

## AVERY BRUNDAGE AND HIS VISION OF THE OLYMPIC GAMES DURING THE “UNSETTLING” YEARS 1938-1952

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The distinguished Professor of English and American Studies at Amherst College – Allen Guttman – wrote a biography of Avery Brundage (1887-1975), Fifth President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) that is a model of historical accuracy, completeness, and therefore a book of balance and fairness.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Guttman covered the entire event-filled life of this talented and controversial leader, including a Chapter 7 “Preserving the Ideal, 1936-1948.” My effort in this research paper is to significantly expand on Brundage’s successes, failures, and compulsively hard work during the awful years of World War II and the cancellation of four Olympic Games. The near-frantic Brundage found a great many “projects” to occupy his time for this long decade 1938-1952. It was all understandable, knowing something of Brundage’s brooding work ethic that almost never appreciated significant and serious deviation from his own definition of the world, especially the narrow sphere of national and international non-professional sport and the Olympic Games. This paper follows a more topical than chronological organization, although within each Brundage section, there are chronological patterns.

### Brundage Faces the Awfulness of Four Cancelled Olympic Games 1940 and 1944.

Avery Brundage, a first-generation millionaire, carefully nurtured his lucrative Chicago-based construction company, and by his election in 1936 to membership in the IOC, he had become his nation’s most prominent amateur sport leader. Long since, his intelligent mind had hardened, like his own Brundage concrete, into obduracy and, in public, a kind of unsmiling pilgrim traveling nearly endlessly in the direction of some sacred place. At the watershed Olympic Games in Berlin 1936, the IOC caved into a bloc of members from Japan, Italy, and Germany, and Tokyo, Japan was selected for the 1940 summer Olympic Games.<sup>2</sup> Japan declared war against China in July 1937, and nearly a year later, at the Cairo, Egypt 1938 gathering of a hesitant IOC, no decision was made about the 1940 venue. From his Chicago office on January 12, 1938, Avery Brundage, President of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) and recently co-opted by the IOC, “declared that the “Olympics must be held in Japan in 1940 or dropped.”<sup>3</sup> Brundage immediately traveled to Japan and once there reported that “the Japanese are engaged in a job well done. I have been treated with courtesy and hospitality.”<sup>4</sup> A certain Hiroshi Shimomura wrote in June of 1938: “All preparations... progressing under full steam in Tokyo.”<sup>5</sup> But world uncertainties rested heavily on the IOC’s commitment to two Olympic Games in Japan, in the same year 1940: Sapporo and Tokyo.

The IOC was helped from its dilemma when, as Allen Guttman wrote: in July 1938...“the Japanese themselves decided that the games were a costly distraction from the more important business of military conquest.”<sup>6</sup>

A despondent, if not, desperate IOC, “had already transferred the summer games to Helsinki and in June 1939 awarded the 1940 Olympic Winter Games to Germany’s Garmisch-Partenkirchen.”<sup>7</sup> Nothing had been solved. Frederick W. Rubien edited a 1940 *Report of the American Olympic Committee For the Games of the XIIth Olympiad Helsinki, Finland, and Vth Olympic Winter Games, Garmisch*. Chairman Avery Brundage’s report



Avery Brundage, Schöbel, H.: *Die vier Dimensionen des Avery Brundage*, Leipzig 1968

occupied five pages, but he concluded, gloomily: “The celebrations were prevented by war.”<sup>8</sup> On September 1, 1939, Poland was invaded by Adolph Hitler’s armies and on November 30 of that same year, “the Russian Army invaded Finnish territory, opening the Russo-Finnish War....”<sup>9</sup> It was over. There would be no 1940 Olympic Games – winter and summer. Two of *The New York Times* “Finast” John Kieran and Arthur Daley, dropped for the moment their journalistic objectivity and wrote:

*...Russia began her rape of Finland and nothing kills sporting instincts more violently than war, which is man’s most unsportsmanlike activity. The Olympic ideal was trampled underfoot just as were so many of the decent things in life.*<sup>10</sup>

A deeply-depressed Chancellor of the IOC – Otto Mayer – old enough to remember the carnage of World War I, and the cancellation of the 1916 Olympic Games scheduled for Berlin – wrote in 1960: “Servint la

catastrophe mondiale de 1939-1945.”<sup>11</sup>

Brundage was now faced with the “awfulness” of no Olympic Games for years to come. He was probably constitutionally incapable of sitting out these years, watching his well-established business and fortune grow. He had to keep his hand...body and mind deeply imbedded in non-professional sport, and, ironically, briefly in local and national politics. A few months earlier, Brundage and his first wife Elizabeth traveled to London for a fruitless 1939 IOC meeting. “They journeyed by way of Japan, making the trip a round-the-world affair,” wrote journalist Ralph Cannon.<sup>12</sup> It was neither the first nor the last such Asian trip for the restless Brundage. He did travel as far as Massachusetts and the Springfield College graduation ceremonies in June of 1940. Probably few in the audience, especially those graduating, accepted Mr. Brundage’s already primal message:

*Picture a world in which this amateur spirit prevails, in which, in every field of endeavor, emphasis is placed on excellence and achievement, and not on the accumulation of dollars.*<sup>13</sup>

Brundage shifted his intellectual “weight”, once again, to the right. He opposed all of USA President Franklin Roosevelt’s not-so-secret and overt support of Great Britain in 1939 and 1940, all prior to the United States’ entry into the war. Although a “small player,” Brundage was noticed by American historian, Robert Edwin Herzstein, in his important book *Roosevelt and Hitler. Prelude to War*. He wrote of Brundage’s visit to Hitler’s Germany:

*Avery Brundage loved the dynamic sense of purpose and order that surrounded him in the Reich... Brundage later negotiated with the Germans in preparation for the 1940 winter Olympics... He did so in the name of ‘sport friendship’ that transcended issues such as racism and war.*<sup>14</sup>

The thesis of Herzstein’s history is that “Roosevelt hoped to defeat Germany while staying out of war.”<sup>15</sup> Sportsman Brundage certainly “bought into” the second half of Herzstein’s assertion – to stay out of war. Writing in 1960, Robert Shaplen interviewed Brundage and wrote of him: “When the war broke out in Europe, he became an isolationist and remained one until Pearl Harbor.”<sup>16</sup> Life Magazine writer Roger Butterfield, writing earlier in 1948, said:

*In August 1940 Brundage appeared as chairman of the ‘Keep America Out of War Committee.’ He resigned from this group and [from] the ‘America First Committee’...the day after Pearl Harbor.*<sup>17</sup>

