On the 6th of April 1917, the decision of the United States to enter the World Conflict modified strongly and deeply the balance of the opposed forces and led to the end of the War one and a half year later. Once the Armistice was signed on the 11th of November 1918, people from the entire world began to consider the human and economic disaster resulting from four years of conflict. Millions of soldiers on both the Eastern and the Western fronts hoped to go back home as soon as possible. In reality, this return lasted several years and some only went back to their mother country in 1922. It was for them that the largest international sport event since the Olympic Games of Stockholm’ was organised a few months after the Armistice: the Inter-allied Games. The idea itself was American. It was based on an agreement between the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) and the American branch of the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). It was, however, hosted by France. The competitions were held in the Paris suburbs at the “Pershing” Stadium built by the Americans in three months especially for this event. Initially planned for January 1919, the Inter-allied Games were finally staged from the 22nd of June to the 6th of July 1919. Those who had shared the frosty mud of the trenches a few weeks earlier now found themselves in competition on the sports field. With 76 different events across a dozen sports the programme was similar to the Olympic Games but included some more warlike activities such as Throwing the Grenade and Tug of War.

Even though the Inter-allied Games were not part of the Olympic cycle, they developed special relationships with Olympism that need to be explored. Moreover, their specific status leads one

* The article was awarded the ISOH Award 2005 for the best article on Olympic history. The original article was published by the author in French language under the title "Les «Olympiades Militaires» de 1919. Sport, diplomatic et politique sportive au sortir de la Premiere Guerre mondiale", in: Stadion. International Journal of the History of Sport 29(2003), pp. 153-166.
to consider also their political significance and concerns. Indeed, they were organised at the very time when although peace was being celebrated, a complex game was being played out on the geopolitical chessboard. In both cases, the Inter-allied Games were at the heart of diplomatic stakes, which partly explain the form they took as well as their significance.

An American initiative
The idea of the Inter-allied Games was built on two main pillars of American Society: the AEF and the YMCA. Through this sport event, the leaders of these two institutions developed complementary and partly similar ambitions which help to understand why so much effort was made to organise them in the extremely difficult immediate post war conditions.

The very first step was provided by a 34 year old officer of the YMCA, Elwood Stanley BROWN. His reputation as an efficient organizer had preceded his arrival in France in 1918, thanks to the mission work he had undertaken in South-East Asia since 1910. He succeeded not only in promoting sport in the Philippines but he also created and implemented the Far-Eastern Games from 1913 on. He was ever more aware of the impending period of demobilisation and he suggested therefore a programme to his superiors as early as the 15th October 1918. This plan was composed of four complementary points and supposed a cooperation between the YMCA and the Army:

1 - Mass participation and games for every possible man - “Athletics for everybody”.

2 - Official AEF championships in a wide variety of competitive sports including military events, beginning with elimination contests at regimental level, ranging upwards through the divisions, possibly the army corps, and culminating in great finals in Paris.

3 - Physical pageants and demonstrations to be held in many centers demonstrating to our allied friends America’s best in sport, her great sporting spirit and incidentally her finest in physical manhood.

4 - Interallied athletic contests - open only to soldiers of the Allied Armies - a great set of military Olympic Games”.

General PERSHING was contacted on the 27 November 1918, and soon convinced by the fact that the troops should be gainfully occupied during the decisive time of demobilisation. So he put Colonel Wait C. JOHNSON in charge of implementing the plan in close cooperation with the YMCA. JOHNSON was as enthusiastic as BROWN about the project.

“He brought with him the conviction that something was needed to replace fighting as the stimulus for united organized effort. It was evident that a schedule of compulsory military drills and exercises could not grip the imagination or maintain the enthusiasm of a civilian army”.

The plan was set up within a few weeks. The AEF championships restricted to American soldiers were relatively easy to organise. By the general order n°241, 29 December 1918, each military unity was asked to stage mass athletic meetings. In a first step, between the months of January and May 1918, one counted more than 28 million took part in the competitions, in addition to the same number of spectators. In a second step, the AEF championships themselves were held to end on the 7th June, i.e. a few days only before the opening ceremony of the Inter-allied Games, which then became a logical next step for the best American athletes.

