

# Civic Pacifism and Sports-Based Internationalism: Framework for the Founding of the International Olympic Committee<sup>1</sup>

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As the Modern Olympic Movement stands poised to celebrate the 100th anniversary of its founding, it would seem timely to replace the veneer of Greek antiquity which has all too often surrounded explanations for the historical/psychological motivation leading to the inauguration of Baron Pierre de Coubertin's noble enterprise. The subsequently delineated framework, within which a fresh explanation is offered, is one far removed from antiquity; indeed, it is one developed from an investigation of the important nineteenth century phenomenon known as the "International Peace Movement."

## Introduction

It is tantamount to a conditioned reflex to introduce representations of, and reflections on, the modern Olympic Games with a preliminary excursion to antiquity, a venture bent on linking Coubertin's model for his modern act of foundation to the glorious ancient Olympic saga of some one thousand year's duration and its succeeding fifteen hundred year period of occasional memories of noble Olympia.<sup>2</sup> In addition, the recent new interpretations forwarded by classical historians attempting to link the increasingly pronounced professionalization of modern Olympic athletes with the *real*, rather than Coubertin's romanticized *ideal*, image of athletics in antiquity, still do not place the creation of the Modern Olympic Movement into proper historical perspective. Even though this new image of ancient Greek athletes, characterized by competitive zeal and greed for prize winnings, presents a fresh interpretation, it is still one that attempts to explain the contemporary Olympic situation in terms of an ancient legitimation.

The purpose of this essay is to bring into focus the motivational factors contemporary to Coubertin's time from which his "grand Olympic work" sprang. The reference here is not to the philhellenism that was a common feature of bourgeois education at the time, but rather to specific political movements which can help to elucidate precisely the "peace element" in Coubertin's motivation and his apparent vacillation between international and national thinking.

The hitherto much disparaged list of honorary members of the First Olympic Congress in 1894 (see Appendix I) has been chosen as a starting point for examining

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the first international peace movement, then on the rise, and its impact on Coubertin's life and early work.<sup>3</sup> However, before this task is undertaken, traditional patterns of Coubertinian research should first be noted.

Contemporary scholarship on Pierre de Coubertin is generally governed by two assumptions:

1. That the modern Olympic Games were originally derived from an ancient model, but at the same time, Coubertin's idea of antiquity was only approximate and did not reflect a true image. His extensive desire for peace, and his idealized image of the athlete, were his own independent elements, but scarcely more than misconstrued exaggerations.
2. That the modern Olympic Games are the result solely of Coubertin's deeply patriotic and sports-minded educational theory, which he projected by means of a purely instrumental internationalism. However, he became encumbered by the fundamental incompatibility of national and international intentions. More precisely, his well-intentioned desire for peace was unrealistic in the face of Olympic contests inevitably coloured by national sentiment. In the final analysis, Coubertin and the character of the Games fitted well with the nationalist, imperialist age.

Neither the "ancient derivation theory" nor the "national fixation theory" explains the contemporary worldwide stature of the Olympic phenomenon or its central internationalist impulse. Even though a newer Olympic legitimization linked to the political theme of peace is emerging, such an explanation has thus far progressed without adequate reference to the central role that the peace movement played in the Olympic Movement's founding phase, largely because explanations with a classical bent distort the view of Coubertin's own times.

Even to this day, we do not know exactly how Coubertin came to designate his grand project as "Olympic." A study of his ill-fated conference of 1892—at which he first aired the idea of restoring Olympic Games in a modern context—gives no clues on this point. No early studies of antiquity on the Baron's part are discernible, only his awareness of the Olympic excavation euphoria current at the time. Various scholars have addressed this problem. David Young postulates a "linear" relationship from antiquity to the first modern Olympic event, presenting as the true parents, the Greek national Olympics known as the Zappion Games, all four editions of which took place between 1859 and 1889, years before Coubertin's scheme germinated.<sup>4</sup> John MacAloon considers it a "miracle" that Coubertin remained on the track of internationalism in the midst of a conservative environment in France.<sup>5</sup> Coubertin himself consistently stressed the dual character of the Games, setting his philosophical tone in place when he dedicated the 1896 Games to both patriotism and world peace.<sup>6</sup> Some forty years later, in 1935, Coubertin's tone in this regard remained unchanged. According to Richard Mandell, because of Coubertin's ambiguous dedication, Olympic history assumed an "Olympic paradox" from the very outset.<sup>7</sup> German historian Hajo Bernett attributes an alleged crisis of Olympism to the "contradiction" between patriotism and internationalism.<sup>8</sup> Finally,

the historically-minded German sports journalist K. A. Scherer goes beyond all of these explanations by crediting Coubertin with a sudden “flash of genius” at the founding congress of the IOC in 1894, a “flash” which enabled him to save his patriotism through a form of interationalism.<sup>9</sup>

In the face of the two general competing lines of Coubertinian research mentioned above, the specific intention of this article is to present a new socio-cultural explanation of the early Olympic initiative. To be put to test is the theory that Coubertin’s project—before it ever acquired a classical “Olympic” reputation—may have been based on a specific contemporary internationalism with pedagogical implications. Thus, the initial investigative premise is that pacifists provided an important impact on Coubertin’s plan to establish modern athletic contests within the milieu of major international exhibitions.

Despite such an investigative premise, I refrain from boldly pronouncing a “pacifistic derivation theory” for Coubertin’s Olympic project, largely because there appears in the Baron’s scheme an independent interpretation of modern sport, namely, its reformation in the context of educational potential. My theory is that Coubertin turned to contemporary internationalism because it offered him the possibility of maintaining and passing on patriotism in its true sense in such a way as to reinforce the reform of sport itself under the symbol of the Olympic Games as a cause for all countries and mankind as a whole.<sup>10</sup>

## Prelude: A Pacifist Framework for Coubertin’s Olympic Undertaking

Coubertin’s patronage lists have seldom been a subject of rigorous investigation by historians; usually, they produce smiles of amusement among serious readers. One reason for this is that although the lists usually included scores of names, it is not certain how many of them actually attended to or supported the Baron’s initiatives. For Coubertin’s now famous 1894 Congress at the Sorbonne, the list of honorary members seemingly supporting the meeting contains fifty names (see Appendix D). If one resists temptation and refrains from classifying the list out of hand as an example of traditional aristocratic patronage, or dismissing it, as does John Lucas, as simply “compulsive name-dropping,”<sup>11</sup> or, like Mandell, who regards it humorously as a “harmless foible,”<sup>12</sup> one can at least attempt to elicit a specific meaning from its composition. The (not always accurate) designations of the individuals on the Sorbonne Congress list can be grouped in several specific categories: individuals from high aristocracy; parliamentarians; men from science and education; men from government and diplomacy; and finally, representatives of sports societies from a variety of countries. Such classification categories do not include Elie Ducommun of Switzerland, the honorary secretary of the International Peace Bureau (not its president, as listed).

A digression is warranted at this point. In 1896, stemming from the provisions of the will of Alfred Nobel, the now famous Nobel Prizes were established. A provision for a Peace Prize in the Nobel will was motivated in part by the fact that Nobel himself had been among those stirred by the acclaimed novel, *Die Waffen nieder* (*Lay Down Your Weapons*), written by the Austrian Baroness, Bertha von Suttner.<sup>13</sup> In 1901 the first of the distinguished Nobel Peace Prizes was awarded jointly to Henri Dunant of Switzerland, for organizing the establishment of the International Red Cross, and to the Frenchman Frédéric Passy, who appeared near

the top of Coubertin's Sorbonne patronage list. In 1902 the Peace Prize was awarded to the previously noted Elie Ducommun. His nomination had come from von Suttner, at the time vice-president of the Peace Bureau headquartered in Berne. (Suttner herself was destined to win the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905). The Peace Bureau itself received the Nobel Peace Prize distinction in 1910. Coubertin's 1894 Sorbonne list was dignified by other eventual Nobel Peace Laureates. Accompanying Ducommun's and Passy's names, were those of Laureates Fredrik Bajer of Denmark (1908) and Henri La Fontaine of Belgium (1913).

