

Give Me The Keys Please: Avery Brundage, Canadian Journalists, and the Barbara Ann Scott Phaeton Affair

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The downtown sidewalks of Canada's capital were filled with proud Ottawans of all ages on a chilly March day in 1947. Excited high school students, who had been granted an extended lunch period on this important day, jostled for the most advantageous viewing positions. Many core area workers recognized the futility in dealing with the congestion at street level and opted for the unrestricted sight lines of workplace rooftops. *The Ottawa Evening Citizen* noted that the crackling atmosphere rivalled the excitement witnessed at the arrival of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to the city eight years before. As the Parliament clock prepared for its noontime peal, the scene at Union Station was chaotic. Mayor Stanley Lewis, members of the Board of Control, and the band of the Governor General's Foot Guards competed for space with jubilant citizens. *The Citizen* noted that, "no accidents marred the occasion though in the near riot . . . several of the younger fry were trampled a bit." The hometown folk were determined to provide a fitting return, including a gift of a canary yellow convertible, for the newly crowned world champion of women's figure skating, Barbara Ann Scott.¹

The excitement of the procession through the streets, and Scott's whistle stop tour of a number of Canadian cities which followed, was short-lived. Two months later, Canadian sport journalists learned that the champion's amateur status was under review and that her long time dream of winning an Olympic gold medal was in jeopardy. The city's gift of a convertible auto, the keys to which Mayor Lewis handed to her on the day of her return, had prompted an inquiry to the Canadian Olympic Association (C.O.A.) by International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.) President Sigfrid Edström of Sweden.² The acceptance of the gift, a violation of the Olympic code of amateurism, had been brought to the attention of Edstrom by I.O.C. Vice-President (and U.S .O.C. President) Avery Brundage.³

1. *Ottawa Evening Citizen*, March, 5-7, 1947 (hereafter cited as *OEC*).

2. Edström to Patteson, April 18, 1947 (*OEC*, May 17, 1947).

3. Brundage to Edström, April 12, 1947, *Avery Brundage Collection 1908-1975*, D.B. Weldon Library, University of Western Ontario, Box 42 (hereafter cited as *A.B.C.*).

Although the incident is well-known to Olympic sport historians, and those specifically interested in Canadian sport history,⁴ the firestorm that swept the pages of Canadian newspapers in response to the action has not been investigated. Canadian newspaper accounts indicate that the challenge to Scott's amateur standing was treated as an extremely serious issue. The events preceding the "crisis," as well as the decision by the C.O. A. that Scott would have to return the car in order to retain her amateur standing, attracted widespread media scrutiny. The journalists' choice as villain in the affair, Avery Brundage, fell prey to a vicious and cynical media attack.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the actions of Canadian sport journalists and determine why they devoted extensive treatment to the issue following Scott's announcement that she would return the car. Specifically, why did the American Avery Brundage become the target for a nation's press? The paper will attempt to show the major contributing factors to the outcry against the outside treatment of a Canadian athletic heroine were post-war Canadian nationalism and anti-American sentiment. In addition, Brundage's past involvement in amateur athletics and his views toward amateurism intensified the indignation of a number of Canadians. The investigation also provides a case study indicative of the special relationship that Brundage shared with the media during his administrative career. Brundage was the man that journalists loved to hate.

Throughout his lengthy administrative career, Brundage often ran afoul of media representatives. He was extremely outspoken with respect to the issue of amateurism. Many journalists believed Brundage's rigid approach to the question of Olympic eligibility to be outdated and fatuous. Contemporary press reports revealed that Canadian journalists were well aware of his background and the fact that he shared Coubertin's vision of Olympism. The hostile reaction of the Canadian reporters engendered by Brundage's action was that of a foreign press, and it occurred five years prior to his ascendance to the office of I.O.C. President. The incident foreshadowed the media difficulties he encountered during his twenty year term as chief presiding officer of the Olympic movement. Yet, this investigation also shows a side of the crusty Chicagoan that has been rarely elucidated.

Avery Brundage has been popularly perceived as a hard-nosed, and sometimes belligerent, Olympic spokesman and administrator. However, Brundage showed that he did possess a softer side during this episode. Although originally convinced that Scott had committed an outright violation of the Olympic code, Brundage was swayed by the explanations of Canadian amateur sport authorities. He was sympathetic to the fact that Scott had been told by Canadian officials that acceptance of the car would not threaten her amateur status. He did

4. See for instance, Jack Batten, *Champions: Great Figures in Canadian Sport* (Toronto: New Press, 1971), 90; Don Morrow, "Sweetheart Sport: Barbara Ann Scott and the Post World War II Image of the Female Athlete in Canada," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 18 (May, 1987): 51; S.F. Wise and Douglas Fisher, *Canada's Sporting Heroes* (Don Mills: General Publishing, 1974), 216; David Young, *The Golden Age of Canadian Figure Skating* (Toronto: Summerhill Press Ltd., 1984), 76.

not pursue the issue beyond a private communication to I.O.C. President Sigfrid Edström written in April.⁵ Other high-profile athletes such as Jesse Owens, Babe Didrickson, Eleanor Holm Jarrett, and Karl Schranz did not receive similar sympathy. A study of this chapter of his I.O.C. career provides a further glimpse into the complex character of Avery Brundage.

