras were used for the first time for track and field coverage. This possibility had been discussed in the Executive Board, and the broadcasters had to convince the IAAF that this would be a good idea. The mobile units were very heavy and consisted of two parts, the camera (still using 2-inch tape) and a separate recorder, cabled together. The first slow motion cameras were used, but only 20 seconds of coverage were recordable on the magnetic discs available at the time. The first land line between Mexico and the United States was installed by Siemens and ran through El Paso. The offices used by the Olympic broadcasters were on the 14th floor of a building in which the elevators were installed only a few weeks before the Games

There was a mixture of enthusiasm and caution expressed later the same year. The IOC Secretary General, Johan Westerhoff, had identified a number of things

the IOC should do and indicated that to achieve all these elements, the IOC needed a professional, organised, and equipped office as soon as possible. This could be done, he maintained, as the financing had been taken care of with the help of television funds from 1972.⁸ At the Session, however, Brundage said that increasing the importance of the IOC office would only be possible once the television money was available, and asked for caution as it was not sure that these funds would be available indefinitely.⁹ Brundage also complained at this Session regarding the association of IFs and its "meddling" in IOC affairs.¹⁰

He was still rather testy about the IFs at the January 1968 meeting of the Executive Board, when Secretary General Westerhoff, following up on previous discussions, noted that the IFs were not satisfied with the basis upon which the television money was distributed and expressed themselves in favour of setting up a commission, composed of members from the IOC and the IFs to study this question. Brundage retorted that the money belonged to the IOC and that it was for the IOC to decide what should be done with it.¹¹ This meeting was immediately followed by a similar meeting in Grenoble, prior to the 1968 Winter Games, where Brundage noted that the IOC had decided to recommend that the IFs were not required to abandon their world championships during the course of these (presumably Olympic) years, but that under no circumstances were world championships to be organised in the Olympic city.¹² This can only be described as a combination of concession and a pre-emptive move by the IOC, since it removed the rather sophistic justification for IF claims that the Olympic Games caused them to lose money. The IFs were not wholly united and it is clear that not all of them were content to have Berge Phillips of Australia (the FINA president) speaking for them and that, notwithstanding the existence of the association of IFs, many IFs wanted to maintain their individual relationships with the IOC.¹³



MEXICO 68 were the first Olympic Games to be broadcast partly in colour. But that didn't mean they could be seen like this everywhere. The American system was different from the western European one, where the French SECAM competed with the German PAL. In many countries there was still black & white – including Mexico until 1968. Right: Manolo Romero, a young Spanish engineer at the time, did a great job. Photos: Olympic News; picture alliance



City of satellites:
A giant directional antenna transmitted the images from Mexico to the US Andover ground station. From there they reached Europe with the help of the Intelsat television satellite, which was positioned over the Atlantic in 1967.

Photo: Official Report Mexico 1968

The report to the Grenoble Session in 1968 was somewhat more benign, although both Brundage and Marc Hodler (SUI) spoke about the dangers represented by the association of IFs, as well as those deriving from the association of NOCs.¹⁴ Regarding televising of the Games scheduled for later that year in Mexico, the Mexicans reported that the television programmes would include both sport and cultural events, with direct transmission to Mexico and the United States. Tapes of the events would be sent to those countries wishing to receive them.¹⁵ When the Finance Commission reported, it was to state that the IOC would “supervise” the sale of television rights for the Munich Games in 1972 and that the services of a broker might be engaged to ensure that the maximum profit could be drawn from the sale.¹⁶

Between the time of the Grenoble and Mexico Games, the main IOC preoccupations became the exclusion of South Africa from the Mexico Games and, later, the student demonstrations that had led to the shooting deaths of several of the students in Mexico City. The worldwide coverage regarding the demonstrations and their outcomes gave the IOC some idea of the power of the medium and underlined the fact that not all television content could be controlled. The IOC had been besieged with questions from parents of athletes in light of the responsibility of the IOC and the Executive Board for the safety of the athletes. Assurances had been sought from the Mexican authorities.¹⁷ Regarding television, there were more requests from IFs for sharing the revenues, which were put off for further study by the Finance Commission.¹⁸

When the Finance Commission reported to the Session, it noted that it had met with representatives of the IFs and had tried to work out a formula for the distribution of the amount allocated to the IFs from television receipts, but this had proven impossible. The IFs had undertaken to try among themselves to work out an equitable solution and were to produce a report for the next IOC Session. The formula being discussed was that which would apply to the established portion of the television rights allocated to the IFs, namely, how the total should be shared internally among themselves. This remained a problem for many years and, even now, still cannot be regarded as definitively resolved. The IFs had also asked for an advance payment from the Munich television rights, a request which the Finance Commission was considering.¹⁹ The Munich organising committee had agreed to advance DM500,000 per year against the television rights. Interestingly, the Finance Commission had taken out insurance on the advance payment, in case the Games of 1972 were not to take place.²⁰ Little could they have known how close the possibility of cancellation of the Munich Games would come.

As the importance of television at the Games increased, the IOC had to wrestle with the matter of appropriate media accreditations. Press, apart from the international agencies, had been accredited through the NOCs, on the ostensible basis that the NOCs knew best the serious sports journalists in their countries. Without a clear picture of the national differences between television broadcasters, the Press Commission had concluded that radio and television reporters were not national, but operated on a pool basis. The matter needed further study.²¹

At the Executive Board meeting in March 1969, a proposal which had been put forward at the Finance Commission by Dr. Georg von Opel (GER) that, for the 1972 Olympic Games, a ratio of distribution had already been fixed for the television and film royalties and payments. For future Olympic Games, however, he proposed that the IOC receive all such payments and that part of these payments would be forwarded to the IFs, but none to the organising cities. The Games, he said, should be given by the IOC only to those cities which agreed not to claim any television or film payments. Lord Luke (GBR), chairing the Finance Commission meeting, thought this was rather severe and said that it would be put to the Executive Board.²² Although not formally discussed, it appears that the Executive Board and Finance Commission had, by now, realised that the idea of permitting organising committees to own the television rights to the Games had not been a good idea.

In Warsaw later in 1969, there was a report at the Executive Board regarding a meeting with the IFs at which the question of television rights had been punted to the Finance Commission. The Finance Commission, for

its part, did not want to sign any contracts for 1972 until the end of the year, when full account could be taken of the television situation throughout the world.²³ At the Session immediately following, the Finance Commission had some sobering observations, including the fact that the IOC was already living off the Munich rights, which were being spent too fast and unheedingly; over-expenditure for 1968 was SF264,000 and at the present rate would be SF410,000 for 1969. In conjunction with the Munich organising committee, the Finance Commission was trying to obtain the best television contracts for the 1972 Games. ABC had made an offer to the organising committee, but it seemed prudent to wait before accepting this, so that more research could be undertaken into the whole question. Here, Brundage pointed out that they should not wait too long, as with the changing world situation the prospects might get worse instead of better.²⁴

The Munich report drew attention to the needs of several stakeholders, saying that the IOC (and organisers) must give consideration to the requirements of spectators and to the facilities available to the press, radio, and television, which represented the link between the Olympic Games and the hundreds of millions of interested men and women all over the world.²⁵

Sapporo and Munich '72 gave the Olympics more colour

Munich appears to have been the first organising committee to form a comprehensive view of communications needs and the growing role of the media. It noted that the responsible bodies were guided in the matter by the conviction that the press, radio, and television services, in particular, would acquire increasing importance at Olympic meetings. The image which the world receives of the Games, the host city, and the whole country would depend largely on the mass media.²⁶ It was also the first organising committee to establish a specific broadcast centre between the Press Village and the stadia, to provide the very latest technical facilities for the reporting work of some 60 foreign television corporations, 110 radio systems, and 1,500 technical personnel. Full coverage in colour was guaranteed, as well as the possibility of transforming the German PAL system into other television systems.²⁷ For transmission to other continents, a "decisive role" would be played by the satellite station at Raisting, 40 km south of Munich.²⁸

In addition to these facilities, the principal press sub-centres would be provided with their own printing press for the results bulletin and there was to be synchronic communication with an internal computer system. Press seats and the reporting rooms were to be furnished with



Munich 1972: "Olympia. Total television" says the cover of the magazine *Der Spiegel*. For the first time, the press areas in the Olympic Stadium were equipped with monitors on which the competition results could be displayed online.

Photo: Der Spiegel

television receivers carrying an internal information programme which, in the event of important results, could be interrupted for additional particulars from the electronic processing plant.

In Sapporo, NHK built on the very successful Tokyo coverage from 1964 and continued its extraordinary progress in camera and other technologies, led by Panasonic, which had, in a back room, the first high-definition television camera and laser technology. Sony had not yet become the dominant leader it would soon become. Romero led the European group.²⁹ There was only one studio and a few unilateral coverages were used. The decision of the IOC, led by Brundage, to disqualify the Austrian alpine skier, Karl Schranz, on grounds of professionalism, was fresh in everyone's mind.³⁰ Romero remembered a Spanish alpine skiing medallist who had been interviewed on television. Upon leaving the studio, the athlete was given an envelope. When he opened it, he found \$100, the standard amount then given to anyone appearing as an interviewee. The athlete handed it back.

Munich reflected the first systematic approach to media and broadcasting. Much of this was the result of the leadership of a university professor, Horst Seifart, who was able to convince the leaders of the Munich organising committee of the importance of an integrated view of both the challenges and opportunities offered by the Olympics. The two public broadcasters, ARD and ZDF, worked together to create a pool, partly because of their obligation within the EBU to service all the EBU members, most of which had some elements of

unilateral programming for their national coverage. OIRT worked separately for the Munich Games and, given the ongoing Cold War and complications within West Germany as a result of the GDR, there was a good deal of political manoeuvring throughout the exercise. There was now a second generation of tape recorders, although the 2-inch tapes were still used. The slow motion was better and there were wireless cameras, which were much lighter than those used in Mexico. Because of "Black Tuesday", the operations had to change abruptly from sports coverage to news coverage and then back again mainly to sports.

At ground level, however, the IOC was still wrestling with many of the important details. In October 1969, there were many unanswered questions, especially with respect to the largest of the television contracts, that with the United States broadcaster. There was an offer from ABC of \$13.5 million, from which the IOC thought it would probably get \$7.5 million, to be divided between the IOC, the NOCs, and the IFs, since the installations would cost \$6 million. The contract figure seemed low, in comparison with the much higher figures being paid in the United States for football and other games. The Finance Commission was soliciting advice from "various top people" in the television world with regard to the matter. It would meet again in February 1970 and report to the Executive Board the same month. Sapporo was in the course of negotiating with NBC for \$6.4 million, of which the net figure was to be \$5 million and was to make its first advance payment in April 1970.

The Executive Board, in splendid isolation, solemnly decided that expenses of the television installations must not be deducted from the gross television payments. Those expenses were, it stated, the responsibility of the organising committees. This decision was to be included in the instructions to candidate cities and would be an important factor in selecting the cities to stage the Games. In this way, any contract figure would be net.³¹ The organising committees, however, still in effective control of the television negotiations, continued to ignore these Instructions.

The IOC's financial expectations regarding the ABC contract proved correct. Munich would not agree to calculate the rights fee on the basis of \$13.5 million, but insisted on a rights figure of \$7.5 million and a separate payment by ABC of \$6 million for the installations, as described in a Memorandum of Terms dated 1 April 1969. The division of the rights fees from ABC and any other television broadcasters between the IOC and the organising committee was to be made in accordance with the distribution formula established at the Rome IOC Session in 1966.

The IOC acknowledged that the organising committee would incur expenses for television facilities and equipment and, therefore, agreed regarding the \$6 million to be "reimbursed" by ABC regarding those expenses, but stated that the organising committee would be responsible for any additional expenses.³² Negotiations with NBC regarding Sapporo appeared to have come to naught and a report was to be provided at the time of the 1970 Session in Amsterdam.

The IOC needed time to find its way in the technical world

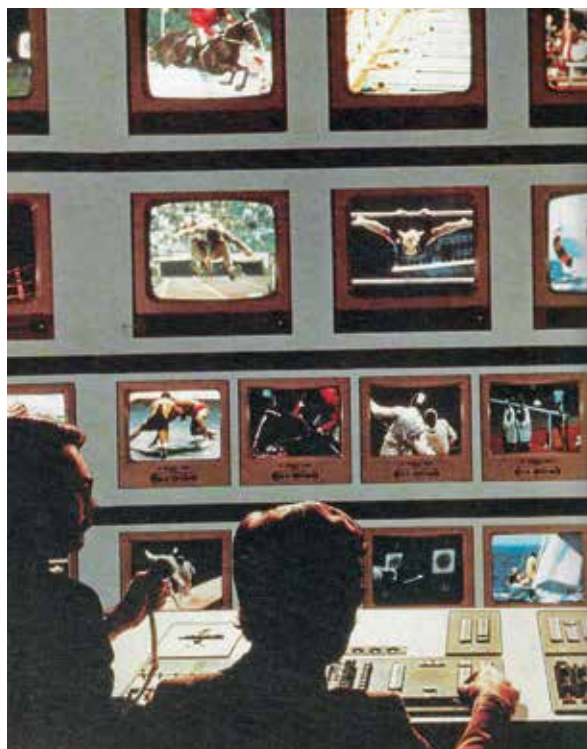
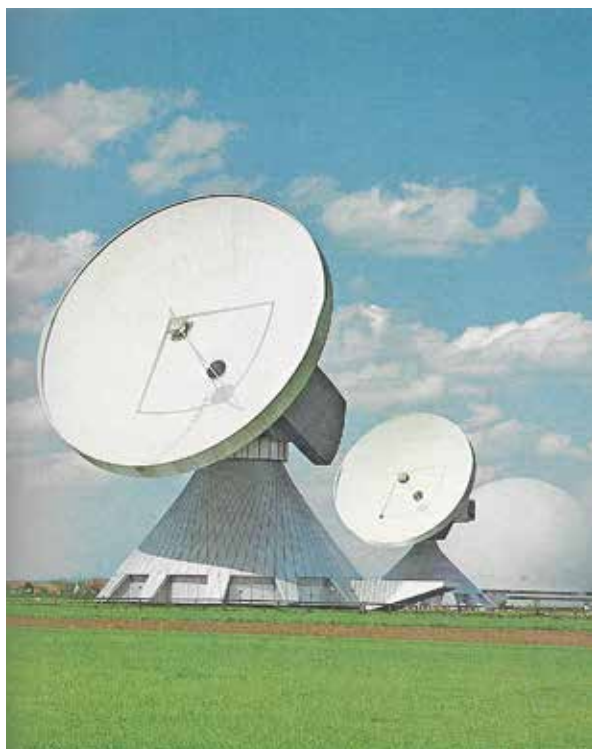
The pace of change in television technology and the increasing ease of virtually instantaneous worldwide communications were now thrusting themselves on the way in which the IOC and organising committees had to deal with the broadcasters.

Nowhere was this more evident than in the potential clash between the holders of broadcast rights to the Games and the non-rights holding broadcasters who had access only for limited news coverage.³³ The availability of satellite broadcasting and video recording had drastically reduced the interval between the time the actual events occurred and the time when they could be seen thousands of miles away.

In territories where there might be broadcasters other than the Olympic broadcaster, it was entirely possible that a non-rights holder might broadcast the "news" before the rights holding broadcaster had broadcast its comprehensive coverage of the Games. Where competing broadcasters existed in any territory, the economic value of the Olympic television rights was derived from



Test image from the German Olympic Centre for Radio and Television (DOZ) with the distinctive tent roof over the competition venues and the television tower on Munich's Oberwiesenfeld. The company was founded in 1968 by the broadcasters ARD and ZDF, which alternated over the 16 Olympic days in 1972 with a total of 230 hours of broadcasts.



View into the control room of the DOZ with its 90 monitors. Far left: Munich was connected to all continents via the Telstar television satellite, thanks to the directional radio antennas in Raisting. The images were delivered to 98 countries, where an estimated 800 million TV viewers could see them.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

the exclusive ability of the rights holding broadcaster to present the Games in that territory. Broadcasters would not be willing to pay so much for the Olympic rights without some protection against the possibility of its coverage being trumped by a non-rights holder which chose to treat certain Games coverage (e.g., a world record set in the 100 metres) as “news.” This consideration would clearly affect both the IOC and the organising committee.

Dressing up the purely economic considerations, the broadcasters argued that a further effect of the situation would be that focus of the competing broadcasters would be solely on the speed of getting the news broadcast on the air, with the result that it might be hastily assembled, without due regard for presenting to the public any feeling for the Olympic Ideal. The relatively simple solution to the problem was to add a sentence to paragraph 3 of Rule 49, which would prevent a non-rights holder from broadcasting any coverage of the Games until the rights holder had completed its daily coverage.³⁴

1970, in addition to expulsion of South Africa from the Olympic Movement, was the year in which the IOC selected the host cities for the 1976 Games. Montreal was the eventual winner of the summer event, beating out Los Angeles and Moscow.³⁵ Sapporo reported to the Session that a contract had been signed with an American television company and that contracts would shortly be made with European television companies. Brundage pointed out that the television arrangements should be made as soon as possible and approved by the IOC, as it was a very important question for both the IOC and the IFs.³⁶

When Munich reported, Brundage stressed that, regarding television arrangements, the city which undertook to stage the Games was also under the obligation of providing facilities for television transmission.³⁷ Willi Daume, in his capacity as president of the organising committee, gave a non-responsive reply, stating only that the organising committee would try to do its best.³⁸

The Finance Commission, charged with the television responsibility, had no particular recommendations and reported that it was working with Munich and Sapporo to maximise the revenues from the television companies of the world. Lord Luke (GBR), chairman of the Commission, went on to acknowledge that it had been difficult to convince the two organising committees that IOC Rule 49 with regard to the sale of television rights meant that the organising committees pass over to the IOC the full sum paid for television rights, without deduction of any kind, and that the organising committees would defray expenditure on television installations from their proportion of the television revenue received back by them from the IOC. This proportion was calculated to give the organising committees a higher percentage than the IOC, IFs, and NOCs put together. He said they had already cleared with Montreal and Denver that they understood this position and would stand by it when they began to negotiate for the rights for the 1976 Games.³⁹ Letters, however, would be sent to Montreal and Denver putting in writing the agreement reached verbally between their representatives and Reginald Alexander on behalf of the Finance Commission. There were to be consultations and working together from the start of any television negotiations.⁴⁰



As in 1968 in Mexico, the American television broadcaster ABC acquired the exclusive rights for the 1972 Summer Games in Munich. Once again, the prime-time host was Chris Schenkel.

Photos: picture-alliance

Prior to the Amsterdam Session in 1970, the winter IFs had met with the IOC regarding the allocation of a portion of the television rights, since, although agreement had been reached with the summer IFs, no similar agreement had been reached with the winter sports. At that stage, only ice hockey, skiing, and skating had come forward. Ice hockey proposed a third for each of them. The IOC said that if the federations agreed on such a principle, the IOC would also agree. While, during the discussion, Lord Killanin said he thought the summer and winter rights should be lumped together, it was decided that they were two separate things.⁴¹ Each winter IF would appear separately before the IOC to make its representations. The IFs also took the position that they should be included in the television negotiations.

The stage was set, therefore, for the IOC's transition into adolescence, albeit occasionally bumpy and fractious, in relation to a medium which would lead to an astonishing transformation – even transmogrification – of the impecunious, ineffective, and unimportant organisation into the leading international sport organisation in the world, governing an increasingly influential Olympic Movement.

This could never have happened without the financial resources derived from the sale or licensing of television rights to the Olympic Games. The start was slow and the amounts significant only in relation to the IOC's limited financial resources when the revenues began to accrue, but over the course of only a few decades, they would reach billions of dollars. After an uncertain and often tentative beginning, as well as determined opposition by organising committees, the IOC would gradually assume complete control of the negotiations of the rights and the allocation among stakeholders of portions of those rights, which provided an IOC influence commensurate with the funding so provided.

While the normal review of Olympic developments follows the celebration of each Games, the discussion of the developments in television technology for each Games has not been fully compartmentalised in each

installment of this series of articles, since the Games are awarded several years prior to their celebration. The treatment of television relating to each Games was affected by decisions taken, well after bids were designed and host cities voted upon by the IOC, during the organisational phase of each edition, often even before the preceding Games had taken place. This was almost always on the basis of knowledge that was all but out-of-date by the time the particular Games occurred and on the basis of contracts negotiated with no real appreciation of the pace of change that would affect both the television industry and the technical advances occurring on virtually a daily basis.

The chief value of arranging this series of articles in such a manner is to show how the IOC struggled, especially in its early phase, to find its way in a technical world which it had no organisational means to fully comprehend. The IOC now benefits from its own experience and the assistance of experts in the management of its single most important asset. At the time, however, the IOC was entering into a period of distracting uncertainty and international turbulence following the end of the Brundage era and the beginning of Lord Killanin's one-term presidency. This included abandonment of the 1976 Winter Games by Denver, the possibility that the 1976 Summer Games might be withdrawn from Montreal, out of concerns that it would be incapable of organising them, and a series of significant politically-motivated boycotts, beginning with 1976. ■

- 1 IOCEB 9–10 July 1965, Paris, p.2. GANOC was the precursor to today's ANOC (Association of National Olympic Committees). See also IOCEB 16–17 December 1967, Lausanne, where the grouping of the NOCs under Onesti was discussed by the Executive Board.
- 2 IOCEB 5 October 1965, Madrid, 2, item 6.
- 3 IOC Session, 6–9 October 1965, Madrid, 6.
- 4 IOC Session, 24–30 April 1966, Rome, 4ff. Some of the IFs balked at the proposal, saying they wanted one-third of the total television rights fees, but eventually the proposal was accepted along with the idea of a committee to deal with future distributions. There was a good deal of political posturing by the NOCs, no doubt engineered by Onesti, which had less to do with television itself than the manoeuvring for advantage in dealing with the IOC.
- 5 IOCEB 22 October 1966, Mexico City, Annex II, 5ff., Diffusion.
- 6 IOCEB 11–12 February 1967, Copenhagen, item 22. In the end, the 1968 rights amounted to \$9,750,000. ABC paid \$4,500,000; OTI (Latin America) paid \$2,500,000; EBU paid \$1,000,000; NHK (Japan) paid \$1,000,000; Australia/New Zealand paid \$500,000; and CBC (Canada) paid \$250,000.
- 7 Jacques Lesgards was the ABC person, also selected because of his ability to Speak Spanish. EBU and OIRT worked together. The OIRT coordinator was Henrikas Juškevičius, who received a package of books every day, which he delivered, unopened, to the Soviet embassy in Mexico. He was concerned that he might be being "tested" for any proclivity to read subversive literature.
- 8 IOCEB 2–8 May 1967, Teheran, 5. There was discussion of possibly moving the headquarters of the IOC. Brundage was to investigate proposals from Lausanne. If these were not acceptable, it was decided that the IOC should move, in which case Zurich would be the most suitable location, provided satisfactory arrangements could be made.

- 9 IOC Session 3–9 May 1967, Teheran, 4.
- 10 IOC Session 3–9 May 1967, Teheran, 1. It was not specified exactly what this was all about, although there was, starting around this period, a concerted effort on the part of the IFs, led by Thomas Keller, president of FISA, to try to take over the Olympic Movement. The IOC was not particularly well regarded by the IFs. Brundage would have been particularly sensitive to any action or suggestion that the IFs might impinge on the IOC's authority. The IF effort culminated at the 1973 Olympic Congress in Varna, which was adroitly handled by Brundage's successor, Lord Killanin, and sidelined into the effective oblivion of what was referred to as the Tri-Partite Commission, consisting of representatives of the IOC, IFs, and NOCs. The IOC also made it clear (as it has done since) that Olympic Congresses are not legislative occasions, but merely consultative.
- 11 IOCEB 26–27 January 1968, Lausanne, item 3(b)(6).
- 12 IOCEB 29–31 January 1968, Grenoble, 31.
- 13 When ANOC replaced GANOC in 1979, many NOCs had the same misgivings and individual NOCs insisted on their right to continue dealing directly with the IOC.
- 14 IOC Session 1–5 February 1968, Grenoble, 2. Hodler was to some extent wearing two hats, since he was president of the FIS from 1951–1998.
- 15 IOC Session 1–5 February 1968, Grenoble, 3.
- 16 IOC Session 1–5 February 1968, Grenoble, 5. See Annex IIIc (38), where it was noted that if the Munich television rights brought only \$10 million, according to the distribution scheme of Rome, the IOC would receive \$1.3 million, or SF5.6 million. There seemed to be no urgency in respect of the matter of acquiring professional assistance regarding television, since more than a year later, the Finance Commission was still proposing to find such an agent and would report in June 1969. (IOCEB 22–23 March 1969, Lausanne, 5). See also Annex II, item 4 of the Finance Commission report at the same meeting for suggestions (not too scientific) of persons to contact for the purpose.
- 17 IOCEB 30 September–6 October 1968, Mexico City, item 56, 19.
- 18 IOCEB 30 September–6 October 1968, Mexico City, item 27, 12.
- 19 IOC Session 7–11 October 1968, Mexico City, 11. The Finance Commission reported that it was considering the possibility of engaging brokers on behalf of the IOC. Brundage also indicated that the IFs present in Mexico City had requested a meeting with the Executive Board following the Games. He had met with most of them privately and a further meeting was not considered necessary. (IOC Session 7–11 October 1968, Mexico City, 29).
- 20 IOC Session 7–11 October 1968, Mexico City, 12.
- 21 IOC Session 7–11 October 1968, Mexico City, 13.
- 22 IOCEB 22–23 March 1969, Lausanne, Annex II, 3. There was also some discussion in the Aid Commission (precursor to Olympic Solidarity, an idea proposed by Count de Beaumont) about devoting a certain amount of the television rights to maintain a sports aid and assistance centre. The Games in Munich should allow the creation of the first centre, even if voluntary donations had to be found to finance the construction. (Annex III, 3)
- 23 IOCEB 5–9 June 1969, Warsaw, 9, 12.
- 24 IOC Session 7–9 June 1969, Warsaw, 9. By the end of the year, it was clear that the IOC over-spending was a serious matter. The Finance Commission reported that the annual income of the IOC was SF540,000, while it was currently spending an average of SF790,000, the income being the advance payment from the Munich and Sapporo television rights. The following year, the first payment from Sapporo would be received, in the amount of SF412,500, giving the IOC at least SF900,000 for the year. See IOCEB 23–27 October 1969, Dubrovnik, Item 7, Finance, Budget, items 5 and 6.
- 25 IOC Session 7–9 June 1969, Warsaw, Annex VIII, 38 (of file). Report by Willi Daume.
- 26 IOC Session 7–9 June 1969, Warsaw, Annex XIb, 53 (of file).
- 27 IOC Session 7–9 June 1969, Warsaw, Annex XIb, 53 (of file).
- 28 IOC Session 7–9 June 1969, Warsaw, Annex XIb, 53 (of file).
- 29 Jeff Mason was the NBC coordinator.
- 30 While it is a different story, Brundage was generally no fan of the Winter Games, especially with respect to skiing and ice hockey, both of which he believed were rife with the dreaded "professionals".
- 31 IOCEB 23–27 October 1969, Dubrovnik, Agenda No. 7. Finance, Television Rights. Additional rights received were \$1,745,000 from EBU, \$1,000,000 from Japan, \$300,000 from OIRT (Eastern Europe), \$257,000 from Canada (CBC) and \$990,000 from the rest of the world, for a grand total of \$17,792,000.
- 32 IOCEB 21–23 February 1970, Lausanne, Agenda No. 13, Finance Commission, Television Rights, 16ff.
- 33 The IOC Rule which led to the problem was Article 49 of the Olympic Charter and the relevant paragraphs were numbers 3 (granting certain news access rights) and 4 (providing for the sale of television rights to the Games). This was particularly important in the United States and broadcasters from other countries were content to have ABC, as the largest financial contributor of television rights, lead the discussions with the IOC.
- 34 IOCEB 21–23 February 1970, Lausanne, Agenda No. 13, Finance Commission, Television Rights, Annex 11, ABC's Request for Amendment to Rule 49.
- 35 Montreal's bid had been led by its charismatic mayor, Jean Drapeau. The other members of the delegation were Lucien Saulnier, Gerald M. Snyder (misspelled in the IOC minutes), Harold M. Wright (president of the Canadian Olympic Association), E. Howard Radford (past president of the Canadian Olympic Association), and Pierre Charbonneau. The only discussion of questions raised was a question put by Brundage at the request of Count de Beaumont regarding a deposit to guarantee the Games. Drapeau thought that a cash deposit would not mean more than the word of Montreal (given by its mayor). If the City of Montreal promises to hold the Games, he said, this promise is the most valuable guarantee. Those present at the Session recall that Drapeau received enthusiastic applause in response to this declaration. The matter of guarantees had been discussed by the Executive Board immediately before the Session and it had been decided to ask the summer city for \$1 million and the winter city for \$250,000. [IOCEB 8–16 May 1970, Amsterdam, point 13] This was also the Session at which the correction was made to the numbering of the Sessions, since a Session in 1908 had somehow escaped historical notice. The Session in Luxembourg the following year would be the 71st Session. See Minutes of Session, item 15, 21–22 and Annex 25, 96.
- 36 IOC Session 12–16 May 1970, Amsterdam, 7–8. The contract was with NBC for an amount of \$6,401,000, executed on 8 May 1970.
- 37 IOC Session 12–16 May 1970, Amsterdam, 9. It is not clear why he raised the point during the Munich report at the Session, since the Executive Board had already reached an agreement with the Munich organising committee and had capped the amount to be allocated to facilities at \$6 million. He may simply have wanted the candidate cities for 1976 to hear the policy. In any event, agreement notwithstanding, Munich would later make a separate agreement for facilities with the European broadcasters. Reginald Alexander (KEN) asked what arrangements were being made for countries which did not have the advantages of instantaneous transmission by satellite.
- 38 IOC Session 12–16 May 1970, Amsterdam, 17. Daume did, however, acknowledge that Munich was ready to advance to the IOC a further payment of DM500,000 per year until the Games, to be given to the IFs, and stated that the organising committee did not consider that there should be any repayment if, for any reason, the Games were not held. The Marquess of Exeter suggested that if money were to be passed on to the IFs, it should be in the form of a loan, and not as an advance, in order to avoid taxation.
- 39 IOC Session 12–16 May 1970, Amsterdam, Finance Commission report, Annex 14a, 47. Despite the earlier assurances to the contrary given by Montreal, the rights for Montreal proved to have even more allocations for technical facilities than had been the case for Munich.
- 40 IOC Session 12–16 May 1970, Amsterdam, Finance Commission report, Annex 14b, 48.
- 41 IOCEB 8–16 May 1970, Amsterdam, 12 May 1970, Meeting with Winter Federations. (It might be worth speculating how matters might have evolved had the two sets of rights been lumped together. Perhaps a single pot might have advantaged the summer sports, since because of the huge increases in television rights for the Winter Games, with such a small number of IFs involved, the winter IFs are rolling in money today.)

The Queen of Gymnastics Ágnes Keleti: A True Olympian

By Dezső Dobor

One hundred candles
for Ágnes Keleti's
100th birthday.

Photo: Peter Szalmas/MOB



They called her the “eighth wonder of the world”. While the accolade spread throughout the mass media, it was not when Ágnes Keleti was actively a shining star of the gymnastics world, but rather decades later, while she was teaching gymnastics and training young people in the discipline.

The description may have been a bit exaggerated but no one really contested it, for Keleti's gymnastic talent did indeed raise her to Olympian heights. During her illustrious career as a gymnast she won five Olympic gold medals, but it is her life as a whole and her caring personality that has made her a deserving recipient of attention from around the world, especially from her two homelands.

Those who saw her perform gymnastics even once would never forget this graceful female figure. Her movements were comparable to a musical performance, her powerful muscles working in harmony and with ease, giving her the aura of a supernatural phenomenon.

