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# Introduction

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At the end of contemporary Olympic Games it is customary for the committee that organized the Games to publish the Official Report of the Olympic Games. The Official Report describes every facet of the Olympics in great detail, including the results for every competitor in every event.

The 1904 Olympic Games were held in St. Louis, Missouri, but were quite different from what we know as the Olympics today. One difference, albeit minor, is that no true official report of the 1904 Olympic Games was ever published. Two books are often mentioned in lieu of a 1904 Official Report: *The Olympic Games 1904* by Charles J. P. Lucas, and *Spalding's Official Athletic Almanac for 1905 (Special Olympic Number)* by James E. Sullivan. However, Lucas' book mentions only the results of the track & field athletics competitions. Sullivan's book is more complete, as it should be, for he was the director of the 1904 Olympic Games. But while Sullivan's book reports all the events, it usually mentions only the first few finishers; in addition, it is fraught with errors.

This book is an attempt to reconstruct the complete records of the 1904 Games. While not trying to be a complete Official Report, it does attempt to substitute for that section of the Official Report which would contain the results.

The 1904 Games were highly unusual, in more ways than just the absence of an Official Report. They were originally scheduled to be held in Chicago. But St. Louis was planning to hold a World's Fair in 1904 — the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. It was planned that a large number of sporting events would take place at the Exposition, which would have been in direct competition with the Olympic Games. The International Olympic Committee (IOC), wishing to avoid this confrontation, decided to move the Games to St. Louis.

The Games were under the control of James Edward Sullivan, whose official title was Chief of Physical Culture for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Sullivan tried to hold a sporting event every day of the Exposition, which lasted over six months. In addition, Sullivan insisted on labeling every event as Olympic, thereby creating a plethora of so-called Olympic events.

Therefore, one problem facing anyone studying the 1904 Olympic Games is to decide which events are truly of Olympic caliber. The IOC was not present at St. Louis except for a very few members. Supposedly, after the Games had ended, the IOC convened and decided, rather arbitrarily, which events it would consider official. It is not, however, certain when this Committee meeting took place, or if, in fact, it actually did.

Though the IOC is the final arbiter of all things Olympic, its reasoning is not clear on the

choosing of 1904 Olympic events. Subsequent Olympic historians have not entirely agreed with its selections. Therefore, one of the most difficult problems faced in this compilation was deciding which sports and events to include, thereby giving to them my imprimatur as “Olympic.” I have included all events which could possibly be considered of Olympic caliber, but I have made my own decisions as to what should and should not be considered “Olympic” events.

“Olympic caliber” here means that the events were open to the best amateur athletes of all countries to compete on equal terms. This immediately eliminates handicap events (abundant in track & field athletics, swimming, and cycling), age-group events (held in track & field athletics throughout the summer), and events for limited groups (Irish nationals, Western AAU competitors, YMCA athletes). Events have not necessarily been eliminated because only Americans took part; this was a common occurrence in 1904. In many of these, as can be seen in Appendix II, there were foreign entrants who did not show up, which was not the fault of the people organizing the Olympic Games.

It seems like a long time since I began working on the 1904 Olympic Games. Studying the St. Louis Games was how I got started in the field of Olympic history, inspired by the doyen of Olympic historians, Erich Kamper of Austria. I self-published (photocopied) an 81-page pamphlet in 1981, entitled “A Statistical Summary of the 1904 Olympic Games,” which is cited occasionally in the pages following using the abbreviation Mallon2.

A great deal has changed in the study of Olympic History since that beginning in 1981. Perhaps most importantly to me, Erich Kamper died on 9 November 1995. All Olympic historians will miss him. Secondly, a group devoted to the study of Olympic history, the International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH), has been formed, which helps coordinate and stimulate research into the history of the Olympic Games.

My work on the history of the early Olympics has continued, however. With the help of McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, I am in the process of publishing a series of books on the history of the early Olympics. The works on 1896 and 1900 appeared in 1997, and this and the 1906 book are appearing in 1998. Volumes are planned for the Olympics of 1908, 1912, and 1920.

Many people have helped me with this project. Hoping not to omit anyone, I extend my thanks to the following: Harvey Abrams (USA), Bob Barnett (USA), June Becht (USA), Ian Buchanan (GBR), Bessie Carrington (USA), Wally Donovan (USA), Pim Huurman (NED), Wayne McFarland (USA), Robert Rhode (USA), Milton Roberts (USA), Jeffrey Tishman (USA), and C. Frank Zarnowski (USA).

My original work on the 1904 Olympics began only at the dawn of the computer age, and I did not have a computer. But I did have some help. So I'd like to thank Scruffy, our first dog, who mostly sat on my lap while I typed those notes on that old Smith-Corona, asking no greater privilege than to be close to me at all times. He probably knew more about the 1904 Olympics than any dog, but he is no longer with us to share that knowledge, nor his happy smile, with us. Karen and I miss him, and his smile.

Bill Mallon  
*Durham, North Carolina*

*Summer 1998*

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# 1904 Olympic Games — Analysis and Summaries

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<i>Dates:</i>	1 July–23 November 1904
<i>Site:</i>	St. Louis, Missouri, United States
<i>Candidate Cities:</i>	Buffalo, New York, USA; Chicago, Illinois, USA; New York, New York, USA; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA
<i>Official Opening By:</i>	Mr. David Francis, President of the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition (the 1904 World's Fair)
<i>Number of Countries Competing:</i>	12 [12 Men —1 Women]
<i>Number of Athletes Competing:</i>	630 [624 Men — 6 Women]
<i>Number of Sports:</i>	16 [16 Men —1 Women]
<i>Number of Events:</i>	91 [89 Men — 2 Women]

## ***Members of the International Olympic Committee in 1904 [31] (Years on IOC in brackets)***

Argentina	José Benjamin Zubiaur [1894–1907]
Belgium	Count Henri de Baillet-Latour [1903–1942]
Bohemia	Dr. Jiří Guth-Jarkovský [1894–1943]
Denmark	Niels V. S. Holbeck [1899–1906]
France	Pierre Frédy, Baron Pierre de Coubertin [1894–1925] Ernst Callot [1894–1913] Henri Hébrard de Villeneuve [1900–1911] Count Albert Bertier de Sauvigny [1904–1920]
Germany	Karl August Willibald Gebhardt [1896–1909] Prince Eduard Max Salm-Horstmar [1901–1905] Count Julius Caesar Erdmann von Wartensleben [1903–1914]
Great Britain	Charles Herbert [1894–1906] The Rev. Robert Stuart de Courcy Laffan [1897–1927] Sir Howard Vincent [1901–1908]

Greece	Count Alexandros Merkati [1897–1925]
Hungary	Dr. Ferenc Kémény [1894–1907]
Italy	Count Eugenio Brunetta d’Usseaux [1897–1919]
Mexico	Miguel de Beistegui [1901–1931]
The Netherlands	Baron Frederik Willem Christiaan Hendrik van Tuyll van Serooskerken [1898–1924]
New Zealand	Leonard Albert Cuff [1894–1905]
Peru	Carlos de Candamo [1903–1922]
Russia	Prince Sergey Beloselsky-Belotsersky [1900–1908] Count Nikolao Ribeaupierre [1900–1916]
Spain	Count Gonzalo Mejorada del Campo, Marquis de Villamejor [1902–1921]
Sweden	General Viktor Gustaf Balck [1894–1921] Count Carl Clarence von Rosen [1900–1948]
Switzerland	Baron Godefroy de Blonay [1899–1937]
United States	Professor William Milligan Sloane [1894–1924] Theodore Stanton [1900–1904] Caspar Whitney [1900–1904] James Hazen Hyde [1903–1908]

### ***1904 Organizing Committee***

*Honorary President of the Olympic Games of 1904:* President Theodore Roosevelt  
*President of the Olympic Games of 1904:* David Rowland Francis  
*Chief, Department of Physical Culture, Louisiana Purchase Exposition:* James Edward Sullivan  
*Director of Exhibits, Louisiana Purchase Exposition:* Frederick James Volney Skiff  
*President of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU):* Walter H. Liginger  
*President of the Western Division of the AAU:* John J. O’Connor  
*Past-President of the Amateur Athletic Union:* Harry McMillan  
*Past-President of the Western Division of the AAU:* Henry Garneau

### ***Purchase of the Louisiana Territory***

The award of the 1904 Olympic Games to St. Louis really must be traced back to the 18th century and political struggles which involved the British, French, Spanish, and the United States. It is an award with historical links to Napoleon Bonaparte, James Monroe, and Thomas Jefferson.

A large central portion of the American subcontinent was called Louisiana, which belonged to France at the dawn of the 18th century. At the end of the Seven Years’ War with Spain, France ceded control of this huge territory to the victorious Spanish in 1763. The land was bordered on the east by the Mississippi River and included the present-day states of Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Kansas, and portions of Louisiana, Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado. The territory covered an expanse of 828,000 square miles (2,144,520 square kilometers).

In a secret treaty between France and Spain, promulgated on 1 October 1800, Spain returned Louisiana to France in exchange for the rights to certain portions of Tuscany, which Napoleon had threatened to conquer. But Napoleon soon abandoned his attack on the Tuscan region and Spain

continued to administer Louisiana. In October 1802, Spain revoked American traders' rights of deposit, which essentially closed the Mississippi River to American trade. Almost concurrently, France sent troops to Santo Domingo, Hispaniola (now the Dominican Republic) to quell a rebellion there.

President Thomas Jefferson greatly feared France's re-taking the Louisiana Territory. France was at the time a nominal ally of the United States, but Jefferson feared a war between England and France for control of Louisiana, and especially feared England's controlling over one-third of the American sub-continent.