Avery Brundage, by 1947, had completed his first decade as a member of the I.O.C. Although the onset of his turbulent twenty year reign as President of the organization was still a number of years away, Brundage had already left an indelible mark on the Olympic movement. His skillful leadership of the American Olympic Association was a major factor which contributed to the success of the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics.⁶ His involvement in the raucous debate concerning the wisdom of American participation in the Berlin Olympics culminated with his co-optation by the I.O.C.⁷ Although a number of his tactics have been questioned, his diligence resulted in the American Olympic team travelling to Berlin despite significant opposition on the home front in light of Hitler's racial policies and blatant politicization of the games.⁸

Brundage in the mid-1930s and a decade later was most noted for his unwavering adherence to the Coubertin ideal of pure amateurism. According to Brundage, the amateur athlete was one who participated in sport merely for enjoyment and diversion with no thought of material gain. Sport was a hobby rather than an occupation.⁹ Brundage adamantly believed that the Games were dedicated to the athletes of the world. He was opposed to the belief that Olympic athletes were defenders of national prestige.¹⁰

About a month after Scott's triumphant return from the World Skating Championships, Brundage wrote to I.O.C. President Sigfrid Edström that the recently victorious Barbara Ann Scott had been royally feted upon her return

5. In reference to the widespread public (Canadian) condemnation of Brundage's action *Time* magazine declared, "though he had never wilted before, high-handed Avery Brundage melted before Canada's hot wrath." "Ado About an Auto," *Time* XLIX (20) May 19, 1947, p. 29.

6. Allen Guttman, *The Games Must Go On: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 58.

7. See for instance, Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 62-81; Duff Hart-Davis, *Hitler's Games: The 1936 Olympics* (London: Century Hutchinson, 1986): 59-81; Arnd Kruger, "The 1936 Olympics-Berlin," in Peter J. Graham and Horst Ueberhorst, eds., *The Modern Olympics* (Amherst: Leisure Press, 1976): 168-182; Kruger, "Fair Play for American Athletes: A Study in Anti-Semitism," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education* 9 (May, 1978): 42-57; Carolyn Marvin, "Avery Brundage and American Participation in the 1936 Olympics," *Journal of American Studies* 16 (April, 1982): 81-106.

8. In March 1935 a Gallup poll indicated that 43% of the American public was opposed to American participation in the 1936 Olympics. See Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 72. A vocal opposition led by Amateur Athletic Union President Jeremiah Mahoney lobbied for American withdrawal from the festival. In a very close vote, the A.A.U. opted to support the A.O.C. (and American participation) in December 1935. Brundage was responsible for gathering critical votes prior to the convention vote. Under normal circumstances, the support of the A.A.U. was required as the organization certified the amateur status of American Olympians. However, Brundage had reached an unprecedented agreement with I.O.C. President Henri Baillet-Latour which made A.A.U. support unnecessary in a technical sense. Baillet-Latour assured Brundage that the I.O.C. would accept all U.S. eligibility forms without A.A.U. authorization. See Baillet-Latour to Brundage, November, 17, 1935, A.B.C. Box 42. The support of the A.A.U. was important because of the moral and financial support that the organization provided. See *New York Times*, September 28, 1934.

9. See for instance, Avery Brundage, "The Olympic Games and the Question of Broken Time," (1947) A.B.C. Box 102, 1-3. For a perceptive literary treatment of Brundage's beliefs, see Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 110-131; see also John Lucas, "From Coubertin to Samaranch: The Unsettling Transformation of the Olympic Ideology of Amateurism," *Studion* 14(1), 1988, 69-71.

10. Brundage, "The Olympic Games and the Question of Broken Time," 3.

from Europe. She had been presented with a car by her hometown government. The acceptance of the car violated Rule 3 of the Olympic amateurism code which stated that amateur athletes could not accept gifts, money, or advantages of a material character. Recognizing a trend in figure skating, Brundage expressed his displeasure that the Olympic Games had been gradually reduced to a "stepping stone" on the journey to professionalism. His reference point was Sonja Henie, whose post-Olympic career included financially lucrative involvement in professional figure skating and film making. Brundage did not wish to witness a similar betrayal of Olympic values.¹¹ Brundage admitted that the situation was difficult to control; however, he asserted that such incidents served to disrupt the peaceful sleep of the movement's founder, Pierre de Coubertin. In a matter-of-fact manner, Brundage concluded that:

Miss Scott, by accepting the automobile, has violated the Olympic rules and made herself unacceptable for Olympic competition.

However, Brundage added that:

I venture to say that neither she nor her admirers knows that there is such a regulation. This is another reason why we must expand our work so that the general public will be properly informed.¹²

Brundage's motivation in raising the subject with Edström appeared to be threefold: He perceived a problem in amateur figure skating and desired to avoid a repetition of the Sonja Henie saga; he believed that there had been an affront to Olympic idealism with respect to the violation of the amateur code; and he saw the need for increased dissemination of Olympic and amateur sport values to the general public.

