72 - FROM THE RIOPLATENSE BORDER TOWNS AND PORT CITIES TO THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS: SOCCER AND IDENTITY IN RIO GRANDE DO SUL, BRAZIL.

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Origins of soccer in Rio Grande do Sul

Soccer, introduced in Brazil in the end of the 19th Century, went from being an elite sport to becoming a global business. These distinct phases are representative of what this sport has successively meant in Brazilian society. According to Maximo (1999:183), soccer

[...] begins as the pastime of a few, becomes an integrative element, popular passion, occupation, national identity formation, political instrument, Brazilian art, and, finally, millionaire global business in which Brazil plays an important role.

In this context, the development of soccer and, consequently, cultural identity in Rio Grande do Sul were studied. The introduction of soccer in Rio Grande do Sul was similar to what was seen in other countries. According to several studies, British sailors introduced and made soccer popular in different places in Europe and America.

The study conducted by Jesus (2003) found that sailors and railroad workers, most of them employed by British companies, were the major agents of soccer introduction in Brazil. At that time, Brazil was a country that, due to its geography and development, had its infrastructure distributed into local centers, differently from European and other South American countries, such as Argentina and Uruguay, where infrastructure distribution was national. This characteristic may be explained by the model inherited from the Brazilian colonial system, in which the different regions remained separate one from the other.

This characteristic may explain the simultaneous spread of soccer in the country, in disconnected places, because of the size of the country and the relative isolation between population centers. Although the model adopted was the same as in other places, the development of soccer was based on or associated with local rivalries (JESUS 2003), and soccer in Brazil was and still is characterized by regional identities (PRONI 2000).

An analysis of its initial development reveals that soccer showed prodigious growth in the southernmost region of Brazil in the first years of the 20th Century. In those first effervescent years, several clubs formed in Gaucho cities, such as Rio Grande, Pelotas and Porto Alegre. They were all port cities, which suggested that soccer was introduced from the coast to the interior of the state (JESUS, 2003) as sports teams multiplied. The first soccer balls and other sports materials were seen in Rio Grande, a port city, and in cities close to the border along Uruguay and Argentina.

In Rio Grande, soccer was probably introduced by British sailors; in the cities along the border and in the Rioplatense countries, soccer may have been introduced through the ports of Montevideo and Buenos Aires and later moved into the interior of those countries. Soccer was brought to the border with Rio Grande do Sul by the expansion of railroads in the neighboring countries. According to some reports, this sport was practiced in the cities of Uruguaiana (on the border with Argentina) and Santana do Livramento (on the border with Uruguay) before 1900 (JESUS, 2000).

The first club only for the practice of soccer was the Sport Club Rio Grande, founded in the city of Rio Grande on July 19, 1900. According to its foundation records, the Sport Club Rio Grande was the first soccer club in Brazil.

Still under the influence of Uruguay and Argentina, other clubs were founded some years later along our southern borders, such as the 14 de Julho in Santana do Livramento (1902) and the Sport Club Bage (1906) and the Guarany Futebol Clube (1907) in the city of Bage. Because of their geographical proximity, soccer in Rio Grande do Sul inherited much of the practical characteristics of soccer in those two neighboring countries, Uruguay and Argentina. Because of the political and cultural organization of the state, a particular soccer playing style is adopted, which is exalted by Gaucho citizens but, repudiated by the rest of the country on many occasions because it went against the Brazilian style of playing soccer, the so-called "art soccer" (*futebol-arte*) (DAMO, 1999).

Because of the pioneering position and influence of the Sport Club Rio Grande, several other sports clubs were founded along the next years the Rio Grande region, such as the Rio Grandense Futebol Clube, in 1912. In the neighboring town of Pelotas, the Esporte Clube Pelotas was founded in 1908, and, a few years later, the Gremio Esportivo Brasil (1911).

The southern region of the state was then one of the main economic centers in Rio Grande do Sul because of the port of Rio Grande and its commercial trade with Rioplatense countries. Soccer activities there influenced the foundation of soccer clubs in Porto Alegre, the state capital city, also a port city. On September 7, 1903, the Sport Club Rio Grande played an exhibition game in Porto Alegre, and this match inspired and motivated the citizens of Porto Alegre to found soccer clubs. Therefore, on September 15, 1903, Gremio Foot-Ball Porto Alegrense and the Fussball Club Porto Alegre were founded; while the former is still active today, the latter closed down in the 1940s.