When one compares Coubertin's Paris Congress Patronage List of 1894 (Appendix I) with the list of Nobel Peace Prize winners before the outbreak of World War I (see Appendix II), there is little doubt that a definite contemporary "peace patronage" was present at the Sorbonne proceedings.

The aforementioned situations make it critical to address the pacifistic climate surrounding Coubertin's early visions of Olympism, focussing on the influential people and politics associated with the Peace Bureau, since 1892, the cauldron of the international peace movement.<sup>14</sup>

### Beneath Coubertin's Window: An International Peace Movement

As he himself reported in 1898, Coubertin observed international life in Paris from his city apartment, located but a short distance from the World's Fair Grounds. Attention is therefore directed to events in Paris, an international centre for the activities of pacifists during the late 1880s. It is also appropriate that my investigation be broadened to include an examination of the organizational framework and staff personnel of the International Peace Bureau located in Berne, Switzerland. Further, it is necessary to explore educational and international forms of sport contemporary to the period. And finally, my investigation demands an overview of the peace movement's basic credo.

### Paris: An International Centre for Pacifists

In the 1880s, during which time Coubertin studied politics and had commenced to be publicly active in a circle of friends whose activities related closely to domestic social peace, an assembly of pacifists from several countries was successfully organized in the city of Paris. The general current historical perception of the late 19th century is that it was an era featuring nationalism and imperialism. Indeed, it has been from that nationalist/imperialist perspective that the history of sport has most often been examined. Even in the context of a broader historiography, international features of the era tend to be dealt with peripherally,<sup>15</sup> although one examiner, Theodor Schieder, observed polar but unequal force fields between nationalism/imperialism and internationalism/pacifism.<sup>16</sup> Modern historical peace research, however, has revealed a clearly structured peace movement active between 1888 and 1914 to be a precondition for the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920.<sup>17</sup>

The peace movement evolved from the thoughts and activities of individual pacifists resident throughout the world. Among the first of such individuals were early and mid-19th century members of American peace societies and groups of pacifists in Europe. The development of the international conference scheme, a

concept initiated at the first World's Fair at Paris in 1851, provided a prospective forum for organized peace initiatives. By the time of the Paris Exhibition of 1889, organizational concepts such as the establishment of regularly-occurring congresses and conferences (international meetings) were in place, reinforced by a commitment to continuity. For the 1889 Paris Universal Exhibition, the 26 year old Coubertin is known to have been involved in preparations for a congress/conference under the direction of Jules Simon on the theme of physical education. Coubertin's role in that regard launched his veritable career in organizing conferences as forums for his reform projects. Previously, as a political journalist, he had mainly enunciated his calls for educational policy and sport pedagogy reform by means of published material.

Contemporary historical peace research has identified 1889 as the year in which an organized international pacifist movement commenced,<sup>18</sup> even though the contemporary chronicler, Alfred H. Fried, Austrian Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1911, sets the beginning in late 1888. Towards the end of that year, the decisive meetings for the founding of two distinct, but closely cooperating, international initiatives took place. First, Frederic Passy, with the aid of Jules Simon and a body of English Parliamentarians, founded the Interparliamentary Union (IPU), and launched a plan to hold interparliamentary conferences for members of the parliaments of constitutional and democratic states. Second, Passy and the Englishman Hodgson Pratt, who lived near Paris, assumed leadership roles in planning the first annual Universal Peace Congress (UPC) scheduled for Paris in 1889. By repeating such a congress annually, an accent of continuity was established. Pacifists and members of peace societies from a variety of perspectives, including Parliamentarians, were invited. These Universal Peace Congresses incorporated many facets and trends ranging from realistic to utopian pacificism, including ones in which the rejection of violence and war sometimes took quite extreme forms. Nonetheless, the nationally affiliated and internationally open-minded parliamentarians formed the central core of the peace congresses.

Although Parliamentarians advocated transnational obligations, at the same time they had to operate within constitutionally guaranteed and inviolable national institutions. The Parliamentarians' role was thus delicate, balanced as it was between the forces of strong national governmental power and weak, non-governmental power in IPU international context. Operating solely within a non-governmental international organization, parliamentarians were dependent on proselytising in their own countries. Although the IPU and the UPC were two distinct and independent organizations, their conferences were closely related in terms of conference attendees, meeting locations, and conference dates. The continuous cycle of peace conferences was secured and reinforced in 1892 through the establishment of a permanent headquarters in Berne. The schedule of conferences, up to the year of the first Olympic Games in 1896, included three major exhibitions (Paris-1889, Chicago-1893, and Budapest-1896). At the millennial exhibition in Budapest, Coubertin's university friend, F erenc K ern eny, organized the Universal Peace Conference from his vantage point as Secretary of the Hungarian Peace Society. Further, as an IOC member (since 1894), and in consultation with Coubertin, K ern eny reserved the Budapest venue for the first Olympic Games in case of the failure of Athens to host me festival.

## The International Peace Bureau in Berne

The creation of two transnational non-governmental agencies in the years 1891/1892 was of epoch-making significance. The fact that each established its headquarters in Switzerland symbolized a quest for gradual reduction of the possibilities of war by means of neutrality through international law. The International Peace Bureau (IPB) served as a central headquarters for individual societies located throughout the world. The IPB organized the Universal congresses and executed decisions emanating from them. It collected and disseminated relevant literature and circulated periodic conference bulletins. Financing IPB activities proved vexing in the early days. Even though some national governments offered help initially, it was not until 1910, when the Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the Bureau, that financial solvency finally arrived. On the other hand, organizational leadership was assured from the outset. Swiss law granted legal body status to the responsible international committees.

The IPB's business was conducted by a presidium, advised by an executive supervisory council. The Berne conference of 1892 elected the Bureau's first presidium: Fredrik Bajer of Denmark became president; Bertha von Suttner of Austria, who, it will be remembered, inspired the peace movement's slogan, "Lay Down Your Weapons," was elected vice-president; Hodgson Pratt of England, founder of many peace societies in Europe, was made honorary president; and the Swiss parliamentarian and former chancellor of Geneva, Elie Ducommun, was made honorary secretary. The international supervisory board included the French economist and International Peace Union founder, Frederic Passy; the Belgian international lawyer Henri La Fontaine (destined to be elected the Bureau's president in 1908), and Hungarian FÉrenc Kémény, later nominated (unsuccessfully) by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences for the Nobel Peace Prize. After establishing the presidium and advisory council, the principle of cooption (self-recruitment of new members) became established procedure. The German actor and reciter Richard Feldhaus, employed by the Bureau as a propagandist for peace, travelled from country to country lecturing on peace matters and recruiting new members for local societies in Europe.

There is little doubt that the Bureau conceived of itself as a transnational influencer of enlightened patriotism, indeed, as an agency bent on cancelling national claims in disputes. On the early activities of the peace movement and its international impact, one must consult the writings of Fried. Studying the peace movement's reports and documents, Fried characterized them as expressing a form of "scientific pacifism," that is, they argued for peace by application of the rational discipline of international law, abstention from war and violence through co-existence, and settlement of unavoidable conflicts rationally by means of mutually codified arbitration clauses or permanent courts of arbitration. The implementation of this stance depended on judicious and voluntary conventions among nations. Success could only be achieved through the cooperation of expert and "reality oriented" pacifists with those in national governmental positions of power at the time.<sup>19</sup> Thus, the Peace Bureau was a mediation center for governments and, in particular, a collector of international law "know how"

necessary for argumentation and procedure pertaining to non-violent relations among nations.

