

The origins of rugby in Catalonia



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Abstract:

Catalan rugby reached the high point of its young and successful history when became one of the founding nations of the International Amateur Rugby Federation (FIRA) and started competing at international level as an autonomous rugby nation. Towards the end 1921 rugby settled in Catalonia penetrating through sports such as football, athletics, boxing and swimming and owing much to French expatriates residing in Barcelona or Catalan citizens who had lived in France. In 1923 the Catalan Football Rugby Union was created due to the aroused need for organized competitions. With this institutionalisation and organisational structure began a flourishing period for the clubs, culminating in 1929 at the Barcelona International Exhibition where rugby was played in front of 60.000 spectators. In spite of this achievement, rugby remained a minority sport with restricted geographical appeal, with a group faithful and loyal followers.

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A SOCIO-CULTURAL STUDY

Rugby is a regulated and institutionalised sport which flourished in Victorian England in the first third of the nineteenth Century, later taking root in Catalonia in the early 1920s. The indirect manner in which rugby arrived on Catalonian soil arose first from contact with France, then settling through Barcelona and its environs. It later grew and expanded until it reached international recognition within the International Amateur Rugby Federation (FIRA) of which it was a founding member. Its process of maturation was severely cut short at its most critical point with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July 1936.

In spite of a rather industrially backward and confused end of century, the sport owes its arrival in Catalonia to a powerful bourgeoisie keen to emulate the fashions, habits, lifestyles and general ways of the English and French aristocracy. This happened hand in hand with nature sports, water sports, and those with military or therapeutic gymnastics origins which the communities of European workers brought with them [1].

The arrival and dissemination of the sport was followed by consolidation and strengthening. This was due to 'the growth of sporting activity itself, through clubs, devoted necessarily to the increasingly regular organisation of regulated competitions' and 'the inherent competitive value of modern sport [that] would automatically result in an increase in the number of spectators, which would make sport a remarkable social event' [2].

The spread of rugby from England to the continent was neither quick nor at a steady pace, but, rather slow and at variable speed. As with other sports, some of the factors which influenced the spread of rugby were 'the level of social and economic modernisation and also the geographical proximity to England' [3]. This 'infection' occurred mainly through commercial contact - initially in European commercial ports. In France, for example, rugby penetrated through the ports of Le Havre, Nantes, La Rochelle and Bordeaux [4].

The process of expansion of the sport through Southern Europe was very similar, retaining peculiarities and differences between the various territories. Italy and Portugal had their first experiences of rugby during the first decade of the 20th century, later settling in the early 1920s hand in hand with French residents in the territory and locals who had lived in France [5][6].

THE INCORPORATION OF RUGBY IN CATALONIA

The practice of rugby in Catalonia at the beginning of the 20th century grew through a variety of channels. First, sport clubs including football, swimming, athletics and boxing aided the incorporation of rugby. Second, French expatriates and Catalanian emigres who had practised rugby abroad fuelled growth.

SPORTS WHICH FACILITATED INCORPORATION

Initially, incorporation was closely linked to football organisations of early 20th - century Barcelona. These were responsible for the first attempts to create rugby divisions within their clubs, which was not unusual as rugby was considered a variant of football (association football / rugby football). Also, the first sportsmen to play rugby in Catalanian territory were football players who had learned or practised rugby abroad. In the second stage of incorporation, swimming clubs, mainly within their athletics divisions, were pivotal in the introduction of rugby into Catalonia. Boxing also had a role to play during this stage, as many sportsmen who practised rugby had practised or practised boxing.

Football

The first rugby game documented in Catalonia was at a football match which took place at the old Bonanova Velodrome - between the *Fútbol Club Barcelona* and the *Català Foot-ball Club* teams. After the friendly match the players had an informal game of rugby [7]. At that time it was not unusual for foreign players or those who had lived abroad to be familiar with both variants of the sport [8].

Enthused with the effervescence of turn-of-the-century sportsmanship, football clubs - with both a great number of players and available space - tried to create rugby divisions for their members. There are references to Fútbol Club Barcelona, Club Deportivo Español and Hispania expressing their intention to create teams 'to play rugby' [9], although none of these initiatives materialised.

The first formal experience of rugby in Catalonia was a series of three games between Club Deportivo Español and Societé 'Patrie'² in May-June 1911. Español played these matches with players drawn mainly from its football first division, while 'Patrie's XV were a combination of French players and sportsmen living in the Barcelona area³. These matches had relevance and repercussions in Catalanian sports circles. People wondered if there might be another sport in Barcelona [10]. The bustle and visibility that it caused led to the belief that the introduction of rugby into Catalonia had already been achieved. But nothing was further from the truth. Between this series of games and the first formal manifestations of the sport (1921-1922), rugby remained inactive for a decade on Catalanian soil.

Athletics and swimming

Athletics was closely related to many sports of the early 20th century, among them rugby. With institutionalization and maturity, including its own federation in Catalonia, athletics was certainly a well organised sport with stable competitions in the 1920s [3]. As such, it constituted a significant talent pool for most emerging rugby clubs. A great proportion of the first players practised both disciplines simultaneously.⁴ It is worth noting that this combining of both sports was encouraged by the clubs' divisions. The athletics division of Club Natació Barcelona (Barcelona Swimming Club, 'CNB') promoted this practice inviting 'all those members who wish to play rugby' to meet at Plaza Cataluña 'to travel to the sports ground of Argos club [...] in order to partake in team practice' [11]. Divisions themselves

also invited their members to play and to practise: 'CNB athletics division recommends that members who are part of the rugby team [...] make their way to the station' in order to travel to the 'first training match with the Unión Samboyana team' [12].

Unió Esportiva Santboiana (UES), the oldest Catalanian rugby club, had an athletics division since its inception, counting among the members of its board of directors an athletics representative [13]. Club Natació Atlètic (CNA) also had an athletics division while Agrupación Atlètica Vida (AAV, later Rugby Club Sant Andreu, RCSA) formed its first teams with several athletes [14]. Notably, the president of the Catalanian Athletics Federation was an honorary member of UES and helped with the expansion of rugby in the region [15][16].