And those who have met this intelligent and experienced trainer and college professor will never forget the influence she has had on her students with her deep passion for the subject, her inspirational presentations, and, if needed, her practical demonstrations.

Despite this positive story, Keleti's life also knew great suffering, in the darkest times of the last century. Thanks to her strong spirit, she managed to get through these times, and found a way out, which finally led to happiness. She lived her life in two countries: she won her Olympic medals – altogether ten for Hungary, where she was born – and she gave birth to two lovely sons in her adopted homeland, Israel, where she worked for decades and was proudly recognised as the founder of gymnastics in Israel. She also received the country's highest award, the Israel Prize. Ágnes Keleti, Holocaust survivor, five-time Olympic champion, and currently the oldest living Olympic champion of the world, has turned 100 years old.

The beginnings: life in Hungary

Ágnes Edit Klein was born on 9 January 1921 in Budapest to a wealthy Jewish family, as the second child of Ferenc Klein and his wife, Rózsí Gyárfás. Naturally, she had no idea that the world she was born into would take a terrible turn.

Whenever Ágnes Keleti has been asked about her life, she has spoken of the anti-Semitism she experienced throughout her life, especially during her childhood. In 1920, the first anti-Jewish law was passed in Hungary, which essentially closed the doors of universities to Jewish intellectuals. Meanwhile, the little girl grew up, completed her elementary studies with excellent results, and developed a passion for playing the cello. Her musical education would go on to be of great help when she was practicing gymnastics. One of her friends recounted: "We once went on a boat trip, and when we landed, she got out and immediately started to do headstands, handstands, and cartwheels. Her first thought was to find a flat, grassy area, where she could do her gymnastics stunts straight away." Ágnes's passion for gymnastics soon surpassed her enthusiasm for the cello: "Gymnastics is an endless wealth of possibilities, a multitude of combinations and variations." The thought of practicing gymnastics grew stronger with the knowledge that she would not be allowed to apply for university. She excelled due to her talent: in her high school yearbooks, she is mentioned as the winner of the school's gymnastics competition.

Then came the man who changed the life of tens of millions of people. Hitler took advantage of the difficult conditions prevailing in Germany to build a vengeful, racist "Third Reich" with the complicity of German big business. Laying out his Nazi ideology in *Mein Kampf*,



he blamed the Jews for the suffering of the German people, basically advocating the eradication of Jews from the world. The life of the Klein family soon changed dramatically for the worse.

As Jews, they were unable to continue running their once successful factory. Their standard of living plummeted. Their only respite came from the great performances by Ágnes in the gym. "In contrast to how things are done nowadays, I only started to regularly train at the age of 16," she said.



Dezső Dobor | *1954 Budapest; sports journalist, book author, and TV commentator for nine Olympic Games; co-author of the book *The Queen of Gymnastics: 100 years of Ágnes Keleti*; contributor and expert consultant to several Hungarian sport and Olympic history exhibitions, co-founder of the Hungarian Olympic Academy.



Sándor David / Dezső Dobor

Keleti 100: "Mert szeretek élni ..."

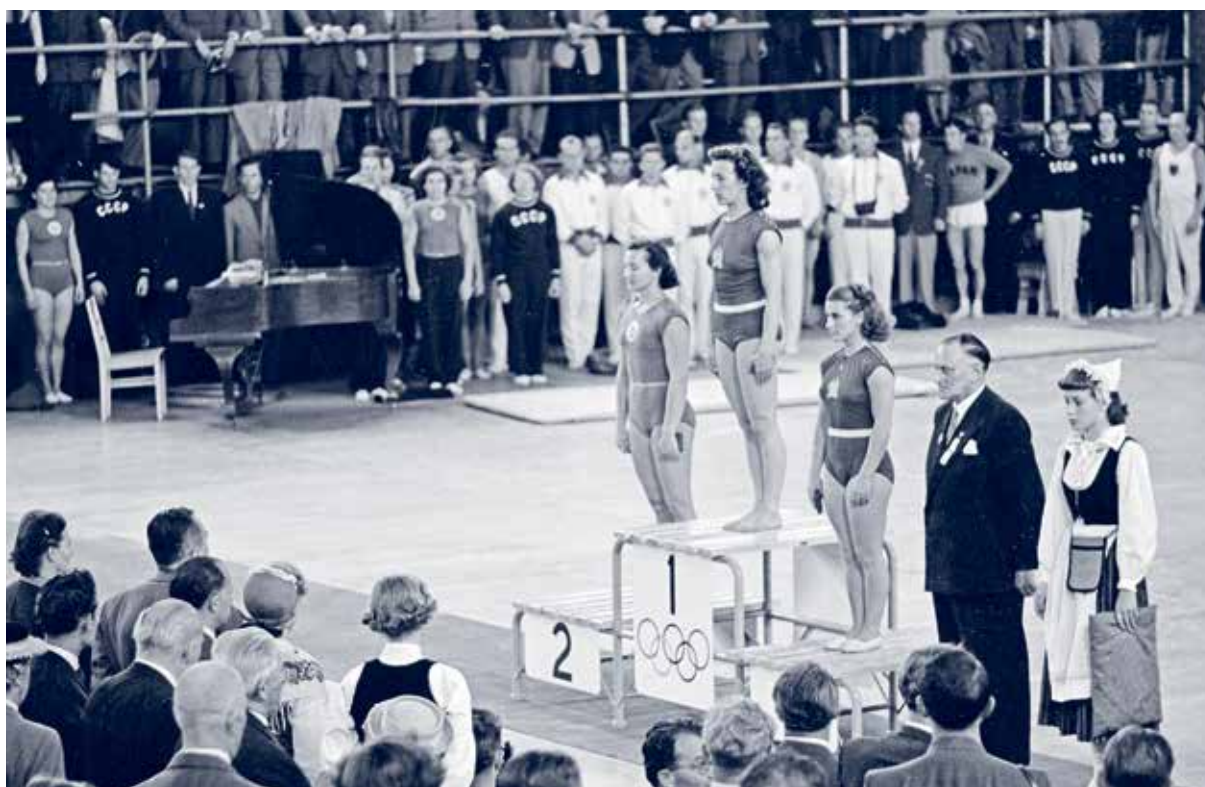
The Queen of Gymnastics:

100 Years of Ágnes Keleti

Magyar Torna Svövetség (Hungarian Gymnastics Federation), Budapest, 2020; Hungarian edition: 3708 Ft, ISBN 978-615-00-9246-1

English edition: \$20, ISBN: 978-615-00-9247-8

Helsinki 1952: Ágnes Keleti won her first Olympic gold medal in floor exercise ahead of Mariya Gorohkovskaya (URS) and Margit Korondi (HUN / right).



A name change, from Klein to Keleti

In 1939, the Germans attacked Poland and the Second World War began. Meanwhile, Ágnes was in training for her first international appearance for Hungary in a match against Italy in 1940.

Unfortunately this would end in great disappointment, for she was not allowed to participate. A Hungarian champion at the time, Margit "Maca" Csillik, had informed the Hungarian Athletic Federation that it would not be right to include Ágnes Klein, who was Jewish, in a team that was competing against a team from Fascist Italy.

Ágnes took an enforced five-year break from gymnastics. She changed her last name from Klein to Keleti. The prevailing laws forbade international appearances by Jews, and they were also prohibited from practicing sport in any federation.

Other Hungarian Olympic champions faced similar problems at that time. When István Sárkány, a gymnast who had participated in the Berlin Olympic Games, stepped in to train Ágnes, he was forced to do so in secret.

On 19 March 1944 the forces of Nazi Germany invaded Hungary. Hearing that newly-wed women would not be deported, Sárkány and Keleti, who had grown closer personally as well, quietly married in 1944. For the ceremony, they asked passers-by to step in as the best men and sign their marriage document as witnesses. Sadly, their vow of "forever" did not save István Sárkány, who soon found himself on a long march toward a concentration camp headed for the gas chamber.

During this time Ágnes was not allowed to practice or study gymnastics. Distrustful of assurances that no one would be harmed provided they observed the Germans' instructions, she tried to avoid wearing the yellow star that was compulsory for Jews, and looked for a way out. "I did not want to go into a ghetto, and then be transported to the slaughterhouse," she stated.

Surviving the Holocaust

The father of Ágnes was deported, and he died at the Auschwitz concentration camp. Before the Second World War approximately 850,000 Jews had lived in Hungary; by its end, only 250,000 remained. Ágnes was among them, having bought the identification documents of a Christian girl. In exchange, Ágnes had to give up her belongings, and she often had to hide in unpleasant, filthy conditions in rat-infested cellars.

At times she went to the banks of the Danube River to practice gymnastics, because she never gave up her dream of participating in the Olympic Games – not even in the face of the fiercest persecution of Jews and the cruellest times of the war. "My first identity check was the hardest moment of my life. By that time I had memorised the girl's personal information, the name of her mother and father, and everything else that related to her. I had to state all this information at the identity check. I do not wish on anyone the nervousness I felt, because those moments meant life or death for me. And I did it – I passed the exam as Piroska Juhász," Ágnes recalled later.

Meanwhile war raged all around her. Her husband's life was also adventurous. According to István Sárkány, "I managed to escape in Burgenland, but I met a German soldier on horseback. He dismounted and reached for his pistol. He stared at the lapel of my coat, and examined my badge from the Berlin Olympic Games. "'Yes, the Olympics ... I was there as a gymnast' – I showed him my Olympic passport with my photograph. 'I am also a gymnast,' he answered. He took a nice, big potato from his sack and handed it to me. 'Go that way,' he pointed. Then he holstered his pistol, mounted his horse and rode off. I went the way that he pointed. Eventually I came to the Mauthausen concentration camp, which was similar to the place I had escaped from. I managed to stay alive. But I weighed only 33 kg when I was liberated."

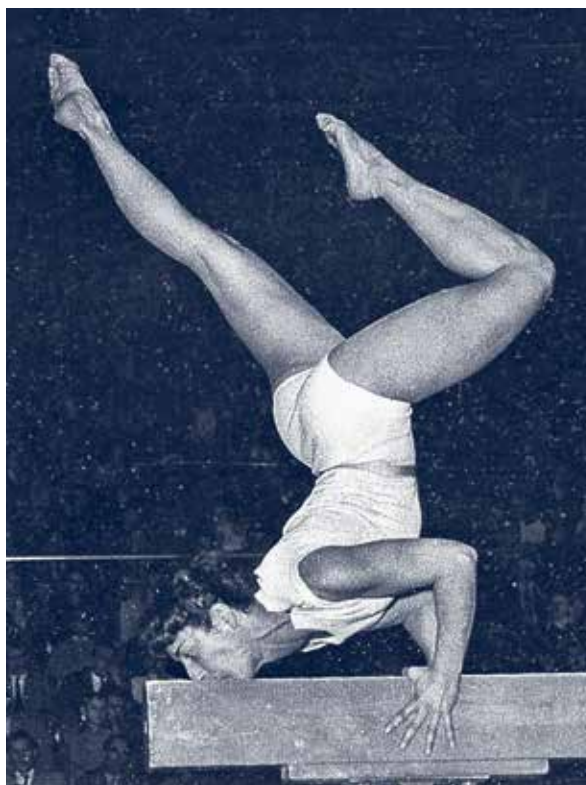
On 18 January 1945, the turmoil of the siege finally ended. Ágnes left behind her false identity as Piroska Juhász and emerged again as Mrs. Ágnes Sárkány-Keleti, who had celebrated her 24th birthday some days before.

An international gymnastic career starts at age 27

Sporting life soon resumed in the ruined and bombed-out city of Budapest. Keleti found a metal stove which she used to heat a war-damaged hall, and she found a training partner, and started practicing gymnastics again. "This was real happiness for me, the only way out. What else could I do?" she said. In 1947, she won every gymnastics event at the Balkan Games, and gained international fame in the sport. "Her movements were like music. Her gymnastics routine was like a beautiful ballet presentation!"

At age 27, she was ready to demonstrate her talent in her first Olympic Games. But fate once again stood in her way and prevented her from taking part. At the last training session before the competition, she trained on the flying rings. "The apparatus was unacceptable, outdated, and dangerous; there was a duvet-like thing fixed to the ground with buttons. It was a thin, shabby, trashy carpet. I was in very good shape, I powerfully flew into the air and down to the ground – and I immediately heard that terrible sound. That crack. Something had torn in my leg. It was the external ankle ligament. In that moment, I knew that my chance of a first Olympic medal was gone." It also meant the loss of the gold medal for the Hungarian team, because without her, the team was only able to win silver.

During this time she also started to study at the College of Physical Education of Budapest. Her skills and knowledge about gymnastics broadened, and she also became interested in its scientific background. As a student she was eligible to participate in the World Student Championships of 1949 in Budapest, where she showed her talent with four gold medals. Her personal



"Kiss Me!" After finishing fourth on the beam in Helsinki, Ágnes Keleti was Olympic champion on the balance beam in 1956.

Photos: Official Report Helsinki 1952; Volker Kluge Archive

life also evolved: she and István Sárkány divorced in 1950.

Then came the world championship in Basel, Switzerland. Keleti and the other members of the women's team worked through the year, hoping that fate would give them back everything it had taken from them at the London Olympics.

Instead, fate denied them the opportunity to compete altogether. A couple of days before travelling, the leadership told them that, due to political reasons, they would not be able to participate at the championship. There was a boycott by the so-called Socialist bloc. When the news was announced to the young women, each gymnast received a bar of chocolate as consolation.

In 1952, the Olympics of Peace offered the next opportunity for Ágnes to demonstrate her talent. In the floor routine, Keleti needed a mark higher than 9.7 points to overtake the overall leader Mariya Gorokhovskaya of the Soviet Union.

Keleti, with black hair and a thin, muscular, and lean stature, started her routine with the ease of a ballet dancer, but also with powerful flexibility. She was full of charm and grace. Then her routine continued with more difficult elements, movements requiring great power and acrobatic skills blended with artistic dance moves, performed in a natural way. Handstands, splits, arabesque, jumps ...

It was like poetry in gymnastics, representing strength, beauty, and skill at the highest level possible in the sport. Artistic experience and superior positivity were reflected in her every move. Victory! "Finally," she



With four gold and two silver medals, Ágnes Keleti was the most successful participant in the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne. Among other things, she won on the uneven bars.

said quietly and happily. "I have been waiting for this moment for a very long time. It was worth it."

In Helsinki, Ágnes was again able to demonstrate her talent, winning a gold medal for her floor routines and a bronze for the uneven bars. There was also team silver in the all-around competition and a bronze in the team portable apparatus competition. Her success may well have been the most pleasant memory of the Helsinki Olympic Games, where the Hungarian team won 16 gold medals.

Despite her success, Ágnes remained approachable and friendly to her students at college. She was happy to demonstrate beginner-level exercises. Her objective was to share her knowledge with as many people as possible. For this purpose she travelled to the countryside nearly every weekend, holding gymnastics demonstrations to popularise the sport.

Active and energetic, she even posed for a statue of herself, and on 20 August 1953 she had a role in the opening ceremony of the People's Stadium, Hungary's main stadium, where it was hoped that a future Olympic Games would be held. Together with her gymnastics partners, she carried the flag into the stadium to a frenzied welcome by 80,000 spectators,

and she fascinated them with her impressive gymnastics choreography.

Keleti and her colleagues ensured that gymnastics would be at the forefront and their positive image showed people that it was an enjoyable sport.

The 1954 Artistic Gymnastics World Championship in Rome took place in intense heat at the Olympic Stadium. The trainers worn by some of the competitors nearly melted and several gymnasts practicing under the hot sun became ill, with some of them suffering severe sunburn. But not Keleti – she won the world championship on the uneven bars. Both her compulsory routine and freestyle exercise were also a great success, leaving the best Soviet, Czechoslovakian, Polish, and Hungarian gymnasts trailing behind.

Her Olympic gold at Helsinki on the individual apparatus was followed by a World Championship gold. She also won team gold in the portable apparatus, team silver in the all around, and bronze on the balance beam. Newspapers and experts raved about her performances. "It was fascinating! The inspiring music and the expressive dance choreography reflected a blazing patriotism."

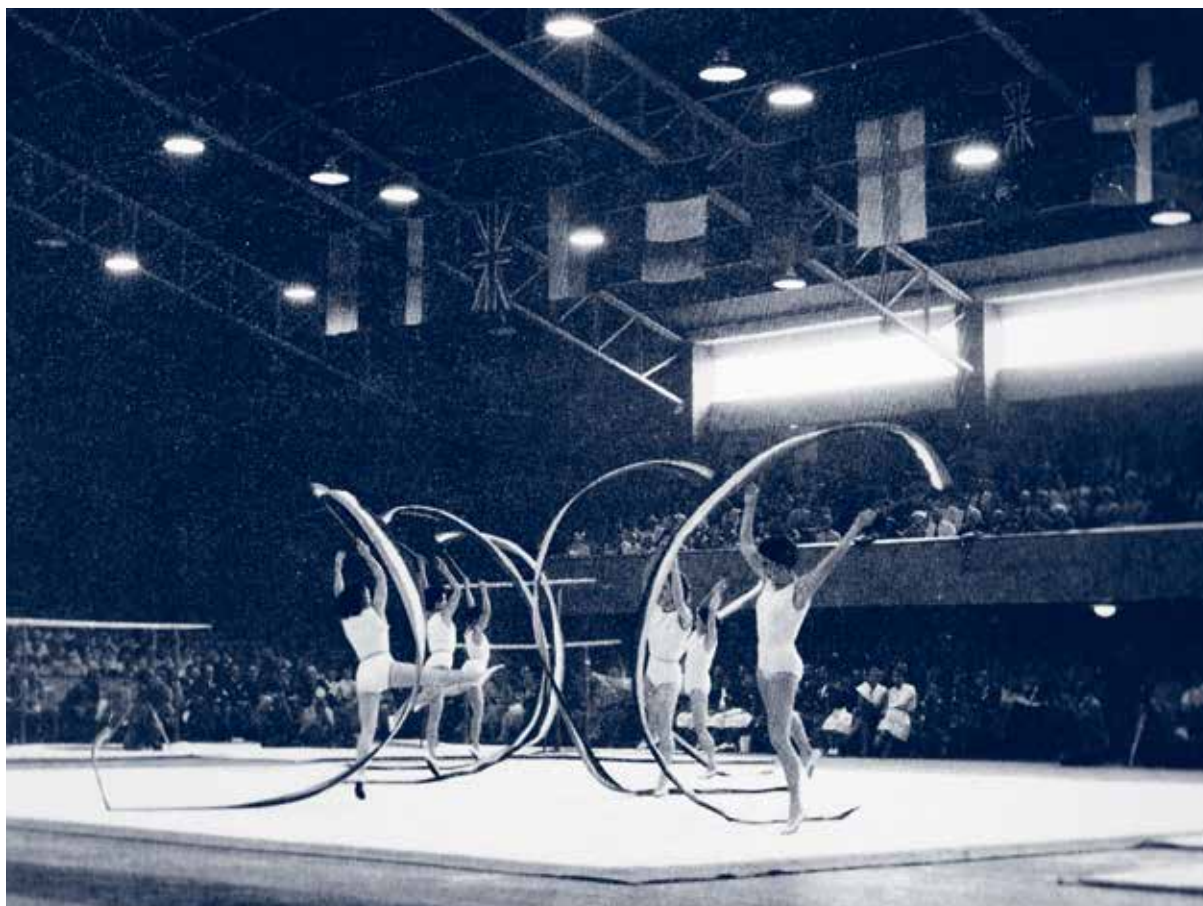
The will to excellence: five Olympic gold medals were no accident

Olga Tass, an Olympic teammate, noted of Ágnes that "she wrote down her own mistakes after every training session. Imagine how self aware that was, to write down her mistakes after every training! Everything! She wrote down what she failed at, and how to fix it! She was continuously thinking about it ... So, those five Olympic golds were no accident. Ági was very hard on herself. Admittedly, on the other hand she did not stand for contradiction. Fortunately none of us contradicted her, because we all had the utmost respect for her."

1956 was the year of the Melbourne Olympic Games. Ágnes had been hindered by her ankle injury for months; she was not able to practice in the way she had planned, and worried that she might not be able to participate in those Games.

Nevertheless she soon regained her fitness – when, shortly before they were due to set out for Australia, the revolution erupted in Hungary. Sportspeople were full of doubts: should they go, or stay home? After much hesitation and an adventurous beginning, they began their long journey to the other side of the world; it lasted more than a week. This was an extra special trip for Keleti, because after nearly a decade, she was able to once again see her sister who had emigrated to Australia with her family.

A considerable amount of training time had been lost, but when Keleti had the opportunity, she always trained by herself. Even in the airport lounges and on the



This was her fifth Olympic victory she achieved with the Hungarian team in group gymnastics.

Photos: Official Report Melbourne 1956

aeroplane, she practiced gymnastics, handstands, and similar elements between the seats. Without the usual training sessions she was unsure about her skills.

By then, she was already over 35 years old. She had left her beloved mother at home in Budapest, which again became a centre of civil unrest during the revolution. There was hardly any communication: contact was only possible by telegraph and telephone and it was necessary to wait hours for a connection, to say nothing of the difficulties posed by the different time zones. What remained were newspapers speckled with half-truths, leaving only a sense of nervousness, insecurity, and waiting, which slowly eroded the confidence of the people.

In those trying times, Ágnes received the highest score possible as a human, sportsperson, and gymnast: a true Olympian.

"I have a good personal ability: I can sort out my thoughts and calm myself down, and this was the basis of my success in both of my Olympics," she claimed.

As at the previous Games, on the floor she again included difficult elements to her floor routine. She mastered all of her movements, performed with perfect posture, and finished a well-balanced routine with a perfect somersault in the air. The response was a storm of cheers. The Soviet Larissa Latynina, 14 years younger, received exactly the same marks as Ágnes, which meant a tie, so both women were awarded the gold.

On the uneven bars, Ágnes's final dismount at the World Championships in Rome secured her victory. Here she did not dare risk it. During her training in Melbourne she incorporated a different kind of dismount. She finished her routine on the balance beam with a somersault dismount, to great applause. It can be said that she was the most popular participant in the women's gymnastics events.

According to Keleti, "I was not really interested in whether I finished first or second. On the other hand, it bothered me if I made mistakes. Naturally, it felt good to be rewarded for my work, but I didn't feel excited about it. I was rather more worried for my mother, who had stayed alone at home in Budapest."

Her final Olympics, her "swan song", would prove a sweeping triumph. She received her third 1956 individual gold medal after the balance beam. The fates which had dogged her for so long, finally bowed before her tough willpower, and rewarded her with three individual gold medals.

And this was still not all. A great moment was yet to come for the team of six in the team portable apparatus event. Ágnes came up with the idea of the six-metre-long ribbon on a handle, and she improved this apparatus year by year. They took the best and most modern form of this ribbon to Melbourne. The choreography was devised by Keleti, Éva Kovács, and Sára Berczik, accompanied by the music of Béla Bartók

As a trainer, Ágnes Keleti had a soft spot for young people, but she maintained that “to be nice and motherly is not enough”.

Photos: Tamás Róth



(naturally, Ágnes chose the music). Keleti explained, “Bartók was a modern musician, and this modern music helped us to separate ourselves from the old kind of movements, and to express our message more easily. I love to renew things, to step onto a path where no one has been before, to modernise things.”

Queen Elizabeth II, who was patron of the Games, was represented in Melbourne by her husband Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh. He had arrived late at the gymnastics hall and asked the jury to allow the team to repeat their masterpiece as he was keen to enjoy this special experience in its entirety.

What could be done? The jury asked the Hungarian gymnasts, who agreed. (Wouldn't this be unheard of today?) Wholeheartedly they repeated their performance for the Prince. (By the way, Philip was also born in 1921, the same year as Ágnes, albeit a few months later.)

A new homeland and late return to Hungary

After the revolution of 1956 was suppressed, 48 members of the Olympic team did not return to Hungary. Most of them went to the United States. Keleti stayed in the land of the kangaroos, but did not settle in Australia; gymnastics did not exist there. In 1957, she was invited to the Maccabiah Games in Israel to make a gymnastic presentation. There was no gymnastic apparatus in Israel, so she bought the equipment in Europe and arranged for it to be transported to Israel. Upon accepting the invitation her life took a 180-degree turn: she found a new homeland. The young Jewish country immediately offered her citizenship and work. She

taught future physical education teachers at Wingate University, and became head of the national women's gymnastics team – a role in which she would continue for 22 years, building the team from scratch. During her career, she also strived to reform Jewish national education. She remarried and gave birth to a son at the age of 41. A second son arrived four years later.

Ágnes Keleti retired at the age of 75, and in 2000, she moved back to Hungary, where she was inducted into the Hall of Fame for the sport of gymnastics. At the ceremony she said, “Here and now, I speak for the health and happiness of women. I believe that I could perform a cartwheel and a handstand right here and right now [laughter and applause], though I won't do it not. Gymnastics to me is a real show, where every woman should participate. Everyone – and not only those special women who are at the top nowadays. We all should practice gymnastics, train our body, and remain healthy! You could say it is my *ars poetica*, as the old Greeks said.”

In Jerusalem in 2017, Ágnes Keleti received the Israel Prize, the country's most prestigious award, recognising her work in training gymnasts and physical education teachers. Keleti told the gathering that the everlasting love of her students was worth more to her than any prize; it was a pleasure to her to help improve the quality of physical education for the children of Israel. “I always wear this gold medal on my necklace, which I received from my students for my birthday. When I look at this medal, it strengthens my conviction that we should constantly remember the power of leading by example.” ■

Walther Tröger Honoured with the 2020 ISOH Lifetime Award

By Volker Kluge



At the ISOH meeting on 30 November 2020, which had to take place as a video conference due to the coronavirus pandemic, the Executive Committee decided to present Walther Tröger with the ISOH Lifetime Award for 2020. Before he could be officially informed of this decision, the IOC Honorary Member died on 30 December 2020 in Frankfurt am Main at the age of 91.

Walther Tröger was one of the most important living witnesses of Olympic history, which he experienced and helped to shape in different ways. Starting with Innsbruck in 1964, he took part in no fewer than 27 Summer and Winter Games. Although he stayed in Moscow during the 1980 IOC Session, he returned home afterwards, as he did not want to celebrate an Olympic Games at which his country's athletes were not allowed to compete per the recommendation of the German Bundestag. Before that, Tröger was among those who had fought in vain against the Olympic boycott, which the majority of the German NOC decided to support.

Walther Tröger was born on 4 February 1929 in Wunsiedel, Upper Franconia in southern Germany.

He spent his youth in Breslau (now Wrocław, POL), where his father was a government councillor in the customs service. His father, Karl Tröger, joined a middle-class conservative resistance group after the Nazi "Machtergreifung" (seizure of power). In 1937/38 he was arrested and charged by the so-called People's Court with "preparations for high treason" and imprisoned.

After the death of his father shortly before the end of the war, his family fled back to Wunsiedel, where Walther Tröger sat for the Abitur (secondary school-leaving exam). He studied law from 1947 to 1951, but the young graduate's wish to enter the diplomatic service did not come true. In addition, his mother died young, so that, as the oldest of four brothers, he also had to take on family responsibilities.

After coming into contact with the game of basketball through student sports, with which he remained connected throughout his life, he decided to pursue a professional career as a sports official. In 1953 he became general secretary of the German Student Sports Association, in which he acquired a reputation as a technical expert.

After Karl Ritter von Halt resigned as NOC President, Tröger belonged to a young team led by von Halt's successor Willi Daume, who was unencumbered by allegations of a Nazi past. He began in 1961 as head of the International Relations Department of the German Sports Confederation and managing director of the NOC. After the two divisions separated, he served as NOC general secretary from 1970 to 1992. He felt particularly connected to winter sports. Eight times – from 1964 to 2002 – he served as chef de mission on German Olympic teams.

When the Hungarian Árpád Csánadi suddenly died in 1983, Tröger also took over his post as honorary IOC sports director at the request of IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch, which he held until 1990. He played a major role in introducing the Olympic Programme, which was expanded by new sports and disciplines during this period. In 1989 he was elected to the IOC, on which he sat until 2009, when he reached the age limit of 80 years.

Although Tröger had a strong personality, he was no power politician, and this was not always an advantage for him. His strengths included convincing arguments and a sense of what is feasible. While Daume was often praised as a visionary for thoughts he expressed in

ISOH Lifetime Award winner 2005 – 2021

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|-------------|--------------|--|
| 2005 | presented to | Richard Pound (CAN) |
| 2006 | presented to | Harry Gordon (AUS, †) |
| 2007 | presented to | John A. Lucas (USA, †) and David C. Young (USA, †) |
| 2008 | presented to | Volker Kluge (GER) |
| 2009 | presented to | Robert K. Barney (USA/CAN) and Allen Guttmann (USA) |
| 2010 | presented to | Monique Berlioux (FRA, †) |
| 2011 | presented to | Ove Karlsson (SWE) |
| 2012 | presented to | Manfred Lämmer (GER) |
| 2013 | presented to | Conrado Duránte Corral (ESP) |
| 2014 | presented to | Wayne Wilson (USA) |
| 2015 | presented to | Roland Renson (BEL) |
| 2016 | presented to | Lamartine DaCosta (BRA) |
| 2017 | presented to | Jean Durry (FRA) |
| 2018 | presented to | Anita L. DeFrantz (USA) |
| 2019 | presented to | Norbert Müller (GER) |
| 2020 | presented to | Walther Tröger (GER, †) |
| 2021 | presented to | Bill Mallon (USA) |



passing, some people liked to pigeonhole Tröger, who had succeeded Daume as NOC president in 1992, as a file clerk – wrongly, apart from the often-bulging briefcase which he sometimes carried with him.

Tröger saw himself more in the role that he had preferred to assume when playing basketball – as a connector. Especially in the times of the Cold War, when the IOC had obliged the two German NOCs to form joint Olympic teams, he was one of the proponents of a selection process based on performance and not on tactical or political calculations. His ability to compromise paid off when, in 1990, after German reunification, it was necessary to merge two different sports systems.

In terms of character, Tröger was loyal, and he also expected loyalty from others. He was helpful and knowledgeable, often down to the smallest detail. Despite his pragmatic and sometimes defensive attitude, he did not shy away from conflict. However, this also brought him some disappointments, such as in 2002 when he was voted out of office as NOC president.

Tröger would have liked to have done without another, far more important and terrible chapter in his biography. This was Munich 1972, his Olympic Games, in which he would become involved as Mayor of the Olympic Village. It was initially light-hearted, cheerful, and cosmopolitan, just as it was intended – until 5 September, when Palestinian terrorists kidnapped the Israeli team and destroyed this vision.

On that day, Tröger was part of a group of four who negotiated with the hostage-takers about the release

of the Israelis. Although he was the lowest in the chain of command in terms of office, he had the greatest responsibility. This was because the chief negotiator, Federal Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher, spoke little English at the time. In each of the twelve conversations, which were translated and documented by Tröger, the head of the guerrillas threatened that the first athlete would soon be shot if the demands were not met again. As proof, "Issa", as the masked man in the white hat called himself, showed a hand grenade.

It sounded credible when Tröger later said that he had not felt fear even in moments like these, because he had already experienced enough horrors in wartime. Although it meant his life, he offered the terrorists to board the plane that the Federal Government was to provide, as a substitute hostage, taking the place of the Israelis. He had known for a long time that the irrevocable decision had been taken to prevent their departure by force if necessary.

During his life, Tröger would never be able to forget the images of the eleven slain hostages and the other victims – a German police officer and five terrorists. It is hard to count the number of interviews in which he answered questions on this subject without claiming to know every detail of what happened. He was even sure that there are still things that have been kept under lock and key to the present day.

It is no secret that Tröger, unlike organisation head Willi Daume, who saw his life's work destroyed by the assassination, was one of those who pleaded for the



Wreath-laying in 1972 at the scene of the attack, Munich Connollystrasse 31: Mayor Walther Tröger together with the chef de mission for the Israeli team, Shmuel Lalkin.