A fourth factor may have influenced Brundage's desire to interfere in Scott's career. Brundage grudgingly accepted women's participation in the Games. However, further reflection reveals that his feelings toward women's participation was not a factor which contributed to his decision to contact Edström. According to Allen Guttman's perceptive biography of Brundage, his opposition to their involvement has been exaggerated.¹³ In a more critical evaluation of Brundage's position on women's sport, Mary Leigh stated that one of the women's sports that drew the favor of Brundage was figure skating.¹⁴ In fact, a rapid glance at some of the more notable athletes who suffered amateur status suspensions and/or debarment at the hands of Brundage during his career as a sport administrator is revealing. The cases of Jesse Owens, Eleanor Holm Jarrett, Babe Didrickson, and Karl Schranz indicate that the Brundage "Wall of Shame" was painted with an even brush in regard to gender and sport.¹⁵

11. Brundage to Edström, April 12, 1947, A.B.C. Box 42. For Brundage's opinion of Henie's post-Olympic career see Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 58.

12. Ibid. In the letter Brundage drew a parallel between figure skating and ice hockey. According to Brundage, both sports were conducted in arenas owned by individuals whose sole motive was one of profit.

13. Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 108, 195-196.

14. Mary Leigh, "The Enigma of Avery Brundage and Women Athletes," *Arena Review* 4(2), 1980, 16.

15. Babe Didrickson was suspended after the 1932 Olympics for allowing her photograph to be used in an automobile advertisement. Holm Jarrett was suspended from competition prior to the 1936 Berlin Olympics for misconduct during the U. S. team's voyage from New York to Europe. Following the Berlin Games, Owens was

The tone of Brundage's statement that Scott had disqualified herself from future Olympic competition was admittedly serious. However, Edström's follow-up letter to Canadian I.O.C. representative J. C. Patteson revealed a softer approach which minimized the danger to Scott. Edström obviously paid more attention to Brundage's supposition that it was likely Scott did not realize the transgression of amateur policy. Without mentioning Brundage's involvement, Edström noted the presentation of the convertible to the "fancy skating" champion. He reassured Patteson that, "I fully understand that Barbara Ann Scott is innocent," Edström wrote, "and that it is her leaders that ought to have kept her from these professional tendencies." Nevertheless, he did ask for a report from Patteson.¹⁶

Before Patteson replied, newspapers broke the story on May 6th with the announcement that the Executive Committee of the C.O.A. was scheduled to meet later in the day to consider the Edström inquiry. In a *Toronto Daily Star* article entitled, "Barbara Ann's Car May Bar Her Olympic Chance," Brundage admitted that he was responsible for raising the issue with Edström, and he ominously stated that Scott's action might eliminate her from future competition. The writer wryly observed that his phone call to California, which had as its intent the confirmation of Brundage's complicity in the affair, interrupted a game of "amateur" golf.¹⁷ The manner in which Brundage's involvement became known to the media remains a mystery, one that caused Brundage a good deal of consternation.

Brundage was agitated by the fact that his private missive to Edström, or simply the message contained therein, had fallen into the hands of the Canadian media. He assumed that Edström had informed the Canadian press. On May 8th, Brundage hurriedly queried Edström:

What on earth did you tell the Canadians about their champion figure skater? I have been out here in California for a few days . . . and every day I have had several long distance calls from Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, and other Canadian cities. The newspapers are blaming me for disqualifying their national heroine . . . Why I have been dragged into it, I do not know.¹⁸

In light-hearted fashion, Edström admitted to having had one of the "best laughs" of his life when he read about his colleague's distress. He assured Brundage that he had not supplied the Canadian reporters with any information pertaining to Brundage's involvement. He attributed Brundage's problem to an article that he had published recently on the topic of the Olympic Games and broken time.¹⁹ Not satisfied, Brundage pressed Edström in a follow-up letter

dispatched from the amateur ranks for refusing to accompany A.A.U. sponsored athletes to a number of Scandinavian meets. Austrian skier Karl Schranz was not permitted to participate in the 1972 Munich Olympics because of his endorsement contracts with ski equipment manufacturers. See Andrew Strenk, "Amateurism: The Myth and the Reality," in Jeffrey O. Seagrave and Donald Chu, eds., *The Olympic Games in Transition* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1988), 303-327.

16. Edström to Patteson, April 18, 1947, *OEC*, May 17, 1947.

17. *Toronto Daily Star*, May 6, 1947 (hereafter cited as *TDS*).

18. Brundage to Edström, May 8, 1947, *A.B.C.* Box 42. For a further indication of his frustration see, Brundage to Nelson C. Hart (Canadian Olympic Association Hon. Secretary), May 15, 1947, *A.B.C.* Box 119.

19. Edström to Brundage, May 12, 1947, *A.B.C.* Box 42.

with the question, "I would like to know who had the bad taste and poor judgment to release our private correspondence to the newspapers." He revealed his continued frustration in a third letter directed to Edström in which he complained he was still receiving many "scurrilous" letters from Canadians.²⁰

It is important to note Brundage had been informed by the reporter that the acceptance of the automobile had been approved by Canadian amateur authorities²¹ Even at the onset of the furor Brundage commented that these "extenuating circumstances" should clear Scott of any wrongdoing. He cautioned that the decision was not his to make, but rather the responsibility belonged to the I.O.C. Executive Board.²² Still, the situation appeared settled as the President and Vice-President of the I.O.C. were agreed that the Canadian sport leaders involved in approving the acceptance of the gift were at fault.