Swimming also played a crucial role in the penetration of rugby into Catalonia, beginning, notably, with the inclusion of rugby practices during festive events at swimming clubs. A friendly match is known to have taken place in 1915 between two teams from CNA [17] and a further one in 1916 between this club and CNB on Barceloneta beach [18]. CNA would become the second rugby club to be formed in Catalonia while CNB would be the third. It was precisely from its water polo team and its swimmers that CNA drew its players for the creation of its rugby division.⁵

Boxing

In its beginnings in the early 1920s, boxing also contributed to the adoption of rugby. It contributed players for the formation of the teams' XV's; particularly in clubs such as CNA, Catalunya Sporting Club (CSC) or AAV, whose first teams had a number of boxers among them.⁶ However boxing's contribution was not just in the form of new players: it also helped financially. Rugby was considered a similar and complementary sport which public opinion often vilified as violent. Wellknown boxers of the time 'spontaneously and disinterestedly offered to organise a charity boxing session in aid of the two organisations with the highest number of arrests have undertaken the implementation of rugby in Spain' [19].

COLLECTIVES WHICH FACILITATED INCORPORATION

Two main groups helped with the incorporation of rugby in Catalonia: foreigners who had practised in their countries of origin and who lived in Catalonia; and locals who, for various reasons, had practised the sport abroad and returned home. Among these, France's contribution was most relevant and influential.

Expatriates

Notable names among those who had practised rugby in their countries of origin and then played one or another early form of Catalanian rugby include Hans Gamper, Green, Witty [8]⁷ and Fenoulliere [20], all of whom were players from football clubs.

French expatriates left the deepest and most crucial mark on the implantation and expansion of Catalanian rugby. Apart from playing the first formal game of rugby in 1911 [21], they were a constant in the line ups of early Catalanian teams⁸. Compared to local players, their performance level was remarkable, and it marked a difference in the matches. Their inclusion was somewhat controversial as it was seen as showing little patriotism and sportsmanship. Some demanded that expatriates stop taking part [22]. However, the majority within the sport considered the exclusion of this group unacceptable, given that they were 'veritable amateurs', and advocated 'thanking the players who are members of our clubs for their selfless intervention, as they disinterestedly teach us this manly sport, greatly helping us in its propagation and being themselves those who are most concerned with its coming to a good end' [23]. Frenchmen also collaborated in teaching the sport, undertaking training roles and helping to organise games of novice teams.

One of the key figures in Catalanian rugby who was a French expatriate was Michel Reynard, who took part in the first rugby match played in Barcelona in 1911 [24]. He played a crucial role in the incorporation and expansion of rugby across Catalanian territory for almost two decades. He was Baldiri Aleu's right-hand man in the formation of Catalonia's first team, Unió Esportiva Santboiana (UES). Apart from being a player and team coach, his role extended to promoting and giving rugby media exposure by writing regularly for several publications⁹. He was also a board member of UES [25] and secretary of the Spanish Rugby Federation (FER) [26]. In the Catalanian Rugby Football Federation (FCFR), he served as accounts representative and publicity director as well as inspector for the Catalanian administration, *Generalitat de Catalunya* [27], during the Spanish Civil War.

Locals who had resided abroad

Some of the Catalanian emigres to the United Kingdom or France returned with knowledge of the sport. As was the case with Italy and Portugal, these were people who, for reasons of work or study, had their first experience of rugby and had learned the game in France. Members of this group were typically amateur sportsmen from wealthy backgrounds who had studied in France and who practised various disciplines.

As rugby took its first steps at the beginning of the century, players included notable figures such as Alfonso Albéniz and Manolo Conesa. But the two people who played a crucial role in the introduction, establishment and expansion of this sport in Catalonia were David Cuyàs and, especially, Baldiri Aleu.

David Cuyàs discovered rugby while studying in France and was one of the promoters of the creation of the division within Club Natació Barcelona in 1921. He took part in the creation of the Spanish Rugby Football Federation in 1922, of which he was secretary [28] at its inception and president in 1933 [29]. He also partook in the creation and was first president of the Catalanian Rugby Football Federation in 1923 [30], as well as president of the Catalanian Referees Association in 1935 [31].

The key figure in the implementation of rugby in Catalonia was Baldri Aleu. A sportsman and staunch supporter of amateurism, he put in motion the project of introducing the new sport in Catalonia in early 1921. When he returned from his university studies in France, together with a group of young men, he created a rugby club, the sport that he loved and to which he would be linked all his life. Thus, the Unió Esportiva Santboiana de Fútbol Rugby (UES) was born, and by April 1921, early morning training had become a habitual practice [32]. News of this made an impact on Catalanian sporting circles of the time and spread fast. As a consequence, numerous sports clubs contacted the institution to express interest, as did relevant figures of the sporting world of the early 20th century.¹⁰ Baldiri Aleu was involved with both the practical side of UES - he played for the club for over a decade - as well as its administration - he was its president since its creation and up until the outbreak of the Civil War. He also helped to create the Spanish Rugby Federation in 1922 [28], of which he was its first treasurer, later becoming its president in 1925. He was also a founding member of the Catalanian Rugby Football Federation during the first half of 1923 [30], as well as its first treasurer, and he occupied various positions within the Federation throughout his life. He contributed to the creation of clubs and to the teaching and active promotion and dissemination of the sport up until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War.

PRE-FEDERATIVE LINKS

From the beginning, the practice of rugby found its outlet in associations. This led to the institutionalisation of the sport, its regulation and the creation of competitions, to later become formalised in a federative structure.

RUGBY CLUBS 1921-1922

The first club specifically devoted to the practice of rugby to be created in Catalonia was Unió Esportiva Santboiana in 1921, thanks to the encouragement of Baldiri Aleu. It was an unprecedented event. That same year rugby divisions were created within Club Natació Atlètic and Club Natació Barcelona, in addition to the divisions in La Agrupació Atlètica Vida and Cataluña Sporting Club¹¹ (see [Figure 1](#)).



Figure 1.

Fargas i Bonell, Carles, A rugby match at the Can Tunis Hippodrome (Barcelona), 1921 From Fons Carles Fargas i Bonell, Arxiu Fotogràfic Centre Excursionista de Catalunya

<http://mdc.csuc.cat/cdm/singleitem/collection/afcecaj/id/47814/rec/23> (8 June 2020)

At that time, except for UES - in which rugby was the main sport, although it also had various other sports divisions - these were all pre-existing multi-sport associations. In spite of their differences, they all shared numerous characteristics: they were committed to the practice and promotion of sport; they were not equipped with the facilities for the practice of rugby; they were not elitist clubs; and they had an athletics division. These characteristics were also present in the clubs founded subsequently, up until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. These first associations played a crucial role in the establishment of rugby in Catalonia. Although a great number of them only survived for a few years and only two became consolidated over time, these constituted the embryo for the birth of rugby and provided the foundations for it becoming known in society. A short time later, the Spanish Rugby Federation (FER) [33] would be created in Barcelona followed a few months later by the Catalanian Rugby Football Federation (FCFR) [30].

