

# **‘Striking the Mighty Anvil Known as “Propaganda”’: Journalism and the Institutionalization of Sport in Spain, 1890-1920<sup>1</sup>**

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## **Abstract**

Sports journalism played a crucial role in the early institutionalization process of sport in Spain (late nineteenth- early twentieth centuries), prompting the creation of regional and, ultimately, national federations gathering clubs in each discipline with the aim of regulating, organizing and promoting these. This is particularly the case of the more relevant disciplines of the time: cycling, gymnastics, association football and athletics. In all four cases, governing bodies emerged later than in neighbouring, more developed countries like France, Italy and Britain/England, and the sporting press played a central role in promoting, organizing, and sustaining the corresponding regional and national federations. Although various journalists, editors and publishers played a crucial role in this endeavour, one individual stands out: Narciso Masferrer Sala. Masferrer was the cornerstone of sports journalism and institutionalization in Spain from the last decade of the nineteenth century until his death in 1941. Although not involved in the initial creation of the Unión Velocipédica Española, he took its reins in 1899 and steered the organization through the turbulent 1900-1913 period; he led almost single-handedly the founding of the Federación Gimnástica Española in 1898; he launched a successful campaign to set up the Federación Española de Clubs de Football in 1909 and sustained the entity through the stormy 1910-1913 years; and in 1915 he led the campaign to create the Federación Atlética Catalana, forerunner of the Federación Atlética Española, established a few years later.

**Keywords:** sports journalism, sports federations, Spain, football, cycling.

Sport scholars widely accept that sport and the media are closely intertwined in a symbiotic and synergistic relationship of mutual benefit. One of the most quoted conceptualizations of this idea is David Rowe’s notion of the ‘media sport cultural complex’, an evolution from Sut Jhally’s earlier ‘sports/media complex’.<sup>1</sup> Although the concept mostly refers to the

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development of the hugely mediated elite sports of the late twentieth/early twenty-first-centuries,<sup>2</sup> scholars have traced the existence of such a close coupling back to the very origins and early expansion of modern sport in the late nineteenth century. Robert McChesney, for instance, in a contribution eloquently entitled 'Media Made Sport', claims that 'mass media coverage [is...] a sine qua non to the rise of sport to its position as a cornerstone of modern American culture', and that 'the sporting press of the middle nineteenth century [...] performed a crucial function by actively working to legitimate sport as a cultural institution'.<sup>3</sup> An example of the institutionalizing role specified by McChesney is the creation of a national association of baseball writers in 1887 'to standardize scoring and promote the game', an event that predates and prefigures the efforts of Spanish sports journalists to set up regional and national federations to regulate and promote sports, as reviewed below.<sup>4</sup> A well-researched case of 'media inventing sport' is the birth of one of the most relevant cycling competitions in history, the Tour de France, which emerged out of fierce competition between two Paris sports newspapers, *L'Auto* and *Le Vélo*.<sup>5</sup>

In the Spanish context, several authors have identified and explored the early symbiosis between sport and the press. Torreadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán, for instance, observe that since the late nineteenth century 'the press and sport [have] formed a mutually dependent pair that materialised in the emergence of an independent, specialised literature: the sports press, which endorsed from day 1 the promotion and diffusion of sports associativism'.<sup>6</sup> Pujadas and Santacana similarly record that sundry early Spanish sporting clubs, mostly dedicated to cycling, issued bulletins with the aim of galvanizing their members and educating them about the rules and spirit of the sport, while at the same time proselytizing and striving for its cultural and political acceptance as a social benefit worthy of official support. Several other contributions refer to this early symbiosis, but none has explored it in depth.<sup>7</sup> The crucial role of journalism in the early institutionalization of sport in Spain clearly reflects itself in the creation of the four most relevant federations of the time: cycling, gymnastics, association football and athletics. Sports journalist and editor Narciso Masferrer Sala was the cornerstone in the origins and stormy early years of these institutions.

The concept of 'institutionalization' goes here one step further than in some of the aforementioned contributions, which mostly deal with the organization of sport at the club level.<sup>8</sup> Although this was undeniably an essential phase in the institutionalizing process, the evolution of sports federations, whose work was to coordinate a network of clubs from cities, regions, and ultimately nationwide, is as relevant, or even more. These entities aimed at regulating, standardizing and promoting a particular sport by organizing regular competitions with 'legalized' records, involving different clubs/cities/regions, culminating in national

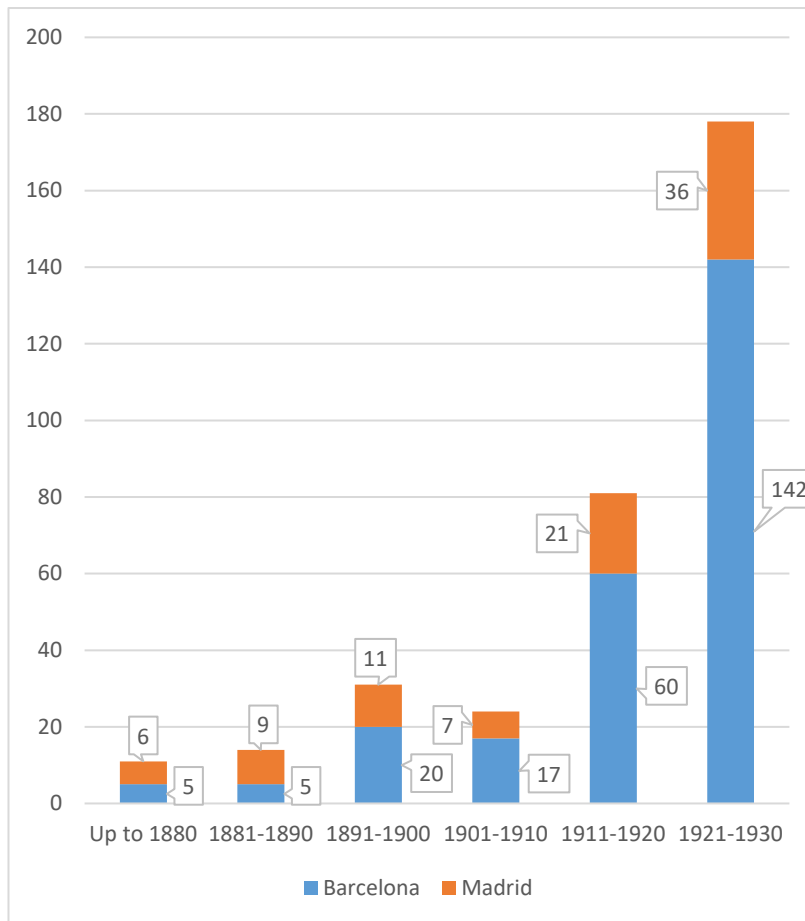
championships and/or leagues, and the participation of national teams in international competitions. In turn, the steady flux of content, stories and statistics generated by this process transformed the sporting press, allowing it to leave behind its precarious and proselytising origins linked to specific clubs and instead flourish as a professional endeavour.<sup>9</sup>

### **Sports Journalism in Spain (1890-1920): The Crucial Role of Narciso Masferrer**

Several scholarly publications have explored the birth and development of the Spanish sporting press. Most of them focus on Madrid<sup>10</sup> or Barcelona,<sup>11</sup> the two cities where the great majority of these initiatives emerged, while others address the subject from a national perspective.<sup>12</sup> Pujadas and Santacana have identified three stages in this process.<sup>13</sup> An early phase spanned up to 1914 and was characterized by periodicals linked to specific clubs, mostly amateur and elitist and devoted to proselytism and 'educating' the public. A transitional phase, from 1914 to 1920, and a third stage followed from 1920 onwards, where sports journalism achieved stability and professionalization. A number of features emerge from these contributions. Most of the early sports journalistic activity concentrated in Madrid and Barcelona, the most developed and cosmopolitan cities of the country, located in the regions that pioneered the development of modern sport in Spain. The third most 'sporting' region of Spain in those days, the Basque Country, had comparatively few sports publications before 1900.<sup>14</sup>