The Inter-allied Games did however experience a certain number of diplomatic difficulties on two levels. On one hand, Americans had to convince the French authorities to let them organise inter-
national meetings under US control, but on French soil. On the other, they had to make sure that the IOC and the international federations would not be too closely interested in the event and the AEF and the YMCA could maintain their independence.

The first question was rapidly solved since the French authorities agreed officially with the American proposal five days only after being informed on the 2nd January 1919. Neither PETAIN, Commander in chief of the French Army nor Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council and Minister of War had particular reasons to be opposed to the Americans who had so recently played such a decisive role on the battle fields in the final victory against the Germans. Moreover, they did not really perceive the diplomatic and cultural significance of sport at a moment when, in political France, sport was not widely recognised or significant. Finally, the supported the American project because the proposal was clever enough to flatter French sensibilities, linking sport and the question of the regeneration of the race and promising more concretely to build a stadium to be given to France after the Games. This last point was of importance since Paris had still no real stadium at this time.  

The second problem was approached differently. In order to avoid a potentially embarrassing reaction from Pierre de COUBERTIN and other sport leaders, the military American authorities decided to officially limit participation in the games to invited nations and people.

"Invitational games avoid the customary preliminary meetings, which, experience in international games has invariably shown, involves long-drawn-out and difficult conferences before general agreement is possible."  

Such a procedure allowed organisers to keep a complete control on the different phases of the organisation. And as for the delicate question of professionalism in sport, Americans kept simply silent, and specified only that the participants in the Games of 1919 should have been members of the military forces of one of the allied armies during the 52 months of the Great War.

Sixteen delegations out of twenty nine respond ed favourably to the American initiative, in addition to individuals from Poland and Great-Britain whose authorities had chosen to decline the invitation. Refusals came from most of the countries in central America (Cuba, Haiti, Honduras, Montenegro, Nicaragua, Panama), from a few Asian and African nations (Siam, Japan, Liberia, South Africa) whose reasons are still ignored if one forgets the long distance and the few number of soldiers still in France, and from other countries whose refusal might be explained by political reasons (Russia, Poland). Finally, some nations were content with a symbolic involvement.

Those who responded positively to PERSHING’S letter can be divided between those which, like Brazil, considered the Inter-allied Games an opportunity to develop for the men the moral and physical strength they would need in the future and those which, following more or less strictly the terms of the invitation, saw participation as a continuation of their friendly wartime relationship (Belgium, France), by way of commemoration (Australia) or prolonging the feeling of victory (Greece). They were also all those, notably in Eastern Europe (Romania, Czechoslovakia), whose political existence was still uncertain and saw the games as an opportunity to give their identity high visibility. Finally, the various military authorities accepted the project with no real pressure because the expenses were limited. Indeed, although each Army had to cover the cost of the preparation, training, transportation and supplying of its own team, all the costs of the organisation were said to be assumed by the YMCA.
American Interests: The AEF and the YMCA

The American influence cannot be analysed only in terms of peace celebration and friendship between the allied soldiers. For the Americas, the games constituted first of all the ultimate step of a plan whose aim was to channel the energy of the millions soldiers who abruptly found themselves inactive. Such an objective was also clear for BROWN when he defended his project:

"Two million men are now engaged in the strenuous ‘game’ of beating the Hun. They are in hard daily labour, intensive military training or engaged in actual fighting - physical expression, nearly all of it. When this is suddenly taken away no mental, moral or social program however extensive will meet the need. Physical action will be the call; games and informal and competitive play, will be the answer."

The argument was a decisive one. Two years earlier, indeed, the American command had to deal with an epidemic of venereal disease amongst during the conflict with Mexico. And their authorities feared the alleged attractiveness of the French women. The AEF Championships and the Inter-allied Games were thus presented as an opportunity to return to a way of life more physically and socially acceptable for the soldiers. They were expected to play a cathartic role; they limited the eventual dangers of the period of transition by controlling the sexual, intellectual and physical energies of the troops.

