Stepping out of Coubertin's Shadow: The Count and the 1932 Winter Olympics*

By Roland Renson and Thomas Ameye

Introduction

On May 28, 1925 at the 24th IOC Session in Prague, the Belgian IOC Member and President of the Belgian Olympic Committee, Count Henry de Baillet-Latour, was elected to succeed Baron Pierre de Coubertin as IOC President. Three days after his election the proposal was made at the 8th Olympic Congress to recognize the First Winter Sports Week of Chamonix retroactively as First Olympic Winter Games. This was accepted during the 25th IOC Session in Lisbon in 1926.

Baillet-Latour shared a conservative attitude with Coubertin on two important issues, the concept of amateurism and the participation of women, or more accurately, their non participation. Coubertin was originally very much against certain winter sports, particularly skiing which he considered generally as useless and for "fêtards", but he later had to give in. Baillet-Latour, on the other hand, was very much in favour of Winter Olympics.



Four IOC Presidents: from left to right J. Sigfrid Edström, Pierre de Coubertin, Henry de Baillet-Latour and Godefroy de Blonay at the Olympic Congress of Lausanne in 1921.

Photo: IOC Collection

This paper addresses the areas of continuity and change in leadership style in the run up to Lake Placid Olympics and examines Baillet-Latour's correspondence with his predecessor Pierre de Coubertin, his Vice-President Baron Godefroy de Blonay, IOC General Secretary André Berdez, with local organizer Godfrey Dewey and with other IOC Members.

The period covered from the 1928 Amsterdam Summer Games until the 1932 Lake Placid Winter Games. These Lake Placid Olympic Winter Games were already framed in the context of the history of "The cool Games".[1] E. John B. Allen has recently described what he calls "The failure of the first global Winter Olympics: skiing at Lake Placid 1932".[2]

Karl Lennartz[3] and Florence Carpentier[4] have already discussed the presidency of Baillet-Latour, therefore this article concentrates on the role he played in the preparation of the 1932 Lake Placid Games. The participation of the small Belgian delegation at the Lake Placid Games (four bobsledders and one female figure skater) is also considered.

"It's Snow or never": Staging the Winter Games in the Adirondacks

The IIIrd Olympic Winter Games were awarded to the village of Lake Placid, New York at the IOC Session in Lausanne, Switzerland on 10 April 1929.[5] Three years earlier during the 1926 Lisbon Session the IOC decided that their selection of Olympic Winter Games hosts would give priority to candidate cities from the country arranging the Summer Games. This was always provided that the latter was able to furnish sufficient guarantee of its ability to organize the Winter Games in their entirety.

On the occasion of the IXth Olympic Summer Games of Amsterdam in 1928, the Netherlands were for instance unable to organize Winter Games in their flat country. "The Dutch Mountains" indeed only exist as the title of a song, not as a geographical reality. The 1928 Winter Games were therefore awarded to the city of St. Moritz, Switzerland.

The 1932 Summer Olympics had already been awarded to the city of Los Angeles but although the United States expected to exercise its right to stage the Winter Games that same year, the Chairman of the Canadian Olympic Committee, Patrick Mulqueen, launched Canada's bid, announcing that Montreal or Banff would serve as feasible sites for the 1932 Winter Games.[6]

No fewer than seven United States candidates arrived at the April 1929 IOC Session in Lausanne. These seven localities included Bear Mountain, New York; Denver, Colorado; Duluth, Minnesota; Lake Placid, New York; Lake Tahoe, California; Minneapolis, Minnesota; and Yosemite Valley, California. Lake Placid emerged as the 1932 host for the IIIrd Winter Games, much to the dissatisfaction of the Montreal and the Los Angeles delegates. Ironically, through the lack of snowfall at Lake Placid in 1932, the local organizers had to turn to their Canadian neighbours in the North to help provide



It took more than fifteen years to discover the identity of the special guest, who walked into the Antwerp Olympic Stadium in 1920, flanked by King Albert I, Coubertin and Baillet-Latour.[11] Through photographic comparisons, it turned out to be William May Garland, who had attended the VII[th] Olympiad in Antwerp in 1920 with a bid from the City of Los Angeles to host the 1924 Games. Garland finally succeeded by winning the 1932 Summer Games for Los Angeles in the State of California. He also headed Yosemite's bid for the 1932 Winter Olympics in California, but the IOC opted for Lake Placid in the State of New York.

Photo: Sportimonium Collection, Charles Du Houx 1920

the necessary snow to make several of the competitions possible.[7]

The little known village of Lake Placid in the forests of the Adirondacks of New York surprisingly became the venue for the 1932 Winter Games. The Games were brought to Lake Placid almost entirely through the efforts of one man, Dr. Godfrey Dewey, the Vice-President of the very exclusive Lake Placid Club. He was the son of Melvil Dewey, founder of the club and originator of the Dewey Decimal Classification System for library holdings.

Yosemite's bid was headed by William May Garland, the President of the California X Olympiad Association, a fierce rival for Dewey's ambitions. When Dewey had suggested to Garland to withdraw Yosemite's bid, Garland had grimly replied: "Let the best man win."[8]

Garland, a wealthy California realtor and land developer, had already travelled to the IOC headquarters in Lausanne and to the VII[th] Olympiad in Antwerp in 1920 with a bid from the City of Los Angeles to host the 1924 Games.[9] He was the "unidentified person", who walked into the Olympic Stadium in 1920, flanked by King Albert I, Baron Pierre de Coubertin and Count Henry de Baillet-Latour.[10]

The political backing of New York Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt helped convince the IOC to choose Lake Placid over other candidates. Roosevelt would use the Opening Ceremony of the Games and the radio networks, which covered the sporting events, to boost his campaign for the American presidency. Eleanor Roosevelt even took a ride down the newly constructed bobsled run at Mount Van Hoevenberg (Dutch for Farm Mountain) during the Opening Ceremony.[12]

Allen[13] has poignantly described Dewey's one-man-ambition to turn his Lake Placid Club into the St. Moritz of America. In 1928 Dewey was appointed by the United States Eastern Amateur Ski Association to officiate at the St. Moritz Winter Games:

"Dewey's goal was to inspect various Swiss resorts, see the organization that would be required to have an Olympics, make personal contact with Olympic and FIS officials – all to the end to that Lake Placid, meaning the Lake Placid Club – would become the St. Moritz of America."[14]

Dewey's ambitions were countered by two lawsuits, which had been filed against the Organizing Committee (OCOG) in 1930. The first by the Association for the Protection of the Adirondacks against altering the physical environment for the Olympic bob run. The second by the newspaper *Jewish Tribune*, which questioned the use of public money when Jewish people were not allowed to join Dewey's own Lake Placid Club.[15] Peter Hopsicker[16] has shed light on the historical background of the highly anti-Semitic Lake Placid Club, which almost derailed the Lake Placid Olympic bid for the 1932 Games. However, settlements were reached in both cases and the local press gave proof of a general positive attitude towards the staging of the Games.[17]

This article will consider to what extent IOC President Baillet-Latour was involved in the awarding and staging of the 1932 Lake Placid Winter Games and how he managed to run the Olympic Movement in these days of the Great Depression through letters and cablegrams. Of special importance is his weekly or biweekly correspondence with Lieutenant Colonel André Berdez, the IOC General Secretary (1925–1940) in Lausanne.

