In the Czech historiography of physical education it was a tradition to present (STRÁNAI, KRÁTKY, MAREK, PERÚTKA, REITMAYER and others) the Sokol Movement with a negative relation to sport and Olympic Games. However, when studying the archives materials, accessible literature and the press of that period, we may say that that problem is a little more complicated and that the origin and development of the Czech sport is closely connected with the origin and development of the Sokol Movement and with the constitution of ČTYRŠ’s system of physical exercises. The Czech sport originated not only under the influence of foreign patterns (English businessmen in Prague, information in the press etc), in the main it was influenced also by the Sokol theory and practice. And the positive influence of the Sokol physical education on the Czech sport was of permanent character. There were certainly also periods of misunderstandings and conflicts, but as an institution Sokol and the ČTYRŠ’s system nevertheless contributed to the development of the Czech and Czechoslovak sport. The Sokol Movement induced a positive impact on the development of sport not only in our country but also in the countries where the Sokol organizations originated and were active, above all in other Slav countries like e.g. in Russia – as documented by a work of A. ROČEK – and as it was alleged by other authors. It is also not possible to forget the contribution of the Czech Sokol instructors working in those countries (e.g. Fr. ERBEN, B. HONZÁTKO and many others).

In constituting his system of physical exercises Dr. ČTYRŠ proceeded not only from the experience with the German calisthenics (from which he however differed from the very beginning by his emphasis on aesthetic and ethic conception and stress on many-sided exercising), but also from the study of antique physical culture, antique Olympic Games, and the antique ideal of “kalokagathía” the harmony of body and mind (Greece). His admiration of the antique physical culture was expressed in his publication called Hod olympický from the year 1868 where he presented it as an example for the then originating Czech physical education movement. Therefore many sport events belonged to the programme of exercises in the Sokol Pražský since the very beginning, and therefore the classical antique events like running, jumping, throwing, boxing, wrestling, supplemented by modern fencing, weightlifting and by at that time modish cycling, became unseparable components of his system of physical exercises – though only “as complementary exercises”. Gradually also other sports were included into the exercises system, as e.g. swimming, skating, horse riding, rowing and shooting, since the beginning of the 20th century also ball games, especially the so called Czech handball.

The antique pattern inspired ČTYRŠ to introduce since the beginning also competitions into the activity of Sokol Pražský as he regarded them as important means for activation of gymnasts. This opinion is confirmed by materials and analysis of the development and programme of activities in Sokol units from the years 1862 - 1871.

M. ČTYRŠ also suggested on 27th August 1865 – during a meeting in the gymnasiu m of Sokol Pražský – the foundation of the first “Czech sport corporation” in fact a Swimming and rowing club in Prague. The preparatory committee was headed by Dr. ČTYRŠ and Vilém WEITENWEBER. The request for licence for the corporation “the purpose of which was in joint exercise in swimming, rowing and skating” was
refused by the state organs with a justification for the state organs with a justification that both requesting citizens were not wealthy enough in order to secure relevant activity of that both requesting citizens were not wealthy enough in order to secure relevant activity of the club. (Notification from 17th January 1866).\footnote{1} When that was refused, the statutes of Sokol Pražský were extended in 1868 and shooting, swimming and rowing were affiliated.\footnote{2} At that time Dr. Tyrš was intensively preparing his work Základove télocviку (Fundamentals of exercising), and although he undoubtedly proceeded from the needs and practice of the time the book has not rendered exactly the trends of development. The concluding parts – which included also the sport events – were not elaborated by Tyrš himself, but he entrusted by that assignment professor Kursz. When the book was published Tyrš expressed his dissatisfaction with that result and he considered the idea to overwork it so that it corresponded to the needs of the time. This is sustained e.g. in his work O télocvičně soustave sokolske (On the Sokol system of physical exercises), where he introduces that Základove télocviку deal with physical exercises in the narrow sense of the word – id est exercises in the gymnasium – whereas it does not describe the other exercises (as e.g. skating, swimming and horse riding), but in general it outlines only their position in the system.\footnote{3} The positive attitude of Tyrš and Sokol to the “sport events” may be witnessed also by the fact that since the year 1876 a column called Rowing was introduced in the journal Sokol. And in the year 1882 Tyrš compared the 1st Sokol slet (rally) to “olympiads”, to the antique Olympic Games.\footnote{4}