With these thoughts in mind, Jefferson sent James Monroe, then U.S. minister to England, to Paris to assist the American minister in France, Robert Livingston, to negotiate the possible purchase of at least parts of Louisiana by the United States. Monroe was instructed to attempt one of four possible scenarios favorable to the United States: (1) purchase all of Florida and New Orleans; (2) purchase New Orleans alone; (3) purchase land on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River for an American port; or (4) acquire perpetual rights of navigation and deposit on the Mississippi River.

On 11 April 1803, before Monroe actually arrived in France, Napoleon's Prime Minister, Duke Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, asked Livingston how much Jefferson would offer to purchase the entire Louisiana territory. Napoleon's new attitude was spurred by events in America, in which his armies suffered terrible losses in Hispaniola and retreated. The army had been destroyed both by the enemy and by encroaching yellow fever, and Napoleon greatly feared war with the English at this time.

After Monroe's arrival, he and Livingston continued negotiations on Jefferson's behalf, and on 2 May 1803, France sold the Louisiana Territory to the United States for 60 million francs, then about \$15 million. Of this, 45 million francs were paid outright to France and 15 million francs were to be paid to U.S. citizens to satisfy their claims against France. The United States territory had more than doubled overnight at a cost of approximately three cents per acre.

President Jefferson was concerned about the constitutionality of the acquisition and even considered whether an amendment to the United States Constitution was necessary. The Constitution, however, gave the United States President the power to make treaties, and the United States Senate ratified the purchase as a treaty on 20 October 1803.

Besides doubling the land area of the new country, and protecting the new nation against foreign invasion, the purchase helped Jefferson solve one major "problem." The American "West," then defined as the area between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, was quickly filling up with settlers escaping the crowded Eastern seaboard. But Native American Indians occupied much of these lands and skirmishes between the settlers and the Indians were becoming frequent. Expansion further west gave more room for the settlers to seek land, and the United States Government also helped "solve" the problem by forcing the Indians to seek land further west as well.

### *The Selection of St. Louis*

The Games of the Ist Olympiad of the Modern Era were celebrated in 1896 in Athens, Greece, and the Games of the IInd Olympiad were held in 1900 in Paris, France. The Olympic Games had basically been resurrected through the efforts of a Frenchman, Baron Pierre de Coubertin, although as has been recently elucidated, he had significant historical precedent in the works of an Englishman, Dr. William Penny Brookes, and a Greek, Panagiotis Soutsos.<sup>1\*</sup>

<sup>1</sup>*See Notes on pages 25–26.*

Shortly after the 1900 Olympic Games, Coubertin and the other members of the IOC realized that it was now necessary for them to choose a city to host the 1904 Olympic Games. There is some historical evidence that Coubertin had always intended the Olympics to be held first in Athens, next in his home city of Paris, and then in an American city.

Recently, a superb summary of the selection of the host city for the Games of the IIIrd Olympiad has been published by Professor Robert Barney of the University of Western Ontario (London, Ontario, Canada). Entitled “Born from Dilemma: America Awakens to the Modern Olympic Games, 1901–1903,” it was published in *Olympika*, in the first volume of that journal in 1992. Much of what follows is based primarily on Barney’s article and his research.<sup>2</sup>

Barney states that Coubertin, in his last published book, *Mémoires Olympiques*, noted “that the 1900 Games planned for Paris would be followed four years later by an Olympic festival in America, completing, as he phrased it ‘...the original trinity chosen to emphasize the world character of the institution and establish it on a firm footing.’”<sup>3</sup> But the historical evidence from the early years of the Olympic Movement does not completely support this statement. In an article in *The Century Magazine* published in 1896, Coubertin himself stated, “Where will those [Games] of 1904 take place? Perhaps at New York, perhaps at Berlin or at Stockholm. The question is too soon to be decided.”<sup>4</sup> Thus there is documentation that other cities, and other nations, were being considered to host the 1904 Olympic Games.

But no serious challenger to the American cities ever emerged for 1904. And eventually, five American cities would be considered as possible hosts for the 1904 Olympic Games: Buffalo, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis.

Philadelphia was the first U.S. city to consider making a bid for the 1904 Olympics. In late July 1900, *The New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* both ran stories discussing the “probability” that the 1904 Olympics would come to the City of Brotherly Love.<sup>5</sup> But it never came to pass, and the Philadelphia bid was truly an ephemeral one. It always seemed to be based mainly on the Pennsylvania city’s interest in track & field athletics, not on holding a true multi-sport festival.<sup>6</sup>

The two cities from New York State which broached the possibility of bidding for the 1904 Olympic Games also did so only transiently. The possibility of New York as 1904 Olympic host can be traced to the thinking of William Milligan Sloane, a Princeton history professor and the senior American member of the IOC. Coubertin often consulted with Sloane, who was one of the very early supporters of the Olympic Movement, and Coubertin’s major ally in the United States. After consultation with Sloane, Coubertin actually announced on 11 November 1900 that either New York or Chicago would be the site of the 1904 Olympic Games, and this was published in *The New York Sun*.<sup>7</sup>

The bid by Buffalo for the 1904 Olympic Games is even more mysterious. At the 1901 IOC Session in which the host city was decided, the minutes document that the three American candidates were Buffalo, Chicago, and St. Louis. But Buffalo did not even have a representative at the session (nor did St. Louis), and the bid appeared to be a misrepresentation. In actuality, it appears Buffalo had no intention of bidding for the 1904 Olympic Games, but rather for a sports festival in 1901. In 1901, Buffalo hosted a major international fair, the Pan-American Exposition, and wished to host the Olympic Games as part of that Exposition,<sup>8</sup> not fully aware that the Olympics were only to be held every four years and were not scheduled for their next celebration until 1904. In addition, the IOC decision in May 1901 would have left them no time to host a major international athletic event. Buffalo’s bid was never considered seriously by the IOC.<sup>9</sup>

After Coubertin’s pronouncement concerning an American host city was published in *The New York Sun*, it was noticed by James E. Sullivan, who was at the time the president of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), and probably the most powerful sports administrator in America

in 1901. Barney notes, “There is little doubt that Sullivan viewed his AAU as the sole certifying agent for staging Olympic Games in America, based solely, of course, on his perception that when amateur athletics occurred in the United States they were subject to the rules of domestic sports governing bodies.”<sup>10</sup> The relationship between Coubertin and Sullivan was complex and decidedly confrontational, and is described in detail in the article by Lucas, “Early Olympic Antagonists: Pierre de Coubertin versus James E. Sullivan.”<sup>11</sup>

In response to Coubertin’s support of New York and Chicago, Sullivan immediately fired off a response to *The New York Sun* on 13 November 1900. Sullivan stated that Coubertin had no right to make any such announcement concerning Olympic Games in the United States as he had “been stripped of his athletic powers by the French government”<sup>12</sup> and was “thus no longer in control of international meetings.”<sup>13</sup> Referring to the President of the University of Chicago, William Rainey Harper (1856–1906), Sullivan noted:

... provided the other delegates of the International Union agree to hold the games in the U.S. in that year, but President Harper will have to apply to the new union, as it will be impossible to hold a successful meeting without the consent of that body. Baron de Coubertin has no right to allot dates for such a meeting.<sup>14</sup>

Sloane and Coubertin then began a correspondence debating the merits of New York and Chicago as Olympic host cities. This eventually prompted Coubertin to publish the following statement in the *Revue Olympique*, “It seems now very probable that the next Olympian games will take place in America, and people agree generally that, at the meeting which will be held shortly, the members of the International Olympic Committee will have to decide in favor of the New World. A rivalry was thought to arise between New York and Chicago; but Chicago seems to have already taken the lead.”<sup>15</sup>

The precise origins of Chicago’s Olympic bid are mired in obscurity, but Barney has shed some light on communications which transpired from the end of 1900 through February 1901 between President Harper, Henri Merou, chief delegate of the French Consulate in Chicago, and Henri Bréal, secretary of the Franco-American Committee in Paris. But Barney also notes that the most important person in the Chicago bid was probably Henry Jewett Furber, Jr. (né 1866), a Chicago corporate lawyer with multiple real estate and insurance interests around 1900. A letter of late 1900 from Furber documents his involvement and the early interest of Chicago:

Now my dear Dr. Harper, inasmuch as Consul Merou of Chicago, at present in Paris, and Mr. Bréal, as well as myself, have undertaken to create a movement in favor of Chicago, we must ask that, in justice to all concerned, a committee, such as we already have considered, be appointed in order that we may formulate some definite plan of action and be able to follow up our general declaration of intention.<sup>16</sup>

Chicago’s formal Olympic bid began when President Harper presided over a banquet on 13 February 1901 at the Chicago Athletic Association, at which a committee organized by Furber publicly announced Chicago’s interest in obtaining the bid as host city of the 1904 Olympic Games.<sup>17</sup>

But Coubertin had not yet heard from the Chicago Bid Committee, as it were, and knew only that which he read in the papers. The Chicago announcement was published in both the *Chicago Tribune* and *The New York Times*. The IOC Session for 1901 was only three months away, scheduled for May 1901.

Correspondence took place during those three months between Coubertin and the three

American IOC Members: Sloane, Caspar Whitney, and Theodore Stanton. The American IOC Members were strongly in favor of Chicago, and they eventually were able to convince James Sullivan that Chicago was an appropriate choice for the 1904 Olympics.

The Chicago Olympic Games Committee sent an official request to host the 1904 Olympic Games to Coubertin on 1 May 1901.<sup>18</sup> The document was signed by 13 prominent Chicago citizens, who constituted the bid committee.

The 1901 IOC Session took place in Paris from 21 to 23 May at Le Club Automobile de France. Until just before the session, it appeared that Chicago was the only candidate city. But events in St. Louis transpired to yield a second possible host city.