The sporting press took off in Spain only from 1890 onwards, coinciding with the arrival of athletic sports. Prior to this date, sports publications were few and short-lived (see Figure 1).<sup>15</sup> However, it is striking that the 31 sporting publications in circulation in the last decade of the nineteenth century in Madrid and Barcelona (and not including the rest of Spain) are not far below the 48 periodicals that according to McChesney existed in the whole of the United States at the time.<sup>16</sup> The earliest publications took the form of bulletins issued by the first sporting clubs and were 'close to what could be labelled as sporting indoctrination' aimed at 'regularly informing the members about the sporting activities and, at the same time, spreading the basic codes of modern sporting culture'.<sup>17</sup> In the same vein, Torrebadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán argue that 'the proselytism of the first publications was key to the dissemination of sport'.<sup>18</sup>

### **Figure 1. New sports periodicals in Madrid and Barcelona by decades up to 1930**



Source: Pujadas and Santacana, 'Prensa, deporte y cultura de masas'; Torreadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press'; Altabella, 'Historia de la prensa deportiva madrileña'.

Before the twentieth century, the Spanish sporting press was essentially amateur and its ventures were fleeting, 'as in fact it depended on a market which was socially constrained, elitist and distant from the socio-sporting reality of countries which were considered a reference, like England, France and Belgium'.<sup>19</sup> Torreadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán point out that the goal of the early sporting publications 'was vocational and altruistic rather than business oriented. On occasion, profits came second after the social benefits of sport'.<sup>20</sup> The few professional initiatives of the time include the prosperous cycling press of 1891-1896 (*El Ciclista, La Velocipedia, El Veloz Sport, El Deporte Velocipédico, La Bicicleta*) and, above all, Barcelona's multi-sports magazine *Los Deportes*, the first long-lasting, consolidated Spanish sports publication with a truly national scope.<sup>21</sup> The creation of *Los Deportes* signals the start of 'the professionalization process of Catalan, and, to a great extent, Spanish, sports journalism which culminated in 1911 with the creation of the first Sindicato de Periodistas Deportivos in Barcelona'.<sup>22</sup> Further milestones in this process were the founding of the also Catalan two other most relevant pre-Civil War sports weeklies in Spain: *El Mundo Deportivo* (1906-present)

and *Stadium* (1911-1930). After slowing down during the First World War, this early transitional phase gave way to a boom in sporting periodicals, as shown in Figure 1. In the decade 1921-30, Madrid and Barcelona alone saw the birth of no fewer than 178 new publications, more than in all the previous years combined.

The sporting press played a central role in the introduction, expansion and institutionalization of sport in Spain.<sup>23</sup> Although the aforementioned and other authors have signalled and emphasized the importance of this relationship, it begs for a deeper analysis, going a step beyond the exploration of the links between the early sporting press and the local clubs and focussing on the role of journalism in the second stage of sport institutionalization, the one which followed the creation of separate clubs and consisted in establishing regional and national sporting governing bodies (sporting federations).<sup>24</sup> When charting the early development of the Spanish sporting press from its emergence in the late nineteenth century and during the subsequent transitional and consolidation periods, the contributions of one particularly tenacious individual stand out. Such were his achievements that he can be considered as the most important figure in Spanish sports journalism, and perhaps even in Spanish sport in general: Narciso Masferrer Sala (Madrid, 1867-Barcelona, 1941).<sup>25</sup>

The only son of a Catalan jeweller settled in Madrid, in October 1879 his parents sent him to the Lycée de Pau in France, where he stayed for two years. He later attended a boarding school in Pforzheim, Germany, until 1883. Masferrer often mentioned in his journalistic writings how crucial this foreign education had been in forging his passion for sport (initially gymnastics and cycling), which after returning to Madrid, he was able to combine with another obsession, journalism. Masferrer's career as a promoter and founder of sporting institutions and federations is the object of scrutiny below. As a sports journalist and publisher, his impressive curriculum places him at the top of his game, earning him the well-deserved reputation as father of Spanish sports journalism. He founded and edited the weeklies *El Gimnasta* (1887, short-lived), *Los Deportes* (1897-1910; editor from 1897 to 1902), *Vida Deportiva* (1903, short-lived), *El Mundo Deportivo* (1906-present, editor from 1906 to 1920) and *Vida Moderna* (1914, short-lived), edited the weekly *Stadium* (1911-1929, editor from 1920 to 1929), was a journalist at Madrid's *El País*, *La República* and *La Publicidad* (late 1880s and early 1890s), a sports writer at *La Censura* (1886), *El Liberal* (1901-1903) and *La Vanguardia* (1912-1929), as well as a sports correspondent at Madrid's *Arte y Sport* (1903-1905), *El Mundo* (1910), *España Sportiva* (1916), and *El Fígaro* (1918), and the French sports daily *L'Auto* (1903-1936).<sup>26</sup>

Besides editing the three most influential and circulated weeklies of the pre-Civil War period (*Los Deportes*, *El Mundo Deportivo* and *Stadium*), the most symbolic achievement of his

career in sports journalism, generating much respect, esteem and credibility among his peers, is perhaps his initiative in founding the Sindicato de Periodistas Deportivos de Barcelona (Barcelona Trade Union of Sports Journalists) in October 1911:

To celebrate the 25th anniversary of my marriage to the sports press, it would have been easy for me [...] to prepare the typical banquet of honour [...] [Instead], it seems to me far more practical to beg my distinguished colleagues [...] to attend a meeting next Sunday [...] [in which] I will expound to them the convenience and necessity of joining a union for mutual support [...] a bastion against all the disagreements that may arise between us.<sup>27</sup>

This call was highly successful, as sixteen colleagues attended the launch meeting, and twelve others communicated their commitment.<sup>28</sup> Fifty-eight founding members set up the Union in January 1912, an astounding figure taking into account that sports journalism was still in its early stages, and a clear reflection of Masferrer's personal appeal and prestige.<sup>29</sup> The founding assembly elected Masferrer as the first chairman, a position he held again in January 1915 and December 1926, before becoming honorary president in December 1929, when he retired from journalism. So resilient was his creation, it lasted until the Civil War (1936-39) and came to include contributors to more than 33 different Barcelona newspapers. By early 1912, therefore, sports journalism had developed in Barcelona to a point that warranted the formal association of its practitioners, something their Madrid colleagues were unable to achieve. The Catalan sporting press was a power in itself and exerted its crucial influence in the institutionalization process of sport in Spain.

### **Sports Journalism and the Institutionalization of Sport in Spain, 1890-1920**

Modern sport took root in Spain later than in some of its northern neighbours, such as the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy and the Scandinavian and Benelux countries, which were more advanced in their development as capitalist societies. Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, only traditional aristocratic and rural sports or pastimes like horse riding, fencing, hunting, shooting, fishing, sailing, pigeon-breeding and pigeon-shooting enjoyed a certain degree of practice among the well-to-do, leisured class.<sup>30</sup> Modern sport slowly took root in the last decades of the century in the most cosmopolitan and developed regions of Catalonia, the Basque Country and Madrid. Instrumental in this were foreigners who had settled in Spain for professional reasons, or upper class locals who got an education abroad.<sup>31</sup> Noteworthy names among the former are the Swiss Hans Gamper (1877-1930), the founder of FC Barcelona in 1899; William Tarin (1869-1926), another Swiss pioneering sportsman and chairman of the Club Gimnàstic de Tarragona; the German Udo Steinberg

(1876-1919), president of the Asociación de Clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona in 1906; the British Ernest Witty, founder of the Barcelona Lawn Tennis Club (1899); and another Brit, Normand Cinnamond (1886-1967), president of the Federación Catalana de Clubs de Foot-ball in 1911-12. A prominent example of the latter group is precisely Narciso Masferrer.