The C.O. A. Executive Board had determined that acceptance of the gift was a violation of the Olympic rules, and that Scott had been advised of the results of the deliberation. The skater was also advised that her amateur status was being questioned because of reports that she had both considered a career in Hollywood films and had accepted gifts of jewelry. Scott denied any truth in the latter two charges while announcing that she would relinquish the car in order to pursue her Olympic dream.²³ The jewelry and movie contract issues faded from the sport pages. The need for Barbara Ann to return the car did not go away as the Canadian press perceived that a popular athlete was being unduly punished. Barbara Ann Scott had captured the Canadian Ladies Singles Championship in 1944, 1945, and 1946. Her victory in the 1947 World Figure Skating Championships had been the first by a non-European. It has been suggested that Canada's brief period of notable Olympic success occurred over a ten year span extending from the mid-twenties to the mid-thirties.²⁴ Her triumphs in the late 1940s were especially significant as the country was striving to find an interna-

20. See Brundage to Edström, May 15, 1947; Brundage to Edström, May 20, 1947, *A.B.C.* Box 42. Brundage did receive letters from a number of Canadian citizens whose opinions mirrored those of the journalists. Morris Runick (Toronto) informed Brundage that, "of all the stupid, thoughtless, and unwarranted acts that have occurred in the world of amateur sport yours-by far-takes the cake." Morris Runick to Brundage, May 7, 1947, *A.B.C.* Box 37. An angry letter was addressed to Brundage by a person who signed the letter "A Thousand Canadians." He/she asked Brundage, "why don't you clean your own house first. Why a country were [sic] people change husbands like a coat of paint sure has nerve to look at other countries to clean. I guess it is like a sport to them. I'll say this much, if anything should happen to Miss Scott I hope it bothers you for the rest of your short life and I do hope it will be a short one in the sports field. "A Thousand Canadians" to Brundage, May 7, 1947, *A.B.C.* Box 37. C.J. Elston told Brundage that he had "reached a new low in sportsmanship." C.J. Elston to Brundage, May 7, 1947, *A.B.C.* Box 37. Elston signed his letter on behalf of 12 million Canadians. Throughout the shelling someone in Brundage's office attempted to maintain a sense of humor. Elston's letter had been written on hotel stationery (The General Brock, Niagara Falls). An individual with the initials FMB (?) speculated that, "Elston is probably one of the hotel lobby seat warmers using their stationery." Unsigned note, May 12, 1947, *A.B.C.* Box 37.

21. *TDS*, May 6, 1947. The presentation had been approved by the A.A.U. regional branch (Eastern Ontario) and the Canadian figure Skating Association. See also *OEC*, May 7, 1947.

22. *TDS*, May 6, 1947.

23. *London Free Press*, May 6, 1947 (hereafter cited as *LFP*). Scott returned the car on May 12th. See *OEC*, May 12, 1947. After the St. Moritz Olympics (1948), Mayor Lewis presented the car to Scott (she had turned professional). The car had been re-painted (blue), and the license plate (47UI) had been altered (48UI). See Barbara Ann Scott, *Skate With Me* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1950), 66.

24. Barbara Schrodt, "Changes in the Governace of Amateur Sport in Canada," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 14 (May, 1983): 4.

tionally successful sport figure. Scott's own words penned in her 1950 autobiography provide an ample indication of her popularity after the 1947 victory:

I visited many Canadian cities. In some of the cities the anti-noise ordinances were suspended and everyone seemed bent on taking full advantage of this suspension. I have been given the keys to six cities; life memberships in six skating clubs and two flying clubs; a gold key to the Sick Children's Hospital, Toronto; the Canadian Government Gold Medal and the Lieutenant Governor's Medal, Ontario . . .²⁵

Scott was also the first woman to have been given the key to the Toronto Men's Press Club, and an official reception in the Ontario Legislature.²⁶ Similar to her sport accomplishments, Scott's charity work for the Red Cross and various Veteran's hospitals was admired. Beyond her athletic talent, Don Morrow has noted that the Canadian press was fixated on Scott's career because of its perception of her as the symbol of the ideal Canadian female in the years following the Second World War.²⁷ In respect to Brundage's action, Ivan Miller of the *Hamilton Spectator* remarked that, "All Canada, it appears is up in arms over the controversy involving Ottawa's Barbara Ann Scott and rightly so."²⁸ The issue was truly a national one in scope, a nationalistic concern.

The nebulous nature of the term nationalism may defy the establishment of a standard definition,²⁹ but the Scott affair was important because of Canadian nationalism. The definition of nationalism proposed by Lloyd Fallers merits attention, for he referred to nationalism as "an ideological commitment to the pursuit of the unity, independence, and interests of a people who conceive of themselves as forming a community."³⁰ In the minds of Canadians, specifically those of the sport journalists, Barbara Ann Scott belonged to the country; she was first a Canadian.