GRADUAL GROWTH PRIOR TO 1923

As with other sports, the beginning of Catalonian rugby was difficult as the sport was unknown outside a relatively small circle, and little information about it circulated in society. Albeit short, two stages can be clearly defined prior to the creation of the FCFR. The first stage was one of information and recruitment of players and followers so that they would join the existing organisations or create clubs against which they could play. The second stage was one of competitive growth and a public presence.

At the beginning of 1921, only UES existed. Both Baldiri Aleu and Michel Reynard launched appeals in the press for 'rugby football fans to join said club or form other teams' against which they would gladly compete [34]. Because of this press, those interested began to congregate around Catalonia's oldest rugby club. Both the general-interest and sports press would become interested in rugby.¹² This headline presence, albeit scant, made an impact. Individuals and institutions contacted the club to ask for more information, to offer support and to request meetings to organise teams and training.¹³ As a consequence of this appearance in the press, contacts emerged which led to the expansion of teams. The first games were held, first with Enrique Massas - president of CNA - and later with David Cuyàs from CNB.

Rugby's slow growth was largely due to a lack of fields in the city of Barcelona. CNA signed an agreement for the use of the UES pitch - the only field dedicated to the practice of rugby in Catalonia - and training started between Sant Boi de Llobregat and Barcelona's football pitches. After two training matches, the first 'official' match was held in Catalonia on 13th November, 1921, between Unió Esportiva Santboiana and Club Natació Atlètic, in Sant Boi de Llobregat [35]. As for CNB, its first training sessions started in the Autumn of 1921 between Barcelona and Cornellá, and its first match was held against UES on 1st January, 1922. That same morning, Catalunya Sporting Club (CSC) also played its first game against UES, both in Sant Boi de Llobregat [36]. University also began to play at the beginning of that year.

A BARCELONEAN PRACTICE WITH LITTLE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR THE EXPANSION OF RUGBY

Except for UES, during this establishment stage rugby was a predominantly Barcelonean phenomenon, with four of its five clubs located in Barcelona. This limitation arose partly due to the lack of a strong network of relationships with other foci of penetration and incorporation of the sport in Catalonia. Little media coverage outside the capital is also worth noting, as well as the absence of a cohort of sportsmen as large as Barcelona's.

As the number of clubs increased, the lack of appropriate spaces to practice became evident. Much like other disciplines, rugby suffered the absence of public grounds and the lack of public government policies, in spite of the recent creation of a Department of Sport or 'Ponencia de Educación Física' within the *Mancomunitat de Catalunya*¹⁴ in 1921. The first space in Barcelona, and for many years the only one where rugby could be practised, was the Hipòdrom de Can Tunis, which CNB rented and later shared with CNA, and which was officially opened to the practice of rugby with a match between two sides of the Barcelonean team [37]. It was on this pitch where the first rugby match between Catalonian teams was played in the capital and also where Catalonia's first official rugby tournament was held.

PRE-FEDERATIVE COMPETITIONS

At this time, rugby was expanding and organization for competition between clubs was growing, but rugby was still being practised in a rather informal way. It was missing 'that something that would give it the definitive endorsement needed to surround the sport with the aura of seriousness inherent

to any sport whose qualitative value is consciously appreciated.' On the initiative of CNA, rugby's leaders got together and decided to create a tournament 'for the existing clubs to compete against each other, under rules that must be observed' jointly and in order to obtain a title [38]. In April 1922, the Tournament of the Royal Society of Horse Racing began to be held, a one round competition in which the winner would be the highest scoring team. UES, CNA, CNB and CSC took part, and it was won by Unió Esportiva Santboiana. Thanks to this first tournament, rugby went from being a pastime of friendly and exhibition games to a normalised activity with a regulated and formal competitive structure.

THE CREATION OF FEDERATIVE BODIES

The appearance of clubs was followed by the first matches and later, the first competitions. The next natural step in the process of expansion of rugby was the creation of a federation which would bring together the existing clubs. This was a moment in history in which associations increasingly felt a need to become organised.¹⁵ Thus, closely linked to the country's sports evolution and with the idea of bringing together rugby playing institutions, and to 'promote, direct and regulate' this sport, the Spanish Rugby Federation was born in 1922 [39], followed just a few months later by the foundation of the Catalonian Rugby Football Federation in 1923 [30].

THE PROCESS OF CONSTITUTION

Like other sports, the institutionalisation of Catalonian rugby was the result of a combination of factors including an increase in the number of clubs and with it an increase in the number of players; greater public awareness due to media coverage; an internationalising trend aided by the inclusion of Spanish rugby in the Paris Olympic Games; the need for an umbrella organisation to arrange competitions and congregate scattered energies; as well as the recent experiences of some clubs with links to rugby which partook in the creation of other federations.

The increase in the number of clubs and its accompanying increase in the number of players was notable during this period. In the space of only five months, Catalonian rugby went from two clubs and six games a year to six teams and an endless number of games including the first official tournament and many friendly and exhibition games.¹⁶ This increase in the number of games brought with it greater public exposure. Thus, press coverage went from being minimal and almost testimonial to the publication of regular features, articles and columns sustained over time. A key factor in this process of publicity was that many writing for various newspapers were players themselves with knowledge of the sport.¹⁷

Since the inclusion of rugby in the Paris Olympics of 1924 [40], with a few teams in existence, the burgeoning Catalonian rugby community advocated and encouraged the creation of a Catalan Rugby Olympic Team [41]. Players were committed to 'undergoing strict training in order to achieve significant improvement' with the clear 'intention of presenting a team at the next Paris Olympics' [42]. An invitation was even prepared for the FCFR to send a team [43]: however in the midst of the Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, Catalonian rugby did not make it to Paris due to political pressure, open rejection from state entities,¹⁸ and allegations of budgetary issues.

