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# Coubertin's Olympic Quest:

## His Educational Campaign in America

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Dietrich Quanz's article, "Civic Pacifism and Sports-Based Internationalism: Framework For The Founding of The International Olympic Committee" appears in Volume II of *Olympika* (1993).<sup>1</sup> In this article Quanz offers a new explanation of Pierre de Coubertin's noble inspiration to revive the Olympic Games. According to Quanz's thesis, Coubertin's motivation to re-establish the modern Olympic Games was drawn from his commitment to emerging internationalism emerging near the end of the 19th Century, particularly with regard to his personal contacts with the members and events of the evolving Peace Movement.<sup>2</sup> Besides noting that Coubertin was impressed by the international flavor offered by World's Fairs, Quanz hypothesized that Coubertin, as a progressively-minded educator, was strongly influenced by the pacifists' idea to achieve a better transnational understanding by educating the youth of the world to think and act in less nationalistic ways. Thus, as Quanz postulated, Coubertin's inspiration to revive the Olympic Games was motivated, in part, by an educational plan whereby young men of different nations might interact and develop mutual respect. By learning more about foreign civilizations whose representatives met as athletes or spectators at Olympic Games, prejudices and misunderstandings might be diminished.

How close Quanz's vision of Coubertin's inspiration can be connected with a central educational idea of the International Peace Movement remains open to argument. Nevertheless, there does seem to be a connection between Coubertin's motivation and subsequent action and at least one important resolution of the Third International Peace Congress in Rome in 1891. At the Rome Congress, an important recommendation was made (ultimately endorsed by the Congress), one initiated by the Englishman Hodgson Pratt. Pratt recommended that the teaching of universal his-

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toriography should be supported at European and American universities in order to spread knowledge about foreign nations among students. Pratt also recommended the study of political and social aspects of other nations. As consumers of this historical and social-political education, Pratt identified students as the main recipients, partly because they were relatively free from occupational and political obligations and therefore had the time for reflection of the *affaires étrangères*.<sup>3</sup> As students were to be among the world's future leaders, Pratt regarded the process as an effective means to develop an attitude towards thinking in a less national way.<sup>4</sup> In the proceedings of the World Peace Conference in Rome one can read that the Congress planned to realize the following objectives:

109. Mutual respect and friendliness should be sowed between students of European and American universities.

110. Students should study the progress of civilization by reading universal historiography and by analyzing each nation's contribution to the progress of humankind.<sup>5</sup>

Pratt's scheme, in part, aimed at supporting student exchanges between Europe and America by establishing annual university conferences. An international gathering would afford the students the possibility to become acquainted with the culture of foreign nations. Artistic, sporting, and intellectual competitions planned for such educational interchanges would project an informal atmosphere in order to make intercultural learning as easy as possible. We know, through Quanz's research, that Coubertin followed the proceedings of the Rome Congress closely and that he was both an acquaintance and admirer of Hodgson Pratt. Pratt's recommendation to the Congress fit closely with Coubertin's evolving thoughts on sport and emerging internationalism. His plan to organize international athletic competitions for young men of different nations was first announced in 1891 in a speech, "L'athlétisme son rôle, et son histoire," given at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) in Paris. One year later Coubertin made the same suggestion in his speech given on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the Union des Sociétés Françaises de Sport Athlétiques at the Sorbonne. Although the two speeches are almost identical, they differed in one aspect. In the speech at the Sorbonne, Coubertin combined his suggestion to organize international athletic competitions with his proposal to revive the Olympic Games.<sup>6</sup>

By interpreting new documents found in the archives of different American elite universities, as well as in the Library of Congress in Washington and the Public Library of New York City, I pose a thesis that in some ways supports that of Quanz -- that Coubertin's intentions to revive the modern Olympic Games reflected his desires to achieve better transnational understanding among youth, particularly the youth of America and France. In advancing this thesis, I turn to a focus of research that has been but lightly treated in the studies published on Coubertin until now, that focus being Coubertin's educational attempts to heal the academic estrangement between America and the 3rd French Republic.