No surprise: Brundage would not vote for Roosevelt in 1940. “He’s soft on communism as is his Democratic Party,” wrote Brundage in a *Chicago Herald American*

article titled “Why I’ll vote for Wilkie.”<sup>18</sup> Some of Chicago’s wealthiest citizens, including Brundage, called themselves Republicans, “with a capital ‘R.’” Dr. Herzstein wrote that one binding force among them a “shared belief in Roosevelt’s evil designs and a common lack of faith in American strength.”<sup>19</sup> Allen Guttman was correct in assuming that Americans at the time, mostly Republicans, were fearful that Roosevelt would take the country to war, and that Brundage “had become an ardently outspoken isolationist in the years before Hitler’s invasion of Poland and Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor.”<sup>20</sup> I am unable to refrain one last time from quoting from Herzstein’s *Roosevelt and Hitler*. The once great American flying hero – the brooding, unhappy Colonel Charles Lindbergh – believed in the summer of 1940 that Great Britain would fall and he “attacked FDR for pushing Britain and France into war.”<sup>21</sup> Colonel Lindbergh began traveling the Eastern USA preaching aloofness and isolationism. His friend, Avery Brundage, was with him in Chicago. “We are wholeheartedly behind a strong defense program, but against a program of aggression,” said the Chicago sportsman. Brundage continued, standing next to Lindbergh: “We are also just as wholeheartedly against the efforts of those who would drag us in our unprepared state into the present war.”<sup>22</sup> Modern Olympic Games critic, the widely-read John Hoberman, wrote that “Avery Brundage’s isolationism was simultaneously a utopian isolationism.”<sup>23</sup> At that same Chicago rally, Michael J. Quill, President, Transport Workers Union, CIO, said “American labor will rise and fight as one man if America is invaded, but we will fight only on American soil.”<sup>24</sup>

### **Brundage’s Efforts to “Touch Base” with his IOC Colleagues 1939-1948**

It is not altogether clear why Avery Brundage ceaselessly wrote to his American friends on the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU), intercollegiate athletic administrators, to his own American Olympic Committee (AOC), plus an extraordinary correspondence with European colleagues on the IOC. It may be that he agonized over the fragile nature of the Olympic Games. We know how much he valued these games and their unsure values to all the world’s youthful humankind. His 1950 manuscript, never completed, was titled *The Wonderful Flame. The Magic Flame. The Sacred Flame. The Olympic Story*.<sup>25</sup> Mr. Brundage, may have had as his life’s ambition the presidency of the IOC. Thus the title of the second section of this research effort – “touching base” with his best friends – the voting members of that exclusive IOC club. Brundage’s narrow brilliance was matched only by bluntness and often a lack of domestic “savoir-faire”. Why else, except to “save” the Olympic Games, and, possibly, to enhance his image with the IOC, would he have suggested that the United States would be a more suitable 1940 Olympic Games site than the designated city of Helsingfors-Helsinki? Not all on the Helsinki Olympic

Games Organizing Committee felt that their city was capable of hosting a 1940 games, at so late a date. The *New York Times* of September 21, 1939, spoke of “angry Finns” incensed that Brundage offered the IOC a “safe haven” for these 1940 games in an American city:

*It was held inconceivable that Avery Brundage... should have deemed it opportune to approach the International Olympic Committee with the proposal without first having informed the Finnish organizing committee of his project.*<sup>26</sup>

This researcher was unable to confirm Brundage’s alleged communication with IOC president, Count Baillet-Latour, to transfer the 1940 summer Olympic Games to a city in the United States. What we do have is a telegram from long-time American Olympic Committee member, Gustavus Town Kirby (1874-1956), to the U.S. State Department, dated September 20, 1939, indicating that “the New York City World’s Fair might possibly host a summer Olympic Games in 1944.”<sup>27</sup> Baillet-Latour did enter the disorderly world political stage with a letter to Brundage, praising the brave, wise and patient Finns, but the Belgian president ended with a request and an unanswerable question:

*I beg you to let me know if you believe that it is favorable for the Olympic Idea, that games should take place, if the war is not over and, if they were celebrated, could Helsinki rely on the participation of your country.*<sup>28</sup>

Brundage’s American colleagues on the IOC were William May Garland (1866-1948) and the brilliant international lawyer, Frederick René Coudert, Sr. (1871-1955) – a trio from a single nation, serving simultaneously, rarely matched in the history of the committee. Dr. Coudert wrote Brundage on November 1, 1939:

*It seems impossible to hold the [summer] Games in Finland. Surely we could not ask American athletes to run a submarine blockage... I reluctantly conclude that it would be unwise to hold the Games,...*<sup>29</sup>

IOC Vice-President J. Sigfrid Edstrom hated as much as did Brundage, the never-ending “intrusion” of well-paid skillful athletes, into their amateur Olympic Games. On November 21, 1940—Edstrom’s 70<sup>th</sup> birthday—Brundage, forever deferential to those that he admired on the committee, wrote: “His [Edstrom] strong and aggressive advocacy of strict amateurism has carried the day on many occasions when others have wavered.”<sup>30</sup> Coudert, Garland, Brundage, Edstrom and many others worried incessantly and to their last day on the IOC, that absolutely nothing good could occur to the Olympic Games if the trend continued. The brave Edstrom, acting IOC

president, but legally still the vice-president, wrote:

*[I] made the arduous and dangerous journey[in 1942] to the United States by courier plane to discuss the protection and the future of the IOC with Brundage with whom I immediately proposed for the inaugural position of second Vice-President.*<sup>31</sup>

Thus, at only fifty-five years of age, the wealthy Chicago engineer-builder arrived closer to his pinnacle of the IOC.

Amidst the nightmare war, Brundage suggested that Los Angeles would be prepared to host a post-war Games. In another note, he reminded his American Olympic colleagues that President Edstrom was constantly in touch with all IOC members via telegraph “circular letters.”<sup>32</sup> At the height of wartime killing in the spring of 1944, a few, very few, remembered that the fiftieth anniversary of the IOC was near, and a celebration was planned for June 17-July 3, 1944, in the Olympic headquarters city of Lausanne, Switzerland. Brundage couldn’t make it for this “Jubilé,” but several hundred were on hand, mostly Swiss. Only a short distance away, in Central Italy “allied armies launched a heavy assault against Cassino. On June 4, 1944, the Anglo-American troops entered Rome.”<sup>33</sup> Back in neutral Switzerland, quiet celebrations took place, especially honoring the late IOC founder, Baron Pierre de Coubertin. All of it is contained in a 200 page book, *Jubilé Olympique*.<sup>34</sup> The *Times* of London managed to note that “A tablet to the memory of Baron Pierre de Coubertin... has been unveiled at the seat of the International Olympic Committee at Lausanne.”<sup>35</sup>