## The International Peace Movement, Education and Sport

The International Peace Congresses viewed the establishment of peace education in schools and universities as a permanent national mission of all countries in a world which remained replete with international conflict. A revision of martially-oriented textbooks in schools and university history courses was, therefore, a recurring Peace Congress theme. Person-to-person encounters and exchanges between the youth of all countries complemented this rational idea with an emotional dimension. School and recreational sport, too, came within the purview of the peace movement.

The Second Peace Congress in London in 1890, moved by the pleas of Hodgson Pratt, called for the replacement of military exercises in schools with peaceful forms of physical education. Outside the schools, there were recurring calls for abolition of the duel to the death, and its replacement by non-violent forms of single combat. Sport organized internationally was understood as a “method” of internationalism. Fried noted that international activities in sport, as well as in science, social services, art and culture, were important aspects of a powerful international historical trend outside the political peace movement proper. This includes the formation of international federations and secretariats in individual sports which can be observed from 1892 onwards, including, of course, the founding of the International Olympic Committee in 1894, a body whose intent it was to organize international sports festivals “similar to Olympic Games.”<sup>20</sup>

The Third International Peace Congress in Rome in 1891, inspired by the impassioned rhetoric of Passy, endorsed Pratt’s recommendations for the establishment of annual university conferences. Published in French in 1892, the resolutions called for student exchanges between America and Europe to be organized, international student hotels in university towns were to be established, annual conferences held in different cities each year were to be staged. Together, these activities would make academic young people “pioneers of social and political reform” and contributors to peace. Such “educational” interchanges and activities were to offer competitions in sport—long distance walking, running, swimming and rowing—enabling the young students to test their physical and moral qualities. The peace mission, though, was always to be the central theme, promoted, for example, by competitions in art, prose, and poetry on the theme of international harmony and cooperation. A “Comité universitaire international” was to assume overall responsibility for such activity, as well as to select the successive host city (rotation principle) and gain as much municipal assistance as needed (city principle).

## The Peace Movement’s Credo

The basic motivation for the peace movement sprang from an existing state of anarchy among nations, one which indicated that war and violence was a legitimate political means.<sup>21</sup> The fact that many nations had already established republican orders of non-violent co-existence by means of constitutional law, thus achieving moral maturity as “civilized” states, was, according to peace movement

theory, a precondition for a partnership among different states based on law and parallel moral foundations. As a result, external relations could now be organized on a rational legal footing in the service of peace and prosperity, instead of a secret diplomacy to which parliaments were not allowed access. The achievement of peace through international law seemed to be a possibility. Though it was recognized that unavoidable disputes inevitably occurred in the world community, arbitration was seen as their solution, rather than the process of going to war.

In contrast to the damnation of war, the peace movement recognized the concept of conflict as an axiom of human activity and cultural development. Conflict, engendering "civilized" response, in comparison to war, can be played out in the lively co-existence of individuals and nations in scores of competitive areas of life. Such competition takes place within international legal norms which "organize the co-existence of civilized nations on the basis of common interests and rational reciprocity."<sup>22</sup>

The arbitration question plays a central role because the aim is not to bring about an "eternal" or "universal" peace. Only the fundamental principle of the predominance of internationally-enacted laws makes possible the settlement of conflicts through treaties or institutions such as the International Court of Arbitration in The Hague, an important peace-related institution established just after the turn of the century. Instead of war, civilized competition (through free trade, honor and science of sport) is aroused by "the psychological weapon of numbers."<sup>23</sup> Arbitration based on national interests was rejected, including the concept of martial self-assertion as a right and duty in the service of national defense. Military defense preparation necessitates a moral and disciplined defence mentality. In contrast, arbitration was seen by the peace movement as an act of justice in the service of international law. Belief in the holiness of war is condemned. Further increases in armaments, offensive or defensive in nature, was opposed.<sup>24</sup> The peace movement also advanced the argument that instead of precious national resources being wasted on armaments, they should be directed towards socio-economic welfare development. However, the peace movement did endorse the concept of maintaining a minimum military defense capacity from the standpoint of it being a national duty and an international right.

The peace movement therefore perceived itself as "the most patriotic movement of the present" because the "purified and ennobled patriotism of humanity at a higher level" was something concerned with the welfare of all nations. The nation was regarded as the mainstay of the international constitutional community; only through the support of nations could the peace movement receive recognition and enhanced effect. "The international is premised on the national."<sup>25</sup> Through harmonization with the interests of others, patriotism reaches a higher place in the service of one's country, indeed, prompts greater respect from others. Internationalism which acknowledges the diversity of nations, was put forward in contrast to a utopian and superficial cosmopolitanism. In this way, love of one's own country is brought into balance with general love of humanity.<sup>26</sup> In an internationally regulated contest of nations, national honor has its place. An "enlightened patriotism" of this kind<sup>27</sup> abstains from discrimination against other fatherlands and from the glorification of wars and the belittling of its horrors.



Conflict as a creative life principle<sup>28</sup> is channelled into corresponding forms adapted to the higher stages of civilization.

The peace movement rose during a period when a definite trend took place towards the evolution of international organizations in many areas of life. The peace movement considered that this general trend had to be recognized by national states as a natural historical development. The result was not envisioned as the disappearance of nations into amorphous states,<sup>29</sup> but rather their emergence towards the achievement of perfection. The economic and cultural similarity of the Euro-American world was considered stronger than political, ethnic or national differences. International understanding was to be achieved precisely with the aid of national levers. Hence, nations could view their development as a process of self-education and achievement of historical progress.

### Peace Patronage and the Founding of the IOC

Armed with a measure of peace organization history contemporary to Coubertin's "Olympic project" times, one cannot fail to note that the Baron's 1894 Sorbonne Conference honorary membership list reflects far more than traditional aristocratic patronage. Rather, in direct juxtaposition with the sports element of the list, is a most definite pacifist-interparliamentarian and republican profile. I pose the following considerations:

1. The "Sorbonne list" features the entire power structure of the International Peace Bureau; that is, its president, vice-president, secretary-general, honorary president, members of the international supervisory council, and a professional propagandist. Also on the list were the presidents of the Universal Peace Congresses held in Paris in 1889, London in 1890, and Rome in 1891. As well, the names of the secretaries of the Peace Congresses of 1894 and 1896 were included.
2. The leading interparliamentarians were also represented, especially the founding group whose nucleus consisted of Passy (doyen of the Peace Movement), Pratt and Simon. Together with Bajer and La Fontaine, a further eight members and deputies of European Parliaments may be identified on the list.
3. The "cosmopolitan nobility" in the separate section heading the list can be identified without difficulty, especially since Coubertin paid tribute, as early as 1888, to the constitutional and democratic qualities present in England, Sweden, Belgium and Greece. The constitutions of those countries were regarded by the Baron as worthy and enduring models. As well, the Belgian King played a chief patron role in the World Peace Congress held in Antwerp a few weeks after the Sorbonne proceedings. Finally, the argument here is enhanced by noting that a further member of this group was the Speaker of the Paris Municipal Parliament.
4. Further, at least two more Frenchmen linked to the Peace

Movement appear on the Sorbonne list: the noted astronomer Jules Janssen and Senator Baron de Courcel, who conducted the proceedings of the Sorbonne Congress.

A detailed perusal of the preceding items indicates that approximately one-third of the patrons appearing on the Sorbonne List can be linked definitively to the peace movement of the time. Such a significant percentage could hardly have been forced upon Coubertin. Thus, it is almost certain that the selection of them was by his own initiative.