With 1903 marking the 100th Anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase, St. Louis planned a large World's Fair, the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition. But even by 1901 it had become obvious that the plans could not be completed in time to celebrate the anniversary in 1903. It was expected that the Exposition would be postponed to 1904. Anticipating this, on 30 April 1901, Caspar Whitney wrote to Harper, conveying the news of the probable postponement and the expected St. Louis challenge to host the 1904 Olympic Games.<sup>19</sup>

Almost concurrent with Whitney's letter, Coubertin received a St. Louis resident at his home in Paris, Count de Penaloza, who gave the Baron an informal confirmation of the St. Louis bid. He noted that a formal invitation would arrive momentarily. In a few days, the expected invitation did not materialize, and Penaloza sent Coubertin a note to the effect that St. Louis could not formally bid "at this time" and asked the IOC to postpone their decision until 1902.<sup>20</sup>

This was untenable to the IOC, who decided to proceed with choosing a 1904 host city during their 1901 Session. Of the American IOC Members, only Theodore Stanton was present in Paris.<sup>21</sup> With Henri Bréal assisting, Stanton presented the formal Chicago bid to the IOC. No representative of St. Louis was present, only the vague request from Penaloza to delay the selection. On 22 May 1901, Chicago was elected unanimously by the IOC as the host city for the 1904 Olympic Games.<sup>22</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Coubertin wrote to the United States President, William McKinley, asking him to accept the Honorary Presidency of the 1904 Olympic Games. But no response from McKinley ever occurred.<sup>23</sup> And if it had, events of September 1901 would have rendered it moot. While visiting the Buffalo Pan-American Exposition, McKinley was mortally wounded on 6 September by an anarchist, Leon Czolgosz, and died on 14 September 1901, the victim of the assassin's bullet. His replacement as President would be a man known for his love of the outdoors and his support of sports, Theodore "Teddy" Roosevelt.

Coubertin quickly turned his attention to Roosevelt and wrote him with a similar request.<sup>24</sup> He was rebuffed: "My dear Sir ... It is a matter of real regret to me that I do not feel at liberty to accept your very kind request that I become honorary president of the Chicago Olympic Games. Unfortunately, after consultation with members of the cabinet, I feel it would not do for me to give the unavoidable impression of governmental connection with the Games."<sup>25</sup>

Barney documents that Roosevelt never acquiesced to Coubertin's request, although future Olympic historians have not always recorded it in that manner. Specifically, he notes that Bill Henry, in his book *An Approved History of the Olympic Games*, erroneously stated that Roosevelt accepted the Honorary Presidency on 28 May 1902.<sup>26</sup>

And like President Roosevelt's rebuffs, Chicago's Olympic bid would soon come crashing down around it, the victim of the delay in St. Louis' hosting of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. St. Louis, although it had failed to win the 1904 Olympic Games, apparently planned an ambitious series of athletic events to be contested in conjunction with the 1904 World's Fair.

Henry Furber learned of St. Louis's ambitions just before he left on a cruise in August 1902, and he understood well the significance of this announcement. He cabled President Harper in Chicago, "I have just been informed that the St. Louis Exposition is trying to secure the AAU



championship contests in 1904. As the AAU virtually controls athletics in the United States, this would seriously injure the Olympian Games.”<sup>27</sup>

Shortly after his cruise ended, Furber learned of further possible problems. The officials of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition were requesting a meeting with him in New York, in which they wished to explore avenues by which the nation’s best athletes could compete in both the 1904 Olympic Games in Chicago, and the 1904 AAU Championships, by then scheduled for the same time period in St. Louis. Furber met in New York with Frederick Skiff, Director of Exhibits at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, and Alfred Shapleigh, a member of the Exposition’s Executive Committee. Exact records of that meeting do not exist, but Barney has unearthed a letter from Furber to Coubertin which discussed the St. Louisian’s hardball tactics: “They informed me politely but clearly, that the Olympian Games of 1904 threatened the success of their World’s Fair, and that if we insisted in carrying out our program they would develop their athletic department so as to eclipse our games...”<sup>28</sup>

Shortly after Furber’s return to Chicago, more bad news awaited him. This was in the form of a message from David R. Francis, former Governor of Missouri, and then the President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, requesting an audience with the Chicago Organizing Committee’s entire board of directors. A dinner meeting was arranged for 10 November 1902, at the Chicago Athletic Association. Francis’ committee also expressed their hopes that Chicago would transfer the 1904 Olympics to St. Louis. The Chicago committee voted narrowly to place the decision in the hands of Coubertin and the IOC.<sup>29</sup>

Within two weeks, Furber sent two letters to Coubertin. In them he gave details of the Chicago proposal. Barney quotes from the letters in his article:

St. Louis has an organized and paid corp of officials that could outstrip us in promptness and efficiency of work; the official recognition of the national government which would embarrass us in our missions abroad; a huge (over \$6,000,000) appropriation from the government, plus sums from states involved, thus blocking our own efforts; and St. Louis might place Chicago in the light of mischievously competing in an enterprise in whose success the honor of the nation is involved....

If we try to carry out our program in 1904, St. Louis will jeopardize our enterprise. She will ... injure us in a thousand different ways ... it would be better to accept the invitation of St. Louis and transfer the Games to that city, than to attempt to conduct them at Chicago in the face of difficulties with which St. Louis would oppose us. Still, my dear friend, I do not believe that this would be the wisest course. In my official letter I have suggested a postponement to 1905. If this plan should meet with your approval, I see the greatest possible success for us.<sup>30</sup>

Coubertin later wrote that he would allow a transfer but never a postponement. In December 1902, he sent off letters to the IOC Members discussing the situation and the problem, and asking for their opinion. Seven responses from IOC members have survived, all of them opposed to transferring the Olympics to St. Louis.<sup>31</sup>

It was obvious to Coubertin that he had to make a decision, and after pondering it in January 1903, he did so early in February. On 10 February 1903, he cabled Furber, “Transfer accepted.”<sup>32</sup> On February 12th, Coubertin received a cable from Furber. The message approached the Baron’s in brevity and succinctness: “Instruction just received. Will transfer accordingly.”<sup>33</sup>

The 1904 Olympic Games would be held in St. Louis in conjunction with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Baron Pierre de Coubertin would forever rue that decision.

### ***A Brief History of St. Louis***

The earliest known inhabitants of what is now St. Louis were the Hopewell Indians who settled there between 500 B.C. and A.D. 400. Also known as the mound builders, they built round, earthen structures to be used as temples, forts, and burial sites on the banks of the Mississippi. Some of these mounds survive today in the St. Louis area, particularly in Cahokia Mounds State Park across the river in Illinois. These mounds are responsible for St. Louis's original nickname of the "Mound City."

In approximately 1700, French Jesuit priests founded a mission at the mouth of the Rivière des Peres, near the current site of St. Louis. Kaskaskia and Tamaroa Indians came from Illinois to live with the priests for three years, but after they left, the mission failed.

St. Louis, Missouri, was originally settled in December 1763 by the French fur trader Pierre Laclède Liguest of New Orleans, who started a fur trading post on the site. He named the post in honor of Louis IX, the Crusader King of France, who ruled from 1214 to 1270 and was canonized in 1297. He was beloved by the French people for his benevolence, economic successes, his efforts to form a lasting peace, and his initiative to allow direct appeal to the Crown in all cases.

Following the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, St. Louis became a part of the United States. It was immediately made the seat of government of the District of Louisiana (1805), and later served as the capital of the Louisiana Territory (1805) and the Territory of Missouri (1812). It relinquished the seat of Missouri government when Missouri was made a state of the United States of American in 1820. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 resulted in Missouri being admitted to the United States as a slave state in exchange for Maine being admitted as a free state. Slavery was then forbidden in all states north and west of Missouri.

However, St. Louis was always the major city in Missouri and served as the entry point for settlers to the American West. Beginning with the steamboat era of the mid-19th century, and helped by its location on the banks of the Mississippi, St. Louis served as a major transportation hub, and was the United States' busiest inland river port well into the 20th century. St. Louis quickly prospered because of a booming fur trade and the influx of immigrants to the area. By the 1840s, St. Louis was surpassed only by New Orleans as a port on the Mississippi. After the Civil War, St. Louis enjoyed great prosperity. Many of the city's landmarks which still exist today were built in this era, including Forest Park (where the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition would take place), Tower Grove Park, and the Missouri Botanical Gardens. The world's first skyscraper, the ten-story Wainwright Building, was built in 1890 by Louis B. Sullivan.

St. Louis was incorporated as a town in 1821 and as a city in 1823. By 1900 it was the fourth largest American city, trailing only New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, with a population of 575,000. Almost 20 percent of the St. Louis population was foreign-born in 1904, with about 10 percent of the population of German descent.<sup>34</sup> As late as 1950, St. Louis was the eighth most populous U.S. city, then with 855,000 citizens, but by 1994, it ranked 43rd with a population of 368,000. The city is now dominated by a huge (630 foot [190 meter]) stainless-steel Gateway Arch, begun in 1963 and finished in 1966, a monument symbolizing St. Louis' status as "Gateway to the West."

### ***The Louisiana Purchase International Exposition: The 1904 St. Louis World's Fair***<sup>35</sup>

The 1904 St. Louis World's Fair was officially known as the Louisiana Purchase International Exposition, but was usually called the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. It was held in commemora-

tion of the centennial of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. As noted above, the fair was originally planned for 1903, but was delayed in order to accommodate the foreign exhibitors, who were unable to plan their exhibits by the 1903 deadline.

A commemoration of the Louisiana Purchase had been discussed in St. Louis as early as 1889. Then Governor David R. Francis led a delegation from Missouri to Washington in 1890 to secure the Columbian Exposition for St. Louis, but they lost out to Chicago. Francis was upset, but he determined that St. Louis should hold a bigger and better celebration in 1903 for the Louisiana Purchase centennial. Is it possible that Francis' defeat by Chicago in the efforts to host the 1893 World's Fair led to his intransigence in dealing with Chicago on the subject of the Olympic Games in 1902–1903?