## Coubertin's Remarks on the Academic Estrangement between France and America

As a keen observer of international politics, Coubertin became aware of the evolving political and cultural estrangement between America and France in the last quarter of the 19th Century. Coubertin viewed the reason for such estrangement as France's failure to have established an academic relationship with the New World. Coubertin complained that his compatriots were solely interested in business relations with America. The endeavours of Quesnay de Beaurepaire, who tried to establish an Academy of Arts and Sciences in Richmond, Virginia in 1786 was described by Coubertin as the only serious attempt by France to contribute to American academic development since the birth of the American nation.<sup>7</sup> In general Coubertin complained that in France – like everywhere in Europe – not much attention was paid to American institutions of higher learning.<sup>8</sup> According to Coubertin, only two of his French compatriots, Jules Simon and Hippolyte Taine, shared his own interest in American universities and their educational goals.<sup>9</sup> Coubertin illustrated his perception of French ignorance of American higher education by describing what Daniel Coit Gilman, founding president of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, told him during a meeting in Paris. When Gilman had attended the centenary celebrations of the University of Montpellier, he related to Coubertin that he had been introduced as Mr. Johns Hopkins. Further, Coubertin learned that French academics shunned knowledge of academic life in America, even rejecting offers to accept chairs in French literature and language at well-known American universities. Coubertin's shame was exacerbated when he learned that German scholars became the recipients of such chairs.<sup>10</sup> The French retreat from academic affairs in America prompted Coubertin to improve the prevailing negative picture of America in the French Republic.

However, Coubertin also observed that American knowledge was limited with respect to France. For this reason, he regarded it necessary to provide academic circles in America with sufficient historical, cultural, and social-political knowledge about European nations.<sup>11</sup> Coubertin assumed that improved knowledge of America by European civilizations might serve as a viable factor in avoiding the rising conflict between the Old and the New Worlds.<sup>12</sup> According to Coubertin, it did not take a prophet to predict that America would intervene more and more in world politics as time passed. He assumed that America would no longer be satisfied with its passive role originally ascribed to it by the imperial powers of Europe. Indeed, Coubertin was right when he claimed that the doctrine of Manifest Destiny – the belief of America in its destiny to extend the experience of federal self-government and democracy to the far comers of the American west – would not cease once the Pacific had been reached. In his lecture "La Philosophie De L'Histoire Des États-Unis," Coubertin described the doctrine of Manifest Destiny not only as the central stimulus for the inner acquisition of land but also for the imperial ambitions of the American republic.<sup>13</sup> In his article "Die Beziehungen zwischen Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert," Coubertin explicitly mentioned the constantly growing aggressiveness of American foreign policy in the last decades of the 19th Century:

I remember having said in a lecture six years ago that in the near future one will quickly [see] a call to arms in Washington. In those days only a few took

this seriously. But in the meantime it seems that I am perfectly right with my opinion.<sup>14</sup>

As a representative of France, Coubertin tried to improve the relationship between his country and America by spreading knowledge of France in the New World. As consumers of his information campaign, he turned to American university students. That is not surprising because, in the course of his studies on American universities, Coubertin had learned that one important goal of American higher education was to develop prospective leaders to aid in America's development into a world power.<sup>15</sup>

### **Coubertin's Medal Campaign in America<sup>16</sup>**

In the course of his second visit to America in 1893,<sup>17</sup> as well as in succeeding years, Coubertin was able to initiate French political themes in the debating societies of Princeton, Tulane, Stanford, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Cornell, and California University (Berkeley). From 1893 onwards Coubertin donated the following medals to the universities noted above:

- (1) French medal instituted in 1893 at Princeton University.
- (2) Carnot medal instituted in 1894 at Tulane University.
- (3) Carnot medal instituted in 1894 at Stanford University and the University of California.
- (4) Tocqueville medal instituted in 1898 at Johns Hopkins University.
- (5) Pasteur medal instituted at Harvard University.
- (6) Victor Hugo medal instituted at Cornell University.<sup>18</sup>

On behalf of Coubertin these medals were awarded to students of the respective universities having demonstrated knowledge of French culture and politics in essays and lectures. My research has produced some knowledge of the individuals and activities surrounding the awarding of the medals. In 1894 J.S. Campbell, a Pennsylvanian studying at Princeton, was awarded the French Medal. He lectured on the political structure of the 3rd French Republic. A year later, another Pennsylvanian, J.C. Sloane, won the French Medal by discussing the question: should the French president be directly elected by popular vote? In 1896 F.W. Loetscher from Iowa was the winner of the French Medal. He was judged the winner of the lecture contest pursuing the question: Would a constitutional or parliamentary-type of government be better for the French Republic?