Club leaders felt the need for a federating institution which would organize championship competition as well as the coordination and management of the clubs. Thus, on 15th April, 1922, the Spanish Rugby Federation was created to bring together the various associations which practised rugby with the aim of 'promoting, managing and regulating Rugby in our country [33].' Once the necessary structure had been put in place, the federation organised the first official championship in 1923 with seven teams, a set of rules, match dates, two pitches and referees. The FCFR's creation was announced in early February, 1923, following a meeting at CNB [44]. Official documentation was submitted to Barcelona's Civil Government on 17th May, 1923, and it was approved a week later [45]. After the summer,

the federating body contacted its eight affiliate clubs to organise Catalonia's first rugby championship in autumn of the same year.¹⁹ Rugby being played as an organised sport only in Catalanian territory, the existence of two separate federations served a variety of purposes. With its headquarters in Barcelona, the FER was created in order to incorporate the various regional federations as and when these were created, and it also constituted a representative to which international matters could be referred. The role of the FCFR on the other hand, was to safeguard the proper functioning of rugby in Catalonia as well as preserving the entente between the existing clubs.

It is worth noting that the process evolved in a logical manner, coordinated and guided by the rugby clubs of the time. CNB as well as CNA and CSC had vast experience in these matters, already having been part of the creation of various state and Catalanian federations, and they were no strangers to the processes that led to the constitution of both federations.

STRUCTURE AND EXPANSION

Since its creation, the FCFR sought to avail itself of an operative structure which would drive and expand different areas of internal action. The first such area was that of the creation of statutes and registration with civil governance, giving the institution a legal framework and organizational structure. The second area of action was to create a record of affiliate bodies and players with their corresponding records assigned to the member clubs, which allowed it to keep track of the number of participants and a modicum of financial solvency through fee collection. The third area of action was to organise a competitive structure for its affiliate clubs, creating a set of competition rules and designing a calendar for the championship; work was carried out on the creation of a refereeing corps with its refereeing body, examining all candidates. The last area of action was the promotion and expansion of the sport, organising regular exhibitions and taking rugby throughout the territory.

DIFFICULTIES AND INITIAL CHALLENGES

With an organised structure, rugby was soon faced with its first challenges. Lack of adequate spaces where sporting practice could be carried out and violence were just two of the problems that arose as Catalanian competitions began to take place.

The issue of access to playing fields was constant in the development of early championships. The difficulty finding spaces for training and competing grew as new players and teams were incorporated to the tournaments. There were only two fields available where matches could be held in the early years: UES and the Hipòdrom de Can Tunis. Thanks to the incorporation of RCSA (1923-1924) and CADCI (1923-1924), a partial solution was found. With the disappearance of the division at CAN in 1924, a field was lost. Towards the end of the year, only three playing fields were available for six teams to compete [46]. However, generally, these fields did not meet all the conditions needed for the practice of rugby.

As far as violence was concerned, prominent players and journalists who were aware of the raw violence of French rugby tried to tackle this issue in Catalanian rugby from the outset, stating that there was still time to put the practice on track and provide it with its own distinct personality and sportsmanship culture. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful. Like French rugby, Catalanian rugby was born violent [47]. Expressions such as 'uncalled for brutality', 'vicious tackles', 'deplorable spectacle', 'threats directed at the referee' and 'a violent boxing match' can be found in the press beginning with the first championships. A rough, aggressive and violent game was habitual on the playing fields, a trend which was to remain unchanged throughout the first decade. The FCFR tried to control it by demanding decorum and a moral attitude. It warned players that if recommendations were not observed, regulations would be strictly enforced and those who did not behave appropriately on the rugby field would have to face maximum punishment [48]. In spite of sanctions, the problem persisted and rugby became a culturally violent sport.

SOCIAL AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

Between 1921 and 1925 Catalanian rugby experienced sustained growth, with the significant events, contradictions and difficulties typical of a minor sport of the time. Rugby 'followed the complex vicissitudes of the expansive tendency of a sports phenomenon: institutional and practice growth, an intensification of socio-sporting debates, the beginning of internationalisation, and economic and material scarcity,' immersed in the hostile socio-political context of dictatorship, which affected the life of associations and the institutional control which they suffered [3].

INCREASE IN PRACTICE AND ATTEMPT AT TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

Within a few years rugby had grown progressively in Barcelona and its surrounding areas, but, surprisingly, its territorial reach did not show an increase, particularly in nearby centres with good links to the Catalanian capital. It took a decade for rugby to become established in cities such as Cornellà (1931) and Terrassa (1931).

There is a considerable increase in the number of players in these five years: the initial four clubs which had the ability to compete and which were members of the FCFR increased to nine in 1925. In addition, there were university teams headed by the School of Medicine of the University of Barcelona²⁰. This second wave of growth in the number of clubs and players is closely linked to football clubs, of which four of the new clubs are divisions within them (Futbol Club Barcelona, Real Club Deportivo Español, Club Deportivo Júpiter and Club Deportivo Europa). Growth was also related to multisport clubs such as Unió Sportiva Sans and Centre Autonomista de Dependents del Comerç i de la Indústria (CADCI). With the inclusion of football clubs, more practice spaces became available, which made the organisation of matches easier. The incorporation of sporting associations with a focus on football also enabled the promotion and dissemination of the sport in unrelated sectors. It became a custom to schedule rugby games before football matches, which helped to publicize the sport and to make it more popular, as well as increasing the number of spectators.

Both the FCFR and the clubs tried to bring rugby to other towns and cities in order to extend its territorial influence. Already in 1923, UES visited Girona to play an exhibition game against the Catalanian national team. Clubs toured all of Catalonia, traveling through towns and cities such as Sant Genís de Vilassar, Lleida, Granollers, El Masnou, Tarragona, Terrassa and Castelldefels. However, they did not succeed in creating new teams.

At this time there was also an increase in rugby related publications in the press. Whereas there had been four headliners which regularly published articles and columns about rugby in 1922,²¹ there were twice as many in 1926.²² Rugby had a respectable place in both the general-interest and sports media.

THE CHAMPIONSHIPS

Once both federations became well established, a succession of championships such as the Championship of Spain, the Championship and Cup of Catalonia as well as several smaller tournaments began to take place and to grow gradually. In 1923 the first Rugby Championship of Spain, organised by the FER, took place and was won by UES [49]. It was not until 1926 that the next Championship of Spain was held, this time against a team from another region.