For the YMCA, such an objective was relevant too, if one considers the values it defended since half a century. The promotion of the “muscular Christian”, the control of the sexuality and the diffusion of a Christian masculinity whose aim was the reproduction and the sublimation of the desires were, indeed, its main goals between 1910 and 1920. Therefore, the Inter-allied Games and the ordinary physical activity they presupposed in the phase of preparation were seen as an excellent tool for the diffusion of a manly ideal. That these Games were exclusively masculine, that they followed a period of war, that they opposed soldiers and finally that they valued activities considered themselves as virile and male appropriated (boxing, rugby, shooting...), many elements made this event a stage for masculinity. Boxing, analyzed by WAKEFIELD in this precise situation as “the test of masculine excellence”, led to sharp debates on the fight’s regulations: the English rules, denounced as too "effeminate" in what the American press called ironically a “ladies affair” were remote and replaced by the American ones. Yet the given definition of masculinity was not universal; it rather corresponded to the American ideal at a time when it was precisely challenged and conflicted with other definitions that were simultaneously present in Europe.

The withdraw of gymnastics from the programme of the Inter-allied Games under the pretext that it was not a measured event and thus that it might be too susceptible to the judges could be analysed as an opposition to the collective masculinity valued in France at the same moment. This assumption finds some support in a statement made by the American Military authorities as early as 1919.

"The stay of the American soldier in France contributed very largely to this changed European attitude towards real manliness."

More generally, the considerable efforts made by the YMCA in terms of financial investment, human resources and equipment reinforced the work promoted by this American Institution in 1914. From 1917 they took an ever more active role. The YMCA thus became a sort of laboratory aimed at exploring the various forms of protestant evangelism. With its "huts" and, moreover, with the so-called "Foyers du Soldat de l’Union Franco-Americaine" which fell progressively under its control, the YMCA was able to diffuse a model of education (through sport), a model of protestant Christianity and beyond this a model of society similar to that its leaders had been trying for many years to develop in the USA itself.

In these Foyers initially implemented for the moral comfort of the soldiers by Emmanuel SAUTTER, the French General Secretary of the World Alliance of the YMCA, the educators of the American branch of the YMCA promoted sport in numerous ways, providing equipment, facilities, sport regulations and know-how in managing sport events and competitions. Sport became, indeed, a tool to self-discipline, making the external rules less essential: "Side by side with disciplinary measures, commanders welcomed the influence that would make discipline unnecessary". The number of the Foyers du Soldat increased and at the high point of the movement they numbered 1500. It was there that the “poilus” discovered for the first time the "new sports" such as basket-ball, volley-ball or base-ball. It was also there that they often participated in their first competitions to win selection for the Inter-allied Games. All in all, sport became the representative of an ideal for the YMCA as well as a way to bring about a change of attitudes.

"The American Army proved to the world that 'all work and no play' is not for the general good of a soldier. The American system of play has made its mark on the world at large, and now the other nations have caught on to the idea, and from this time on, play, as it is known in the U.S. Army, will be a bigger factor for the physical, mental and moral good of the world."

As for the military, they agreed the ongoing process since "while America played, Europe, not forgetting how America had fought, watched". At a moment where the main political powers were sharing the World, both military and diplomatic groups met to give an extra importance to the relationship between France and the USA.

The French-American conflict
A simple glance at the results reveals that the USA were the most successful nation followed in second place by France. There was however a large gap between the American score 120 and that of France 104.3 and thereafter an even greater margin - since Italy, ranked Third, scored only 45 points, just ahead of Australia, 41 points, and Belgium, 27 points. American and French successes could easily
be explained by the size of their teams, which were by far the largest in the event with 282 and 253 athletes, i.e. one third of the total participants. Finally, the media coverage could not be compared in these two countries, with what happened in the others. It seems that everything was set up to give prominence to a specific match-up between the organizing country (the United States) and the host country (France). Such a hypothesis, however, has more to do with politics and diplomacy, than with sport.