In 1909, Sport Club Internacional was founded, and in 1913, Sport Clube Cruzeiro and Esporte Clube São José. Gremio Foot-Ball Porto Alegrense and Sport Club Internacional turned into the two most important soccer teams in Rio Grande do Sul in the 20th Century. In the first decades, however, soccer in the southern border and in Pelotas and Rio Grande was much stronger than in the capital city, which may be explained by the fact that their teams had been established before the teams in the capital city and by the intense exchange with the Rioplatense clubs, particularly clubs in Uruguay (DAMO, 1999).

The first soccer championship played in Rio Grande do Sul was held in 1906 in Santana do Livramento. The first league, however, would only be formed a few years later, when it was organized in the city of Pelotas. An exclusively regional league was only organized after the First World War, exactly on May 18, 1918, when representatives from several leagues from all over the state met to organize the unification. During that meeting, the Federação Rio-Grandense de Desporto (Rio Grande do Sul Sports Federation) was founded.

One of its first acts was to organize the first state soccer competition in 1918. This tournament, however, did not take place because Rio Grande do Sul was swept by the Spanish flu epidemics, which made meetings and gatherings impossible. Therefore, the first Gaucho Soccer Championship was officially played only in 1919, and only four Gaucho clubs participated: one from Porto Alegre, one from Pelotas, and two from the border region. Participants in this first championship were the 14 de Julho, from Santana do Livramento, Brasil, from Pelotas, Gremio, from Porto Alegre, ad Esporte Clube Uruguaiana, from Uruguaiana. The winner of this first championship was Brasil, the first Gaucho soccer champion.

Soccer clubs in Novo Hamburgo

Some of the first teams in the state influenced some other Gaucho regions. This was also observed in the communities founded by German settlers in the valleys near the capital city. In those German communities, the social, shooting, singing, musical and sports clubs were very important and were established during the foundation and development of villages and towns, together with churches and schools.

According to Anjos (2007), the organization of soccer clubs at that time followed the formation of population centers, both of white immigrants and of Afro-descendents. Their clear objective was to protect values, such as social class or ethnic group. In the region of Novo Hamburgo, in particular, several clubs were founded at that time, which was proof of the immigrants and their children's true passion for the practice of sports and their obsession with fitness. However, it was not in the traditional clubs in the region that the passion for soccer and soccer clubs was born and the power of this sport was carried forth:

[...] the organization of soccer clubs at that moment, it refers to the first years of the 20th Century or the simple addition of this sport to already existing clubs, which reflects the division in social structure [...] and the changes of social limits into symbolic borders. (GUEDES, 1998: 106)

Similarly to what had already happened in other regions, in the pioneering city of Rio Grande, for example, the traditional clubs in the city were closed to certain ethnic groups and some specific practices, and did not always accept players of that nascent sport, soccer. That scenario presented multiple social distinctions (ANJOS, 2007). Such events were associated with the process of economic change that the region underwent and the growth of manufacturing and industrial activities, developed originally from the leather and footwear companies established at the time.

The organization of soccer clubs in the region of Novo Hamburgo was eminently connected to the development of companies and the development of a local labor force made up of blue collar workers, many times marginalized and excluded from the traditional social and sports clubs in the region.

In Novo Hamburgo, the German associations had been present for a long time and played a relevant role in the promotion and development of identity links based on the symbolic appropriation of the history of settlement. (SEYFERTH, 1994: 234)

One of the most traditional soccer clubs in the German settlement region in Rio Grande do Sul was Esporte Clube Novo Hamburgo (ECNH), founded after the clubs in the capital city in 1911 in the then First District of São Leopoldo, which would become politically and administratively independent as a town called Novo Hamburgo only in 1927.