Sigrid Edstrom had a double reason for again crossing the Atlantic Ocean in the horrendous penultimate year of the war. He wanted to talk to Brundage and also to represent Sweden at a 1944 emergency meeting of the International Business Men – a 52-nation congress to discuss international business ethics for the remainder of the war, and its immediate aftermath. Edstrom had just retired as International Chamber of Commerce Chairman, and his “eight recommendations” were well received by the delegates staying at the Westchester Country Club, New York.<sup>36</sup> Historian George C. Daniels wrote of the meeting between Edstrom and the younger and unofficial heir apparent to the IOC presidency:

*Edstrom had long been interested in Brundage. He found the American... appealing, not only for his vigor and intellect, but also for his passionate commitment to the Olympic ideal.*<sup>37</sup>

Edstrom’s double mission to America in 1944 was to help curb the sometimes unhealthy influences of wartime international cartels and to see “pupil” Avery Brundage. The two of them spoke at Brundage’s office in the city’s Biltmore Hotel. Possibly they failed to notice the *New York Times* headline that day: “General Patton Forges

Pincers on Metz.Thousands Die.”<sup>38</sup>

Brundage’s zeal for the Olympic Movement’s ability to “heal” international violence caused him anger and embarrassment on December 5, 1944. Without direct quotes, Brundage was alleged to have issued an invitation to “Axis athletes” to join all nations at the immediate post-war Olympic Games.<sup>39</sup> A perfect storm of protests overwhelmed Brundage, bereft of supporters. At a December 11, 1944 meeting of the Olympic committee in the New York Athletic Club (NYAC), Brundage’s comments were met with “deafening negative response.” Brundage’s limp reply was “I was misquoted”:

*All I said was that if a country is politically and commercially recognized by this Government[USA] I supposed, naturally, it will be recognized athletically as well.*<sup>40</sup>

Several years later, Pete Martin remembered Brundage’s alleged remarks, calling them “a new high in silly statements even for him.”<sup>41</sup>

The absolute fury of war’s last weeks were discouraging to Brundage and to a thousand million people around the world. He wrote his friend of thirty-five years – the 1908 Olympic pole-vault co-winner, A.C. Gilbert: “So far as I can see we are going downhill in every direction, if that were possible.”<sup>42</sup> A cure for such gloom arrived that same day, May 10, 1945. Hurry and send me your reaction to the enclosed agenda for the next Executive Board Meeting in London, wrote Mr. Edstrom. It was better than medicine for Brundage.<sup>43</sup> The vicious war ended on August 14, 1945. In December, Brundage met with his domestic Olympic committee members inside the NYAC, finally settling on still another committee title change – a perplexing problem for these basically well-educated men. A journalist from the *New York Herald Tribune* was there and wrote:

*“Avery Brundage, the hardy perennial from Chicago bobbed various names to a more workable United States Olympic Association.”*<sup>44</sup>

One wonders why, having never met the Olympic Games founder, Coubertin, the fifty-nine year old Brundage would strike up a warm correspondence with eighty-five year old Madame Marie Rothan Coubertin. Brundage had not met Coubertin’s widow, and yet the American wrote her several “warm” letters in 1946 and 1947. Was it affection and respect for the Baron that motivated Brundage or was it the theme of this second section of my research paper: “Touching Base with IOC Colleagues?” “I send you books and manuscripts about the Olympic Spirit,” she wrote to him.<sup>45</sup> Brundage replied on April 4, 1947:

*Thank you for the books. Until the world adopts the high ideals of amateur sport, and business and*

*politics are conducted under the same standards that prevail in the Olympic Games, the world will remain a battlefield.*<sup>46</sup>

She wrote to him again in October of 1947: “I have a glorious painting of my husband, a full-length portrait in riding clothes. Do you have a place for it?” He replied, in part: “Unfortunately not...unlike your husband...there are too many endeavors to prostitute the Olympic Movement for political or commercial purposes.”<sup>47</sup> She died May 6, 1963, at age 102.<sup>48</sup>

Lastly, at least for this second topical section of the essay, is Mr. Brundage’s “spirited”...distain of 1) professional athletes pretending to be amateur, and competing in “his” winter and summer Olympic Games and 2) “Broken-time” financial compensation for those away from home, family and employment for long periods (like the Olympic Games). There was no difficulty in locating hundreds of malevolent essays on these two inflammatory topics. At the 57<sup>th</sup> AAU convention, Brundage raised his voice: “Professional sport is not sport at all; it is entertainment.” He added: “Amateur athletes must not be allowed to be financially supported by private or government agents.”<sup>49</sup> He was in full agreement with his American colleague, F. R. Coudert, who wrote Brundage: “We must stand against the invasion of the Games by professionalism, otherwise the cause is lost.”<sup>50</sup> At the world track and field federation (IAAF) meeting in London, Brundage “twice took the floor to state...that any payment to athletes would provide an entering wedge for professionalism,...”<sup>51</sup> “No more ‘Broken Time’ shouted Brundage. The individual who hasn’t something that he values more than dollars is poor indeed.”<sup>52</sup> The great sport journalist, Jesse Abramson, reluctantly praised Brundage’s lofty “ideal of amateurism,” as well as his passion. Abramson concluded: “Imagine saying a kind word for this Peace Piper. I’ll be blacklisted.”<sup>53</sup> Penultimately, in reverse chronological order, Brundage wrote in a 1948 copy of *World Sports*: “Payment for ‘broken time’ soon becomes a real salary and the players refuse to work at all”<sup>54</sup> In a revealing essay in *Time Magazine*, June 30, 1947, a reporter from Stockholm, Sweden’s *Dagens Nyheter* had had enough of the man: “Brundage is the apostle of hypocrisy.” Another Swedish paper *Idrottsblad*, got in a long last look:

*It took Our Lord 800,000,000 years to create the world of today. How long a time will it take Mr. Brundage to learn to understand it?*<sup>55</sup>

### **Brundage’s Gritty Efforts at Starting a Pan-American Games 1937-1942**

Allen Guttman’s definitive biography of Avery Brundage, *The Games Must Go On*, states “As early as 1937 he had discussed with various AAU officials the possibility of Pan-American Games,...”<sup>56</sup> The Olympic Games of 1940 were cancelled, only to have Brundage fly

to Buenos Aires in early September of that year, met with receptive friends who fully agreed on an inaugural games in 1942. "Although he was the only non-Latin-American [there], he was elected President of the Pan-American Sports Committee," wrote German historian, Otto Schantz.<sup>57</sup> Returning home, Brundage found that, legally, his American Olympic Association (AOA), responsible only for Olympic Games competition, had no regional games jurisdiction. AAU and AOA lawyers went to work and in five weeks they had a new name – the United States of America Sports Federation (USASF).<sup>58</sup> Long-time friend and also enemy of Brundage, Judge Jeremiah T. Mahoney, called Brundage's bold Pan-Am Games idea "A plan of far-reaching importance."<sup>59</sup>