In tandem with this belated sportization, sport in Spain was also slow to become institutionalized, in the sense of setting up governance structures in charge of organizing and regulating the different sporting disciplines. In cycling, association football, gymnastics and athletics, the national federation of Spain emerged later than in France, England/Great Britain and Italy, the countries used for comparison. The oldest Spanish national sports federation, the Unión Velocipédica Española, was founded in 1895-96, compared to 1878 (Great Britain), 1881 (France), and 1885 (Italy). The first attempt at creating a Spanish gymnastics federation was in 1898, when the Italian, French and British organizations were already well established (formed in 1869, 1873 and 1888, respectively). The Federación Española de Clubs de Foot-ball was born in 1909, much later than its English (1863) and Italian (1898) counterparts. Regarding athletics, the Spanish federation emerged only in 1919, long after the founding of the British, French and Italian federations (1866, 1889 and 1899, respectively) (see Table 1).

**Table 1. Founding dates of cycling, gymnastics, football and athletics national federations in Spain, France, Italy and England/Britain**

	Spain		England/Britain		France		Italy	
Cycling	Unión Velocipédica Española	1895/6	Bicycle Union <sup>32</sup>	1878	Union Vélocipedique de France <sup>33</sup>	1881	Unione Velocipedistica Italiana <sup>34</sup>	1885
Gymnastics	Federación Gimnástica Española	1898	Amateur Gymnastics and Fencing Association <sup>35</sup>	1888	Union des Sociétés de Gymnastique de France <sup>36</sup>	1873	Federazione Ginnastica Italiana <sup>37</sup>	1869
Football	Federación Española de Clubs de Foot-ball	1909	The Football Association <sup>38</sup>	1863	Comité Français Interfédéral <sup>39</sup>	1907	Federazione Italiana del Football <sup>40</sup>	1898
Athletics	Federación Atlética Española	1919	Amateur Athletic Club <sup>41</sup>	1866	Union des Sociétés Françaises de Courses à Pied <sup>42</sup>	1887	Federazione Italiana Atletica Leggera <sup>43</sup>	1899

By 1920, there already existed 14 regional and 11 national sports federations (25 in total) (see Table 2). The chronology reveals a steady progression in their creation, with four entities set up between 1895 and 1900, five in each of the periods 1901-1905, 1906-1910 and 1911-1915, and six between 1916 and 1920. The institutionalization process gained momentum in the 1920s, with 10 entities set up between 1921 and 1925. The most relevant information in Table 2 is that at least in 14 of these federations sports journalists led the founding process and often played a decisive role in their early years. They include the

governing bodies for the most relevant and popular sports of the time, cycling, gymnastics, football and athletics, and significantly, the same name crops up in each case: Narciso Masferrer. Breaking down his role in these four sporting endeavours, presenting the relevant information chronologically (cycling: 1895-96; gymnastics: 1897-78; football: 1909; athletics: 1915) shows how deep his influence was.

**Table 2. Institutionalization of sport in Spain: chronology of regional and national federations up to 1920<sup>44</sup>**

Year	Federation	National/ regional	First president	Journalistic leadership
1895-96	Unión Velocipédica Española	National	Pedro Sánchez de Neyra, marquis of Casa Alta	Creation: Claudi de Rialp ( <i>El Ciclista</i> ), Manuel del Campo & Antonio Viada ( <i>El Veloz Sport</i> ), Julio Amodio ( <i>El Nuevo Fígaro</i> ), José María Sierra & Antonio Sendras ( <i>El Deporte Velocipédico</i> ) Later: Narciso Masferrer ( <i>Los Deportes</i> , <i>El Mundo Deportivo</i> )
1897	Asociación Catalana de Gimnástica <sup>45</sup>	Regional	Emili Junoy	Narciso Masferrer ( <i>Los Deportes</i> )
1898	Unión Velocipédica Catalana <sup>46</sup>	Regional	Ginés Codina Sert	Narciso Masferrer ( <i>Los Deportes</i> )
1898	Federación Gimnástica Española <sup>47</sup>	National	José Canalejas	Narciso Masferrer ( <i>Los Deportes</i> )
1901	Sociedad Hípica Española <sup>48</sup>	National	Duque de Uceda	
1902	Asociación de Clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona <sup>49</sup>	Regional	Eduardo Alesson	
1902	Asociación Madrileña de Clubs de Foot-ball <sup>50</sup>	Regional	Carlos Padrós	Ceferino Rodríguez Avecilla ( <i>Revista de Sport/Mundo Sportivo</i> )
1904	Asociación de Lawn-Tennis de Barcelona <sup>51</sup>	Regional	Guillermo Oliveras	
1905	Comité Español de los Juegos Olímpicos <sup>52</sup>	National	Julio de Urbina y Ceballos Escalera, marquis of Cabriñana del Monte	
1906	Federación Catalana de Clubs de Foot-ball <sup>53</sup>	Regional	Isidro Lloret	Creation: Isidro Lloret ( <i>Los Deportes</i> ) Later: Alberto Serra ( <i>La Vanguardia</i> ), Ricard Cabot ( <i>Stadium</i> )
1906	Federación Española de Clubs Náuticos	National	Victoriano López-Dóriga	
1909	Federación Deportiva de Galicial <sup>54</sup>	Regional	Manuel Bárcena	
1909	Asociación de Lawn Tennis de España <sup>55</sup>	National	Jorge de Satrústegui	Manuel Tey ( <i>El Mundo Deportivo</i> )
1909	Federación Española de Clubs de Foot-ball (FEFC)	National	Pedro Sánchez de Neyra, marquis of Casa Alta	Founding: Narciso Masferrer and Emilio Coll ( <i>El Mundo Deportivo</i> ) Later: Ricardo Ruiz Ferry ( <i>Heraldo de Madrid, España Deportiva</i> )
1912	Federación de Sociedades Deportivas de Barcelona <sup>56</sup>	Regional	Francesc de Moxó i de Sentmenat, marquis of Sentmenat	Manuel Tey ( <i>El Mundo Deportivo</i> )
1912	Foot-ball Asociación de Cataluña <sup>57</sup>	Regional	Francesc de Moxó i de Sentmenat,	

			marquis of Sentmenat	
1912	Unión Española de Clubs de Fútbol (UECF) <sup>58</sup>	National	Enrique Pardiñas Barreiro	
1913	Real Federación Española de Fútbol (merger of UEFC and FEFC)	National	Francisco García Molinas	Narciso Masferrer ( <i>El Mundo Deportivo, La Vanguardia</i> ), Ricardo Ruiz Ferry ( <i>Heraldo de Madrid</i> )
1915	Federación Atlética Catalana <sup>59</sup>	Regional	Álvaro Presta	Manuel Nogareda, Ricard Cabot ( <i>Stadium</i> ), Narciso Masferrer ( <i>El Mundo Deportivo, La Vanguardia</i> )
1916	Federación Atlética Guipuzcoana <sup>60</sup>	Regional	Julio Maeso	Manuel Orbea Biardeau ( <i>Sporting</i> )
1917	Federación Castellana de Atletismo <sup>61</sup>	Regional	Francisco Javier Bartrina Costa	Ricardo Ruiz Ferry ( <i>Heraldo de Madrid, Heraldo Deportivo</i> )
1917	Federación Atlética Vizcaína <sup>62</sup>	Regional	José María Mateos (Bilbao, 1888-1963)	José María Mateos ( <i>La Gaceta del Norte</i> )
1918	Federación Española de Clubs de Remo <sup>63</sup>	National	Unknown	
1920	Federación Atlética Española <sup>64</sup>	National	Gabriel María de Laffitte	
1920	Federación Española de Natación Amateur <sup>65</sup>	National	Jaume Mestres Fossas	