Brundage's action represented a challenge to the character of a national heroine and one of the most popular Canadian athletes in the years immediately following the Second World War. Canadian sport administrators had approved the acceptance of the gift, and the journalists believed that Canada's right to self-determination in the case was being questioned. The sport journalists desired to proclaim Canada's independence from outside administrative domination, especially from officials from the nation to the south.

Canadian sport journalists universally believed that Brundage had interfered in a matter removed from his jurisdiction. The opinion was shared by Andy Lytle (*Toronto Daily Star*), Jack Park (*London Free Press*), Elmer Ferguson (*Montreal Herald*), Britt Jessup (*North Bay Nugget*), and Alf Cottrell

25. Barbara Ann Scott, *Skate With Me*, 62.

26. Don Morrow, "Sweetheart Sport," 43.

27. *Ibid.*

28. For Miller's quote see *OEC*, May 8, 1947.

29. Boyd C. Shafer, *Nationalism: Myth and Reality* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955), 3-11.

30. See Fallers cited in Leonard W. Doob, *Patriotism and Nationalism: Their Psychological Foundations* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 4.

(*Vancouver Sun*).³¹ These writers agreed that the C.O. A. had displayed little leadership in the incident, and its "backbone" was questioned. Ferguson was miffed that the C.O.A. had knuckled under to the dictum of Brundage, relative to the car, and to the I.O.C. He felt that the C.O.A. should have told, "Mr. Brundage to go jump in the lake twice and come up once, and [stood] up for the rights of the most popular gal in these Dominions."³² Lytle expressed his disdain for "the grovelling acceptance of the Canadian fuddy-duddies."³³ The *Citizen* reported that Mayor Lewis was so disgusted that he had called for a Federal Inquiry into the administrative structure and personnel of the C.O.A.³⁴ The reporters failed to accept the fact that all athletes regardless of nationality were bound by the rules of the I.O.C., rules which they found to be archaic. Interestingly, the nationalistic reaction of the Canadian press can be analyzed on a second level.

A common thread throughout the controversy was the resentment felt at being told how to conduct Canadian affairs by an American. A noticeable anti-American theme marked Canadian journalists' treatment of the issue.³⁵ A possible explanation for this observation may be gleaned from an examination of the post-war period.

In the latter decades of the 19th century Canadians had been wary of the American threat of annexation. However, American adherence to a policy of isolationism in the 1920s and 1930s resulted in the abatement of much of the latent antagonism Canadians harbored toward the United States based on the disparity in the population and power of the two countries.³⁶ The 1940s marked a period of time in which Canada's axis of alignment regarding economic and military affairs continued to move from an East-West orientation (Great Britain) to more of a North-South configuration (U.S.A.). The U.S. -Canada signing of the Ogdensburg Agreement in 1940, coordinating North American military defense, was an important factor which contributed to the process.³⁷

Canadians emerged from the Second World War with the belief that the country had attained the status of a sovereign nation.³⁸ The country's delayed

31. See *TDS*, May 7, 1947; Park and Jessup quoted in *OEC*, May 8, 1947; *Montreal Herald*, May 8, 1947 (hereafter cited as *MH*); *Vancouver Sun*, May 10, 1947 (hereafter cited as *VS*). All articles from *MH* and *VS* found in *A.B.C. Box 37*.

32. *MH*, May 7, 1947.

33. *TDS*, May 7, 1947.

34. *OEC*, May 15, 1947.

35. This episode was not the first appearance of an anti-American theme in Canadian journalists' treatment of an Olympic issue. A recent study by Morrow indicated that Canadian reporting on the 1908 and 1928 Olympics was marked by a trend of anti-Americanism. Issues of concern to the journalists were the frequency of American protests (1908) and the emphasis placed on winning by the American contingent (1908 and 1928). See Don Morrow, "Newspapers: Selected Aspects of Canadian Sport Journalism and the Olympics," in Roger Jackson and Thomas McPhail, eds., *The Olympic Movement and the Mass Media: Past, Present and Future Issues* (Calgary: Hurford Enterprises, 1989), 2:15-19.

36. Gerald Clark, *Canada: The Uneasy Neighbor* (New York: David McKay Company Inc., 1965), 62. For a discussion of the threat of annexation, see J.A. Lower, *A Nation Developing-A Brief History of Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1970), 105-108; George F.G. Stanley, "The 1870's," in J.M.S. Careless and R. Craig Brown, eds., *The Canadians 1867-1967* (Toronto: McMillan of Canada, 1967), 45-46.

37. Lower, *A Nation Developing*, 200. This agreement outlined the structure of a Permanent Joint Board on Defence that would guarantee the co-ordination of North American defence. See also Donald Creighton, *Towards the Discovery of Canada-Selected Essays* (Toronto: McMillan of Canada, 1972), 274.