Furthermore, peace movement activities provided Coubertin with several prototypes or models for the organization and interpretation of the Olympic project. For instance:

1. The formation of an international committee with a permanent secretariat, the principle of cooption, cohesion through correspondence and conferences, continuity by means of civic-initiated organization in different rotating major cities, and, finally, a realistic relationship to power.
2. The evolution of ideas about the reciprocal relations between national and international motives; the relationship between war and the struggle for life; rejection of an absolutely demilitarized pacifism; frequent reference to "civilized humanity" characterized by the pursuit of the maturity required by international peace; the need for constant education concerning peace which emphasized a new form of history for school curriculums and exchanges between young people.
3. The decision arrived at in 1891 at the suggestion of Hodgson Pratt to organize annual student conferences with artistic and sport competitions as an educational instrument. Such conferences focussed on the younger element of university students who might eventually grow up to assume national responsibility related to the quest of international peace.

### The Peace Movement, Internationalism, and Coubertin's Olympic Idea

**I**t is certainly not my intention to declare that Coubertin was a member of the peace movement at the time that his Olympic project was evolving. Rather, it is to make clear how specifically he personally noted both peace trends and international developments and subsequently helped to create national preconditions for them. The inferences stated here cannot wholly be substituted for a systematic analysis of his works on sports and political education, but I advance what I believe to be some fundamental arguments suggesting a pacifistic interpretation pattern, especially regarding the indissoluble connection between national and international action.

The young Coubertin: (1) noted international events and activities of the peace movement with interest, (2) had personal contacts with its early exponents in Paris,

(3) was, in 1890-1891, at the center of an international educational reform debate concerning national and international athletics for academic youth, and (4) began, as early as 1891, to advocate international sport competitions as a general contribution to peace, the substance of which he believed should be vigorously supported by universities and citizens' sports societies.

### Coubertin's Notion of International Thinking

In reviewing Coubertin's sports campaign,<sup>30</sup> one is struck by the Baron's acknowledgement of the passionate manner in which he reacted to contemporary events. This applied not only to political issues, such as social peace, but also to the major international exhibitions in Paris. In retrospect, he associated the 1878 World's Fair with his "great awakening" as a 15 year old, and the events of 1889, as the "splendid turning point" of his life. Coubertin's original choice for the first celebration of his Olympic Games had been Paris in 1900. But, as we now know, he had little compunction in agreeing to move them four years forward to 1896 and to stage them, not in his native France, but rather in Athens, Greece. National limitation was alien to him. In fact, in his own country Coubertin on occasion had to defend his internationalist thinking against attacks by Frenchmen of nationalist ilk. With a view to his educational and sports reform ideas, the young Baron travelled widely in England and America between 1889 and 1893. Then too, he executed a world-wide survey in conjunction with his scientific congress at the Paris World's Fair in 1889. And, not long after the IOC Founding Congress at the Sorbonne in 1894, in fact, in November of the same year, Coubertin travelled to Athens where he helped to ratify the program of the first Olympic Games. There too, in Athens, he emphasized as the basis of his "Neo-Olympism," the contemporary trend of internationalism which encompassed respect for all fatherlands and which sprang from a "need for peace and brotherhood." Coubertin's notation of a growing "peace religion" of fatherlands was an entirely accurate observation at the time. Historians of sport, however, have tended to dismiss that observation as "utopian." Coubertin hoped that a growing trend towards internationalism would provide additional impulses for his educational reform of athletics, which, by the early 1890s, were already experiencing the impact of threatened professionalism.<sup>31</sup> For his original Olympic project, Coubertin fashioned the motto, *ludus pro pace*, in contrast to *ludus pro bello*, similar to his usual distinguishing between military-style physical training and educational sport.<sup>32</sup>

### Coubertin's Contacts With the Peace Movement and Its Members

The young Baron Pierre de Coubertin's personal contacts with the members and events of the incipient Peace Movement were astonishingly close. Most of the honorary members for his Sorbonne Congress were recruited by Coubertin. In April/May 1894, replies to his invitations to attend the events in Paris were received from Bajer, Feldhaus, Janssen, Hegedius, Pratt and Kémény.

The Baron also discussed with Férénc Kémény of Hungary, a friend of Coubertin's from his university days in Paris in the 1880s, preparation and information matters pertinent to the upcoming Sorbonne Congress. Shortly after the historic congress had ended in late June 1894, Kémény reported to Coubertin on his

own activities and preparations for the World Peace Congress planned for Budapest in 1896. There in the city on the Danube a great millenium exhibition was planned. Kémény also discussed plans for international sporting competitions to be held in conjunction with the Congress in Budapest if for some reason the Greek initiative to stage the first Olympic Games in Athens fell through. At the time, no concrete planning was underway in Athens for the event.

The Englishman Hodgson Pratt, who lived in Paris, included with his acceptance note to Coubertin (as did Bajer) an explicit reference to his recommendations made at the World Peace Congress in Rome in 1891, namely, that an international university conference with sports and artistic competitions for the "academic young" be held annually. Coubertin, no doubt, perceived Pratt's recommendation as confirmation of his own views presented in April the previous year, that modern sport encouraged international exchanges. If one interprets Coubertin's national sports education campaign in France after 1888, especially his activities with the so-called Jules Simon Committee for the "Propagation of Physical Exercise in Education" and those associated with the Paris World's Fair *Congress* of 1889, as learning experiences and national prerequisites for the project he subsequently pursued at an international level, then the patterns of the peace movement provide both patriotic and international support for that argument, particularly in response to accusations of a supposed Coubertinian Anglo-mania.

In the autumn of 1888, Jules Simon became involved with Passy and Pratt in the founding of the two international peace organizations. At the very same time, preparations began for the three congresses planned for the Paris World's Fair: the first World Peace Congress, the first Interparliamentary Congress, and Coubertin's Congress for Physical Education, which assumed a concrete international character through the participation of a Swedish gymnastic contingent under the leadership of Viktor Balck. Balck, of course, appeared on the honorary membership list of the Sorbonne Conference in 1894, and, in fact, became a founding member of the International Olympic Committee. Coubertin's organizing committee for his 1889 Physical Education Congress included the previously mentioned Jules Janssen. Besides being a noted astronomer, Janssen was active in the international peace initiative as well as the French sports movement. Like Passy, he was a high ranking member of the French Science Institute, a distinguished body which included under its organizational framework the prestigious French Academy.

The planning for the three World's Fair congresses was hardly thinkable without capitalizing on personal contacts, as is suggested by the closely linked schedules of the three congresses in the month of June. In addition, Coubertin's congress chairman, Jules Simon, rendered the opening address at the World Peace Congress, which was chaired by Passy. In the course of such exchanges, Coubertin may well have obtained several oral acceptances for positions on his own congress patron list. The Baron most probably attended the World Peace Congress, as evidenced by his enunciations in *La Réforme Sociale* following the busy month of June 1889, enunciations which included references to the arbitration theme of the pacifists and its application to sports education by means of the English concept of sports captain and referee.<sup>33</sup> To underscore this point, it was not until a year later, in 1890, that the Baron was prompted to note the anniversary of his own congress.<sup>34</sup>

## Coubertin and the International Athletic Reform Debate

Accusations of Anglo-mania from nationalist sources prompted Coubertin to broaden the international dimension of his French national sports campaign. Coubertin's World's Fair Physical Education Congress in the summer of 1889, which featured the results of the first world-wide survey on the role of sport in school systems, was followed by a journey to America, where he visited various universities, sports clubs and physical education facilities. There in America, it is likely that the educational and international sports profile of his Olympic project was conceptualized.

Aiding in such conceptualization was the influence of the Princeton historian and political scientist William Milligan Sloane, who later helped Coubertin to organize and convene the historic IOC Founding Congress at the Sorbonne in June 1894. A lively correspondence over some thirty years testifies to a lasting intellectual friendship between the two men. At the time of Coubertin's first visit to America, Sloane was the faculty chairman of student athletics at Princeton. And, it was the Princeton professor who introduced Coubertin to Theodore Roosevelt, an engaging New Yorker, who would become both President of the United States in 1901 and a winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1906. Roosevelt, too, became a correspondent of Coubertin's, encouraging his sport education and Olympic projects and giving advice, such as the following on American sporting trends which might be helpful to his plans: (1) the special status of athletics in American universities, (2) the important consideration of adolescence in sports education during the critical span of years between childhood and adulthood, (3) the educational value of "tough masculine sport in the open air," (4) the pedagogical exclusion of "degenerating" professional sport, an athletic phenomenon which was already well developed in America, and (5) the importance of rules for intellectual and practical reform and international exchange in sport.

