

# The Olympic Games and Politics, 1896 - 1916

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*A recent example of political interference in sports is Nigerian president Goodluck Jonathan's suspension of the national football team due to its early elimination in this year's FIFA world cup. Jonathan suspended the team from all international competitions for the next two years and only revoked his decision after the FIFA threatened to ban the Nigeria Football Federation.*

*But Nigeria is by far not the only country where football seems to be an issue of utmost political importance. Jean-Pierre Escalettes, then president of the French football federation, and Raymond Domenech, then coach of the national team, had to appear before the parliament to answer for the disastrous appearance in the world cup. The French team left a very bad impression both in terms of performance and the player's behaviour—which included insults directed at the coach and a mutiny during a training session. This was regarded as an embarrassment of the entire French nation. In this case, the FIFA only wagged its finger.*

*The German Chancellor Angela Merkel traveled to South Africa for the quarter-final of Argentina against Germany—the flight alone cost more than 100,000 Euros—and she cheered at each goal like a real fan. Merkel surely knew that her appearance in the stadium would be noted by 75% of the German population and probably wanted to seize the opportunity to share in some of the German team's popularity. She needed to improve her image which had suffered from recent political failures.*

*These are but a few examples that illustrate how politicians use sports to support their agendas and how sports are mixed with politics. There is proof of political interference in sports since the beginnings of organized sports and the Olympic Games are no exception. As I will argue, politics has had a considerable influence on the history of the Olympic Movement.*



## National Olympic Games<sup>1</sup>

The internalization of sports began at a huge economic-political event. Industrialization in Europe and North America, with the invention of the steamboat, the locomotive, electricity and radio communication, made possible the fast and worldwide exportation of ever-increasing quantities of goods. The newest products and inventions were exhibited at great industrial fairs, the World's Fairs. The first of these *World Exhibitions* was held in London in 1851. There was a cultural program and the first international sport competition, the America's Cup sailing regatta. Later, rowing competitions were added.

In order to strengthen Greek national identity after the War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire, Evangelis Zappas wrote a letter to King Otto in 1856 and suggested to revive the Olympic

Games. Zappas had acquired considerable wealth as a businessman in Wallachia (today a part of Romania) and offered to provide the funding.

However, there was opposition to giving much prominence to sports competitions and Rizos Rangavis, the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, convinced Zappas to fund a handicraft and agriculture fair instead. The program would still include sports competitions, but only as a side event. King Otto issued a decree to authorize the organization of the Greek Olympics which were held with moderate success in 1859, 1870, 1875 and 1888/89.

### **Paris, 1894: Founding of the Olympic Movement<sup>2</sup>**

When planning the Congress for the Reestablishment of the Olympic Games, Coubertin had to make the difficult decision of whom to invite. He foresaw difficulties of a German participation since Germany and France were archenemies. Germany had annexed Alsace-Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71. While the French swore "revanche pour Sedan," the Germans remembered their victory on each September 2<sup>nd</sup> and celebrated it as the "Day of Sedan."

During the discussions about the host city for the first Olympiad at the end of the Paris Olympic Congress, Demetrius Vikelas suggested Athens for 1896 and found the approval of the participants. Vikelas then sent a telegram to inform crown prince Constantine about the decision and to ask for his approval. One of the crown prince's adjutants answered: "The Duke of Sparta learned with great pleasure that the first International Olympic Games shall be held in Athens. I can assure you that the King and the Crown Prince will grant their patronage to the celebration of these games."

Coubertin anticipated fierce resistance against his plans for modern Olympic Games. He especially feared the opposition of the German Turner's Association (Deutsche Turnerschaft) and did not invite any representatives of German sports associations. Coubertin would later justify this by claiming that he did not know the addresses of the German sports associations. This was incorrect and his address folder clearly includes the addresses of different German sports associations. When Coubertin more or less admitted in the famous Gil Blas interview of June 16 that he excluded the German associations on purpose, this resulted in a storm of protest by the German Turner press and many nationalistic or patriotic newspapers. Many German Turners were indignant and refused to participate in Olympic Games that were headed by a Frenchman. There was even more criticism when Coubertin evaded the question whether a German IOC member would be appointed. He was also criticized in Greece and IOC President Vikelas quickly appointed the German Willibald Gebhardt as an IOC member.