Photo: picture-alliance

Olympic Games to continue in 1972. He also encouraged IOC President Avery Brundage by invoking the Israeli victims, who had asked him not to allow himself to be blackmailed into abandoning the Games.

Another personal word. My correspondence with Walther Tröger began in 1961 when I discovered my interest in the Olympics as a 16-year-old high school student. From then on we stayed in touch. A decade later we got to know and like each other personally.

So from many conversations I know how intensively he dealt with history – not just the history of the Olympics, but far beyond. He was arguably also one of the most avid readers of the *Journal of Olympic History*. He loved to discuss one topic or another over the phone when each new issue was published. He was happy to talk about the upcoming Olympic Games in Tokyo. His last great wish was to take part there.

Tröger's historical interest was genuine and by no means platonic. He and Manfred Lämmer were among the founding fathers and driving forces behind the establishment of the German Sports & Olympic Museum in Cologne. Since 1994 he was chairman of the sponsoring association and chairman of the board of directors of the Willi Daume Foundation. The 300 boxes of Olympic material left behind in his last office, only some of which have been sifted through to this day, show Tröger to be an extremely avid collector who considered everything under the sign of the five rings to be worth keeping. The Olympic collectors' community will also miss him very much.

In agreement with Walther Tröger's family, to whom the ISOH Executive Committee has expressed its condolences, the ISOH Lifetime Award will be handed over to the German Sport & Olympia Museum for permanent safekeeping. ■

ISOH Awards

Vikelas Plaque

2020 no allocation

2021 **Kyoko Raita**
Junko Tahara

Article Award

2019 **Ian Britain, Bill Mallon, David Davis,**
and Tony Sainsbury
"The Genesis and Meaning of the Term
'Paralympic Games'"

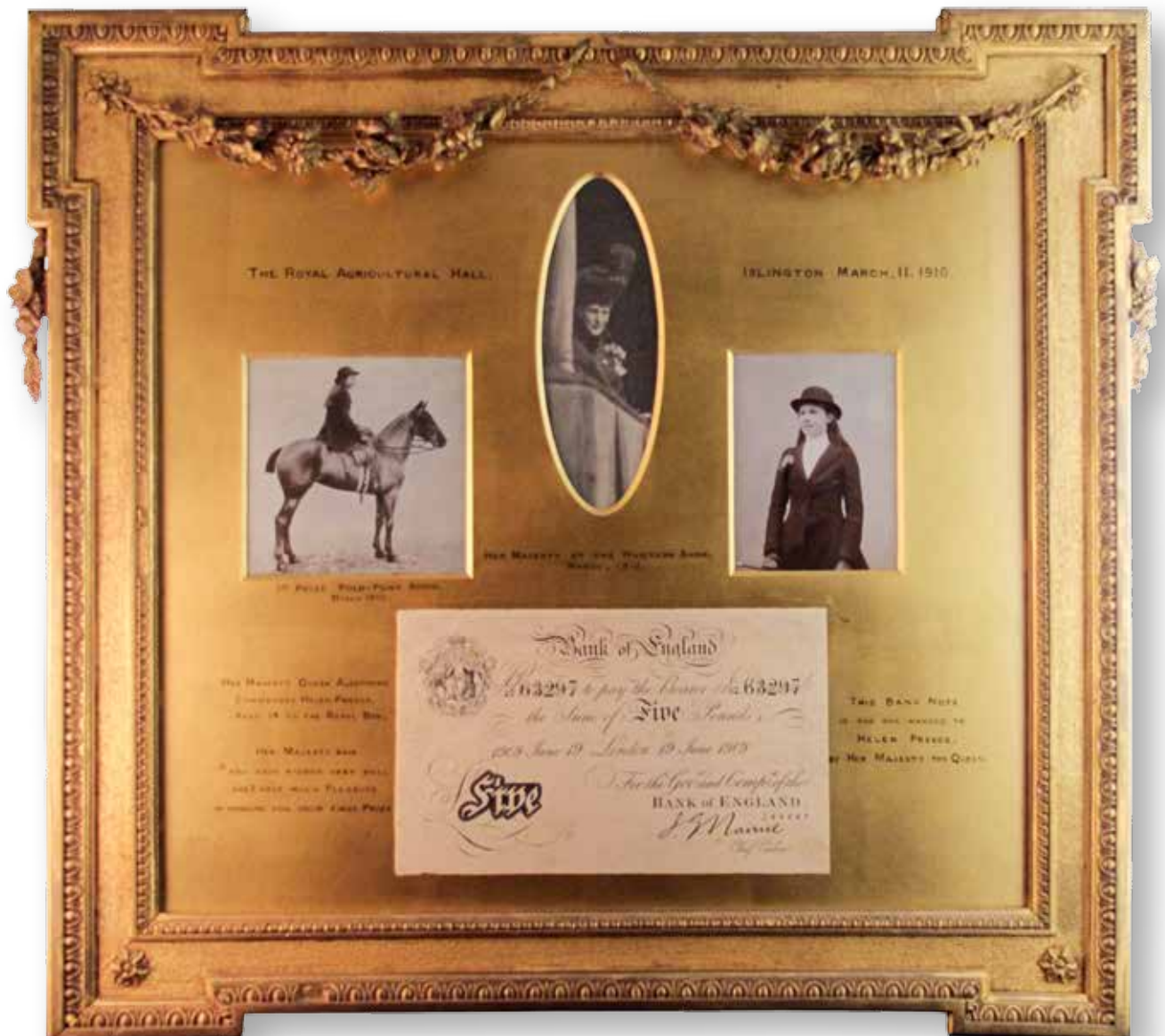
2020 **Luke J. Harris**
"Scotland and Scottish Identity
at the 1908 Olympics"

Book Award

no allocation

"A Possibility of a Lady Competitor": Helen Preece and the 1912 Olympic Modern Pentathlon

By Tom Lough, Kevin Witherspoon, and Kyser Lough



Framed photographs of Helen Preece, Queen Alexandra, and the five-pound note first prize. Engraved text clockwise from lower left: "Her Majesty Queen Alexandra commanded Helen Preece aged 14 to the Royal Box. Her Majesty said, 'You have ridden very well and I have much pleasure in handing you your first prize. 1st Prize Polo Pony Show March 1910. The Royal Agricultural Hall. Her Majesty at the Hunters' Show, March 1910. Islington, 11 March 1910. This bank note is the one handed to Helen Preece by Her Majesty, the Queen."

Source: The family of Helen Preece Chipchase Lewis.

On 7 July 1912, the *Louisville Herald* published a story with the headline, "Girl to Enter Olympic Games", in which a teenaged English girl named Helen Preece detailed her modern pentathlon training and her intention to compete in the Olympic Games in Stockholm. She wanted to "be absolutely fit for the Pentathlon" but she admitted she was worried that "I shall be the only woman competitor in this particular contest; it may make me nervous."¹

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| Superintendent Registrar's District <u>Paddington</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Registrar's Sub-District <u>Saint John</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1895. BIRTHS in the Sub-District of <u>Saint John</u> in the County of <u>London</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Columns: — 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. | | | | | | | | | | |
| No. | When and Where Born. | Name, if any. | Sex. | Name and Surname of Father. | Name and Maiden Surname of Mother. | Rank or Profession of Father. | Signature, Description, and Residence of Informant. | When Registered. | Signature of Registrar. | Baptismal Name if added after Registration of Birth. |
| 448 | Eleventh November 1895 21 Craven Road | Dorothy Helen | girl | Ambrose Duncan Preece | Edith Preece formerly Clay | Jobmaster | A.D. Preece Father 21 Craven Road | Eleventh December 1895 | M.P. Branstone Registrar | |

The modern pentathlon competition in Stockholm started that same day; however, Preece was not there. In fact, Olympic organisers had refused her entry. The erroneous headline and story point to the uncertainties of publishing and the press in the early 20th century, and also to a national and international fascination with the prospect of a woman participating in an event rooted in male-dominated events such as riding, shooting, and fencing. Helen Preece did not compete in Stockholm and thus did *not* break both age and gender barriers that precluded her participation in the event. Yet, Preece did submit an entry form for the event, she did train for several months under the expectation that she would compete, and she did attract the attention of the international media for this Olympic foray. In the aftermath of her failed Olympic venture, Preece lived a long and prosperous life, where she continued to challenge gender norms in a variety of ways. Until now, historians have largely overlooked Preece and her life story. This article sheds new light on the life and legacy of this would-be Olympic pioneer through the benefits of previously undiscovered documents and articles, Preece's unpublished memoir, and interviews and material shared by members of her family.²

The early years

Dorothy Helen Preece was born on 11 November 1895, the first child of Ambrose Ernest Duncan Preece and Edith Clay Preece of 21 Craven Road (Fig. 2, site A), a two-storey row house in the Paddington district of London. Her parents owned and operated the "largest and best ventilated" riding school (Fig. 2, site B) in London and both were skilful riders.³ Part of her father's work was as a jobmaster, supplying horses, carriages, and drivers

for hire. He had taken over his father's livery business and managed a series of stables with horse taxis all over London.⁴

Sometime between 1898 and 1901, the family moved to a large country home in Kingsbury, a suburb about six miles northwest of London, with acreage, stables, and barns. Preece's father started her riding lessons when she was three and encouraged her in "one sport after another, anything [she] became old enough to try."⁵ She called herself her "Dad's Girl" in those days. By the time she was six, Preece could ride and jump sidesaddle. She began winning blue ribbons competing against other children in horse shows and cross-country rides with jumps. Later, her father taught her to ride astride (cross-saddle), as well.⁶ As a teenager, Helen was a student at the Corran Collegiate School in Watford, Hertfordshire, north of London, where she was active in gymnastics and lacrosse.⁷ Her father frequently took her out of school for horse show competitions.⁸

Birth registration of Dorothy Helen Preece in Volume 01. A Page 69 of the Paddington District Birth Register for December 1895.

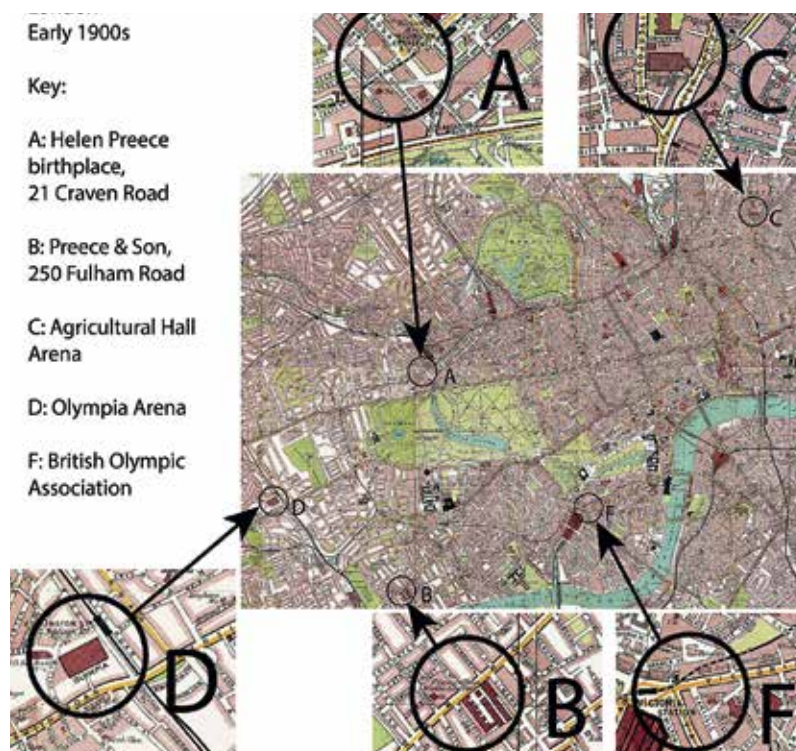
Source: United Kingdom HM Passport Office General Register Office.

Annotated map of 1900s London.

Source: C.J. Prints, www.oldtowns.co.uk, used with permission.



Tom Lough | PhD, retired from Murray State University as a professor of science education. In 1968, he competed in the Olympic modern pentathlon in Mexico City. In 1976, he directed the US Olympic Bicentennial Project and has coordinated the production of legacy materials for the 1968 US Olympic Team. Contact: tom.lough@gmail.com.





West London
Early 1900s
Key:
E: Richmond Horse
Show Arena



Annotated map of
1900s West London.

Source: C.J. Prints, www.oldtowns.co.uk, used with permission.

From 1909 through early 1912, Preece's equestrian life cycled annually through many horse shows, including three major seasonal shows in the London area. The Polo and Riding Pony Society Show was held each March at the Royal Agricultural Hall (Fig. 2, site C) in Islington. A few months later, the world-famous Olympia Horse Show took place in the Olympia Arena (Fig. 2, site D) in Kensington. A month or so later, the Royal Horse Show was held in an outdoor venue (Fig. 3, site E) at Old Deer Park on the west side of London.

Even though she did not win all her contests, Preece quickly became known for an exciting style of riding that brought the crowd to its feet. Typical newspaper articles included descriptions such as "She rode her horse with a soft, easy hand ... coupled with a perfect balance of body,"⁹ and "Dashing into the arena like a bullet [from a gun], the dashing Briton, with her hair tossing rebelliously ... made straight for the first hurdle with the speed of one racing before a prairie fire. The spectators were scarcely able to follow her with their eyes, so swift was her rise and fall over the fences. After she had

completed the circuit, she was given the most stirring ovation of any one thus far during the exhibition."¹⁰

At the 1909 Islington show, Preece, at 13 years old, won a jumping competition on a polo pony owned by Robert Sievier, producing the earliest newspaper report of her prowess and marking the beginning of her rise to the top rankings of female riders in England.¹¹

At the 1910 Islington show, she rode her own horse, Queenie, sidesaddle to such an exciting win in a jumping class that HRH Queen Alexandra asked her to come to the royal box so that she could award the prize of a five-pound note herself. Preece's family framed the note along with photographs of her, Queenie, and the queen. This framed piece became a treasured family heirloom that has been passed down through the generations to her grandchildren. This also became a notable and newsworthy moment to accompany articles about Preece in later years.¹²

At the Olympia show later that year, she took third place in a hunter class against both boys and girls up to 16 years old, all of whom rode astride. She was the only sidesaddle rider. Preece was described as "a tall girl without a hat, but with a wealth of ... hair which she wore down her back over a black habit", and who rode on horses owned by George Chipchase, among others.¹³ Chipchase was the horse business manager for Judge William Moore, a prominent Boston multimillionaire, and both were well-known internationally for their stables of world-class horses. Chipchase took an interest in Preece's talent and arranged for her to ride and jump his horses frequently.¹⁴

At the 1910 Royal Horse Show near Richmond Park, Preece was photographed in an iconic moment, clearing a stone wall five feet high while riding sidesaddle on Queenie, hair flying and reins loose. She won the championship, and the photograph "was in all the papers."¹⁵

Her riding carried her abroad to a November 1911 appearance at the National Horse Show in Madison Square Garden, New York City, where she won several classes, including those with both men and women competitors.¹⁶ In the wake of these victories, she was described in the press as the best female rider in the world. Her notoriety soared after an interesting encounter with the New York Mounted Police while exercising one of her horses in Central Park. Thinking she was in distress, the police rode to her rescue, but instead she mischievously led them on a merry chase. At the



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Helen Preece in New York, November 1911.

Source: George Grantham Bain Collection, US Library of Congress.

Far left: Helen Preece sidesaddle on Queenie clearing a stone wall five feet high.

Source: The London Graphic, 25 June 1910.

end, she pulled up and disclosed to the surprised officers who she really was.¹⁷ As she celebrated her sixteenth birthday, Helen Preece was a champion-calibre rider with a growing international reputation. The prospect of competing in the ultimate international sporting event, the Olympics, loomed.

The modern pentathlon

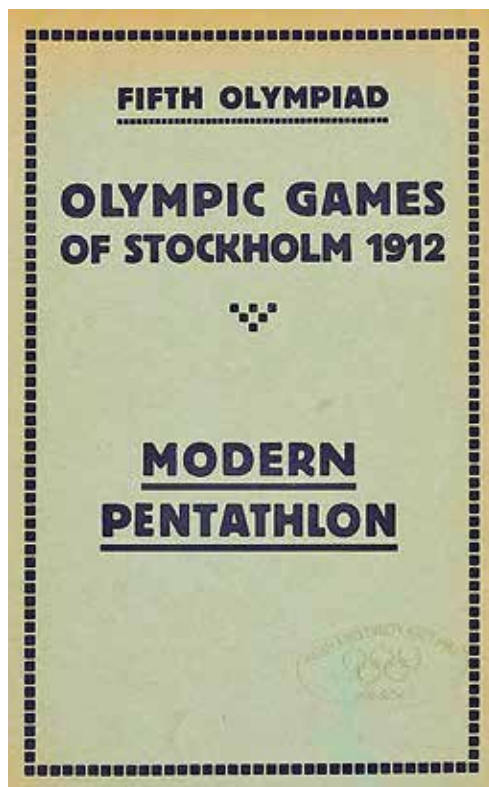
That Preece petitioned to compete in the modern pentathlon, rather than a pure riding event that might have been better suited to her expertise, can be attributed both to the rules and restrictions in the riding events, and to the fact that the modern pentathlon was making its debut in Stockholm. In fact, the novelty of the modern pentathlon contributed to uncertainty both as to the nature of the various events, and – more important for our discussion – to whether a woman might be allowed to compete.

Developed personally by Baron Pierre de Coubertin to challenge a versatile all-around athlete, the modern pentathlon included the sports of horseback riding over jumps, epee fencing, pistol shooting, swimming, and cross-country running.¹⁸ One of the earliest known public notices in England about modern pentathlon appeared in an article in the 17 February 1911 issue of *Sporting Life*. It clearly described fencing, swimming, riding, and shooting; however, it described running as “Steeplechase. Foot Race. 3000 metres.”¹⁹

Some of the subsequent articles abbreviated the descriptions. For example, an article in the 4 March 1911 edition of *The Field* announced the modern pentathlon as a new addition to the 1912 Olympic programme. Calling it the “genesis of [a] new and wonderful series of competitions ... [for] ‘the complete frontiersman’”, the article included swimming, steeplechasing, shooting, riding, and fencing as the five events. The steeplechasing was a bit ambiguous; without the “foot race” reference, it could be interpreted both as a running race and a horse race.²⁰

Other articles did little to clarify the specifics of the event.²¹ A September article in the *London Daily News* contained the description of shooting, swimming, fencing, riding, and “cross-country”, which left the event open to even more misunderstanding, as will be shown shortly.²² Adding to the confusion was a January 1912 article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* announcing that the pentathlon consisted of only “shooting, swimming, fencing, and riding”.²³

Based on these and other early articles describing the new event, it is difficult to discern when Preece might have heard about it, and what she and her family actually understood about the nature of the various disciplines. Articles in the papers repeated the errors, evidence of the absence of fact-checking and accuracy of some journalism in that era. With no clarity regarding age and gender restrictions, however, the door was open for Preece to feel qualified.



Cover of the Modern Pentathlon Rule Book, Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912.

Source: International Olympic Committee Archive.

Right: 1912 modern pentathlon shooting target, from the 1912 Modern Pentathlon Rule Book.

Source: Swedish Olympic Committee, Fifth Olympiad Olympic Games of Stockholm, Sweden, 1912 Modern Pentathlon Programme, Rules, and General Regulations, Page 11.



Olympic Hopes and Dreams

Little is known about Preece's knowledge of or experience with the Olympic Games prior to 1912; however, the fact that the 1908 Games were held in London suggests that she was aware of them. Based on her memoir and other sources, it appears that she did not attend those Olympics. As a 13-year-old consumed with her ascendant riding career, she would probably have had little interest in the equestrian offerings at the 1908 Olympics, which included only three polo matches.

And yet, in early 1912 Preece began training in the modern pentathlon. How and why this came about is uncertain. Her father could have seized upon the idea to prop up his declining horse business.²⁴

While an article in the 12 March 1912 *London Standard* announced riding as an event in the upcoming Olympic Games in Stockholm, it stated, "These competitions are strictly confined to gentlemen riders."²⁵ But the article continued: "The Olympic games also include a new competition named the modern pentathlon, composed of five events: – Pistol shooting at 25 mètres; swimming, 30 [sic] mètres; fencing, épée; riding over a course of about 5000 mètres, with obstacles; cross-country race, about 4000 mètres. Each competitor must take part in every event."²⁶

No gender limitation was mentioned, perhaps giving Preece the opening he was seeking, that his daughter could ride in the Olympics by competing in the modern pentathlon. To do so, of course, she would have to train in the other events, but with several months to go

before the Games she might be able to pull it off. Based on the published material available to that point, the ambiguity in the parameters of the new event and the qualifying process could have led Preece to think that his daughter might be allowed to compete.

The *London Standard* article concluded with a sentence that the full details of all competitions were available from the British Olympic Association (BOA). Perhaps Ambrose went to the BOA office for clarification. Someone did. On 21 March 1912 the BOA was motivated by someone (perhaps Mr. Preece?) to send a query to the Swedish Olympic Committee (SOC) asking about the civilian-eligible riding events: "Are ladies eligible to compete in prize riding and jumping[?]"²⁷

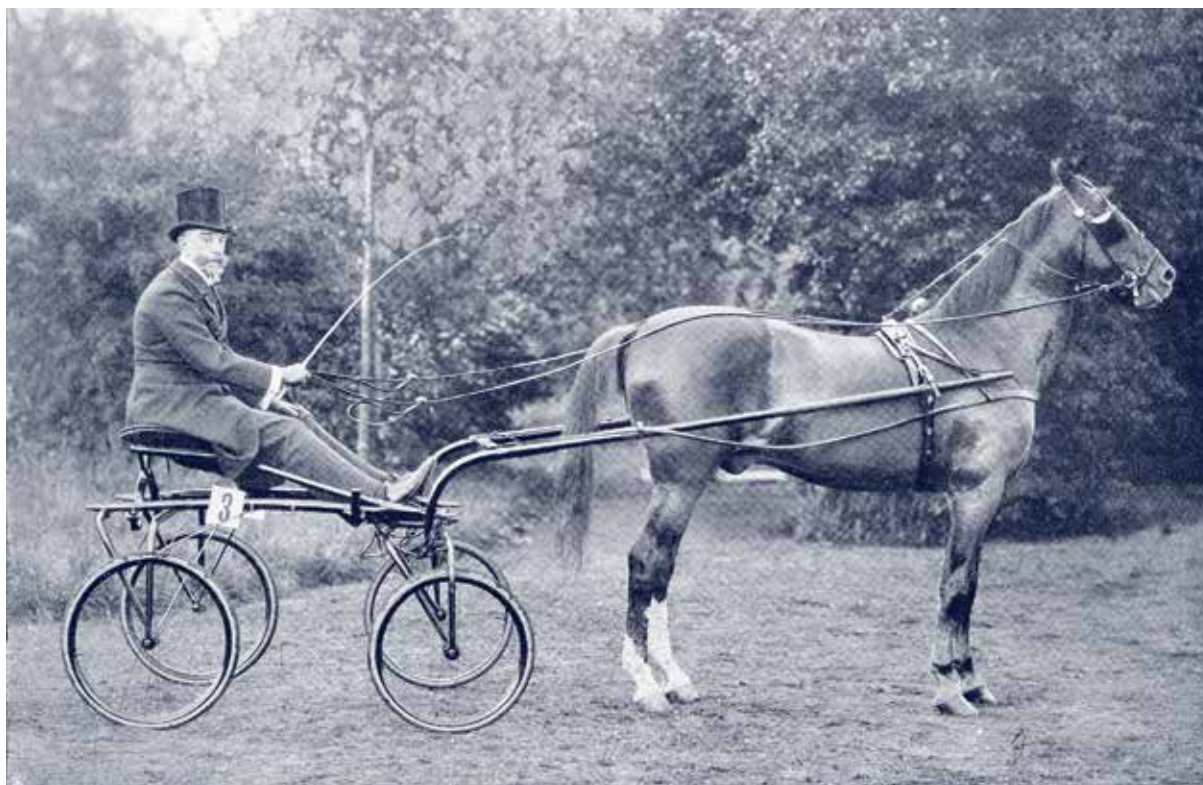
The 22 March SOC reply stated, "Horse Riding Competitions only open to gentlemen riders[.]"²⁸ While it is possible, even likely, that Preece's father had initiated this query to determine if she could compete in the civilian riding events in spite of the published regulation, that question was no longer in doubt. However, if he had obtained a copy of the Modern Pentathlon Rule Book from the BOA, he would have found that the "gentlemen only" rule does NOT appear.²⁹

In her memoir, Preece states, "Somehow through Dad's friends, they started to get me into a class for the Olympic Games."³⁰ This supports the likelihood that the initiative for the idea came from her father and his friends. Her use of the word, "class", suggests an initial horse show mindset, since horse shows are segmented into "classes" of competition.

Her memoir continues, "It was an event for women in four parts. You had to swim two miles, ride three miles over jumps, fence, and shoot a revolver at a black iron target stuck up in the ground shaped like a man wearing a top hat."³¹ While there were certainly some discrepancies in her event description (e.g., the event was not expressly for women, and it was certainly not in four parts), her descriptions of the individual athletic contests do resemble those of the modern pentathlon and may reflect her father's interpretation of the earlier newspaper article. Elements of her incomplete and inconsistent description can be found in the newspaper articles published about her in the next few months, suggesting that she or her father were the primary source of information for the reporters.

Making the commitment

Unlike the other Olympic sports, in 1912 the modern pentathlon had no national committee in Great Britain. This meant there was no organised method to select the British competitors.³² The BOA resorted to a series of newspaper invitations for applicants published in March and April, with a deadline of 1 May.³³



England-based American Walter Winans, who coached Helen Preece, is the only Olympian to win gold medals in sports and arts competitions. He won in 1908 in London in running deer and in 1912 in Stockholm in sculpture.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

This application deadline gave Preece only about 40 days to train, assuming she made her commitment immediately after the SOC confirmed to the BOA the "gentlemen only" rule in riding. If she wanted to ride in the 1912 Olympic Games, the modern pentathlon was her only hope.

Once Preece's commitment was obtained, her father began working with a press agent for a news campaign. This could have been motivated by a desire for publicising his horse and livery business to counter the increasing number of motorcars appearing on the London streets. In her memoir, Helen mentioned loaning her scrapbooks to a press agent "who wanted to write an article about me."³⁴

They must have worked quickly because on 27 March, an article appeared in the *London Standard* with the headline, "England's Girl Champion. Miss Preece's Olympic Task. A Marvellous [sic] Career".³⁵ Along with two paragraphs of background information, including the location of her father's business and a photograph of Preece on horseback, the article stated two Olympic intentions. The first was a curious reference to a 34-mile race on horseback with the last three miles being a steeplechase course. The second was to "win the Pentathlon", suggesting that she was training in five events.

Swimming, fencing, and shooting were described accurately in the article. However, riding was described as two events, a cross-country ride of 4,000 m and a ride over a course of 5,000 m. Running did not appear in the description.

Training regimen

With the Olympic deadline looming, Preece embarked on a vigorous training regimen. Her father rented a cottage for her near Richmond Park (in the vicinity of the annual Royal Horse Show) so that she could dedicate herself to training six days a week, with Sunday as a day of rest. After a walk and breakfast, she would ride each morning. The afternoons were focused on training in the other sports.

She took fencing lessons three times per week. At that time, the epee fencing style was for men only. Women were permitted to fence only with the foil, a lighter weapon. Most likely, she took foil lessons at a nearby fencing club.³⁶ For pistol shooting, the family called in Walter Winans, a friend from the horse world. As an Olympic gold medallist in shooting and the author of a book about revolver shooting, Winans was eminently qualified to train Preece. She travelled to Windsor by train twice each week for his lessons.³⁷ Her memoir also mentions training in swimming. It is unclear whether she trained in running; perhaps due to the uncertainty about the nature of the various events she neglected it. In any case, her days in the spring of 1912 were consumed with rigorous training in the various disciplines.³⁸

The petition

It is highly likely that on 1 May, Preece (or perhaps her father) submitted to the BOA a signed entry form for her to compete in the 1912 modern pentathlon,

Modern pentathlon
entry form for Hugh
Durant, one of three
men representing
Great Britain in the
1912 modern
pentathlon.

Source: Swedish Olympic
Committee archive, sok.
riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/
A0060630_00310, retrieved
June 14, 2020.

ENTRY FORM
THE MODERN PENTATHLON
EMOTTAGEN
JUNE 1st, 1912

ENTRIES CLOSE JUNE 1st, 1912

1. NATION which the competitor represents
The United Kingdom of St. Britain & Ireland.

2. NAME of Competitor in full
HUGH DURANT

3. DATE of BIRTH
February 23rd 1877

4. PLACE of BIRTH
Bristol, London, England.

5. Date of NATURALISATION
—

6. State if you yourself will procure the HORSE
Yes

Declaration to be signed by the competitor
I hereby declare that the above statements are correct, and that I am an amateur in accordance with the Olympic Rules and Rules for the different branches of sport sanctioned by the Olympic Committee.

Signature of Competitor
Hugh Durant

Declaration to be signed by the Olympic Committee of the country
The following statements were signed by the Olympic Committee of the country:
We hereby declare that the above statements are correct as far as our knowledge and belief, and we hereby sanction the competitor for the most sanctioned event.

Signature
—

Stamp: LONDON, S.W.

An article published on the front page of the 31 May issue of *The Sporting Life* announced the three United Kingdom entries for the 1912 Olympic modern pentathlon and then addressed rumours that were surely related to Preece's Olympic quest. It read, "In one quarter it was actually suggested that there was a possibility of a lady competitor being among the United Kingdom's representatives ... we can assure our readers that there is not the least likelihood of a lady being sent." The article concluded, "Rev. Courcy de Laffan ... [honourable secretary of the BOA] ... assured our representative that the ... [SOC] rules ... precluded a lady from competing in the modern pentathlon."⁴⁶

Exactly how and when the news was relayed to Preece is unclear. One can infer from her account in her memoir that she was not told the full story. Preece wrote, "I became good at all these events, but when the time came to go, the officials considered me too young."⁴⁷ The "time to go" she mentioned was in June, when the other modern pentathlon competitors were shipping their horses and making their travel arrangements for Stockholm. During that same time, Preece returned to her earlier horse show life. Her pentathlon story disappeared from the Great Britain newspapers. However, in other parts of the world, her story was just gaining traction.⁴⁸

similar to the one by Hugh Durant, including "Yes" for bringing her own horse.³⁹ On the following day, the honourable secretary of the BOA sent a letter to the Swedish Olympic Committee (SOC), saying, "We have had an application from a lady to be allowed to enter for the modern pentathlon in the Olympic Games of Stockholm. I presume from your telegram of March 22nd. [sic] stating that the Horse Riding Competitions are only open to gentlemen riders, that the Modern Pentathlon is not open to ladies. I do not however feel authorized to decide this question absolutely, and therefore beg to refer it to you for a definite decision."⁴⁰

On 7 May, the SOC responded to the BOA that they would take up the matter with the Modern Pentathlon Committee (MPC).⁴¹ But on the very next day they sent a letter to Baron Pierre de Coubertin of the International Olympic Committee asking for his recommendation.⁴²

Sandra Heck describes Coubertin's response as expressing personal opposition to women as competitors, but, since they were already admitted to the Olympic Games for swimming and tennis, suggesting that there were no real grounds for refusing them in modern pentathlon. He said he would go along with whatever the SOC MPC decided.⁴³ The MPC voted 10 to 2 on written ballots (with one vote by telephone) that women should not be admitted in modern pentathlon and the SOC sent a letter to the BOA on 17 May to that effect.⁴⁴ At least one newspaper continued to promote her cause to the public during May of 1912.⁴⁵ This likely prompted some public discussion, which evidently reached the BOA.