William Milligan Sloane himself, was an adherent of the 19th century academic internationalism which found expression in a wide range of exchanges among students, and in the trend towards conferences in a large number of specialized sciences. In the 1870s, Sloane studied and obtained doctorates in Berlin and Leipzig and would later hold the prestigious Roosevelt Guest Professorship at Friedrich-Wilhelms University in 1912-1913. At that particular time he became an advisor of Carl Diem's on American sport techniques and in matters pertaining to Berlin's preparation for the 1916 Olympic Games. Sloane's historical research specialization focussed on France. Like FÉrenc KÉMÉNY, he was a polyglot. Presented to him by the 1909 Nobel Peace Prize winner Count d'Estournelle, Sloane received the Conciliation Internationale Peace Medal, engraved with the motto *pro patria per orbis concordiam*. Sloane was also a militant democrat. Fluent in German, in 1912 he presented the advantages of the American political party system to Kaiser Wilhelm II. For Sloane, nationalism was not an end in itself, but rather an unavoidable bridge to cross towards establishing peaceful relations based on international law among those civilized nations which believed in common humanity.<sup>35</sup>

Coubertin's positions on sport began to crystallize in the years 1890-1891, influenced by names which are now familiar to us by means of the previous

discussion. Sloane called for “clean sport” for universities (as opposed to professionalization),<sup>36</sup> Roosevelt advocated outdoor sport, close to nature, and, as a substitute, urban athletics. He opposed the professionalization of athletics, particularly on college campuses.<sup>37</sup> Jules Simon saw athletics as a task of universities.<sup>38</sup> Finally, Pratt included competitive sport in his recommended plans for international university conferences.<sup>39</sup> Coubertin himself underscored past and current developments in athletics to rationalize, in part, his philosophical thinking and educational ideas.<sup>40</sup> In large measure, the pronouncements from the individuals noted above were aimed at university students (throughout his lifetime, Coubertin used the term “human springtime” in referring to this age-group), those who were undergoing personal character training or, in a climate of international encounters, social education for peace within the challenge of “clean competitions,” before assuming their social responsibilities. In his early “athletic education,” Coubertin also viewed bodies in addition to universities and state schools as institutional agents of reform.<sup>41</sup> By 1891 it was clear that Coubertin saw private sports associations and federations as the essential organizers of international competitions.

### Coubertin and the Olympic Project

**O**n April 11, 1891 the Baron de Coubertin delivered a speech before the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) in Paris, a speech which must now be seen as the actual founding text for his idea of a Modern Olympic Games. The speech is significant to the thesis advanced in this article. The word “Olympic” was never actually mentioned in the speech, but the Baron’s words contained a resumé of ancient Greek athletics. Astonishingly, “L’athletisme: son role, et son histoire” has not yet been published in any edition dealing with Coubertin’s life and work, even though he himself had it reprinted in 1910. Only Marie-Thérèse Eyquem has analyzed the speech, as part of the research for her biographical account of Coubertin’s reflections on sport and Olympic educational theory.<sup>42</sup> Eyquem, however, confused Coubertin’s quotations (which she did not individually reference) with the rudiments of the Baron’s 1892 Sorbonne speech. The late 1892 speech at the Sorbonne marked the first occasion, as explained by Coubertin himself, that the term “Olympic” was used in reference to his “grand scheme,” and where, too, the image of free trade and World’s Fairs in the context of sporting competition was first enunciated.

Coubertin’s April 1891 speech at the Paris YMCA reflected strong images of peace through international sport. He called for sportsmen to be peace ambassadors, part of a peace effort in the service of a comprehensive physical, moral and political education. A year later, in his 1892 Sorbonne speech, Coubertin introduced his peace ideas as a kind of competition in peace activities between the French and the Germans. France was to give the world the festival of peace, after the Germans had excavated ancient Olympia, an archaeological initiative celebrated in the German press as “the first great peace effort of the newly emerged Reich.” Entering into international competitions to serve the cause of peace enhanced a nation’s prestige, at least from the point of view of being regarded internationally as an example of “enlightened patriotism,” such as was advocated by the peace movement.

Near the end of his 1891 speech, Coubertin addressed sport history, spending some time on the subjects of Athens and Plato in antiquity. He spoke not a word

about Olympia. In his view, the theory of simultaneous physical and moral education was strongly reflected in the cultural and athletic competitions of the ancient Greek model. Thomas Arnold (representative of England in Coubertin's eyes) renewed this idea for modern sport in the form of a "Muscular Christianity," a phenomenon which spread to many countries in the world. In addition, and contemporary to Coubertin's formative era, two entirely new characteristics were becoming apparent, namely, internationalism and democracy, each of which transcended national frontiers and the exclusivity of particular social strata. Each, too, manifested themselves in all manner of agreements on international rules. Even before Coubertin's contributions to the establishment of international rules for sporting competitions, sport appeared to have already been codified as a human right for the individual, as a forum for offering competitive sporting meetings between nations, and as a vehicle for establishing an internationally self-regulating movement. The Baron viewed the contribution of sports to peace as one essentially based on genuinely lively sport presentations and "exhibitions" which would attract many people to share experiences and exalt the celebration of sport performance. Indirectly, this would be supported by the necessary treaty-based rules governing relations among nations, such as the concept of political internationalism promoted through arbitration agreements. While Coubertin never envisioned the attractiveness of sports activity and spectatorship as powerful enough to result in the utopian state of complete world peace, he did believe that through international sport there existed a chance for reduction in the risk of war.

In his YMCA speech, Coubertin also spoke of contemporary sport history, exhibiting a fascination for the well-appointed and well-equipped American sporting clubs. In these clubs across the Atlantic, he saw the modern embodiment of the sport and intellectual culture of the ancient Greek gymnasium, attested to by his description of what the American clubs offered in terms of lifestyle and education ranging from sport, to music and literature. The Baron spoke of international events developing from the competitive activities of sports clubs and the trans-frontier movement of students.

Coubertin's address on April 11, 1891 before French young people gathered at the Paris YMCA was so strongly internationalist in tone that at its end he was able to declare strong nationalist sentiment towards his fatherland alongside the concepts of international free trade and across-frontier exchanges in Europe without striking a false note to the assembled audience. There is no doubt that by 1888 the Baron de Coubertin was witnessing "his" Europe beginning to embrace democratic and republican trends in ways which might check chauvinism without destroying esteem for one's country.

The Baron Pierre de Coubertin's Physical Education Congress held at the Paris World's Fair of 1889 was critically important in the national sports development of France. At the same time, it was a critical international sporting event. Staged from June 6th to 30th, the Congress showcased demonstrations of Swedish gymnastics under the direction of Viktor Balck. The Congress also organized a variety of sporting competitions, demonstrations, and celebrations; it gathered an international audience; it presented a scientific symposium dealing with the first scientific sport survey ever. Each of these components would become part of Olympic festivals of the future. Thus, the 1889 Paris Congress constituted a model for international

gatherings. Both Coubertin's speech of April 1891 and Hodgson Pratt's recommendation of November 1891 arguing for international university conferences featuring artistic, sporting and intellectual activities/competitions, support the internationalism argument presented.