### **The Prime Minister Resigns<sup>3</sup>**

The news about the decision of the Paris Olympic Congress was met with enthusiasm by the Athens press and the general public. However, there was a certain reservation among the officials. Neither the government nor its dependent permanent committee for the Olympics showed any initiative toward organizing the event because they were unable to secure the funding. Greece was bankrupt due to its high military expenditure and was therefore closely watched by the European banking supervision.

In October 1894, Vikelas travelled to Athens and was granted an audience with Prime Minister Charilaos Trikoupis who forthrightly told him that he would much prefer not to get involved in the games. He asserted that no funding could be provided. Coubertin was informed about the Prime Minister's reservations and asked not to come to Greece. Nevertheless, Coubertin went to Athens in

November. On November 10, he had the chance to inform the Prime Minister in detail about his concept for the games. At this point, Coubertin's estimate of costs was 200,000 gold francs. However, he reduced it to 150,000 in the following weeks taking into consideration the local conditions and a preliminary program. The government still did not support the proposal and merely offered moral support. Coubertin was disappointed and left. He considered organizing the games in Budapest, an idea put forward by the Hungarian IOC member Ferenc Kémeny who suggested that Budapest could host the games during Hungary's 1,000 year anniversary celebrations.

In December, Vikelas travelled to Athens again where he was received by Trikoupis on December 28. Trikoupis once more rejected his plans. However, at this point the government's influence in the matter was declining. In two parliament sessions on November 29 and December 6, 1894, the opposition headed by Theodor Deligiannis had made it their cause to support the games and heavily criticized the government for its inaction. After several members of parliament found out that the preparation committee was about to be dissolved, they intervened with the Crown Prince in order to form a new committee. The Crown Prince now became more involved in the matter and on 10 January 1895 Vikelas could report to Paris that a new committee would be formed. The Trikoupis government stepped down and an interim government was headed by Nikolaos Deligiannis, who was a former ambassador in Paris and one of the 10 members of the *Olympic Council*. On January 27, Vikelas declared that the new committee, chaired by the Crown Prince himself, had begun its work. This committee then developed a successful funding plan with a call for donations, semipostal stamps with sport motifs, and a lottery. Trikoupis went to exile in Cannes where he died on 30 March 1896, the day of the opening of the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens.

### **The German and Hungarian Participation in Athens 1896<sup>4</sup>**

Although the German Turner's Associations repeatedly announced that they would boycott the games, in spite of the fact that the German Turner Associations had only been invited by the Greek organizing committee and not by the IOC, and despite the many attacks against Coubertin in the German press, a relatively large team of German athletes that included a group of gymnasts (turners) finally participated in the games in Athens. The young gymnasts did not mind the ideological reservations of their officials. All they wanted was to win in Athens and to make a nice journey.

Unlike the gymnasts with their national ideology, other athletes had a rather international orientation and developed a special interest in the games. As a matter of fact, the ultimate reason that a German participation was possible was a political one! The president of the organizing committee was Crown Prince Constantine who was married to Princess Sophie, a sister of the German Emperor Wilhelm II. This and his many holidays and spa visits to Germany, probably led to his nickname "the German." Emperor Wilhelm II was very close with his sister. In 1889, he attended her wedding in Greece and after the turn of the century he often spent his holidays on the Greek island of Corfu. On Corfu, he bought the estate *Achilleion* that had belonged to Queen Elisabeth (Sissy) of Austria. A bridge from the estate to the landing place for the Emperor's yacht is still known today as the "Kaiser's Bridge."

The Greek ambassador to Germany, Kleon Rangavis, found in Willibald Gebhardt an athlete to take the initiative and establish a German committee for participation in the games. Prince Philipp Ernst of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, the son of the German Chancellor and Prime Minister of Prussia, Prince Chlodwig of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, became the president of the committee. Duke Albert of Schleswig-Holstein became vice-president. Hence, several members of the high nobility supported German participation.