At Tulane University, students were awarded the Carnot Medal. In 1897 the members of the Tulane debating society discussed the same topic as the Princeton students had in 1896. Whereas for 1897 one cannot record the winner of the debating contest one can do so for 1896. W.A. Dixon won the Carnot Medal in 1896, being judged as the best-informed on French imperial politics. The Carnot Medal was also the prize for a debate between the universities at Berkeley (University of California) and Palo Alto (Stanford). In 1897 S. Sandwick of Stanford won the debate on the presidential crisis of the 3rd Republic, while in the following year Berkeley's C. Flaherty won the medal for his argument on the question of whether administrative cen-

tralization was a disadvantage or advantage for the French Republic.<sup>19</sup> The fact that Coubertin's inspiration for naming the Carnot medal after the French politician S. Carnot, president of the French Republic from 1887 until his assassination in 1894, can be attributed to Carnot's constantly growing interest in supporting an intellectual relationship between America and France. In 1897, Coubertin wrote the following lines about Carnot:

As to President Carnot, of the many topics which he permitted to discuss with me on more than one occasion, none interested him more than the subject of the intellectual relations between the United States and France. And that is why I gave the name of Carnot to the students' annual debate on contemporary French politics which I instituted between the universities of Berkeley and Palo Alto.<sup>20</sup>

A letter written by A. Fortier reveals the information that the Tocqueville Medal was awarded to E. Rouch at Johns Hopkins University in 1900. He wrote the Tocqueville prize-winning essay on French imperial politics.<sup>21</sup> At the present, we know little about the topics discussed and the prizewinners of the Pasteur Medal (Harvard) and the Victor Hugo Medal (Cornell). In fact, there were difficulties surrounding the delivery of the Pasteur Medal to Harvard. The American ambassador in Paris personally sent the Pasteur Medal to the Department of State in Washington, D.C. in 1889, 1899, and 1902. From there the medals were ultimately delivered to Harvard University.<sup>22</sup>



**Fig. 2: Front and back side of the French Medal.<sup>23</sup> Front side: Marianne – the national personification of France. Back side: In the middle of the oak garland one can read the name of the medal and the name of Pierre de Coubertin. Near the top edge of the medal, the name of the Princeton debating society, “American Whig Society,” appears; near the bottom edge, the name of the university, “Princeton University,” is engraved.**

By encouraging American students to study French history and politics, Coubertin did not follow a concept of history confined to the simple listing of dates and inter-

pretations strongly influenced by national subjectivity.<sup>24</sup> Coubertin preferred universal historical studies because they paved the way for a better transnational understanding.

### **Coubertin's Essays in American Literature and the Translated American Edition of His Book, *L' Evolution Française sous la Troisième République***



From 1896 to 1901 Coubertin published a number of articles in American periodicals, including essays in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, *The Century*, and the English/American magazine, *The Fortnightly Review*. Besides detailed information on the genesis of the French Republic and its constitution,<sup>25</sup> Coubertin introduced the American reader to important persons who had strongly influenced the political life of the 3rd French Republic. In his 'American writings' he was not restrained by his own political convictions. Indeed, while he expounded on the lives and works of Republicans like J. Simon,<sup>26</sup> J. Grevy, J. Ferry, S. Carnot,<sup>27</sup> G. Hanotaux,<sup>28</sup> and E. Loubet,<sup>29</sup> he also explored the anti-republican and militaristic endeavours of G. Boulangers<sup>30</sup> and P. Déroulès<sup>31</sup> to overthrow the democratic-republican constitution of France. Coubertin informed his readers that those revolutionary attempts had been no real danger for the 3rd Republic because the republican conviction of most of her citizens and politicians had been very solid.<sup>32</sup>

In his articles, Coubertin tried to give his readers a good overview about the political situation in France. He did not neglect to discuss the political problems and scandals that the French Republic was confronted with from its day of proclamation. Thus, Coubertin mentioned the Wilson Affair by which President Grévy was forced to resign from office. Additionally, Coubertin wrote about the Panama Scandal.<sup>33</sup> The

French company responsible for the construction of the Panama Canal bribed parliamentarians to get permission to use illegal loans to secure further financing for the construction work.<sup>34</sup> And, of course, Coubertin informed his readers about the Dreyfus Affair.<sup>35</sup> In 1894 A. Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the French army, was accused of spying for the German Reich. In a sensational and trumped-up trial proceedings as some proclaimed it to be, Dreyfus was sentenced to imprisonment and discharged from the army.<sup>36</sup> Although Coubertin deeply regretted the political corruption and scandals of the 3rd Republic, he condemned French authors and journalists who magnified the bad state of political affairs in their reports and essays. According to Coubertin, it was due to these exaggerated reports that, in foreign countries, French politicians were often regarded as corrupt and unable to govern the Republic.