### Epilogue Observations

Traditionally, historians of sport tend to mark November 25, 1892 as the date on which Coubertin first used the word "Olympic" relative to international competitions and celebrations. From the 20th-27th November 1892, the USFSA (the French national sport governing body similar to the American A.A.U.) celebrated its fifth anniversary in an atmosphere not dissimilar to that which surrounded Coubertin's 1889 Congress. Expressions of national enthusiasm for physical education, scientific competitive sport, and artistic endeavor contributed to a festive celebration which, in itself, was a reinforcement of the international conference trend. Also contributing to the international flavor of the great national celebration event was the patronage and participation in the competitive events of the Russian Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich. A member of the family of the Tsars, Alexandrovich had been an honorary member of the USFSA from the outset of its history. And, the Grand Duke was related by marriage to the House of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, which extended its protection and patronage to the German Olympic Movement from 1896 onwards. At the fifth anniversary celebration of the French sports organization, Russian flags flew alongside those of the French; the Russian national anthem was played after the Marseillaise. Grand Duke Vladimir, obviously a friend of sport, headed the list of those honorary members of the nobility. Admittedly, it might be noted that the regime of the Tsars does not coincide with the parliamentary line of argument taken by this interpretation, but the Grand Duke represented the internationality of his caste. He also represented in more than symbolic fashion, the international accent desired from the outset by Coubertin's national sports campaign.

By 1898 Coubertin may well have begun to devote himself expressly to enlightened "true internationalism," rejecting the superficial cosmopolitanism of Parisian society which he could observe daily through his apartment window.<sup>43</sup> By the same token, he may well have distinguished the principle of mutual respect from superficial and ultimately disinterested tolerance.<sup>44</sup> Mutual respect should and can regulate relationships between people and cultures, and rises out of an understanding of the political, economic and educational development of other countries. When Coubertin's treatise on "mutual respect" relative to adolescents appeared in 1915, Europe was already in the throes of the First World War. In April of that same year, Coubertin concluded an agreement with the City of Lausanne whereby the IOC, as the world centre of Olympism, would be transferred to Switzerland. It may well have been Coubertin's concern for the sustained vitality of the Olympic Movement that urged him to establish its headquarters in a neutral country. By this action, of course, he replicated the initiative of the peace movement, which had transferred its headquarters from Paris to Berne in 1892.

In 1915, too, Coubertin received a bilingual pamphlet from the International Peace Bureau addressed to "All International Organizations." Published earlier that year, the pamphlet's text was signed by the Bureau's president, Henri La Fontaine.



Was Coubertin stirred by La Fontaine's message; in effect, words that called for dissolution of despair, despite the overwhelming grief and anguish caused by the war? Did Coubertin take as personal encouragement and a sense of duty, La Fontaine's clarion call: "All those who have devoted themselves hitherto to uniting people of all nations and all races to form a working community indispensable to progress and the common good, are bound to persevere with their work and pursue it with all their energy"?<sup>45</sup> How could the Baron de Coubertin not have equated the work of the Olympic Movement with that of the peace movement? Also of assurance to the young Baron, must have been La Fontaine's words: "However modest an international union may be, it forms a link in the chain which binds nations together . . . (it) can only live and thrive in a climate of international solidarity and peace."<sup>46</sup>

I can find no evidence that Coubertin, by 1915, was aware of an idea emanating from Vienna on "New Olympic Games," which an anonymous author suggested might promise "peace in Europe," and even more particularly, "a solution to the Balkan question." The "Vienna idea" was to organize recurrent Games in Larissa in Northern Greece, with permanent installations such as race tracks, gymnasia shooting facilities, concert halls, theatres, galleries, and even large hotels.<sup>47</sup> Coubertin, however, obviously did not expect such direct political benefits from "his" Modern Olympic Games as those envisioned in Vienna.

### A Final Comment

**I**t is clear that Coubertin concentrated on a form of Olympic internationalism based on education through sport, a motivation which certainly shared basic characteristics and reformist ideas with the contemporary peace movement. Coubertin felt responsible for a certain pacifistic mood in ways that were more modest and more emotionally effective than rational political pacificism. Such ideas were certainly not derived primarily from any ancient model, and did not, therefore, constitute a modern application of classical models based on such a misapprehension. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that, as the Olympic Movement developed, ancient ideas and images increasingly came to the fore, especially as the excavation of the ancient Olympic saga, in an intellectual interpretation as well as a physical sense, continued to intensify over the years. With reference to Appendix I, the reader will note the name of Coubertin's friend, M. C. Waldstein, professor of classics at Cambridge. For the 1894 Paris Congress, Waldstein was invited from Athens where he was engaged in archaeology. Later, in an article for *Harper's Weekly*, written in Athens amidst the atmosphere surrounding the 1896 Olympic Games, Waldstein made it clear that there was no intention on the part of authorities charged with the responsibility of shaping the Modern Olympic Games to imitate ancient Greek institutions.<sup>48</sup>

The agenda of the Olympic Congress of 1894 has generally been interpreted by sport historians in such a way as to ignore a relationship between contemporary efforts to achieve international agreements and the Olympic concept finally adopted. The chief objective for the Olympic project focussed, then as later, on constructing a unified set of international rules for the various sports, and on a uniform eligibility code for the participation of athletes, particularly a code which would effectively bar "professional" athletes from competing. The 1894 Paris Congress invitation

circular focussed first on the “eligibility question,” secondly, on the “Olympic agenda.” The establishment of the latter supposed agreement on the former. Not until an international agreement occurred on the rules and spirit of “regenerated athleticism,” might the subject of Olympic Games be addressed. The invitation circular also subordinated the reform procedure for the establishment of the rules to the same internationalism which was to characterize the Games: all nations, all social strata, all sports should be involved in drawing up the rules with a view to a common reform.<sup>49</sup> Coubertin’s intentions for the Congress, expressed in the invitation, were summed up in a statement published in a Zurich newspaper in May 1894: “The idea is to achieve, if possible, unified rules and regulations for the various sports worldwide and to re-introduce the Olympic Games, albeit in a form adapted to modern life. Apart from negotiations pursuing the above objectives, an opportunity will be provided to attend a number of nautical and Olympic festivals and Games.”<sup>50</sup>

Coubertin’s internationalism is reflected most in his early educational and political essays. This corpus of literature has not received the attention and analysis that his later works have; sport historians, for the most part, have focussed on Coubertin’s writings (including, of course, his memoirs) produced after 1908.<sup>51</sup> Finally, in the same year (1901) that Coubertin’s elderly friend, Frederic Passy, was awarded the first Nobel Peace Prize, the Baron published his *Notes sur L’Education Publique*.<sup>52</sup> The Baron Pierre de Coubertin’s words found therein, form an appropriate exclamation mark for this essay and its argument:

. . . . nationalism is by no means detrimental. However, it would quite easily develop in that direction unless corrected by a sincere internationalism. There are two ways of looking at internationalism. One way is the way of the socialists, of the revolutionaries and in general of the theorists and utopians. They think of a gigantic egalitarianism, which will turn the civilized world into a state without borders and barriers, and transfer the organization of society into one of the dullest and most monotonous tyrannies. The other way is the way of those men who know how to observe objectively and who take reality into account instead of following their own favorite ideas. They have realized for quite some time that national peculiarities are an indispensable prerequisite for the life of a people and that contact with other people will strengthen and enliven them . . . . Simply as individuals, people are predestined to a life of solitude. It serves them well to know of one another; it conveys a distinct sense for the advantages distinguishing individuals and for the tasks still to tackle.

## Notes

1. The first English translation of the author’s work from its original German was executed by Ruth Griffiths, Translations Department, International Olympic Committee, Lausanne, Switzerland. The author would like to express his gratitude and appreciation to Robert K. Barney, assisted by Klaus V. Meier, for translating the text into its final English version.