International notoriety

In the spring of 1912, Preece's name and image appeared often in the British papers: in that span, there were at least 19 articles about Preece and her accomplishments, about half of which focused on her participation in the Olympics. When headlines appeared with the stories, they veered toward the sensational, providing further support that her participation was newsworthy: "Best Girl Rider in the World",⁴⁹ "'Flapper' who will represent England in the Olympic Games",⁵⁰ and "England's Girl Champion".⁵¹

Once the United Press International (UPI) picked up on the story, she began appearing in newspapers around the world, often headlining the same sensational qualities celebrating a young, skilful, female horse-rider. Between January and June 1912, 11 different newspapers in Canada, and 12 papers in Australia, published articles referencing her Olympic aspirations.⁵² Her story spread the widest among US newspapers, with at least 85 articles appearing in 71 newspapers, mostly minor publications. It started and ended with ten non-Olympic stories about her horse shows – five nearly-identical stories in January and February with a photograph about the New York horse show and focused on how she rode an unmanageable horse that had killed a bystander and five announcements in October and November about how she was to visit America soon.⁵³ The middle of the year and the bulk of the stories were devoted to the Olympics. Headlines from United States

newspapers were notably less sensational than other countries, mostly focusing (erroneously) on how she was the only woman competing in the Games.⁵⁴

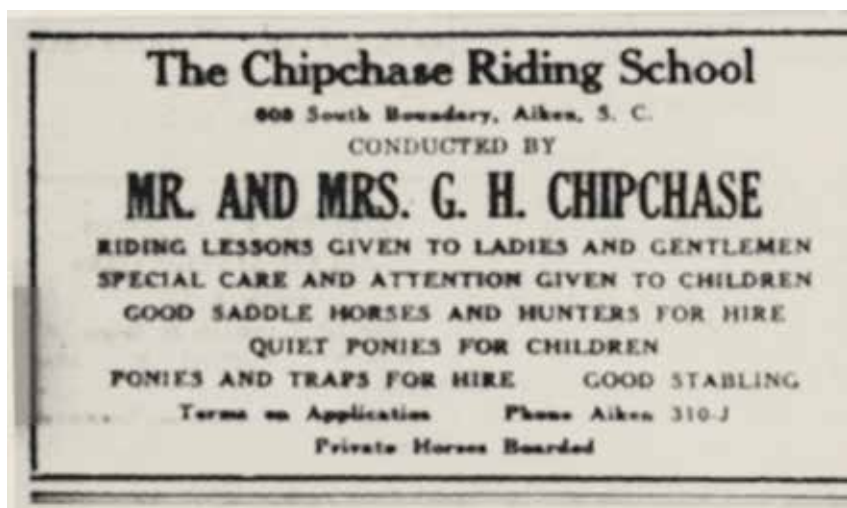
In total, Preece's Olympic story made it to at least 105 stories in 90 newspapers in Great Britain, Australia, Canada, and the United States. Errors abounded, from getting the events wrong to even placing a Stockholm dateline on the story suggesting she was present and competing in the Olympic Games. Preece's pentathlon coverage in her home country expired with the denial of her entry. Elsewhere, the story seemed to catch the imagination of creative and competitive wire services that did not place a premium on accuracy.

After Stockholm 1912

Considering that Preece believed her age had been the disqualifying factor for her petition in 1912, did she plan to try again for the Berlin Olympics in 1916? Perhaps. The next year, in an article in the *London Evening News*, a correspondent reported on her "marvellous skill" at the Richmond Horse Show, continued that she was still active in swimming, fencing, pistol shooting, and running, and concluded, "Miss Preece is ambitious and hopes to enter for events at the Olympic Games in Berlin."⁵⁵ Although Preece did not mention this in her memoir, evidently she was motivated enough by her 1912 efforts to continue training and perhaps try again in 1916. In the same vein, historian Andy Archibald reported that sometime in 1914 Ambrose Preece approached the newly formed BOA Modern Pentathlon Council to ask if women might be allowed in future Olympic modern pentathlon competitions.⁵⁶ The council did not take any action, and everything remained the same for more than eight decades. Whatever hopes and dreams Preece and her father may have had about participation in the 1916 Olympics, the onset of war dashed them abruptly and permanently. The 1916 Olympics were never held, and in the passing years Preece's life moved away from competing at the highest levels.

By 1914, the horse taxi business had been eclipsed by motor taxis, and the British Army was preparing to confiscate show horses for the war effort against Germany. George Chipchase assisted Preece and her father in immigrating to the United States, bringing some horses with them. He helped set up her father in the Washington, DC horse business, where he became so well-known that he was selected to drive the four-horse carriage that took Woodrow Wilson to his second inauguration.⁵⁷

Preece competed in several US horse shows in the fall of 1914 and then married George Chipchase in March of the following year. With him, she had two children, made "a good life", and had "a happy family".⁵⁸ The Chipchases operated their own horse business out of



Beverly Farms in Massachusetts⁵⁹ and then eventually moved to Aiken, South Carolina, where they opened and operated the Chipchase Riding School.

Aiken was a hotbed of equestrian activity at that time, enjoying a "Gilded Age" of prosperity from the 1890s to the 1940s. The Aiken Horse Show – still an annual tradition today – drew top riders from all over the world each year, along with thousands of spectators, helping make Aiken a Southern hub of high-society culture.⁶⁰

Helen and George Chipchase, Yankees wintering in South Carolina, may not have risen to the most elite social circles in Aiken, but they were prominent enough that newspapers noted their comings and goings several times each year. From these references, we can trace the life of a vibrant, successful socialite.

While in Aiken, she adopted a busy lifestyle, including raising her two daughters as well as a boy and girl from her husband's previous marriage, growing prize-winning roses, buying and selling horses, teaching riding lessons, riding to hounds, organising moonlight horseback rides, taking tennis lessons, going on bird shoots, and singing in the church choir.⁶¹

In her memoir, she noted taking morning rides with a "Mrs. Hitchcock" in Aiken and helping her to organise fox hunts and rides. "Mrs. Hitchcock" was certainly Louise Hitchcock, the *grande dame* of Aiken equestrian society. She and her husband Thomas were inheritors of a vast 2,100 acre estate, known even today as Hitchcock Woods. The Hitchcocks organised rides and fox hunts for riders from home and abroad, among other community efforts. Preece-Chipchase, while perhaps not of the same social status as the Hitchcocks, was clearly involved in many of the same activities.⁶²

Occasionally, Preece-Chipchase was noted among "high society" references in the paper. In 1936, she was numbered among "90 Prominent People" participating in the staging of "The First Commandment," which the paper celebrated as "The Biggest Event Ever Staged in Aiken!"⁶³

One of a series
of Aiken (SC)
advertisements
in 1924.

Source: Aiken (SC) Journal
Review, 23 January 1924.

**Photograph of Helen
Preece Chipchase
Lewis, circa 1966.**

Source: Frances Schilson,
great-niece.



All of these articles suggest that, after her flirtation with notoriety leading up to the 1912 Olympics, she remained a figure of note even in later years. She helped to run a business, contributed to philanthropic efforts, taught and coached many prize-winning riders (including her daughter), judged equestrian competitions, and hosted newsworthy social events.⁶⁴

On the personal front, those years may not have been as happy as they appeared to outsiders, as her time in Aiken witnessed the crumbling of two marriages. She and George Chipchase grew apart and eventually divorced. She remarried, to another horse trainer, John Leslie Smith, in December 1934, but that marriage failed a few years later.

World War II stopped the horse business. Preece disposed of her remaining livestock and moved to Virginia to take a government office job at Fort Lee. There she met Nelson Lewis, whom she married in 1942. They made a home in the Fox Hill area of Hampton, surrounded by family members. Nelson died in 1986 and Preece-Lewis followed on 2 July 1990, at the age of 94. She was buried in Hampton, Virginia.⁶⁵

Life in retrospect

The life and career of Helen Preece provide us with opportunities to reflect on the realities of gender norms and expectations in the early 20th century, and also to ponder the lost opportunities for change. Preece, raised in the comfort of a horse-centred English family, may not have fully realised the societal pressures against her at the time of her Olympic venture in 1912. In her own recounting, it was her age – not her gender – that kept her from participating in the Olympics. At times, her own naivete about the pentathlon suggests either she didn't take it as seriously as one trying to shatter a gender barrier might or that she was just going along with her father's plans.

However, from what we see in her early years of riding (especially her Central Park adventure), it's not hard to believe that Preece was on board with challenging the system and finding a way to ride in the Olympic Games.

And while media fascination with her story suggests that a woman playing at a man's game was worthy of tabloid speculation, "there is not the least likelihood of a lady being sent."⁶⁶ While a few members of the committee considering her candidacy took it seriously enough to vote in the affirmative, the prevailing view was that such an event was no place for a woman.

At the same time, her life after 1912 demonstrated that she remained a strong, independent woman, breaking barriers in other ways. Her series of divorces and remarriages suggests a woman not confined to the conventions of the day, and perhaps one whose independent streak pushed the limits of patience and understanding in her series of husbands.

Operating in a world where the men around her were wealthy and preoccupied with their own pursuits, she created her own businesses and followed her own interests. She was business owner, coach, philanthropist, judge, event coordinator, along with being a wife, mother, and mentor to her children. While the organising interests of high-level amateur sport prevented Preece from pursuing her Olympic dreams, elsewhere in life she pushed the boundaries of accepted gender norms, becoming a figure of note outside of the Olympics.

Epilogue

If Helen Preece had lived ten years and a few months more, she could have watched a landmark event on television that surely would have moved her. On 1 October 2000 in Sydney, Australia, the women's modern pentathlon at last had its Olympic debut. Preece would have been proud that women from Great Britain captured individual gold and bronze medals. It would not have been selfish for her to claim just a bit of the credit as one of the trailblazers toward gender equality in the games.

After all, she had been the first woman down that road a long time ago. Indeed, as part of the official programme for modern pentathlon at the 2000 Olympic Games, historians Stephanie Daniels and Anita Tedder contributed a one-page article that was dedicated to the memory of Helen Preece. They described her struggle and eventual denial but used the story to give a sense of closure and a salute to the history, legacy, and courage of the women who came to compete.⁶⁷

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to express appreciation to members of the Helen Preece family for their cooperation in developing this article, as well as to several colleagues, including Stephanie Daniels, Ceil Humphreys, Bill Mallon, Cindy Slater, Anita Tedder, and Steve Tipps, for their assistance. ■

- 1 *Louisville (KY) Herald*, 7 July 1912, 1.
- 2 Preece was essentially unknown to modern scholars until the late 1990s, when sport historians Stephanie Daniels, Anita Tedder, Wolf Lyberg, and Bill Mallon unearthed the aforementioned newspaper article in the IOC Archives in Lausanne. Other scholars such as Ture Widlund, Ana Maria Miragaya, Ansgar Molzberger, and Sandra Heck in particular have contributed additional details to her story. This more complete assessment of Preece's life and career builds on their work, incorporating newly discovered information, artefacts, and sources.
- 3 *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 5 May 1900, 39; *Washington (DC) Post*, 16 November 1911, 7.
- 4 Helen Preece Chipchase Lewis, "A Biography of My Earlier Life," unpublished undated signed memoir, 1. One of Helen Preece's grandchildren provided a copy to assist with this research. In her opening paragraph, Preece acknowledged that she had difficulty remembering things "in their correct order, but at least I have them down." The authors are grateful to have this record from her perspective.
- 5 Lewis, "Biography," 3.
- 6 *Ibid.*, 1–3.
- 7 <http://www.hertfordshire-genealogy.co.uk/data/places/places-wl/watford/watford-corran-school.htm>, Accessed 23 July 2020.
- 8 Lewis, "Biography," 5.
- 9 *Washington (DC) Post*, 19 November 1911, 3.
- 10 *Brooklyn (NY) Times Union*, 22 November 1911, 4.
- 11 *London Evening Star*, 13 March 1909, 2; Lewis, "Biography," 6.
- 12 Lewis, "Biography," 5–8; *London Standard*, 12 March 1910, 7; *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 27 March 1910, 13.
- 13 *London Standard*, 10 June 1910, 9.
- 14 *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 4 December 1909, 12; *Chicago Inter Ocean*, 5 December 1909, 8; Lewis, "Biography," 8.
- 15 Lewis, "Biography," 5, 6; *Washington (DC) Post*, 17 November 1911, 5.
- 16 *New York Times*, 23 November 1911, 4; Lewis, "Biography," 8.
- 17 *Baltimore Evening Sun*, 18 November 1911, 4; *London Standard*, 16 November 1911, 10.
- 18 Frigyes Hegedüs, *Modern Pentathlon* (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1968) 1, 4.
- 19 *Sporting Life*, 17 February 1911, 2.
- 20 *The Field*, 4 March 1911, 57.
- 21 *London Sportsman*, 3 July 1911, 3.
- 22 *London Daily News*, 26 September 1911, 8.
- 23 *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 January 1912, 10.
- 24 Simon Nowell-Smith, *Edwardian England 1901–1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 122.
- 25 *London Standard*, 15 March 1912, 10.
- 26 The swimming distance was a typographical error and should have been 300 metres. The running was ambiguously listed as a cross-country race.
- 27 Swedish Olympic Committee archive, sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0060645_00227, retrieved 14 June 2020.
- 28 Swedish Olympic Committee archive, sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0060645_00226, retrieved 14 June 2020.
- 29 Swedish Olympic Committee, *Fifth Olympiad Olympic Games of Stockholm, Sweden, 1912 Modern Pentathlon Programme, Rules, and General Regulations*, 3–8. Although the "gentlemen only" rule is missing, there are three pronominal references to Modern Pentathlon competitors as men: "... in his own country," and "... to his fitness," both on page 4 and "... leaves his horse," on page 13. These are likely indications of the "gentlemen only" mindset of those who wrote the rule book. The omission of the "gentlemen only" rule was probably a careless oversight.
- 30 Lewis, "Biography," 7.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 32 *London Observer*, 31 December 1911, 14.
- 33 *London Standard*, 15 March 1912, 10 and 29 April 1912, 16; *Army and Navy Gazette*, 13 April 1912, 15; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 April 1912, 13; *Sportsman*, 29 April 1912, 7; *London Daily News*, 30 April 1912, 8; *London Daily Herald*, 1 May 1912, 8.
- 34 Lewis, "Biography," 7.
- 35 *London Standard*, 27 March 1912, 9.
- 36 Nick Evangelista & Anita Evangelista, *The Woman Fencer* (Terre Haute, IN: Wish Publishing, 2001), 35.
- 37 Olympedia, Walter Winans, <https://www.olympedia.org/athletes/44792> accessed 14 June 2020; Walter Winans, *The Art of Revolver Shooting* (London: Putnam/Knickerbocker, 1901).
- 38 *Pearson's Weekly*, 23 May 1912, 12; Lewis, "Biography," 7.
- 39 The three entries sent forward from the BOA were Hugh Durant, Douglas Godfree, and Ralph Clilverd.
- 40 Swedish Olympic Committee archive, sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0060798_00101, retrieved 14 June 2020.
- 41 Swedish Olympic Committee archive, sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0060645_00139, retrieved 14 June 2020.
- 42 Swedish Olympic Committee archive, sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0060798_00100, retrieved 14 June 2020.
- 43 Sandra Heck, 2013, "Modern Pentathlon at the London 2012 Olympics: Between Traditional Heritage and Modern Changes for Survival," *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 30:7,725.
- 44 Swedish Olympic Committee archive, sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0060798_00096, retrieved 14 June 2020. The MPC decision was based on gender; Preece was told (or came to believe) that she was excluded due to her age. While it is outside the bounds of this study, there was one other potential snag in her Olympic candidacy. Even if organisers had been willing to overlook her gender and age, Helen's earlier equestrian activity and acceptance of monetary prizes could have prevented her from being classified as an amateur, another qualification hurdle at the time.
- 45 *Pall Mall Gazette*, 29 May 1912, 2.
- 46 *The Sporting Life*, 31 May 1912, 1.
- 47 Lewis, "Biography," 7.
- 48 *The Tatler*, 5 June 1912, 7; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 14 June 1912, 13; *London Evening News*, 27 June 1912, 3.
- 49 *Pearson's Weekly*, 23 May 1912, 12.
- 50 *Western Daily Mercury*, 6 April 1912, 10.
- 51 *London Standard*, 27 March 1912, 9.
- 52 E.g., *Victoria (BC, Canada) Province*, 17 April 1912, 11; *Sydney Globe*, 15 May 1912, 4.
- 53 E.g., *Madisonville Daily Hustler*, 26 January 1912, 5; *Pensacola News Journal*, 6 November 1912, 2.
- 54 E.g., *Buffalo Enquirer*, 21 June 1912, 5; *Cincinnati Inquirer*, 29 June 1912, 4; *Colorado Springs Gazette*, 30 June 1912, 18; *Louisville (KY) Herald*, 7 July 1912, 1; *San Antonio Light*, 7 July 1912, 22; *Sioux Falls Argus Leader*, 9 July 1912, 1; *Mexico (MO) Weekly Ledger*, 11 July 1912, 3.
- 55 *London Evening News*, 14 June 1913, 7.
- 56 Andy Archibald, *Modern Pentathlon, A Centenary History: 1912–2012* (London: Grosvenor House, 2012), 29–30.
- 57 Donald Read, *England, 1868–1914, The Age of Urban Democracy* (London: Longman, 1979), 418; *Syracuse (NY) Herald*, 9 August 1914, 14; *Washington (DC) Post*, 6 March 1917, 2.
- 58 Lewis, "Biography," 9, 10.
- 59 *Boston Globe*, 3 October 1914, 6; *Brooklyn (NY) Standard Union*, 9 December 1914, 12.
- 60 Jane Page Thompson, *Images of America: Aiken's Sporting Life* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2016), 7.
- 61 Lewis, "Biography," 9–13.
- 62 *Ibid.*; Thompson, *Images of America*.
- 63 *Aiken Standard*, 1 May 1936, 4.
- 64 *Ibid.*; 3 November 1936, 5.
- 65 Lewis, "Biography," 15.
- 66 *The Sporting Life*, 31 May 1912, 1.
- 67 Stephanie Daniels & Anita Tedder, "Seeking General Admission," *Official Olympic Games Sport Program: Modern Pentathlon* (Sydney 2000), 40.



Headstone of Helen Preece Chipchase Lewis (1895–1990).

Source: Dawn Stewart, used with permission.

72 Years of Olympic Memoirs

By Stan Greenberg

The athletics expert behind the BBC reporters: ISOH member Stan Greenberg received the Ron Pickering Award from the British Athletics Writers' Association in 2016 for his life's work.



I should start by indicating that I come from a religious family who had no interest in, or knowledge of, sport. Indeed I don't believe that my father had ever thrown or kicked a ball, until he started playing with me as I got older. At my infant school I discovered that I had considerable speed, which initially helped get me out of the reach of bullies, and then got me into football (as a fast winger) and cricket (as a fast fielder) teams, since I didn't appear to have the usual basic skills in those sports. As I reached my teens, during World War II, I became a football fan, regularly supporting both the Tottenham Hotspur and Arsenal teams, who used the same ground at that time. Nevertheless, I recall that I had heard of Jesse Owens and his feats at the Berlin Olympics, and he became my sports hero even then. At my grammar school, athletics was restricted to the annual school sports, although oddly enough they employed a coach and became the strongest athletics school in London the year after I left.

However, I never got personally interested in the Olympic Games until they were held in London in 1948. At that time I had only been at work (at Lever Brothers, later Unilever) for about a year, and had very low wages, so it never occurred to me to buy any tickets. Also the company had the statutory two weeks holiday, from which I had to deduct three days for religious reasons,

so that I really didn't have the holiday time available. However, at the end of the first day of the Games, my best friend came to my house and asked me if I would like to go to the next day's athletics, as he had been given two tickets. I leapt at the chance and we got to Wembley Stadium very early the next day as we had standing tickets and it was a case of first come first served.

We positioned ourselves on the back straight, directly opposite the finish line, and with food and drink from home and our programmes, we were self-sufficient. I didn't have an inkling then of how that day was eventually to completely change my life. We had read the morning newspapers and thus had some idea of who were the "stars" we would see, so we were somewhat surprised when the 100 m final was won by Harrison Dillard, apparently only the third string for the American team, and primarily known as a hurdler. Other finals that day included the hammer event, which fascinated me, and was won by world record holder Imre Németh of Hungary, who I would later see more often, and whose son Miklós I would eventually witness at the 1976 Games win the javelin event.

The other finals that day were the 400 m hurdles, the long jump, the 50km walk, and the women's javelin in which, I didn't realise till much later, was Dana Ingrová of Czechoslovakia – later to be Mrs. Zátopek. I was very pleased to see Emil as well in his 5,000 m heat, as he had easily won the 10,000 m on the first day. I was also privileged to watch the fabulous Dutchwoman Fanny Blankers-Koen in the 100 m heats. What an introduction to athletics and the Games.

I determined to attend another Olympics, and started saving up from the next day, with the intention of going to Helsinki in 1952. Also, specifically, I began reading everything I could get my hands on about athletics itself, as I soon realised that, to appreciate it properly, one needed to know something about it and its practitioners. Little did I realise just exactly what that involved.

Over the next few years I built up files on all the top athletes in the world, and read about all the major championships, especially the Olympics, of the past.

As Helsinki approached it seemed that I was not going to be able to afford it, when a fairly well-to-do aunt, at the urging of her sister, my mother, gave me a quite large, and early, 21st birthday present, which enabled

me to join an Olympic tour. Thus in mid-August 1952 I was on a ship (my first time ever) going from Tilbury, near London, to Gothenburg in Sweden, then by train to Stockholm, by ship again across the Baltic sea to Turku, Finland, and finally, because we had been delayed a day in Sweden, on a wild coach ride to get to the Helsinki Olympic stadium for the opening ceremony. It is intriguing to note that the overall journey took two days, whereas today it would only take a few hours.

At that Games there were 4,931 competitors from 69 countries, which included, for the first time, the Soviet Union, and the return of Germany and Japan. I recall that they were all lined up in perfect order when the final bearer of the torch relay entered the stadium. It was the legendary Paavo Nurmi, and there was chaos as everyone crowded to the edges of the track to take his photograph.

Our group was billeted in a school hall with double bunks, and I found that the chap above me had won the British junior mile walk in 1950. He sometimes had to wear a cumbersome metal back brace, which I helped him with, and he mentioned that his family was going to emigrate soon. His name was Norman Read, and I next heard of him four years later when he won the Olympic 50 km walk gold medal for his new country, New Zealand. One day in the stadium a middle-aged couple sat next to me, and I thought I recognised the man. He was Victor Barna, one of the greatest ever table tennis players, who had won 15 world titles when younger.

As far as I am concerned the 1952 Games were dominated by the remarkable Zátopek couple, as Emil won a unique treble of the 5,000 m, 10,000 m, and marathon golds, while his wife, Dana, took the women's javelin title. However, I was also overwhelmed by Adhemar Ferreira da Silva of Brazil who beat the existing world record in the triple jump with four jumps, his best being 16.22 m. I must also mention Australia's Marjorie Jackson who won the 100 m and 200 m, setting world marks in both. Returning home, my mind was overloaded with what I had witnessed and I redoubled my research efforts.

However, when the next Games came due, in Melbourne, I just couldn't afford the trip. There was no general television coverage in those days, so one could only learn about what was happening from newspapers and cinema newsreels, which I devoured. Although I had intended to attend the Rome Games, in the meantime I had met Carole, and when my future in-laws suggested the date of our marriage as 4 September 1960, I didn't argue as I wanted to show them that she meant more to me than sport.

The 4 September was in fact an athletics rest day, and I used to joke that, when there was a lull in the marriage service, I asked the rabbi if he knew who had won the 100 m. We then went to Lucerne for our honeymoon,

where Carole was surprised when I showed a lot of patience with the time she spent looking in the windows of smart clothes shops in the town's shopping centre. What she didn't realise for a time was that nearly all the major shops had small screens in their main windows giving Olympic results. Also, at the end of our stay we went to see the Olympic champion gymnastics team, Japan, led by the fantastic Takashi Ono, compete against the Swiss team.

Again in 1964 private life interrupted my Olympics life, as we now had our first child and once more lack of finance took over. However, I still got my Olympics fill, because of two things. Firstly, I probably put my business life in jeopardy, when I asked the Lever Brothers vice chairman's secretary, whom I had got to know as part of my work, if she would ask if I could possibly watch the Games television in the Board's conference room, if it was available. To her and my surprise I was told I could, if my departmental boss agreed. He did, as he knew I would make up the time, so I sat for most mornings in the boardroom taking down results, often interrupted by various directors and/or secretaries coming in to see how Britain was doing.

I think that my acceptance was mainly due to the fact that I was, at the time, organiser of the company athletics team. The second thing that happened was that ITV approached me to help out in their London office. This was because at that time film was sent from Tokyo by satellite, but sound came by land (and sea) line, which every now and then would break down, and the London commentator would be brought in. If that happened they needed some expertise available. Because of the time difference I was able to attend in the evenings after my work ended. They would then have a taxi to take me home for a short sleep. Thus, I had an overall better coverage of the Games than if I had actually been there.

By the time of the 1968 Games in Mexico City, I was working for the Greater London Council helping to set up its Transport Library, and had more holiday time. Strangely enough, I had been helping Norris McWhirter, of *Guinness Book of Records* fame, with some of his BBC reports on athletics in previous months. As had been the case with ITV, he had been left in London to cover any breakdowns in sound, and he asked me to sit with him and help out.

Again the time factor was in my favour, so I did. In fact the sound did go a couple of times and he filled in very well. My outstanding memory of the time was the phenomenal long jump of 8.90 m made by Bob Beamon (USA). I recall that Norris and I initially had a problem converting it to feet and inches as our conversion table only went up to 8.50 m. I suggested that it was like "someone jumping through a normal house's front window and leaving by the back window", which phrase was used by the BBC.

Possibly because of the help I had been, or because of the previous use Norris had made of me, the BBC started using me for the next 26 years for athletics generally, and thus it meant that I was present at the 1972 Games at Munich, which was very memorable, but for conflicting reasons. The standard of sport was tremendous, especially in athletics. Ron Pickering, who was also covering gymnastics, made me go with him one evening to see the new star of the sport, Olga Korbut (URS). She was terrific, though I was particularly taken by her teammate the all-round champion, Lyudmila Turishcheva.

However, it was all overshadowed by the murders of the Israeli sportsmen. The BBC office at the stadium was in such a position that I actually was in the right position to see the "famous" sight of the balaclava-clad terrorist on the Israeli team's balcony. Also the whole ghastly episode was very personal to me, as I had been introduced to one of the victims, coach Amitzur Shapira, a day or two before, and our commentary position was directly next to the Israeli commentary team whom we had befriended. I am afraid that my heart wasn't in the rest of the Games.

At Montreal in 1976 it was rather worrying to see all the armed police and soldiers throughout the Games site. There was a boycott by 20 primarily African countries, due to the inclusion of New Zealand who had played South Africa at rugby, which mainly affected boxing and some athletics events.

The swimming was virtually dominated by American men and GDR women, and I made sure I spent a couple of hours at the pool and so witnessed three world records. In athletics there was a surprise when Miklós Németh, the son of Imre who had won the hammer in London in 1948, won the javelin with a new world record. A new gymnastics star was the Romanian Nadia Comăneci, only 14 years old. At the end of the Games, Canada, who had done a great job, gained the distinction of being the first host country not to win a single gold medal.

The 1980 Games were held in Moscow, and because of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan there was a massive boycott by about 50 nations, led by the United States – difficult to confirm as a number had not intended to be there anyway – but there were still 80 countries there, and over 5,000 participants. At the opening ceremony a tremendous impression was made by use of spectator-held cards which formed wonderful images.

The sporting facilities were excellent, as indeed were the press hotels – aside from rather excessive security details. I had worried about the quality of food, based on my previous trips to the Soviet Union, but for the Games it was apparently brought by lorries from Finland every day, and was first class while we were there.

The star of these Games was again a gymnast, but this time a male, Alexander Dityatin (URS) who won a unique eight medals. Once again the GDR women dominated the swimming events, while the stadium witnessed the expected victories of Steve Ovett and Seb Coe, both of Britain, but in the "wrong" events.

Incidentally, one of the best things were the press buses, which kept incredibly to time. The time table would state that the bus would leave the hotel at say 7:54 and arrive at the stadium at say 8:21, and to the second that is the times that they left and arrived at the stadium. It seems that they had total control of the roads as they rarely took any notice of traffic lights.

The next Games, at Los Angeles in 1984, were surprise, surprise, boycotted by the Soviet Bloc and allies, with the exception of Romania. Nevertheless there were still 140 countries in attendance comprising nearly 6,800 participants. A day or so before the opening ceremony, which was fantastic, my BBC colleagues and I visited the British team's training ground in San Diego, and as we came back Stuart Storey, who was also due to commentate on the Games basketball competition, noticed an auditorium where there was to be a match between the US Olympic team (then amateurs) and a professional team – they had special permission from the IOC to do so. He somehow wangled seats for the three of us and I therefore saw the likes of Michael Jordan and Patrick Ewing. I was totally mesmerised by their skills and realised that the US team were virtually unbeatable.

Attendances at all sports was outstanding, but I am afraid that there was an unfortunate orgy of American chauvinism displayed by many spectators, and particularly the media. With the absence of the Soviet Union and East Germany the great majority of medals went to the United States, although, interestingly, the initial gold medal of the Games was won by China, their first ever, in the shooting. In the athletics Carl Lewis (USA) matched his idol, Jesse Owens in 1936, by taking gold medals in the 100 m, 200 m, long jump, and relay. The closing ceremony involved one of the greatest fireworks displays ever staged.

It is unfortunate that the 1988 Games in Seoul will forever mainly be remembered for the 100 m win and staggering record by Canadian Ben Johnson, who was later disqualified for drug use. Other than that the Games were excellent, and due to a number of additions of events and sports the event total had risen to a record 237. North Korea caused some discourse, not being allowed to host half of the Games, by withdrawing along with a few hard-line Communist countries, such as Albania and Cuba, but there were still a record 159 countries and 8,423 competitors. US television paid enormous sums for coverage rights, and there was an estimated total of 16,000 media.

The original "Antwerp flag" from 1920 had been fading away, and thus a new one was presented to the IOC by the Seoul Organising Committee. The opening ceremony involved some tremendous drumming, and the torch was carried part of the way in the stadium by 76-year-old Sohn Kee-Chung (Kitei Son), the Korean who had won the 1936 marathon for the then occupying Japanese.

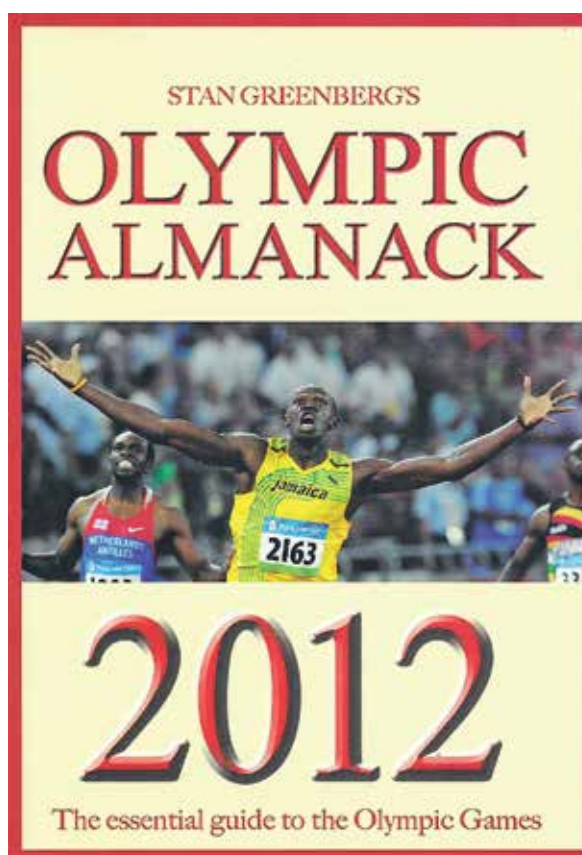
Kristin Otto (GDR) won a record six titles at swimming, including at three different strokes. In diving, Greg Louganis (USA) retained both his titles from 1984, despite hitting his head on the board during one preliminary dive. In boxing there were a number of "bizarre" decisions, and some judges were suspended. One evening I had just entered the weightlifting hall when the great Naim Süleymanoğlu (TUR) lifted a remarkable new world record in the featherweight category. On the track Florence Griffith Joyner (USA) won three gold medals and a silver in the 100 m, 200 m, and both relays, while her sister-in-law, Jackie Joyner-Kersey, won the heptathlon and long jump.

