

# CASPAR WHITNEY

By Dr John A. Lucas

THE IMPERIAL ADVOCATE OF ATHLETIC AMATEURISM AND HIS INVOLVEMENT WITH THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE AND THE AMERICAN\* OLYMPIC COMMITTEE 1899-1912

*\*Hereafter, in this paper, the word "American" means the United States of America.*

Prologue:

**F**or twenty years following the American Civil War, sporting and literary journals of the nearly-divided nation contained many articles which addressed the old-new problem of professional athletics as contrasted with amateur sport.

The voices were many, but somewhat ephemeral. Few, if any, persisted in their theme for the full two decades 1867-1887. The persistent voice of Caspar Whitney (1861-1929) emerged in 1890, trumpeting the many alleged individual and collective advantages of "pure" amateur sport as compared to the "other kind" - athletics for pay. A large audience of men from the upper middle class and those with substantial incomes read Whitney's panegyric writings. He may have read early essays on the subject, such as a Harper's Weekly writer who wrote an 1859 essay complaining that the "modest amateur" cricket Players of the United States would be no match against "the trained professionals of England."<sup>1</sup> In 1872, a writer in Wilkes' Spirit of the Times made it clear that the fall track and field games of the New York Athletic Club would be open only "to amateurs of the United States and under the club definition."<sup>2</sup> And in the next decade, the new organization, the National Association of Amateur Athletes of America [NAAA], the immediate precursor to the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States [AAU], spoke of the superiority in moral tone of both the "sensible student athletes" and of "gentleman amateurs" over "the other kind of athlete."<sup>3</sup> Beginning in 1887, Whitney wrote for a small New York City newspaper called *The Week's Sport*. The paper was sold in 1890 and Whitney wrote his friend, the great Yale University football coach, Walter Camp:

Camp, you have no idea of what a hold this paper has taken and what labor we have expanded in putting it where it is.<sup>4</sup>

Whitney moved over to *Harper's Weekly* in late 1890 and wrote lengthy weekly columns until late 1899, when he purchased *Outing* magazine, assuming the position of president. He wrote his friend and governor of New York State, Theodore Roosevelt:

I am determined to reach a much larger audience with *Outing*. I have promises of articles from Kipling, Gilbert Parker, General Wood, Remington, Wister, Ford, Fox, Harding Davis, Saxton, Thompson, Jesse Williams. I intend getting the very best. May I include you among the prospective contributors?<sup>5</sup>

For nearly another decade, Whitney's columns in *Outing* were widely read. He wrote skillfully and with verve on big-game hunting, on intercollegiate sporting contests of all kinds (especially football and baseball); on amateur versus professional contests, and on the modern Olympic Games. In March of 1909, Whitney moved on to *Collier's* magazine and a weekly column called "Outdoor America." In his first issue, March 13, 1909, he wrote or "preached" an essay titled "Outdoor America. What We Stand For." "The peoples of this great nation are moving outdoors", he wrote. He talked of the need for good roads and the preservation of our environment. "To play like gentlemen; to avoid strength without fairness...to be a man, win or lose."<sup>6</sup> He completed his assignment with *Collier's* as the European war began in 1914. He and his wife served the U.S. government in Belgium war relief efforts and, of course, wrote about it. After the war and until his death in 1929, Whitney wrote several books; wrote essays in *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Outlook* magazine; dozens of essays and "Letters-to-the-Editor" of *The New York Times* and *New York Tribune*.<sup>7</sup>

### Whitney and his membership on the IOC

Although there exists no definitive biography of Whitney, several American specialists have written helpful books which, in part, deal with his strident views on the alleged intrinsic superiority of athletic amateurism.<sup>8</sup> It is in the realm of Whitney's Olympic committees and Olympic Games involvement that little has been published. The purpose of this paper is to outline these connections and then to attempt to assess his impact, if any, on the two Olympic committees. Whitney put aside for the moment his often astringent language against those who ventured away from "pure amateurism" and praised the small and successful American team at the Games of the First Olympiad in Athens:

These games were conceived in the spirit of furthering healthful athletic competition, and of drawing the sportsmen of all countries closer together in the protection of the amateur.<sup>9</sup>

Such roseate views were more the exception than the rule with Whitney who wrote interchangeably? descriptions and scores of competitions along with social criticism.