Cycling was the first modern sport to set up a national federation in Spain, the Unión Velocipédica Española (UVE). Its precise founding date is still under discussion. While the Real Federación Española de Ciclismo claims that it was set up in late 1895, the Federació Catalana de Ciclisme insists that the correct date is February 1896.<sup>66</sup> Both are partially right, as in November 1895 a committee of the UVE already existed, while the entity's first official meeting after its registration in Madrid's Registro de Asociaciones took place on February 13 1896.<sup>67</sup> Regardless, sports journalism played a central role in the creation of the UVE, a process that took at least four years. It began with an article published in 1891 in the pages of *El Ciclista*, a weekly founded in Barcelona by the businessman and cycling enthusiast Claudi de Rialp Navinés, which was the most influential Spanish cycling magazine until its demise in 1895.<sup>68</sup> The author called for the creation of a Federación Velocipédica de Cataluña, a regional governing body that would constitute 'a step towards the supreme goal, [the foundation of] the Unión Velocipédica Nacional, which would ensure the future of velocipedism'.<sup>69</sup> Led by Claudi de Rialp, the magazine persisted in its campaign, and in March 1892 proposed founding the 'Unión Velocipédica del Este, going beyond the Catalan region and including Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Islands and Murcia, a union large enough to [...] persuade the velocipedists in the rest of Spain [...] to create similar entities, which will inevitably lead to the foundation of the Unión Velocipédica Nacional'.<sup>70</sup> Rialp's scope was not a regionalist, let alone Catalan nationalist one, but a clearly Spanish one since he deemed a bottom-up strategy as the best to reach the 'supreme goal' of a national cycling federation.

The magazine announced the constitutive meeting of the Unión Velocipédica del Este, held in Barcelona on October 7, 1892, but the scarce attendance deterred Claudi de Rialp from his endeavour.<sup>71</sup> He decided to hand over the initiative to another Barcelonan cycling publication, *La Velocipedia*, and its editor, Francesc de Moragas Barret, who was in favour of skipping the regional phase and jumping directly to the constitution of a national body.<sup>72</sup> Moragas failed to gain much ground, and after some ups and downs, the project returned to the hands of Rialp and *El Ciclista*, which in September 1894 organized another meeting in Barcelona. The 'one hundred and seventy-five' attendees elected a board for the UVE chaired by Manuel de Cerecedas, the president of Madrid's Club Velocipédico, which amounted to handing control of the federation to the Spanish capital city.<sup>73</sup> There, once again the cycling press took over, pushing for the materialization of what was still a mere project.

Observing the lack of initiative shown by the newly elected board, Claudi de Rialp published another call in *El Ciclista* for the definitive constitution of the federation, which was seconded by the three existing Madrid cycling magazines.<sup>74</sup> Therefore, seven cycling journalists/cycling magazine entrepreneurs were actively involved in the origins of the UVE: Claudi de Rialp (*El Ciclista*), Manuel del Campo and Antonio Viada (*El Veloz Sport*), Antonio Sendras and José María Sierra (*El Deporte Velocipédico*), Julio Amodio (*El Nuevo Fígaro*) and Juanito Pedal, pseudonym of Adolfo González Rodríguez (a cycling writer in the daily newspaper *Heraldo de Madrid*).<sup>75</sup> There was unanimous agreement that the founding father of the federation was *El Ciclista*'s editor Claudi de Rialp, who many years later recalled the crucial role the cycling press played in setting it up: '[In 1895] we were all convinced that it was essential [to create the federation], but nobody dared suggest it for fear of another failure. At that time there were three very well edited sporting newspapers in Madrid: Manuel del Campo's *El Veloz Sport*, Julio Amodio's *El Nuevo Fígaro*, and José M. Sierra's *El Deporte Velocipédico*. The creation of the Unión Velocipédica depended mainly on the insistence of these newspapers and others in the provinces', including, of course, *El Ciclista*.<sup>76</sup>

The successive boards of the UVE, elected in 1895 and 1896, did not reflect this journalistic leadership, as the only member representing the cycling press was Manuel del Campo, editor and publisher of *El Veloz Sport*, although in February 1986, Sierra, Sendra and Viada were designated as 'miembros adscritos' (affiliated members).<sup>77</sup> Instead, the promoters of the federation felt that other figures were more suitable for the top governing positions, as happened more generally. Of the 25 national or regional federations listed in Table 2, only two had sports journalists as their first chairmen: the Federación Catalana de Clubs de Foot-ball (Isidro Lloret) and the Federación Atlética Vizcaína (José María Mateos). In the other cases, leadership was awarded to a prominent personality, in keeping with the socially elitist nature

of sport in its early years in Spain: sportsmen who belonged to the aristocracy (the marquis of Casa Alta, duke of Uceda, marquis of Cabriñana del Monte, marquis of Sentmenat, Jorge de Satrústegui, Gabriel María de Laffitte) or bourgeoisie (Carlos Padrós, Eduardo Alesson, Guillermo Oliveras, Victoriano López-Dóriga); prominent doctors in the emerging field of physical education and/or gymnastics (Álvaro Presta, Francisco Bartrina Costa, Julio Maeso, Francisco García Molinas); or politicians (Emili Junoy, José Canalejas). Thus, once the entities were up and running, the journalists usually withdrew to backstage roles.

The initial phase of the cycling federation was one of burgeoning activity: it held annual congresses and renewed its board membership from 1896 to 1898. Cycling in Spain in this period was peaking as a fashionable pastime for the well-to-do and was not in need of a propaganda boost. However, the UVE was unable to escape the effects of the deep social and economic depression that followed Spain's defeat in the 1898 Spanish-American War, to the point that it practically disappeared.

Narciso Masferrer, although having been born in Madrid and lived there for most of his childhood and youth, had no role whatsoever in the foundation of the Unión Velocipédica Española, as he was absent from the capital city in the early years of the federation. After their marriage in Madrid in July 1891, Masferrer and his wife Esperanza Navarro both fell severely ill with tuberculosis and the doctors recommended a 'change in atmosphere', which brought them to Seville in 1893 and eventually to Barcelona in late 1894. Moving failed to help Esperanza, who died in December 1896 at the age of 24, and Narciso himself narrowly escaped death, according to his grandson José Miguel Masferrer.<sup>78</sup> These dramatic events briefly halted his sporting activism, but once recovered, the newly widowed Masferrer whirled into action as a sports propaganda *tour de force*, using the Gimnasio Solé as his headquarters and the weekly *Los Deportes* as his megaphone. In those early days of sport institutionalization in Spain, Masferrer's propaganda drive brought extraordinary results. Under his inspiration and leadership, at least eight sports entities were set up and/or consolidated in the following years: the Asociación Catalana de Gimnástica (1897), the Unión Velocipédica Catalana (1898), the Federación Gimnástica Española (1898), FC Barcelona (1899), the reborn Unión Velocipédica Española (1899), the Federación Española de Clubs de Foot-ball (1909), the Real Federación Española de Foot-ball (1913) and the Federación Atlética Catalana (1915).