Count de Baillet-Latour was elected as President (ahead of Swiss Baron Godefroy de Blonay) in 1925 in Prague, he decided to keep the IOC office in Lausanne, but he did not live there. He would travel to and fro between Switzerland and his home country.[18] His letters and speeches illustrate his work for the Olympic Movement, particularly his concern about the amateur status of athletes, his misogyny expressed through his attempt to exclude females from participating in the Olympics, and his efforts to strengthen the links between Olympism and South America and the Far East.

Keeping Peace with the International Winter Sports Federations

There had been serious quarrels with the Scandinavian countries about staging separate Winter Olympics, because they feared that these would reduce the importance of their own Nordic Games, which were first held in 1901. Arnd Krüger[19] has suggested that the Scandinavians would probably not have participated in the so-called Winter Sports Week in Chamonix in 1924, had they known in advance that these events would eventually become Olympic Winter Games.

In particular, the debates with the strong Fédération Internationale de Ski (FIS) concerning the choice of ski events and disciplines, were of a sensitive nature. Baillet-Latour, who was more pragmatic and diplomatic than his predecessor Pierre de Coubertin, tried – as a



The Swiss Lieutenant Colonel André Berdez (1885–1940) was IOC General Secretary from 1925 to 1940 at the IOC Headquarters in Lausanne.

Photo: IOC Collection

cool operator – to keep the winter sports on the Olympic track. Therefore he had invited the International Winter Sport Federations to a meeting during the St. Moritz Games in 1928.

The delegates of the International Ski, Skating, Ice hockey and Bobsleigh Federations were met, not separately and on separate days as IOC Secretary Berdez had originally proposed, but all together on Monday February 13.[20]

Baillet-Latour instructed Berdez to call together the Executive Committee (EC) beforehand, on the 10th of February, if the difficulties with the International Skating Union (ISU) were not solved by then.[21] The EC Members were: President Baillet-Latour (Belgium), Vice-President Blonay (Switzerland), J. Sigrid Edström (Sweden), Reginald John Kentish (Great Britain), who would be replaced by Lord Aberdare in 1931, Marquis Melchior de Polignac (France), General Charles Hitchcock Sherrill (USA), and Dr. Theodor Lewald (Germany).

During the opening of the Session of the IOC at the occasion of the Olympic Games in Amsterdam on July 25 1928, President Baillet-Latour highlighted his "new deal" with the international sport federations:

> *"The Session, which is opened today, is marked by an important event: the first effective collaboration with the Delegates of the International Federations. ... we will intensify this collaboration and we hope that – through proper preparation – these important questions will facilitate the discussions at the Berlin Congress."* [22]

He thus referred to the planned 1930 Congress in Berlin, which would completely focus on the question of "Olympic regulations", especially on the programs, the amateur status, and the participation of women. During the meeting of the EC in Amsterdam, the proposal was made to reduce the program of the Games and Baillet-Latour intended to continue this discussion during the planned EC Meeting in Alexandria (Egypt) in 1929, but the EC would meet before this in his homeland in Brussels on January 4 and 5, 1929.[23] Unfortunately the EC Session in Egypt was cancelled together with the planned African Games but Baillet-Latour immediately decided that the session would still take place but it would be in Lausanne rather than Alexandria.

Two EC Members, Blonay and Edström, endorsed his proposal, but the German EC Member Dr. Theodor Lewald asked to keep the Session in Egypt. Baillet-Latour also proposed to Berdez that the Bulletin Officiel of October 1928 should include a letter of invitation to the delegates of the International Sports Federations to meet with the EC in Lausanne on Friday 12 April.[24] An alternative proposal by the Austrian IOC Member, Dr. Theodor Schmidt, to stage the IOC Session in Vienna, was turned down.[25]

The Lake Placid bid to stage the IIIrd Winter Olympics was mentioned for the first time by Berdez in connection with the International Skating Union (ISU), which had received the bid and which put it on the agenda of its upcoming congress in May.[26] On March 9, 1929 Berdez wrote to Baillet-Latour informing him that Lake Placid had sent an official bid, accompanied by some documents. Baillet-Latour replied, telling Berdez to send a copy of the Lake Placid documents which were received in duplicate, to the Presidents or representatives of the different International Winter Sports Organizations.

The documents on the ski jump and the ski facilities to the International Ski Federation (FIS), the documents on the bob runs, the bobsleigh coasting and the single sled coasting to the French Count Renaud de la Frégeolière, President of the International Bobsleigh and Tobogganing Federation (FIBT) from 1923 to 1960, the part on speed and figure skating to Ulrich Salchow (Sweden) of the International Skating Federation (ISU), and the ice hockey part to Paul Loicq (Belgium). He also stressed that the organizers were entirely at the disposal of the federations in case they wanted more detailed information and he hoped that their facilities would be visited the following winter by qualified observers.[27]

An important issue raised by Baillet-Latour was the reduction of the Olympic program. He had made this proposal at the Lausanne Session of 12 April 1928. The minutes of this meeting were sent to seventeen federations, which were present in Lausanne and to Godfrey Dewey. Berdez added the declaration of Salchow of the ISU. Loicq had declared in a letter that he abstained in matters concerning the reduction of the Olympic program.[28] IOC Member J. Sigfrid Edström provided information on the attitude of his compatriot Salchow and he was of the opinion that a reunion of the delegates of the International Federations should take place at the occasion of the EC Meeting in July 1929.[29]

Baillet-Latour sent a strictly confidential letter to Berdez, which the latter was to dispatch to the Members of the EC. He proposed a change of the statutes and the creation of a Technical Committee, which – on the request of the President – would collaborate with the EC:

> *"I think that the time has come to work together much more intensively with the International Federations."* [30]