38. Donald Creighton, *The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 128.

declaration of war on Germany in September 1939 had symbolized the lessening of direct ties to Great Britain (Canada declared war on Germany one week following Britain's declaration). Canadians believed that it was important to remove the remaining "emblems of colonialism." The Canadian Parliament moved toward the creation of a new national flag and a change in the definition of Canadian citizenship.³⁹ Yet, in the immediate post-war years, some politicians and diplomats realized that Canada had merely exchanged its close Commonwealth ties for a position of expanding military and economic dependence upon the United States. Prime Minister Mackenzie King privately observed that American defense initiatives with respect to Canada's north belied a long-range desire to absorb the country. Canada's first native-born Governor General, Vincent Massey, bitterly reflected that Americans did not recognize the importance of Canadians' regard for their sovereignty. He observed that Americans in the 1940s "did not take us seriously as a nation. Canadians were looked upon by Americans as a lot of Eskimos." Massey asserted the perception had led Americans to believe that Canadians were weak and could be made to accept U.S. dictates with little opposition.⁴⁰

The latter part of the decade witnessed a re-entrenchment of the Canadian belief in resisting American influence. The re-emergence of Canada's vigilance in protecting against American influence was due, in part, to the world power status that the U. S. had attained by the conclusion of the Second World War. For many Canadians, the United States "still trailed an aura of manifest destiny."⁴¹ In his book, *Canada: The Uneasy Neighbor*, Clark has stated that Canada's "vestigial 'colonial' reflex flared up again . . . By old habit it reacts sharply against anything American that resembles pressure or intervention or even gentle coercion."⁴² The desire to resist U.S. influence was a major theme throughout the Scott controversy.

Canadian journalists viewed the adherence to pure amateurism in the United States with a jaundiced eye. The writers focused on the perceived hypocrisy of Brundage's action as U.S. Olympic athletes were well funded through college scholarships. Others noted the comparative luxury enjoyed by U.S. competitors during their stay at previous Olympic Games sites. Former Canadian Olympian and then journalist, Myrtle Cook observed that gifts were freely distributed to U.S. athletes. When Scott (and her mother) suggested that the Americans might have desired to oust her from the upcoming St. Moritz Games,⁴³ the scribes immediately claimed foul play based on ulterior motive.

39. Ibid., 128-129. Parliament did not succeed in establishing a new flag as English-Canadians and French-Canadians could not agree on the design. French-Canadians did not want the Union Jack included in the new flag. French-Canadians were not satisfied with the Canadian Citizenship Bill (1946) which maintained that a Canadian citizen was a British subject. See Creighton, *The Forked Road*, 129-131.

40. Ibid., 137-138. The changing relationship between Canada and the United States at this time was not an isolated occurrence. The role of the United States in the world after the Second World War also led to altered relationships between the United States and countries such as Britain, China, and European nations. John W. Holmes, *The Shaping of Peace: Canada and the Search for World Order 1943-1957* Volume 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 159.

41. Holmes, *The Shaping of Peace*, 160.

42. Clark, *Canada: The Uneasy Neighbor*, 62.

43. For college scholarships, see *MH*, May 8, 1947; *Ottawa Journal*, May 10, 1947 (hereafter cited as *OJ*)

Canadian journalists declared that Brundage's action was an element of a conspiracy to enhance the gold medal chances of U.S. skater Gretchen Merrill, one of Scott's rivals. W.M. Gladish of the *Citizen* openly questioned whether Brundage's effort had been motivated by a desire to "clear a path" for the American. Gladish believed that if Scott was ruled a professional, all those who had competed against her at the recent North American Skating Championships (post-car presentation) would necessarily be deemed professional athletes. Indirectly, Gladish hinted that the publicized injury which had prevented Merrill from participating in the competition had been a fraud.⁴⁴ The insinuation was that Brundage's action had been carefully considered and timed. The *Citizen* quoted Allen M. Hern of the A.A.U. Eastern Ontario Branch who echoed the sentiment. He stated that the deed warranted some suspicion, "I personally fail to understand Brundage's move. It almost looks as if he's decided that if the Americans can't win in the competition, they'll win some other way."⁴⁵ This claim, while exaggerated, is historically consistent with the intense interest that Canadian sport enthusiasts have focused on the country's international caliber athletes who were competitive with U.S. rivals.

Invariably intertwined with the anti-American sentiment was the fact that Avery Brundage, the amateur watchdog, was responsible for Scott's difficulties. Brundage's reputation preceded him in Canada, and journalists reminded their readers of his involvement in the Eleanor Holm Jarrett case.⁴⁶ In 1936, while en route to the Berlin Olympics (aboard the S.S. Manhattan), Holm Jarrett was discovered in repeated violation of curfew and drinking regulations. Despite the fact that she was the overwhelming favorite to capture the gold medal in the 100m backstroke, Brundage summarily dismissed her from the team. *The Toronto Daily Star* charged that he had callously ignored the pleas for reinstatement made by U.S. O.C. President Emeritus Graeme Hammond, track and field coach Lawson Robertson, and 220 members of the U.S. Olympic team.⁴⁷ Mere weeks before the outbreak of the Scott controversy, Brundage had suspended U.S. amateur tennis players Sarah Palfrey Cooke and Pauline Betz when they admitted that they were considering professional careers.⁴⁸ The press firmly established precedent for Brundage's involvement in the case.

The vitriolic nature of the journalists' assessment of Brundage's character

For U.S. accommodations at previous Olympic festivals, see *TDS*, May 7, 1947. For the comments of Myrtle Cook, see *Montreal Daily Star*, May 7, 1947. For Scott's assertion, see *LFP*, May 6-7, 1947; *TDS*, May 8, 1947.