S. W. Pope, in his *Patriotic Games*, says as much. For men like Whitney; he wrote, the Olympic Games was an opportunity to "invent a virile national sporting identity..."<sup>10</sup>

The first American on the IOC was the venerable university professor of European history, William Milligan Sloane (1850-1928), who served from 1894 until 1925. As possibly the most trusted colleague of Coubertin, Dr. Sloane utilized his domestic influence with skill.<sup>11</sup>

Regrettably, evidence is lacking, but Sloane may have recommended to Coubertin two additional candidates for IOC members, and in 1900, "numbers 25 and 26

were selected: Theodore Stanton (1851-1925) and Caspar Whitney."<sup>12</sup> In keeping with his confrontational manner and just before his election to the IOC, Whitney found just about everything wrong, from an American perspective, about Paris preparations for the 1900 Olympic Games. On October 11, 1899, a disgusted Whitney wrote Coubertin about "the Americans' dissatisfaction."<sup>13</sup>

Whitney continued his tirade, not so much directed toward Coubertin, but toward "inept French organizers who fail to inform Americans about Olympic Games preparations in Paris."<sup>14</sup>

In the year of the Olympic Games, a concerned Sloane wrote to Coubertin:

Every source in our command will be exerted to guarantee that American athletes in Paris are Bona fide amateurs. I write this at the urgent solicitation of the president of the AAU, and of Whitney, who edits the great new journal of sport [Outing]. Please reply at once.<sup>15</sup>

In the first months of his editorship of *Outing* magazine and just before his election to the IOC, Whitney wrote several vigorous essays

condemning Paris Olympic Games competition on the Sabbath; also, his disdain at money-seeking "mug hunters" who invaded the Olympic stadium, and praise for the "true American amateurs who are significantly better than anyone else."<sup>16</sup>

Such ramblings may have convinced Coubertin that Whitney should join his IOC. He was elected and immediately wrote that his new colleagues "are among the most prominent friends of amateur sport in their respective countries..."<sup>17</sup>



Caspar Whitney

In the year 1901, a triangle of tension emerged between the IOC and the cities of Chicago and St. Louis regarding the site of the 1904 Olympic Games. Sloane wrote Coubertin that Whitney “will, I think, be earnest and intelligent” in favoring Chicago.<sup>18</sup>

Coubertin wrote in his first autobiography: “All three Americans, Sloane, Stanton, and Whitney, favor Chicago.”<sup>19</sup> In Bill Mallon’s definitive text, *The 1904 Olympic Games*, he wrote that in early 1901, correspondence between Coubertin, Stanton, Whitney, and Sloane, strengthened the case for Chicago as Olympic Games site. The three Americans “were able to convince James Sullivan that Chicago was an appropriate choice for the 1904 Olympics.”<sup>20</sup> And yet the frequently acidulous Whitney wrote to Chicago Olympic organizer and President of the University of Chicago, William Rainey Harper. Whitney’s letterhead stated “Member of the American Committee of the international Committee of the Olympic Games“:

In a word, then, what is Chicago prepared to guarantee to the American committee in the way of provision for these games; provision appropriate to their dignity and International character.. I mean rather than have the games poorly done at Chicago, we would feel obliged to grant the application of St. Louis.<sup>21</sup>

Coubertin never seriously entertained the thought of an arduous five or six weeks away from home to attend an Olympic Games in mid-America. They took place in St. Louis, and in the Official Report, editor Sullivan wrote that Coubertin had “delegated IOC powers to the Department of Physical Culture and its Chief, Sullivan.” Both contemporary historians Mallon and Dyreson agree that Sullivan and his AAU took complete charge of these imperfect games in St. Louis.<sup>22</sup>

Whitney rarely “pulled punches” and criticized his

own IOC for a poor St. Louis festival:

The International Committee, with Pierre de Coubertin as Chairman, showed little more conception of the significance of the classic event committed to their care than might have been expected of a ‘barker’ on the Pike.<sup>23</sup>

Dyreson considered such criticism as significant and wrote that Sullivan and Whitney “wanted to create a new international body, one that would expand American control over the Olympic movement.”<sup>24</sup> Whitney completed his brief IOC tenure without having attended a single organizational meeting.<sup>25</sup>