Trying to keep the Women out of the Olympics

In an attachment to this letter of 11 May 1929 Baillet-Latour sent a note on the General Rules of the Olympic Program, Section IV on the Participation of Women:

> *"Women are only admitted in the Olympic Games in the Gymnastics competitions [added handwritten], Swimming and Lawn Tennis."*

Before taking his annual holiday in Pau in France from November 23 onwards, Baillet-Latour went on a voyage to Sevilla and Madrid and he sent the addresses of his hotels to Berdez. The IOC President added a note, entitled "Proposals of Count de Baillet-Latour" in which he repeated his standpoint concerning female participation:

> *"NEW TEXT:*
> *IV. Women are only admitted in the Olympic Games in the disciplines of gymnastics, swimming, lawn tennis and skating.*
> *WISHES*
> *The Congress repeats its wish, already formulated at the Olympic Congress of Prague [1925], asking the International Federations to make the Olympic Games their World Championships and – at least – to have no World Championships during the years that the Olympic Games are celebrated."* [31]

At the 1930 IOC gathering in Berlin, Baillet-Latour faced a major setback when his proposal to keep women "out of the Olympic Stadium" by barring them from track and field events was rejected.[32] The following year at the IOC Session in Barcelona, he would again include the participation of women in track and field and fencing on the agenda (April 31). Allen Guttmann has shown how the victory of the "feminists" at the 29th IOC Session in Barcelona was prepared for by the impressive demonstrations, which women athletes had performed for the delegates in Berlin, one year before. Even "old male grudges" like American delegates Gustavus Kirby and Avery Brundage were so impressed that they became advocates of sports of all kinds for girls under proper supervision.[33]

It seems that for all their quarrels, Coubertin and Baillet-Latour had remained comrades in arms when it came to keeping the Olympics a male preserve. On this topic, at least, they sang in unison. After the 1931 Barcelona Session, Coubertin wrote to his successor from La Croix (Var, France) that he thought that the question of female participation was a matter of time and that he hoped that "... good sense and proper attitude might win at last".[34] Baillet-Latour, back in Brussels after "taking the waters" in Vichy, wrote back a letter in which the recipient was not mentioned, but which content reveals that it was most probably addressed to Coubertin. He told (his predecessor?) that he had practically stood alone in Barcelona, when he tried to exclude women from track and field and fencing. Lewald (Germany), Polignac (France), Matheu (Ecuador), all the Scandinavians and all the Americans were in favour. He then made the following revealing statement:

> *"I can only hope one thing: that the day may come soon that women liberate themselves completely from men's custody, that they organize the Women's World Games (Jeux Mondiaux Feminins), which would allow us to exclude them entirely from the Olympic Games."* [35]

The Awarding of the 1932 Games

A Meeting of the Executive Committee (EC) was planned from 23 to 25 July 1929 in Vittel (France). Baillet-Latour instructed Berdez to make hotel reservations for the participants and was especially concerned about the reservation of a room for his "valet de chambre".[36] During the Vittel meeting, the EC confirmed to the two Organizing Committees of Lake Placid and Los Angeles on July 22 by telegram that they were "recognized". It was also agreed in Vittel that Baillet-Latour would make an announcement at the Berlin IOC Congress. This would be in his own name and would limit the participation of women in the Olympic Games to the gymnastics competitions, swimming, tennis and skating.

Also on the agenda was the creation of a Technical Committee. It was agreed that:

> *"... such a committee would comprise a delegate from each national [sic] federation, which participates in the Olympic Games ... This Technical Committee will meet at the invitation of the IOC President and only partially, if indicated so."*

The President mentioned that the Lake Placid Committee had guaranteed reasonable prices for lodging and accommodation of athletes and officials.[37] The IOC President also wrote enthusiastically to his Secretary that "The two American Committees will pay now that they are recognized".[38]

Olympics and American Dollars

Edström had insisted that the statutory contribution to be paid by the Organizing Committee, which was discussed in Lausanne, should be high enough because of the distance, the costs of telegrams and Baillet-Latour's planned visit.[39] If no fixed sum was agreed upon in Lausanne, then William May Garland, the President of the California X Olympiad Association, should be told in Los Angeles that the price for organizing the Olympics in LA will be 1500 Dollars per year and that "... we will fix the price for the Winter Games at 1000 Dollars."[40] Five days later Baillet-Latour wrote to Berdez: "One should not wait to show his teeth to these Americans".[41]

Baillet-Latour was optimistic that the two American committees (Lake Placid and Los Angeles) would pay now that they were recognized.[42] However, Frederick W. Rubien, the Secretary of the American Olympic Association (AOA), deplored the IOC procedure to negotiate directly with the bidding cities without taking into account the "desiderata" of the AOA, which had been severely criticized by certain of its members.[43] Baillet-Latour reacted by not reacting to Rubien's letter and complained: "We are not at the end of our difficulties with the Americans."[44]



The Belgian Count Henry de Baillet-Latour (1876–1942) succeeded Baron Pierre de Coubertin as IOC President from 1925 to 1942. Official family documents such as obituaries always mention Henry not Henri.

Photo: Archives Belgian Olympic and Interfederal Committee



The Belgian lawyer Paul Loicq (1888–1953) was President of the International Ice Hockey League (LIHG) from 1922 to 1947.

Photo: Archives Kluge

Dewey contested the proposed amount of 1000 Dollars and said that he had understood that that the amount requested would be 2500 Swiss Francs and he asked how much St.Moritz had paid in 1928.[45] Berdez proposed that – in comparison to the 1500 SF paid by St.Moritz – an amount of 3000 SF (600 Dollars) for each of the four year (including 1932) would be sufficient.[46]

Baillet-Latour had high expectations from the planned visit of the French IOC and EC Member Marquis de Polignac to the USA in October and he asked Berdez to send him his correspondence with Dewey, but not without with the warning: "We will never finish with these Americans if we do not show our teeth from the beginning." [47]

However, Polignac cancelled his trip to America and the preparations of the Games continued through intensified correspondence.[48] Dewey answered that he would change the name of his Organizing Committee into Committee of the IIIrd Winter Olympic Games. He was thankful for the reduction of the contribution and would arrange the payment. He was also going to send out the invitations to the different nations and he had already hired "a German engineer" for the construction of the ski runs.[49] The contribution of 600 Dollars for 1929 was received in November [50], but Berdez later explained that the money had arrived in the wrong hands:

"... the 600 Dollars of the Winter Games have arrived by error ... in the hands of Baron de Coubertin, on his bank account of the Bureau de Pédagogie Sportive ... Mr. de Coubertin has transferred the money to me and it is now registered on the IOC bank account." [51]

This was Berdez "New Year message" to his boss, whose relationship with his predecessor had turned sour because Coubertin kept acting as an intrusive "father in law" in all Olympic affairs. For instance, Baillet-Latour did not invite Coubertin to the Olympic Congress, which was planned in Berlin from 25 to 30 May 1930.[52] Just after New Year, Berdez drew the attention to the fact that Lake Placid had not paid its 1930 contribution in January 1931[53], but these financial matters were later sorted out.