The AOA constitution had no provisions for involvement in a regional sports competition, but only Olympic Games. Action was taken immediately at an Olympic Committee meeting in the sumptuous NYAC on October 29, 1940. All went well; Brundage was pleased with his new title: "President of the Pan-American Sports Congress." But Federal Judge Murray Hulbert and several others raised the specter of "Fifth-Column Communists" running the show down there in South America.<sup>60</sup> However, all ended pacifically; all seemed to enjoy the remainder of five-hour long meeting and banquet-meal... and the Federation's actions became legal.

With no Olympic Games, winter-summer, in sight, President Edstrom informed IOC colleagues "of a plan by the doughty...Avery Brundage, to keep some sort of international athletic competition going on by means of a Pan-American Games. Everyone approved."<sup>61</sup> These Argentinian games were scheduled for November 21 through December 6, 1942 – "the 450<sup>th</sup> celebration of the discovery of America by Columbus."<sup>62</sup> Brundage's *Report*, dated October 10, 1940, indicated that the cancellation of two Olympic Games "stimulated interest in a Pan-American Games, and despite U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull's inability to help financially...we, the AOC, will handle all matters."<sup>63</sup> Brundage warned that a December 1942 competition would be "out of season" for most U.S. athletes and "would be no runaway for the United States."<sup>64</sup>

The United States government, all through the year 1941 – January through November – was still a neutral country, with powerful sympathies for beleaguered France and England. Pan-Am plans moved along, with newspaper sport headlines "Brundage lists additional events for Pan-American Games" and "The Latin Americans have asked that the United States pull no punches", and "Our athletic officials are planning full United States participation."<sup>65</sup>

All was looking well on the eve of the Pearl Harbor devastation, December 7, 1941. A giant fund-raiser luncheon took place at the NYAC on November 19, 1941. Almost "everyone" was there, including Judge Mahoney, who reported on his recent Washington, D.C. meeting with Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, who said, in

part: the government is still unable to fund your Pan-Am Games, but:

*...the Government of the United States is one hundred percent behind you, and you can rest assured that what you are doing is one of the finest things that can be done to cement relations between the United States and South America.*<sup>66</sup>

Almost automatically, Avery Brundage was re-elected AOA president, now re-named "U.S.A. Sports Federation."<sup>67</sup>

The utter disaster at Pearl Harbor, Honolulu, USA, prompted an immediate and brave telegram to Avery Brundage. Chairman Juan Carlos Palacios wrote:

*...that in this hour of trial for America, the Argentine Olympic Committee organizing the first Pan American Games sends to the sportsmen, the people and the great President of the United States its fullest and sincerest testimonial of solidarity.*<sup>68</sup>

Of course, it was all impossible. Brundage and his coterie allowed several months to pass before announcing the inevitable. From his Chicago office Brundage announced: "The officers of the United States Pan-American Games Committee...have decided to withdraw the United States entry from the first Pan-American Games."<sup>69</sup> Although not germane to this history of Brundage's wartime activities, he and his persistent comrades helped organize a remarkably successful First Pan-Am Games in Buenos Aires, February 25 through March 8, 1951. The editor of the *United States 1952 Olympic Book*, Asa S. Bushnell, Secretary of the USOA wrote a near book-length sixty-two pages of photos and narrative of the successful regional games.<sup>70</sup>

### **Brundage's Steady Rise to the Presidency**

Wearisomely, the national Olympic Committee of the United States once again changed its name, on December 10, 1945, to "United States Olympic Association" (USOA). Probably, it was all puzzling to those small numbers of war-weary European Olympic officials...if they cared at all. It was a permanent committee, strengthened as the games formed, by still another entity – the United States Olympic Committee (USOC)...

*not earlier than 18 months before each celebration of the Olympic Games, a temporary committee known as the United States Olympic Committee for the Games of the forthcoming Olympiad.*<sup>71</sup>

One cannot be sure, but Mr. Brundage may have at times, felt himself above such domestic bureaucracy, his sights set always "higher." He did not take lightly his re-election as American Olympic president, on December 10, 1945.

The IOC met, in full, for the first post-war time in Lausanne. Looking back several years to this September, 1946 meeting, Brundage recalled that “The chief dangers to the Olympic Movement and to amateur sport [are] all political or commercial influences.”<sup>72</sup> On September 23, 1946, the USOA met at its favorite haunt – the NYAC – and discussed the nation’s plans for the 1948 summer Games in London. Brundage presided, with gusto, and was much appreciated by the two hundred in attendance. Over at New York City’s Hotel Pennsylvania, that same evening, seven hundred guests gathered to celebrate the USA’s significant participation in the Games of the First Olympiad, in Athens, fifty-years before. The chief speaker was Maj. Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, superintendent at West Point. He was introduced by Secretary of War Robert Patterson. “Message of congratulations to the Olympic Committee also was received from President Harry Truman and General MacArthur.”<sup>73</sup>

Brundage returned to his ancient theme...a wholly pure and perfect Olympic Games. He probably knew that it could never be so, but he persisted. ‘Broken Time’ – reimbursement to amateur athletes for lost wages “leads to many abuses,” he said again and again. Poor and rich alike, he exhorted, must not receive a salary for work they never did. Most IOC members, hearing Brundage’s repeated theme, must have nodded approval. Harry Truman congratulated Brundage on November 7, 1947: “May you have success and done with the highest standards of sportsmanship.”<sup>74</sup> The perceptive Allison Danzig, aboard the S.S. America, on its way to the London games, spoke of Avery Brundage, also on board, as the reelected USOC president. But, he added, it is my last American election. Danzig wandered the ship and learned a great deal:

*He’s been called a dictator, one who pulls puppet strings and makes the decision...an autocrat, but was always elected unanimously. ‘I guess,’ said Brundage with a smile, ‘that it is a good thing for the presidency to be passed around.’*<sup>75</sup>

It is interesting, if not important, that in these years 1949-1951, the very wealthy Brundage expanded his already large Asian art collection<sup>76</sup> and expanded his real estate properties in rural Santa Barbara, California, this in addition to his ownership of the once fashionable Chicago La Salle Hotel.<sup>77</sup> A writer for the *Santa Barbara Magazine* played amateur psychologist and wrote:

*Brundage sought refuge from his Olympic battles in Santa Barbara. Along with several private estates, El Paseo, the Presidio, and the Montecito Hotel, he owned the Montecito Country Club, purchased in 1947 to preserve the beauty of the land.*<sup>78</sup>

Brundage dreamed of a “gift” for the whole sporting world – to keep very far apart (ideologically and physically), professional athletic “gladiators” from “genuine”

amateurs. He had first to convince some doubters on his own IOC. He tried to do so and with some theatrics at the full IOC session in Copenhagen, May 15-17, 1950. Otto Mayer was there and amidst interminable small talk about “amateurism”, up stepped Brundage with a circular titled, in capital letters “STOP – LOOK and LISTEN.”