The Central Federation had been admitted to the FER in 1925 and, on this occasion, FCB - champions of Catalonia - and Agrupación Deportiva de la Academia de Infantería de Toledo - champions of Castille - played against each other in the final. FCB became champions [50] (see Figure 2). The next Championship of Spain would not be held until 1930.



Figure 2.

Brangulí, J, Final match at the Spanish Championship, Academy of infantry from Toledo versus FC Barcelona, match played at Sant Boi de Llobregat (Barcelona), 1926. From Fons ANC1-42 Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya http://arxiusenlinia.cultura.gencat.cat/ArxiusEnLinia/imatge100x100.do?reqCode=view&poslm=0&totalIm=1&pagelm=1&primera=1&codiUnitat=136692&tipusUnitat=1&codimatge=126466&nomImatge=ANC_136692_138231,0000.jpg (8 June 2020)

Official Catalanian competitions included the Championship of Catalonia and the Catalonia Cup (with its variants such as the 'Copa Tardor' or 'Copa Primavera'). Beginning in 1930, the Championship of Catalonia determined the Catalan Champion who would proceed to the Championship of Spain. Catalanian teams won all the Spanish Championships up until autonomy as a sporting nation was declared in 1934 when it was expelled from the FER. The Championships of Catalonia were won alternatively by FCB and UES up until the Civil War began, except for 1924 when CNB won and 1925 when RCSA won. A number of official and unofficial cups were also played during this first decade, such as the CNB Cup, the Rugby Cup and the Sant Boi Cup among others.

INTERNATIONALISATION

Relations with France were good since rugby began in Catalonia. As was to be expected, the first international match between a Catalanian club and a foreign club was between UES and Toulouse Lande Olympique on 20th May, 1923 on the field of the local team. A few days later the Catalanian national team made its debut - with representatives from all the Catalanian clubs - against the same team at the Hipòdrom. The French team won both games [51]. After this debut, a long list of French teams would play on Catalanian soil, such as Stadoceste Perpignanais, Stade Touloussain, Union Sportive Perpignanaise and Association Sportive Pradéenne among others. Neither national team matches nor international club team matches were restricted to visits from the French. Matches against teams from English ships moored in the port of Barcelona were also common. It is worth noting that the first international game played by the Catalanian national team as an autonomous rugby nation was on

14th April, 1934 under the International Amateur Rugby Federation (FIRA), against the Italian national team, to which we shall come back later.

ECONOMIC HARDSHIP

Hardship and financial difficulties were a constant for both clubs and federations during the first decade of Catalonian rugby. Costs were high and there were not many players nor members to meet these costs comfortably.

During the first stage (1921-1924), the teams did not receive much financial support from their clubs. The fact that most of them were multi sports clubs (CNA, CNB, AAV, CSC) helped to finance the rugby divisions. In the case of those teams that had a field, a great proportion of their budget was destined to its upkeep, which included annual rent, the salaries of maintenance personnel, cultivating and cutting the grass and line markings for the matches. In order to meet these costs, the clubs relied mainly on membership fees, as well as a few meagre subsidies. Federations also required fees to be paid for participation in official competitions, and the material necessary to train and play had to be paid for. Clubs covered the costs of licences paid to the federations, which they later recovered from the players. Travel expenses and part of the cost of playing materials had to be paid for by players, who also paid their own monthly or quarterly membership fees.

Not all clubs had these expenditures but economic pressure was common to all, which was partly relieved by the admission of teams with considerable financial support from football clubs such as FCB or RCDE and organisations with strong social support and a large number of members in their clubs, as was the case with CADCI or USS.

THE END OF EXPANSION AND THE BEGINNING OF DECLINE

As championships and cups took place, national team and many friendly matches organised by clubs were held, rugby finally took root and became part of popular culture. By the end of 1925, the FCFR consisted of eight clubs²³ and many of them took part in a second team championship, apart from the national team which played regularly.

THE IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE

Amateurism - Professionalism

The increase of sport in public life together with the fact that sport was becoming a professional spectacle in many spheres, highlighted the old ideas from the previous century, with a sport practice of the most elitist segments of society which clashed with new ideas of mass sport in which the popular classes began to play an important role. This clash 'was not just a reflection of a traditional view and a modern way of understanding sport, but of social, ideological and cultural positioning.' Of course, rugby was part of this debate which was being had in Catalonia, and it was an issue which worried intellectual and journalistic circles more than the practising population generally [3].

Strongly influenced by Baldiri Aleu - staunch defender of amateurism [52] - and seconded by Cuyàs, rugby was strongly amateur from the beginning. One of the first crises in this context occurred during a trip by UES and the national team to Girona, which UES took in a luxury train and the players of the national team demanded to be paid the difference in the fare, an incident which the press referred to as 'a very clear case of professionalism, as they want to be paid for what they did not spend' [53]. There are a number of transfers of players between clubs where the reasons for the change is not altogether clear - officially with no financial remuneration - or directors who appeared to be paid expenses in order to carry out duties for which they had been elected. The writing of the FCFR's 1925 regulations devote three pages to rules against professionalisation of players and clubs, stating that

amateur were those 'who do not derive pecuniary benefit nor profit from the practice of Rugby-Football' [54].

It should be noted that within the ideological debate of the time, no documents have been found in respect of gender equality, with no demands made for the presence and participation of women in rugby. This type of absence of a public debate is very significant. The same as other sports, the organised world was 'completely masculine and, generally based on a gender discourse - social, moral and aesthetic - which was still highly conservative' [2]. During these first years, a period which lasted well into the 1980s, rugby was considered an exclusively masculine and masculinising practice, frequently described as the 'most virile of sports'²⁴. At a time when women began to take part in sporting events in a more 'habitual' manner, their absence in rugby is noteworthy. In an act of reification, on the rare occasions when rugby stories mention them in the press, women are referred to as 'pretty specimens of the beautiful sex' [55]. Despite some small demands for recognition, this was the dominating tone of European rugby.