However, against the dark side of the French Republic, Coubertin wrote about several national achievements, such as the hosting of the World's Fair in 1900,<sup>37</sup> the successful endeavour to reform the French educational system, and the popularization of athleticism in French schools and universities.<sup>38</sup> Coubertin also described the growing administrative and academic freedom given to French universities since the proclamation of the 3rd Republic. Concerning French higher education, Coubertin also mentioned that students were given more freedom to organize their extracurricular activities. He felt great relief that increased freedom for students was no longer regarded as providing a fertile soil for political agitation, and violence, but rather as a useful means to support their independence.<sup>39</sup>

In his essays on the French Republic, Coubertin not only dealt with domestic affairs but with different aspects of French foreign politics as well. which, according to Coubertin, often had been misinterpreted by other nations. Coubertin tried to explain that the relationship between France and the German Reich was not quite as bad as it generally was portrayed to be. Of course, he admitted that the French-German relationship would always be encumbered by the German annexation of Alsace-Lorraine.<sup>40</sup> But, though the relationship between Germany and France was important for Coubertin, the military convention signed between Russia and France in 1892 was of even more interest. This convention assured that the two nations would support each other in case of a German attack. Whereas in 1896 Coubertin wrote that the French alliance with Russia was very popular in France, he changed his opinion two years later. In his essay, "The Present Problems and Politics of France," Coubertin described the fears of his compatriots over the Russian demand of France for military support for the Czar's imperial designs in East Asia. The French anticipated that if they were obliged to give such support, a conflict with England and its interest in East Asia could not be avoided.<sup>41</sup>

Besides his articles in American literary periodicals, Coubertin laboured to inform academic circles in America about the French Republic through publishing a translation of his book, *L' Evolution Française sous la Troisième République*<sup>42</sup> into English. For the publication of his book in English, Coubertin chose a publishing company in New York. In a letter to Albert Shaw, a well known American journalist and editor of *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Coubertin explained his motivations for translating and publishing his book in English: "I would prefer an exclusively American edition of it because what I want is to make my country better understood in America, and yours better understood in mine."<sup>43</sup>

The same Albert Shaw wrote the preface of the English language version of Cou-

bertin's book. The two men had enjoyed a close relationship.<sup>44</sup> At the beginning of his preface Shaw stressed the educational value of the book for his compatriots by describing it as a well-written learning material about the French Republic. After remarks on Coubertin's aristocratic origin and his attempts to popularize athleticism at French schools and universities, Shaw compared Coubertin's interest in the social and political affairs of the New World with that of Alexis de Tocqueville. Finally, Shaw mentioned Coubertin's medal campaign at American universities and his success in having revived the Modern Olympic Games.<sup>45</sup> Later, Coubertin assisted him in writing a chapter on the French capital in Shaw's later work, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*.<sup>46</sup>

## Conclusion

It is reasonable at this point to theorize that Coubertin did, indeed, follow Hodgson Pratt's recommendation made and ratified at the World Peace Conference in Rome in 1891, that important basic literature on European and American politics, history, and culture should be translated into different languages to make it easier for students to study foreign civilizations. Above all, the students, as the future intellectual elite, should be supplied with sufficient material about the culture of foreign civilizations.<sup>47</sup> Against this background it is not surprising that Coubertin valued highly the historical research specialization of his close friend, William Milligan Sloane, on the history of France.<sup>48</sup> Among Sloane's writings on French history were *The French War and the Revolution*, *The French Revolution and Religious Reform*, and a biography of Napoleon. An indication for the high public standing of these publications in France is that Sloane was honoured with the French decoration *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur*.<sup>49</sup>

Coubertin believed strongly in the educational power of a universal historiography to achieve a better transnational understanding. It is not surprising that he stressed this point in two articles written for *The American Monthly Review of Reviews*. In "Does Cosmopolitan Life Lead to International Friendliness," as well as in "Modern History and Historians in France," he pointed out that studying universal historiography was an important means to build up respect and tolerance towards the culture of other nations. In accordance with representatives of the International Peace Movement, Coubertin regarded these values as a *condicio sine qua non* to build peaceful internationalization.<sup>50</sup>