ECNH was founded on the first day of May, which in Brazil is Labor Day. On that day, a group of employees in one of the first factories in town, the Fabrica de Calcados Sul-Riograndense, owned by Pedro Adams Filho, promoted a luncheon to celebrate the date; the meeting always ended with a soccer game played by participants. In that year, in addition to the party, the Sport Club Novo Hamburgo was founded and adopted the white and blue colors. Their founders were Manoel Lopes Mattos, José Scherer, Aloys Hauschild, Manoel Outeiro, João Tamujo and Adam Steigleder. (www.ecnh.com.br/historia.asp. Acesso em 16/06/2008)

At the time of the foundation, there was some disagreement about the name of the club, and it was about to be named Adams Futebol Clube, as advocated by some, because of its connections with the Adams factory. However, the idea to avoid the association of the club with the company won, and the name of the village, Novo Hamburgo, later to become an independent town, was adopted.

With the name of the town on their shirts, ECNH was the first, but not the only local club. Several other associations were formed along the years: in 1914, the Football Club Esperança, ECNH's major rival; in 1919, the Sport Club Olympio; in 1921, Sport-Club Progresso; in 1923, Sport-Club Victoria; in 1924, Sport-Club Palmeira; in 1925, Sport-Club Guarany and Sport-Club Canudense; and, in 1927, Grêmio Sport Hamburguez de Football e Atletismo, Sport-Club Municipal and Sport-Club Ypiranga.

Today, the number of associations has neither raised much nor decreased; what has increased significantly is the number of members of the several associations, especially of sports and, particularly, soccer. Soccer is practiced by our youth, with unbridled enthusiasm, and the support of veterans and fans is formidable. This has become a tradition because the Esporte Clube Novo Hamburgo, which has gained recognition of as one of the first in its class in the state, was founded in 1911 and the Esperança club, from Hamburgo Velho, in 1914 (PETRY, 1944 90)

The "sky blue team" had been a white man's team, but not exclusively German, since its foundation. Its formation was similar to that of other soccer clubs in the south of the country, which "were elite clubs or employee teams, associations of blue collar workers or of ethnic groups" (ANJOS, 200742). This hegemonic position that excluded Afro- descendents in Novo Hamburgo would be broken only eleven years after the foundation of ECNH, when, in 1922, the first soccer team that accepted the participation of black people, the Sport Club Cruzeiro do Sul was founded:

[...] in 1922 in Novo Hamburgo (former district of São Leopoldo) the Sport Clube Cruzeiro do Sul was born. The foundation of a club in a community familiar with associations since the 19th century was no news, but Cruzeiro do Sul was not only one more German social and leisure club, but an association for black people. The foundation of a soccer club for black people in a town known for its German culture suggests the discussion of why such association would be needed in that place, and the analysis of the relations between those different social actors. (KERBER et al., 2008: página)

The foundation of ECNH, although long before the local political emancipation, was decisive to shape the identity of the town that would be created years later. In its early years, many of the soccer games in this club were used to raise funds for the committee responsible for the plebiscite to decide the emancipation of Novo Hamburgo. In 1926, right before emancipation, the committee handed out fliers to invite inhabitants for the Novo Hamburgo soccer game.

Great Meeting in the Soccer Field of Sport-Club Novo Hamburgo

We ask all voters in this district to come and bring their federal voting cards and to sign up a petition that will be sent to the President of the State.

Citizens who are not registered voters or who have misplaced their voting cards should also come so that the Committee can request that new cards be issued in their names and to forward the documents required for voter qualification.

In the same place, friendly SOCCER MATCHES will be held to raise funds for the Pro Emancipation Committee of the Second District between the following teams:

1st match Nicolas D'Ajello versus Albano Adams

2nd match - José J. Martins versus Guilherme Ludwig. General Fee 1\$000; Ladies: free.

(SCHEMES, 2006: 286)

Final considerations

The history of Esporte Clube Novo Hamburgo in the 20th Century ran parallel to the progression of its city and was an important element in making soccer popular in Rio Grande do Sul. Similarly to other regions in the state, the introduction of this sport was influenced by Argentina and Uruguay, but gradually became a local passion. I followed the wave of soccer popularization that swept the borders and the ports of Rio Grande do Sul and reached the capital city in the first decade of the 20th Century.