Indeed, on the international stage, the first months of 1919 were marked by intense diplomatic activity which can globally be seen between the Peace Conference on the 18th January and the signature of the Treaty of Versailles on the 28th June. The strategic, political, financial and cultural stakes were enormous: a new World order was designed around the table of negotiations where Americans, French and British had the advantage. That the two first countries were competing in a sports stadium at exactly this time must have had an effect. Historians have argued that, during these six months, the USA used their financial and commercial weapons to better position themselves in the new Europe. However, Americans were in opposition to the French authorities’ stance. In the view of the Frenchmen, Germany had to pay the consequences of the War and France could therefore assume the position occupied by Germany before the Great War in the continental economy.

Analysing the French plan, the British economist KEYNES explained that it would lead to dramatic effects, which could even reach the United States. The Americans were sensitive to KEYNES’ analysis. According to historian Pierre MILZA, they wanted “to avoid that, instead of a frightened Europe united by Germany, a Europe dominated by France would take shape which would be every bit as detrimental to the American economy.” Everything opposed the American and the French plans and projections of the new society in construction. Beyond the common victory, both visions of the future were simply incompatible. Thus, we can better understand why so many proposals suggested in all matters by the two countries in 1919 and 1920 aimed to reinforce their own position or to restrain the position of the other. The particular prominence given to the Inter-allied Games by the Americans and the French cannot be understood outside this context.

The same prominence explains not only very much the sport successes of both countries in the military Olympiad of 1919, but also the way each of them perceived and reported these in their national press. In no other case the tensions were as high as when the two delegations were opposed in some events. It is not a surprise that numerous incidents occurred, especially in the sports with more obvious warlike and physical elements for example Rugby, Boxing and Water Polo. In the latter there were severe fights. Of the 132 matches between Americans and Frenchmen, the former won 56 times, the latter 55 times, with 21 ties. But even a defeat had to be honourable: The American LECKIE was paid to go as many rounds as possible against America”.

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As the official report of the Inter-allied Games made clear, “contests in which American soldiers were competitors rarely attracted the same intense enthusiasm as those in which a Frenchman and an American scrapped it out. As soon as ‘La Guerre’ was ‘fini’ another ‘Guerre’ started, France against America”.

Whereas the report did not develop the specific tensions between the two delegations, the journalists used more chauvinist terms. The incidents between opposing American and French rugby players and spectators were probably the most graphic example of this but they were reported radically differently in the press of both countries. More generally, on the French side, the popular newspaper La Vie au Grand Air that the Inter-allied Games were “an admirable means of propaganda for the United States” whilst The New York Times counted the French records beaten by American athletes, none of the other delegations being the object of such comparisons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
<th>final ranking and number of points</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4th - 41 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>5th - 27 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>6th - 18 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoaslavia</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7th - 16 1/2 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>2nd-104 1/2 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great-Britain</td>
<td>5 + 27</td>
<td>12th - 2 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>13th - 1 point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedjaz</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italia</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>3rd - 45 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New-Zealand</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10th - 6 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8th - 12 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>9th - 6 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbia</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>11th-3 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfoundland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>1st-120 points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1415</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"Military Olympiads"

The Inter-allied Games were often presented as "military Olympiads" or as "Pershing Olympiads". Such a link between the event and Olympism was especially obvious in the American Press where it was duly announced that: "US Army plans Olympic Games [...] A mammoth military Olympic meet [...]". The Belgium newspaper La libre Belgique titled its brief daily heading "The inter-allied Olympic Games" and the French Le Soir "The American Olympiad". It is true that the programmes of the Olympic Games and of the inter-allied Games were so similar even COUBERTIN expressed his concerns: "Naturally, certain instances had tried to lead astray the general opinion, talking about 'Military Olympiad' and suggesting that it could replace the regular Olympiad one year earlier". As soon as the project was made public, COUBERTIN sent a letter of protest to both the American and French authorities in which he expressed his irritation: "We were rapidly reassured on the number and quality of engaged people. One of the most expressed worry concerned the brutal disappearing of so many athletes and the absence of training for those who remained. From this viewpoint, the 'interallied Games' [...] were extremely useful [...]. As one could expect, the interallied Games revealed that the muscular value and the sport outburst were not in decline".