In 1897, witnessing the decline of the UVE, Masferrer campaigned from the pages of his weekly *Los Deportes* for the creation of a separate Unión Velocipédica Catalana, which was established in May 1898 with Masferrer in the role of 'propaganda secretary'.<sup>79</sup> One year later he apparently regretted this secessionist move and began promoting the merger of the regional and national federations with a vigorous crusade in *Los Deportes*.<sup>80</sup> When the UVE

congress scheduled for May 1899 in Madrid had to be cancelled, Masferrer was undeterred, and in another series of articles called for the revival of the national federation and the transfer of its headquarters to Barcelona.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, as they handed in their resignations, the board members in Madrid decided to pass the reins to Claudi de Rialp, the current UVE vice-chairman (and no longer a sports editor/entrepreneur after *El Ciclista* shut down in 1895), and a new provisional board was set up in Barcelona in late July 1899. In December the federation eventually held its annual congress, which elected a new board, including for the first time Narciso Masferrer, the man who steered the cycling federation for the next 12 years.

Thanks mainly to the propaganda campaign waged in *Los Deportes*, the UVE managed to survive. It remained based in Barcelona until the end of the Civil War in 1939, an atypical state of affairs in a country so strongly centralistic as Spain. In the first part of this period (1899-1913), Masferrer became the federation's factotum, placing at its disposal the influence of the publications he successively edited or wrote for (see above). In these years of intense activity, he also deployed these media to cement his own grip on the organization (see Table 3). Between December 1899 and January 1913, he was only absent from the board in 1909; otherwise, he was three times elected as chairman, twice as vice-chairman, twice as general secretary, and three times as board member. The central role he played in the UVE's governance also showed in his prolific journalistic output, at a time when he was simultaneously engaged in fighting several battles for the institutionalization of sport in Spain, including the creation and consolidation of the Spanish football federation (1909-1912) (see below).

**Table 3. Narciso Masferrer in the governance of Spanish cycling, 1899-1913**

Congress of the Unión Velocipédica Española	Elected chairman	Masferrer's position in the elected board
December 1899	Claudi de Rialp	Member
December 1900	Buenaventura Pollés	Vice-chairman
December 1901	Buenaventura Pollés	Vice-chairman
December 1902	Narciso Masferrer	Chairman
December 1903	Narciso Masferrer	Chairman
December 1904	Enrique de Sorarrain	Member
December 1905	Buenaventura Pollés	General Secretary
December 1907 <sup>2</sup>	Buenaventura Pollés	General Secretary
December-January 1909	Andrés Rodríguez/Claudi de Rialp	None
December 1910	Luis R. de F. Baixeras	Member
December 1911	Narciso Masferrer	Chairman
January 1913	Enrique de Sorarrain	None

<sup>2</sup> The UVE congresses were biennial from 1905 to 1909.

In late 1912, this hyperactive period came to an end, as Masferrer was apparently tired of his hectic life as promoter and board member of various sports entities and federations. He did, however, remain a highly influential commentator through his journalistic platforms (editor of *El Mundo Deportivo*, 1906-1920, and *Stadium*, 1920-1929) and was still decisive in some initiatives, as in the foundation of the Federación Atlética Catalana (see below). The outcome of the Civil War, during which he remained loyal to the (winning) rebellious side, brought him back for the last time to a leading role in sports governance as chairman of the UVE (1940-41), shortly before his death in April 1941 at the age of 73.

In parallel to his early cycling activism, Masferrer's first pro-institutionalization campaign dealt with gymnastics. An enthusiast of gymnastics since his school days in France and Germany, in March 1887 Masferrer had founded the Sociedad Gimnástica Española in Madrid, an enduring club with a strong but not exclusive focus on gymnastics, and the corresponding (and short-lived) periodical *El Gimnasta*.<sup>82</sup> After his move to Barcelona in late 1994, the first fruit of Masferrer's propaganda efforts was the creation of the Asociación Catalana de Gimnástica (ACG) in 1897. He served as third vice-chairman in its founding board, and became chairman one year later.<sup>83</sup> Initially, the ACG united only a handful of gymnastics enthusiasts and its role was essentially nominal, but for Masferrer, its real utility and mission was to serve as a 'cradle for the Federación Gimnástica Española' (FGE).<sup>84</sup> Meanwhile, it acted as a springboard for the creation of his weekly *Los Deportes* (November 1897). Masferrer's ultimate aspiration was fulfilled the following June. The ambitious new entity was based in Madrid in the headquarters of Masferrer's earlier creation, the Sociedad Gimnástica Española. The founding assembly elected the renowned Liberal Party politician José Canalejas, already three times minister in the Spanish government, as first chairman, with Masferrer as a board member, while *Los Deportes* became the entity's 'official medium'.<sup>85</sup> According to Arrechea, 'Gymnastics was one of its main goals, but it aimed to include all sports and even cultural or folkloric activities', which in his opinion makes it the forerunner of the current gymnastic, football and athletics federations, and of the Spanish Olympic Committee.<sup>86</sup>

Once Masferrer's dream had come true, he did his utmost to ensure there was no slacking, using the pages of *Los Deportes* to alternatively encourage the board members or lambast them for what he considered to be their shortcomings and laziness. Thus, for instance, in April 1899 he issued this 'friendly warning':

Since August [1898], eighteen [provincial] committees have been set up; there are therefore 31 (!) left to do. At this rate, due to our indolence, it will take us another two years before we are fully established, a deplorable spectacle (...) We do not need any

parasites on our side. We demand that the executive committee does not delay a moment longer, and that the Federation is swept clean of those who are there at our request but not of their own free will.<sup>87</sup>

Clear and loud, Masferrer was relentless in the pursuit of his objectives. Soon afterwards, still chafing at the perceived lack of progress, he wondered, 'whatever happened to my creation?' (alluding to the FGE), and after 'a year gone by in vain' he threatened: 'If, against my will and desire, I realize that my campaigns are only earning me a reputation for being starry-eyed, I will throw away my pen and dedicate myself fully to my family and my children's education'.<sup>88</sup> In July 1899, coinciding with his push to revive the Unión Velocipédica Española, he celebrated the success of his FGE campaign by calling for its first annual congress, which took place in Madrid in September and where Canalejas was re-elected as chairman and Masferrer as 'propaganda secretary'.<sup>89</sup>

In the following years, Masferrer kept pressing for the consolidation of the FGE, amidst further warnings and admonitions to the allegedly idle board members.<sup>90</sup> He was initially successful in this resolve, as congresses took place in 1900 (Barcelona), 1901 (Zaragoza) and 1902 (Barcelona). On the first two occasions, the congress elected Masferrer as vice-chairman, under the chairmanship of Dr Rafael Rodríguez Méndez. In December 1902 it appointed him honorary vice-chairman, which signalled a retreat from his most fervent pro-federation activism and the start of the FGE's decline. In September 1904, Masferrer, writing in *Arte y Sport* under the pseudonym of D. Porte, considered it 'apparently extinct'.<sup>91</sup> According to Torrebadella, Olivera and Bou, it disappeared in 1906.<sup>92</sup> Despite his stubbornness, dedication and resolve, his creature did not survive, but it acted as an antecedent and paved the way for the definitive attempt at setting up and consolidating the Spanish Gymnastics Federation. It happened in 1932 in the headquarters of the Sociedad Gimnástica Española, and again Masferrer acted as promoter of the initiative.<sup>93</sup>

It was in the framework of Masferrer's fruitless efforts to consolidate the FGE that the sporting press first discussed the creation of a Spanish football federation. Specifically, *Los Deportes* published this note in December 1901, arguably written by Masferrer, the newspaper's editor:

We have received a lengthy letter where, amidst a thousand-plus considerations, the founding of an entity called the Unión Foot-ballista Ibérica is proposed. We deem it very premature; we believe such a 'Unión' is unnecessary, as at the end of the day, were there any need for a centralized control of football club interests, the logical thing would be to entrust it to the Federación Gimnástica Española, to which all these entities should belong.<sup>94</sup>