2. For a brief but limited survey of attempts to “reincarnate” Olympic Games in modern times, prior to Coubertin’s initiative, see Gerald Redmond, “Toward Modern Revival of the Olympic Games: ‘Pseudo-Olympics’ of the 19th Century,” in *The Olympic Games in Transition* (Jeffrey O. Segrave and Donald Chu, eds.), Champaign, Illinois: Human Kinetics, 1988, pp. 71-87. For detailed reference to Greek attempts, see David C. Young, “The Origins of the Modern Olympics: A New Version,” *International Journal of History of Sport*, Vol. IV, 1987, pp. 271-300. With reference to German-American initiatives, see Robert K. Barney, “For Such Olympic Games: German-American Turnfests as Preludes to the Modern Olympic Games,” in *Sport: The Third Millenium* (F. Landry, M. Landry and M. Yerles, eds.), Quebec City: University of Laval Press, 1990, pp. 697-705. See, also, a documentaton of the 1500 years interval between the end of the Ancient and the beginning of the Modern Olympic Games by Karl Lennartz, *Kenntnisse und Vorstellungen von Olympia, 393-1896*, Schorndorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1974.
3. The author would like to recognize Gary Allison, chairman of the United States Olympic Committee’s *First Century Project*, whose idea it was to investigate the relationship between the individuals on Coubertin’s Sorbonne Conference patronage list and the historical interpretation advanced in this article.
4. See David C. Young, “Myths and Mist Surrounding the Revival of the Olympic Games: The Hidden Story,” in *Sport: The Third Millenium* (F. Landry, M. Landry and M. Yerles, eds.), Quebec City: University of Laval Press, 1991, pp. 101-116.
5. John J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol: Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, p. 112.
6. *Carl Diem Institut*, “Pierre de Coubertin: Der olympische Gedanke, Reden und Aufsätze,” Schomdorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1966.
7. Richard D. Mandell, *The First Modern Olympics*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976, p. 80.
8. Hajo Bernett, “Innere Krise des Olympismus,” Lecture presented at the Deutsche Sporthochschule-Köln, December 16, 1976. (In the private collection of the author).
9. Karl Adolf Scherer, “Sport Geschichte Leistung, Rekords in Zahlen, Dokumenten und Biografien.” *Ein Handbuch*, Bremen: Karl Schünemann Verlag, 1967, p. 25.
10. It remains an astonishing fact that scholarly works which focus on Olympic internationalism, or the theme of peace itself, refer only superficially and obliquely to the Baron’s “nearness” to the international peace movement. See, for instance, Arnd Krueger, “Neo-Olympismus zwischen Nationalismus und Intemationalismus,” in *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, (Band 3/1, Horst Ueberhorst, ed.), Berlin/Munchen: Bartels und Wernitz, 1980, p. 552; and Andreas Höfer, “Die olympische Friedensidee zwischen Anspruch und Wirklichkeit: Eine historische Bestandsaufnahme,” Doctoral Dissertation, Berlin, 1991, p. 51. Even the research of such distinguished scholars of the Olympic Movement as Henri Pouret and Liselott Diem, especially their work regarding the early intellectual influences on Coubertin’s thinking (see *International Olympic Academy Proceedings*, 1973), reveals no indication of any relationship between the Baron and the peace movement contemporary to his time.
11. John A. Lucas, Review of V. P. Boulogne, *La vie et l’oeuvre pedagogique de Pierre de Coubertin, 1863-1937* (Ottawa, 1975),” in *Stadion II* (2-1976), p. 317.

12. Mandell, *op. cit.*, p. 75 and elsewhere.
13. Bertha von Suttner, *Die Waffen nieder: Eine Lebensgeschichte* (Volumes I and II), Dresden: 1889, 14th German edition, 1896.
14. Coubertin's relationship with the peace movement was identified by a chance observation, my astonishment over the fact that a German was an honorary member of the IOC's founding list. That member's name was Richard Feldhaus. It is commonly known that Coubertin harbored a nationalistic reticence towards Germany and Germans. The nephew of Richard Feldhaus, who is still alive and bears the same name, brought to light, among other things, research material on the peace movement. Richard Feldhaus, in fact, was an actor, not a parliamentarian as indicated on Coubertin's "patron list." The leaders of German gymnastic organizations denied Feldhaus any right to represent national or even gymnastic or sporting interests. At the International Peace Bureau, Feldhaus served as a full-time travelling lecturer in the service of "propaganda for peace." Following his early and enthusiastic reading of von Suttner's book in the early 1890s, Feldhaus, by 1911, had given some 500 lectures in Europe and North America on behalf of the Movement.
15. See, for instance, Theodor Schieder (ed.), *Handbuch der europäischen Geschichte* (Band 6, *Europa im Zeitalter der Nationalstaaten und europäische Weltpolitik bis zum I Weltkrieg*), Stuttgart: Union Verlag, 1968, p. 129.
16. Theodor Schieder, *Staatensystem als Vormacht der Welt, 1848-1918*, Frankfurt/Berlin/Wien: Propyläen Verlag, 1977.
17. See Sandi E. Cooper, "International Organization and Human Rights Ideas of the European Peace Movement, 1889-1914," in *Bariéty/Fleury*, 1987, pp. 37-58. See, also, Ralph Uhlig, "Interparlamentarische Friedenspolitik bis 1914," in *Bariéty/Fleury*, 1987, pp. 111-134; and Uhlig, "Die Interparlamentarische Union, 1889-1914," in *Friedenssicherungsbemühungen im Zeitalter des Imperialismus* (Band 39 der Studien zur modernen Geschichte), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1988.
18. See Uhlig, 1988, *op. cit.*, p. 68 and elsewhere.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 2 and p. 545.
20. Alfred H. Fried (ed.), *Die moderne Friedensbewegung*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1908; p. 27 and p. 104; and Alfred H. Fried, *Handbuch der Friedensbewegung*, Berlin/Leipzig: Verlag der "Friedens-Warte," 1911, p. 35.
21. See Fried, 1911, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-30.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
23. See Fried, 1911, p. 13.
24. See Jules Simon, "Treve de dieu," in *Le Figaro*, November 9, 1893.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 24-30.
26. See Cooper, *op. cit.* p. 43.
27. See Uhlig, 1988, *op. cit.* p. 544.
28. See Fried, *Die moderne Friedensbewegung*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1907, p. 2.
29. Fried, *ibid.*, p. 10.

30. Pierre de Coubertin, *Einundzwanzig Jahre Sportcampagne, 1887-1908/1909*, Carl Diem Institut, Ratingen: Henn, 1974, p. 11.
31. See *Carl Diem Institut*, "Pierre de Coubertin: Der olympische Gedanke, Reden und Aufsätze," Schomdorf: Hofmann Verlag, 1966, p. 9 and elsewhere.
32. Pierre de Coubertin, "Le Rétablissement des Jeux Olympiques," in *La Revue de Paris* (15 June 1894), pp. 177. For an English version, see "The Re-establishment of the Olympic Games," in *The Chautauquan*, No. 19 (1894), pp. 696-700.
33. Pierre de Coubertin, "L'Éducation de la paix," in *La Réforme Sociale* 2, Serie VII (16 Septembre 1889), pp. 361-363.
34. Pierre de Coubertin, "L'Exposition Athlétique," in *La Revue Athletique* 1 (25 Mai 1890) 5, pp. 259-264.
35. See William M. Sloane, "Modern Olympic Games," in *The American Olympic Committee Report—Seventh Olympic Games, Antwerp, 1920*, Greenwich, Connecticut: The Conde Nast Press, 1921, p. 76.
36. William M. Sloane, "College Sports," in *Harper's Weekly* 34 (March 1, 1890), p. 170. See also, William Milligan Sloane Correspondence File, International Olympic Committee Archives, Lausanne, Switzerland.
37. Theodore Roosevelt, "'Professionalism' in Sports," *North American Review*, August 1890, as reprinted in Theodore Roosevelt, *American Ideals: The Sreuous Life*, Volume XIII (New York 1926), pp. 583-588.
38. Jules Simon, "La Part de L'Université dans La Creation de L'Éducation Athlétique," in *La Revue Athletique—1* (23 February 1890), pp. 65-71.
39. Hodgson Pratt, "Conference internationale annuelle des représentants des Universités d'Europe et d'Amérique," in Facelli, Cesare/Teso, Antonio, eds., *Troisieme Congrès International de la Paix Novembre 1891*, Rome: Union Cooperation Editrice, 1892, pp. 188-129 (Titel p. 196, Resolution of Congress of 1891, pp. 175-176).
40. Pierre de Coubertin, "L'Athlétisme: son role et son histoire," *Conference faite le 11 Avril a l'Union Chrétienne de Jeunes Gens de Paris*, in *La Revue Athletique* 2 (25 Avril 1891) 4, pp. 193-207
41. Pierre de Coubertin, "L'Éducation athlétique," in *Association Français pour l'Avancement des Sciences*, Paris: Masson, 1889, pp. 15-25.
42. Marie-Thérèse Eyquem, *Pierre de Coubertin: L'Épopée olympique*, Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1966 (German edition, Dortmund: Schropp Verlag, 1972, pp. 119, 130, 137).
43. See Pierre de Coubertin, "Does cosmopolitan life lead to international friendliness?" in *The Review of Reviews* (April 1898), 4, pp. 429-434.
44. See Pierre de Coubertin, "L'Éducation des Adolescents au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Éducation Morale: Le Respect mutuel*, Paris: Alcan, 1915.
45. Pamphlet, *International Peace Bureau*, 1915, p. 1.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 2. Parenthesis mine.
47. Anonymous, *Neu Olympische Spiele und deren Bedeutung für Europa*, Linz: R.