An affirmation of Coubertin's interest to improve the political relationship between France and America can be used to buttress Quanz's thesis that Coubertin's motivation to revive the modern Olympic Games was based on his deep commitment to the ideas of the international peace movement rising in the fading years of the 19th Century. The Baron's medal campaign at American universities, his articles in American literary publications, and the translation of *L' Evolution Française sous la Troisième République* into English clearly outlines his intention to transfer the resolutions of the World Peace Conference into practical applications. His academic activities to make the culture and history of the 3rd Republic more popular in America underscored his belief in the power of education to achieve a better transnational understanding. Against the background of Coubertin's interest in supporting intercultural learning it is reasonable to claim that Coubertin used athleticism as an educa-

tional means to develop a better understanding among nations. For two reasons it is not surprising that Coubertin turned to athleticism. First, Coubertin became aware that athleticism attracted people worldwide:

From the United States sport has spread throughout Europe: it has gained a firm footing in France, Belgium, Holland, Germany; it is rapidly installing itself in Hungary, Italy, Spain, Switzerland. Upon all rivers glides the light race boat, upon all roads runs the bicycle and football forces an entrance into all collegiate establishments. The same sun in the course of twenty four hours lets its light fall upon a boat race in Australia. a football party in Uruguay, and the carriage of President Kruger on his way to Pretoria, Cape Colony, for the celebration of I know not what great occasion, under the escort of eight bicyclists.<sup>51</sup>

Second, Coubertin thought that the joyful atmosphere of athletic meetings led to positive emotions that made it easier to become closely acquainted with representatives of other nations. Coubertin believed that the world had not yet found a better possibility than international athletic contests to build up mutual respect among the youth of the world.<sup>52</sup>

Although international athletic meetings were established long before Coubertin ever thought about invoking the ancient Olympic Games in modern context.<sup>53</sup> he claimed that those early international athletic meetings lacked continuity and standardized rules. Different opinions about amateur status or competition rules, as he pointed out, were also obstacles for organizing international athletic meetings.<sup>54</sup> By reviving the Olympic Games, Coubertin anticipated an opportunity to overcome such obstacles by regularly celebrating an athletic festival every four years and by developing internationally-valid amateur and competition rules. Coubertin felt that through the re-establishment of the Olympic Games the world wide interest in athleticism could be consolidated and extended, fortified with the power of athleticism to make contributions to an improved transnational understanding. Indeed, he expressed exactly this hope in an American magazine article written shortly after the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896:

Should the institution [Olympic Games] prosper. as I am persuaded, all civilized nations aiding, that it will – it may be a potent, if indirect, factor in securing universal peace. Wars break out because nations misunderstand each other. We shall not have peace until the prejudices which now separate the different races shall have been outlived. To attain this end, what better means than to bring the youth of all countries periodically together for amiable trials of muscular strength and agility.<sup>55</sup>

## Endnotes

1. Dietrich Quanz, "Civic Pacifism and Sports-Based Internationalism: Framework for the Founding of the International Olympic Committee," in *OLYMPIKA. The International Journal of Olympic Studies* II (1993). pp. 1-24. The original Ger-

man version, "Die Gründung des IOC im Horizont von bürgerlichem Pazifismus und sportlichem Internationalismus," appears in Günther Gebauer (ed.), *Die Aktualität der Sportphilosophie. Vorträge der Jahrestagung der Philosophic Society for the Study of Sport in Berlin, 2. – 4- Oktober 1992*. St. Augustin 1993, pp. 191-216.