With the "Games reborn" at Antwerp, Olympism was back on track again and COUBERTIN could get closer to the YMCA after 1920. Indeed, one of the most paradoxical and, in the same time, the less known effects of the Inter-allied Games was to stimulate the relationship between the International Olympic Committee and the YMCA for a while, through two leading personalities: Pierre de COUBERTIN and Elwood BROWN. Both had been in touch before the War, but the year 1919 brought them closer together. It is true that the IOC was officially absent from the "military Olympiads", but BROWN busied himself writing to COUBERTIN a few
days after the closing ceremony. Indeed, he wished to implement an ambitious project, which required co-operation between the YMCA and the IOC. For BROWN, the IOC did not have the means for achieving its goals of mass education through sport ("All sports for all"); on the contrary, the YMCA, backed by hundreds of athletic directors present in every country, could certainly improve the level of the potential candidates for the Olympic Games.

Taking advantage of the kudos gained by his organisation for their part in the organisation of the Inter-allied Games, BROWN easily obtained a transfer to the Foreign office of the YMCA in September 1919, in order to achieve its project. In accordance with the YMCA motto ("Play for Everybody"), he wanted to promote Sport for All and to give to its Institution a World ambition explicitly expressed in a paper he published soon after: "Teaching the World to Play". There, he outlined four points of a programme for the YMCA which seemed to complement the actions of the IOC and the role played by the Inter-allied Games:
- to develop continuously the concern for physical exercise in the World;
- to organize annual national championships where no official competitions yet existed
- to organize international Games every two years in order to give confidence to the minor delegations seeking to participate in the Olympic Games in the future. The Far Eastern Games could be seen as a model; others could follow like, for instance, the Indian Empire Games already tested under another form in 1914, the South-American Games which would be staged for the first time in 1922, the Middle European Games and the Near Eastern Games;
- to provide sport for all during the Olympic Games where the demonstration would have a edifying value for the whole World

COUBERTIN was probably as sensitive to BROWN enthusiastic personality as he was to his projects. Following a series of letters, the president of the IOC gave him the opportunity to present his plans to the members of the Olympic institution. This was done at three meetings between 1920 and 1922. BROWN used this chance to advocate idea of an agreement between the two organisations, one having the means, the other the prestige, both needed to promote sport activities. Yet the project was rejected by the IOC. However, BROWN was able to convince COUBERTIN to sign a letter giving him the status of the representative of both the YMCA and the IOC for everything related to the regional Games. With such legitimacy, BROWN succeeded in forming a regional organisation in South American (the South American Athletic Federation) and in initiating the South American Games in 1922. In the same spirit the addition of mass sport demonstrations to the Olympic programme two years later in Paris. This idea was launched by Brown himself, who as early as 1921 asked the IOC to press the French Olympic Committee to accept it. One of the indirect and unexpected consequences of the Inter-allied Games and of the strategic convergence between the YMCA and the IOC was the "Jeux de l’enfance" [Games of Childhood] that the YMCA organised in Paris during the Games, in order "to introduce the youth of the schools to the games which deserve to be played".