The beginning of territorial conflict

Towards the end of 1925 the Central Rugby-Football Federation was created, with the presence of a Catalanian delegate in the process of its constitution, which came to being with five teams in its first championship [56]. From this moment on, a territorial conflict began which was not fully resolved, beyond a decree within the a series of repressive measures of the Francoist Dictatorship. From its inception, Castilian rugby tried to recentralise the FER and relocate it to Madrid [57]. A territorial dispute over the control of rugby within the Spanish state began at that moment which would last until the end of 1927, only to start up again in late 1933. After the first Rugby Championship of Spain had been organised in 1926 and the year closed without significant upheaval, discrepancies arose in early 1927 over the organisation of a match between the national teams of Spain and France, which led to trouble. A letter came from Madrid to the FER requesting that they organise the event and put together a team which included Catalanian players. When no reply was received from the FCFR and the FER, the Central Federation went ahead and organised the match unilaterally. Even though it had no authority to do so, this Federation went its own way and, in order to give validity to the event, it decided to create a new state federation, the Spanish Rugby Union [58]. The latent territorial conflict over the location of FER headquarters resulted in the corresponding fees to the national federation remaining unpaid, which entailed a lack of response from Barcelona about the aforementioned match. The schism lasted until the end of the year, when both federations reconvened at an assembly which took place in Barcelona on 28th December 1927, which resulted in the creation of the Spanish National Rugby Football Federation and its relocation to Madrid [59].

THE DECLINE OF THE PRACTICE

The cancellation of matches due to players' absence was habitual during 1926 and Europa, Amateur and Español forfeits - which led to the dissolution of all three teams - were not uncommon, including the withdrawal of Sant Andreu mid-season. The beginning of 1927 sees the creation of C.E. Catalunya, although it disappears only four matches later.²⁵ There was a decrease in the number of clubs which took part in Catalanian competitions, as well as in the number of players and public presence of the sport and a great proportion of public opinion predicted its disappearance from Catalonia [60]. Rugby went into profound crisis and the culprits were not Catalanian federation leaders - in the eyes of the press - but of a lack of commitment on the part of the clubs. The lack of adequate infrastructure for the practice of this sport - only the UES field was available for matches - made it difficult for the great Barcelonean public to approach it thus causing the isolation of the sport. One of the solutions put forward for the revival of the sport was to try to put in place promotion and outreach through the organisation of exhibition games, especially before football matches. Also, to demand rigour and commitment from the clubs participating in the championship, laying down coercive policies so that their sporting commitments were honoured. With a view to rescuing rugby from its lethargy, a joint

effort in support of rugby on the part of clubs, federation, players and rugby enthusiasts was proposed.

SECOND EXPANSION AND PROSPERITY

By the end of 1927, things were no better: few clubs, lack of infrastructure, a federation called into question and in dire financial straits. The addition of Joan Boix to the Catalonian Federation of Rugby Football towards the end of 1927 was the highlight of the year. Boix, who became the longest serving president of Catalonian rugby (1927-1936), managed to lift the sport up from the lethargy in which it had found itself. He also modernised and revitalised it, achieving internationalisation and national sport autonomy, and positioning Catalonia within the European rugby scene by 1934.

FROM WEAKNESS TO INCREASE IN PRACTICE

Despondency and low morale set in across the whole rugby community towards the end of 1927. Although only three teams took part in the inaugural championship of 1928, there was a change of trend in the competitive and federative process which in turn produced changes in public opinion, giving the sport new. The incorporation of new teams to the Catalonian championship was on the horizon, as well as the return of other teams which had re-formed., The additional and re-formed teams increased the number of participants and corresponding number of matches and led to progress and improvement in the game.

A new era of collaboration between the FCR and the Central (Castilian) Federation in support of rugby seems to begin with the presumed end to political and territorial conflict between both bodies, but above all, as attempts to control the National Federation ceased. This new era of supposed cooperation between the two federations began with a match - the Lord Deward Cup [61] - to prepare a team to competing against France (B) in Bordeaux [62]. The FER still had no clear governance and suffered fluctuations and no clear direction until its return to Barcelona. The differences in level and organisation of Catalonian rugby, compared to the rest of Spain, were so great that it was necessary for the National Federation to return to the Catalonian capital in 1930 [63].

With the sad disappearance of the historic Sant Andreu and the reappearance of USS, tournaments found a new lease on life by incorporating teams such as Rugby Club Universitary and Olympic Amateur. Towards the end of 1929, the championship seemed to regain its former glory. However, in spite of the increased clubs and players, the difference in level between the best two teams and the rest of the clubs was. During these years, hegemony belonged to only two clubs [64]: between the championship won by RCSA in 1925 and 1934, all the Championships of Catalonia were won by either Unió Esportiva Santboiana (1931, 1933 and 1934) or FCB (1926-1930 and 1932), the same as all the Championships of Spain, three of which went to FCB and two to UES.

RESUMPTION OF THE PROCESS OF GROWTH AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND SECOND INTERNATIONALISATION

As the leaders of Catalonian rugby expected, the Barcelona International Exhibition of 1929 marked a turning point, starting a new journey in the expansion of this sport which achieved great popularity. The Spanish national team (which in effect was the Catalonian national team in Spanish shirts) inaugurated Montjuïc Stadium with a match against the Italian national team in front of 60.000 spectators [65]. (see Figure 3) This game was scheduled to be played before a football match, the star event, and it resulted in a greater presence of rugby in both the general-interest and sports press. A period of growth in the public presence of the sport was beginning. Features, articles and columns about rugby appeared daily in the sports press; while the general-interest press regularly commented on matches or elements of rugby. All this had a direct impact on the increase in the number of players, although the increase in the number of teams was negligible. Rather than widening the range of Catalonian

rugby clubs, it created incremental strengthening of the foundation and a greater consolidation of the existing clubs, which had a first and second team as well as a reserve. Growth was a matter of depth rather than breadth.



Figure 3.

Match Spain versus Italy for the opening at the Montjuïc Stadium, Barcelona, 1929, From Arxiu Fundació Barcelona Olímpica, Barcelona

This solidity and strength of Catalonian rugby manifested itself in international expansion. Taking the opening of Montjuïc Stadium as a starting point, hand in hand with the Catalonian Federation and the always restless president Joan Boix, a number of matches were organised that same year not only against Italy, but against Germany and France. In mid-1930 the Spanish national team (made up of Catalonian players) headed to Germany on their first international grand tour, playing as the Barcelona, Catalonia, or Spain, depending on their rival and ending the tour with a match against Italy in Milan [66][67][68]. Improvements in rugby in European nations such as Germany, Italy or and Catalonia and the expulsion of France from the Five Nations tournament, spark conversations between nations to create an International Continental Federation., This was finalised in 1934 with the creation of the International Amateur Rugby Federation.