Chancellor Mayer reproduced the entire document in his book...in the French language, a lengthy thousand-word discourse.<sup>79</sup> Karl Lennartz reproduced Brundage’s arresting, narrow view of who should and who should not



Entrance to the Avery Brundage Collection in San Francisco, Schöbel, H.: *Die vier Dimensionen des Avery Brundage*, Leipzig 1968

be allowed to participate in the Olympic Games:

*Business is business and sport is sport. It is impossible to mix them...The growth and development of the Olympic Movement and the esteem in which it is held throughout the world, is due to the fact that it is amateur and free from political or commercial influence. Abandonment of these principles will sound the death of the Games.*<sup>80</sup>

Brundage “pressed on” towards his own personal high goal. Veteran IOC colleague from Greece, Jean Ketseas, wrote John Jewett Garland, new committee member: “I consider our friend, Av. Brundage as the ‘personne indiquée [person most highly qualified] for the Presidency.” His letter was dated December 6, 1951. Former American on the IOC, Brundage’s like-minded friend, F. R. Coudert, wrote him: “Your life is devoted to uphold the standards of the amateur, unlike professional athletics, so married into politics.”<sup>81</sup>

In a sense, Brundage’s life, at age sixty-five, was just beginning on July 17, 1952, his elevation to the committee’s top leadership. He would serve twenty tumultuous years, second only to Baron de Coubertin’s twenty-

nine years (1896-1925).<sup>82</sup> The IOC's *Bulletin du CIO* noted that "Brundage is the first IOC president, not from Europe and the first time a competitor in the Olympic Games has been made President."<sup>83</sup> *The Times* of London correspondent in Helsinki wrote:

*The IOC today overrode the wishes of Russia and the eastern Europeans and elected Mr. Avery Brundage, of the United States. He was elected by 30 votes to 17, with two blanks.*<sup>84</sup>



Avery Brundage with the US-team in Helsinki 1952, Schöbel, H.: *Die vier Dimensionen des Avery Brundage*, Leipzig 1968

Brundage returned home, wished the American Olympic team a serene flight to Helsinki, and, without skipping a familiar beat, issued his team "a note of warning":

*While you are wearing a United States Olympic uniform...much harm may be done to the Olympic movement and to your country by careless remarks or actions...Everything possible will be done to discredit our team and the United States by those who are not our friends.*<sup>85</sup>

#### **An Assessment and an Effort at Disinterestedness**

An Olympian domestic dispute took place in 1947-1948 (not detailed in this paper); pitting the resolute Brundage against those who wished professional hockey players to represent the USA at the 1948 Olympic Winter Games in St. Moritz, Switzerland. The great journalist from *The New York Times* – Arthur Daley, wrote, with some reluctance "Brundage is absolutely correct, as usual."<sup>86</sup> A certain "Tommie Devine" was in London for the first post-war games, noting that "the old anvil chorus" of Brundage critics were here and that he was ready for them. "When he sheds his coat and rolls up his sleeves, he reminds you of a boxer."<sup>87</sup> As with some writers, Roger Butterfield alternately praised Brundage, as well as offering something different about the old curmudgeon:

*The religious simile would help to explain Brundage's inquisitorial attitude and his sense of mission. He is the irascible high priest of amateurism in sport.*<sup>88</sup>

Brundage and Edstrom exchanged hundreds of letters, mostly typewritten, but many illegible scribbles. They enjoyed telling one another exactly what they had

believed for decades. Brundage wrote his mentor that ultra-nationalism cannot and must not exist side-by-side "with the Olympic ideal," and in March of 1949: "The world is crying for leadership, and there is great danger that amateur sport and the Olympic movement be taken over by commercial and political interests."<sup>89</sup>

For fifty years, whenever IOC members gathered, they spent an inordinate time trying to define an "amateur athlete." President Edstrom gave his own version in a circular dated September 10, 1949, far too late to have any real meaning:

*An amateur is one who participates and always has participated in sport solely for pleasure and for the physical, mental or social benefits...without material gain of any kind.*<sup>90</sup>

A young and recent IOC member from Los Angeles – John Jewett Garland – admired both Edstrom and his old American colleague: "Avery Brundage stands out as the one man who can insure the future of our great movement."<sup>91</sup>

Harsher tones about Brundage emerged from every direction, especially after his death in 1975. The always critical John Hoberman saw in Brundage a proponent of "amoral universalism"...possessing an idealism that represents "not ethics, but the flight from conscience, its suffering, and its doubts."<sup>92</sup> It is doubtful, if Brundage had lived long enough to read Hoberman, that he would have understood him. George M. Constable was of the opinion that Olympic leadership, Coubertin through Brundage, were doomed to fail..."fallen short of the dream."<sup>93</sup> Carl A. Posey made an accurate observation, rather an opinion, when he wrote that "Brundage created his own rags to riches story."<sup>94</sup> The famous Red Smith (*NYT*) called Brundage "the official target of abuse in every Olympic

year since the invention of the discus.”<sup>95</sup>

This imperfect man, like almost every other human, was sometimes frustrating to his closest friends. Brundage knew John T. McGovern, official USOA Counselor, for decades. He wrote “Dear Avery: You are a living champion... And because of that I close my eyes and shudder when I regard some of your approaches to diplomacy and tact.”<sup>96</sup> Andrew Jennings had not a scintilla of respect for Avery Brundage, who had “two children outside marriage,” and kept it secret. Such a disclosure, said Jennings, “would have killed his elevation to Guardian of All Things Moral.”<sup>97</sup> Brundage was the fifth IOC president and followed lock-step into and lived the narrow ideologies of most IOC men from the privileged class. Few knew a smidgen about professional athletes, their lives and loyalties, any more than the reverse. For more than forty years, Brundage nurtured the idea-ideal that true amateur athletes were “good”, and wholly unlike the other kind. In most aspects of his life there was only “good and bad”, with no other color shades. Australian sport journalist, Harry Gordon, covered fifty years of summer Olympics and had little use for the American millionaire, “an uncompromising often abrasive defender of amateurism.”<sup>98</sup> Sir Winston Churchill, unable to predict the actions of the Soviet Union, said in a 1939 radio broadcast: “Russia is a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.”<sup>99</sup> Churchill was talking about an entire nation, but apropos, the feeling is the same for me regarding Avery Brundage. A careful read of everything that he has done and said (something that I’ve done for many years), elicits in me predictability and surprise; unvarnished admiration and emotional aversion, plus wonderment at the man’s sixty years of “staying the course”... the Brundage “course,” naturally. ■