Prior to the Barcelona Games in 1992 I had initially given up my work with the BBC, but they had then given me a computer and printer and persuaded me to remain. I am particularly pleased that I did, because it turned out to be the most pleasurable Olympics I had been to since 1952. Having spent months getting all my data onto the computer and then adding the bib numbers of the athletes, I could literally produce the information needed by the commentators within minutes, instead of the previous many hours. It meant that I was able to look around the town and village to a degree virtually impossible before.

There were new records set by the number of countries competing (169) – actually there were 170 countries in the opening parade (but Afghanistan had no competitors) and competitors (9,385). In total there were 259 medal events in 26 sports and a record 64 countries won medals. For a change there were no boycotts and South Africa returned to Olympic competition after 32 years; the Baltic States were independent, and reunified Germany competed as one team.

As usual the media outnumbered the competitors. The opening ceremony was very colourful and musical. The overall standard of sport was high, especially in tennis and basketball where professionals were allowed for the first time. Indeed the US basketball team, containing "Magic" Johnson and Michael Johnson, was one of the highlights of these Games. Other particularly noteworthy performances were in the 400 m hurdles, in which Kevin Young (USA) smashed the world mark with 46.78, and in the 1,500 m swimming gold by Kieran Perkins (AUS), also with a world record of 14:43.48.

Unfortunately Barcelona was the last Games I was to attend for some time due to financial and age reasons. However, watching TV coverage of the next four Games



OLYMPIC ALMANACK
2012 – one of many
reference books on
the Olympic Games
and Commonwealth
Games published by
Stan Greenberg.

gave me a far better coverage and knowledge of what was going on than "merely" being present primarily at the athletics events.

Thus I was determined to attend the 2012 Games in London, despite having entered my 80s. I didn't think that I would be able to get press accreditation, but I was pleasantly surprised when I learned that the head of the media organisation had applied, on my behalf, to the IOC, pointing out all that I had done for athletics and the Games over the years.

They were kind enough to grant me a special IOC accreditation, and I had a wonderful position in the press section of the stadium, directly over the finish line. Thus I was able to meet up with many of my world-wide friends and colleagues, as well as have a terrific view. There were some excellent performances, but I hope I will be forgiven if I fix on the famous Saturday when Britain won three golds, achieved by Greg Rutherford in the long jump, Jessica Ennis in the heptathlon, and Mo Farah in the 10,000 m. There were three fabulous world records on the track, by David Rudisha (800 m), and the United States in the men's and women's 4 x 100 m relays, but it is that Saturday which still sticks in my mind.

Thus my wonderful Olympic connection came to an end, as I didn't even consider attempting Rio in 2016, and possible thoughts of 2020 Tokyo were obliterated by the virus pandemic. Hopefully, they will follow this summer. After that comes Paris in 2024, who knows, and God willing I may not be quite finished yet. ■

Rise of the Reich in Mandate Palestine: The NSDAP, Jerusalem YMCA, and “Participation” of Attallah Kidess in the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games (Part 3)

By San Charles Haddad

The “Olympic Tent”
of the German YMCA
Movement and New
Christians at the 1936
Olympic Games in
Berlin.

Source: Private collection of
Dr. Christian Kunz



NB: This is the fourth and final article in a series for *Journal of Olympic History (JOH)* that explores Mandate Palestine's connections to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games. The *nota bene* from the first article¹ also applies to this article. The articles in the series should be read in sequence.

Foreword

As mentioned in the Foreword to my previous article, this final article (Part 3 of the examination of Attallah Alexander “Ted” Kidess and his connection to a Palestinian delegation to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games) continues to address the various claims, made over decades, that Kidess was an Olympian. I continue to compare these claims to documentary evidence of note.

While my research remains inconclusive regarding a complete understanding of who initiated the Palestinian delegation and for what purpose, this final article, when combined with my others in the series, defines a more complete picture of what transpired with Palestine's presence at the “Nazi” Olympics. At the same time,

my research opens the door for others to examine my findings further and explore archival material that I have not yet discovered or have been unable to access.

Since March 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic has inhibited access to archives around the world, and I have not been able to conduct extensive new research. Nor has *JOH* Editor Volker Kluge been able to access easily material of interest that he identified at the Bundesarchiv. Nevertheless, our research is ongoing in this regard, with a tranche of preliminary German files obtained in October 2020. In our discussions pertaining to the Palestine Olympic file in Berlin, Kluge has noted that only about 20% of the material from the XI Olympiad survived the war, so it could be that the veil of secrecy that has shrouded the Palestinian delegation to Berlin will remain in place. Special thanks are due to Kluge and ISOH member Dr. Christian Kunz for providing insight, research support, primary documents, and photography for this third article pertaining to Kidess and the Palestinian delegation to the “Nazi” Games.

Kidess as Palestine's first Olympian?

It behooves me to clarify that even though there are claims that Kidess was in Berlin as an Olympic athlete, he was not a member of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP/Nazi Party). My research demonstrates the early deep and effective penetration of Nazis at the Jerusalem YMCA, but we know from Appendix II of Heidemarie Wawrzyn's *Nazis in the Holy Land 1933–1948* (2013) that Kidess is not identified as a member of the NSDAP. Her appendix lists more than 700 ethnic Germans (*Palästindeutsche*) who joined the NSDAP during the Mandate but does not address known Arab members.²

We know that, in 1933, approximately 40 of the *Palästindeutsche* Party members joined the Jerusalem YMCA en masse, shortly after Kidess left Palestine to study in the United States of America. In her Acknowledgements about her research,³ Wawrzyn identified the extensive sources she used to compile her list. I conducted an additional review of American intelligence documents (Declassified NND 61695) on the NSDAP in Palestine, held at NARA⁴ in College Park, Maryland,⁵ and confirmed that Kidess is *not* listed in those records among the few Arabs who did hold party membership. Only a handful of Arab (or other Palestinian “non-Aryans”) were ever granted Party membership, and these men were affiliated with the Grand Mufti and military operations that he supported against the Zionists. They generally received German monikers to conduct their Party business.

Kidess left the Association with Heinrichs' coordination and support (along with that of Laurence Doggett,⁶ Springfield College's fourth president): he received a scholarship to complete a master's degree in Massachusetts, between 1933 and 1935. It was Heinrichs who personally received the cable from the college “granting scholarship of tuition and room-rent”⁷ to Kidess, a fact recorded in his diary that demonstrates his central role in not just launching but also advancing Kidess's career with the YMCA Movement. Heinrichs' support effectively secured a pathway for Kidess out of Palestine, when things got dicey in the summer of 1946 with the bombing of the King David Hotel.

On the same day that the cable approving Kidess's scholarship arrived, Heinrichs received approval from all the Association's board members (except J. Gordon Boutagy) to replace Kidess temporarily with his own brother, Conrad Heinrichs.⁸ (This would later be used nefariously to accuse Heinrichs of nepotism and be included in the list of reasons to fire him – which the Executive Committee had no right to do anyhow.) Later, on 6 July 1933, Heinrichs' entire family, which had previously arrived in April for the dedication of the new building, even hosted the senior leader's dinner, at which they personally bade Kidess farewell. Based

on Heinrichs' diary entries and his support of Kidess's studies, it is fair to conclude that Heinrichs and Kidess were comparatively close (in contrast to other Arab staff).

Kidess's departure occurred just days after the founding of the local branch of the NSDAP in Jerusalem. Quickly thereafter, things with the Nazis in Jerusalem heated up. In a letter to Frank Slack, Heinrichs pointed out that “some 30 members of the German community ... recently joined the Association (after many years of no contact with the Y.M.C.A.)”⁹ This sudden nature of the Germans' affiliation to the Association implies that the decision to join came with an agenda, especially since the *Palästindeutsche* were historically comfortable (and preferred) practicing sport in their own network of German sport clubs in the German colonies throughout Palestine.

In his valuable book, *From Desert Sands to Golden Oranges: The History of the German Templer Settlement of Sarona in Palestine 1871–1947* (2005), Helmut Glenk discusses the active sporting life of the *Palästindeutsche* after their return, in 1920, from exile and internment in Egypt during the First World War. Glenk even identifies how “[t]he build up to, as well as the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin, Germany may well have given a stimulus to” the Hindenburg trophy.¹⁰ Wawrzyn identified this sports competition as integral to the emergence of the NSDAP in Palestine, in 1932, and concludes her chapter on “NS Groups and Events” by recounting the August 1934 edition of the competition, during which “[t]he Hitler salute was given with raised arms.”¹¹ It is worth noting that these were public events at which even the British police competed, so these Nazi displays in Palestine were much more public initially than even the Party in Germany allowed them later to be.¹²

Source: University of Minnesota Libraries' Department of Archives and Special Collections, Kautz Family YMCA Archives, Records of YMCA International Work in Palestine and Israel.



As Heinrichs looked over details of the dedication of the new Jerusalem YMCA with Lord Allenby, in April 1933, dark forces penetrated Jerusalem from Germany as Nazis finalised the formation of an NSDAP *Ortsgruppe* in the Holy City, in June of the same year.



Heinrichs had fled to the US about five months (in March, 1934) before the third edition of this sports competition to fight to keep his job. Kidess met with Heinrichs just two weeks after Heinrichs' Nazi-induced return to the US. Heinrichs recorded in his diary how the men met for breakfast in Springfield and, "had a very interesting discussion on [the] Jerusalem situation. I went back to the YMCA and sat ... for an hour, and talked of ... Kidess' thesis, and the [Jerusalem] staff."¹³ Their correspondence would continue as late as November 1934, when Kidess informed Heinrichs of developments in Jerusalem by letter.¹⁴ Kidess was among three individuals from Jerusalem who raised the alert to Heinrichs in correspondence that the Association's staff who had supported him (against the Nazis) were being fired. Clearly, Kidess maintained correspondence from the US with Jerusalem colleagues and had received information about how things were unfolding with the NSDAP after Heinrichs had fled. Suddenly, in 1935, Kidess was recalled to Jerusalem, under unclear circumstances, whence he became the director of the Physical Department, remaining in the post until 1947. Within a year of his return to Jerusalem, a Palestinian delegation to the Berlin Games had been decided. As my previous article has shown, Kidess appears to have led this entire effort.

There is no evidence yet found to suggest that Kidess had advance notice of the Nazis' intentions toward the man who hired him. As a Mason, Kidess also would have been considered an enemy of the Nazis. But Kidess knew, concurrently, of Nazi actions against Heinrichs

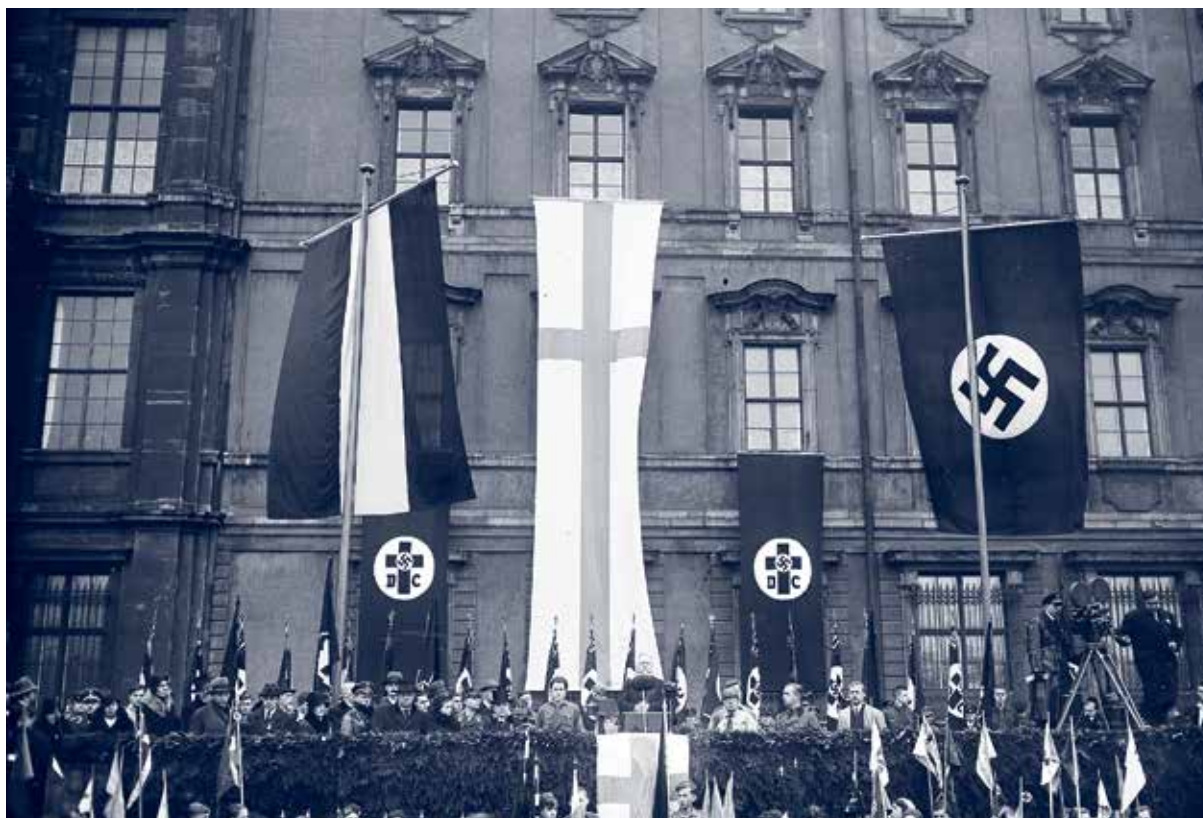
(and presumably Masons, too). This makes his decision to participate in Berlin, especially after an extended period of exposure to the boycott debate in the US, peculiar. One can imagine a range of reasons for his trip to Berlin, from anti-Nazi Masonic agent for the British to anti-Zionist civilian sport leader for the Arab sport cause.

Kidess lived in Palestine at a time when many of its inhabitants were sympathetic to the rise of Hitler. Many, especially in certain Christian circles, considered the Third Reich as a potential ally in their conflict with Zionism. If an Arab Palestinian delegation, possibly comprising NSDAP-affiliated *Palästina-Deutsche*, attended the Berlin Games in any capacity, this is historically significant. Therefore, it is reasonable to question why someone, seemingly as principled as Kidess, would go to Berlin at all and, for decades after the war, have the audacity to allow the story's promotion, once the crimes of the Nazis were well known. To be frank, it also calls into question the rationale of Springfield College in allowing such promotion, and renders extremely suspicious the editorial choice, after the 1972 Munich Massacre of Israeli Olympic delegation members, to use "Middle East" in lieu of "Palestine" when describing Kidess's Olympic affiliation. This diction was chosen for a speech written for the bestowal of a distinguished service award to Kidess, which he received in 1979.¹⁵

Kidess is the *only* Mandate-era Palestinian whom I was able to identify, in *archival records*, as attending the Berlin Games as a member of this alleged Palestinian Olympic delegation. From time to time, I wonder whether Kidess's story is simply one of self-aggrandisement: Other than the *Filastin* article that reported the delegation's return,¹⁶ I have not found contemporaneous primary *archival* evidence that corroborates Kidess's claim that Palestine was, in fact, at the Games in an *official Olympic* capacity. But I did find documents that suggest there is a thread of truth to Kidess's assertion—perhaps a quasi-official participation through a third channel. Three of these documents are of note, and I discuss them in the next section of this article.

In addition, while I was still working in Qatar and seeking assistance on *The File* from an eminent Palestinian sociologist, I was made aware of the existence of a photo album of a Palestinian delegation to the Berlin Games. The sociologist conveyed to me his understanding that the delegation was a tourist endeavour. I was not so sure, especially after that letter I received from the lawyer.

After publishing *The File*, I finally reached out to that scholar and asked him to put me in touch with the person who has custody of the album. I was able to learn that it belonged to another member of the delegation who had joined Kidess. The other delegation member's family ended up in the American Midwest after the war, as did



Speech by
Pastor Joachim
Hossenfelder
on Luther Day,
19 November 1933,
Berlin.

Source: Bundesarchiv,
Bild 102-15234 / photographer:
Georg Pahl.

many Palestinian Christians. The photo album includes dozens of photographs and other primary documents of historical value. We now know the names of five delegation members, but I agreed with the individual who holds the album that I will not disclose more details in this article. Suffice it to say, since my last article we have much more information about this delegation.

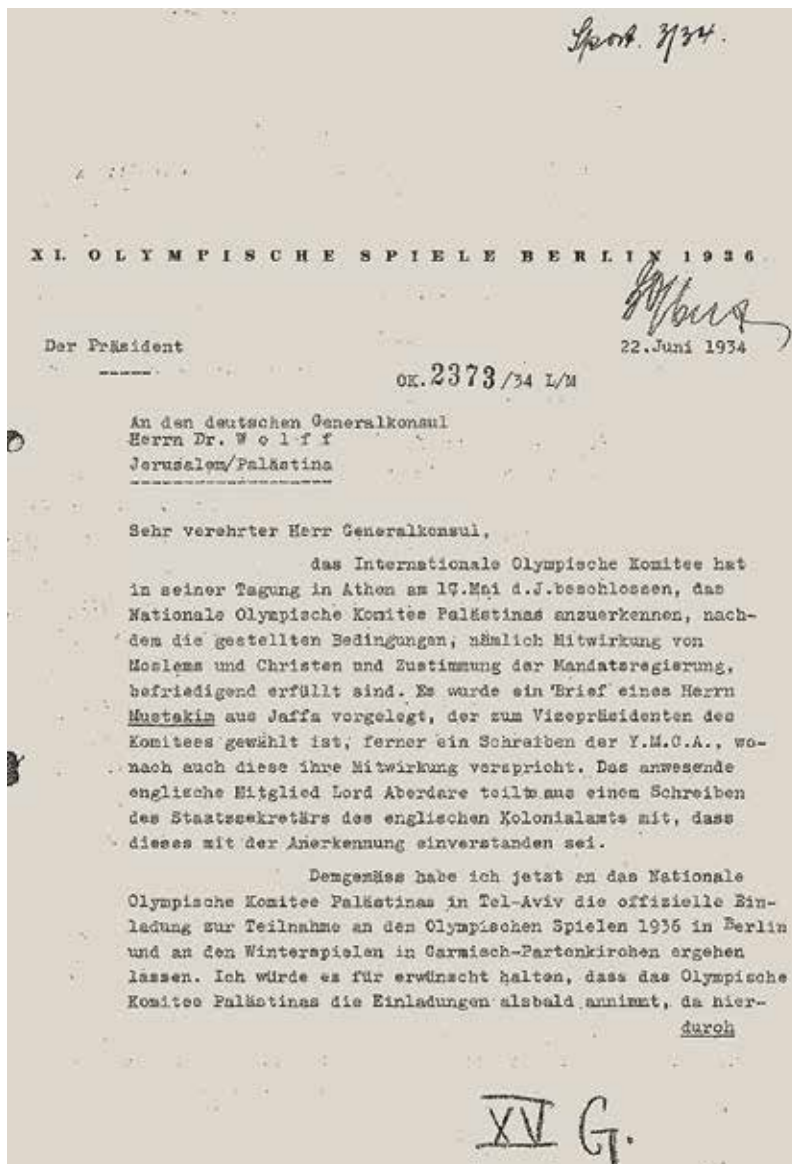
The archival evidence of note: Lewald's letter

The first document of note is a correspondence (No. OK.2373/34 L/M) that is contemporaneous to the recognition of the POC. Sent by Theodor Lewald to General Consul Wolff in Jerusalem (on the same day that the Organising Committee mailed its invitation, No. OK.2374/34 L/M, to the Palestine Olympic Committee), the letter stated:

*At its meeting in Athens on May 17th, the International Olympic Committee decided to recognize the National Olympic Committee of Palestine after the conditions set, namely the participation of Muslims and Christians and the approval of the mandate government, had been satisfactorily met. A letter was presented from a Mr. Mustakim from Jaffa, who was elected vice-president of the committee, as well as a letter from the Y.M.C.A., which also promised to be involved. The present English member Lord Aberdare stated from a letter from the Secretary of State of the English Colonial Office that the latter agreed with the recognition.*¹⁷

Thus far, this is the only *Olympic* document that I found that supports the theory that the Nazi agitation against Heinrichs at the Jerusalem YMCA was coordinated with those inside the Association, linked to the Olympic file, and served as a pathway for a Palestinian delegation to the Berlin Games. It also suggests that the Zionist effort was above board. The British (in Jerusalem and London) were aware of the Zionists' efforts, and these efforts were not the great secret or chicanery that some might claim them, today, to have been. Lewald's letter also suggests that the continuation of Heinrichs at the Jerusalem YMCA most certainly would have led to the Arabs' inclusion in the governance structure, and, in turn, this might explain the reluctance of some to scrutinise or discuss this file, especially as it relates to Kidess, the Berlin Games, and the Arabs' failure to obtain recognition from the IOC. Basically, the Arab camp appears to have made a fateful strategic error when it backed the Nazi position in the Jerusalem YMCA and abandoned Heinrichs – the man they had hired to deliver the Olympic affiliation.

I could not find the original YMCA letter that Lewald referenced. If it was a letter that Heinrichs signed before he left, this would only reinforce the debacle that his ouster created for the legitimate Arab position at the table of Olympic governance. It is also not clear whether the YMCA letter went only to the Organising Committee in Berlin, or also to the IOC. The IOC's recognition letter, sent to Kisch, only referenced Mustakim's letter (which the Zionists had forwarded to Switzerland) and made no mention of the YMCA. In addition, Kisch had complained



First page of Theodor Lewald's letter identifying that the Jerusalem YMCA would be involved with the Palestine Olympic Committee and, presumably, the Berlin Organising Committee, 1934.

Source: Sport 1928 to 1939, Israel State Archives (Jerusalem, Israel) 67.113-1530, 526/15-12.

specifically about the Jerusalem YMCA as an obstacle to sport cooperation in a letter to IOC President Count Henry Baillet-Latour.¹⁸ Mustakim, who was Muslim, was not on the board of the Jerusalem YMCA and not in a position to speak on the Association's behalf. Thus, it seems that the YMCA letter was sent to Germany but *not* to Switzerland, thereby reinforcing the theory that the Arabs established a backchannel to the Organising Committee in Berlin. Obviously, the *Ortsgruppe* that infiltrated the Jerusalem YMCA is the most likely key to the backchannel.

The evidence gathered to date strongly supports the theory of a backchannel. It is important to highlight that, by the time the Great Arab Revolt erupted in April 1936, Mustakim was increasingly unpopular in some Palestinian circles, and the Arab nationalists aligned with (or afraid of) the Grand Mufti would likely have been avoiding the Arab vice president of the POC. Khair Eldin Abul Jubein, who wrote the laudatory article about Kidess in *Al Difa* newspaper (discussed in my last article), eventually recounted in his memoirs (in 2002) how

Mustakim was one of many Jaffa-based members of the political opposition to the Grand Mufti who enhanced his personal security to prevent assassination.¹⁹ Abul Jubein also helped reconstitute the APSF with both Spiro and Attallah Kidess, so Abul Jubein was in a position to remember well the intra-Arab sport politics of the period. His work with the Kidess brothers suggests that the Kidesses *did* harbour anti-Zionist sentiments that *found expression in sport organising*, despite Attallah's also holding a senior leader role at the Jerusalem YMCA, where this type of expression was not allowed.

Abul Jubein is an important sport colleague of Kidess to reference, because he was also an early member of *Al Najjadeh*, the paramilitary resistance organisation of Palestine, which was founded in early 1945 from the Islamic Sports Club in Jaffa, shortly after the reconstitution of the APSF.²⁰ This club had also provided players for the 1931 Arab Palestinian national football team, of which (as we have already seen) Attallah Kidess was a member. On the occasion of the founding of *Al Najjadeh*, Ahmed Al Shukeiri, who eventually served as the Palestine Liberation Organization's first chairman (before Yasser Arafat cemented control), delivered a speech on the Al Bassa sport field of Jaffa.²¹ Although it is not known whether either of the Kidess brothers attended this event, I draw attention to it to underscore just how politicised (and militarised) the Arab Palestinian sport camp had become by 1945. Indeed, these paramilitary developments might have been a factor in Kidess's 1947 decision to leave Palestine, especially in light of the fact that many Palestinians mourned the defeat of Germany, and the neighbouring Arab states were unable to prevent the United Nations' recommendation to partition the country. This recommendation allotted – controversially – Kidess's ancestral coastal city of “primarily-Arab” Jaffa to the Jewish state.

The archival evidence of note: Hartman's letter

The second document of note is a letter from Paul Hartman (the man who replaced Kidess), dated 20 January 1947, to Harold T. Frierhood in New York (a member of the United States Olympic Committee, 1944–1985).²² This correspondence references conversations, in 1947, about the Berlin delegation, and Kidess's attempts to leave Palestine. As noted in my previous article, Frierhood was the interlocutor between Avery Brundage and Hartman on the Palestine situation. Hartman had come to Jerusalem to replace Kidess, who had announced his plans to leave. From Hartman's letter, we learn that, in 1947, Kidess was preparing to leave for the US, perhaps by April: “Kidess is still here and the only possibility of his leaving before about April is tied up with Australian connections. They seem to be interested in



Farewell dinner for Lee M. Terrill, the associate secretary-general of the Jerusalem YMCA in 1943. Kidess is seated front, inside right table. Kidess would later miss a scheduled meeting with Terrill in New York, causing YMCA officials in New York to question Kidess's attitude.



Left: First day cover sent from the Benghazi field office with a Jewish National Fund commemorative stamp of Frederick Kisch, chief engineer of the Allied Eighth Army and president of the Palestine Olympic Committee, 1944. Kisch died on April 7, 1943 in the Battle of Wadi Akarit.

Source: Private collection of San Charles Haddad. Crown Copyright expired. Stamp image sources an original JNF/KKL portrait of Kisch.

him for some special work before he goes to the U.S. but with the speed that events take place out here, I doubt if it will materialize."²³ Kidess's connections to Australia are not clear, but they are curious: *Palästindeutsche* who had a family member associated with the NSDAP in Palestine were sent to Australia in a transport during the war. The advance toward Palestine of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps triggered the first major transport of more than 600 *Palästindeutsche* to the island-continent's internment camps at Tatura, because the British were concerned about the possibility of a fifth column.²⁴

After the 1948–49 Arab–Israeli War, Australia was also where J. Gordon Boutagy settled. Boutagy was a member of the Jerusalem YMCA's executive committee and Heinrichs' chief antagonist. Nicholas Lattot, the Association's assistant secretary-general, pointed the finger squarely at Boutagy and Boulous Said for Heinrichs' ouster (in a letter to Heinrichs, which seems not to have survived).²⁵ Lattot accused them of colluding to keep

Heinrichs' fate out of the wider board meeting.²⁶ He tried in vain to convince Heinrichs that he did not collude in his ouster, and regretted their split late into his life. The decision of the Association's Executive Committee to ask Heinrichs to resign was a shock – even to YMCA leaders in the US – and provoked an investigation covered in the international press. Heinrichs' ouster occurred only three weeks before the recognition of the POC by the IOC. Diary accounts suggest Heinrichs' stand against the Nazis, and his accommodation of Jews at the Association, especially incensed Boutagy. Upon discovering from Lattot that his fate had been only in the hands of Boutagy, one of the Jamal brothers, Dr. Tawfik Canaan, and Said, Heinrichs recorded in his diary that he was done for.

Curiously, the only Palestinian surname associated with the Jerusalem YMCA board that actually shows up in NSDAP records from Palestine (that I reviewed) is "Boutagy". One family member in Haifa is identified as moving Nazi propaganda across the border with Syria (now Lebanon) on behalf of the Party, but there is no

evidence that this was J. Gordon Boutagy himself (who was from Haifa, but also lived in Jerusalem because of his business).²⁷ However, the Boutagys did import radios to Palestine and might have been the conduit for Germany's shortwave radios – *Volksempfänger* – which allowed Palestinians to receive news directly from the airwaves of the Third Reich and were eventually all impounded by the British.

In later life, Boutagy served as an Anglican minister. In this role, the Anglican Church, whose Archbishop in Jerusalem was one of Heinrichs' strongest supporters in the *Völkischer Beobachter* affair, barred Boutagy from using his position as a clergyman for political purposes, especially in relation to Israel and Palestine.²⁸ After the Black September attack at the Munich Games, Boutagy also provided an interview to the Australian press. Although he deplored the action of Black September, he was also quoted as saying, "Why should Arabs suffer for the crimes of the [Nazi] Germans."²⁹ Despite the fact that Boutagy eventually became an Anglican minister, in 1934 (when Heinrichs consulted the Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem and obtained his backing in the battle against ordering the *Völkischer Beobachter*), it was Boutagy, according to Heinrichs' diary entries, who most vocally protested the bishop's involvement: Heinrichs wrote that Boutagy "thought I had embarrassed the case in favor of the Jews,"³⁰ meaning that the Nazi newspaper was less likely to be ordered *because* Heinrichs had involved the Anglican bishop. In a critical meeting of the board during the newspaper incident, it was Boutagy who forced Heinrichs to reveal his confidential correspondence to Bayard Dodge in Beirut, the contents of which none of the other board members found problematic. In his diary, Heinrichs characterised Boutagy's conduct in the meeting as "wild".³¹

Returning to Hartman's correspondence, it reinforces the impression that, by early 1947, Kidess was making plans to leave Palestine, possibly exploring more than one option as to where he might establish himself in the event of Arab Palestine's collapse. By this time, the political situation in Palestine was very unstable. The previous summer, the King David Hotel, located across the street from the Jerusalem YMCA, was bombed by *Lehi*, an extreme Zionist faction. The attack killed several of the Association's board, staff, and members. Four months prior, the Hagannah had also assassinated Gotthilf Wagner (NSDAP No. 7024779) in his car near the German colony Sarona, close to Jaffa. I have not uncovered evidence that Kidess was connected to Wagner: I mention Wagner's assassination only because, at the time, it was big news and hit close to home (Kidess also being from Jaffa).