The profound political transformations of the Spanish state brought on by the end of the Political Dictatorship and the restoration of the II Republic (1930-1931) had a clear impact on Catalonian sport. There was an increase in the promotion of and interest in sport on the part of public institutions. The democratisation of public life had a multiplying effect on the world of associations, at the same time as it gave hope to the federative sphere [3].

The Catalonian championship experienced strong growth as well as territorial expansion. Teams were created in Terrassa, Badalona and Cornellà. Political openness enabled the creation of divisions in social, cultural and popular organisations, such as CADCI (see Figure 4) as well as an important presence of divisions in football clubs. The 1931 championship begins with a record number of nine participating teams: Unió Esportiva Santboiana, Estadi Català, Futbol Club Barcelona, Rugby Club Universitari, Club Deportivo Español, Rugby Club Terrassa, Club Deportivo Catalunya and Associació Sportiva Joventut [69].

With this popularity and expansion, rugby went beyond being a federated sport and organised and consolidated itself at university level. The first university game was played in 1922; from this point on and up until the appearance of Rugby Club Universitari (later renamed Barcelona Club Universitari) in 1928, several games of university rugby were played, of which the School of Medicine was a great example to follow as a team. As a milestone, the University Spanish National team took part in the

Darmstadt University Games in 1930, as well as the Turin Youth Olympic Games in 1933, obtaining results with room for improvement.



Figure 4.

Brangulí, J. Opening match of the Field of the Bordeta CACDI- FC Barcelona, Barcelona, 1932, From Arxiu Federació Catalana de Rugby, Barcelona. From Fons ANC1-42 Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya http://arxiusenlinia.cultura.gencat.cat/ArxiusEnLinia/imatge100x100.do?reqCode=view&posIm=0&totalIm=1&pagelm=1&primera=1&codiUnitat=119281&tipusUnitat=1&codiImatge=120326&nomImatge=119281_1.jpg (8 June 2020)

INTERNATIONAL SPORTS AUTONOMY

In spite of the slight decrease in clubs, rugby was in good institutional and sporting health. With considerable progress in the game, clubs competed at Catalan level, as well as playing frequent international games against French clubs. A succession of championships were played, and the Catalan national team competed regularly, with a good international calendar.

With the arrival of the II Republic, rugby became involved with demands for identity. Catalan once again became the official language of the FCR and, as in other sports, the president of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* was appointed honorary president of the Catalan Rugby Federation, as well as signing onto the Statute of Catalonia, which was later approved by a popular referendum [70][71].

MISGOVERNMENT

Relations between the National Federation, the Catalan Federation and the Castilian Federation became very tense once again. 1932 started with the Castilian Federation threatening to secede after a conflict which arose after a match between the Spanish national team and the French Moroccan team. In spite of the disagreements, the Spanish Championships of 1932 and 1933 were organised and played, and the champions were Catalan. However, in mid-August 1933, the disagreements between the Castilian and Catalan Federations with the Valencian Federation - recently created - once

again became evident for the fans. Catalonia viewed the performance of the Castilian Federation as erratic and anarchic. When all state federations were invited to an assembly convened after the resignation of the president of the National Federation, the Catalonian Federation was the only one to attend. The location of the National Federation was also still a source of conflict [72]. Towards the end of 1933 significant chaos arose in the organisation of state rugby due to the lack of acknowledgement by the Central Federation of the National Federation's establishment of a headquarters in Barcelona, which resulted in the resignation of the board of directors of the FER. A new board of the National Federation had been elected in mid-October, it too resigned en masse in late December, leaving the federation without governance, until a new assembly was held in late January 1934.

CATALONIA A FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL AMATEUR RUGBY FEDERATION AND SCHISM OF THE NATIONAL FEDERATION

After a first failed attempt in September of 1933, the FIRA was created in Paris on 2nd January, 1934 [73]. Catalonia attended the meeting with its chair – Francesc Massana – and it took part in the creation of the international body, being acknowledged as an autonomous federation with full rights, which was confirmed in its session in Hanover in March of the same year [74]. At its second official meeting, with the president of the Catalonian Rugby Federation – Joan Boix – as chairman of the governing body of continental European rugby, the statutes were approved (see Figure 5).



Figure 5.

Poster of the First International Match of Catalonia versus Italy, Barcelona, 1934, From Arxiu Federació Catalana de Rugby, Barcelona

The admission of the Catalonian Federation into the FIRA detonated the conflict between the Castilian and Catalonian federations, leading to the expulsion of the latter from the National Federation, with the Valencian Federation present [75]. It is worth pointing out that the Catalonian Federation had held an extraordinary assembly weeks earlier in which a request to separate from the National Federation

had been agreed, due to the chaos and misgovernment, as well as the difficult coordination between them [76].

A NEW FUTURE

For the first time as an autonomous national federation recognised and with full rights in the FIRA, Catalonia competed internationally against Italy in the context of the celebration of the anniversary of the proclamation of the II Republic [77]. The Catalonian XV took to the field to play its first official international match against the Italians wearing a navy blue shirt with white trim emblazoned with a crest of four stripes, white shorts, and striped socks.

The conflicts with the National Spanish Rugby Football Federation persisted until the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. At the 1936 FIRA meeting during which the Spanish Federation continued its fight to have the Catalonian Federation expelled from the international body, the FIRA rejected the petition of the FNEFR and unanimously agreed that Catalonia would remain as a member with full rights.

CONCLUSIONS

Rugby managed to take root in Catalonia towards the end of 1921, penetrating through sports such as football, athletics, boxing and swimming, and owing to French expatriates residing in Barcelona or local citizens who had lived in France. The growth of clubs and of organised competitions was gradual and constant until mid-1926. As the need to organise arose, first the Spanish Rugby Federation was created in 1922, followed by the Catalonian Federation of Rugby Football a short time later, in 1923. A period of internationalisation began to emerge with this institutionalisation and organisational structure, during which clubs and national teams competed against international teams, in order to be able to compare their level and to learn about the game, and a period of flourishing began for the clubs. Following a few years of decline, a second stage of growth and expansion of clubs began in 1928, as well as a certain territorial expansion, with associations outside of Barcelona. The 1929 Barcelona International Exhibition where rugby was played in front of 60.000 spectators kickstarted the internationalisation of Catalonian rugby and marked its definitive boom. The consequent media exposure led to a significant increase in the number of clubs and players. The process of growth culminated with Catalonia as a founding member of the International Amateur Rugby Federation, thus being recognised as an autonomous rugby nation with full rights in the international scene in 1934.