On 3 March 1901, the U.S. Congress passed the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Bill, which authorized funding for the St. Louis Fair.<sup>36</sup> By May 1901 Francis was elected President of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company. A board of directors was appointed, made up of 93 business and civic leaders. Francis and his board planned a fair with several themes. They wished to repair St. Louis' tarnished image resulting from a violent turn-of-the-century transit workers' strike. The benefits of American Imperialism were one theme of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. As a result of the Spanish-American War, the United States had recently acquired possessions and established protectorates in the Caribbean and the Pacific. The 1904 World's Fair purported to show the benefits reaped by recently conquered countries because of American civilization. Francis further noted that the fair promoted universal peace by bringing together diverse people of many nationalities in peaceful co-existence. The St. Louis World's Fair also emphasized the latest technological developments in all exhibits.

The site of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was chosen as the western half of Forest Park, and the fairgrounds covered 1,272 acres—1.75 by 1.05 miles. St. Louis determined to put on its best face for the international visitors it expected. The city joined with private corporations to improve the appearance and services of St. Louis. The transit company added 450 new cars; trains ran to the fair every 15 minutes; and an intramural railroad was built to transport people in and around the fairgrounds. Water filters were installed to improve the notoriously bad St. Louis water. Mayor Rolla Wells directed the rebuilding of over 70 miles of streets and the construction of 30 miles of new streets.

The center of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was the Pike, an amusement and concession area, which extended 1½ miles from the main fair entrance. St. Louis architect Isaac Taylor was appointed as director of works, and he chose Emmanuel L. Masqueray as his chief design assistant. Masqueray developed the fan-shaped plan for the exhibit palaces, and also designed the colonnades and pavilion restaurants, as well as structures on the Pike.

Director of Exhibits Frederick J. V. Skiff planned the exhibits to demonstrate man and his works, emphasizing education. There were twelve major classifications of "man and his works": (1) education, (2) art, (3) liberal arts and applied sciences, (4) agriculture, (5) horticulture, (6) mining and forestry, (7) manufacturing, (8) transportation, (9) electricity, (10) anthropology, (11) social economy, and (12) physical culture. The exhibits concluded with physical culture, stressing a strong body as essential to a keen intellect. The 1904 Olympic Games were conducted as a section of the Physical Culture Exhibit, which was led by the Director, James Edward Sullivan.

The exhibits at the 1904 fair were designed to demonstrate the progress of humanity from barbarism to the pinnacle of Anglo-Saxon civilization, and this was exemplified by a series of historical and anthropological exhibits contrasting various races and peoples. Emphasizing this, there were American Indian exhibits, and exhibits of Philippine natives, both of which contrasted modern civilization against the relative barbaric cultures of those two groups at that time.

The opening day of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was Saturday, 30 April 1904, and it

drew an estimated crowd of 200,000. The fair was opened by President Theodore Roosevelt from Washington, who pressed the key of a telegraphic instrument to signal the start. At Roosevelt's signal, an artillery battery fired a national salute in the direction of Washington, while David R. Francis lifted his hands and issued an invitation to "enter herein, ye sons of men." Concurrently, 10,000 flags unfurled, fountains sprayed into the air, water tumbled down the Cascades, and bands played to signal the start of the fair. Francis then gave a rather lengthy speech.

Visitors could choose among some 540 amusements and concessions. The Pike stayed open in the evening when exhibit palaces had closed, and it also featured the Cliff Dwellers, Zuni, and Moki Indians who had "never been shown before"; it had burros conveying visitors along steep inclines, Mysterious Asia with camel rides along its winding streets, and the Geisha Girls entertaining visitors to Fair Japan. But with a separate admission price for each concession, the Pike proved to be too expensive for many families.

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition can claim the distinction of staging the first successful demonstration of wireless telegraphy between the ground and the air in the United States, and the St. Louis World's Fair is credited with mounting the first meteorological balloon experiments in the United States. However, there is no truth to the oft-quoted rumors that iced tea, hot dogs, and ice cream cones originated at the St. Louis World's Fair.

The Louisiana Purchase International Exposition drew to a close on 1 December 1904. President Francis gave the closing remarks: "Farewell, a long farewell, to all thy splendor." A band struck up "Auld Lang Syne," great geysers of fireworks blazed forth, ending with the fiery words "Farewell — Goodnight." According to official attendance figures, 19,694,855 people passed through the turnstiles during the seven months of the fair.

The 1904 World's Fair was a financial success. Profits from it were used to build the Jefferson Memorial in Forest Park, which was the first national monument to Thomas Jefferson and cost nearly \$500,000 to build. On a negative note, the fair reinforced unfortunate racial stereotypes in the ordering of exhibits contrasting "civilized" peoples with their "barbaric, hardly human" counterparts, and in the Old Plantation exhibit, which cast the antebellum South in a golden glow. On the local level, the 1904 fair paved the way for reforms instituted by Dwight Davis (who was elected park commissioner in 1911). Forest Park had lost most of its wilderness character as a result of clearing the land and its landscaping for the fair, but Davis established public recreational facilities in these new open spaces.

The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition was not soon forgotten. In 1944, a popular movie, *Meet Me in St. Louis* (MGM), was centered around life at the 1904 World's Fair. Starring Judy Garland and directed by her future husband, Vincente Minnelli, the movie introduced the popular song, "Meet Me in St. Louis, Louis." The movie also starred Margaret O'Brien, Mary Astor, Lucille Bremer, Tom Drake, June Lockhart, and Harry Davenport. It won a National Board of Review Award as one of the 10 best films of 1944. The song was written by Andrew B. Sterling (lyrics) and Kerry Mills (music) and was also sung by Leo Ames in the movie *By the Light of the Silvery Moon* (Warner Bros., 1953). In addition a group devoted to studying the 1904 World's Fair was formed in 1986, "The 1904 World's Fair Society," which has a web page devoted to its activities ([www.inlink.com/%7Eterryl/](http://www.inlink.com/%7Eterryl/)), a newsletter, and over 400 members as of 1998.

### *Games of the 3rd Olympiad*

The Olympic Games were held in St. Louis from 1 July through 23 November 1904. Sporting events as part of the Physical Culture Section of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition actually began on 14 May 1904, with an Interscholastic Meet, which was actually the Missouri State High

School Championships for 1904. But James Sullivan, whose official title was “Chief of the Department of Physical Culture Section of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition” and who was thus the Director of the Olympic Games, termed almost every event which occurred in conjunction with the Louisiana Purchase Exposition an Olympic event. The State High School Meet’s “official” title was the Olympic Interscholastic Meet. The sporting events conducted at the Fair ended a few days after the Olympic Games events, with a football game played between the two Indian schools, Carlisle and Haskell, on 26 November 1904. Carlisle defeated Haskell, 34–4.

There was something approximating a modern day Opening Ceremony at the 1904 Olympic Games, but it took place on 14 May 1904, at the Olympic Interscholastic Meet. It was scheduled to start at 2:30 P.M. (1430), but the functionaries had begun by touring the Louisiana Purchase Exposition and were late. At about 2:50 P.M. (1450), President Francis arrived at Francis Field accompanied by the United States Secretary of State John Milton Hay (1838–1905). They led in a double line of silk-hatted officials and commissioners and proceeded to their boxes in the grandstand. After they were seated, the band struck up “The Star Spangled Banner.” Francis, Hay, and Sullivan then walked down to the starting line. Sullivan called the athletes to the line for the first heat of the 100 yards, and the “Olympic Games” were opened when Francis fired the starting pistol at 3:00 P.M. (1500).

Most of the events of the 1904 Olympic Games took place on the campus of Washington University. Francis Field, the Washington University athletic stadium which was named after David Francis, Director of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, had a new, then-modern, stadium built for it, called the Olympic Stadium. Adjacent to the stadium was the Physical Culture Gymnasium which housed many of the physical culture exhibits and in which several of the indoor sports were conducted. Francis Field and the Olympic Stadium still exist in their original forms, although the 1904 cinder track was replaced, but not until the 1980s. The Physical Culture Gymnasium also still exists, almost as it did in 1904, and is still the main gymnasium for Washington University physical education classes.

After the debacle of 1900, Coubertin was hoping for better from the United States and St. Louis in 1904, but did not see his hopes realized. The Games were very similar to those in 1900—they lasted almost five full months; many of the events were not truly Olympic, but only championships of the Fair; it is difficult to know which sports and events were definitely on the Olympic program; a number of unusual sports and events saw their way to the program; and the Games were mostly an afterthought to the Fair. Attendance at many of the events was minimal. The local newspapers followed Sullivan’s lead and termed almost everything an “Olympic event,” but nationally, the newspapers seemed concerned only with the track & field athletic events, which occurred at the end of August and first of September. Little nation-wide publicity was given to other sports. Again, the number of competing nations and athletes cannot be determined with absolute accuracy, although we can do better than we can with 1900.

The athletics (track & field) events were virtually an American club championship, and, in fact, a trophy was donated by Albert Spalding for the American club scoring the most points in the sport. The trophy was hotly contested between the Chicago Athletic Association and the New York Athletic Club, and the New York AC’s victory was disputed by the Chicago club when they claimed a “ringer” had been used in the tug-of-war event (which was considered part of track & field athletics). Though surpassed by athletes in other sports, the American foursome of Archie Hahn, Harry Hillman, James Lightbody, and Ray Ewry won three gold medals each in track & field and received the bulk of the media attention.

In other sports, American dominance was almost as complete, owing to the fact that only a few other countries attended the Games, and very few foreign athletes competed. Only 12 nations can be considered to have competed in 1904, and the participation of several nations consisted of only a few athletes. Only track & field athletics had a true international flavor, with

10 nations competing. Swimming had competitors from four nations. Gymnastics also had four nations participating, but with only one athlete each from Austria and Switzerland.