*Los Deportes* went on to insist that football 'was not sufficiently developed [in Spain] to warrant setting up a federation at the level of the Federación Gimnástica Española, an association in which all sports entities are welcome'.<sup>95</sup> Yet, it was precisely the refusal of the vast majority of Barcelona's clubs to join the FGE that prompted the creation of the Asociación de Clubs de Foot-ball de Barcelona (ACFB) in November 1902.<sup>96</sup> It was not therefore the sporting press which conceived the first ever football federation set up in Spain, nor the second one, the Asociación Madrileña de Clubs de Foot-ball (AMFC), founded the following month, in December 1902.<sup>97</sup> The AMFC, however, soon fell under its influence, as in January 1904 Ceferino Rodríguez Vecilla, a young amateur footballer and journalist who was the founder and editor of the magazines *Revista de Sport* (1903), *Mundo Sportivo* (1903) and *Gaceta del Sport* (1904), became its chairman, albeit only for a short spell.<sup>98</sup>

In the following years, both associations were instrumental in organizing local competitions and the Madrid entity launched an unofficial Spanish championship in 1903. Meanwhile, the sporting press progressively gained prominence in the efforts to institutionalize the nation's football. Thus, in 1904 Rodríguez Vecilla led the first serious, but ultimately unsuccessful, attempt to set up a Spanish football federation.<sup>99</sup> He was followed in 1906 by Udo Steinberg, a part-time journalist at *El Mundo Deportivo* and president of the ACFB, who authored a blueprint of statutes during a second ill-fated bid.<sup>100</sup> In December 1906, the substitution of the ACFB by the Federación Catalana de Clubs de Foot-ball, under the leadership of Isidro Lloret, football writer at *Los Deportes* and the regional federation's first president, meant a further step towards the consolidation of a football institutional structure.<sup>101</sup> Lloret also played a leading role in the third unsuccessful attempt at creating a Spanish football federation in 1907.<sup>102</sup> In April 1909, yet another effort came to nothing.<sup>103</sup> It was not until *El Mundo Deportivo* and its editor, Narciso Masferrer, took control that the project finally took off:

*El Mundo Deportivo* enthusiastically welcomes and sponsors [Masferrer's initiative to create the federation] and is determined to accomplish it swiftly and successfully, for have no doubt, banish all doubts, our editor's proposal deserves the unanimous approval of all Spanish 'foot-ballistas'.<sup>104</sup>

Masferrer's energy and drive, funnelled through the powerful megaphone of *El Mundo Deportivo*, were again decisive in this endeavour. Despite initially attracting only ten clubs, these founded in Madrid the Federación Española de Clubs de Foot-ball (FECF) in October 1909 and elected the first board under the chairmanship of an old hand in sports governance: Pedro Sánchez de Neira, marquis of Casa Alta, the first chairman of the Unión Velocipédica Española almost fifteen years before. Masferrer got a backstage role as board member, but the position

of vice-chairman went to one of his closest and oldest friends in Madrid, *El Mundo Deportivo* correspondent and co-founder of the Sociedad Gimnástica Española, Emilio Coll. Meanwhile, in Barcelona another sportswriter, Alberto Serra, a judge and veteran part-time journalist in *La Vanguardia*, became chairman of the Federación Catalana de Clubs de Foot-ball. It was a new manifestation of how central sports journalists were in the efforts to consolidate the fledgling institutional structure of the sport in Spain.<sup>105</sup>

The job was still not complete though. Closely mirroring the early years of the UVE, the football federation went through a highly turbulent period, including at least two bids for secession by several dissident clubs. The first one, led by Real Madrid, Athletic de Bilbao and Real Sociedad de San Sebastián, was abandoned, thanks to the mediation of two sports journalists: Masferrer again, and Ricardo Ruiz Ferry, editor of Madrid's weekly *España Deportiva* and sportswriter at the daily *Heraldo de Madrid*.<sup>106</sup> Ruiz Ferry, already embroiled in the controversies surrounding the UVE's governance since 1907, joined the new board of the FECF in November 1910.<sup>107</sup> Another crisis, which erupted after the stormy celebration of the 1911 Spanish football championship in Bilbao, almost put paid to the federation, but after Masferrer vigorously fought for its revival in *El Mundo Deportivo*, it reconvened in July 1911 and again in December.<sup>108</sup> On the latter occasion, at Masferrer's instigation, Ruiz Ferry was elected chairman, almost at the same time as Masferrer became chairman of the Unión Velocipédica Española for the third time.<sup>109</sup> Thus, for a short while, sports journalists chaired the two main Spanish sporting institutions of the time.

However, Ruiz Ferry's chairmanship could not prevent the next crisis ending in disaster, when in May 1912 all the Catalan clubs plus the two from San Sebastián walked out of the FECF and started conversations to create a parallel entity. In an unsigned article most probably written by Masferrer, *El Mundo Deportivo* complained bitterly about the repeated failure of their efforts to consolidate the federation:<sup>110</sup>

We have not said anything about the Federación Española de Clubs de Foot-ball for a long time, deliberately keeping silent on the subject [...] So much ink has been wasted [...] Harsh words have been exchanged [...] and to be honest, we are tired of launching new campaigns that bring such bitter rewards, when all we wish to do is promote a sport whose practitioners seem set against its strict regulation, something this sport probably needs more than any other.<sup>111</sup>

Before long, however, Masferrer was insisting on the need to overcome the latest crisis. In a long article entitled 'The King's Command', Masferrer echoed the alleged opinion of King Alfonso XIII about the need to 'undo everything... and start over with a clean slate': 'I am willing to take the risk and step back into the fray, because if the king requests it, his will shall

be obeyed [...] With all respect, I ask my dear friends of the Federación Española that they open their arms and warmly welcome back those [...] who abandoned their side'.<sup>112</sup> These 'friends' initially ignored his vibrant plea, as in December 1912 a group of top clubs, led by FC Barcelona and Real Sociedad de San Sebastián, seceded and founded the alternative Unión Española de Clubs de Foot-ball.<sup>113</sup> At the same time, the Federación Catalana split with the creation of a Foot-Ball Asociación de Cataluña (FEC), led by FC Barcelona.<sup>114</sup> Characteristically, Masferrer did not surrender. He continued to forcefully campaign in *El Mundo Deportivo* for the unification of Spanish football, which came closer to reality in June 1913 when another ardent supporter of the merger, the sports journalist Ruiz Ferry, became again chairman of the FECF and started negotiations with the secessionist Unión, strongly backed by Masferrer in *El Mundo Deportivo*.<sup>115</sup> Soon afterwards, the latter became chairman of the Federación Catalana and immediately wrote to the chairman of the FEC, Francesc de Moxó i de Sentmenat, proposing a merger.<sup>116</sup> The efforts of Masferrer and Ruiz Ferry eventually bore fruit, as in late August 1913, the rival entities at both the Catalan and Spanish level agreed to merge. A brand new Real Federación Española de Football, with Ruiz Ferry as vice-chairman, replaced the existing split national entities.<sup>117</sup> On September 23, Masferrer chaired the general assembly meeting to constitute the new unified Federación Catalana. Although he ultimately declined the role, the assembly elected him chairman in acknowledgement of his decisive role in the unification process.<sup>118</sup>

Sports journalists had thus founded the national football federation in 1909, supported it during its first three stormy years of existence and saved it in 1913. The driver of the whole process was Narciso Masferrer at the head of *El Mundo Deportivo*, backed in Madrid by two other sports journalists: Ricardo Ruiz Ferry and Emilio Coll. As an epilogue of this sporting press leadership, in September 1914, Ricardo Cabot, a Catalan sports journalist and editor of Barcelona's sports weekly *Stadium*, became chairman of the Federación Catalana de Clubs de Foot-ball.<sup>119</sup> In this role, and as a lawyer, he drew up the statute and regulations of the newly founded federation, which served as a model for other regional federations, and did the same for the national federation in 1915.<sup>120</sup> Since then, Cabot became the cornerstone of the Spanish Federation as its almost lifelong general secretary, perpetuating the symbolic central role of sports journalism in Spain's most important sports federation.<sup>121</sup>