Although even later on the sport events continued to be important components of the activities of Sokol units, the framework of Sokol – with its emphasis on all-round conception - became too tight to the factual “competitive and specialized” sport, especially when in the seventieth years the Sokol Movement faced a crisis and many units ceased to exist many others faced a poor existence and in others the fire brigades forced out physical education activities. Therefore the proper sport organizations – clubs – began to be founded outside the framework of the Sokol Movement.

Also in Sokol itself the attitudes to sport and to competitions were charging. The Sokol units continued to include many sport events in the programme of exercises, but in competitions requiring all-round capacities. That trend was growing when in the beginning of the eightieth years several foremost representatives of Sokol expressed their critical views of the narrow conception of sport. One of those was the instructor of Sokol Pražský František Kožíšek who in the journal Sokol published an article “On sport”\footnote{5} in which he strictly condemned sport for its one-sidedness, international character, and educationally detrimental influence. Those three arguments were then repeated practically by all opposers of sport up to the end of the thirtieth years of the 20th century. Also one of the prominent representative of ČOS (the Czech Sokol Community, equals the governing body of Sokol) Josef Scheiner was discussing the problem of sport. He did not refuse the competitions, on the contrary he regarded competitions as an “excellent means contributing to revival and stimulation of a healthy and fair collective spirit, but he rejected the support to one-sidedness (above all specialization on individual sport events) and the striving for the best performance as well as the dangers to health and morals that he ascribed to that striving.\footnote{6}

There was an other reason for criticism in the relation to sport, for in the time when the Sokol units revived their activities after several years of crisis in the seventies years of the 19th century, sport – that was developing very fast – became a serious rival of Sokol. Sport has

\footnotesize{1} ZEMAN, J., Tyrš a plaveckoveslarský spolek Vlatavan. Věstník sokolský, 02.09.1926, pp. 621-623. Těž SUA Praha, ČM 1856-1883/30/6-K 1431. (Tyrš and the Corporation for Swimming and Rowing Vlatavan).

\footnotesize{2} Památkník vydaný na oslavu dvaceti let tváření télocvičné jednoty Sokola Pražského, Prague 1883, p. 169 (Memorial Volume Published to Commemorate Twenty Years of the Activities of the Unit Sokol Pražský).

\footnotesize{3} Sokol 1, 1871, č. 16, p. 125.


\footnotesize{5} Sokol č. 5, 1882.

been drawing apart of youth from Sokol, and it was taking away the Sokol youth from regular and systematic exercises. The leading representatives of Sokol units instead of striving for cooperation and introducing sport activities into the Sokol units and taking pains to make use of the educational possibilities of sport reduced the sport activities. They restricted specialization in gradual installation of different forms of multi events competitions and they did not publicize the winners in individual events. However the interest of youth was a great one, and therefore the Sokol leaders were never able to prohibit the sport activities. But it is true that sport was never totally cleared off from the Sokol units.

In the end of the 19th century a new generation of officers appeared from whose some of them like e.g. KLENSKA, KRISTOF, KARAŠEK, OČENAŠEK and others expressed their understanding for sports and games and they also contributed to the development of the Czech sport.

It is also true that some arguments of the opposers of sport were justified. At that time sport could not be accepted as fulfilling its educational, up-bringing and health functions. In contrast to unified conception and discipline in Sokol, sport was incongruous, atomized in ideology and organization. Also the premature specialization and effort to attain a maximum performance in a time when the considerable part of inhabitants suffered from tuberculosis and undernourishment, without proper many-sided preparation and medical supervision, sport actually threatened the health of sportsmen in many cases. Nevertheless it is possible to conclude that without doubts Sokol has influenced the origin and development of the Czech sport very considerably and it became a basis of later successful presentation of the Czech and Czechoslovak sport above all in the period between the two World Wars. It was just the success of the Sokol gymnasts in June 1889 during International Competitions arranged at the occasion of the 15th Convention of French Gymnasts in Paris, where in the category or foreigners the Sokol teams gained the first three places, which inspired Pierre de COUBERTIN who was going to re-establish the Olympic Games to the idea to involve also Czechs in the originating Olympic Movement. When COUBERTIN met in Paris 1891 Ph. Dr. JIRI GUTH he regarded him as the representant of a developed Czech physical education and of the Czech Sokol Community, and therefore he proposed him to become a member – though absent – of the just founded International Olympic Committee.\(^7\)