It should be noted that in those years, athletes often competed virtually as individuals, with no real national teams. Thus the case of Felix Carbajal of Cuba, who travelled to St. Louis using money raised in staging various exhibitions in Havana. He stopped in New Orleans and lost his money in a crap game. So he hitchhiked to St. Louis to run in the marathon. He showed up on the starting line wearing heavy shoes, long trousers, and a long-sleeved shirt, but legend relates that American weight thrower Martin Sheridan helped him by using scissors to trim off his trousers and the sleeves on his shirt. Carbajal finished fourth. Two black Tswana tribesmen, Len Tau and Jan Mashiani, who were part of the Boer War exhibition at the fair, also competed in the marathon. Ironically, they are considered to be the first Olympic competitors from South Africa.

In other events, the first black men earned Olympic medals in track & field athletics, both Americans. These two athletes were George Poage, who won two bronze medals in the 200 and 400 meter hurdles; and Joseph Stadler, who won a silver medal in the standing high jump and a bronze medal in the standing triple jump.

The great hoax of the athletic events at the 1904 Olympics occurred in the marathon race. The winner was English-born American Tom Hicks, but the first runner to come into the stadium was Fred Lorz, also of the United States. He had his picture taken with Alice Roosevelt, daughter of Teddy Roosevelt, before it was revealed that he had stopped running and taken a car ride to just outside the stadium. He was disqualified by the AAU "for life," although that ruling was rescinded in time for Lorz to win the 1905 Boston Marathon.

Pierre de Coubertin was appalled when he heard of the happenings in St. Louis, but never more so than when he heard about the "Anthropological Days." The Fair organizers included several days of "Olympic" competitions among several so-called primitive tribes which were being exhibited at the Exposition. Among these were Pygmies, Patagonians, Filipinos, Native American Indian tribes, Japanese Ainus, and certain Asian tribes. Events included throwing bolos, mud fighting, and climbing a greased pole.

The Baron de Coubertin was informed of these events by Ferenc Kémény, who stated, "I was not only present at a sporting contest but also at a fair where there were sports, where there was cheating, where monsters were exhibited for a joke." Of this last reference to "Anthropological Days," Coubertin presciently noted, "As for that outrageous charade, it will of course lose its appeal when black men, red men, and yellow men learn to run, jump and throw, and leave the white men behind them."<sup>37</sup>

Coubertin would vow after 1904 to never again hold the Olympics as a sideshow to a major international fair, although 1908 would have a loose connection with one. Notably, he did not even attend the Olympics in 1904, sending two IOC delegates from Hungary (Kémény) and Germany (Willibald Gebhardt) in his place. In addition, the 1904 Olympic Games are also the only Olympics in history at which a formal session of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was not conducted. With the events of 1900 and 1904, the nascent Olympic Movement was reeling. It would be revived by an "Olympic Games" held outside of the cycle, in 1906 in Athens, which now receives little recognition for its import, but definitely resuscitated Coubertin's flagging Olympic Movement.

### ***Which Events and Sports Were the Olympic Games?***

In my recent work on the 1900 Olympic Games, I devoted a large section to this problem as related to the Paris Olympics of 1900. A similar difficulty exists in 1904, because of Sullivan's inane insistence on labelling every sporting event that occurred in St. Louis in the summer and

fall of 1904 as “Olympic.” Fortunately, the problem is not quite so difficult for 1904 as it is for 1900, although it is by no means simple.

First of all, to my knowledge, the IOC has never *officially* made any determination of what should be considered Olympic sports and events for 1904, nor did they for 1900. In my 1900 report, I discussed this in more detail, but suffice to say that multiple rumors exist that such a determination has been made, but no documentation to support that fact can be found. The same is true for 1904.

In the introduction to the statistical summary on the 1904 Games that I wrote in 1981, I stated that I would not attempt such a determination, and simply included most of the usually listed events and sports, allowing the readers and historians to make their own judgments. But that was a cop-out on my part, and herein I will attempt to determine which events should be considered part of the official Olympic program for 1904. As with my work on 1900, I propose to make the attempt, with the justification being, if not in this book, where else would it be done? Nobody else has looked at as many sources. Much of what follows will be similar to my arguments concerning the determination of the Olympic program in 1900.

In making this determination, I am using the principles of what constitutes an Olympic event in the 1990s, what was discussed officially by the IOC from 1894 to 1903, and will also extrapolate a bit to consider Coubertin’s philosophy of Olympism. I think this last point is important, for Coubertin certainly had nothing in mind like what took place in 1900 and 1904, and he never would have considered all the events of 1900 or 1904 to be Olympic in nature.

Four criteria currently must be met for any event or sport to be considered an Olympic event in current nomenclature. One, the event should be international in scope, allowing entries from all nations.<sup>38</sup> Two, no handicap events should be allowed. Three, the entries must be open to all competitors (which means mainly that limitations based on age, religion, national origin, or competency, such as junior, intermediate, or novice events, should not be allowed). And four, the events should be restricted to amateurs only. While amateur status is no longer a criterion for inclusion on the Olympic program, it certainly was in 1904.

Applying current criteria to 1904, a completely different era, is hardly good history. But if we look at the above criteria in the context of 1904, little should actually change.

First, that the events should be international was true in 1904 as well as today. Coubertin strongly desired the Olympics to be an international event, and did not wish to restrict entry on national origin in any manner. Thus, events in 1904 which were open to Americans only, such as American collegiate championships, or regional athletic sports, should not be included on the 1904 Olympic program.

Second, that handicap events should not be allowed was also definitely true in 1904. Even by 1904, the IOC had adopted the motto of “*Citius, Altius, Fortius*,” and definitely desired the Olympic events to be contests among the world’s best athletes competing on an even basis. This would eliminate all handicap events from Olympic consideration in 1904.

Third, any restriction of the events to certain classes of competitors was antithetical to Coubertin’s principles even in 1904. Coubertin did not wish to restrict the Olympics in any way,<sup>39</sup> with the exception of amateurism. He wanted them open to all amateur athletes in all parts of the world. To consider events for juniors, intermediates, novices, or Irish athletes only, would certainly violate his philosophy, in 1904 as well as today. I know of only a few exceptions to this principle. In 1896 a swimming event for sailors only was on the program. And until 1952, equestrian events were open only to military personnel, specifically officers.

Fourth, amateurism was certainly a requirement for an event to be considered Olympic in 1904, with one exception. At the 1894 Sorbonne Congress which re-established the Olympic Games, one of the conclusions of the Congress was, “Except in fencing only amateurs [will be] allowed to start.”<sup>40</sup> Fencing professionals were allowed, and professional fencing was included

in 1896 and 1900. Fencing teachers, or masters, were considered professionals but were also considered “gentlemen” in this era, and it was apparently considered acceptable for them to compete in the Olympic Games initially. There were no professional fencing events conducted as part of the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition, probably because fencing was never that popular in the United States. Professional events in any other sport, however, should not be considered Olympic events.

Now given all this, here is a list of all the sports and events which were conducted during the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Included in this list are the above criteria, and I have designated which events I think should be included as Olympic and which should not. Within each separate sport section, I have usually discussed the criteria for inclusion as an Olympic sport, and whether or not the sport met these criteria.

	<i>Amateurs/Pros</i>	<i>Int'l</i>	<i>Hdcp</i>	<i>Open</i>	<i>Olympic</i>
Anthropology Days	Amateurs	Yes	No	No	
Archery					
Double York Round, Men	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Double American Round, Men	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Team Round, Men	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Double Columbia Round, Women	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Double National Round, Women	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Flight Shooting, Men	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Flight Shooting, Women	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Athletics (Track & Field)					
Olympic Track & Field Athletics	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Olympic Handicap Meet	Amateurs	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Missouri Interscholastic Meet	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Open Handicap Meeting	Amateurs	No	Yes	No	
School Meet for LPE Territory	Amateurs	No	No	No	
St. Louis Elementary School Meet	Amateurs	No	No	No	
AAU Handicap Meet	Amateurs	No	Yes	No	
AAU Junior Championships	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Collegiate Championships	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Interscholastic Handicap Meet	Amateurs	No	Yes	No	
Interscholastic Championships	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Special Athletic Events	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Public Schools Athletic League Meet	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Irish Sports	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Western AAU Handicap Meet	Amateurs	No	Yes	No	
Western AAU Championship Meet	Amateurs	No	No	No	
YMCA Team Pentathlon Championships	Amateurs	No	No	No	
YMCA Handicap Track and Field Meet	Amateurs	No	Yes	No	
YMCA Track and Field Championship	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Military Athletic Carnival	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Basketball					
Olympic Basketball Championship	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	
Olympic College Basketball Championship	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Public School Ath. League Basketball	Amateurs	No	No	No	
YMCA Basketball Championships	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Boxing	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓



	<i>Amateurs/Pros</i>	<i>Int'l</i>	<i>Hdcp</i>	<i>Open</i>	<i>Olympic</i>
Cycling					
Olympic Amateur Events	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Olympic Amateur Events, Handicap	Amateurs	No	Yes	Yes	
Olympic Professional Events	Pros	No	No	Yes	
Olympic Professional Events, Handicap	Pros	No	Yes	Yes	
Diving	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Fencing					
Foil	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Dueling Swords (Épée)	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Saber	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Single Sticks	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Team Foil	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Junior Foil	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	
Football					
Olympic Association Football	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Olympic College Football	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Gaelic Football Championships	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Golf					
Men's Individual	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Men's Team Championship	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
President's Match	Amateurs	Yes	No	No	
Consolation Flights	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	
Team Nassau Match	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	
Driving Contest	Amateurs	Unk.	No	Yes	
Putting Contest	Amateurs	Unk.	No	Yes	
Gymnastics					
AAU Events	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Turnverein Gymnastics	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
YMCA Individual Gymnastics	Amateurs	No	No	No	
YMCA Team Athletic-Gymnastics	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Lacrosse					
Olympic Lacrosse Championships	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Irish Hurling Championships	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Roque	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Rowing & Sculling					
Single Sculls	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Double Sculls	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Coxless Pairs	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Coxless Fours	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Coxed Eights	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Intermediate Single Sculls	Amateurs	Yes	No	No	
Association Single Sculls	Amateurs	Yes	No	No	
Intermediate Double Sculls	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Intermediate Coxless Pairs	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Intermediate Coxless Fours	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Intermediate Coxed Eights	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Swimming					
Olympic Swimming Championships	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Olympic Handicap Meet	Amateurs	Yes	Yes	Yes	