Clash on Ice: President Paul Loicq of the International Ice Hockey League and the Americans

Baillet-Latour asked his Secretary to inform Lake Placid about the difference of opinion between the Lake Placid Committee and his fellow countryman Paul Loicq, President of the International Ice Hockey League (LIHG). Berdez was to tell the organizers that:

"...according to the Olympic statutes it is the International and not the National Federation which is in charge of organizing the Games ... It would be preferable that the harmony should be restored between the International Federation and the American Ice Hockey Federation." [54]

The Brussels lawyer and ice hockey player Paul Loicq was President of the International Ice Hockey League (1922–1947). He was probably very much concerned about his power base, now that ice hockey moved to North America with its two mighty hockey nations, Canada and the US. He was very much a man of principle, not to say a "hair splitter". Berdez wrote to the American IOC and EC Member General Charles H. Sherrill about the quarrel between Loicq of the LIHG and the local organizers.[55] The whole dispute was also related to the attempt of the Amateur Athletic Union (AAU) to gain control over the selection of US amateur teams for the Olympics.[56]

In November 1931, three months before the start of the Winter Games, there was still confusion about the maximum number of participants in the ice hockey squads. The LIHG President signalled an error in the Lake Placid program, which mentioned 13 players, whereas the LIHG had decided that 14 players were to be allowed plus an official.[57] Berdez, who seemingly was losing his patience because of this tug-of-war between the LIHG and Lake Placid, noted that Loicq always spoke of 15 participants, including the official, but this official had nothing to do with the maximum number of 14 players.[58]

Clash on Snow: the International Ski Federation and the Lake Placid Organizing Committee

Colonel Ivar Holmquist, the Swedish President of the International Ski Federation (FIS) asked that the Games take place from February 19 to 27.[59] Instead, Dewey proposed that the Games last ten days, from Thursday 26th January to Saturday 6th February and asked for confirmation by cable.[60] Baillet-Latour agreed with Dewey's proposal and asked Berdez to cable: "Thursday to Saturday satisfactory".[61]

After its congress in Oslo in February 1930 and about a month before the Berlin IOC Congress in May, the FIS sent its "conditions" for its participation in the Winter Games to the IOC secretariat and put forward the names of its delegates at the congress. The FIS also announced that it would share the standpoint of FIFA concerning the question of the "broken time payments" ("manque à gagner").[62] This difficult question, which seriously jeopardized the "holy" amateur principle of the Olympic Movement, was by-passed by the pragmatic solution of accepting the principle of the "paid leave" or "broken time" ("congé avec salaire payé"), agreed upon by the employer and the employee.[63]

FIS President Holmquist, who had always believed that neither the US nor Canada had the necessary competence to organize ski events[64], announced that he would be replaced by Dr. Pierre Minelle from France. He also asked that the IOC Bulletin specify that the reduction of the number of participants to three, did not apply to winter sports.[65] Baillet-Latour asked his

Secretary to mail Holmquist the photographs taken at Lake Placid and to tell him that "... they work there very actively". [66] He also confirmed that "the maxima do not concern the Winter Games", which would suit both Lake Placid and Holmquist, but he saw no need that this note should be published in the Bulletin.[67]

Bob till you drop

The French Count Renaud de la Frégeolière of the International Bobsleigh and Tobogganing Federation (FIBT) reported to Lausanne that the FIBT Congress of February 7, 1929 in Davos had made a few proposals for the program. Frégeolière had consulted his national federations on the question of the skeleton run in Los Angeles [sic]. All were in favour, but expected only 3 or 4 competitors. He insisted that the local organizers should collaborate with the Swiss Colonel Thomas for the construction of the run and stressed that the FIBT would not agree with a run such as the one in St.Moritz.[68]

Baillet-Latour had a copy of Frégeolière's letter sent to Dewey and told him that he had charged General Sherrill, who was at that time visiting the US, to contact the Lake Placid Committee.[69] In the mean time Dewey had replied to Frégeolière [Nov 5 1929] that he made the construction of the skeleton run dependent on the permanent admission of skeleton to the Olympic program.[70] From his hotel in Pau, Baillet-Latour wrote to Berdez that Lake Placid declined to construct the skeleton run and that he would inform Frégeolière.[71] Frégeolière answered that Great Britain would probably not send a bob and skeleton team and that he feared that the number of participants would be minimal.[72]

Lake Placid had reacted by announcing that its "German engineer" would be sent to the FIBT Congress in Caux near Montreux on 24 January 1930, but the FIBT insisted that Thomas Badrutt should be sent to Lake Placid at the expenses of the Organizing Committee.

This power game between Frégeolière and Dewey kept going on, even after the Berlin Olympic Congress in 1930. Eventually, Dewey found a way out by promising to send Mr. Bjorn Blix to Europe to visit the major winter sports organizations and by announcing that the FIBT program was received in good order and had been accepted.[73]

Bjorn Blix, a one time ski instructor at Lake Placid and now promoted to International Secretary of the Organizing Committee, made his European tour to visit the European National Olympic Committees by the end of 1930. He made also a stop in Lausanne where he was received by Berdez, who commented: "Mr. Blix ... seems to me to handle things the best way and in the most correct Olympic manner."[74] However, when Blix tried to extract more money for his mission, Dewey reacted furiously and threatened Blix with legal action.[75] Count de la Frégeolière reported that Lake Placid was keen to stage a demonstration of the skeleton, but that the FIBT refused to have it.[76]

In October 1931 Frégeolière asked the secretariat whether the Irish Bobsleigh Federation was allowed to enter a team directly via the IOC because "... the Irish OC did not function".[77] Baillet-Latour was shrewd enough not to step into this pitfall and replied that he had immediately contacted Mr. J. J. Keane, the IOC delegate in Dublin, in order to obtain clarification.[78] The Irish OC reacted by demanding the general rules of the IOC and those for the constitution of National Olympic Committees, and sent at the same time the list of its official members and their addresses.[79] Frégeolière kept asking information on the state of affairs of the Irish OC, but by then the Games were only three months away and in the event, no Irish bobsledders would make the run down Mount Van Hoevenberg in 1932.[80]



The Swedish Lieutenant General Ivar Holmquist (1879–1954) was President of the International Ski Federation (FIS) from 1924 to 1934.