#### Notes:

- 1 The Games Must Go On. Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984). The idea for this paper came from a slightly-different direction i.e. a Ph.D. research paper by Greg Tweitmeyer, Penn State University, Department of Kinesiology, titled “Isolated Idealism Avery Brundage and the 1940 Olympics” (2004).
- 2 See Karl Lennartz, “The presidency of Henri de Baillet-Latour,” in Volume 1 of 3 volumes, The International Olympic Committee 1894-1994 (Lausanne, Switzerland, 1994, page 272).
- 3 The New York Times [hereafter NYT], January 13, 1938, page 26.
- 4 See Avery Brundage Collection (hereafter ABC microfilm; box 249; reel 143. The China Weekly Review, Volume 83 (February 19, 1938, page 311), located in the Boston Public Library [BPL], stated that “The feelings of Great Britain and America toward the Japanese invasion of China did not constitute a reason for cancelling the 1940 Olympics or for refusing to participate in the games.” “The Present Japanese Position” (July 19, 1938) extolled the absolutely unparalleled facilities already in place in Tokyo (see ABC; box 261; reel 145a under Olympic News-Service number 7).
- 5 Contemporary Japan, 7 (June 1938), 93. Also germane regarding the Olympic uncertainty in 1938 is Junko Tahara, “Count Michimasa and the Cancellation of the XII Olympiad in Tokyo,” The International Journal of the History of Sport, 9 (December 1992), 467-472. Also, Sandra Collins, “Orienting the Olympics: Japan

and the Games of 1940,” Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Chicago 2002. The year 1940 was the 2,600<sup>th</sup> year of Japan’s formal history. “To our great dismay and regret the whole [Olympic] historic enterprise collapsed,” wrote Matsuzo Nagai, General Secretary of the Organizing Committee. “The venue of the XIIth Olympiad has been removed to Helsinki in Finland”, he concluded. A promising Penn State University graduate student, Greg Tweitmeyer, wrote a paper (not a thesis or dissertation) titled “Isolated Idealism: Avery Brundage and the 1940 Olympics.” His actions back in 1939 and 1940, said Greg, “appear to enhance Brundage’s sullied reputation.”

- 6 See his The Olympics. A History of the Modern Games (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1992), page 14.
- 7 See Dr. Guttman’s The Games Must Go On, page 86.
- 8 This 97 page 1940 Report was read by this researcher in Yale University’s Payne Whitney Library on October 14, 1981. A copy also exists in Princeton University’s Firestone Library.
- 9 William L. Langer, An Encyclopedia of World History (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948), page 1135.
- 10 See The Story of the Olympic Games 776 B.C. – 1956 A.D. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1957), page 274.
- 11 “By some miracle the IOC survived the world catastrophe of 1939-1945.” See his important first-hand view, A travers les anneaux olympiques (Geneva: Pierre Cailler 1960), page 171. Whatever one says about the IOC, they have always been persistent. In that awful year 1939, a few of them met in London and talked of possible 1944 Olympic Games in Cortina, Italy and London. David Miller discusses, briefly, these IOC “dreams.” See his splendid Athens to Athens. The Official History of the Olympic Games and the IOC, 1894-2004 (London: Mainstream Publishing Co., 2003), pages 116-117. Helpful to this researcher in “untangling” dates, cancellations and futile Olympic meetings is the fine Historical Dictionary of the Olympic Movement by Bill Mallon, with Ian Buchanan (Lanham, Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), page xxxi.
- 12 See his “Cash Down on the Laurels,” Amateur Athlete (July 1939), 5, 11, 14.
- 13 ABC; box 11; reel 7.
- 14 See pages 126 and 127 in Professor Herstein’s book published in 1989 by Paragon House in New York City.
- 15 ibid, page 354.
- 16 See his “Amateur Profiles,” The New Yorker, 36 (July 23, 1960), 62.
- 17 See “Avery Brundage,” Life magazine, 24 (June 14, 1948), 125.
- 18 September 10, 1940 (page number obscured).
- 19 See R. E. Herzstein, page 385.
- 20 Guttman, The Games Must Go On, page 89.
- 21 Herzstein, page 383.
- 22 NYT, August 4, 1940, page 6. See also Chicago Tribune, August 4, 1940, pages 1, 2 and on page 1 of the Chicago Sunday Tribune, September 1, 1940, an entire front page crying: “America will not meddle in European Affairs; Europe must not meddle in American Affairs.”
- 23 John Hoberman, The Olympic Crisis. Sport, Politics and the Moral Order (New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, Pub., 1986), page 52.
- 24 See “Labor called ready to fight an invader,” NYT, September 2, 1940, page 8.
- 25 See “Introduction” and “Chapter 1” in ABC; box 105; reel 56. On occasion, Brundage wrote with skill, and therefore convincingly. This effort was not well done. He began: “Search all of history and you will find nothing that has even remotely approached, either the speed with which the Olympic Movement has swept the world, or the extent of its capture of the attention and the participation of mankind.”