	<i>Amateurs/Pros</i>	<i>Int'l</i>	<i>Hdcp</i>	<i>Open</i>	<i>Olympic</i>
Tennis (Lawn)					
Olympic Men's Singles	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
Olympic Men's Doubles	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
World's Fair Men's Singles	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	
World's Fair Men's Doubles	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	
Louisiana Purchase Open Singles	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	
Interscholastic Men's Singles	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Tug-of-War	Amateurs	Yes	No	No	✓
Water Polo	Amateurs	No	No	No	
Weightlifting					
Two-Hand Lift	Amateurs	Yes	No	Yes	✓
All-Around Dumbbell Contest	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓
Wrestling	Amateurs	No	No	Yes	✓

## SUMMARY STATISTICS

### *1904 Olympic Games — Medals Won by Countries*

The following medal lists (nations and individuals) includes *my* determination of which sports and events should be considered of Olympic caliber in 1904. Notably, *not* included are the following, which are often listed in Olympic reference books: Basketball, Roque (Croquet), Water Polo, and the Swimming 4 × 50-yard relay.

	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Bronze</i>	<i>Medals</i>
United States	74	79	80	233
Germany	4	4	4	12
Canada	4	1	1	6
Hungary	2	1	1	4
Cuba	3	–	–	3
Austria	1	1	1	3
Ireland (Great Britain) <sup>41</sup>	1	1	–	2
Greece	1	–	1	2
Austria/United States	1	–	–	1
Cuba/United States	1	–	–	1
Switzerland	1	–	1	2
France	–	1	–	1
France/United States	–	1	–	1
<i>Totals</i> (91 events)	93	89	89	271

**Note:** No third in 4-mile team race (athletics — men); no third in flyweight, bantamweight, and middleweight classes (boxing); two thirds in welterweight class (boxing); no third in team foil fencing; two firsts/no second in horizontal bar (gymnastics — men); two firsts/no second in horse vault (gymnastics — men); no third in eights (rowing); two thirds in men's individual event (golf); two thirds awarded in all events [two] in 1904 tennis.

Ladies' team round (archery) in 1904 was not contested, although several records books continue to list it as an event, with the United States winning and no second or third.

Basketball, roque (croquet), and water polo are not included in the above list as Olympic sports in 1904. American football and the anthropology days events, which are never included as Olympic sports in Olympic reference books, are likewise not included in the above list. In addition, I have eliminated the swimming 4 × 50-yard relay as an Olympic sport — for details see the swimming section.

***Most Medals (2 or more) [73: 70 Men, 3 Women]***

<i>Men</i>	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Bronze</i>	<i>Medals</i>
Anton Heida (USA-GYM)	5	1	–	6
George Eyser (USA-GYM)	3	2	1	6
Burton C. Downing (USA-CYC)	2	3	1	6 [3]
Marcus L. Hurley (USA-CYC)	4	–	1	5
Albertson Van Zo Post (USA-FEN)	2	1	2	5
William A. Merz (USA-GYM)	–	1	4	5 [6]
James D. Lightbody (USA-ATH)	3	1	–	4
Charles M. Daniels (USA-SWI)	2	1	1	4
Francis Gailey (USA-SWI)	–	3	1	4
Edwin “Teddy” Billington (USA-CYC)	–	1	3	4 [10]
Frank Kungler (USA-TOW/WLT/WRE)	–	1	3	4 [11]
Raymond C. Ewry (USA-ATH)	3	–	–	3
Ramón Fonst Segundo (CUB-FEN)	3	–	–	3
C. Archibald “Archie” Hahn (USA-ATH)	3	–	–	3
Harry L. Hillman, Jr. (USA-ATH)	3	–	–	3
Julius Lenhart (AUT-GYM)	2	1	–	3
G. Phillip Bryant (USA-ARC)	2	–	1	3
Emil A. Rausch (GER-SWI)	2	–	1	3
Robert W. Williams, Jr. (USA-ARC)	1	2	–	3
Ralph W. Rose (USA-ATH)	1	1	1	3 [20]
Arthur L. Newton (USA-ATH)	1	–	2	3
William H. Thompson (USA-ARC)	1	–	2	3
Charles T. Tatham (USA-FEN)	–	2	1	3
William P. Hogensen (USA-ATH)	–	1	2	3
Emil Voigt (USA-GYM)	–	1	2	3 [25]
Manuel D. Diaz Martinez (CUB-FEN)	2	–	–	2
Zoltán von Halmai (HUN-SWI)	2	–	–	2
Edward A. Hennig (USA-GYM)	2	–	–	2
Oliver L. Kirk (USA-BOX)	2	–	–	2
Meyer Prinstein (USA-ATH)	2	–	–	2 [30]
Beals C. Wright (USA-TEN)	2	–	–	2 [31]
Walter Brack (GER-SWI)	1	1	–	2
H. Chandler Egan (USA-GOL)	1	1	–	2
George V. Finnegan (USA-BOX)	1	1	–	2
John J. Flanagan (USA-ATH)	1	1	–	2
John Grieb (USA-GYM)	1	1	–	2

<i>(Men)</i>	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Bronze</i>	<i>Medals</i>
Charles Mayer (USA-BOX)	1	1	–	2
John J. F. Mulcahy (USA-ROW)	1	1	–	2
Oscar P. Osthoff (USA-WLT)	1	1	–	2
Harry J. Spanger (USA-BOX)	1	1	–	2 [40]
Howard V. Valentine (USA-ATH)	1	1	–	2
William P. Varley (USA-ROW)	1	1	–	2 [42]
Edgar W. Leonard (USA-TEN)	1	–	1	2
Adolf Spinnler (SUI-GYM)	1	–	1	2
Georg Zacharias (GER-SWI)	1	–	1	2 [45]
Nathaniel J. Cartmell (USA-ATH)	–	2	–	2
Albert Coray (FRA-ATH)	–	2	–	2
Georg Hoffmann (GER-SWI/DIV)	–	2	–	2
Charles M. King (USA-ATH)	–	2	–	2
Robert LeRoy (USA-TEN)	–	2	–	2 [50]
W. Frank Verner (USA-ATH)	–	2	–	2
Frank L. Waller (USA-ATH)	–	2	–	2 [52]
A. F. Andrews (USA-CYC)	–	1	1	2
Alphonzo E. Bell (USA-TEN)	–	1	1	2
Jack Eagan (USA-BOX)	–	1	1	2
William Grebe (USA-FEN)	–	1	1	2
Lacey E. Hearn (USA-ATH)	–	1	1	2
Géza Kiss (HUN-SWI)	–	1	1	2
Charles Krause (USA-GYM)	–	1	1	2
J. Scott Leary (USA-SWI)	–	1	1	2 [60]
Joseph P. Lydon (USA-BOX/FTB)	–	1	1	2
Burt P. McKinnie (USA-GOL)	–	1	1	2
Francis C. Newton (USA-GOL)	–	1	1	2
Joseph F. Stadler (USA-ATH)	–	1	1	2
Wilhelm Weber (GER-GYM)	–	1	1	2
George E. Wiley (USA-CYC)	–	1	1	2 [66]
John Duha (USA-GYM)	–	–	2	2
Frank Kungler (USA-WLT)	–	–	2	2
George C. Poage (USA-ATH)	–	–	2	2
Robert S. Stangland (USA-ATH)	–	–	2	2 [70]
<b><i>Women</i></b>	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Bronze</i>	<i>Medals</i>
Lida Scott Howell (USA-ARC)	2	–	–	2
Emma C. Cooke (USA-ARC)	–	2	–	2
Jessie Pollock (USA-ARC)	–	–	2	2 [3]

***Most Gold Medals (2 or more) [21: 20 Men, 1 Woman]***

<i>Men</i>	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Bronze</i>	<i>Medals</i>
Anton Heida (USA-GYM)	5	1	–	6 [1]
Marcus L. Hurley (USA-CYC)	4	–	1	5 [2]
George Eyser (USA-GYM)	3	2	1	6

James D. Lightbody (USA-ATH)	3	1	–	4
Raymond C. Ewry (USA-ATH)	3	–	–	3
Ramón Fonst Segundo (CUB-FEN)	3	–	–	3
C. Archibald “Archie” Hahn (USA-ATH)	3	–	–	3
Harry L. Hillman, Jr. (USA-ATH)	3	–	–	3 [8]
Burton C. Downing (USA-CYC)	2	3	1	6
Albertson Van Zo Post (USA-FEN)	2	1	2	5 [10]
Charles M. Daniels (USA-SWI)	2	1	1	4
Julius Lenhart (AUT-GYM)	2	1	–	3
G. Phillip Bryant (USA-ARC)	2	–	1	3
Emil A. Rausch (GER-SWI)	2	–	1	3
Manuel D. Diaz Martinez (CUB-FEN)	2	–	–	2
Zoltán von Halmay (HUN-SWI)	2	–	–	2
Edward A. Hennig (USA-GYM)	2	–	–	2
Oliver L. Kirk (USA-BOX)	2	–	–	2
Meyer Prinstein (USA-ATH)	2	–	–	2
Beals C. Wright (USA-TEN)	2	–	–	2 [20]
<b>Women</b>				
Lida Scott Howell (USA-ARC)	2	–	–	2 [1]