Pirngruber, 1906, p. 12. I am grateful for the careful scholarship of Erwin Niedermann, who has, in fact, identified the author of the above cited work as the Austrian Karl von Gorner (1858-1924).

48. Charles Waldstein, "The Olympic Games at Athens," *Harper's Weekly* (April 18, 1896), p. 391.

49. Carl Diem Institute (ed.), *Pierre de Coubertin: The Olympic Idea*, Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1966, pp. 2-3.

50. See Wolfgang Eichel, *Illustrierte Geschichte der Körperkultur* (Vol. I), Berlin (East): Sportverlag, 1983, p. 206.

51. For a collection of the Baron's earlier works, see Carl Diem Institute (ed.), *Pierre de Coubertin: Einundzwanzig Jahre Sportkampagne (1887-1908)*, Ratingen: Henn, 1974. For comment on the above, see *Pierre de Coubertin: Olympische Erinnerungen* (Ernst Hojer, ed.), Berlin (East): Sportverlag, 1987.

52. See Ernst Hojer (ed.), *Pierre de Coubertin: Schule, Sport, Erziehung, Gedanken zum öffentlichen Erziehungswesen*, Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1972.

## APPENDIX I

### Coubertin's Patronage List for the 1894 Sorbonne Congress

#### Honorary Members

*S. M. le Roi des Belges*

*S. A. R. le Prince de Galles*

*S. A. R. le Prince royal de Suede et Norwege.*

*S. A. R. le Prince royal des Héllènes*

*S. A. I. le Grand Due Wladimir de Russie.*

*S. E. le Ministre de l'Instruction publique d'Autriche.*

*M. le President du Conseil municipal de Paris*

Mgr. le Duc d'Aumale.

M. le Comte Czaki, Ministre de l'Instruction publique de Hongrie.

Lord Aberdare.

M. Hodgson Pratt, President de l'Alliance Universitaire Internationale

M. Ernest Lavisse, de l'Academie Française.

M. Joseph Relnach, Député.

M. Frédéric Passy, Membre de l'Institut.

M. R. Bonghi, Membre du Parlement Italien.

M. R. Feldhaus, Membre du Parlement Allemand

M. le Général de Buotowski, Attache à la direction des écoles militaires russes

M. le Dr. Harris, Commissaire de l'Éducation des Etats-Unis.

M. Frederic Bajer, Membre du Parlement Danois.

M. Balfour, Membre du Parlement Anglais

M. le comte Fisogni, Membre du Parlement Italien.

M. H. Lafontaine, Membre du Parlement Belge.

M. Alexandre Hegedius, Membre du Parlement Hongrois.

M. Elie Ducommun, Président du Bureau international de la Paix.  
 M. G. de Saint-Clair.  
 M. le Vicomte Léon de Janzé, Président de l'Union des Sports Athlétiques.  
 M. Eug. Spuller, Député, ancien Ministre.  
 M. Marion, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres.  
 Sir John Astley, Président du Sports-Club de Londres.  
 M. le Capitaine Balck, Président de l'Union Gymnastique de Stockholm.  
 M. Franz Kémény, Directeur de l'Ecole Royale d'Egeri  
 M. Jules Simon, de l'Académie Français.  
 M. Janssen, Membre de l'Institut.  
 M. le Comte Hoyos, Ambassadeur d'Aufrique Hongrie, à Paris.  
 M. le Dr. Gilman, Président de l'Université Johns Hopkins (Baltimore).  
 M. l'Amiral baron Lagé, Président de l'Union des Yachts Français.  
 M. Jean Phokianos, Président de la Société Panhélienne des Gymnastique

M. le Comte de Juigne, Depute, President de la Société Hippique française.  
 M. le Baron de Suttner.  
 M. le Dr. Jiri Gum, Professeur au lycée de Klaiovy (Bohême).  
 M. Capuccio, President du Rowing-Club Italien.  
 M. Parmentier, President de l'Union des Sociétés de Gymnastique du France.  
 M. le Dr. W. P. Brooks.  
 M. C. Waldstein, Directeur de l'Ecole Américaine d'Athènes.  
 Lord Dufferin, Ambassadeur d'Angleterre.  
 M. G. A. Adée, President du New-York Athletic Club.  
 M. G. Strehly, Professeur au Lycée Montaigne.  
 M. le Dr. Zubiaur, Recteur du Collège de l'Uruguay.  
 M. L. A. Cuff, Secrétaire de la New-Zeland Amateur Athletic Association.  
 M. de Méléniowski, Depute de la Noblisse de Kiew.

## APPENDIX II

### Nobel Prize Winners—1901 to 1913

1901-Frédéric Passy, France, Co-Founder, Interparliamentarian Union (1888)  
 Jean Henri Dunant, Switzerland, Founder, International Red Cross (1863)  
 1902-Elie Ducommun, Switzerland, General-Secretary, International Permanent Peace Bureau (1892)  
 Charles A. Gobat, Switzerland, Chief, Central Bureau of the International Peace Union (1892)  
 1903-William R. Cremer, Great Britain, Founder International Arbitration League-Co-Founder, International Peace Union  
 1904-Droit Institute, Belgium, Institute for Codification, Supervision and Recommendations for International Law  
 1905-Bertha von Suttner, Austria, Author, *Die Waffen nieder* and First Vice-President, International Peace Bureau  
 1906-Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America  
 1907-Emesto T. Moneta, France, Editor, International Peace Journal

Louis Renault, France, Jurist, International Court of Arbitration (Hague)  
 1908-Klas P. Arnoldson, Sweden, Founder, International Society for Peace and Arbitration  
 Fredrik Bajer, Denmark, First President, International Peace Bureau (1892)  
 1909-August M. Beernaert, Belgium, Member, International Court of Arbitration, and Member, International Peace Union  
 P. d'Estournelles, France, Founder, Committee for the Defense of National Interests and International Reconciliation  
 1910-International Peace Bureau  
 1911-Tobias C. Asser, Netherlands, Co-Founder, Institute of International Law  
 Alfred H. Fried, First Editor, International Peace Journal (1891), and Author, Works on Scientific Pacifism  
 1912-Elihu Root, U.S.A., President, American Society of International Law  
 1913-Henry La Fontaine, Belgium, President, International Peace Union (1908)