Gebhardt became secretary of the committee and Prince Philipp Ernst asked his father, the Chancellor, to grant Gebhardt an audience which lasted about an hour. During the meeting, Gebhardt apparently tried to explain the *Gil-Blas-Affair*. The Chancellor assured the committee of his support and informed them about the favorable view of the Emperor: "As a matter of fact, His Majesty has repeatedly expressed a friendly interest in the Olympic Games."<sup>5</sup>

An event was organized in the Kroll Opera House in Berlin to provide funding for the athletes' journey to Athens. The program included a presentation by a group of gymnasts who would later participate in the games against the will of the gymnastics association. Emperor Wilhelm II and his mother Victoria bought many tickets to the event and gave them to young officers.

Hungary, part of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, was dissatisfied with the political situation and supported the participation of a Hungarian team. The Minister of Education Loránd Eötvös instructed IOC member Ferenc Kemény to organize Hungarian participation. The ministry of education granted a budget of 1,000 forint but 3,000 were needed and the clubs had to raise the remaining 2,000 forint by themselves. A committee was formed that would send 13 athletes to the games.

### Le Havre 1897, Berlin 1899, and Paris 1900<sup>6</sup>

At its 1896 session in Athens, the IOC decided to discuss the organization of the games at a congress in Berlin in 1897. Coubertin ignored the decision and at the end of 1896 sent out invitations to a congress in Le Havre in the summer of 1897. During the congress, Coubertin wanted to convince Edgar Faure, the French Prime Minister, to grant his patronage to the planned 1900 Olympic Games. Although the Prime Minister received the participants of the conference, he did not promise anything. During the audience, Faure produced an *éclat* by bluntly telling Willibald Gebhardt that a member of the IOC was expected to speak French. Gebhardt was offended and left. Coubertin gave little importance to this issue and this temporarily clouded relations between him and Gebhardt.

It was long known that the organizers of the Paris World Fair planned to hold a number of sports competitions during the exhibition. However, Coubertin failed in convincing Alfred Picard, secretary general of the exhibition, to let him organize Olympic Games instead of the sports competitions. As Coubertin wrote, he had to "organize [the games]... through a private committee."<sup>7</sup> Coubertin convinced the diplomat Vicomte Charles de la Rochefoucauld to be president of his committee. He hoped the Vicomte would provide substantial financial support. A committee of about 40 was formed which met for the first time on 29 May 1898. The organizers of the World Exhibition regarded this committee as a competitor and did everything in its power to hinder Coubertin's work. Therefore, the committee soon encountered difficulties and Vicomte de la Rochefoucauld resigned from its presidency on 22 April 1899.<sup>8</sup>

On February 19, the organizers of the world exhibition appointed a committee for the organization of the sports competitions headed by Daniel Mérillon. All Coubertin achieved was that "the competitions held during the exhibition will be regarded as the Olympic Games of 1900 and considered equivalent to the organization of the Second Olympiad."<sup>9</sup> This basically meant that Coubertin and the IOC were completely excluded from the organization. Coubertin had been reduced to a figurehead whose only function was to advertise the games abroad. In the summer of 1899, Coubertin then undertook a journey approved by Mérillon that aimed at gathering as much information as possible that might be of importance with respect to international participation.<sup>10</sup>

On 11 January 1899, Gebhardt met with privy councilor Max Richter, who was Commissioner of the Empire for the Paris World Exhibition. Richter promised full support—also financial—for a German team.

In early July, Coubertin made the first stop of his journey in Berlin. On July 10, Coubertin took part in a conference in the office of the Commissioner of the Empire for the World Exhibition and invited the Germans to the games. Gebhardt and Richter announced that a friendly reception was to be expected. It was decided to participate in the sports competitions of the World Fair. On 17 February 1900 a committee was founded to organize the German participation. It was headed by Prince Aribert von Anhalt (president), Prince Eduard of Salm-Horstmar (vice president), Julius Freiherr von Hünefeld (treasurer) and Willibald Gebhardt (secretary).

The committee decided on 8 March 1900 to make a public call for participation.<sup>11</sup> The World Fair was described as a competition between the industrial, artistic and scientific forces and intelligence of all civilized people. On this occasion the manly youth of all nations should compete in a noble contest of physical strength and agility.<sup>12</sup> According to the announcement, it was important that Germany deliver a dignified performance in all areas. The expectations were the same as in Athens: we have to achieve successes in Paris.<sup>13</sup> The Commissary of the Empire granted 10,000 marks which was enough to fund the participation of 77 athletes.