Photo: Carl Mydans

Skating on Thin Ice

By the end of February 1931, the programs for skiing and ice hockey at Lake Placid had been accepted, but there was not yet agreement on skating.[81] Nevertheless, the Lake Placid Club New York sent a cable to the IOC Secretariat in Lausanne: "... no statement of programs proposed by neither Ski Federation or Ice Hockey League..."[82]

President Ulrich Salchow of the International Skating Union (ISU), who had won the men's singles in London in 1908, wrote that the definite program would be finalized at the ISU Congress in Vienna on 22-23 May 1931.[83] Dewey announced that he would come to that congress to discuss the skating procedures and hoped to meet the IOC president during the last week of May.[84]

After that Congress, Berdez was alerted by an article in Olympic news,[85] which incorrectly stated that the IOC had admitted speed skating for women as a demonstration sport at the III[rd] Olympic Winter Games."[86] However, speed skating for women eventually appeared on the Lake Placid program for the first time in Olympic history and was held as a demonstration sport together with dog-sled racing and curling.[87]

At the Congress, it was also decided that the speed skating competitions would be disputed according to the American rules, which permitted the use of a mass start, the so called pack style.[88] The implementation of these rules would cause great difficulties in the 10,000 m event and led to the so called Mulqueen incident.[89]

Patrick J. Mulqueen, who was one of the nine timers of the speed skating competitions, was the President of the Canadian Olympic Committee, who had launched the Canadian bid to stage the 1932 Winter Games either in Montreal or in Banff.[90] He lodged a protest after Alexander Hurd (CAN) was disqualified after the first heat and Frank Stack (CAN) after the second heat. Mulqueen got what



Ulrich Salchow (1877–1949) won the first gold medal in men's figure skating at the London Olympics in 1908. He invented the "Salchow jump" in the next year. The Swede was President of the International Skating Union (ISU) from 1925 to 1937.

Photo: Archives Kluge



Patrick J. Mulqueen (right), former President of the Canadian Olympic Committee, with badminton player Dorothy Walton and Minister of Health Harold Kirby (left) in 1939.

Photo: Collection Canada's Sports Hall of Fame

he wanted: both heats were re-skated and both Hurd and Stack qualified for the final of the 10,000 m, which was won by Irving Jaffee (USA). The Norwegian skater Ivar Ballangrud ended second and Frank Stack third. The Official Report is particularly vague about these incidents, but Ture Widlund has given a detailed overview of these troublesome skating events.[91]

The IOC President consulted by mail his friend Blonay in order to find out a proper sanction for the Canadian leader.[92] Mulqueen wrote a letter to the President, explaining his reaction and offering his excuses.[93] The majority of the EC, which was assembled as "Jury d'Honneur", was of the opinion that the Mulqueen incident at Lake Placid should be closed and that he should receive a reprimand, "... be it of a milder form ..."[94]

The IOC Congress in Berlin and the Canadian Winter Games Claim

In March 1930, James Merrick of the Canadian Olympic Committee (COC) made some proposals for the agenda in Berlin. He wanted discussion about removing the clause which prescribed priority to the country that organizes the (Summer) Games in selecting host cities for the Winter Games. He also asked for the reduction of the competitors from four to two.[95] Baillet-Latour was not pleased at all by these Canadian proposals :

"I am opposed to the proposed change by Mr. Merrick because I find it 'souverainement' unjust to withhold the Winter Games from the country which assumes the organization of the Summer Games."[96]



Belgian bobsledder Max Houben, a participant in the 1932 Lake Placid Games, died in a crash at "Shady Corner" in Lake Placid during the world championships in 1949 (Collection Sportimonium).

Baillet-Latour was worried that Dewey might arrive too late in Berlin as he was only leaving on May 14 and sent a cable "Expecting you 22 ... CIO".[97] At the opening of the Congress, the President expressed his vision on the elite amateur ethos of the Olympic Games and ventilated his disdain for professional sportsmen:

"The stadiums are only open to an elite and the applause which is given by the masses of spectators to some actors whose performances provoke sometimes an overacted enthusiasm, incites them too often to opt for professionalism, a kind of career that looks very rewarding at first sight but which real benefits are in most cases only a false mirror (like Magritte's painting of 1928)."[98]

At the 1930 Empire Games in Hamilton and a Blitz Visit to Lake Placid

Count Henry de Baillet-Latour boarded the *Empress of Australia* in Southampton on 1 August 1930 for a trip to Canada and the US. He had accepted an invitation to attend the inaugural British Empire Games in Hamilton, Ontario. Here for the first time, he saw a three tiered dais on which the medal winners stood during the award ceremony. He immediately ordered that this type of dais – rather than the traditional platform – be used at the Lake Placid Winter Games.[99]

He had only planned a very short visit to Lake Placid, coming from Plattsburg, N.Y. on the 30th of August and leaving for Montreal on the 1st of September.[100] Before he left for North America, he requested Berdez to invite the Executive Committee Members to a Meeting in Paris on October 10 and 11 and also to invite the Members of the Council of Delegates of the International Federations to the same Meeting on October 11.[101]

The Belgian Participation in the Lake Placid Winter Games

Baillet-Latour was angered by the Dutch decision to withdraw from both Winter and Summer Games in 1932. "... after they had had the lucrative honour to organize the IXth Olympiad", he wrote to his Swiss "Soul mate" Blonay to this effect.[102] He therefore published an article in the Belgian press to counteract the negative effect, which this "Dutch retreat" might have on his fellow countrymen and women.

Baillet-Latour had succeeded Édouard de Laveleye as President of the Belgian Olympic Committee in 1923 and made it an affair of honour that his country would be represented at the 1932 Winter Games.[103] A small Belgian delegation took off for the snow and ice fields of the Adirondacks. The four-men bob team consisted of its captain Max Houben and his comrades Louis Van Hege, Christian Hansez and Jacques Maus. They finished amongst the stragglers. The "Alphabetic List of Entries, including Reserves" in Lattimer's report[104] also mentions a certain Theo Marin from Belgium for the bobsleigh, who probably never set foot on American soil and who is "incognito" in Belgian sports history.