When in the years 1895 and 1896 our press began to write about the preparations for the 1st Olympic Games in Athens, the attitude of the Sokol press to the Games was more negative. The Sokol journal called Borec (= Champion) wrote e.g. “We do not regard as desirable to support participation of our Sokol gymnasts in those competitions. Sokol appreciates physical exercises from a quite different point of view than those sportsmen...”\(^8\)

In an other article on that topic eight months later a consideration on the purpose of the Games was published: “We would like to learn what benefit would bring the re-established Games to the Greek nation and to the other nations... It seems that sport belongs only to several rich people who do not know what useful they could do for their vast sums of money...”

“Evidently this is only a pleasure of rich people which should be more reproached than supported... It would be proper for all members of Sokol – in case of invitation to those competitions – to refuse any participation, since this does not correspond with the democratic principles of Sokol”.\(^9\) In the end of the year 1896 then the journal maintains, that “the revival of Olympic Games is quite useless and absolutely not coherent of the time and perspective”.\(^10\) The central Sokol journal was not so critical, but even there – with exception of reports and articles of Dr. Guth – no articles appeared that would support the participation in Olympic Games. They were regarded as useless, as the Games of rich people. It was also pointed out that the programmes of Games – sports – did not correspond to the Sokol conception of physical exercises, since they were international and one-sided, with stress on performance, whereas the Sokol physical education was patriotic and striving for many-

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8 Borec, 22.05.1895.
9 Borec, 21.10.1895.
10 Borec, 08.01.1896.
sided exercising, restrained performances and for up-bringing. Therefore, when Dr. Guth published – after his return from Athens – a series of articles on the course and importance of Olympic Games, expressing his regret that Sokol members were not participating refusing reactions appeared in the Sokol journals. Also the representatives of ČOS, especially JUDr. Scheiner and JUDr. Podlipny opposed to his attitudes, and they were also not interested in participation in the foundation of the Czech Olympic Committee. Dr. Guth was well aware of the necessity and importance to include Sokol into the Olympic Movement. In his letter from 5th October 1896 he wrote to Pierre de Coubertin: “the participation of us the Czechs in the Games without our gymnasts - the Sokols - would be very incomplete. The Sokol Community is so strong that even their independent participation would represent our nation in a dignified way”.

Therefore he made great efforts in order to incline Sokols for the Olympic idea. In a book which he edited shortly after his arrival tram Athens he addressed COS with an appeal to overcome their resistance and to participate in the next Games. He wrote: “I am of the opinion that going in for sport need not be to the detriment of the participation of Sokols... and it depends only on Sokols and the physical exercises corporations to bring their views to the Games... As far as I am concerned I invite Sokol sincerely to the common work which without their contribution would remain incomplete.”

Here Dr. Guth revealed an other reason why Sokols were refusing the participation in Olympic Games and why they were recalling the attitude of other gymnastic organizations, above all the Union of French Gymnasts, and in the end the attitude of the European Gymnastic Federation, the representative of which had other conception of gymnastic competitions than that included in the Olympic Games. The journal Sokol wrote at that time: “All the associations of gymnastic corporations refused participation in the newly established Olympic Games, since as may be seen in the programme, the purpose is not a noble all-round competition but only sport contests. So was it expressed by the central federations of gymnastic units of Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, Netherlands and Germany. The representatives of ČOS accepted the same resolution”. The gymnasts from nearly all mentioned federations participated nevertheless after all in the 1st Olympic Games.