Over in Athens, Greece, the government of Greece, without Coubertin’s “blessing”, prepared for a 1906 Olympian festival, celebrating the tenth anniversary of the 1896 Games. Sullivan and his AAU and “The American Committee of the Olympic Games” prepared for the trip and “decided that \$25,000 is the amount necessary to send the team.”<sup>26</sup>



James Sullivan

The always animated Whitney no longer an IOC member, was elected president of “The American Committee,” soon to have its name changed to the American Olympic Committee” (AOC).<sup>27</sup> No one crowed louder than Whitney when the American team returned home from Athens with the

preponderance of prestigious track and field medals.<sup>28</sup> Of course it was Sullivan and his AAU that did all the organizational work in America’s successful venture to Athens in the spring of 1906. The “American Committee”, was in actuality the AAU, and Whitney’s essay “Right Man in the Right Place” underscored Whitney’s admiration:

Sullivan is a great AAU president, who not only sees right, but has the courage to fight for it. The London 1908 organizing committee can rest assured that Sullivan will send only amateurs from the USA to the [Olympic] games next year.<sup>29</sup>

But all was not well between some American amateur athletic leaders and the peculiar Paris-based IOC and its enigmatic leader, Coubertin. In 1908, Sloane remained loyal to the French baron, but the bellicose Sullivan and the ever-quarrelsome Whitney found reasons to discuss the complete reorganization of the International Olympic Committee. Early in 1908, Whitney, already president of “The American Committee of the Olympic Games” became leader of the AOC.<sup>30</sup>

Before and after these famous London Games of the Fourth Olympiad, Whitney and a small group of dissidents took issue with Baron de Coubertin’s leadership.

Sir Theodore Andrea Cook (1867-1928), a member of the British Olympic Association in 1906, served as IOC member from 1909-1915.<sup>31</sup> His leadership and the adventures of his team at the Athenian Olympics of 1906 are outlined in *The Sunlit Hours. A Record of Sport and Life*. The IOC is an inept organization, he wrote, and its leader, Coubertin, flounders in his inability to accept “all practical suggestions.” The “vaguely idealistic generalities of the President [Coubertin]” make for an impossible fruition of practical problems, he wrote.

The kindly and good French baron was not held in high esteem by some as an administrator, on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Coubertin refuses to even acknowledge good suggestions, complained Cook, and worse than that:

...the real weakness of the committee [IOC] lay in the fact that no minutes worth the name were ever taken, put to a vote, or preserved in a permanent form or of any use to the outside world.<sup>32</sup>

The IOC is absurdly un-business-like, wrote Cook, and others agreed.

Following the highly fractious London Olympics of 1908, Caspar Whitney wrote IOC member from 1906-1913, The Right Honorable Lord William Henry Desborough. Both British and American officials at the games acted in a “fault-finding, suspicious and bickering” manner, said Whitney in a July 31, 1908

letter. But much of the fault lies in the nature of the IOC and of Coubertin himself, was the “gist” of his letter. Desborough had been the director of the recent Olympic Games and must have agreed with this Coubertin-IOC criticism by a former IOC member. Whitney went on:

As soon as Mr. Sullivan returns [from London] I am going to take up vigorously the question of reorganizing the present International Committee. It seems...not only impractical, but a perfectly ridiculous organization...no more or less than a personal plaything for de Coubertin, who appears to put men on the committee or drop them, or take courses of action, quite without consultation with any but himself.<sup>33</sup>

Whitney’s brief tenure as an IOC member (1900-1904) may be explained in his correspondence with Coubertin, expressing powerful irritation that

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“To play like gentlemen; to  
avoid strength without  
fairness...to be a man,  
win or lose.”