- 26 See "Finns Will not Yield the Olympics to U.S.," page 27 in this NYT, September 21, 1939, page 27. Brundage had already announced that his beloved city of Chicago "is capable of hosting a future Olympic Games." See ABC; box 244; reel 141. "This city is crying for broadminded, farseeing leadership," he wrote on March 9, 1939. "Chicago needs an awakening," he wrote earlier, on February 10, 1939 (ABC; box 244; reel 141).
- 27 Kirby's telegram to the State Department, of course, is still in their archives. See "811.607 New York World's Fair 1939."
- 28 This researcher is unsure if the word "participation, in this context, means "to host." See ABC; box 42; reel 24. Count Baillet-Latour's letter is dated "16 October 1939."
- 29 ABC; box 53; reel 32.
- 30 See quote in Vanners Hyllning, J. Sigfrid Edstrom (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksells, 1940), page 347. Brundage never "pulled punches" – his life-long strength/weakness. He wrote in the August, 1941 issue of the Amateur Athlete: Professional athletes are part of the entertainment business, not to be mistaken for the "spiritual realm" possessed by most amateurs. "The right kind of lessons cannot be learned on athletic fields where the commercial idea...prevails."
- 31 See David Miller, pages 117-118.
- 32 See "Los Angeles Plans Bid for Next Olympic Games," NYT, January 28, 1944, page 22. Also "Olympics in 1948 seen," NYT, May 20, 1944, page 18.
- 33 See William L. Langer, page 1162.
- 34 Jubilé Olympique (Lausanne: Edition E. Ruckstuhl-Bonanomi 1944), 200 pages.
- 35 The Times [London], June 20, 1944, page 3.
- 36 See New York Herald Tribune (hereafter NYHT), November 19, 1944; section 5, page 1; Guttman's The Olympics, page 75.
- 37 George C. Daniels, XIV Olympiad London 1948 and Oslo 1952. Volume 12 of 25 volumes The Olympic Century (Los Angeles: World Sport Research and Pub., Inc., 1999), page 95. Senior American IOC member, William May Garland (1866-1948) wrote a formal letter to Mr. Edstrom in early February of 1945: "You could not have named anyone more satisfactory to me... than...Mr. Brundage...I had the pleasure of presenting Mr. Brundage's name as a member of the IOC in Berlin 1936 and had him in mind for that position several years prior..." [Letter Garland to Edstrom dated February 13, 1945. See IOC Archives under "W. M. Garland."]
- 38 November 10, 1944, page 1
- 39 See NYT, December 6, 1944, page 28.
- 40 James P. Dawson, "Strong Objections are made,"...NYT, December 12, 1944, p. 26. See also NYT, December 6, 1944, page 28 ("Olympic Part asked for Germany, Japan").
- 41 Martin's excoriating article titled "Bogeyman of Sport...Avery Brundage" is in The Saturday Evening Post, 220 (June 12, 1948), 23, 143-146. "I wonder," wrote Martin on page 143, "if he really believes those bums can step from their blood baths into an Olympic shower bath with a dash of Pip-Pip and a Hi-there-old-fellow camaraderie."
- 42 ABC; box 26; reel 15; letter dated May 10, 1945.
- 43 1. Reorganize the IOC and select new members 2. Revive the NOC's 3. Reorganize these NOC's 4. Can the '48 games be held if the war with Japan is finished before 1947? 5. Where shall they be held? 6. Under what conditions? 7. When can cooperation with Germany, Hungary and Japan again begin? (See ABC; box 42; reel 25.)
- 44 December 11, 1945, page 32. Also see "Brundage re-elected president," wrote the NYT eyewitness. See December 11, 1945, page 30.
- 45 "Baronesse, Madame de Coubertin" to Avery Brundage; letter dated "1946"; ABC; box 103; reel 56.
- 46 ibid.
- 47 See both letters "October 1947" and November 11, 1947; ibid.
- 48 IOC Chancellor Otto Mayer sent President Brundage a telegram: "Baronesse de Coubertin passed away May 6, 1963." ibid. This researcher interviewed the nearly one hundred year-old Madame Coubertin on August 21, 1960 in Geneva, Switzerland. Madame Lydia Zanchi (the Baron's secretary back in the 1930's) was helpful in translation, as the alert widow shared with me "my husband's double dream." More letters between two improbable friends, Brundage and Madame Coubertin, are located in ABC; box 103; reels 55 and 56.
- 49 NYT, December 8, 1945, page 13.
- 50 ABC; box 53; reel 32.
- 51 NYT, August 27, 1946, page 23.
- 52 See the Amateur Athlete magazine for May 1947, and reproduced in ABC; box 102; reel 55.
- 53 NYHT, July 29, 1947, page 23.
- 54 Article reproduced in ABC; box 102; reel 55, and is dated only "1948".
- 55 See page 54 in Time magazine, Volume 49 (June 30, 1948)... "A Question of Definition."
- 56 Page 87 in Guttman's The Games Must Go On. Also, on page 285, see end note 30, which notes "J. Lyman Bingham to Curtis Ray Emery, April 5, 1963, quoted in Emery's, 'The History of the Pan-American Games'(Ed.D., Louisiana State University, 1964), p. 8.
- 57 See Volume 2 of The IOC One Hundred Years, pages 81-82. The restless Brundage had already suggested to his State Department, in a September 16, 1939 letter, the idea of hemisphere games. See State Department records "AOA August 13, 1939.837.4063/7"; "AOA August 17, 1939.810.4063/5"; "AOA September 16, 1939.810.4063." Iso, see "Will discuss big meet," NYT, February 6, 1940, page 26; "Pan-American Games group holds meeting," NYHT, February 17, 1940, page 17, and "Brundage at [Buenos Aires] conference," NYT, August 27, 1940, page 27. Another German scholar, Hans Klein, in his Brundage biography, has a photograph of the American descending from a Pan-American airplane in Buenos Aires. See page 163 in Klein's Avery Brundage – Di Herausforderung [the "Provocative Challenger"]. Published in Munich, Germany, 1972 Verlag pro Sport. Dr. Guttermann, in his The Games Must Go On, describes Brundage's long week's flight to Buenos Aires in August of 1940. See pages 87-88.
- 58 See NYT, December 8, 1940; sec. 5, page 1; also Fact Book – USOC 1992, page 10; Bulletin du CIO, 61 (15 fevrier 1958), 67; Report of the USOC 1948 Games (New York: USOC 1948), page 16.
- 59 See NYT, December 8, 1940, page 1. Brundage was able, for the moment, to have his Olympic committee, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and the AAU to agree on this Pan-Am proposal. See NYT, February 25, 1941, page 28.
- 60 See long essays on this meeting in the NYHT, October 30, 1940, page 29; NYT, October 30, 1940, pages 30, 32. A detailed explanation of the puzzling phrase "Fifth Column" is located on page 529, The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1966).
- 61 See George G. Daniels, pages 94-95. Curtis Ray Emery's Ph.D. dissertation at Louisiana State University was published in book form, The Story of the Pan-American Games (The Ray-Gay Co., Kansas City 1972). Cesar R. Torres wrote "The 1942 Pan-American Games: The Olympic Alternative that never took place," in Proceedings of the North American Society of Sport History (NASSH), 1999, pages 64-65.
- 62 See Brundage's lengthy Report reproduced in ABC; box 243; reel 141.
- 63 ibid. Brundage's Report is also published as a rare book: American Olympic Committee Report 1940, pages 16-21. The writer