When in the year 1899 discussions began again about the foundation of the Czech Olympic Committee and about participation in the 2nd Olympic Games in Paris, also the representative of ČOS were invited. However they refused with a justification that ČOS “regards that undertaking as proper purely for sportsmen, as an event not accepted by all gymnastic federations - with perhaps only one exception - Sweden ... and besides ČOS is going to take part in the competitions of the Union of French Gymnasts in Paris and therefore will not participate in the Games”.

However ČOS has not forbidden to participate to individuals. In the protocol of ČOV (Czech Olympic Committee) we find that Sokol “will not take part as a corporation in the Paris competitions, but allows to individual Sokol members to participate ...”.

This regulation was valid in the main also for the coming Games including the Olympic Games 1908. The Sokol member František Erben appeared in the second Games 1900 and he was placed as 34th. In the year 1906 a certain rapprochement between ČOS and ČOV was evident when ČOS nominated Dr. Vanicek as its representative in ČOV!

However in the end ČOS revoked its deputy from ČOV and Dr. Scheiner explained that as follows: “The Czech Sokol Community does not find any special benefit and purpose for the national interests in the participation in

11 KÖSSL, Dějiny, pp. 17-18.
12 The archives of IOC, Lausanne, section Dr. J. St. Guth-Jarkovský.
13 GUTH, J., Hry olympické za staroveku a za dod nejnovějších, Prague 1896, p. 185. (Olympic Games in Ancient Time and in Modern Age).
14 Sokol 1896, p. 34. Sokol 1900, p. 188.
15 SÚA (State Central Archives), f. ČSOV, 2, Zápis 27. schůze ČOS z 02.03.1899. (Memorandum of the Meeting).
Olympic competitions as long as those competitions will be arranged in a way as so far. Nevertheless ČOS again allowed individual participation to its members. And so a Sokol member Bohumil Honzák took part in the Inter-Games 1906 in Athens. He started together with Josef Gada also at the 4th Olympic Games 1908 in London. The cause of their failures at Games was found in a "totally different evaluation of the exercises and compositions from the part of the English judges.".

The negative attitude of ČOS towards Olympic Games was not influenced even by the highest award of the International Olympic Committee the Olympic Cup in the year 1910. They displayed a much lower interest in the Olympic Cup than in the Silver Shield of London won by the Sokol athletes and later on bought by ČOS for the Sokol museum. The 5th Olympic Games in Stockholm were again ignored by ČOS. They made use of the recommendation of the International Gymnastic Federation not to participate in the Games. For IOC did not entrust the International Federation by arrangement of gymnastic competitions and left it in the competence of the organizers of the Games. At that time our best gymnast Frantisek Erben – who was in Stockholm since he was in charge of the preparation of the Russian Petersburg School for Officers for participation in the Games – asked for permission to take part in the competition of individuals, but ČOS refused his request.

Bohumil Honzák who had not asked for permission was in the end the only member of Sokol participating in the OG 1912. An absolute lack of interest of the official Czech politics in the problems of sport forced ČOV in the end to focus their efforts to strengthen an active resistance to Austrian authorities and to sport organizations and sport itself. And when ČOV wanted to create a reliable basis for the undoubtedly coming struggle against the Austrian bureaucracy, it was essential to consolidate both the committee and the Czech sport. ČOV had to unite the so far dispersed fight against the Austrian pressure into a compact, strong and homogeneous movement. And it was evidently necessary to win for their aims the most important Czech physical education organization – the Czech Sokol Community. Therefore in the year 1913 ČOV elaborated "A Framework of the Czech Sport Political Programme" with a purpose to unite the course of actions of all Czech sport and physical education organizations with special regard to steps in contacts with Austrian state and sport bodies and organizations.

They wanted to paralyse the conception of Windischgrätz for the solution of so called "Czech Olympic Question" in supporting the idea of a central Austrian sport organization which would associate the individual countries. Olympic Committees – which would help to install conditions for absolute supremacy of Germans and at the same time for a disqualification of Czechs. The acceptance of that programme was in itself an important fact, but in the practice it did not work very well for lack of unity. In spite of it is possible to say that in the beginning of the year 1914 ČOV succeeded to attain a position of a widely recognized central sport organ. Its sport political programme was accepted gradually by not only the sport associations, but also by the Czech Sokol Community.