The Americans took first and second, the German bob team, which had been invited at the expense of the American organizers, finished third. One of the US gold medallists was Eddie Eagan, who had won light heavyweight boxing gold at the 1920 Games.[105] He thus

became the only Olympic competitor to win gold both in Summer and in Winter Games.

The two Belgian two-men bob teams of Houben/Van Hege and Hansez/Maus ended respectively ninth and tenth, but ahead of French and Austrian teams. Figure skater Yvonne de Ligne-Geurts carried the banner for Belgian women and eclipsed her male compatriots by finishing sixth.[106]

The so-called Shady Corner on the Mount Van Hoevenberg bob run in Lake Placid has a tragic postscript in Belgian Olympic history. Max Houben, who had competed there in 1932 and who won silver in 1948 in St. Moritz, came off at Shady Corner on 10 February 1949 during the World Championships and died in the crash. His team mate Jacques Mouvet was also seriously injured, but survived.[107]

In Praise of Snowbizz

At a dinner for Governor Roosevelt and the other official guests at Lake Placid Club on February 4, President Henry de Baillet-Latour gave a speech in which he congratulated both Lake Placid for successfully organizing the IIIrd Olympic Winter Games and those countries which had responded to the invitation of the United States of America.[108] The Count – in a democratic élan – declared to the invités of the Club, which Allen[109] has qualified as "an elite and racist club", that his gratitude went from the President of the III Olympic Winter Games to the last workman who, "... under heavy pressure, did his bit to make sure that the Arena would be ready in time". After thanking Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, he specially emphasized the role of Dr. Godfrey Dewey:

> *"... who, after leaving no stone unturned before this town had been selected by the International Olympic Committee, have given the best of your time and of your ability to face the obligations you had so gamely taken on."*[110]

Before leaving America, Baillet-Latour gave a speech in Washington, D.C. on March 11 in which he sang again the praises of the Lake Placid Olympic organization:

> *"You were working for an ideal to increase the love for winter sports in the United States with the view of augmenting the ranks of the Olympic family and of making Lake Placid the best-equipt [sic] resort for these sports. You have reacht [sic] these two goals."* [112]

Conclusions: Running the Olympic Movement in Times of Depression and Coping with the Ghost of Coubertin

The preparations for the Lake Placid Games were carried out with continuous correspondence between Secretary Berdez in Lausanne and the IOC President. Baillet-Latour wrote his letters from his residence in Brussels, from the Donk Castle near Antwerp or from the various hotels in which he resided during his frequent travels. Cablegrams were only seldom used and were mostly restricted to overseas correspondence. No mention was made of telephone correspondence. They may have been used but in those days, detailed records of telephone calls were not possible.



Dinner for Governor Roosevelt and officials at Lake Placid Club on February 4, 1932. From right to left: Mrs. Gustavus T. Kirby, Avery Brundage, President of the AOC, Mrs. Dewey, Thomas Fearnley, IOC Member from Norway, Mrs. Garland, Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mrs. Fearnley, Godfrey Dewey, Mrs. Roosevelt, Henry de Baillet-Latour, Mrs. Thenault, wife of major Georges Thenault from the French Embassy, William May Garland.[111]

Photo: Official Report 1932, p. 133

Baillet-Latour corresponded with Berdez in a friendly but professional and pragmatic manner. On the other hand, he openly shared his feelings and problems with his Vice-President and closest confidant, Baron Godefroy de Blonay, especially his difficult relationship with his predecessor Baron Pierre de Coubertin.

Baillet-Latour and Blonay had both been candidates to succeed Pierre de Coubertin as IOC President. The election took place on 28 May 1925 during the 24th IOC Session in Prague. During the first round in which postal votes of absent Members were included, none of the candidates had received a suffucient majority: Baillet-Latour 17, Coubertin 11 and Blonay 6 votes. In the second round in which only the members who were present were allowed to vote, Baillet-Latour had received 19 of the 27 votes and was thus elected as the third IOC President.[113]

Blonay had occupied the office of IOC President on an interim basis from 1915 to 1919 while Coubertin was serving France as a non-combatant during the First World War.[114] In a circular letter, sent to the IOC Members in January 1916 by Blonay, Coubertin stated:

> *"... I do not think it right that our Committee should be led by a soldier. I have therefore asked our colleague and friend, Baron de Blonay, to perform the functions of President ad interim."*[115]

Blonay's relationship with Coubertin, which was originally excellent, had slowly deteriorated after the war.[116] Lennartz has pointed out that there may have been a reluctance to elect Blonay for fear of offending Coubertin.[117] Baillet-Latour, on the other hand, was considered to have always remained loyal to the French Baron.

It seems that it was hard to appease Coubertin's need for recognition and glorification. In addition Coubertin

had been confronted with a series of financial and family problems after stepping down from the presidency.[118] Baillet-Latour expressed his hope that "... finally we will get rid of him".[119] He spoke of the "dulicité" (duplicity) of Coubertin[120], of his "recriminations" and his lack of tact, and the fact that "... he wants money and nothing but money ..."[121]

Baillet-Latour also confided to Blonay about a more personal matter. His invalid wife had finally undergone an operation and did not enjoy her life.[122] He wrote to him – in a sentimental mood – from Lake Placid: "I am missing your presence enormously. The days without you are not all that!"[123]

The new President tried to remain polite, but sometimes he lost his diplomatic temper through Coubertin's continuous requests for recognition and financial support. He wrote to his predecessor:

"May you chase your chimeras, which would facilitate us to concentrate on our main task of maintaining the Olympic tradition."[124]

Separated as they were in many ways, Baillet-Latour's pragmatism contrasted starkly with Coubertin's dogmatism, both IOC Presidents had in common a misogynous attitude towards the participation of women in the Olympics.[125] Coubertin, pointing his finger at IAAF President and EC Member of the IOC, J. Sigfrid Edström, wrote to his successor: "Sweden is annoying with its unbending feminity."[126]

Count de Clary, the IOC Member of France, had proposed to celebrate Coubertin's 70th anniversary by naming the Xth Olympic Games of Los Angeles "The Coubertin Olympiad", but the latter had firmly turned down the proposal qualifying it as "... ridiculous and anti-Olympic".[127] The proposal was replaced by a ceremony in honour of Coubertin in Lausanne on the 11th and 12th of June 1932.[128]

After all, "noblesse oblige" and the Count paid his due respects to the Baron when he sent him the following telegram from Lake Placid:

"At the opening day of the third Olympic Games ... three cheers were given in your honor and all of us your faithful admirers sano [sic] long live Pierre de Coubertin"[129]