- has a copy.
- 64 NYT, December 8, 1940; section 5; pages 1, 6.
- 65 See NYT, May 25, 1941; section 5, page 5; NYHT, May 25, 1941, page 7; NYT letter-to-the editor, September 27, 1941, page 15, and an item: "Brundage says Pan-Am Games all set" (NYT, November 9, 1941, page 31).
- 66 Kingsley Childs' lengthy essay is sub-titled "Hull Expresses Friendship Aim," NYT, November 20, 1941, page 43.
- 67 ibid. Also on this page 43 is a photograph of the American Olympic "inner circle": Avery Brundage; Dr. Joseph E. Raycroft; Frederick W. Rubien; Dr. Graeme M. Hammond, and Gustavus T. Kirby.
- 68 Reproduced in the NYT, December 11, 1941, page 40.
- 69 See "United States Withdraws Team from '42 Pan-American Games," NYHT, April 19, 1942; section 3, page 1. The sub-title reads: "Decision Reached Because of heavy pressure on Air, Sea Transportation." The NYT article is located April 19, 1942; section 5, page 1.
- 70 See pages 321-381.
- 71 See Report of the USOC 1948 Games (New York: USOC 1948), page 16. Also Bulletin Du Comite International Olympique, 61 (15 fevrier 1958), 67. Lastly, see USASF becomes USOA, in the NYT, December 11, 1945, page 30.
- 72 Amateur Athlete, 21 (September 1950), 16.
- 73 See "Discussion opens on Olympic Plans," NYT, September 24, 1946, page 38.
- 74 ABC; box 332; reel 145.
- 75 Danzig's lengthy dispatch is published in the NYT, July 17, 1948, page 17. Brundage may have meant what he said in 1948, but he ran again for USOA president and "despite frequent criticisms", he received "a vote of confidence from the organization which he has headed for more than twenty years." The old-new president, Brundage, was 63 years of age. See NYT, January 9, 1950, page 21.
- 76 Lord Killanin (1914-1999), President of the IOC from 1972-1980, wrote an autobiography, My Olympic Years, informing us that "One of his [Brundage's] interests was Oriental Art, for which he acquired a liking after paying a visit to the Chinese Exhibition in London in 1936." Killanin's book was published in New York by William Morrow and Co., Inc. 1983; see page 58. In more than half a century of collecting valuable Asian art, Brundage spent multi-millions of dollars on art galleries and tens of thousands of art objects placed in these buildings, as well as additional fortunes given to his University of Illinois. See Newsweek (August 10, 1959, page 59; Reader's Digest (October 1968), 182-187; Rene-Yvon Lefabvre d' Argence', Chinese Jades in the Avery Brundage Collection (San Francisco Art Museum 1977 (184 pages); See Heinz Schobel's "Avery Brundage the art-lover and collector" in Schobel's The Four Dimensions of Avery Brundage (Edition Leipzig 1968). There's a very great more on his art treasures and his generosity to the University of Illinois in this writer's collection.
- 77 Brundage purchased the new expansive El Paseo Ranch. See Santa Barbara (Calif.) News-Press, January 25, 1949. See ABC; box 244; reel 141. Also see "Brundage honored," Bulletin du CIO, 13 (15 January 1949), 16. Sven Ekstrom wrote in Olympic Review, 58 (July 1972), 307-311: "In 1941, Brundage had a 'summer house' built at Santa Barbara...a magnificent hacienda-style villa. He brought his [art] collection from the two homes in Chicago to that house."
- 78 See John Zant, "Olympic Flame Thrower," Santa Barbara Magazine, 10 (July-August 1984), page 31.
- 79 See Mayer, pages 194-197.
- 80 See Dr. Lennartz's contribution in Volume 2, The IOC-One Hundred Years 1894-1994, page 43. Also, see ABC; box 249; reel 144, as well as the Amateur Athlete's "Stop, look and listen," Volume 21 (September 1950), 16-17.
- 81 ABC; box 56; reel 33; Ketseas to Garland; letter dated December 6, 1951, and Coudert to Brundage; letter dated October 7, 1952; ABC; box 53; reel 32.
- 82 This researcher has half a hundred and more references, in several languages, on Mr. Brundage's 30-17 election vote over Britain's Lord Burghley. See NYT, July 17, 1952, page 28.
- 83 Volume 36 (15 novembre 1952), 23.
- 84 "New Olympic President," July 17, 1952, page 6.
- 85 ABC; box 244; reel 141.
- 86 December 18, 1947, page 43.
- 87 The essay titled "Battling Brundage" is in Sport magazine (May 1948), 101, 103, and is reproduced in ABC; box 243; reel 141.
- 88 See Life magazine, 24 (June 14, 1948), 115.
- 89 See ABC; box 42; reel 25; letter dated December 18, 1948; ibid; letter dated March 1, 1949.
- 90 ABC, ibid.
- 91 Garland to IOC member from Iceland – Benedict G. Waage (1889-1966); ABC; box 56; reel 33; letter dated October 1949. Lord Killanin did not like Brundage, as a person, but honestly believed that "If he [Brundage] had not succeeded to the presidency...the Olympic Movement might well have collapsed under the strains of post-war disorganization." See Killanin's My Olympic Years, page 59. A perceptive graduate student, Richard Lee Gibson, believed Brundage saw himself as Coubertin's successor – "the new protector of the Games against the creeping paralysis of commercialism." See his "Avery Brundage: Professional Amateur," Ph.D., Kent State University, 1976, page 132.
- 92 See his The Olympic Crisis, page 32.
- 93 George M. Constable, The XI, XII and XIII Olympiads, Berlin 1936 and St. Moritz, 1948. Volume 11 of 25 volumes, The Olympic Century (Los Angeles: World Sport Research and Pub. Co., 1996), pages 102, 107-108, 113.
- 94 See his XV Olympiad Helsinki 1952. Cortina D'Ampezzo 1956. Volume 13 of 25 volumes, The Olympic Century (Los Angeles: World Sport Research and Pub. Co. 2000), page 93.
- 95 See Current Biography 1948, edited by Anna Rothe (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1948), pages 75-76.
- 96 ABC; box 32; reel 119; letter dated September 18, 1951.
- 97 See his The New Lords of the Rings. Olympic Corruption and How To Buy Gold Medals (London: Simon and Schuster Pocket Books, Ltd., 1996), page 57.
- 98 Gordon's book at 540 pages is well-written and accurate, without attributions. His Chapter 14 is called "A Grenade Called Brundage," See Australia and the Olympic Games – The Official History (St. Lucia, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1994). The tepid appraisal of Brundage is on page 194.
- 99 The famous quote is located in Bartlett's Familiar Quotations (1968), page 920.