44. *OEC*, May 8, 1947. In respect to Brundage's secret agenda, Laurie Brian of the *Galt Reporter* observed that the incident "smacks of nothing but jealousy on the part of the U.S. Olympic Committee President." George Carver of the *Belleville Ontario Intelligencer* stated that Brundage was "seeking an easy way for a U.S. figure skating championship." *Toronto Telegram* reporter Ted Reeve publicly advised Scott that she should "tell Mr. Brundage and any American skater he is steering toward the Olympic games to keep the duck-pond championship of 1948 and the set of icicles that go to the winnah . . ." All aforementioned quotes are cited in this issue of the *OEC*.

45. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1947.

46. *LFP*, May 8, 1947; *OEC*, May 6, 1947; *OJ*, May 6-7, 1947; *Globe and Mail*, May 7, 1947 (hereafter cited as GM).

47. *TDS*, May 6, 1947.

48. *LFP*, May 8, 1947; *OJ*, May 7, 1947.

warrants closer scrutiny. The writers were critical of the “underhanded” manner in which he dealt with the issue. Elmer Ferguson of the *Montreal Herald* delved into the historical record when he exclaimed that Brundage “has a long record of asinine antics of which this latest is the most ridiculous.”⁴⁹ During the fray, Canadian journalists relished the idea of criticizing the American. A partial list of the less than gracious names and phrases used to describe Brundage follows:

sly,	conniving,
acorn,	rulebook thumper,
sanctimonious snob,	Badger Brundage,
Avery Umbrage,	kook,
Avery the Pure,	High Priest of the U.S. Badgers,
interloper,	Fussbudget Brundage. ⁵⁰

In perhaps the most cynical appraisal of Brundage, Ferguson described the U.S .O.C. President as a “professional snoop and busy-body, with a mind that must have been caught in its infancy between two street car”⁵⁰

In addition to their vitriolic attitude toward Brundage as a person, Canadian journalists also revealed their frustration in regard to contemporary amateur policy. Many perceived that Brundage’s views were out of step with reality. Bill Dane of the *Owen Sound Sun-Times* broached the opinion that if “pure” amateurs exclusively competed at the Olympics, the level of athletic achievement would approach mediocrity.⁵² The newspaper fraternity was bewildered by Brundage’s action in light of previous presentations to other Canadian Olympians. Percy Williams, Ethel Catherwood, and Fanny Rosenfeld had received gifts following Olympic competition victories in the 1920s.⁵³ These revelations heightened speculation that Brundage had a secret agenda, and resulted in Ferguson labelling the pre-World War II years as the B. B. , before the Brundage era.⁵⁴ The re-entrenchment of amateur policy that Brundage sought following the war caught the Canadian media off-guard.⁵⁵ This occurrence was a result of the apparent increasingly liberal interpretation of amateur rules pertaining to gift presentation in Canada during the two previous decades.

A number of Canadian journalists remarked that the incident encapsulated

49. *MH*, May 7, 1947.

50. See *LFP*, May 8, 1947; *MH*, May 7-8, 1947; *OEC*, May 8, 1947; *OJ*, May 9, 1947; *GM*, May 7, 1947; *VS*, May 10, 1947.

51. *MH*, May 8, 1947.

52. Dane quoted in the *OEC*, May 8, 1947.

53. *OEC*, May 7-8, 1947; *TDS*, May 6, 1947; *VS*, May 14, 1947. Following the 1928 Olympics, Percy Williams, who captured the gold medal in the 100m and 200m sprints, received a car. He was also given silverware and an educational trust fund valued at \$17,500.

54. *MH*, May 7, 1947. Ferguson noted that this period extended back in time to ancient Greece. He noted that ancient athletes had been showered with gifts by officials of their city states.

55. At the time Brundage was extremely involved in the broken time question. He was opposed to the payment of athletes the wages that they lost while competing at the Olympic Games. See Guttman, *The Games Must Go On*, 128-129.

the counter-productive nature of the Olympic movement. Rather than fostering the international good will and harmony that Coubertin had envisioned, some writers claimed that the Games had been an embarrassing failure. The discord resulting from the Games was due, in part, to the individuals who conducted the Games. Their affluent socioeconomic positions were noted, and Brundage himself was referred to as a "wealthy Chicagoan." Harry Eisen of the *London Free Press* suggested that nothing of a positive nature would result from the Games if people like Brundage remained at the helm of the movement, concluding that "the good will that came out of these affairs could have been put into a hollow acorn with a heck of a lot of room to spare."⁵⁶ Jim Coleman of the *Globe and Mail* dropped the gloves when he attacked Brundage and other caretakers of the Olympic Games. Totally disgusted with the hypocrisy of Brundage's action, Coleman claimed that:

the gentlemen who conduct the Olympic Games often have the faces and manners of honest men and the guile of rattlesnakes. Before shaking hands with an Olympic Games official, it is advisable to have him frisked to see if he is carrying a concealed stiletto or a vial of strychnine.⁵⁷