***Youngest Medalists<sup>42</sup> (10 athletes/11 performances)***

*Yrs-days*

15-124	Henry B. Richardson (USA-ARC, Team Round)
16-007	John Duha (USA-GYM, Combined exercises, team)
16-023	Louis J. Menges (USA-FTB)
16-125	Duha (USA-GYM, Parallel bars)
16-295	Charles J. January, Jr. (USA-FTB)
16-326	Alexander Cudmore (USA-FTB)
17-168	Frank R. Castleman (USA-ATH, 200 hurdles)
17-301	Robert E. Hunter (USA-GOL, Team)
17-326	Peter J. Ratican (USA-FTB)
18-082	Warren G. Brittingham (USA-FTB)
18-166	George Passmore (USA-LAX)

***Youngest Medalists, Individual (10 athletes/20 performances)***

*Yrs-days*

16-125	John Duha (USA-GYM, Parallel bars)
17-168	Frank R. Castleman (USA-ATH, 200 hurdles)
18-185	H. Jamison Handy (USA-SWI, 440 breaststroke)
18-240	Frank L. Waller (USA-ATH, 400 meters)
18-242	Waller (USA-ATH, 400 hurdles)
18-261	John C. Hein (USA-WRE, Light-flyweight)
18-357	Albert Zirkel (USA-WRE, Lightweight)
19-164	Charles M. Daniels (USA-SWI, 100 yd. freestyle)

19-164	Ralph W. Rose (USA-ATH, Hammer throw)
19-165	Charles M. Daniels (USA-SWI, 220 yd. freestyle)
19-165	Daniels (USA-SWI, 50 yd. freestyle)
19-166	Daniels (USA-SWI, 440 yd. freestyle)
19-166	Rose (USA-ATH, Shot put)
19-169	Rose (USA-ATH, Discus throw)
19-177	Burton C. Downing (USA-CYC, ½ mi)
19-178	Downing (USA-CYC, ¼ mile)
19-178	Downing (USA-CYC, 2 mile)
19-180	Downing (USA-CYC, 25 mile)
19-180	Downing (USA-CYC, 1 mile)
19-180	Downing (USA-CYC, ⅓ mile)

***Youngest Gold Medalists (10 athletes/12 performances)****Yrs-days*

17-301	Robert E. Hunter (USA-GOL, Team)
18-192	Kenneth P. Edwards (USA-GOL, Team)
18-284	Mason E. Phelps (USA-GOL, Team)
19-165	Charles M. Daniels (USA-SWI, 220 yd. freestyle)
19-166	Daniels (USA-SWI, 440 yd. freestyle)
19-166	Ralph W. Rose (USA-ATH, Shot put)
19-178	Burton C. Downing (USA-CYC, 2 miles)
19-180	Downing (USA-CYC, 25 miles)
19-270	Samuel Berger (USA-BOX, Unlimited class)
20-009	Louis Abell (USA-ROW, Coxed eights)
20-026	H. Chandler Egan (USA-GOL, Team)
20-084	Georg Zacharias (GER-SWI, 440 breaststroke)

***Youngest Gold Medalists, Individual (10 athletes/17 performances)****Yrs-days*

19-165	Charles M. Daniels (USA-SWI, 220 yd. freestyle)
19-166	Daniels (USA-SWI, 440 yd. freestyle)
19-166	Ralph W. Rose (USA-ATH, Shot put)
19-178	Burton C. Downing (USA-CYC, 2 miles)
19-180	Downing (USA-CYC, 25 miles)
19-270	Samuel Berger (USA-BOX, Unlimited class)
20-084	Georg Zacharias (GER-SWI, 440 breaststroke)
20-154	Oliver L. Kirk (USA-BOX, Featherweight)
20-154	Kirk (USA-BOX, Bantamweight)
20-223	Marcus L. Hurley (USA-CYC, ½ mile)
20-224	Hurley (USA-CYC, ¼ mile)
20-226	Hurley (USA-CYC, ⅓ mile)
20-226	Hurley (USA-CYC, 1 mile)
20-327	William P. Dickey (USA-SWI, Plunge)
21-007	Ramón Fonst Segundo (CUB-FEN, Foil)

- 21-007 Fonst Segundo (CUB-FEN, Épée)  
21-164 Oscar P. Osthoff (USA-WLT, Dumbbell contest)

***Oldest Medalists (10 athletes/17 performances)***

*Yrs-days*

- 68-193 Samuel H. Duvall (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
64-001 Galen C. Spencer (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
63-239 Robert W. Williams, Jr. (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
63-238 Williams, Jr. (USA-ARC, Double York Round)  
63-237 Williams, Jr. (USA-ARC, Double American Round)  
56-194 William H. Thompson (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
56-193 Thompson (USA-ARC, Double York Round)  
56-192 Thompson (USA-ARC, Double American Round)  
53-264 Lewis W. Maxson (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
50-251 Charles T. Tatham (USA-FEN, Team Foil)  
50-250 Tatham (USA-FEN, Épée)  
50-250 Tatham (USA-FEN, Foil)  
46-028 George S. Lyon (CAN-GOL, Individual)  
45-023 Lida S. Howell (USA-ARC, Double National Round)  
45-022 Howell (USA-ARC, Double Columbia Round)  
42-303 Cyrus E. Dallin (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
42-028 Jesse L. Carleton (USA-GOL, Team)

***Oldest Medalists, Individual (10 athletes/23 performances)***

*Yrs-days*

- 63-238 Robert W. Williams, Jr. (USA-ARC, Double York Round)  
63-237 Williams, Jr. (USA-ARC, Double American Round)  
56-193 William H. Thompson (USA-ARC, Double York Round)  
56-192 Thompson (USA-ARC, Double American Round)  
50-250 Charles T. Tatham (USA-FEN, Épée)  
50-250 Tatham (USA-FEN, Foil)  
46-028 George S. Lyon (CAN-GOL, Individual)  
45-023 Lida S. Howell (USA-ARC, Double National Round)  
45-022 Howell (USA-ARC, Double Columbia Round)  
40-214 James S. Mitchel (USA-ATH, 56 lb. weight throw)  
37-251 Albertson Van Zo Post (USA-FEN, Saber)  
37-251 Van Zo Post (USA-FEN, Single sticks)  
37-250 Van Zo Post (USA-FEN, Épée)  
37-250 Van Zo Post (USA-FEN, Foil)  
34-313 Thomas F. Kiely (IRL-ATH, All-Around)  
32-301 George Eyser (USA-GYM, Rope climbing)  
32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Pommel horse)  
32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Horizontal bar)  
32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Horse vault)  
32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Parallel bars)

- 32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Combined exercises)  
 31-234 John J. Flanagan (USA-ATH, 56 lb. weight throw)  
 31-231 Flanagan (USA-ATH, Hammer throw)

***Oldest Gold Medalists (10 athletes/14 performances)***

*Yrs-days*

- 64-001 Galen C. Spencer (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
 63-239 Robert W. Williams, Jr. (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
 56-194 William H. Thompson (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
 53-264 Lewis W. Maxson (USA-ARC, Team Round)  
 46-028 George S. Lyon (CAN-GOL, Individual)  
 45-023 Lida S. Howell (USA-ARC, Double National Round)  
 45-022 Howell (USA-ARC, Double Columbia Round)  
 37-251 Albertson Van Zo Post (USA-FEN, Single sticks)  
 37-251 Van Zo Post (USA-FEN, Team Foil)  
 37-068 John O. Exley, Jr. (USA-ROW, Coxed eights)  
 34-313 Thomas F. Kiely (IRL-ATH, All-Around)  
 32-301 George Eyser (USA-GYM, Rope climbing)  
 32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Horse vault)  
 32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Parallel bars)

***Oldest Gold Medalists, Individual (10 athletes/15 performances)***

*Yrs-days*

- 46-028 George S. Lyon (CAN-GOL, Individual)  
 45-023 Lida S. Howell (USA-ARC, Double National Round)  
 45-022 Howell (USA-ARC, Double Columbia Round)  
 37-251 Albertson Van Zo Post (USA-FEN, Single sticks)  
 34-313 Thomas F. Kiely (IRL-ATH, All-Around)  
 32-301 George Eyser (USA-GYM, Rope climbing)  
 32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Horse vault)  
 32-301 Eyser (USA-GYM, Parallel bars)  
 31-231 John J. Flanagan (USA-ATH, Hammer throw)  
 31-208 Étienne Desmarteau (CAN-ATH, 56 lb. weight throw)  
 30-324 Raymond C. Ewry (USA-ATH, LJs)  
 30-324 Ewry (USA-ATH, TJs)  
 30-321 Ewry (USA-ATH, HJs)  
 30-153 Manuel D. Diaz Martinez (CUB-FEN, Saber)  
 30-113 George H. Sheldon (USA-DIV, PF)

***Female Medalists, Ages (2 athletes/4 performances)***

*Yrs-days*

- 45-023 Lida S. Howell (USA-ARC, Double National Round)  
 45-022 Howell (USA-ARC, Double Columbia Round)



20-190 Emma C. Cooke (USA-ARC, Double National Round)  
 20-189 Cooke (USA-ARC, Double Columbia Round)<sup>43</sup>