In her research on the assassination, Wawrzyn notes that the Zionists had learned that Wagner was the person Germany had named to assume the role of *Gauleiter*,

in the event that the Nazis had made it to Palestine during the war.³² This means that Wagner would have been in charge of Palestine (similar to the way that Reinhard Heydrich was in charge of Czechoslovakia) and central to implementing the Final Solution in the territory, as might have Waldemar Fast, the Jerusalemite most likely responsible for preparing the travel of the Palestinian delegation to Berlin: "His German Travel Office, located at the Fast Hotel, was responsible for providing 'all particulars' regarding the Berlin Games for those interested in traveling to see them."³³ In 2006, Anna Rohrer, one of the *Palästina-Deutsche* deported (as a child) to Australia, in 1941, remembered Fast as "Von Papen's ambassador" in Turkey, who facilitated the prisoner exchange between Jews (from concentration camps in Europe) and Germans (interned in Palestine).³⁴ After the Second World War, the Jewish Agency (which would also be bombed in Jerusalem's civil war) seems to have been well aware of Fast's alleged senior status in the SS, vaguely stating, immediately after the war's end, *In the disturbances of 1936–1939 their sympathies were avowedly with the terrorist bands and their supreme leader, Amin Al Husseini. German settlements were known to be harboring terrorists and assisting them with information, shelter and technical means. German workshops were used for the manufacture of land mines and other means of destruction and for the instruction of Arab terrorists in their handling. At the outbreak of the war some of the younger members of this colony left Palestine in time to join the German army. Some were subsequently sent back to Palestine as spies or agents. One Palestinian German is reported to have achieved great notoriety as a principal commissioner in charge of the extermination of Jews; he showed a thorough knowledge of Palestinian–Jewish affairs and even boasted knowledge of Hebrew.*³⁵

Thus, by 1946, some Zionists had decided to take out people they considered affiliated with the Nazis, as well as those they deemed to be standing in the way of their declaration of a Jewish State. Such boldness would probably have unnerved anyone who had a link to the Palestinian delegation that went to the Berlin Games, even if the delegation's intentions had been innocent. After all, at the height of the Nazi agitation at the Jerusalem YMCA, amply covered in the local and international press at the time,³⁶ Heinrichs had made it clear that the Association building was full of spies, including Nazi agents.³⁷ So, the Zionists were probably well aware that a YMCA delegation reached out to Berlin shortly thereafter, but it was probably not clear in exactly what capacity (unless the Zionists themselves sent it, which seems to me highly unlikely). Because Hartman's 1947 letter also suggests that, 11 years later, the



The aftermath of the bombing of the King David Hotel by the extreme Zionist faction Lehi. The bombing killed several Jerusalem YMCA board staff and other Association members, 1946.

Middle: Damage to the Jerusalem YMCA from the bombing of the King David Hotel. The bombing most certainly would have unnerved Kidess and all who were touched so closely by it.

Below: The bombing of the Ben Yehuda business district by Arab extremists in 1948, considered retaliation for the attack on the King David Hotel.

Sources: Top: G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. Digital ID matpc12970 <https://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/matpc.12970>. Center and bottom: PHG1075989 and PHG1073337 (respectively), reproduced with permission of the Central Zionist Archives. Photographers: Unknown. Originals held at the Central Zionist Archives 75989 and 73337.



delegation was not a secret, it is no surprise that, after the Wagner assassination and bombing of the King David Hotel, Kidess began looking for a way to leave Palestine. It is a well-documented fact that a general sense of fear gripped Jerusalem in those days, and anyone who experienced the bombing of the King David Hotel on such a personal level, as did Kidess, would have been deeply shaken, even without a connection to the Berlin Games.

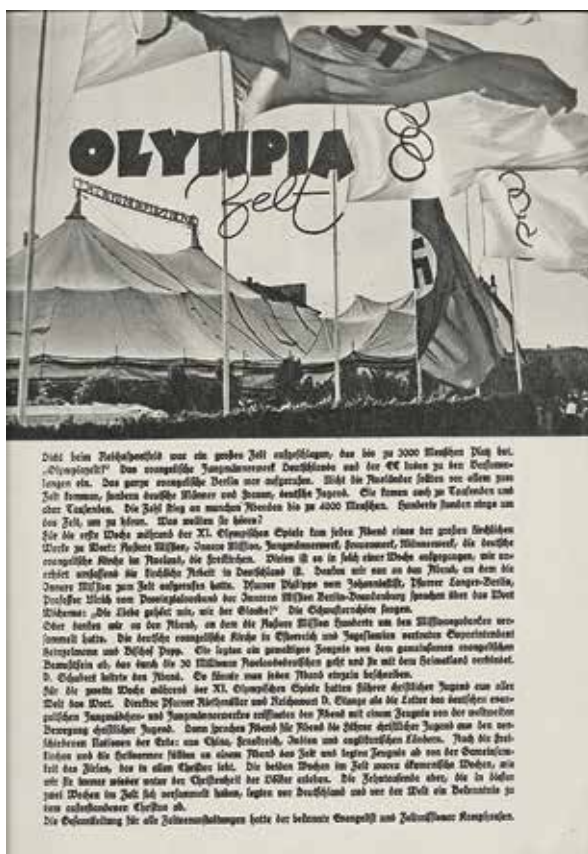
Hartman's 1947 letter also lamented the shortcomings of the Arab attitude toward sport, just as Lattof had done 17 years earlier. Hartman wrote, "I find members over here prone to put their athletic activity in a secondary position to many other forms of leisure time activity such as having a cup of coffee for an hour."³⁸ Writing the letter over a period of days, he continued his second page on 23 January, expressing hope that a trip to the 1948 Olympics would materialise and stating, "I think it should be possible as Kidess went with a group in 1936 and they are still talking about it."³⁹ This letter proves that, during the ten-month period in Jerusalem when Hartman worked with Kidess, Palestinians were still discussing (publicly or privately) their delegation to Berlin and, it appears, trying to find a pathway to the 1948 Games in London. Despite attending the Games in 1936, Kidess seems not to have desired to stick around and partake in another Olympic effort.

We now know that there should have been *no* official Palestinian delegation in Berlin. My first article for *JOH* outlined the complex nature of the Olympic negotiations surrounding the creation of the Palestine Olympic Association, and its recognition within the context of the boycott effort. Eventually, that Olympic Committee – recognised by the IOC on 16 May 1934 through necessity and not chicanery – boycotted the Games. Therefore, Hartman's letter and the context in which he wrote it support Kidess's claim that some type of "Olympic" delegation – not just a trip among friends – originated in the Jerusalem YMCA after the Nazis ousted Heinrichs.



The “Olympic Tent” was not located on the site of the Berlin Olympic Stadium, but a few kilometres away near the Heerstrasse commuter train station.

Source: private collection of Dr. Christian Kunz.



The archival evidence of note: the 1954 *Springfield Union* article

The third document of note captures the only published words directly attributable to Kidess, in the form of a direct quotation, about his presence in Berlin. It addresses the delegation's accommodations and their participation in sport events. These remarks provide further clues as to how the Palestinians might have gotten to the Games in what they perceived to be (or Kidess later allowed to be pitched as) an official capacity.

In August 1954, Dr. Ellis Champlin, the physical education director at Springfield College, spoke at a panel discussion where he discussed international understanding. Kidess joined him. The *Springfield Union* newspaper reported an apparent volte-face from Kidess's enthusiastic “Olympic” days in Palestine, writing: “Serious misgivings about the international value of the [Olympic] games were expressed both by Dr. Champlin and by Attalah [sic] Kidess, tennis coach at the college and one-time soccer player on the team representing Egypt in the 1936 Olympics at Berlin, Germany.”⁴⁰ It is not known if the reference to Egypt is an editorial error or purposeful inconsistency, but Kidess was certainly not a part of the Egyptian football team in Berlin. Egypt was the only Arab team to play in the Olympic football competition, and its official roster and photos do not include Kidess.⁴¹

More important, the *Springfield Union* reported that, “Kidess told the group of more than 50 persons present

that he found little if any opportunity to fraternise with the athletes of other nations in the 1936 Olympics. ‘They placed us in separate villages,’ he said, ‘and the only time we met was on the field of competition.’”⁴² The paper continued, “In an athletic event between Middle Eastern nations later, Kidess said that the athletes were all housed in the same quarters and it gave them an opportunity to talk and understand one another better. ‘I learned a great deal about the other countires [sic] at that meet,’ he said. ‘It’s an experience I will always remember.’”⁴³

Here we have Kidess claiming that he was actually housed in one of the several villages that were established, although it is highly unlikely that it was the official Olympic Village, which was built too small to house even the official Olympic delegations. Other camps included those for students, the Hitler Youth, and other sports in the official programme of competition. The question is, which one did the Palestinians stay in? In addition, this quotation clearly indicates that Kidess actually *participated* in a sports event, although it was almost certainly outside the official programme of the Olympic Games. The event might have been an unofficial football tournament at the conclusion of the FIFA Congress in Berlin, which had been organised by Dr. Ivo Schricker, FIFA’s secretary-general, and held on the sidelines of the Games from 13 to 14 August.⁴⁴ This prospect would certainly strengthen the argument that the Arab Palestinians were present in Berlin to attempt to build their relations with, or affiliate to, FIFA.

I am more interested in the issue of the accommodations, because these illuminate a possible pathway to the Games. The early nature of Nazi agitation among the German colonies of Palestine (and at the Jerusalem YMCA) is startling, given how far away Palestine was from Hitler’s concerns at home. But this occurred simultaneously with comparable agitation in Germany, especially within the German YMCA Movement. It could be that the Palestinian delegation participated in a sport event organised by the German YMCA Movement.

Tomáš Tlustý (2018) states, “In April 1933, the newly appointed *Reichssportkommissar* (German Reich Sports Commissioner) set out to unify all physical education associations ... Young men under the age of 18 with a desire to do sport had no other option than to join the Hitler Youth.”⁴⁵ When the German YMCA Movement criticised the move, it led to the Movement’s sport movement, the *Eichenkreuz* (Oak Cross) being banned in 1934.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, Tlustý points out that the German YMCA remained involved in sport, even on the occasion of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games.⁴⁷ Tlustý alludes to the German government having wanted the Americans to attend and not boycott; because the American YMCA Movement could influence the American Olympic

Committee, the German YMCA had a role to play in stopping the boycott.⁴⁸ After the Americans decided to participate, the German "YMCA was subsequently allowed to erect its tent in the Olympic grounds and it was given permission to organise its own mass sporting event."⁴⁹ It is perhaps this competition in which Kidess participated. If so, he is certainly not the "Olympic athlete" he was claimed to be, in 1961, in the *The Springfield Sunday Republican*. It also raises more questions about Kidess's ability, at that stage of his life, to resist the various pernicious methods used by the Nazis to penetrate almost every aspect of German life.

Arnold Dannenmann, who was a leader in the German YMCA Movement, was central to the dialogue about erecting the YMCA tent at the Berlin Games. In 1934, he also became a member of the World Alliance of YMCAs, whose secretary-general in Geneva was Walter Gethman. Gethman had attended the dedication of the Jerusalem YMCA in April 1933, where he discussed, with Heinrichs, John Mott, and Frederick Ramsey, the Jerusalem Association's joining the World Alliance. This affiliation never materialised because of Heinrichs' ouster, and by March 1934, Heinrichs fled to the United States. Heinrichs was subsequently fired – unconstitutionally – in the summer of 1934 in the executive committee meeting orchestrated by Boutagy and Said, in timing that aligns curiously with other major moves in Germany emanating in the German Christians movement and *Gleichschaltung*, the process of the complete Nazification of Germany.

Dannenmann is somewhat controversial, because there is no proof that he resisted the Nazification of youth from the German YMCA Movement into National Socialist structures. To the contrary, the Christian movement with which Dannenmann was personally affiliated was avowedly pro-Nazi. Whereas Dannenmann remained in the German YMCA Movement after the war, opponents of the German Christians in the Confessing Church were severely persecuted, one of the most prominent being Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who was murdered by hanging in Flossenbürg concentration camp just two weeks before his camp was liberated by American troops.

It is possible that the pathway to Berlin for the delegation from Palestine went through this German YMCA channel, although the evidence remains inconclusive. If it did, the claim cannot be made that this was an innocent gathering of Christians through the global YMCA Movement, given how *Gleichschaltung* played out in the German YMCA. As I prepared this article, ISOH member Dr. Kunz generously shared a folio of related material with JOH Editor Volker Kluge. This included pamphlets describing the YMCA presence and routines at the Games, or its *Evangelium Olympiade* (Olympiad Gospel). Although his documents were inconclusive on the matter of Palestine, the pamphlet

Evangelische Veranstaltungen während der Olympischen Spiele

Die Deutsche Evangelische Kirche in Gemeinschaft mit den Freikirchen und den freien kirchlichen Verbänden ladet zu folgenden Veranstaltungen ein:

Gottesdienste und Feiertage
Anläßlich der Eröffnung der Olympischen Spiele findet am Sonntag, 1. August, 10 Uhr, ein Festgottesdienst im Berliner Dom statt. Predigt: General superintendent D. Zöllner.
16. August, 10 Uhr, kirchenmusikalische Feiertage auf der Dietrich-Eckart-Friedrichsbahn, Reichsportfeld.
Sonntag, 2. 9. 16. August, 10 Uhr, Festgottesdienste in der Dreifaltigkeitskirche. Sonntägliche Gottesdienste in der Garnisonkirche zu Döberitz.
Morgenspiele und Abendversammlungen finden statt: im Soldatenheim Döberitz, Gemeindehaus Eichkamp, im Olympia-Zelt, Olympischen Dorf, Schifferkirche bei Oranien.
Kirchenmusikalische Feiertage werden in verschiedenen Berliner Kirchen veranstaltet.

Abendveranstaltungen im Olympia-Zelt
Im Evangelischen Olympia-Zelt, unweit des Reichsportfeldes am Bahnhof Heerstraße, finden während der Olympischen Spiele jeden Abend 20 Uhr besondere Veranstaltungen statt. Während der ersten Woche vom 2.—8. August werden die kirchlichen Gemeinschaften und die freien kirchlichen Verbände Gelegenheit haben, von ihrem Wollen und ihren Zielen Zeugnis abzulegen. In der zweiten Woche werden die Abendversammlungen als „Woche der Nationen“ ausgeteilt.

Theologische Vorträge finden vom 3.—8. August, 18.—19 Uhr, in der Dreifaltigkeitskirche statt.
Eine Ausstellung neuer deutscher Kirchenkunst, veranstaltet vom Kunst-Dienst, findet während der Olympischen Spiele in den Räumen des Kunst-Dienstes und Eckart-Kreises am Marktkirchplatz 2 statt.
Zentralauskunftstelle bei dem Gesamtverband der Berliner Inneren Mission, Berlin SW 11, Bernburger Straße 22, Fernruf A 9 4786.

Christlicher Jungmannschaftsdienst der Olympiade
Klubhaus des CVJM, Soldatenheim Döberitz und Gemeindehaus Eichkamp. Hier finden täglich Morgenspiele (8 Uhr) sowie Konferenzabende statt.
Im Haus des CVJM, Wilhelmstraße 34 (Nähe Anhalter Bahnhof) 3. und 12. August CVJM-Konferenzen.
3. August Treffen des CVJM im Landwehrkanal, Jelenstraße 2 (am Bahnhof Zoo). 20 Uhr Begrüßungsfeier.
10.—16. August Woche der Nationen im Olympia-Zelt.
CVJM Auskunftsstellen in sämtlichen Reisebüros und Bahnhöfen Berlins. Zentrale des Christlichen Jungmannschaftsdienstes: Ostdeutsches Jungmannsnetzwerk, Berlin N 54, Sophienstraße 19, Fernruf B 1 2631. CVJM: Wilhelmstraße 34, Fernruf A 9 1655.

The Protestant Church in concert with the Free Churches and the independent church unions invites to participate at the following meetings:

Services and festival hours
On the occasion of the opening of the Olympic Games a solemn service will be inaugurated in the Berliner Dom, August 1st, at 10 a. m. sermon by General superintendent D. Zöllner.
On August 16th, at 10 a. m., rehearsal of sacred music in the Dietrich-Eckart open-air-theatre at the Reichsportfeld.
On August 2nd, 9th, and 16th, at 10 a. m., solemn services will be held in the Dreifaltigkeits-Church as well as in the Garrison-Church at Döberitz.
There will be morning and evening devotions at the soldiers' home of Döberitz, in the congregational-home of Eichkamp, in the Olympic mission-tent, in the Olympic Village, and in the Schifferkirche near Oranien.
Rehearsals of sacred music will be arranged in different churches of Berlin.

Evening assemblies in the Olympic mission-tent
At 8 p. m. special meetings will be held in the Olympic mission-tent close to the Reichsportfeld near Heerstrasse-Station. During the first week, from August 2nd to August 8th, the Church communities and the free Church unions will take the opportunity of presenting the methods and aims of their work. During the second week, these evening assemblies will have the character of a "Week of Nations".

From August 3rd to August 8th (theological lectures) will be delivered in the Dreifaltigkeits-Church from 6 to 7 p. m.
An exhibition, arranged by the "Kunstdienst", will show modern German ecclesiastical art in the rooms of the "Kunst-Dienst" and the "Eckart-Kreis", Berlin W 35, Marktkirchplatz 2.
Central Information-Bureau at the Central Association of the Berlin Home Mission, Berlin SW 11, Bernburger Str. 22, Tel. A 9 4786.

Olympia – YMCA – Service
YMCA-Homes: 1. in the Soldiers Home at Döberitz, 2. in the Gemeinde-House at Eichkamp, 3. in the Central-YMCA, Berlin SW 65, Wilhelmstraße 34. Devotional Meetings at 8 a. m. and evening conferences at 8 p. m. will be held daily.
Official Welcome Meeting for YMCA-members on August 3rd in the Landwehrkanal, Jelenstraße 2 at 20 o'clock.
YMCA-Conferences in the Central-YMCA, Wilhelmstraße 34 (near Anhalter Bahnhof) on August 5th and 12th at 8 p. m.
Week of Nations: Special evangelistic meetings will be held in the Olympia Mission Tent: from August 10th to 16th with different national speakers from the Far East, India, England, Africa, America, Northern Countries, Europe.
YMCA-Information-offices in all travelling-Bureaus and at all Berlin railway stations. Head Offices of the YMCA Service: Ostdeutsches Jungmannsnetzwerk, Berlin N 54, Sophienstraße 19, Tel. B 1 2631. YMCA, Berlin SW 65, Wilhelmstraße 34, Tel. A 9 1655.

Evangelical Meetings and Assemblies during the Olympic Games

included a large photo of the *Olympia Zelt* (Olympic Tent) that was the central feature of the YMCA's footprint on the Olympic landscape. The document was printed using *Fraktur*, the Gothic font now commonly associated with Nazi propaganda. Evening assemblies were held each day at 8 pm and, during the second week, these took on "the character of a 'Week of Nations.'" There was also an official welcome event for YMCA members visiting the Games on August 3. Such events might have given the Palestinians a sense of a quasi-official status. Unfortunately for them, these "Christian" events can, today, no longer be considered adequate cover for the pernicious Nazi agenda within the church (even if the Palestinians were, perhaps wilfully, ignorant of what was transpiring in this regard). In the case of Kidess, given his personal awareness of what the Nazis had done to his boss in Palestine – the man who effectively gave him his career – it is fair to ask serious questions about why he went to Berlin at all and, even after the crimes of the Holocaust were well known, allowed the use of his presence in Berlin by Springfield College as he advanced in his career with the institution. Remember that it was Kidess who pitched this Olympic experience on his CV to the college.

In order to understand why an affiliation with the *Evangelium Olympiade* would have been (and remains) problematic for the Palestinian delegation, I shall conclude with a few remarks about what was happening within the German Protestant churches in Germany

A programme of
YMCA events at the
Berlin Olympics,
1936.

Source: Private collection of
Dr. Christian Kunz

Flyer for the Olympiad Gospel, Berlin, 1936. All events were monitored and documented by the Rosenberg Ministry, which was responsible for the ideological education of the Volksgenossen (national comrades).

Source: Private collection of Dr. Christian Kunz.



while the Nazis infiltrated Palestine (and other territories around the world). These actions occurred in parallel with, and were ultimately linked to, the same office within the Nazi hierarchy: that of Alfred Rosenberg's NSDAP Office of Foreign Affairs.

Rosenberg's office operated under the same organisational structure responsible for establishing Nazi cells overseas (including that in Jerusalem). Together, these offices ultimately contributed to the groundwork for the flight of senior Nazis who escaped post-war prosecution through the ratlines. Rosenberg, considered the Nazis' chief racial theorist and a hater of Christianity, was not so lucky as his colleague Josef Mengele, the "Angel of Death at Auschwitz".

Rosenberg was captured and, as the fifth of the Nuremberg 11 scheduled for execution, was hanged for his "conspiracy to commit crimes against peace; planning, initiating and waging wars of aggression; war crimes; and crimes against humanity."⁵⁰ It's not every day that the exploration of someone's Olympic recognition file includes cross referencing material with the likes of the most notorious war criminals in the history of modern warfare.

Rosenberg's office oversaw Dannenmann's efforts regarding the erection of the YMCA tent at the Olympic Games. Mary M. Solberg, in 2015, included key selections from Dannenmann's book, *The History of the "German Christian" Faith Movement* (1933, under the German title, *Die Geschichte der Glaubensbewegung "Deutsche*

Christen"), in her own major English contribution to scholarship on the subject – *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement, 1932–1934*. Nothing short of the height of apologia for Nazi racial theory and doctrine as applied to the Protestant churches, Dannenmann's book was replete with pro-Nazi rhetoric. On the national socialist: "Only race creates a people! ... We modern people have far too little faith that we will ever experience something unbelievably great in the midst of all the important trivia that surrounds us."⁵¹ On the Law of God: "Many speakers from the movement were not even aware of the religious duty they were fulfilling. *The Führer Adolf Hitler, however, knew it and was utterly aware of his divine mission.*"⁵² On Pastor Joachim Hossenfelder (a leader of the movement): "No one has captured the hearts of the men of the SA and the SS like Pastor Hossenfelder. They listen to him; they follow him; and all those in the brown battalions, once they have heard him speak, cannot forget this man's testimony. He is a witness sent by God."⁵³ And on Ludwig Müller, Dannenmann wrote, "Finally, on May 16, 1933, the die was cast. Ludwig Müller, in agreement with Pastor Hossenfelder, was given co-leadership of the German Christian Faith Movement as plenipotentiary of the Führer and Chancellor Adolf Hitler."⁵⁴

Clearly, no argument can be made that the YMCA presence at the Berlin Games was devoid of Nazi ideology, and Müller's appointment as plenipotentiary occurred just weeks after the dedication of the new Jerusalem International YMCA (and only weeks before the establishment of the Nazi cell in Jerusalem that ousted Heinrichs). Dannenmann also became a member of the World Alliance of YMCAs during the time frame that Heinrichs was eliminated, effectively killing plans to integrate Jerusalem into the World Alliance of YMCAs in Geneva.

Some additional comments about Müller are necessary. He is a peculiar figure who was obsessed with, among other things, the convergence of the 450th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther and the rise of Hitler. To him, 1933 (the year that Heinrichs was targeted) was a year of fulfillment of prophecy and a German awakening started by Luther and concluded by Hitler. Müller was integral to the creation of the Faith Movement's guidelines for a new National Church, the third article of which stated, "The National Protestant Church is the church of German Christians, that is, of Christians of the Aryan race. To this extent it is also bound together with German Christians abroad. The proclamation of the Gospel among those who are not German is the business of the Department of Foreign Missions."⁵⁵

Within the broader context of the conflict between Fascism and Bolshevism at the time, is understandable that some Arab Palestinians might have been drawn

to the Nazi efforts to co-opt the church. The conflict between Fascism and Bolshevism also played out in the heated fervour that characterised the constitutional crisis among the membership of the Jerusalem YMCA. Heinrichs recorded numerous conflicts not just with fascists, but with a group of Bolshevik agitators led by Issa Hazon, who he named “the irreconcilables” in the constitutional debate. Within this context, Palestinian Christian members of the Association who were anti-Bolshevik (rather than anti-Zionist) might have been drawn to Nazism and Hitler as they were duped into believing that Nazism (and the likes of Rosenberg) was not overtly anti-Christian. After all, Dannenmann, organiser of the YMCA tent at the Berlin Games, was himself a pastor and went to great effort to justify Hitler in his book, thereby reinforcing the Christian duty and logic in supporting the National Socialist Movement as a vanguard against Bolshevism. Quoting Hitler directly, Dannenmann wrote:

*Only a dullard could imagine that, for example, the triumph of Bolshevism would have no impact on the Catholic or the Protestant church and thus would not disturb or hinder bishops or superintendents in carrying on their work. The claim that such dangers have been overcome because of the activities of the churches alone is unsustainable and is not supported by reality! Neither the Catholic, nor the Protestant, nor the Russian-united church has been or would be able to put a stop to Bolshevism.*⁵⁶

Facing a conflict with Zionism as nationalists and Bolshevik secularism as men of faith, it is not hard to understand why some Palestinian Arab Christians might have been drawn to Nazi ideology as a potential saviour, especially when co-religionists among the *Palästindeutsche* were actively promoting the New Germany from their colonies around Palestine. Although the co-opting of the German colonies took place primarily while Kidess was away at Springfield College, upon his return, the Nazi presence in Palestine was well established and above-board, even if its intentions and policy (as they related to the Third Reich’s foreign interests) were secret.

The unapologetic presence of Nazism in Palestine, and the Nazis’ open use of sport in competitions like the Hindenburg trophy, at which official British teams even competed, probably helped normalise relations between the pro-Nazi *Palästindeutsche* and many in the wider membership at the Jerusalem YMCA, despite their active politicisation of Association affairs. By 1936, despite what happened to Heinrichs, Attallah Alexander “Ted” Kidess might not have felt that his boss’s ouster was that much of a problem, or that going to Berlin with a group of friends – even as tourists – was a moral transgression.

Conclusion

Heinrichs’ departure from Jerusalem appears to have been coordinated by the entire Jerusalem *Ortsgruppe* of Nazis with members inside the YMCA. The *Ortsgruppe* suddenly signed up as one group, after the establishment of the NSDAP’s Jerusalem cell in July 1933, to be members of the YMCA (despite the presence of a German sports club just down the road). Immediately after the arrival in Jerusalem of the paid Nazi agent from Goebbels’s propaganda ministry (Dr. Iven), in November 1933, the *Ortsgruppe* seems to have coordinated its efforts with YMCA members sympathetic to Nazism. Kidess was away at Springfield College while this transpired, but he was aware of its details through Heinrichs, with whom he met in the US. This raises questions about how much Kidess might have been playing multiple sides.

Heinrichs’ ouster was achieved in a secret meeting convened by the Arab members of the board’s Executive Committee, in which they had a quorum, but which was nonetheless unconstitutional and outside the context of the entire board. Heinrichs’ ouster would have been prevented by the full board, which comprised many foreigners capable of curbing the Arab nationalism (and anti-Zionism) often exhibited in board meetings and influencing the Arab members in a constructive way. Apparently preferring to sweep the whole affair under the rug, the International Committee of YMCAs (IC/YMCA) backed, and then whitewashed, the decision to remove Heinrichs (paying him a hefty sum equivalent to USD189,000 for breaking contract).

The convergence of Nazism, the Berlin Olympics, and the influx of massive Jewish immigration to Palestine from 1933 onwards sealed Heinrichs’ fate. After eight months of work (in 1932) and just three months before the new building’s dedication (in April 1933), Heinrichs felt compelled to write a letter to Wilbert Smith, who handled the Palestine file for the IC/YMCA in New York. Heinrichs told Smith of his difficulties and that, “[t]o coordinate the activities of the staff comprising, Palestinians, Syrians, Turks, Armenians, Russians, Germans, English, Americans, Scotch, Kurds, and Jews, makes the situation very comparable to August 1914.”⁵⁷ Heinrichs recorded in his diary how Emmanuel Mohl, a key Jewish interlocutor for Heinrichs with the Va’ad Leumi (Jewish National Council), advised him to stay the course: “Participate in any way possible, and make the YMCA the common meeting ground of all communities. The separatist ideal is impossible and creates friction and trouble and riots.”⁵⁸ But this advice seems not to have been sufficient to quell the politically turbulent sport environment of Jerusalem in the lead up to the 1936 Olympics, and it is highly likely that the Palestinians maintained their separatist positions when they refused cooperation with the Jewish sport movement in 1933 and formed their own delegation. ■

- 1 San Charles Haddad, "Maccabi Soldiers: Yosef Yekutieli, Frederick Kisch, and Mandate Palestine's Connections to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games," *Journal of Olympic History* 28, no. 1 (2020): 35.
- 2 Heidemarie Wawrzyn, *Nazis in the Holy Land, 1933–1948* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mages, 2013), 149–201.
- 3 Ibid., VIII.
- 4 National Archives and Records Administration.
- 5 Declassified NND 61695 RG 319 ENTRY ZZ-6 Box 11 NSDAP Members PLE D115610.
- 6 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Diary Entry, 20 May," 115, Waldo Huntley Heinrichs Papers, Yale Divinity Library Archives and Manuscripts (New Haven, CT, 1933).
- 7 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Diary Entry, 2 June," 115, Waldo Huntley Heinrichs Papers, Yale Divinity Library Archives and Manuscripts (New Haven, CT, 1933).
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Correspondence, First Notification of the Newspaper Incident, to Slack, Box 5, Folder 1," Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in Palestine/Israel, Kautz Family YMCA Archives (Minneapolis, MN, 1934), 1.
- 10 Helmut Glenk, *From Desert Sands to Golden Oranges: The History of the German Templar Settlement of SARONA in Palestine 1871–1947* (Bloomington, IN: Trafford Publishing North America & International, 2005), 164–65.
- 11 Wawrzyn, *Nazis in the Holy Land*, 34.
- 12 See *JOH*, vol. 28, no. 2 for a discussion of how the NSDAP took over the German community in Palestine.
- 13 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Diary Entry, 12 April," 115, Waldo Huntley Heinrichs Papers, Yale Divinity Library Archives and Manuscripts (New Haven, CT, 1934).
- 14 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Diary Entry, 8 November," 115, Waldo Huntley Heinrichs Papers, Yale Divinity Library Archives and Manuscripts (New Haven, CT, 1934).
- 15 *Springfield College Bulletin*, "Text of Speech, Distinguished Service Award of the International Relations Council ARAPCS 1979 American Alliance for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, Dr. Attallah A. Kidess (Fifth Annual Presentation), Box 1, Folder 5," 528, Attallah A. Kidess Papers, The Springfield College Archives and Special Collections (Springfield, MA, 1979), 7.
- 16 Filastin, "Article, Return of the Travellers to Watch the Olympic Games ('Awdat al Musaafireen Li Ru'yat al Al'aab al Olimbiyeh)," *Le Palestine (Filastin / Falastin)*, 2 September 1936, 5.
- 17 Organising Committee of the XI Olympic Games in Berlin 1936, "Correspondence, Number 2373/34 L/M on Palestine Olympic Committee and Kisch, to General Consul Wolff," 526/h5-m, 67.1/3 – 1530 – Sport 1928 to 1939, Israel State Archives (Jerusalem, Israel, 1934), 1. Original passage in German reads, "das Internationale Olympische Komitee hat in seiner Tagung in Athen am 17.Mai d.J.beschlossen, das Nationale Olympische Komitee Palästinas anzuerkennen, nachdem die gestellten Bedingungen, nämlich Mitwirkung von Moslems und Christen und Zustimmung der Mandatsregierung, befriedigend erfüllt sind. Es wurde ein Brief eines Herrn *Mustakim* [underline as in original] aus Jaffa vorgelegt, der zum Vizepräsidenten des Komitees gewählt ist, ferner ein Schreiben der Y.M.C.A., wonach auch diese ihre Mitwirkung verspricht. Das anwesende englische Mitglied Lord Aberdare teilte aus einem Schreiben des Staatssekretärs des englischen Kolonialamts mit, dass dieses mit der Anerkennung einverstanden sei."
- 18 Frederick H. Kisch, "Correspondence, 27 November, NOC Recognition, Kisch to Baillet-Latour," 0077643, CIO CNO ISR CORR OU MO 01 14 36, Historical Archives Olympic Studies Centre (Lausanne, Switzerland, 1933), 1.
- 19 Khair Eldin Abul Jubein, *Story of My Life in Palestine and Kuwait* (Qissat Hayāti Fi Filastin Wal Kuwayt) (Amman: Dar Al-Shorouk for Publishing and Distribution, 2015), 55.
- 20 Abul Jubein, *Story of My Life*, 79.
- 21 Ibid., 82.
- 22 Frierhood is the USOC member also credited with helping volleyball become an Olympic sport.
- 23 Paul Hartman, "Correspondence, Regarding Kidess's Planned April Departure Being Tied up with Australian Connections, Continued on Page 2 on 23 January, and Identifying That a Delegation to the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games Was Still Being Discussed in the Jerusalem YMCA as Late as 1947, to Frierhood, Box 6, Folder 5," Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in Palestine/Israel, Kautz Family YMCA Archives (Minneapolis, MN, 1947), 1.
- 24 Wawrzyn, *Nazis in the Holy Land*, 104–7.
- 25 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Diary Entry, 8 May," 115, Waldo Huntley Heinrichs Papers, Yale Divinity Library Archives and Manuscripts (New Haven, CT, 1934).
- 26 San Charles Haddad, *The File: Origins of the Munich Massacre* (Nashville, TN: Post Hill Press, 2020), 152, 315–16.
- 27 Ibid., 315–16. This footnote (220) was sourced from Israel State Archives, 823/17-m.
- 28 Alan Gill, "Article, No Politics, Clergyman Told: Bishop Gives Him an Ultimatum," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 November 1974, 5.
- 29 Alan Gill, "A Christian of Palestine," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 October 1972, 19.
- 30 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Diary Entry, 23 February," 115, Waldo Huntley Heinrichs Papers, Yale Divinity Library Archives and Manuscripts (New Haven, CT, 1934).
- 31 Heinrichs, "Diary Entry, 23 February."
- 32 Wawrzyn, *Nazis in the Holy Land*, 125.
- 33 Haddad, *The File*, 215.
- 34 Wawrzyn, *Nazis in the Holy Land*, 109.
- 35 Ibid., 93. As sourced originally from Executive of the Jewish Agency to Field Marshal John Vereker, Jerusalem, 4 June 1945, Central Zionist Archives, S25/4060.
- 36 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Correspondence, in Continuation to His Letter of 24 February Regarding the Newspaper Controversy, to Slack with Translations of *Meraat Elsherk* Newspaper Articles Attached, Box 5, Folder 1," Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in Palestine/Israel, Kautz Family YMCA Archives (Minneapolis, MN, 1934), all pages of attachment.
- 37 Heinrichs, "Correspondence, First Notification of the Newspaper Incident, to Slack, Box 5, Folder 1," 3; Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Correspondence, Strictly Confidential on the German Newspaper Question in the Library Committee, to Slack, Box 5, Folder 1," Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in Palestine/Israel, Kautz Family YMCA Archives (Minneapolis, MN, 1934), 2.
- 38 Hartman, "Kidess, Australia Connections, and 1936 Berlin Olympic Delegation from the YMCA," 1.
- 39 Ibid., 2.
- 40 *Springfield Union*, "Article, International, Not National Teams, Are Advocated for Olympic Games: Would Regain Spirit, Promote Better World Understanding SC Panel is Told," 528, Attallah A. Kidess Papers, The Springfield College Archives and Special Collections (Springfield, MA, 1954).
- 41 This claim does open the opportunity to explore whether Egypt, where Kidess had attended the American University of Cairo, played any role in facilitating the Palestinian delegation, as well. While working on *The File* in the winter and early spring of 2019, I presented the case to the son of Egypt's chef de mission at Munich in 1972 (and who was brought in by Walther Tröger, Mayor of the Olympic Village, to support negotiations in Arabic with Black September). Initially optimistic for cooperation, the son returned to me to report that his father declined to discuss the issue.
- 42 *Springfield Union*, "International, Not National Teams."
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Dylan Baun, "Lebanon's Youth Clubs and the 1936 Summer Olympics: Mobilizing Sports, Challenging Imperialism and Launching a National Project," *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 34, no. 13 (2018): 1353. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09523367.2017.1388230>.
- 45 Tomáš Tlustý, "The Role of the YMCA in Shaping Modern Sport and the Olympic Movement in Germany," *Acta Gymnica* 48, no. 4 (2018): 158. <https://doi.org/10.5507/ag.2018.022>.
- 46 Tlustý, "YMCA and Olympic Movement in Germany," 158.
- 47 Ibid.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 "Alfred Rosenberg," Wikipedia, last modified 6 January 2021, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alfred_Rosenberg#Trial_and_execution.
- 51 Mary Solberg, *A Church Undone: Documents from the German Christian Faith Movement 1932–1934* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015), 125.
- 52 Ibid., 126.
- 53 Ibid., 137.
- 54 Ibid., 150.
- 55 Ibid., 152.
- 56 Ibid., 160.
- 57 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Correspondence, Disagreement Over Constitutional Crisis, to Smith, Box 4, Folder 6," Y.USA.9-2-2, International Work in Palestine/Israel, Kautz Family YMCA Archives (Minneapolis, MN, 1933), 7.
- 58 Waldo H. Heinrichs, "Diary Entry, 31 January," 115, Waldo Huntley Heinrichs Papers, Yale Divinity Library Archives and Manuscripts (New Haven, CT, 1933).