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Americans were not at all consulted in the Olympic Games venue switch from Chicago to St. Louis. Whitney’s complaining letter to Desborough continued:

I wrote de Coubertin very plainly what I thought about his action, and what do you think

was his only response?...he crossed my name off the American Committee [i.e. American citizen on the IOC].<sup>34</sup>

Whitney concluded his letter, as he began it, with uncomplimentary remarks about the beleaguered Coubertin:

Coubertin is a well-meaning, fussy, and incompetent little Frenchman, who has certainly done Something in stirring up an athletic spirit in France, but that’s no reason why we should permit the IOC to be a fad of his. ..I am going to propose the organization of an entirely new international committee.<sup>35</sup>

As was his nature, Whitney did not keep secret his dissatisfactions, and in the September, 1908 issue of *Outing*, he urged a complete “reorganization of the whole International Olympic Committee in personnel

and in method of conduct.” As usual, Whitney could nor bold back personal attack:

At present it [IOC] is a clumsy affair, composed largely of inexperienced men, chosen quite after the fashion that obtains in nominating patronesses to smart garden parties - by the well-meaning, if capricious gentlemen who appear to view the ‘Comite Athletique’ as a kind of social board-walk.<sup>36</sup>

Whitney wouldn’t quit, and in the November issue, he was of the opinion that Olympic Games acrimony was the direct result of no universally-accepted rules and the absence of “a competent international committee.”<sup>37</sup> Whitney’s concurrent responsibilities as editor-publisher of *Outing* magazine and as president of the AOC ended at about the same time. “With this issue [February, 1909] Mr. Whitney retires from *The Outing* magazine,” someone wrote. The *New York Times* of December 11, 1910, remarked that Frederic B. Pratt of Brooklyn, New York, succeeded Whitney as AOC leader, the latter retaining membership on the Executive Committee as one of twenty vice-presidents. Six of these “V.P.’s” were veteran sportsmen, the others were some of the nation’s wealthiest men i.e. Andrew Carnegie; J. Pierpont Morgan; George J. Gould; August Belmont; S. R. Guggenheim and Rodman Wanamaker.<sup>38</sup>

The newly formed AOC was a “step forward” in the nation’s Olympic Games organization, but personality conflicts continued at the usual intense level. The patriarch of both the IOC and the AOC, Sloane, was pessimistic about his country’s preparation for the Stockholm Games of the Fifth Olympiad, and he said so to his friend of twenty years. “The Sullivan crowd,” he wrote Coubertin on April 14, 1909, “have evidently determined not to approach me” regarding plans for the Stockholm games or recommendations for a new IOC member. “But they have announced Kirby as an entry. Whitney is on our side and against them.”<sup>39</sup> But help was both available and on its way to the fragile AOC. The steady Olympic ideologue, Dr. Sloane, and his AAU-AOC antithesis, Sullivan, continued to do good work. Whitney’s five years at AOC president (1906-1910) were eventful, and he played a key role. AOC president, F. B. Pratt, did no harm during his few months in office. Colonel Robert Means Thompson (1849-1930) served significant AOC presidencies, 1911-1919, and 1921-1926. This

multi-millionaire industrialist was administratively sophisticated and, of equal importance, was a conciliator of temperamental AOC member - men who, all their lives, had been accustomed to personal success, privilege, and leadership in their businesses and professions.

Whitney’s tenure as IOC member and AOC president was over, but the “activist” tendency never left him. His time at Harper’s *Weekly* and *Outing* were over, but in 1909, he moved on to *Collier’s* magazine; his “Outdoor America” columns were an American favorite until November 11, 1911.<sup>40</sup> He wrote scores of essays during this period, only one on the Olympic Games, but even that dealt with his life-long disgust, at the so-called “amateur” athlete who secretly runs for money How vulgar it is that New York City’s Irish-American Athletic Club has “hired” the so-called “amateur” Olympic silver medal winner from Italy - Emilio Lunghi - as instant and full member. “Citizenship,” wrote Whitney, “appears to be no part of the requirements to membership in U.S. athletic Clubs - if only there be speed enough.”<sup>41</sup>

The Olympic Games of 1900, 1904, 1906, and 1908 were special events for the “muscular” nationalistic American administration in Washington, D.C. during this first decade. In the year of these four Olympic festivals, Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt had appointed a “Special Commissioner from the United States to the Olympic Games.” James Edward Sullivan was selected each time, and he made it known to President Taft that he wished the honor again in 1912. So did Caspar Whitney and several others. Scores of letters poured into the White House with recommendations.<sup>42</sup> The now nearly retired Whitney wrote three letters on January 31, 1912, two of them to President Taft’s secretaries and the third note to General of the Army and his friend, Leonard Wood:

In the hope that I may help preserve the highest standard of American sportsmanship I have asked Pres. Taft to appoint me American Commissioner for the Olympic Games in Stockholm.<sup>43</sup>