***Total Known Competitors (Men and Women)***

	<i>Arc</i>	<i>Ath</i>	<i>Box</i>	<i>Cyc</i>	<i>Div</i>	<i>Fen</i>	<i>Ftb</i>	<i>Gol</i>	<i>Gym</i>	<i>Lax</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>Ten</i>	<i>Tow</i>	<i>Wlt</i>	<i>Wre</i>	<i>Subtotal/Totals</i>	
AUS	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
AUT	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	2
CAN	-	5	-	-	-	-	11	3	-	24	9	-	-	-	-	-	52	52
CUB	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
FRA	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
GER	-	2	-	-	3	1	-	-	7	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	18	17
GRE	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	-	16	14
HUN	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	4	4
IRL/GBR	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3
SAF	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	8	8
SUI	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
USA	29	88	18	18	2	8	23	74	112	12	35	16	35	20	4	41	535	523
<i>Total</i>	29	117	18	18	5	11	34	77	121	36	44	23	36	30	5	41	645	630
<i>Nations</i>	1	10	1	1	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	4	2	3	2	1		12

***Women***

	<i>Arc</i>	<i>Totals</i>
USA	6	6
<i>Totals</i>	6	6
<i>Nations</i>	1	1

***Known Competitors by Nation***

	<i>Subtotal Men</i>	<i>Total Women</i>	<i>Sub- Total</i>	<i>Men 2-sport</i>	<i>Men 3-sport</i>	<i>Men Total</i>	<i>Total</i>
Australia	2	-	2	-	-	2	2
Austria	2	-	2	-	-	2	2
Canada	52	-	52	-	-	52	52
Cuba	3	-	3	-	-	3	3
France	1	-	1	-	-	1	1
Germany	18	-	18	1	-	17	17
Greece	16	-	16	2	-	14	14
Hungary	4	-	4	-	-	4	4
Ireland (GBR)	3	-	3	-	-	3	3
South Africa	8	-	8	-	-	8	8

*The 1904 Olympic Games*

	<i>Subtotal Men</i>	<i>Total Women</i>	<i>Sub- Total</i>	<i>Men 2-sport</i>	<i>Men 3-sport</i>	<i>Men Total</i>	<i>Total</i>
Switzerland	1	–	1	–	–	1	1
United States	529	6	535	10	1	517	523
<i>Totals</i>	639	6	645	13	1	624	630
<i>Nations</i>	12	1	12	3	1	12	12

*Known Competitors, Nations, and Events by Sports*

	<i>Total Comp.</i>	<i>Men Comp.</i>	<i>Women Comp.</i>	<i>Nations</i>	<i>All Events</i>	<i>Women Events</i>
Archery	29	23	6	1	5	2
Athletics (Track & Field)	117	117	–	10	24	–
Boxing	18	18	–	1	7	–
Cycling	18	18	–	1	7	–
Diving	5	5	–	2	1	–
Fencing	11	11	–	3	5	–
Football (Association) [Soccer]	34	34	–	2	1	–
Golf	77	77	–	2	2	–
Gymnastics	121	121	–	4	12	–
Lacrosse	36	36	–	2	1	–
Rowing & Sculling	44	44	–	2	5	–
Swimming	23	23	–	4	9	–
Tennis (Lawn)	36	36	–	2	2	–
Tug-of-War	30	30	–	3	1	–
Weightlifting	5	5	–	2	2	–
Wrestling	41	41	–	1	7	–
<i>Subtotals</i>	645	639	6	12	91	2
Multi-Sport Athletes	14	14	–	3	–	–
<i>Totals</i>	<b>630</b>	<b>624</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>		<b>2</b>

*Athletes Competing in Two or More Sports in 1904 [14]*

*Three Sports* [1] — *United States* [1]: Kungler, Frank. Tug-of-War/Weightlifting/Wrestling.

*Two Sports* [13] — *Germany* [1]: Hoffmann, Georg. Diving/Swimming. *Greece* [2]: Georgantas, Nikolaos. Athletics/Tug-of-War. Kakousis, Perikles. Tug-of-War/Weightlifting. *United States* [10]: Chadwick, Charles. Athletics/Tug-of-War. Emmerich, Max. Athletics/Gymnastics. Feuerbach, Lawrence Edward Joseph. Athletics/Tug-of-War. Haberkorn, Charles. Tug-of-War/Wrestling. Jones, Samuel Symington. Athletics/Tug-of-War. Lydon, Joseph Patrick. Boxing/Football (Soccer). McKittrick, Ralph. Golf/Tennis. Mitchel, James Sarsfield. Athletics/Tug-of-War. Olson, Oscar G. Tug-of-War/Weightlifting. Semple, Frederick Humphrey. Golf/Tennis.

## NOTES

1. The contributions of Brookes have been known by Olympic historians for many years. Soutsos' involvement in the formative years of the Olympic Movement in the 19th century was only recently unearthed through the pioneering efforts of Prof. David Young, who published a landmark description of the origins of the modern Olympics in his recent book, *The Modern Olympics: A Struggle for Revival* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996). Young's work describes well the influence of Brookes and Soutsos on Coubertin's eventual efforts.
2. Bob Barney has reviewed this material, and kindly allowed me to use much of his original work, although his work is far more comprehensive than this short introduction.
3. Pierre de Coubertin, *Mémoires olympiques* (Lausanne: Bureau International de Pédagogie Sportive, 1931), p. 60; quoted in Barney, p. 93.
4. Pierre de Coubertin, "The Olympic Games of 1896," *Century Magazine*, November 1896, p. 50; quoted in Barney, p. 93.
5. *The New York Times*, 28 July 1900; and *Chicago Tribune*, 27 July 1900.
6. Lucas JA, "Early Olympic Antagonists: Pierre de Coubertin versus James E. Sullivan," *Stadion* 3 (1977): 258–272. See especially p. 261 for discussion of this fact.
7. Barney, p. 95; and "Olympian Games for America," *The New York Sun*, 12 November 1900, p. 8.
8. "The Olympic Games at Buffalo," *Public Opinion* 29 (1 November 1900): 567.
9. Barney does not even mention the Buffalo bid. The above comes basically from notes by Wolf Lyberg in his summary of the IOC Sessions, *The History of the IOC Sessions: I. 1894–1939*, by Wolf Lyberg (Lausanne: IOC, 1994), pp. 24–25; and in Bill Henry, *An Approved History of the Olympic Games* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1948), p. 69.
10. Barney, p. 95.
11. Lucas JA, *op. cit.*
12. Here Sullivan was referring to Coubertin being replaced by the French organizers of the 1900 Exposition Universelle as the administrator of the sporting events conducted as part of that World's Fair, which are considered the 1900 Olympic Games. In addition, he was alluding to a Union Internationale which had been formed in Paris in 1900 by him, de Saint Clair (FRA), Pierre Roy (FRA), and Lieutenant Bergh (SWE). Bergh, however, hearing of Sullivan's proclamation, noted that he himself had not been at the meeting at which the group was supposedly formed.
13. Lucas JA, p. 262.
14. "The Next Olympian Games," *The New York Sun*, 13 November 1900, p. 5; quoted in Lucas, p. 262, and Barney, p. 95.
15. *Revue Olympique*, January 1901, p. 11.
16. Barney, p. 98. His source is listed as Furber to Harper, 30 October 1900, Harper Papers, Box 50, Folder 13, held at the University of Chicago.
17. Barney, p. 99; Lucas, p. 264.
18. Barney, p. 101.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*, and Lyberg1, p. 24.
22. Lyberg1, p. 25.
23. Coubertin to President William McKinley, 28 May 1901, IOC Archives, Coubertin Personal Correspondence; quoted in Barney, p. 104.
24. Coubertin to Theodore Roosevelt, 15 November 1901, IOC Archives, Coubertin Personal Correspondence; quoted in Barney, p. 105.
25. Roosevelt to Coubertin, 7 December 1901, Presidential Papers Microfilm Series 1, Reel 327, Lamont Library, Harvard; quoted in Barney, p. 105.
26. Henry, p. 70; quoted in Barney, p. 105.
27. Furber to Harper, 30 August 1902, Harper Papers, Box 50, Folder 13, University of Chicago; quoted in Barney, pp. 106–107.

28. Furber to Coubertin, 26 November 1902, IOC Archives, Coubertin Personal Correspondence; quoted in Barney, p. 108.
29. Barney, pp. 108–109.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 110–111.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 112–114.
32. Coubertin to Furber, 10 February 1903, IOC Archives, Coubertin Personal Correspondence; quoted in Barney, p. 115.
33. Furber to Coubertin, 12 February 1903, IOC Archives, Coubertin Personal Correspondence; quoted in Barney, p. 115.
34. Barnett, p. 19–20.
35. Much of my background material on the Louisiana Purchase Exposition comes from Yvonne M. Condon, “St. Louis 1904: Louisiana Purchase International Exposition,” in *Historical Dictionary of World’s Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988*, edited by JE Findling and KD Pelle (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1990). Further material comes from the Internet Web Page for the 1904 World’s Fair Society: [www.inlink.com/%7Eterryl/](http://www.inlink.com/%7Eterryl/)
36. Barnett, p. 19.
37. Killanin/Rodda, p. 67.
38. “Allowing” is important here. In most cases, I have copies of the original rules. The fact that no foreign athletes competed should not necessarily exclude the sport or event, especially for 1904, when the long travel time to the United States and St. Louis discouraged many foreign athletes from attempting to compete.
39. The only possible exception to this concerns women. Coubertin never liked the idea of women competing at the Olympics and resisted it to the end.
40. Lyberg1, p. 12.
41. All three “British” competitors were from Ireland, which in 1904 was still a dependent nation of Great Britain.
42. No “Youngest Competitors” or “Oldest Competitors” lists are included, as in my other books on the early Olympic Games. So few dates of birth are known for non-medalists at the 1904 Olympic Games that there is currently no difference between those lists and the lists of Youngest and Oldest Medalists.
43. There were three female medalists in the 1904 Olympics, all in archery. The other was Jessie Pollock, but her birthdate is not known.

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*with Their Abbreviations as Cited in Text*

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