Biographies of All IOC Members

Part XXXV

By Marcia De Franceschi Neto-Wacker and Volker Kluge

485. | Hicham El Guerrouj | Morocco

The Moroccan runner Hicham El Guerrouj trained at the national sports institute in Rabat. He achieved his first international success at the age of 18, taking third place in the 5,000 m race at the Junior World Championships. El Guerrouj took part in three Olympic Games. In an unfortunate debut in Atlanta 1996, he ran in a promising position in the 1,500 m final behind world record holder Nouredine Morceli until, 430 m from the finish, he collided with the Algerian, fell, and finished last.

Between Atlanta and Sydney, El Guerrouj won 45 of 46 races over 1,500 m and a mile. In 1998 and 1999, he set three world records (previously held by Morceli) which are still valid today: 1,500 m 3:26.00, mile: 3:43.13, and 2,000 m 4:44.79. But in the Olympic 1,500 m final in Sydney, Noah Ngeny from Kenya surprisingly beat him. El Guerrouj won silver.

El Guerrouj first became world 1,500 m champion in 1997, and repeated the feat in 1999, 2001, and 2003. But just before the 2004 Olympics, he lost two races –including the 1,500 m to the Kenyan Bernard Lagat at the Weltklasse Zürich. In Athens, however, El Guerrouj managed to turn the tables, beating Lagat over 1,500 m. Four days later, he beat the Ethiopian Kenenisa Bekele to win the 5,000 m final, becoming the only man to emulate the legendary Paavo Nurmi's double win – albeit the "Flying Finn" managed his 1924 double in Paris within the space of a mere hour.

Two days later, El Guerrouj was elected to the IOC Athletes' Commission with the third-most votes (1,260), with an eight-year IOC mandate.

El Guerrouj continued to compete until injury and infection prevented him taking part in the 2005 World Championships and he announced his retirement on 22 May 2006. He has been the recipient of many honours and awards in recognition of his contribution to sport, and is currently a UNICEF Goodwill Ambassador and an Ambassador for Peace and Sport (a Monaco-based international organisation). His initiative, in collaboration with the International Athletics Foundation (IAF), raised over half a million US dollars in 2020 to support athletes suffering from the COVID-19 pandemic. (VK)



Born: 14 September
1974 in Berkane
Elected:
29 August 2004
Resigned:
11 August 2012
Attendance:
Present: 8, Absent: 0



486. | Dr. Rania Amr Mostafa Elwani | Egypt

Born: 14 October
1977, Giza
Elected:
29 August 2004
Resigned:
11 August 2012
Attendance:
Present: 8, Absent: 0



Rania Elwani is Egypt's most successful female athlete. From 1992 to 2000, she took part in three Olympic Games as a swimmer. She achieved her best performance in Sydney, where she was sixth in the 100 m freestyle semi-finals. As the first Egyptian, African, and Arab swimmer, she won two golds and one silver medal at the 1997 Mediterranean Games in Bari. She won another silver at the All-Arab Games that year.

With a sports scholarship, she graduated from Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas, with a degree in biological sciences. She returned to Egypt in 1999, where she completed her medical degree at Misr University of Science and Technology in Cairo in 2004. Since then, she has worked as a gynaecologist and obstetrician.

She was elected to the Egyptian Parliament, served on the board of the renowned Ahly Sports Club for two terms, and is a member of the Champion of Peace Club.

During the Olympic Games in Athens in 2004, she was elected to the IOC Athletes' Commission with the fourth highest number of votes (1,186), with an eight-year IOC mandate. At the IOC, she was a member of the Medical Commission and in 2010 she also became a member of the Athlete Committee of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). (VK)

487. | Barbara Anne Kendall | New Zealand

Born: 30 August 1967,
Papakura
Elected: 9 July 2005
Resigned:
21 August 2008
Elected for a second
term: 9 July 2011
Resigned:
21 August 2016
Attendance:
Present: 9, Absent: 2



At the 1987 World Windsurfing Championships, Barbara Kendall won a bronze medal in the Division II category. After her brother Bruce Kendall became Olympic champion in 1988, she gave up her job as a dance teacher to devote herself entirely to the sport.

In 1992, she was rewarded with an Olympic gold in the Lechner board category – making her the first female New Zealand athlete in 40 years to win an Olympic title, and making her and Bruce the only New Zealand siblings to win Olympic gold. An Olympic silver followed in 1996 and a bronze medal in Sydney 2000. She finished fifth in 2004, and was sixth in her fifth Olympic participation in 2008. She was a four-time world champion – in 1987, 1998, 1999, and 2002.

When Australian Olympic swimming champion Susan O'Neill (*JOH*, vol. 27, no. 1/2019, 69), resigned from the Athletes' Commission in 2005 (three years before the end of her term) after the birth of her first child, the Commission suggested that Barbara Kendall should take her place, as the next highest vote recipient. The New Zealander was absent from the IOC Session in Singapore because she, too, had given birth shortly before. In absentia, she received 86 out of 93 valid votes. She was sworn in in 2006 in Turin at the only Session she attended. Barbara Kendall was also nominated for election to the Athletes' Commission in 2008, but only finished 11th of 31 candidates, so had to retire from the IOC.

However, her IOC involvement did not end there. In 2011, she was again voted in at the IOC Session in Durban as an active athlete, pursuant to by-law 2.2.2. to Rule 16 of the Olympic Charter (candidate as a former athlete). She received 73 of 82 valid votes, making her member no. 521 of the IOC. Barbara Kendall ended her IOC membership in 2016, and was subsequently replaced on the Athletes' Commission by the New Zealand BMX cyclist Sarah Walker. (VK)

488. | Francesco Ricci Bitti | Italy

The former Italian tennis player was president of the International Tennis Federation (ITF) between 1999 and 2015 and is an ITF honorary life president. As an athlete he was a member of the Italian National Junior Tennis team (1960). He won the Italian University Tennis Championships (1962, 1964, and 1965) and he was a member of the National Team Tennis Championships (1970, 1971). In 1971 he was quarter-finalist in the Italian Singles National Championship.

Additionally, he was elected as president of the Association of Summer Olympic International Federations (ASOIF). He has been leading the organisation since 2013 and in January 2021 he commenced his third and final term as ASOIF president.

Currently, Francesco Ricci Bitti is a member of the IOC Coordination Commissions for Tokyo 2020 and Paris 2024, and a board member of the Italian National Olympic Committee (CONI), the International Testing Agency (ITA), and SportAccord, where he served as president from 2015 to 2017. He is also a member of the IOC Future Host Commission and IOC Marketing Commission.

He was awarded by CONI with the Collare d'Oro al Merito Sportivo (2016) and Golden Star Award (1998); by ANOC with the Award for Outstanding Lifetime (2015), by IOC with Achievement Olympic Order award (2012). He also received the Order to the Merit of the Italian Republic (2007), honorary life member AELTC – Wimbledon (2006), Golden Racket Award – Italy (2001), and the Paul Fellow Award – Rotary International (1999).

Francesco Ricci Bitti holds a PhD in Electronic Engineering from the University of Bologna. He has been a senior executive and board member of several leading multinational information and communication technology companies. He served as a board director for Philips, GTE, Olivetti, Alcatel, and Telecom Italy.

In his career as a sports manager, he has constantly fought against doping and for improvement in sporting ethics. As ITF president, he spends much of his time seeking private investment for the development of tennis worldwide.
(MNV)



Born: 15 January
1942, Faenza
Elected:
10 February 2006
Resigned:
12 August 2012
Attendance:
Present: 6, Absent: 0



489. | HRH Prince Tunku Imran | Malaysia

Prince Tunku Imran is a member of the Royal family of Negeri Sembilan in Malaysia. He had a long and impressive career as a sports administrator. He was president of the World Squash Federation (1989–1996); president of Olympic Council of Malaysia (1998–2018); 2nd vice-chairman (2000–2003), 1st vice-chairman (2003–2011), and president (2011–2015) of the Commonwealth Games Federation; president of the Southeast Asian Games Federation (2000–2001); president (1989–1996), emeritus president (1996–2002), then patron of the World Squash Federation; vice-president (1993–2004) then president of Malaysian Cricket Association (1991–2011); and director of the Organising Committee of the 1998 Commonwealth Games, hosted in Kuala Lumpur.

As an athlete he was squash national champion (1973) and member of the squash national team (1973–1976), and also played cricket, participating in an international tour to Hong Kong (1971). While at university he also played rugby, hockey, and tennis.



Born: 21 March 1948,
Istana Hinggap
Elected:
10 February 2006
Resigned:
31 December 2018
Attendance:
Present: 15, Absent: 1
Honorary Member
since 2019

Prince Tunku Imran holds a Bachelor of Laws (LLB) from the University of Nottingham. He belongs to Gray's Inn as a barrister-at-law. He has held many roles within Malaysian companies, including National Corporation of Malaysia (1971–1972); managing director at Haw Par Malaysia (1973–1976); CEO at Antah Group of Companies (1977–2001); group chairman at Petra Group (2007–2008); executive chairman at Syarikat Pesaka Antah (2007–present); and at several public companies in Malaysia.

His many sports-related awards include the National Sports' Leadership Award for 1990, an international honorary doctorate from the United States Sports Academy (2009), and an honorary doctorate from the University of Glasgow (2014). He is honorary life president of Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF) and honorary life president of the Southeast Asian Games Federation (SEAGF). (MNW)

490. | Nicole Hoevertsz | Aruba

Born: 30 May 1964
Elected:
10 February 2006
Attendance:
Present: 18,
Absent: 0
EC Member no. 98
Elected:
16 September 2017



Nicole Hoevertsz is a lawyer, an athlete, and a sports manager. Her life story reflects the reality of women who constantly struggle in the world of sports in South America and in the Caribbean, whether as athletes or sports administrators.

As a synchronised swimmer she won several Aruban and Antillean championships between 1973 and 1984. In 1984 she represented the Netherlands Antilles in the women's duet at the Los Angeles Games, where synchronised swimming (now artistic swimming) officially became an Olympic sport.

At the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, she was the coach of Aruba's solo and duet teams. This was Aruba's first presentation as a team, after the island separated from the Netherlands Antilles on 1 January 1986 to become an autonomous dependency of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Hoevertsz studied law at Colegio Arubano, the University of the Netherlands Antilles, and Leiden University (Netherlands). In 1991, she became a legal advisor to Aruba's Department of Foreign Affairs, a position she held until 1994, and again from 2002 to the present. She was a deputy permanent secretary to the Council of Ministers from 1994 to 1996. From 1997 to 2001 she served as a legal advisor to the Prime Minister. She was appointed permanent secretary to the Council of Ministers in 2009.

In sports administration, Hoevertsz became secretary-general of the Aruba Swimming Federation in 1991. She was the second secretary of the Aruba Olympic Committee (1997–1998), then general secretary. She was a member of the special commission of the Pan American Sports Organization (PASO) for the 1999 Pan American Games in Winnipeg. In 1998, she was appointed to the Executive Board of PASO, the first woman to assume this position in the organisation. Between 2000 and 2003, she was a member of the PASO Coordination Commission for Pan American Games of Santo Domingo. In 2019, Hoevertsz was appointed head of the Coordination Commission for the Los Angeles Olympics in 2028. (MNW)



491. | Beatrice Allen | Gambia

Beatrice Allen is a Gambian sports leader. She was jointly responsible for introducing softball to the Gambia and spearheaded the establishment of the Gambia Softball Association, where she served as a president and remains an honorary president.

Allen is a member of the Special Olympics of the Gambia, 1st vice president of the NOC of Gambia (GNOC), member of the Women and Sports Commission of the Association of the NOCs of Africa (ANOCA), 1st vice president of the World Baseball Softball Confederation and a member of IOC Women and Sport Commission. She was also a member of the Coordination Commission for the Olympic Games in Rio 2016.

In 2009, she was named interim president of GNOC after the sitting president was arrested. In 2011, she too was arrested but was found not guilty and duly confirmed in the post. In April 2014, following government suspicions the last GNOC elections were improperly conducted, police seized the premises and blocked employees from entering. Although the IOC warned the Gambia about a possible suspension, the case was resolved in October.

Allen holds a BA in International Development, diplomas in Gender & Development and in Gender Responsive Project Implementation, and a certificate in Training of Gender Trainers. She served in various capacities at the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) from 1974 to 2002. From 2004 to 2010, she was executive director of Trade & Investment Promotion at the Gambia Chamber of Commerce and Industry (GCCl). (MNW)



Born: 8 August 1950
Elected:
10 February 2006
Resigned:
31 December 2020
Attendance:
Present: 18,
Absent: 0
Honorary Member
since 2021

492. | Henricus W.B. "Hein" Verbruggen | The Netherlands

Hein Verbruggen, as chief of the International Cycling Union (UCI), was elected to the IOC in Atlanta in 1996 together with four other IF presidents in accordance with the then rule 20.1.3 of the Olympic Charter. He lost his mandate on 23 September 2005, when the Irishman Pat McQuaid, sponsored by Verbruggen, was elected his successor at the UCI Congress in Madrid. Verbruggen became vice-president of the UCI, later honorary president. See: *JOH*, vol. 26, no. 1/2018, 69–70.

Since Verbruggen was no longer a member of the IOC, he was unable to act in his capacity as Chairman of the Coordination Commission for the 2008 Games in Beijing. But he ran again the following year at the IOC Session in Turin and was elected with 62–28 votes. He also headed the Coordination Commission and Olympic Broadcasting Services (OBS). In addition, in 2004 he assumed executive chairmanship of the World Sports Federation (GAIFS) after South Korean President Kim Un-Yong was convicted of corruption.

Verbruggen decided to resign as an IOC Member after the Beijing Olympics. The IOC Executive Committee awarded him honorary membership on the same day. (VK)



Born: 21 June 1941,
Helmond
Died: 14 June 2017,
Leuven
Co-opted:
17 July 1996
Resigned:
23 September 2005
Elected for a second
term:
10 February 2006
Resigned:
24 August 2008
Attendance:
Present: 12,
Absent: 1
Honorary Member
since 2008

OBITUARIES

Arnie Robinson (USA), *7 April 1948 in San Diego, California; †1 December 2020 in San Diego. After taking the 1970 NCAA long-jump title while attending San Diego State, Arnie Robinson won many more major titles. Only DeHart Hubbard in 1920s and Ralph Boston could match his record of six AAU titles. Robinson won the Pan American title in 1971 as well as the first World Cup long-jump championship in 1977 and the silver medal at the 1975 Pan American Games.

In 1972 he earned the Olympic bronze medal at Munich and with winning the gold medal in 1976, Robinson set a career best of 8.35 m. He was still in the top flight of long jumpers in 1980 when he placed sixth at the Final Olympic Trials. (BM/WR)

James Price McLane, Jr. (USA), *13 September 1930 in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; †13 December 2020 in Ipswich, Massachusetts. In 1944, Jimmy McLane became the

youngest-ever men's AAU swimming champion by winning the long-distance event at the age of 13. At the 1948 Olympics, as a 17-year-old, he won two gold medals in the 1,500 m freestyle and as a member of the 4×200-metre freestyle relay. He also earned a silver for his second-place in the 400 m freestyle. Four years later, at the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki, Finland, McLane finished fourth in the 1,500 m and seventh in the 400 m free. He gained his third Olympic gold in the freestyle relay. In a long career, which ended with his retirement in 1955, he won, in addition to his Olympic medals, three golds at the 1955 Pan American Games, 21 AAU titles and, while attending Yale, he won two NCAA championships in 1953.

McLane joined the Army after graduating from Yale in 1953, and served for two years, working with Army intelligence during the Korean Conflict. He then worked for *Life Magazine* and then General Mills in mergers and acquisitions. McLane stayed active throughout his life, swimming recreationally, until he

was forced to stop from declining health, due to multiple sclerosis. He was inducted into the International Swimming Hall of Fame in 1970. (BM/WR)

Wojciech Zabłocki (POL), *6 December 1930 in Warsaw; †5 December 2020 in Warsaw. Zabłocki was a four-time fencing Olympian who won three medals in team sabre competitions, silvers in 1956 and 1960, and a bronze in 1964. He was a nine-time medallist at the World Championships with four gold medals, all in team sabre in 1959 and 1961–63.

Zabłocki married well-known Polish actress and activist Alina Janowska (1923–2017), who participated in the Warsaw Uprising. He was an architect who designed several sports facilities, and also worked as a watercolour artist. For his achievements in fencing and architecture he earned many honours, including being made a Knight of the Kalos Kagathos medal (1985) and a member of its chapter. He was awarded the Medal for Outstanding Sports Achievements,

Longest Serving High Priestess Passed Away

The passing of Maria Moscholiou at the age of 87 severs a unique link with the Olympic flame ceremonies which spanned four Olympiads. As High Priestess she lit the flame for each Games from Mexico to Moscow.

Greek Culture minister Lena Mendoni said of her "The seriousness, elegance, and prestige of the presence of Maria Moscholiou were identified with the Olympic Ideal and with the lighting of the Olympic Flame. As High Priestess, she created the Olympic Flame in four ceremonies, giving the essential impetus for the greatest world celebration, with the great universal message of cooperation, peace, and the good fight. She will be



forever connected with the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games."

Artemis Ignatiou, the present day choreographer of the flame ceremonies, paid her own tribute with the simple words, "Have a nice trip to the light." Moscholiou was described by the Hellenic Olympic Committee as "one of the most emblematic priestesses in the history of Olympic flame ceremonies."

Born in Athens, she trained as a classical dancer and was an established performer in Greek theatre when she was chosen to kindle the flame for the first time for the Mexico City Games of 1968. She was only the fifth performer to do so, although she had participated in the flame ceremonies in 1964 – the first year when both summer and winter flames were lit at Olympia.

the Knight's Cross (1960), the Officer's Cross (1996), and the Commander's OOP, as well as the Olympic Laurel of the Polish Olympic Committee, and the IOC Medal of Sport and Science (1992).

In the 1990s, Zabłocki promoted organising the Olympic Games in Warsaw, along with his colleague Ryszard Parulski. He was responsible for the architectural concept of the project, which failed to materialise. (BM)

Ernesto Canto (MEX), *18 October 1959 in Mexico City; †20 November 2020 in Mexico City. Canto was the next Mexican race walking star after Daniel Bautista (Olympic gold in 1976) and Raúl González. Canto came into prominence after winning the 20 km walk at the 1981 IAAF World Race Walking Cup. After winning the 20 km at the inaugural IAAF World Championships in Athletics in 1983, as well as the 20 km gold at the 1983 Pan American Games, and 20 km silver at the 1983 IAAF World Race Walking Cup, he was considered the favourite for the 20 km walk gold at

the 1984 Olympics. Canto did not disappoint, winning the gold medal comfortably seven seconds ahead of compatriot González, who was better known as a 50 km walk specialist.

After his Olympic triumph, Canto continued competing, but with less success. He won bronze in the 5K walk at the 1987 World Indoor Championships, but was disqualified at the 1988 Olympics. Canto also won the 20 km silver at the 1988 Ibero-American Championships, and won the 20 km at the 1990 Pan American Race Walking Cup. His last major win came at the 1990 Goodwill Games, where he won the 20 km track walk. (PT)

Rafer Lewis Johnson (USA), *18 August 1934 in Hillsboro, Texas; †2 December 2020 in Sherman Oaks, California. Johnson made his decathlon debut in 1954 and the next year won the Pan American Games title and set the first of his three world decathlon records. Johnson won the AAU decathlon in 1956, 1958, and 1960 and after placing second to Milt Campbell at the 1956 Olympics,



never lost another decathlon. He was injured at the 1956 Games, which forced him to withdraw from the Olympic long jump, for which he had also qualified.

His three world decathlon records were set in 1955, 1958, and at the 1960 US Olympic Trials. Johnson's Olympic gold medal was won dramatically in the final 1,500 m over his UCLA college roommate, C. K. Yang of Chinese Taipei, who took the silver medal. Yang was close after nine events and was a better 1,500 m runner, but Johnson followed closely behind him throughout the race, and would not let Yang pull away, enabling Johnson to win the gold.

After his retirement in 1960 he acted in a few movies, and served for many years as a commercial spokesman for many products. The plaintiff cry, moments after Robert Kennedy's assassination, was "Get the gun, Rafer!" and it was Johnson to whom the voice beckoned. Johnson and football star Rosey Grier were rabid Kennedy supporters and were standing next to him that fateful night, and they helped disarm the shooter.

In 1984, Rafer Johnson was chosen to light the Olympic Flame at the Opening Ceremony of the Los Angeles Olympics. He also became a big supporter of the Special Olympics, leading the Southern California chapter.

His younger brother, Jimmy, played NFL football for 16 years with the San Francisco 49ers and was inducted into the Pro Football Hall

At the lighting ceremony for Mexico, she handed the torch to Haris Avaliotis, a sprinter who had competed in the 1967 Mediterranean Games. Later she was invited to Veracruz to witness the festivities as the flame continued its journey to Mexico City. "Creating the Olympic Light is an unbelievable feeling. Watching what happens next in the countries where the Olympic Flame is travelling is unbelievable, I will never forget the reception when the street was paved with flowers," she said later.

In 1972, after kindling the flame for Munich, she was present to see the passing of the flame at the Austro-German border. Four years later, she participated in a unique handover ceremony in Athens when the flame was transmitted by electronic sensor

to Ottawa ahead of the Montreal Games. "I remember Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau saying in his speech that if the ancient Greeks could see this lightning transmission of the flame, then they would say how it was done with the intervention of the gods."

She also took part in the flame ceremonies for the Winter Games in 1976 and 1980 before presiding over the lighting ceremony for Moscow 1980.

Throughout her time as high priestess, Moscholiou worked with the celebrated choreographer Maria Horss. She was later presented with the City of Athens medal for her efforts to promote the Olympic ideal.

Philip Barker

of Fame in 1994. Rafer's daughter, Jenny Johnson-Jordan, competed in beach volleyball at the 2000 Sydney Olympics. (BM/WR)



Boris Gurevich (URS), *23 February 1937 in Kyiv (UKR); †12 November 2020 in Chicago, Illinois (USA). At an early age, Gurevich lost his father, who had served in Budyonny's cavalry army. Then, during, and after the Second World War, he suffered from malnutrition and rickets. But as he grew stronger, he became a member of the Kyiv Army Sports Club and competed exclusively in freestyle, taking up wrestling in 1953. He was selected for the Soviet team in 1960 and made his international debut at the 1961 World Championships, where he won silver in the light-heavyweight division. He also competed at the 1962 World Championships, where he was fourth in the middleweight category. Due to fierce competition inside the Soviet team, his next international appearance was not until the 1967 European Championships, where he won gold as a middleweight.

Gurevich also won the 1967 world middleweight title and went to the 1968 Olympics as a favourite for the freestyle middleweight title. He did not disappoint at the Olympics, capturing the gold medal, and also won gold at the 1969 World Championships. Gurevich last competed internationally at the 1970 European Championships, where he also won middleweight gold.

Domestically, Gurevich won six Soviet titles: in light-heavyweight in 1957–58 and 1961 and in middleweight in 1965–67.

The famous Russian sculptor Yevgeny Vuchetich (1908–1974) discovered Gurevich among hundreds of athletes as a model for his anti-war memorial, *Let Us Beat Swords into Plowshares*, which was donated to the United Nations by the USSR and is installed in front of the UN headquarters in New York. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the former army officer emigrated to the United States, living in Chicago. (TK/VK)

Giuliana Chenal-Minuzzo (ITA), *26 November 1931 in Vallonara di Marostica; †11 November 2020 in Aosta. Giuliana Minuzzo's first success in skiing came at the 1949 Italian championship, placing third in downhill. The same year she won the Femina Cup, an international women's downhill and slalom competition. Within a few years she established herself as one of the best skiers at the international level, winning the Femina Cup twice more.

In 1952, she participated at the Olympic Winter Games in Oslo in all three events, becoming the first Italian woman to win a medal at the Winter Olympics, with a bronze medal in downhill. Four years later, at the Cortina Winter Olympics, she became the first female in Olympic history to recite the Olympic Oath on behalf of the athletes. Even though she did not win an Olympic medal, she took a bronze medal in the combined event, which only counted as a world championship. At her

third Olympic participation, Squaw Valley in 1960, she added another medal, winning bronze in the giant slalom. She continued competitive skiing until 1963, when she won her ninth Italian title (in slalom) and finished third in giant slalom. Altogether, she won 16 medals at Italian Championships.

After Chenal-Minuzzo retired from competition, she opened a sports shop in Cervinia, which closed in 2011. In 2006, 50 years after the Cortina Winter Games, she was again part of the Olympic Oath ritual at the Opening Ceremony of the Torino Winter Games, holding the flag while the oath was recited by alpine skier Giorgio Rocca. (OM)

Willie Smith (USA), *28 February 1956 in Rochester, Pennsylvania; † 7 November 2020 in Sylacauga, Alabama. Smith was a 400 m runner who won a gold medal in the 4x400 relay at the 1984 Olympics. He was only used in the preliminary and in the semi-finals.

Smith also won gold medals in the 4x400 m at the 1979 and 1981 World Cup. Individually, in the 400 m, he gained a silver at the 1977 Universiade, and a bronze at the 1979 Pan American Games. He ran in college for Auburn University, after being named *Track & Field News* male high school athlete of the year in 1974. He later became a television news director. (BM/WR)

Fernando Atzori (ITA), *1 June 1942 in Ales, Oristano; †9 November 2020 in Florence. Despite an injury above an eye, Atzori won the Olympic flyweight boxing title in 1964, defeating the Pole Artur Olech with a 4–1 decision. He was born in a small town in Sardinia where sport was practically non-existent. There was no gym, and he trained in an improvised boxing ring in a small room. To improve his boxing skills, he moved to Florence where he worked as a house painter. He lost part of a finger in a carpentry accident as a



youngster, but it did not prevent him from going on to become a two-time military world champion, and a Mediterranean Games gold medallist in 1963, beating the Yugoslavian Branislav Mirković in the final.

Atzori's amateur record was 37 victories, three defeats, and three draws. As a professional, he became the European flyweight champion in 1967, beating the Frenchman René Libeer. He defended his title nine times before losing it in 1972 to Switzerland's Fritz Chervet (KO). He regained it in 1973 against another Frenchman, Dominique Cesari (KO), and lost it once and for all in the same year, again to Chervet (KO). Atzori retired in 1975 with a professional record of 44 victories (13 by knockout), six defeats, and two draws.

Atzori was awarded the Gold Medal of the Italian Olympic Committee for his boxing achievements. In 2015, he received the Collare d'Oro for sporting merit. He died after a long illness. (SB)

Walter Francis "Buddy" Davis (USA),

*5 January 1931 in Beaumont, Texas; †17 November 2020 in Port Arthur, Texas. A severe attack of polio as a child took a heavy toll on Buddy Davis and it took him seven years of continual exercise before he was able to walk properly. By the time he enrolled at Texas A&M in 1948, where he also played basketball, much of the strength had returned to his legs and by 1951 he was a good enough high jumper to rank second in the world with a best of 2.05. In 1952 he won the AAU at 2.09 m, the second highest jump to that time, and then set a new Olympic record in taking the gold medal in Helsinki.

Davis set his personal best with a world record jump of 2.124 m at the 1953 AAU championship. It has been claimed he was the first person to jump 7 feet, which it is said he did in exhibitions.