2. Quanz, p. 11.
3. Hodgson Pratt, "Conference internationale annuelle des représentants des Universités d' Europe et d' Amérique," in Cesare Facelli and Antonio Teso eds., *Troisième Congrès International de la Paix, Rome, 1891*, Rome, 1892, p. 120.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 119.
5. International Peace Bureau (Ed.), *Beschlüsse der acht ersten internationalen Friederlskongresse, 1889-1897*, Bern 1898, p. 26.
6. Quanz, pp. 4 et seq. (and following).
7. Pierre de Coubertin, *Souvenirs d'Amérique et de Grèce*, Paris 1897, p. 73; see also Pierre de Coubertin, "La philosophie de l'histoire des États-Unis," in *Revue Bleue IX*, 4. Juin 1898, pp. 708-715. According to Quesnay de Beaurepaires, the main campus of the Academy should be in Richmond. Other campuses of the Academy should be established in Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia. On these campuses students from Europe and the USA should be taught by French teachers in foreign languages, mathematics, physics, architecture, geography, chemistry, astronomy, botany, and arts. In the end the project could not be realized because of a lack of support. Thomas Jefferson preferred to establish a university under his patronage; cf. P. Bruce, *History of the University in Virginia, 1818 - 1919: The Lengthened Shadow of One Man* Vol. I, (New York, N.Y. 1920), pp. 55 et seq. In opposition to this statement Coubertin argued that Jefferson was one of Quesnay de Beaurepaires's supporters, Coubertin, *Souvenirs . . .*, p. 74.
8. Pierre de Coubertin, "Universités Transatlantiques," in Carl-Diem Institut, *Pierre de Coubertin: Oevres Complètes en sept volumes*, Köln 1977, p. 924.
9. Pierre de Coubertin, "Royalists and Republicans: Notes of a Parisian," in *The Century Magazine LIV* (1897), September, pp. 644 et seq.
10. Coubertin, *Souvenirs . . .*, p. 74.
11. Coubertin: "La philosophie . . .," p. 714.
12. Pierre de Coubertin, "L' Amérique universitaire," in *Cosmopolis V* (1897), Mars, pp. 780 et seq.
13. Coubertin, "La philosophie . . .," p. 708.

14. Pierre de Coubertin, "Die Beziehungen zwischen Europa und den Vereinigten Staaten im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Revue* 23 (1898), pp. 222 et. seq. The translation of the quotation from German into English is mine. Brackets mine.
15. Coubertin, "Die Beziehungen . . .," pp. 227 et seq.
16. An abbreviated paper on Coubertin's medal campaign in America was presented at the 6th Congress of the European Committee for Sport History (September 2001). At that Congress, Professor Emeritus Robert K. Barney of the University of Western Ontario in Canada encouraged me to submit this article to *OLYMPIKA*. I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to him for his encouragement and for his comprehensive editorial efforts and work on the article's English syntax.
17. Coubertin visited the USA in 1889 and 1893; see Allen Guttman, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games* (Champaign-Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1992) p. 13.
18. Pierre de Coubertin to D.C. Gilman, 12 March 1897, Gilman Papers. Johns Hopkins University, Special Collection, Coubertin Folder (Archive Material).
19. UFUA, "L'Union Francaise Des Universités D'Amerique--Rapport Presente A La Seance Solennelle D'Inauguration Tenue A Paris Le 8 Mars 1897," Harvard University Archives, Box 133, Folder 905.
20. Coubertin, "Royalists . . .," p. 654.
21. A. Fortier to Albert Shaw, 11 July 1901, New York Public Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, Box 6, Coubertin Folder.
22. W. Hill to Charles Eliot, 3 November 1898, 11 December 1899, and 23 December 1902, Eliot Papers. Harvard University Archives, Box 133, Folder 905.
23. Albert Shaw, "The Re-Establishment of Olympic Games: How International Sports May Promote Peace Among the Nations," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* 12 (1894).
24. Pierre de Coubertin. "L'Education de la Paix," in *La Réforme Sociale* 7, 9, 1889, pp. 381 et seq.
25. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Government of France and its Recent Changes," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XII (March, 1896), pp. 307 et. seq.
26. Pierre de Coubertin, "Jules Simon," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XIV (October, 1896), pp. 450 et. seq.
27. Coubertin, "The Government . . .," p. 307; Pierre de Coubertin, "France on the Wrong Track," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* 23 (April, 1901),

pp. 447 et. seq.

28. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Chancellor of the French Republic-Gabriel Hantaux," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XV (May, 1897), pp. 545 et. seq.
29. Pierre de Coubertin, "Some Notes on the New French President," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* 19 (April, 1899). As presidents (Grévy, Loubet, Carnot), prime ministers (Simon, Ferry, Loubet), and ministers of foreign affairs (Ferry, Hantaux), these republicans suppressed all radical attempts to restore authoritarian forms of government. Under the presidency of Grévy, the Republic was constitutionally declared as inviolable and members of monarchist dynasties were excluded from becoming president and prime minister. See, Michael Erbe, *Geschichte Frankreich von der Großen bis zur Dritten Republik, 1789-1898*, p. 237.
30. Coubertin, "Chancellor . . .," p. 547. In 1887 Boulanger was discharged as the minister of defense because he publicly demanded mobilization against the German Reich. Before Boulanger could be accused of illegal political agitations he committed suicide in Belgium. See Heinz Siegburg, *Geschichte Frankreichs, Stuttgart / Berlin / Köln, 1995*, p. 353.
31. Coubertin, "Some Notes . . .," p. 426. In February 1899 Déroulèdes assembled militant troops for a coup d'état. But he was arrested before he could fulfill his radical plans. See Georg Craig, *Geschichte Europas. Vom Wiener Kongress bis zur Gegenwart*, München, 1995. p. 266.
32. Coubertin, "The Chancellor. . .," p. 547; Coubertin, "Some Notes . . .," p. 426.
33. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Present Problems and Politics of France," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* 18 (August, 1898) pp. 16 et. seq.
34. Siegburg, *Geschichte. . .*, p. 155.
35. Coubertin, "Present Problems . . .," p. 191.
36. Craig, *Geschichte . . .*, pp. 267 et. seq.
37. Coubertin, "Present Problems . . .," p. 193. See also Pierre de Coubertin, "Building up a World Fair in France," in *The Century Magazine* LVII (November, 1898), pp. 114 et. seq.
38. Coubertin, "Jules Simon . . .," p. 453.
39. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Revival of the French Universities," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XVI (July, 1897), pp. 53 et. seq.
40. Pierre de Coubertin, "A French View of the German Empire," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XXI (February, 1900). See also Pierre de Couber-

- tin, "The Conditions of France – German Peace," in *The Fortnightly Review* LXXXI (January, 1907).
41. Coubertin, "The Present Problems," p. 190. See also, Pierre de Coubertin, "A French View of the British Empire," in *The Fortnightly Review*, LXII (December, 1897); Pierre de Coubertin, "The Possibility of a War between England and France," in *The Fortnightly Review* LXVII (May, 1900) ; and Pierre de Coubertin, "England and France: The Conditions of France-British Peace." in *The Fortnightly Review* LXIX (June, 1901).
  42. Pierre de Coubertin, *L' Evolution Française Sous La Troisième République*, Paris 1896 / Pierre de Coubertin. *The Evolution of France Under The Third Republic*, New York, 1897.
  43. Unfortunately there are only fragments of the letter left. Therefore, some words in the text of the quotation are missing.
  44. Coubertin's personal relationship with Shaw is explored in more detail in my doctoral dissertation. See Stephan Wassong, "Pierre de Coubertin's US-amerikanische Studien und ihre Bedeutung für die Analyse seiner frühen Erziehungskampagne," PhD Dissertation, German Sport University-Köln, 2000.
  45. Albert Shaw, "Introduction," in Pierre de Coubertin, *L' Evolution . . .*, pp. 3 et seq. A short version of this introduction is published in Shaw, "Baron de Coubertin," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XVII (April, 1898), pp. 435 et. seq.
  46. Albert Shaw, *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*, New York, 1900.
  47. International Peace Bureau (Ed.), *Beschlüsse*, p. 26.
  48. Quanz, p. 13.
  49. John A. Lucas, "Professor William Milligan Sloane: Father of the United States Olympic Committee," in Andreas Luh / Edgar Beckers (Eds.), *Umbruch und Kontinuität im Sport - Reflexionen im Umfeld er Sportgeschichte*, Bochum 1991.
  50. Pierre de Coubertin, "Does Cosmopolitan Life Lead to International Friendliness?" in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XVII (April, 1898). p. 431: Pierre de Coubertin, "Modern History and Historians in France," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XX (July, 1899).
  51. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Re-establishment of the Olympic Games," in *The Chautmquan* 9 (1894).
  52. Pierre de Coubertin, *Une Campagne de 21 ans (1887-1908)*, Ratingen, 1974, p. 55.
  53. Since the early 1870s English and American students competed in rowing and

track and field contests against each other, See, for instance, Steven C. Cohen, "More than Fun and Games: A Comparative Study of the Role of Sport in English and American Society at the Turn of the Century," PhD Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1980. In 1869 a sailing competition took place between English vessels and an American sailing crew. This was the first race of the traditional America's cup that is still popular today. See, for instance, Charles D. Lanier, "The World's Sporting Impulse," in *The American Monthly Review of Reviews* XIV (1896), July.

54. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Olympic Games of 1896," in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* XXXI (November, 1896), pp. 50 et seq.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 53.