The setting up of the Spanish athletics federation follows a pattern very similar to its predecessors: bottom-up dynamics (regional first, national later), Catalan leadership, and central role of sports journalism and of Narciso Masferrer more precisely. The regulation of athletics had been one of the goals of the failed Federación Gimnástica Española. Probably with overreaching ambition, Narciso Masferrer had envisaged that the FGE would encompass

not only gymnastics, but many other sports. The federation's short effective life span (1898-1902) left athletics unregulated, and a largely nominal Spanish Olympic Committee, set up in 1912, was unable to fill the gap.<sup>122</sup> Athletics, therefore, developed largely unregulated in the cities and/or regions where sports had taken root in the late nineteenth century: Catalonia, the Basque Country and Madrid. Repeating the experience of cycling, gymnastics, and football, Catalan sports journalists led the institutionalization of Spanish athletics.

Manuel Nogareda, a young athletics enthusiast and writer in the weekly *Stadium*, had proposed in late 1914 to set up a Catalan Athletics Federation as an interim organisation until the creation of a national federation, following the example set by cycling, gymnastics and football.<sup>123</sup> Aware of their leverage and influence, he had invited Masferrer (*El Mundo Deportivo*) and Ricardo Cabot (*Stadium*) to lead the campaign, an invitation which both accepted, in the case of Masferrer with his usual enthusiasm and dedication:

Despite considerable improvements, and frequent athletic competitions, we are still lacking regulations and a governing body [...] Carried away by my enthusiastic nature, which is perhaps a little too impulsive, my immediate reply to my colleague, who invited me to propose a date when all those interested in creating the FAC can meet, is: tomorrow!<sup>124</sup>

These were not mere words, and Masferrer and Ricardo Cabot both promptly signed a public call for a meeting to set up the federation, which took place in Barcelona on March 31.<sup>125</sup> An organizing committee emerged from this meeting, including Nogareda and two other sports journalists: Cañellas (*El Día Gráfico*) and Blasco Cirera (*El Mundo Deportivo*).<sup>126</sup> The entity was officially founded in early September under the chairmanship of a physician specializing in physical education, Dr. Álvaro Presta, and with three sports journalists on the board: Nogareda, Josep Elias i Juncosa (*La Veu de Catalunya*) and Antonio Blasco Cirera.<sup>127</sup> In accordance with his voluntary withdrawal from direct participation in sporting entities, Masferrer refused involvement in the new federation's structure, but he continued to push for the next step in the process: the creation of further athletics federations, first regional and ultimately, national:

The Federación Atlética Catalana is the fruit of [...] the efforts of [the Catalan sports journalists] [...] Let us now concentrate on putting our work into action and [...] wake up the dormant energies of sportsmen in other Spanish regions [...] The Federación Atlética Catalana [...] will strive tirelessly for the constitution of the Federación Atlética Española, an entity that now more than ever we deem essential, as only this way salvation lies.<sup>128</sup>

Indeed, the Catalan initiative sparked interest in Madrid and the Basque provinces of Biscay and Guipúzcoa, and in all three places, sports journalists led the process: the Federación

Atlética Guipuzcoana emerged in March 1916 under the auspices of the sports journalist Manuel Orbea Biarneau, editor of the San Sebastián weekly *Sporting*, while Ricardo Ruiz Ferry chaired the organizing committee of the Federación Castellana de Atletismo, and another sports writer, José María Mateos Larrucea, chaired the first board of the Federación Atlética Vizcaína.<sup>129</sup> Sports journalists, among whom Masferrer played again a key role, laid down the foundations of the national federation, in the form of regional entities. The supreme goal came true in March 1920, when the Catalan, the Castilian and the two Basque federations merged to set up the Federación Atlética Española, on whose board Manuel Orbea was elected secretary.<sup>130</sup>

### **‘Masferrer made sport’?**

Robert McChesney’s contention that in the USA ‘the media made sport’ also holds true in Spain, referring to the institutionalization of modern sport between 1890 and 1920.<sup>131</sup> In this period, no fewer than 25 regional and national sports federations were set up, 14 of which as a direct result of journalistic initiative and inspiration. The institutionalization process of the four most popular and important sports of the time, cycling, gymnastics, football and athletics, presents three common features: a bottom-up approach (from regional to national), Catalan leadership, and the crucial role of sports journalists. Several men and periodicals got actively involved in this endeavour, campaigning and preparing public opinion for the necessary steps to be taken. However, one individual stands out as the true factotum of both the sporting press and the process of sports institutionalization in Spain: Narciso Masferrer Sala, editor of the three most important sports periodicals of the pre-Civil War period (*Los Deportes*, *El Mundo Deportivo* and *Stadium*), founder of the Federación Gimnástica Española, the Federación Española de Clubs de Foot-ball and the Federación Atlética Catalana (forerunner of the Federación Atlética Española), and backbone of the Unión Velocipédica Española in its early years.

One can closely follow his leadership of the process through his prolific journalism, imbued with vibrant apostolic calls for the constitution and strengthening of governing bodies for each sport as the sine qua non of their survival and development. Here is an example:

The committee [of the Unión Velocipédica Española] must continue campaigning: once these competitions are over, more must follow; after one race, another, and then ten more... This work is a seed that will bear fruit [...] The ‘Unión’ [UVE], a determined collaboration between all those who practice sport, is a mark of progress [...] When the first signs of success are visible, that is the moment to strike, while the iron is still hot, and to hammer the message home to the cynics. We will see how the membership lists

grow, when people will reap the benefits of striking the mighty anvil known as 'propaganda'.<sup>132</sup>

Quotes in the same vein abound,<sup>133</sup> which create the profile of a stubborn, passionate, vehement and visionary man who, even beyond the 1890-1920 period and to the eve of his death in 1941, 'kept in his hands all the strings of Spanish sport'.<sup>134</sup> In this sense, in the Spanish case McChesney's contention could, without too much exaggeration, translate into 'Masferrer made sport'.

## Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Sut Jhally, 'Cultural Studies and the Sports/Media Complex', in *Media, Sports, and Society*, ed. Lawrence A. Wennell (London: Sage, 1989), 70–96; David Rowe, *Sport, Culture and the Media: The Unruly Trinity* (Maidenhead, UK: Open University Press, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Robert W. McChesney. 'Media Made Sport: A History of Sports Coverage in the United States', in *Media, Sports, and Society*, ed. Lawrence A. Wennell (London: Sage, 1989), 50, 52.

<sup>4</sup> McChesney, 'Media Made Sport', 54.

<sup>5</sup> Hugh Dauncey and Geoff Hare, eds., *The Tour de France 1903-2003. A Century of Sporting Structures, Meanings and Values* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); Christopher Thompson, *The Tour de France. A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

<sup>6</sup> Xavier Torrebadella-Flix and Javier Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press in Spain Within the Regenerationist Context of the Late Nineteenth Century', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 18 (2013): 2186.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, Fernando Sánchez Postigo, *Fuentes documentales deportivas aplicadas a la historia de un club deportivo español: historia del club Atlético de Madrid* [Sports Information Sources Applied to the History of a Spanish Sporting Club: The History of Atlético de Madrid] (PhD dissertation, Universidad Complutense, 2005); Xavier Pujadas and Carles Santacana, 'Prensa, deporte y cultura de masas. El papel del periodismo especializado en la expansión social del deporte en Cataluña hasta la guerra civil (1890-1936)' [The Press, Sport and Mass Culture. The Role of Sports Journalism in the Social Introduction of Sport in Catalonia until the Civil War (1890-1936)], *Historia y Comunicación Social* 17 (2012): 141–157; Xavier Torrebadella-Flix and Xavier Olivera-Betrán, 'Las primeras revistas profesionales y científicas de la educación física española (1882-1936)' [The first professional and scientific magazines in Spanish physical education (1882-1936)], *Apunts. Educación Física y Deportes* 109 (2012): 11–24; Torrebadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press'.