Later, Davis was an outstanding basketball player at Texas A&M and



after the 1952 Olympics signed with the Philadelphia Warriors of the National Basketball Association. He then had a good pro basketball career, playing five years. Davis was a Jefferson County (Texas) Sheriff's Deputy in the off-season.

After he retired from basketball, he worked in banking for much of his life. He later became a civilian employee of the US Coast Guard, and then worked for the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) for almost 20 years. Davis was inducted into the Texas Sports Hall of Fame in 1964. (BM/WR)

Mariya Itkina (URS),

*3 May 1932 in Roslavl; †1 December 2020 in Minsk (BLR). Mariya Itkina started athletics in Ivanovo, when she studied at an obstetrics school. After leaving school in 1954, she moved to Minsk, where she began to seriously engage in running as a sprinter. She won four gold medals at the European championships – with golds in 1954 in the 200 m and 4 x 100 relay, and in 1958 and 1962 in the 400 m. She also gained a bronze medal in the 200 m in 1958. She won 32 USSR championships.

After the end of her sports career in 1966, she headed the athletic team of the sports society for Dynamo Minsk. In 1991 she was inducted into the International Jewish Sports Hall of Fame. She has the unfortunate distinction of having placed fourth at the Olympics the most times of any athlete, four, without ever winning a medal. (TK)

Leon Spinks (USA), *11 July 1953 in St. Louis, Missouri; †5 February 2021 in Henderson, Nevada. The oldest of six Spinks children started boxing at the age of 13. He entered his first fight in 1969. His brother Michael (*1956) became his sparring partner on his way up – from welterweight to light heavyweight in 1972/73. They were the first brothers to become Olympic boxing champions at the same Games – in Montreal in 1976.

Leon Spinks, who served in the US Marine Corps from 1973 to 1976 and made corporal, was AAU light heavyweight champion three times in a row. He won a bronze medal at the 1974 World Championships in Havana. He lost to Cuba's Orestes Pedroso in the final of the 1975 Pan American Games in Mexico City.

After his Olympic victory and 185 amateur fights, of which he won 178 and only lost seven, it was evident that Spinks would go professional in January 1977. He became Muhammad Ali's rival practically overnight, after only seven fights, five of which he finished early. He won the world heavyweight title on 15 February 1978 in Las Vegas in his first fight lasting 15 rounds against the 36-year-old Ali by winning more points. This victory was the peak of Spinks's career.

His second match against Ali at the Louisiana Superdome on 15 September 1978 went badly for Spinks. Ali won back his title in a unanimous 15-round decision.

Spinks boxed for another eight years with varying results. He retired at age 42 in 1995.

His 19-year-old son Leon Calvin was shot dead on the street in East St. Louis in 1990. Calvin was an aspiring light heavyweight pro boxer. (VK)

Billy Evans (USA),

*13 September 1932 in Berea, Kentucky; †22 November 2020. Evans was a 1.85 m guard for the University of Kentucky basketball team in the early 1950s. For him it was choice of whether to play basketball or tennis, as in high school he was twice Kentucky state

tennis champion. He eventually played three years of varsity tennis at Kentucky as well as basketball. Evans also played baseball at the University of Kentucky. After graduation in 1954 he remained at Kentucky for another year to earn a master's degree. He was drafted by the Rochester Royals in the fifth round of the 1955 NBA draft, but never played professional basketball. He then joined the US military service and was chosen for the winning 1956 Olympic team while playing for the Air Force All-Stars. In 1959 Evans was on the gold medal winning team at the Pan American Games, after which he went into business. He started with Phillips 66, but eventually became a vice president of Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Evans was inducted into the State of Kentucky Athletic Hall of Fame in 1988 and was a charter member of the University of Kentucky Hall of Fame. *(BM/WR)*

Vladimir Kiselyov (URS), *1 January 1957 in Myski, Kemerovo; †7 January 2021 in Kremenchuk (UKR). Although born in Russia, Kiselyov grew up in Kremenchuk where his family moved when he was five months old. Initially a cyclist, he took up athletics and shot put when he was 15 years old.

The apex of Kiselyov's career was at the 1980 Olympics, where he won a surprising gold medal. Before the Olympics, Kiselyov was quite unknown, having won the 1975 European junior title, a bronze at the 1979 European Indoors, and silver at the 1979 Soviet championships. But he opened with 21.10 m and then threw 21.35 m in the final round to win a gold medal.

After the Olympics, Kiselyov missed a season due to a hand injury and then won his first Soviet title in 1982. In 1984, Kiselyov won his second national title, but was unable to defend his Olympic title due to the Soviet boycott. Instead of the Olympics, Kiselyov competed at the Friendship Games, and finished third

in the shot with his personal best of 21.58 m, which was 32 cm better than the mark made by Alessandro Andrei in the Olympic final.

Kiselyov finished his sports career in 1985 and later worked as an athletics coach in his hometown of Kremenchuk. In 2002, he became head of the physical education department of Kremenchuk Institute of Dnipropetrovsk University of Economics and Law. *(TK/WR)*

Margitta Gummel, née Helmbold (GDR), *29 June 1941 in Magdeburg; †13 February 2021 in Wietmarschen, Lower Saxony. The East German shot putter attended a children's and youth sports school and trained at the DHfK Leipzig sports club from 1959. She finished fourth at the GDR championships in 1960 and 1962 and was runner-up in 1964 behind Renate Garisch-Culmberger. She qualified for the All-German Olympic team in Tokyo in 1964, where she finished in fifth place.

In early 1966 she married Jens Gummel, a medical student from Leipzig who later became a professor. From then on, she was the top shot-putter in East Germany. She won all the national championship titles up to and including those of 1972, with the exception of 1967 and 1970, when she did not compete.

At the international level, the Russian Nadezhda Chizhova became her most significant rival, against whom she lost three times – in 1966 (silver), 1969 (silver), and 1971 (bronze) – at the European Championships. The definitive boost to her performance came in 1968, when she improved her own world record by 20 cm at the Mexico Olympics and became winner with a throw of 19.61 metres. At the end of her sporting career, she won another silver medal coming behind Chizhova in Munich in 1972 with 20.22 metres.

After that, she became the first East German Olympic champion to earn a doctorate in sports science. She moved to Berlin, where she

served as general secretary of the Student Sports Association until 1990. She was a personal member of the East German NOC from 1977 to 1990 and of the NOC for Germany from 1990 to 1993. *(VK)*

Ivan Gavrilovich Bogdan (URS), *29 February 1928 in Dmytro-Bilivka, Kazanka Raion (UKR); †25 December 2020. Bogdan, a Soviet Army officer from Ukraine, took up wrestling quite late, in 1950 when he was already 22 years old and made the national team in 1958, when he won his first Soviet Graeco-Roman heavyweight title.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, Bogdan was the most dominant Graeco-Roman heavyweight in the world, winning the World Championships in 1958 and 1961 and Olympic title in 1960. Domestically, besides his 1958 title, he won two more Soviet titles in 1959 and 1961, silvers in 1955 and 1956 and a bronze in 1960. After finishing his sporting career, Bogdan worked as a wrestling coach in his native Ukraine. *(TK)*

Bernd Kannenberg (FRG), *20 August 1942 in Königsberg, East Prussia (now Kaliningrad, Russia); †13 January 2021 in Münster. At the beginning of 1945, Kannenberg was evacuated from East Prussia on the S.S. Wilhelm Gustloff together with his grandmother and a cousin at the end of the war. But the ship was sunk by a Soviet submarine during the treacherous voyage. Kannenberg was among the nine percent of passengers who were rescued.

Kannenberg was raised in Thuringia and later in Bavaria. He first became involved in competitive walking during his time in the German Armed Forces. He was assigned to the German Armed Forces Sports School in Sonthofen, where he emerged as the best West German walker in the early 1970s. He finished in ninth place in the 20 km race at the 1971 European Championships.

After he set a new world best time (3:52:44.6 h) in the 50 km national race against Great Britain on 27 May 1972, the Sergeant also lived up to his role as a favourite at the Olympic Games in Munich. Kannenberg also competed in the 20 km event before the 50 km race, but failed to finish, just like in Montreal in 1976. He won the silver medal in the 20 km race at the European Championships in 1974.

A chronic groin strain forced Kannenberg, who was a member of the LAC Quelle Fürth team sponsored by the Schickedanz mail-order company in his later years, to retire in 1978. After that, he worked as a national coach until he became disabled due to a hip condition. (VK)

Kevin Burnham (USA), *21 December 1956 in Hollis, New York; †27 November 2020. Burnham competed in the 470 sailing class at the 1992, 1996, and 2004 Olympics, winning a silver in 1992 and a gold in 2004. He also won a gold medal at the 1986 Goodwill Games.

He was a sailor who competed in virtually every type of race. In big ocean racing, he competed in the Sydney-Hobart Race, The Rolex Transatlantic Challenge, and the Newport-to-Bermuda Race. He also won the 1989 Worrell 1,000 mile race. He was an 11-time US champion in various boats.

Burnham later turned to coaching, working with US sailors, as well as the Israeli and Czech Republic national teams. He also coached Paralympian sailors. (BM)

Lothar Metz (GDR), *16 January 1939 in Meerane; †23 January 2021 in Rostock. Metz grew up in Auerbach/Vogtland in Saxony, where Graeco-Roman wrestling has a long tradition as a working man's sport. He became East German runner-up at the age of 19 and unexpectedly won a bronze medal at the World Championships.

After the trained painter volunteered for the People's Navy in

1959, he quickly developed into a world-class wrestler at the Rostock Army Sports Club. Metz competed four times at the Olympic Games in the middleweight category: after silver in Rome in 1960, he also won bronze in Tokyo four years later. He became an Olympic champion with the GDR team in Mexico in 1968. He concluded his career by wrestling in the light heavyweight division in Munich in 1972, where he was eliminated in the third round. He was also runner-up in the European Championships twice (1967 and 1970).

The qualified physical education teacher worked as a junior coach in Rostock from 1973 onwards, but due to his increasing hearing loss, he was forced to take early retirement as a corvette captain in 1985. (VK)

Yury Petrovich Vlasov (URS), *5 December 1935 in Makeyevka (UKR); †13 February 2021 in Moscow. Vlasov was the son of a Soviet military journalist who also served as Consul General in Shanghai and Ambassador to Burma. At the age of 10, Yuri entered the Suворov military school in Saratov, a cadet training school, from which he graduated with a medal in 1953. This set the stage for him to continue his military career at the Zhukovsky Air Force Academy in Moscow, where he took up weightlifting in 1956.

Vlasov's first successes came in the spring of 1957, when he beat national heavyweight records in the snatch and clean and jerk. Nonetheless, he remained in Alexey Medvedev's shadow for the next two years. He became the Soviet, European, and World champion for the first time in 1959. He kept these titles for five years.

His greatest success was winning the 1960 Olympics in Rome, where he achieved world records in all three disciplines. He was hailed as the "Strongest Man on the Planet" for his world-record performance in the triple medley (537.5 kg). He set a total of 32 world records.



It was not until the 1964 Tokyo Games that Vlasov was dethroned by his 20 kg heavier compatriot Leonid Zhabotinsky, whom he later accused of using tactical tricks. Although Vlasov was disappointed with his silver medal, he continued his career until 1967.

After that, Vlasov, who had been writing poetry and short stories since 1959, turned his attention to literature. His first work, entitled *Overcoming Yourself*, was published as an autobiography shortly before the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. In 1973, he published his father's diaries, entitled *The Vladimirov Diaries: Yenan, China, 1942–1945*, which have since been translated into six languages. His literary work includes more than 15 novels, most notably the *Flaming Cross* trilogy (1991–93).

Vlasov's criticism of the Soviet system grew during the "perestroika" phase of the 1980s. He was elected as a territorial deputy to the Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow in 1989. He was elected to the State Duma of the Russian Federation in 1993 during the Yeltsin era, where he drew attention for his nationalist and anti-Semitic speeches. He ran as an independent candidate for president of the Russian Federation in 1996, but withdrew from politics after receiving only 0.2% of the vote. (VK)

BM = Bill Mallon, OM = OlyMADMen,
PT = Paul Tchir, SB = Sven Buren,
TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge
WR = Wolf Reinhardt

The ISOH offers the families of the deceased its sincere condolences.

BOOK REVIEWS



Robin Morning

For the Love of It: The Mammoth Legacy of Roma & Dave McCoy

Blue Ox Press, Mammoth Lakes, CA, 2020

\$22.00, 401 pages, ISBN: 978-1-7345133-0-1

Reviewed by David Wallechinsky

For the Love of It is primarily the biography of Dave McCoy, who founded the Mammoth Mountain Ski Area in California and the Mammoth Mountain Ski Club. Among the many skiers he coached and trained were nine who competed at the Olympics in the 1960s: Beverly Anderson, Joan Hannah, Linda Meyers, Jean Saubert, Ni Orsi Jr, Suzy Chaffee, Wendy Allen, Rosie Fortna, and McCoy's son, Dennis "Pancho" McCoy. Saubert earned silver and bronze medals at the 1964 Innsbruck Games and was the US flagbearer at the closing ceremony. Chaffee was the first woman to serve on the board of directors of the United States Olympic Committee.

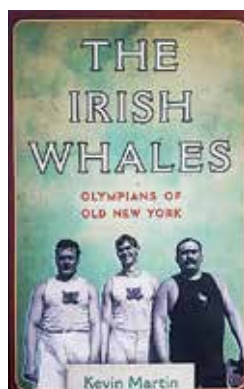
The author of *For the Love of It*, Robin Morning, was a member of the 1968 United States Olympic team. However, the day before the opening ceremony in Grenoble, she broke her leg during a downhill training run.

Coaches are often overlooked when studying Olympic history. Morning has done an excellent job of bringing to life one such coach as a result of thorough research combined with a smooth, readable writing style. Some of the chapters

are first-person accounts by Roma McCoy, Dave's wife.

Morning also reminds us of those athletes who didn't make it to the Olympics, the most notable example being Jill Kinmont. She was a leading contender for the US ski team and appeared on the cover of *Sports Illustrated* in January 1955. However, the day after she first saw the magazine, while competing in Utah at the age of 18, Kinmont had a terrible accident and was paralysed from the shoulders down. Nonetheless, she gained a university degree and worked as a teacher for more than 25 years.

Morning interviewed Kinmont, who has since passed away, in 2002. Dave McCoy died on 8 February 2020 at the age of 104.



Kevin Martin

The Irish Whales: Olympians of Old New York

Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham, MD, 2020

\$32.00, 201 pages, ISBN: 9781538142301

Reviewed by Tom Hunt

Those interested in Irish athletic history and the history of Irish-born track and field athletes in the early Olympic Games have rarely had it so good. In 2018 Margaret Molloy's detailed *Martin Sheridan: Mayo's Famous Son, 1881-1918* was published. This was followed in 2020 by Kevin McCarthy's biography of Tom Kiely, the 1904 Olympic All-Around Champion, *Tom Kiely: Erin's Champion*.

The latest offering is Kevin Martin's *The Irish Whales: Olympians of Old New York*, which, as the title suggests, examines the achievements of the group of athletes collectively known as The Whales. These Irish-born athletes were Jim Mitchel, John Flanagan, Matt McGrath, Pat McDonald, Martin Sheridan, and Paddy Ryan, who between them won a remarkable 12 gold, two silver, and eight bronze medals representing the USA in a variety of throwing events, particularly the hammer, which was won by Irish-born athletes on the first five occasions it was staged as an Olympic event.

This is a book that was long overdue and provides fine biographical studies of these athletes and their achievements in track and field in their social, economic, and political contexts. It is a study constructed to the highest academic standards and the comprehensive bibliography provides evidence of Martin's extensive research. However, this is a book that wears its scholarship lightly and the text is lively and accessible.

This is a work of 12 chapters, with a short introduction providing a brief historical background on the evolution of hammer throwing over the centuries. In the opening chapter, the focus is on Irish emigration and the growth of clubs and fraternal organisations that provided solace to the Irish in the USA. At the end of the 19th century strong links had developed between the New York Irish, the Democratic Party, and Tammany Hall. A short second chapter deals with the achievements of the Irish in other sports, particularly in baseball and boxing, before those who "were to shine brightest on the New World stage" are spotlighted.

Jim Mitchel's story is featured in Chapter 3 and in telling this story Kevin Martin covers the early institutional development of athletics in Ireland where Mitchel established his reputation as a

world great in hammer throwing. He arrived in the USA in 1888 as part of the "Irish Invasion", a group of 53 athletes and officials organised by the Gaelic Athletic Association, one of the two controlling bodies of athletics in Ireland at the time. The group toured the main cities of the north-eastern USA, playing hurling exhibitions and competing in athletics. Not all of the athletes returned to Ireland at the end of the tour and Mitchel was one of those who remained behind.

Although approaching the veteran stage, Mitchel's achievements in the United States were staggering. From 1889 to 1896 he won eight successive US hammer titles as well as a collection of 56-lb weight throwing titles. He extended the hammer world record on 11 occasions in Ireland and the USA. Unfortunately, Mitchel, the original of the whale species, was also the unluckiest as his best days were behind him when the Olympics became an important festival of athletics.

Flanagan is the subject of Chapter 4, an athlete "whose throwing style was an aesthetic wonder of the age, and many New Yorkers went to watch him train in Travers Island, the home of NYAC," Martin explains. He was the one who perfected the three-turn technique and his expertise was used by the Spalding Athletic Company to design hammer equipment. Flanagan's three Olympic hammer victories are documented as well as his silver medal won in St. Louis in 1904 in the 56-lb throwing event.

The "fiasco" of the St. Louis Games and the "triumph" of Irish America is examined in a short chapter that sets the scene for Chapter 6, entitled "Peerless Athlete and Intrepid American". These are the words chosen by the New York Police Department to mark the cross on the gravestone of Sheridan, "a man some aficionados still consider the greatest all-around athlete of all time." There is good reason for

this as during the 1906 Games in Athens, Sheridan added two gold medals and three silver medals to the discus gold he earned in St. Louis in 1904. This medal collection is incorrectly documented in Appendix A; McGrath's 1924 silver medal is also absent in this appendix.

Sheridan completed his Olympic medal collection in London in 1908 with two gold and a single bronze medal. Only Paavo Nurmi, Ray Ewry, and Carl Lewis have done better in Olympic competition. In the words of Kevin Martin, Sheridan's life story "encapsulates many of the themes and tropes that render the story of the Irish Whales so special."

The Irish Whales are closely associated with the Irish American Athletic Club (IAAC) and the history of this organisation is told in Chapter 7, a club whose athletes won 55 Olympic medals between 1900 and 1928, but for Martin, "perhaps the most admirable achievement was its inclusivity and democratic nature." For the IAAC, a man's athletic ability was the required criterion for membership, not his skin colour, religious affiliation, or the nature of his employment.

The longest chapter (8) is devoted to the London Games of 1908, the occasion of the "Irish Whales' greatest triumph". The chapter includes accounts of the various controversies that characterised the games as well as "the incredible proceedings during the hammer throw final that would prove the greatest-ever day for the Irish Whales in the history of their participation on the world stage", when Flanagan, McGrath and Con Walsh (representing Canada) occupied the first three places in the final, staged on 14 July. In addition Sheridan won the discus and the Greek-style discus throw and completed his Olympic collection with a bronze medal in the standing long jump.

Three chapters are devoted to the exploits of McGrath, McDonald, and Ryan, the more than adequate

successors of Mitchel, Flanagan, and Sheridan. Flanagan returned to Ireland in 1910 but Walsh and Ryan challenged McGrath's dominance. McGrath's finest moment came in Stockholm in 1912 when he set a new Olympic record that survived until 1936, in winning the hammer title by the widest margin in the history of the event. Sheridan retired in 1911 and died in 1918, most likely a victim of the Spanish Flu. The biggest whale of them all emerged in 1912, when McDonald became the fifth Irish-born competitor to win an Olympic medal, representing the USA, when he won the shot put with a personal best and new Olympic record heave of 15.34 m.

Ryan arrived in the USA in 1910, and for the rest of the decade his rivalry with McGrath pushed the boundaries of the hammer event as Walsh also joined the ranks of the retirees. Ryan set the first world hammer record (57.77m) recognised by the IAAF in August 1913, surpassing McGrath's world best of 57.10 m of October 1911. Ryan was unable to compete in the Stockholm Games as he had yet to become a US citizen, but the two behemoths went head-to-head in Olympic competition in 1920, where a knee injury restricted McGrath and Ryan easily won the hammer title.

McGrath had some consolation in 1924 when he finished in second place to Fred Tootell, the first USA-born Olympic hammer title. At 49 years of age, McGrath is the oldest USA athlete to win an Olympic medal in track and field despite the fact that he was "distinctly overweight and florid in the cheeks and by today's standards looks more like he should have been in the stands looking on," Martin explains.

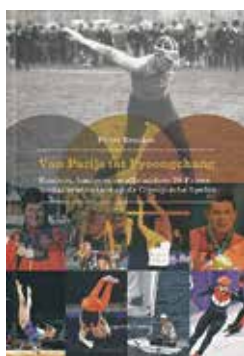
The primary focus of the final chapter is on completing the personal biographies of the principal individuals responsible for the creation of athletic history and considers their legacies. (Tipperary readers will not be impressed to read that McGrath was an "ebullient

Limerick man" in this section, but McGrath's Tipperary origins are well documented earlier in the book.) The Irish Whales were athletes "who helped democratize the sporting space and change the perception of amateur athletics as a sport for Victorian and Edwardian men of means to that of an accessible pursuit for the common working-class man of any ethnic group."

Martin makes the important point that "it was the vibrant New York athletic system" that was responsible for creating their athletic greatness. The system "was the most technically advanced in the world at the start of the twentieth century, and the north-eastern urban centres of the country provided the keenest competition available anywhere."

The claim that these athletes "had developed their technique in Ireland" is part of the folklore of Irish athletics and is not always supported by the facts. Sheridan, McDonald, and McGrath began their athletics careers in the USA. John Flanagan and Paddy Ryan were transformed by their time in New York. Mitchel was the exception; he arrived in the USA as a fully formed athlete but unfortunately was already 44 years old when making his Olympic debut and his greatness was not reflected in Olympic competition. A single bronze medal won in St. Louis in 1904 is a poor reward for an extraordinary athlete.

This fine book is a welcome addition to the canon of athletics and Olympic history. In documenting the achievements of the Irish Whales, Martin tells an important part of the success story of Irish emigration to the USA; the book also touches on important parts of the early history of the modern Olympics. The 20 pages of black-and-white pictures provide an ideal complement to a book that excellently captures the world of the Irish Whales, the men who dominated the weight events in track and field during the first two decades or so of the 20th century.



Pieter Breuker

Van Parijs tot Pyeongchang:

Kaatsen, kaatsersen alle andere 29 Friese medaillewinnaars op de Olympische Spelen

Uitgeverij Louise, Grou, with Kaatsmuseum

Franeke, 2020, in Dutch

€20, 220 pages, ISBN 978-94-91536-69-4

Reviewed by Ruud Paauw

Kaatsen – in the Netherlands it is an age-old game that is played only in the province of Friesland, in the northern part of the country. I could not find a translation of the word *kaatsen* in English but it can be compared to *jeu de pelote* in Belgium and France, *pelota a mano* in Spain, *pärk* in Sweden, real tennis in England and *pallapugno* (fistball) in Italy, to name only a few. The differences are in the rules and there are many.

Pieter Breuker (75), a renowned historian with many publications to his name on the sporting and cultural life of Friesland, writes in this book about the history of *kaatsen* in general and the Olympic history of the game in particular. It was an official part of the Games in 1900 and 1908 and a demonstration sport in 1912, 1924, 1928, 1968, and 1992. The number of participants in the period from 1900 to 1928 was rather poor, with six players in Paris 1900, ten in 1908, and 20 players in 1924.

Each city that organised the Olympics used its own variation of the game, which made it difficult for other countries to participate. In 1928 the kaatsers from Friesland got a chance to play their own version when Amsterdam was host to the

Olympics. Two teams of three men each played against each other. The happening was not a success. There was much wind and rain and the players did not seem to have distinguished between a real match and a demonstration. According to newspaper reports the quality of the meet was rather disappointing.

Forty years passed before the game appeared again on the Olympic programme. At the 1968 Games in Mexico City there was finally a real international competition of the demonstration sport, with France, Spain, Uruguay, Argentina, USA, and the Philippines. They played five different disciplines of Basque pelota, as it is now most widely known. Spain and Mexico each won two gold medals, Argentina one. Barcelona in 1992 was the last time that it got a place as a demonstration sport. Eight countries participated with 140 players, among them 11 women. Spain, Mexico, and Argentina finished again on top.

The Federacion Internacional de Pelota Vasca (FIPV) with 33 affiliated countries then tried to get Basque pelota on the official programme. But the IOC refused, preferring new sports in the Games instead of things of the past. Breuker suggests that a related newcomer, known as wallball (essentially squash without a racket), which is rapidly growing in popularity around the world, might get a place in the Games in the near future.

The second part of the book includes written portraits of 29 Olympic medal winners from Friesland. Between them they won 64 medals (individual or as a team member). Among them are famous Olympic champions such as Sven Kramer, Sjoukje Dijkstra, Sanne Wevers, Jorrit Bergsma, and Marit Bouwmeester. Fourteen of the 29 are skaters (speedskating, shorttrack, and figure skating).

This raises the question: What makes someone a true Frisian? Breuker's criterion is that you have

to be born there, though that is debatable. Take, for example, Sjoukje Dijkstra, the 1964 figure-skating champion, who was just one year old when her parents left Friesland; she lived her whole life outside her native soil. This also applies to some of the other athletes featured in the book. That aspect aside, the portraits are well written and provide valuable information.



Tolga Şinoforoğlu

Selim Sırrı Tarcan ve İsveç Jimnastiği

(Selim Sırrı Tarcan and Swedish Gymnastics)

Spor Yayınevi ve Kitabevi, Ankara 2020

40 TL, 232 pages, ISBN 978-625-7048-13-2

in Turkish

Reviewed by Ahmet Talimciler

Like others who left their mark in history, Selim Sırrı Tarcan also bore the effects of the conditions he faced throughout his life. His great achievements were the institutionalisation of physical education and the promotion of sports and Olympism in the Anatolian region. We now have an important study to help us better understand his life and contributions. In this book, which translates as *Selim Sırrı Tarcan and Swedish Gymnastics*, writer Tolga Şinoforoğlu begins by providing insight into Tarcan's formative years, outlining his education and introduction to sport.

The book goes on to look at the development of gymnastics in 19th-century Europe and its introduction in Turkey. Of particular note is the information about the two different

schools of gymnastics that prevailed at the time (Swedish and German) with their distinct principles and prominent representatives. The last part of the book addresses how Selim Sırrı Tarcan introduced Swedish-style gymnastics into the Turkish education system. It sheds light on his ambitions against the backdrop of the sports policies during the foundation of Turkish Republic.

Tarcan's strong bond with gymnastics, which began for him at Mekteb-i Sultani (Imperial High School), irreversibly changed the direction of his life. He practiced many different sport disciplines, went on to write articles on sport, and then began to advocate physical education and sport programmes across the country. In the spring of 1909, he went for a year to Sweden to study physical education. Soon after returning home, he launched efforts to establish the first Turkish Olympic Committee and was elected as the first Turkish IOC Member in late 1908. The year he spent in Sweden left a huge impact on him. Explaining his transformation after his return on 11 May 1910, he said, "I went to Sweden with my muscles, I returned with my intelligence."

His great success in putting what he learned into practice and the methods he used to achieve his vision makes him stand out above the rest in Turkish sports history. Not only did he write text books for both girls' and boys' physical education and sports, he laid the groundwork for sports to become widely popular through the seminars and conferences he organised. He is also responsible for the "Youth Anthem", which was heard by the public for first time at the Physical Training Festivals he organised, and which is known by the entire nation to this day.

At the first Physical Training Festival of the Republic held on 11 May 1928, Tarcan explained the importance physical education: "Gymnastics is neither a skill, nor a talent, nor an art

that has been confined to those who are strong. It is the tool of a conscious education. Thanks to gymnastics, young people will learn to save their strength and manage goodwill. Body exercises are highly desirable to uplift spirit and mind. Anyone of any age can benefit from gymnastics, whether men, women, young or old. The general purpose of the body training that we practice in our schools is the health and harmony of the body."

With this ideal, Selim Sırrı Tarcan trained the first physical education teachers of Turkey and hosted radio conferences to foster mass awareness about physical education. He made the greatest contributions to the recognition, adoption, and integration of Swedish gymnastics in Turkey.



Rafael Hoffmann,

The Intellectual Approaches and Scientific Achievements of the Jewish Wrocław Doctor and Paralympic Founder Dr Ludwig Guttman (1899-1980) until his Emigration to England in 1939

Sportwissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Mainz (SWG)

Mainz 2020, 131 pages, ISBN 978-3980030-59-5

Reviewed by Leonardo Jose Mataruna-Dos-Santos

The book chronicles the life of Paralympics pioneer Dr. Ludwig Guttman in Germany before his emigration to England in 1939 due to the revocation of his medical accreditation and widespread persecution of Jews by the National Socialist regime. Hoffmann provides

an account of the prevailing situation and circumstances surrounding Guttman to provide context to his physician practice as a Jew in Germany, his scientific contributions, and subsequent emigration to England. GTE Institute of History, Theory and Ethics of Medicine, University Library Freiburg, and Wellcome Library London served as the main sources of literature that form the crux of the book, which includes numerous images.

Jewish doctors had a solid reputation and represented 16% of physicians in Germany despite the fact that the total Jewish population in Germany stood at less than 1%. All Jewish physicians lost their accreditation in 1938. According to the author, they had three choices: commit suicide, be murdered in a concentration camp, or emigrate; Guttman chose the third route to freedom.

Hoffmann is successful in filling a vacuum in Guttman's early history and aids in understanding his intellectual approaches and scientific activities, whose results played a pivotal role in discoveries such as characteristic sweat patterns in individuals. He aptly lists his 40 scientific publications before his emigration to give an insight and add value to his achievements and contributions in the field of medicine.

The author delves deep into Guttman's scientific contributions

and divides his research into three areas – surgery, cerebral diseases, and human perspiration. He uses medical terminology to put his point across which creates a stumbling block for non-medical background readers to comprehend.

The draconian laws implemented by the rising National Socialist regime and their repercussions for the Jews are explicitly mentioned in the book. Guttman is portrayed as a staunch opponent of the regime, who initially misjudged their power.

An avid sportsman, Guttman was a physically fit and active person, which explains his role as a founding father of the Paralympics. He even created a club that incorporated sports activities to keep youth away from Hitler's movement. Hoffmann skims through the sports element in Guttman's early life. He should have pursued it a bit further providing details of his sporting victories, participation in tournaments, and the incidents which sowed early seeds of Paralympics. A link between his scientific contributions and modern-day sports science could have been explored.

Dr. Otfried Foerster was a revolutionary in the field of neurosurgery and acted as a mentor to Guttman. The autodidactic methods of Foerster's medicine suffered some resistance while applied in England. Nonetheless, the methodologies travelled to other countries and

through publications by both medical doctors are well presented in the book.

Dr. Guttman's motto of understanding the basic physical background of every disabled person before treatment was passed on to him by his mentor. He used diagnostic findings in patients to illustrate his medical insights.

The book details the scientific methods used by Guttman and his situation before and during the First and Second World Wars. A brief coverage of events from a chronological perspective to present his life history demonstrates the difficulties of surviving in Germany as a Jew.

The professional aspects of learning medicine are mentioned, and include how Guttman suffered pressure from anti-Semitic students. However, he completed his medical studies without fearing potential confrontation and worked professionally as a neurologist and doctor until 1939.

Overall, Hoffmann has done an excellent job in distilling Guttman's life in Germany. The author demonstrates Guttman's positive contributions in shaping the history of medicine and sport. The father of the Paralympic Movement was a person who demonstrated empathy, patience, sportsmanship, courage, solidarity, and extraordinarily comprehensive medical expertise. ■

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