In May 1947, Canadians rallied around Barbara Ann Scott. Even Prime Minister MacKenzie King became involved when he asked I.O.C. representative J. C. Patteson to safeguard Scott's interests.⁵⁸ Although the incident served to unify the populace, bitter feelings were engendered between the C.O.A. and its parent organization, the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada. In March, the C.O.A. had waived responsibility for determining the legality of the Scott's acceptance of the car according to amateur rules.⁵⁹ Following the publication of the Edström inquiry, C.O.A. President Sidney Dawes publicly criticized the A.A.U. of C. decision to permit the acceptance of the car. Dawes' action angered members of the A.A.U. of C.⁶⁰ They logically noted that the C.O.A. could have acted on the matter in March. It could be argued that the incident contributed to the tension between the two organizations which resulted in the C.O.A.'s achievement of independent status in 1948.⁶¹

Avery Brundage had grown accustomed to the media's criticism of his views and amateur sport leadership in the United States. In respect to the Scott incident, Brundage was astounded by the reaction of the Canadian press. He

56. *LFP*, May 8, 1947. The "wealthy Chicagoan" label had been coined by Andy Lytle of the *TDS*. See *TDS*, May 7, 1947.

57. *GM*, May 7, 1947.

58. *LFP*, May 8, 1947.

59. *OEC*, May 8, 1947.

60. *Montreal Gazette*, May 8, 1947 (*A.B.C.* Box 37). Anger was revealed in *OEC*, May 8, 1947.

61. This organizational split has been studied. See Stephen R. Wenn, "A Call to Arms: A. Sidney Dawes' Campaign for C.O.A. Independence," *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* 21 (December, 1990): 33-46. The A.A.U. of C. had been the parent organization of the C.O.A. since the latter organization's inception. The major reason for the split was financial. Sidney Dawes campaigned for an independent C.O.A. because he believed that such a body would be in line for greater government support. Curiously, the guest speaker at the 1948 A.A.U. of C. meeting (where separation was finalized) was Avery Brundage. He received a cool reception from many of the A.A.U. of C. members. Former A.A.U. of C. members interviewed for the article indicated that a portion of the A.A.U. of C. membership was relieved to sever its tie with the C.O.A. The A.A.U. of C. had opposed a number of previous separation attempts (1936, 1937, 1946, 1947).

accurately-maintained that he had not lodged an official complaint, and that his views had been expressed in a private communication. He informed C.O.A. member Dr. A. S. Lamb that his purpose in writing Edström was simply to express an opinion that the conduct of Winter Sports required review.⁶²

Brundage's method of handling the media has been described as confrontational.⁶³ His initial statements to the Canadian media support this observation. Although Brundage believed that Scott was unaware of the amateur rule regarding gifts, his exclamation that the skater might well be eliminated from the 1948 Olympics served to enflame the antagonism toward him. At the outset of the furor, Gretchen Merrill's name was mentioned to Brundage in respect to her participation in an RKO movie, an action which should have resulted in her suspension from the amateur ranks. Brundage sparred with the Canadian reporter by asking, "Is she another Canadian?"⁶⁴ Outwardly relaxed, Brundage was scathing in his evaluation of the Canadian media, observing privately that "the jackals of the Press in Canada are as vicious as their brothers on this side of the line."⁶⁵

Three years later, in a curious twist, Scott thanked Brundage for raising the issue of the car presentation. Scott said that Brundage's action had allowed her the time necessary to clear herself of professional charges before the St. Moritz Games at which she emerged as the Olympic champion.⁶⁶ In 1947, a U.S. journalist had correctly noted that if Brundage had desired to eliminate Scott from the Games he would have delayed writing the letter to Edström.⁶⁷ However, Canadian journalists did not appear to be interested in defending Brundage's action.

The issue was reduced to the necessity of relinquishing the ownership of the yellow phaeton. Scott's popularity and the negative bias of the Canadian press toward the Olympics and its amateur policy have been identified as two reasons for the reaction of the journalists. Yet, more importantly Brundage's nationality and an anti-American theme pervaded the thoughts of Canadian journalists. There were no lengthy diatribes in the papers portraying an anti-Swedish sentiment relative to I.O.C. President Edström. Edström, the individual who decided to pursue the issue, escaped the personal criticism that Brundage encountered. In the event that an American other than Brundage had raised the issue, the anti-American theme of many of the articles would have remained.

The feeling of disgust experienced by the Canadian journalists was exacerbated because the American involved was Avery Brundage. The limited threat to Scott's amateur status probably did not warrant such a savage attack,

62. Brundage to Dr. A. S. Lamb, May 10, 1947, A.B.C. Box 119.

63. Conversation with Maynard Brichford (Archivist and compiler of the *Avery Brundage Collection*, University of Illinois [Champaign-Urbana]), May, 1988, Clemson, South Carolina.

64. *TDS*, May 6, 1947.

65. Brundage to Sidney Dawes, May 16, 1947, A.B.C. Box 53.

66. Scott, *Skate With Me*, 66.

67. See comments of H.G. Salsinger, *Detroit News*, May 28, 1947, A.B.C. Box 37.

however, it is apparent that Brundage's past involvement in amateur athletics contributed greatly to the vituperative nature of the journalists' assessment of his involvement in the Scott scenario. The breadth of Brundage's shoulders and his ability to deal with journalists' criticism soon would be tested when he began his two decade term of office as I.O.C. President. By then, Barbara Ann Scott's auto was well worn and her professional career had been established.