This cablegram was later reinforced by a personal letter from Godfrey Dewey to the founder of the Modern Olympic Games:

"...although we were faced with the worst winter weather in the whole history of the United States Weather Bureau added the to the worst economic depression in the history of the modern games, the entire program was completed successfully ... We cabled you from the opening of the Games, when tribute was once more paid to your splendid vision and leadership ..."[130] ■

1 Allen EJB, 1993, From skisport to skiing: one hundred years of an American sport, 1840–1940, Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 229 p.; Allen EJB, 1996, The 1932 Lake Placid Winter Games: Dewey's Olympics, in Barney RK; Martyn SG; Brown DA; MacDonald GH (eds), Third International Symposium for Olympic Research (Olympic perspectives), London (Ont.): The University of Western Ontario, 161–171; Allen EJB, 2007, The culture and sport of skiing: from antiquity to World War II, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 384 p.; Russell G, 1999, The IX Olympiad: Amsterdam 1928; Lake Placid 1932 (The Olympic century 9), Los Angeles: World Sport Research & Publications, 176 p.; Lund M, 2001, The historic first four Olympic Games, Skiing heritage: a ski history quarterly 13 (4): 9–21; Fea J, 2004, Lake Placid 1932, in: Findling JE; Pelle KD (eds), Encyclopedia of the modern Olympic Movement, Westport (Ct): Greenwood Press, 297–301; Renson R, 2004, The cool Games: the Winter Olympics 1924–2002, in Gerlach LR (ed), The Winter Olympics: from Chamonix to Salt Lake City, Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 41–86.

2 Allen EJB, 2008, The failure of the first global Winter Olympics: skiing at Lake Placid 1932, *Journal of Olympic History* 16 (1), 25–30.

3 Lennartz K, 1994, La présidence de Henri de Baillet-Latour (1925–1942), in: Comité International Olympique (ed), 1894–1994: Un siècle de Comité International Olympique: l'idée – les présidents – l'oeuvre: vol. I, Lausanne: Comité International Olympique, 205–290; Lennartz K, 2000, Old borders in Olympism: the presidency of baron Henri de Baillet-Latour, the successor of baron de Coubertin, in: Tolleneer J; Renson R (eds), Old borders, new borders, no borders: sport and physical education in a period of change (ISCPES conference; Leuven 1998), Oxford: Meyer & Meyer Sport, 233–240.

4 Carpentier F, 2004, Le Comité International Olympique en crises: la présidence de Henri de Baillet-Latour (Espaces et temps du sport), Paris: L'Harmattan, 441 p.

5 Rubien FW (ed), 1932, Report of the American Olympic Committee: Games of the Xth Olympiad Los Angeles, California; III Olympic Winter Games Lake Placid, New York, New York: American Olympic Committee, p. 235.

6 Mcintosh MJ, 2000, Canada's early Olympic bid history, in: International Olympic Academy (ed), Report on the I.O.A.'s special sessions and seminars 1998, Athens: International Olympic Academy, 143–158.

7 Ibid.

8 Allen 1996; Lund 2001.

9 Barney RK, 1998a, Coubertin and Americans: wary relationships, 1889–1925, in: Müller N (ed), 1998, Coubertin et l'Olympisme/Coubertin and Olympism: questions sur l'avenir/questions for the future (Taschenbuch), Niedernhausen: Schors, 55–61.

10 Renson R (with the collaboration of Ameye T; Maes M; Vandermeersch L; Vanmeerbeek R), 2006, Olympisch bewogen ... Honderd jaar Belgisch Olympisch en Interfederaal Comité 1906–2006/Emflamé par l'Olympisme: cents ans du Comité Olympique et Interfédéral Belge 1906–2006, Roeselare: Roularta Books, 200 p.

11 Ibid.

12 Renson 2004.

13 Allen 2008.

14 Ibid, p. 25.

15 Paul J, 2007, The great progression: a content analysis of the Lake Placid News and the Los Angeles Times' treatment of the 1932 Olympics, in: Schaus GP; Wenn SR (eds), Onwards to the Olympics: historical perspectives on the Olympic Games, Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 261–271.

16 Hopsicker P, 2009, "No Hebrews allowed": How the 1932 Lake Placid Winter Olympic Games survived the 'restricted' Adirondack culture, 1877–1932. Journal of Sport History 36 (2): 205–222.

17 Paul 2007.

18 Roukhadzé M-H, 1986, The small beginnings of the secretariat: an interview with Lydie Zanchi, Olympic review (228): 593–595.

19 Krüger A, 1996, The history of the Olympic Winter Games: the invention of tradition, in: Goksoyr M; von der Lippe G; Mo K (eds), Winter Games, warm traditions (Poceedings ISHPES seminar; Lillehammer 1994), Oslo: Norwegian Society for Sports History & ISHPES, 101–122.