### 1904: Chicago or St. Louis?<sup>14</sup>

The fourth IOC session was held in Paris from 21 to 23 May. On 13 February 1901, a bidding committee had been formed in Chicago and applied as host city for the III Olympiad that should be staged during the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebrations of the city. During the session, the Chicago committee presented a framework program and a budget plan.<sup>15</sup> The representative of the second bidder, St. Louis, had been held up in London and sent a telegram asking to defer the vote until he arrived in Paris.<sup>16</sup> The IOC was not willing to wait and chose Chicago as the host city of the III Olympiad.

The IOC's decision was cabled to Chicago and received with excitement. During the following weeks and months, expert commissions were formed and began with their work. The games should be hosted from 10 to 25 September and US President William McKinley was willing to grant his patronage. After McKinley's assassination on 14 September 1901, his successor Theodore Roosevelt also assured the organizers of his support. He wrote Coubertin that he would like to open the games.

Since 1897 there were plans in St. Louis to commemorate the 100 year anniversary of the purchase of Louisiana by the USA (Louisiana Purchase, 1803) in 1903 with a huge World Fair, the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition. An organizing committee was founded in 1899. When it became apparent in 1902 that the preparations were behind schedule, on 1 July 1902 President Roosevelt postponed the World Fair to 1904.

James Edward Sullivan, who was in charge of the sports program for the World Fair, saw a new chance to host Olympic Games and found an enthusiastic ally for his plan in David Roland Francis, the president of the World Fair.<sup>17</sup> As soon as the Chicago organizers learned of these plans, they lodged strong protest with Coubertin.<sup>18</sup>

When the Chicago organizing committee, which was behind schedule with the preparations, suggested to defer the Olympic Games to 1905 and president Roosevelt, whose relation with Coubertin was close,<sup>19</sup> favored St. Louis, Coubertin decided to have a written vote, i.e. another vote, on the host city.

On 5 December 1902, the University of Chicago made an urgent call on the IOC to let Chicago remain host city. On 23 December 1902, Coubertin announced that of the 21 members who took part in the vote 14 had voted in favor of St. Louis as host city, two against and 5 had abstained.<sup>20</sup>

On 12 February 1903, the committee in Chicago received a telegram from Coubertin which read “transfer accepted.” On 7 March, the World Fair committee decided to stage the Olympic Games in St. Louis.<sup>21</sup>

### **1908: Franco-British Exhibition<sup>22</sup>**

In the fall of 1906, the British NOC declared its readiness to host the games of the IV Olympiad 1908 in London. France and Great Britain who had formed the Entente Cordial against the German Empire and Austria in 1904, decided to stage a *Franco-British Exhibition* in order to celebrate their alliance. Planning committees were formed. The *Committee for Sports and Physical Culture* was chaired by Lord Desborough, president of the British NOC, and the Frenchman Mérillon. Coubertin also was among the members of the French section.

The 1908 Olympic Games were a part of the Franco-British Exhibition which also provided the funding. Unlike Paris 1900 and St. Louis 1904 these games were more than an insignificant side event. There was a stadium to host most of the competitions. Nevertheless, it would have been impossible to organize the Olympic Games independently from the World Fair.

Some members of the IOC, especially the Americans and Germans, had reservations against the participation of different “British” teams (Great Britain, Canada, Australasia, South Africa). Some argued that if Britain sent that many teams, the German Empire could send Saxon, Bavarian etc. teams. Coubertin turned to the German member, Count von der Asseburg, for advice on the matter. Von der Asseburg declared that the German Empire would prefer a single British representation, but that it also understood the very special situation of Britain. Austria—which had been represented by an IOC member since 1905—was concerned about Hungary and Bohemia. The IOC and the British Olympic Committee agreed on a formula, the so-called Olympic geography of Coubertin: “A region will be regarded as a ‘country’ if it is represented in the International Olympic Committee; where there is no such representation, any region under a single government will be regarded a ‘country’.” Hence, Bohemia and Finland could participate.