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<sup>10</sup> José Altabella, 'Historia de la prensa deportiva madrileña' [A History of Madrid's Sports Periodicals], in *Orígenes del deporte madrileño: 1870-1936* [Origins of Madrid's Sport: 1870-1936], ed. Ramón Zabalza (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1988), 169–226.

<sup>11</sup> Josep Maria Figueres, 'Notes sobre un segle de revistes i diaris esportius' [Notes on a Century of Sports Magazines and Newspapers], *Annals del Periodisme Català* 20 (1992): 22–32; María Luisa Berasategui, 'Datos para la historia de la prensa deportiva en Cataluña' [Notes for a History of the Sports Press in Catalonia], *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, 10, no. 1 (2000): 153–169; Pujadas

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<sup>12</sup> Torredadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press'; Torredadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán, 'Las primeras revistas profesionales'; Juan Antonio Simón, 'Conquistando a las masas: el impacto del deporte en la prensa española, 1900-1936' [Captivating the masses: the influence of sport in the Spanish press, 1900-1936], *Recorde: Revista Histórica do Esporte* 1-5 (2012): 1-40; Juan Antonio Simón, *Construyendo una pasión. El fútbol en España 1900-1936* (Logroño: Universidad Internacional de la Rioja, 2015), chapter VI; Andrew McFarland, 'Building a Mass Activity: Fandom, Class and Business in Early Spanish Football', *Soccer & Society* 8, no. 2/3 (2007): 205–220.

<sup>13</sup> Pujadas and Santacana, 'Prensa, deporte y cultura de masas'.

<sup>14</sup> Torredadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press'.

<sup>15</sup> Pujadas and Santacana, 'Prensa, deporte y cultura de masas'.

<sup>16</sup> McChesney, 'Media Made Sport', 53.

<sup>17</sup> Pujadas and Santacana, 'Prensa, deporte y cultura de masas': 144.

<sup>18</sup> Torredadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press': 2173.

<sup>19</sup> Pujadas and Santacana, 'Prensa, deporte y cultura de masas': 145.

<sup>20</sup> Torredadella-Flix and Olivera-Betrán, 'The Birth of the Sports Press': 2173.

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- <sup>118</sup> 'Foot-ball', *El Mundo Deportivo*, September 25, 1913, 4.
- <sup>119</sup> "Deportes y turismo. Foot-ball", *La Vanguardia*, September 15, 1914, 4.
- <sup>120</sup> Vicente Martínez Calatrava, *Historia y Estadística del Fútbol Español. I Parte: De los inicios a los Juegos de Amberes (1920)* [History and Statistics of Spanish Football. First Volume: From the Origins to the Antwerp Olympics] (Barcelona: Digital Center, 2001); Ricardo Cabot, 'Conmemorando un aniversario: Balance general 1906-1916' [Celebrating an Anniversary: General Assessment 1906-1916]. *El Mundo Deportivo*, February 21, 1916, 1.
- <sup>121</sup> Such was the importance of Cabot within the Spanish Football Federation that, despite having served as its general secretary throughout the Civil War (1936-1939) while in the Republican side, in 1946 the Franco regime acquiesced in allowing him back into this role in the new Francoist federation. See Alfí, 'Don Ricardo Cabot nuevo secretario de la FEF' [Mr. Ricardo Cabot, new secretary of the FEF], *El Mundo Deportivo*, May 8, 1946, 1.
- <sup>122</sup> Conrado Duránte, *El centenario del Comité Olímpico Español. Un siglo de olimpismo* [The Centennial of the Spanish Olympic Committee. A Century of Olympism] (Madrid: Comité Olímpico Español, 2013). Fernando Arrechea argues that a previous Spanish Olympic Committee already existed in 1905, a fact that Duránte denies. Arrechea, *España y los Juegos Olímpicos*.
- <sup>123</sup> Manuel Nogareda, 'Nuestras campañas: En pro de la federación atlética' [Our Campaigns: In Support of the Athletics Federation], *El Mundo Deportivo*, March 22, 1915, 1.
- <sup>124</sup> N. Masferrer, '¡Mañana!' [Tomorrow!]. *El Mundo Deportivo*, January 18, 1915, 1.
- <sup>125</sup> Ricardo Cabot, 'Federación atlética: Convocatoria' [Athletics Federation: A Call], *Stadium*, March 27, 1915, 199; Narciso Masferrer, 'Federación atlética: Procedamos como atletas' [Athletics Federation: Let's Behave as Athletes], *El Mundo Deportivo*, March 29, 1915, 2.
- <sup>126</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>127</sup> Winter, 'La asamblea de constitución: Federación Atlética Catalana' [The Founding Assembly: Federación Atlética Catalana], *El Mundo Deportivo*, September 6, 1915, 1.
- <sup>128</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>129</sup> Manuel Orbea, 'Federaciones atléticas: Respuestas interesantes' [Athletics Federations: Interesting Responses], *El Mundo Deportivo*, April 3, 1916, 1; 'De aquí y de allá' [Here and There], *El Mundo Deportivo*, November 13, 1917, 2; 'Atletismo' [Athletics], *El Mundo Deportivo*, September 5, 1916, 4; 'Atletismo: Federación Atlética Vizcaína', *El Mundo Deportivo*, December 11, 1917, 4.
- <sup>130</sup> 'Atletismo: Federación Atlética Española', *El Mundo Deportivo*, April 8, 1920, 4; Félix Martialay, *Amberes. Allí nació la furia española* [Antwerp: Where the Spanish Fury Was Born] (Madrid: Real Federación Española de Fútbol, 2000).
- <sup>131</sup> McChesney, 'Media Made Sport'.
- <sup>132</sup> X. de la Z. [Masferrer's nickname], 'Por buen camino' [On the Right Track], *Los Deportes*, May 5, 1901, 279.
- <sup>133</sup> 'I fight and will keep fighting [...] for the creation and continuity of national [sports governing] entities' (N. Masferrer, 'A mis amigos Kindelán, Casuso, Carruana, Quintana, Baonza, Navarro, Zaera, Harrper, Morales, Rodríguez y Lemmel' [To my Friends Kindelán, Casuso, Carruana, Quintana, Baonza, Navarro, Zaera, Harrper, Morales, Rodríguez y Lemmel], *El Mundo Deportivo*, April 7, 1910, 2); 'I must confess that I love the sublime idea of federation. In the field of sport [...] there is only room [...] for one Saint Peter' (Mefisto [Masferrer's nickname], 'Crítica sportiva: Veloces' [Sports Commentary: The Rapid Ones]. *El Mundo Deportivo*, May 25, 1911, 1); 'I have been begging, preaching and writing for years to

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convince the partisans of each sport [...] to set up their own federation' (Rotax [Masferrer's nickname], 'El partido regenerador: ¿Cuajará?' [Will the Regenerative Party crystalize?], *El Mundo Deportivo*, October 5, 1911,1).

<sup>134</sup> R. Torres, 'Narciso Masferrer, un enamorado del ciclismo' [Narciso Masferrer, in Love with Cycling]. *El Mundo Deportivo*, September 1, 1975, 21.