Dr. Vaniček was nominated once more as the delegate of COS to ČOV. Dr. Guth regarded legitimately the approach of Sokols as strengthening the positions of ČOV in the International Olympic Movement. He greeted the representative of Sokol in a meeting of ČOV on 2nd March 1914 in the following words: "When the Czech Sokols unite with the Czech sportsmen, when they go together hand in hand, it is not possible to miss the aims and longed-for goals of us all."

At that time ČOV was preparing the participation in the 6th Olympic Congress in Paris of the year 1914. The Czechs ought to be represented in Paris by the Secretary General of ČOV Josef Rössler-Orlovský and the Chairman of ČOS Dr. Josef Scheiner, Jiří Guth
took part in the Congress as member of IOC. The representative of ČOV had great expectation of the participation of the Sokol delegate. In his Memoirs Olympic J. GUTH expressed a few years later his slight sigh: “In a very uneven struggle, since on one side I was fighting in common with Mr. Rössler-Orovský and also with Dr. Scheiner who of course did not express much interest in the whole struggle – more as a passive spectator, one could say even as malicious spectator – and on the other side opponents long time strong and then by Berlin even strengthened”, and a few pages further he continued: “The hopes expected from the intervention of Sokols were not fulfilled. I was also disappointed by the position of the European Union of Gymnastics where our Sokol was also a member”. After the World War I. and the origin of the Czechoslovak Republic the Czechoslovak Sokol Community began gradually change its attitude to sport and Olympic Games. Sport sections were initiated in Sokol units and their members in many sports were more numerous than the numbers of sport clubs in the relevant Czechoslovak federations, as e.g. in skiing, basketball, volleyball etc. The leaders of ČOS could not after all ignore also the interest of their members to start even in the top competitions and so since the half of the twentieth years ČOS began to make contracts on cooperation and participation of Sokol members and sport sections in the competitions of appurtenant federations. Although ČOS continued to express great objections to the programme and way of management and evaluation of gymnastic competitions in OG, they began to take part in the competitions. As the best witness of the change of opinions on participation in OG it is possible to quote a statement from the Sokol Bulletin, that “…In the gymnastic competitions of nearly all free states it is not possible that Sokols would be missing in the teams of our nation”. The Sokol team was placed fourth in the OG 1920. “They have lost the Victory because they were not adequately numerous”, so expressed his comment on the Sokol participation Dr. GUTH. And as he recorded – also J.A. PIPAL, the then coach of our athletes and very active member of the expedition added that “ČOS attributed to the Olympic Competition not so much importance as it deserved”.

Of course Sokol is continued to lack the absence of athletic events during the gymnastic competitions at OG. In the year 1922 they protested against the programme of gymnastic competitions at OG 1924. They addressed ČSOV (Czechoslovak Olympic Committee) and personally Dr. GUTH with a request to protest in IOC and to ask for rectification. But at that time the situation was already changed, the gymnastic competitions were organized and directed by the International Gymnastic Federation (FIG), not by IOC or anybody else entrusted by IOC. Therefore it would be essential to raise a protest in FIG by ČOS itself as its member organization (however FIG had already accepted the Olympic conception of competitions before). The administration of ČOS evidently did not know properly the regulations and provisions. Or was it lack of courage or too loose approach? They were not reconciled with the programme of the games even after the success at OG 1924 in Paris crowned by gold medal of Bedrich ŠUPČÍK in climbing (they gained also other 4 silver and 4 bronze medals). Dr. SCHEINER wrote to that:

“The programme itself departs very considerably from our effort, to implement a reasonable all-round physical education, since sport evaluates only the highest performance without any respect to its own value and its contribution to education of mankind. This approach was explained quite clearly in the statement of the Olympic Committee to gymnastic competitions reduced to apparatus competitions for which break-neck exercises were selected belonging more to acrobatics, whereas all the athletic exercises were excluded from those competitions. That is evidently not the purpose of a thorough physical education, and it is in contrast to our efforts at a support of harmonious, all-round, and general development of the nation. In that way the gymnastic competitions were expressively devaluated. When we took part in those competitions it is only therefore because we want to have the representation of our young republic in these competitions, and we do at the