20 Berd, s.d., Projet ordre du jour de la CE, Feb 1928; BL from Pau to Berd 2 Jan 1928.

21 BL to Berd, 28 Jan 1928.
22 Opening address by BL, Amsterdam 25 July 1928.
23 BL to Berd, Dec 14 1928.
24 BL to Berd, Feb 19 1929; Berd to BL, 23 Feb 1929.
25 BL to Berd and Berd to BL, 28 Feb 1929.
26 Bordereau 3185 from Berd to BL, 28 Feb 1929.
27 BL to Berd, 12 Mar 1929.
28 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 13 Mar 1929.
29 Bordereau 3460 from Berd to BL, 23 Apr 1929.
30 BL to Berd, 11 May 1929.
31 BL to Berd, 8 Nov 1929.
32 Russel 1999, p. 112; Goldstein ES, 2004, Count Henry Baillet-Latour, in: Findling JE; Pelle KD (eds), Encyclopedia of the modern Olympic Movement, Westport (Ct): Greenwood Press, 464-468.
33 Guttmann A, 2002, The Olympics: a history of the modern Games, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, p. 49-50.
34 PdC to BL, 2 May 1931.
35 BL to no recipient mentioned [PdC?], 31 Aug 1931.
36 BL to Berd, Jun 26, 27 1929; Berd to BL, 5, 7 Jul 1929.
37 Travail préparatoire pour 1932: EC Session of the IOC in Vittel, 23-25 Jul 1929.
38 BL to Berd, 9 Aug 1929.
39 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 21 May 1929.
40 BL to Berd, 25 May 1929.
41 BL to Berd, 30 May 1929.
42 BL to Berd, 9 Aug 1929.
43 Bordereau 3667 from Berd to BL, 12 Aug 1929.
44 BL to Berd, 19 Aug 1929.
45 BL to Berd, 9 Sep 1929.
46 Berd to BL, 13 Sep 1929.
47 BL to Berd, 30 Sep 1929.
48 BL to Berd, 12 Sep 1929.
49 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 24 Sep 1929.
50 Berd to BL, 27 Nov 1929.
51 Berd to BL, 30 Dec 1929.
52 Berd to BL, 22 Feb 1930.
53 Berd to BL, 10 Jan 1931.
54 BL to Berd, 12 Mar 1929.
55 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 23 Mar 1929.
56 Guttmann A, 1984: The Games must go on: Avery Brundage and the Olympic movement, New York: Columbia University Press, p. 103; Gruneau R, 2004, When amateurism mattered: class, moral entrepreneurship and the Winter Games, in Gerlach LR (ed), The Winter Olympics: from Chamonix to Salt Lake City, Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 127-154.
57 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 14 Nov 1931.
58 Berd to BL, 14 Nov 1931.
59 Berd to BL, 28 Aug 1929.
60 Berd to BL, 18 Sep 1929.
61 BL to Berd, 21 Sep 1929.
62 Berd to BL, 17 Apr 1930.
63 Undated circulatory letter from BL to Berd, ca. 14 Jun 1930.
64 Allen 2008.
65 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 16 Sep 1930.
66 BL to Berd, 21 Sep 1930.
67 BL to Berd, ca. 12 Oct 1930.
68 Bordereau from BD to BL, 13 Sep 1929.
69 BL to Berd, 22 Nov 1929.
70 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 27 Nov 1929.
71 BL to Berd, 25-30 Nov 1929.
72 Berd to BL, 9 Dec 1929.
73 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 20 Dec 1930.
74 Berd to BL, 10 Jan 1931.
75 Allen 1996.
76 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 23 Mar 1931.
77 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 9 Oct 1931.
78 Bordereau 5210 from Berd to BL, 11 Oct 1931.
79 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 18 Oct 1931.
80 Bordereau 5276 from Berd to BL, 27 Nov 1931.
81 BL to Berd, 31 Jan 1931.
82 Cable 19 Feb 1931.
83 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 13 Mar 1931.
84 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 6 Apr 1931.
85 Olympic news (July-August 1931, 7-8: 6).
86 Bordereau from Berd to BL, 26 Aug 1931.
87 Russell 1999, p. 141; Fea 2004.
88 Widlund T, 2003, Olympic speed skating Lake Placid 1932, *Journal of Olympic history* 11 (1): 44-54.
89 BL from Lake Placid to Blon, 11 Feb 1932; Russell 1999: 129-130.
90 McIntosh 2000.
91 Widlund T, 2003, Olympic speed skating Lake Placid 1932, JOH 11 (1): 44-54.
92 BL to Blon,11 Feb 1932.
93 Copy of Mulqueen letter from BL to Blon, 15 Feb 1932.
94 BL to Blon, 30 Feb 1932.
95 Bordereau 4091 from Berd to BL, 12 Mar 1930.
96 BL to Berd, 14 May 1930.
97 BL to Berd 11 May 1930.
98 Draft of opening speech by BL, 15 Apr 1930.
99 Barney RK, 1998b, The great transformation: Olympic victory ceremonies and the medal podium, Olympika: the international journal of Olympic studies 7: 89-112; Barney RK, 2000, Die Einführung des Podiums, in Lennartz K; Borgers W; Höfer A (eds), Olympische Siege: Medaillen-Diplome-Ehrenpreise, Berlin: Sportverlag, 196-204.
100 BL to Berd, 10 Jul 1930.
101 BL to Berd, 24 Jul 1930.
102 BL to Blon, 14 Oct 1931.
103 Renson 2006, p. 58-59.
104 Lattimer GM (ed), 1932, Official Report III Olympic Winter Games: Lake Placid 1932, Lake Placid (NY): III Olympic Winter Games Committee, p. 275.
105 Renson R, 1996, The Games reborn: the VIIth Olympiad Antwerp 1920, Antwerp: Pandora, p. 54-55.
106 Renson 2006, p. 71-72.
107 Renson 2006, p. 100-101; Hertoghs J, 2006, Bobsleeën is minder gevaarlijk dan in Brussel de straat oversteken: bob till you drop: in: memoriam Max Houben, Humo 14 February 139-143.
108 Rubien 1932, p. 237.
109 Allen 2008.
110 Lattimer 1932, p. 138-139.
111 Lattimer 1932, p. 133.
112 Lattimer 1932, p. 9.
113 Lennartz K, 2002, IOC Presidents: appointed or elected?, in: Buschmann J; Wassong S (eds), Karl Lennartz: Langlauf durch die olympische Geschichte: 2: Selected writings on Olympic history, Köln: Carl und Liselott Diem-Archiv, 42-68.
114 Cholley P, 1996, Pierre de Coubertin: la deuxième croisade, Lausanne: Comité International Olympique, p. 77 ; Eyquem M-T, 1966, Pierre de Coubertin: l'épopée olympique, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 299 p. ; Eyquem 1966: 218-219.
115 Coubertin P de, 1916, Circular letter to the IOC Members (January 1916; sent by G de Blonay), in: Müller N (ed), 1986, Pierre de Coubertin: textes choisis, Vol. II: Olympisme, Zürich: Weidmann, 261.
116 Bermond D, 2008, Pierre de Coubertin, sl: Perrin, p. 295-303.
117 Lennartz 2000.
118 Carpentier 2004: 40-50.
119 BL to Blon, 27 Jan 1929.
120 BL to Blon, 29 Mar 1929.
121 BL to Blon, 17 Jan 1932.
122 BL to Blon, 30 Jan 1930; 6 Mar 1930.
123 BL to Blon, 3 Feb 1932.
124 BL to PDC, 21 Jan 1929.
125 Russell 1999, p. 105.
126 PdC from La Croix (Var) to BL, 2 May 1931.
127 BL to Blon, Jan 12 1932; 17 Jan 1932).
128 Blon to BL, Jan 20 1932; BL from Lake Placid to Blon, 3 Feb 1932.
129 BL to PdC, 4 Feb 1932.
130 Dew from Lake Placid to PdC, Mar 1932.

Abbreviations

Berd: André Berdez
BL: Henry de Baillet-Latour
Blon: Godefroy de Blonay
Dew: Godfrey Dewey
PdC: Pierre de Coubertin