### **1912: Tricks during the Parade of Nations<sup>23</sup>**

Before the 1912 Olympic Games, the question of the Parade of Nations and the flag raising at the winner’s ceremony had become an issue of political importance. The chairs of the Austrian council of ministers demanded that all athletes of the dual monarchy should enter the stadium under the Austrian flag. The Hungarians successfully protested by threatening to boycott the games. Bohemia, which had been allowed to march under its own flag in 1908 in London, should be excluded from the Olympic ceremonial according to demands by Austria and Germany. Since it seemed impossible to integrate the Bohemian athletes into the Austrian teams, Austria demanded confirmation that the Austrian flag would be the only one under which both the Austrian and Bohemian groups would march during the Parade of Nations.

When the Russian government, which pursued the complete Russification of Finland, demanded the exclusion of the Scandinavians, the IOC was forced to make a decision. Coubertin was of the opinion that Bohemia and Finland could remain in the IOC due to the lifelong membership of their representatives, but from 1912 he changed the monthly printed member’s list on the second page of the *Revue Olympique* in the alphabetical order of the French alphabet. While the name Finland remained and its representative Baron Reinhold Felix von Willebrand was merely placed below the two Russians—against the alphabetical order—Guth now found himself below the two Austrian members. All that remained of the IOC founding member Bohemia was the addition C.O.T. (Comité Olympique Tchèque). Bohemia also had to yield to its powerful neighbour in the discussion about

the flags and signs. During the 1912 Opening Ceremony in Stockholm, the sign “Autriche” was followed by the black and yellow flag, then came the Austrian athletes and finally followed the Bohemian team after a sign reading “Autriche-Tchéque.” At the winner’s ceremony, the Czech and Finnish teams were allowed to raise a pennant in their own colors next to the Austrian and Russian flags respectively.

Nevertheless, there was an “irregularity” during the opening ceremony. When the Finnish team entered the stadium, the team leaders instructed their teammates to walk very slowly with very short steps. When they passed the box of honor, they intoned the well-known Finnish Björneborgarnas march (Porilaisten marssi). This was the march of the infantry regiment of Pori, founded in 1627 during the Thirty Years’ War when most of Finland belonged to Sweden. The Swedish audience understood the political hint and applauded enthusiastically. The Russian team regarded this as a political provocation and threatened to leave the games. The Swedish organizers apologized and explained that the bandmaster had made a mistake.

When the Finns entered the stadium and a gymnast carried the sign, next to him marched another gymnast, a woman, who carried the flag of the *Gymnastikföreningen för Fruntimmer i Helsingfors*, i.e. the *Ladies’ Gymnastics Association of Helsinki*. However, this lady was asked by a police officer to leave the track so that the Finns passed the box of honour without their flag. It is possible that this had been arranged beforehand.

### 1914: The Failure of the Olympic Geography<sup>24</sup>

Coubertin declared his compromise in favor of the Bohemians and Finns as his personal success. But in fact this was the first step towards excluding these teams from the Olympic Movement. The election of Berlin as host city of the 1916 Olympic Games was a further step towards the complete integration of the Finnish and Bohemian athletes into the Russian and Austrian teams respectively. The coverage of the Olympic Congress 1914 in Paris by the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Sportzeitung* clearly describes the concerns of the German government:

*The third session of the Congress met on Tuesday morning and was chaired alternately by Baron de Coubertin and privy councilor Horning (Germany). The German representation so far found great support for its wishes and always had a majority. Most notably, the German proposal concerning the important question of nationalities was accepted so that now—contrary to the hitherto existing practice—only political nations may participate as teams in the Olympic Games. Germany suggested the following nations to be accepted: Egypt, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Germany, Denmark, France, Greece, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Holland, Italy, Japan, Canada, Luxemburg, Mexico, Norway, Austria, Peru, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Serbia, Spain, South Africa, Turkey, Hungary, United States of North America.*

*Future political changes are to be taken into consideration. According to this decision, the Czech and the Finns will no longer be allowed to participate as separate groups. The proposal was heavily disputed but finally found a considerable majority and the outcome was met with great delight by the Austrian representatives.<sup>25</sup>*

Bohemia and Finland would not have been allowed to participate as separate teams in the Berlin games. This embarrassed Coubertin. He claimed that due to the outbreak of WWI no minutes could be published of the 1914 congress. And it was true that no minutes could be found in the IOC archive. However, the protocol has been added to the archive several years ago.