24 ibidem p. 206.
26 GUTH-JARKOVSKÝ, J. St., paměti, p. 58.
27 ibidem pp. 18-81, 167, viz též Zápisy výboru cvičitelského, cvičitelského a vzdělávacího sboru ČOS, Podzim 1922, č. 7, p. 59, Věstník skolský 1920, p. 389. (See also the memorandum of the Board of Instructors of the ČOS).
same time our best to attain a situation of a change in the present regulations in a way corresponding to our endeavours. Nevertheless we cannot guarantee for the change".28

Really they were not successful and also Dr. GUTH who – entrusted by COS – protested in IOC was only invited to turn to FIG. Closely before the 9th Olympic Games in Amsterdam 1928 the Sokols complained again: "All our efforts to include athletic exercises into the competitions according to the principles of International Gymnastic Federation were in vain".29 In spite of it the Sokol gymnasts participated in Amsterdam competitions and the result of the gymnastic competitions of men was commented in the following words: "The result of the Amsterdam competitions belongs in spite of it to one of the greatest and most beautiful successes of Sokols since their world Class in gymnastics was again proved".30 They gained 1 gold, 3 silver and 1 bronze medal. At the OG in Amsterdam a composition of Sokol exercises was also performed by Sokol women (not belonging to the competitions). The intention to take part also in the games in Los Angeles in the year 1932 could not be realized from economical reasons. The more the preparations were stressed for the 11th Olympic Games in Berlin.

In the provisions for the Olympic Games in Berlin 1936 the management of COS had to solve – besides the compositions for gymnastic competitions – about all the structure of the Sokol expedition. For the organizers decided to include in the programme of OG also non competitive group exhibitions of individual nations – and COS wanted to display in Berlin the Sokol exercises, in conviction of success. Those efforts enrolled also an expressive national hidden meaning; namely to show the high development of the Czech nation in the city of Germany. However then Hitler seized the power and a struggle against arranging OG in Berlin began. On the eve of the games COS was obliged to cancel the group exhibitions. For the public the reasons were in lack of finance in reality it was the pressure of our and world public not to help in propagating Nazis in Berlin. That decision was not easy for the Sokol management. At that time Sokols had experience with group (or even mass) exercises and they belonged to the best in the world. Naturally the COS team for competition participated in Berlin games. Although the composition of Alois Hudec on rings became a milestone in the history of Olympic competition, the fifth place of the team has not brought much satisfaction. On the contrary the women team of Sokol gymnasts gained silver medal. And that in an atmosphere very hostile to us.

Even after the Olympic Games in Berlin the Sokol officials continued in their efforts to initiate negotiations of the International Gymnastic Federation with IOC for the purpose to include athletic events into Olympic gymnastic competitions. Of course the development was different. After the war also COS reconciled with the situation.

In conclusion it is possible to say that Sokol contributed very considerably to the development of sport and that not only in our countries, but also abroad, it helped to a good name of the Czech physical education and sport, and assisted to the fact that the Czechs had a representative in the International Olympic Movement since the very beginning. By its well thought out and systematic methodical work as well as stress on many-sided exercises Sokol contributed to advancement of a fair basis for the development of training concept ions as fundamentals of further sport successes of the Czech sportsmen. Sokol was and remains a basis of a many-sided character of the Czech physical culture for all its so called "negative" attitude to sport proceeded from the insufficiencies of Sport at that time, from its problems like one-sidedness and ideological incongruity. In the activities, however, Sokol was striving for similar purposes like COUBERTIN’s Olympic Movement of course at a national level.

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28 Věstník Sokolský 1924, p. 385.
29 Agenda of the Committee, Boards of Instructors and Cultivators in ČOS, Jarov 1927, č. 16, p. 9.
30 Agenda of the Committee, Boards of Instructors and Cultivators in ČOS, Podzim 1928, č. 19, p. 47.