Endnotes

The article mentions three players who had practised rugby before: Arturo Witty (Barça's Captain that year), Gustavo Green and even Hans Gamper. p 21-22 Mention was also made of other players such as Cyril Alexander, Jaime Alberto Eckes in other articles, Los Deportes 1 de junio de 1902 p326 y 327.

¹La Soci  t   'Patrie' was an organisation formed in Barcelona – with its headquarters in the French consulate – by French expatriates in 1910, which had several sport divisions.

²Formation and accounts of the matches can be found in: [21][78][79]

⁴At Club Nataci   Barcelona there were athletes such as Laffite, Gallofr  , Vilama and Vilamala.

⁵Swimmers from CNB include Trueta, Amig   and Palau and water polo players such as Bernils, Lavila and Rosich; while swimmers such as Fern  ndez and water polo players such as Baide, Gil and Poch are among those from Club Nataci   Atl  tic.

⁶CNA boxers include Ubach, Zald  var and Urtasun. While in relation to AAV it is mentioned that the original team included boxers and wrestlers without mentioning specific names. CSC on its part had an important boxing division and it took part in the creation of Spanish Boxing Federation in 1922.

⁷The article mentions three players who had practised rugby before: Arturo Witty (Barça's Captain that year), Gustavo Green and even Hans Gamper. p 21-22 Mention was also made of other players such as Cyril Alexander, Jaime Alberto Eckes in other articles, Los Deportes 1 de junio de 1902 p326 y 327.

⁸Players such as Reynard, Vin  on, Dubois, Renaud, Hoche or Reynaud, to name but a few.

⁹He published several articles in *La Publicitat*, *La Veu de Catalunya* and *el Mundo Deportivo*.

¹⁰Two days after the publication of the article in *La Veu de Catalunya*, the president of the Catalan Athletic Federation – J. Trabal – got in touch by letter. A few days later, the presidents of *Club Natació Atlètic* and *Club Natació Barcelona* – both clubs created rugby divisions that same year – also got in touch, as well as other football personalities and clubs. This correspondence is kept in the Archives of *Unió Deportiva Santboiana*.

¹¹These clubs are found regularly in both general-interest and sports publications, from September 1921 onwards.

¹²Various examples can be found in *La Vanguardia*, *El Diluvio*, *Stadium*, *La Veu de Catalunya* and *La Jornada Deportiva*.

¹³Figures such as J. Trabal (president of the *Federació Catalana d'Atletisme*) got in touch, football clubs such as *Martinenc*, or *Santboià*, as well as those in charge of CNA and CNB.

¹⁴*Mancomunitat de Catalunya* (Commonwealth of Catalonia) was a deliberative assembly made up of the councillors of the four provinces of Catalonia. Although it had only administrative functions and its powers did not go beyond those of the provincial councils, it had great symbolic and practical importance: it represented the first recognition by the Spanish State of the identity and territorial unity of Catalonia since 1714 and was responsible for the creation of many public institutions in health, culture and technical education and science and notably for the support of the Catalan language.

¹⁵Within very few years various federations were created: among others, Swimming (Spanish in 1920 and Catalanian in 1921), Basketball (Spanish and Catalanian in 1923), Boxing (Spanish in 1921 and Catalanian in 1923), Fencing (Catalonian in 1922 and Spanish in 1924) and Hockey (Spanish and Catalanian in 1923).

¹⁶In 1922, in addition to the participation of UES, CNB, CNA and CSC in the RSCC tournament, matches were played by *University Rugby Club* (which disappeared shortly after), *AAV* (later *Rugby Club Sant Andreu*), and the creation of the division at *CADCI* are all well documented.

¹⁷Among them Enrique Gil, Masegú, Grandó, Michel Reynard, Baldiri Aleu.

¹⁸The Spanish state was under the dictatorial regime of Primo de Rivera (1923-1930)

¹⁹The participating teams were UES, RCSA, CNA, CNB, *Centre Autonomista de Dependents del Comerç i de la Indústria*, *Club Deportivo Español*, *Futbol Club Barcelona* and *Club Helènic*.

²⁰*Societat Amateur de Rugby (SAR)*, *CADCI*, *RCDE*, *Club Deportivo Europa (CDE)*, *FCB*, *Club Deportivo Júpiter (CDJ)*, *RCSA*, *UES* and *Unió Sportiva Sans (USS)* all took part in various championships in 1925.

²¹These were *La Vanguardia*, *La Veu de Catalunya*, *La Jornada Deportiva* and *el Diluvio*.

²²In addition to the previous ones, there were *El Xut*, *El Mundo Deportivo* and *La Hoja Oficial de la Provincia de Barcelona*

²³From those mentioned in 4.1, *C.D. Júpiter* does not start the 1925-1926 season.

²⁴A couple of quotes will serve as example, although the reference was widely used by the vast majority of the press since the beginning of rugby in Catalonia up until the start of the Civil War [80][81].

²⁵The 1927 championship, won by *FCB*, was completed with only *UES*, *USS* and *RCSA*, apart from the champion.

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Зарождение регби в Каталонии

Аннотация:

Регби Каталонии достигло высшей точки своей молодой и успешной истории, когда стало одной из команд стран-основательниц Международной любительской федерации регби (FIRA) и начало соревноваться на международном уровне как автономная регбийная страна. К концу 1921 года регби обосновалось в Каталонии, проникнув в такие виды спорта, как футбол, легкая атлетика, бокс и плавание, во многом благодаря французским эмигрантам, проживавшим в Барселоне, или каталонским гражданам, жившим во Франции. В 1923 году был создан Каталонский футбольно-регбийный союз в связи с возникшей потребностью в организованных соревнованиях. С этой институционализации и организационной структуры начался период расцвета клубов, кульминация которого прилась на 1929 год на Международной выставке в Барселоне, где в регби играли спортсмены для 60 000 зрителей. Несмотря на это достижение, регби оставалось спортом меньшинства представителей с неширокой географией, с группой верных и преданных последователей.

Ключевые слова: история, регби, обзор