BROWN was the victim of a heart attack during a handball match and died on the 24 March 1924, a few months before the Olympic Games. Most of his projects disappeared with him and COUBERTIN, soon to be retired from the IOC Presidency, left others take care of the Olympic enterprise. However, the analysis of BROWN’s actions after the Inter-allied Games of 1919 indicates that these Games have to be understood within a frame which is not only military, diplomatic or sporting: indeed, they were part of a larger plan, complementary to the Olympic movement, aimed to stimulate and, simultaneously, to control the development of physical activities and their values at a World scale.
Conclusion
The Inter-allied Games were staged again in 1946,54 but the conditions were totally different and bore no comparison with the event in 1919. The first "Military Olympiads” remains radically exception- al. From a military point of view, they were thought to physically and morally prepare the soldiers during the months which preceded them, to make visible the friendship between the allied people and, finally, to prevent potential trouble from the troops during the period of demobilisation. From a more cultural and symbolic perspective, this event contributed to the promotion of sport and, with the activities of the YMCA, some of the values associated with sport such as masculinity and Christianity. From a political point of view, the Inter-allied Games could be considered a mirror of the debates which occurred around the Peace Conference; they were a means of imposing an American supremacy and to reduce the role of France. From a more sporting point of view, they were able to help get the wheels of the Olympic machinery moving once more. They contributed to changing the status of sport for the military and political authorities of several countries. They took part in the modernisation of the structure and methods of training in France. And finally, they were integrated in a larger plan of sport diffusion on a World scale in which the YMCA and the IOC were associated, a plan which was never totally implemented in the way they expected.

Endnotes
1 Lets recall that the Olympic Games which should have been organised in Berlin in 1916 were deleted because of the War.
2 For a overview, see TERRET, Thierry, Les jeux interallies de 1919. Sport, guerre et relations Internationales, Paris 2002.
4 BROWN, Elwood S. to PALMER, Bruce, Letter dated 15 October 1918, reproduced in WYTHE/HANSON, Games, p. 29.
6 WYTHE/HANSON, Games, p. 29.
7 In fact, some Americans who were already returned to the United States were sent back to France for the competitions. Moreover, the use of no-military athletes is attested for the USA as well as for France, in opposition to the regulations of the Games.
11 China and Brazil accepted the invitation, but it seems that they did not send any athletes to France if one considers the official records.
12 BROWN, Elwood S. to PALMER, Bruce, letter dated 15 October 1918, reproduced in WYTHE/HANSON, Games, p. 17.
24 JOHNSON, Wait C. to PALMER, Bruce, letter dated 16 December 1918, quoted in COLVER/UNMACK/JOHNSON/BROWN, Almanac, p. 221.
29 MILZA, relations, p. 39.
30 "Like money from Home", in The Indian (3 June 1919), quoted by WAKEFIELD, Playing, p. 41.
31 COLVER/UNMACK/JOHNSON/BROWN, Almanac, p. 129.
   The French words are in the original text.
32 L’Auto (26 June 1919) and The New York Times (27 June 1919).
   See also DEDET, J., "La France bat l’Amérique", in La Vie au grand Air (15 July 1919).
33 La Vie au Grand Air (15 June 1919).
34 e.g. The New York Times (05 June 1919, 28 June 1919 and 20 June 1919).
36 COUBERTIN, Pierre de, Memoires olympiques, Paris 1931.
39 COUBERTIN, Memoires, p. 179.
43 BROWN, Elwood S. to the CIO, no date (probably 1920). Archives of the Olympic Museum of Lausanne, file CIO YMCA 1909-1927.
44 BROWN, Elwood S., "Teaching the World to Play", in The Outlook (28 December 1921), pp. 689-693 and for a more general analysis on this point: TERRET, Thierry, "Teaching the World to play: The Crusade of American YMCA Educators in France and the Foyers du Soldat (1919-1924)", in: GORI, Gigüela/TERRET, Thierry (eds), Sport and Education in History (ISHPES-Studies; vol. 12), St. Augustine 2005, pp. 71-79.
45 BROWN explained this project to COUBERTIN in a letter dated 2nd January 1920. Archives of the Olympic Museum of Lausanne, File CIO, YMCA 1909-1927.
46 On this particular case, see the letter written by BROWN to COUBERTIN dated 10 November 1920. Archives of the Olympic Museum of Lausanne, File CIO, YMCA 1909-1927.
49 DANIELS, C.G., The Olympic Century, vol. 6, Los Angeles, p. 140.
51 DANIELS, George G., The Olympic Century, p. 140.
54 Sport international (Dec. 1994)100 and (March 1995)101.