The foundation of this pioneering club in 1911 took place in a rare occurrence of collective synthesis. In this sense, local German descendents, with their traditions of association and club life, together with the nascent workforce formed in the leather and footwear industry created the conditions for soccer to develop and founded a club, ECNH, which represents the local colors and passion for soccer still today. As reported by the first historian in Novo Hamburgo:

Soccer associations have seen, in recent years, a stronger development than other associations, due to the preference of people in general and the youth in particular for this sport. It cannot be denied, however, that a large number of people practiced gymnastics in the past, which greatly contributed to the fitness culture among our people. (PETRY, 1944: 90)

As years went by, new challenges were faced by the "sky blue" team, particularly to survive in an environment of

professional soccer, globalization and mass sports. That movement that emerged from the workers' amateur organization in the early 1910s changed radically in the 20th Century: into a passion for workers and the youth; into an internationally diversified business that ranges from the trade of players, sports material, images and media; and into many forms of using the passion for the colors of a team into one of the most important businesses today.

Many stories were lived in these almost 100 years of the Esporte Clube Novo Hamburgo, but the most glorious page was written by their founders, who brought the practice of this originally British sport, soccer, into the areas of German settlement.

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FROM THE RIOPLATENSE BORDER TOWNS AND PORT CITIES TO THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS: SOCCER AND IDENTITY IN RIO GRANDE DO SUL, BRAZIL.

ABSTRACT: This study analyzed the appearance of soccer teams in Rio Grande do Sul, one of the pioneering states in the practice of this sport and a leader in the foundation of soccer clubs. It also studied the expansion of soccer club formation from the border along Rioplatense countries and port cities to immigrant settlements, analyzed the origins of these clubs and discusses the association between the typically Gaucho style of playing soccer and Gaucho identity.

Key words: Soccer, identity, community, club, management.

DE LA RIOPLATENSE FRONTIÈRE VILLES ET LES VILLES PORTUAIRES DE LA COLONISATION ALLEMANDE : SOCCER ET L'IDENTITÉ DU RIO GRANDE DO SUL, BRÉSIL

RÉSUMÉ : Cet article se propose d'analyser la formation des équipes de football dans l'État du Rio Grande do Sul, l'un des pionniers dans cette pratique sportive et leader en matière de création de clubs exclusivement consacrés au football. Il vise également l'étude de l'impact du mouvement parti de la frontière des pays de la région du Rio de la Plata et des régions portuaires jusqu'aux régions coloniales sur la formation des clubs de football, tout en analysant les origines de ces clubs, la façon de jouer typiquement gaucha.

Mots-clés : football, identité, communauté, clubs, gestion.

DEL RIOPLATENSE FRONTERA CIUDADES Y LA CIUDADES DE PUERTO A LOS ASENTAMIENTOS ALEMÁN: FÚTBOL Y LA IDENTIDAD EN RIO GRANDE DO SUL, BRAZIL

RESUMEN: Este artículo busca analizar la formación de los equipos de fútbol en Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil, uno de los pioneros en la práctica deportiva y líder en la creación de clubes exclusivamente de fútbol. Pretende, además, estudiar el movimiento ocurrido a partir de la frontera de los países platinos y de las regiones portuarias para las regiones coloniales en la formación de clubes de fútbol, analizando, también, los orígenes de esos clubes y su forma identitaria típicamente sur-riograndense de jugar al fútbol. Palabras clave: fútbol, identidad, comunidad, clubes, gestión.

DA FRONTEIRA PLATINA E DOS PORTOS À REGIÃO COLONIAL ALEMÃ: O FUTEBOL NO RIO GRANDE DO SUL E SUA IDENTIDADE

RESUMO: Este artigo procura analisar a formação das equipes de futebol no Rio Grande do Sul, um dos pioneiros nessa prática esportiva e líder na criação de clubes exclusivamente de futebol. Pretende, ainda, estudar o movimento ocorrido a partir da fronteira dos países platinos e das regiões portuárias para as regiões coloniais na formação de clubes de futebol, analisando, também, as origens desses clubes e sua forma identitária tipicamente gaúcha de jogar futebol,.

Palavras Chave: futebol, identidade, comunidade, clubes, gestão.