## Endnotes

- 1 Cf. Wolfgang Decker, Georgios Dolianitis and Karl Lennartz, (eds.), *100 Jahre Olympische Spiele. Der neugriechische Ursprung* (Würzburg 1996).
- 2 Cf. Jürgen Buschmann, "Der Pariser Olympische Kongreß," in: *Die Olympischen Spiele 1896 in Athen. Erläuterungen zum Neudruck des Offiziellen Berichtes*, ed. Karl Lennartz et al., (Kassel 1996).
- 3 Karl Lennartz et al., *Die Olympischen Spiele 1896 in Athen. Erläuterungen zum Neudruck des Offiziellen Berichtes*, (Kassel 1996).
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Willibald Gebhardt, *Soll Deutschland sich an den olympischen Spielen beteiligen?* (Berlin 1896), 74.
- 6 Cf. Karl Lennartz and Walter Teutenberg, *Die II. Olympische Spiele 1900 in Paris* (Kassel 1995). Karl Lennartz, "Willibald Gebhardt and Germany's Position," in: *Coubertin and Olympism. Questions for the Future*, ed. Norbert Müller (Niedernhausen 1998), 110-122.
- 7 Pierre de Coubertin, *Olympische Erinnerungen* (Frankfurt 1959), 56.
- 8 Ibid., 61.
- 9 Pierre de Coubertin, *Einundzwanzig Jahre Sportkampagne* (Düsseldorf 1974), 118.
- 10 Ibid., 118.
- 11 "Aufruf zur Beteiligung Deutschlands an den sportlichen Wettkämpfen in Paris," for example in *Turnen und Sport* 3(1900)9, 65, most recently published in: *Dokumente zur Frühgeschichte der Olympischen Spiele*, ed. Volker Koebse (Köln 1970), 116-117.
- 12 Koebse, *Dokumente*, p. 116.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Cf. Karl Lennartz, *Die Spiele der III. Olympiade 1904 in St. Louis* (Kassel 2004).
- 15 120,000 dollars had been raised. The IOC was to receive any profits made.
- 16 *Revue Olympique* 1, no. 2 (1902), 33.
- 17 1850-1927, businessman (cereal merchant), banker, politician, 1895-1889 mayor of St. Louis, 1889-1893 governor of Missouri, 1897-1897 Secretary of Interior, from 1916 ambassador to Russia, he remained in this post even after the revolution.
- 18 Cf. Robert K. Barney, "A Myth Arrested: Theodore Roosevelt and the 1904 Olympic Games," in: *Umbruch und Kontinuität im Sport, Festschrift für Horst Ueberhorst*, eds. Andreas Luh and Edgar Beckers, (Bochum, 1991), 218-229; Robert K. Barney, "Who Called the Shots? Pierre de Coubertin-Theodore Roosevelt and the 1904 Olympic Games Transfer Embroglio," in: *Proceedings of the 1991 international ISHPES Congress*, eds. Roland Renson et. al. (Madrid, 1993), 365-379.
- 19 Cf. John Lucas, "Theodore Roosevelt and Baron Pierre de Coubertin: Entangling Olympic Games Involvement 1901-1918," *Stadion* 8, no. 9 (1982/83), 137-150.
- 20 Pierre de Coubertin, *21 Jahre*, 128. Coubertin apparently had asked to IOC members to vote in favor of St. Louis. He allegedly had been assured of president Roosevelt's approval "in an official way." The result of the vote was not published in the *Revue Olympique*.
- 21 Volker Kluge, *Olympische Sommerspiele: Die Chronik*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1997), 125.
- 22 Cf. Karl Lennartz, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1908 in London* (Kassel 1998).
- 23 Cf. Karl Lennartz, *Die Spiele der V. Olympiade 1912 in Stockholm* (Kassel 2009).
- 24 Cf. Karl Lennartz, "Der Ausschluß der Mittelmächte von den Olympische Spielen 1920," in: *Einblicke. Aspekte olympischer Sportentwicklung*, ed. Ommo Grube for the German NOC. Festschrift für Walther Tröger zum 70. Geburtstag (Schorndorf 1999), 90-94.
- 25 *Rheinisch-Westfälische Sportzeitung* 3, no. 26 (1914), 4. Cf. *Figaro*, 17 June 1914. The list follows the alphabetical order of the German country names as printed by the *Rheinisch-Westfälische Sportzeitung*.