Please select me as USA Commissioner to Stockholm in order to promote a high level of sportsmanship.<sup>44</sup>

Dear General Woods: In the hope that I may help preserve the highest standard of

American sportsmanship, I have asked Pres. Taft to appoint me American Commissioner to the Olympic Games in Stockholm. Would you be kind enough to indorse me to the President?<sup>45</sup>

A certain F. R. Burnham wrote Taft's secretary that Whitney would be an admirable choice, that he would demand fair play from "foreign athletes" and never allow "our own men to play any Yankee tricks either." Still another letter was from Yale University president, Arthur D. Hadley, indicating that "Caspar Whitney would be a good man; he represents high standards of sportsmanship." J. G. Schurman was president of Cornell University at the time and he wrote Mr. Taft:

Although Whitney is not a Cornell man, he is our nation's foremost authority on amateur athletics and his writings have exerted a strong and wholesome influence. He would make a wonderful Commissioner.<sup>46</sup>

All to no avail. Whitney withdrew his name for possible official US. government representative to Sweden on February 14, 1912. The avalanche of letters to the White House supporting Sullivan for the "job" were perfectly clear and the fifty-two year old AAU

secretary was selected on April 29, 1912. President Taft wrote to His Royal Highness, The Crown Prince of Sweden: "It gives me great pleasure to designate...Mr. James E. Sullivan... as the Commissioner of the United States."<sup>47</sup> In Whitney's withdrawal letter he wrote the obvious: he had a great many friends and a great many enemies in the land. "I fear I am persona non grata with the athletic political group that runs the AAU machine."<sup>48</sup> Whitney got on with his life. He continued writing essays and editorials; he wrote several pamphlets on the American military campaigns during the Mexican revolution 1910-1914, and on the United States in the World War. In both cases, Whitney traveled to Mexico and to Europe.<sup>49</sup> Whitney's event-filled life included fifteen years of big-game hunting on four continents;

thirty years with *Harper's Weekly*, *Outing* and *Collier's*, and exactly one decade, 1900-1910, as IOC member and AOC president. Little is mentioned in this essay of Whitney's influential, narrow views of what he considered the preferable world of "pure" amateur sport over, what he called "the other kind." Sport historian specialists dealing with the period 1890 to 1915 in the United States, consider as important Whitney's views on "amateurism". Whitney and his membership on two Olympic committees is also meaningful in filling the many historical "gaps...in the early history of the United' States Olympic Committee.

### Summation and Synthesis on Whitney, the Olympic Bureaucrat

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"These games were conceived in the spirit of furthering healthful athletic competition, and of drawing the sportsmen of all countries closer together in the protection of the amateur."

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The tiny group of American athletes made it to Athens in 1896, won most of the track and field honors, and they did so without any help of the AAU nor from an Olympic committee of the United States, which did not exist at the time. The AAU, led by the resolute secretary and president, Sullivan, took charge of the men's Olympic teams in 1900, 1904, 1906, and 1908, using ephemeral sub-committees entitled, for example, "American Committee of the Olympic

Games for 1906." It was not until 1908, during Caspar Whitney's presidency, that an AOC was formed. Dr. Sloane was always there, in his cloistered offices at Princeton and Columbia Universities, writing to his friend Coubertin in Paris, and on a more earthly plain, trying to communicate pacifically with Sullivan at the AAU office, 233 Broadway, New York City. Sloane was on the same social and intellectual level with American IOC members Theodore Stanton; James Hazen Hyde; Allison Vincent Armour; Evert Jansen Wendell, but, like so many, had difficulty with Whitney.<sup>50</sup> Sloane confided with Coubertin in a January 11, 1911 letter. Somehow I can work with Sullivan and Kirby, he wrote, but "Whitney refuses cooperation; he is sour, sad and sulky, being in the

bankruptcy court now” since being separated from his wife.<sup>51</sup>

Whitney was an excellent journalist, with a clear and vivid style. But he was dogmatic and lacked anything in his writings approaching broadmindedness or soaring intellectualism. He did, however, serve up a vivid picture to an ever-growing male readership on detailed results of intercollegiate, amateur and club sporting competitions. Never once in a quarter-century did he write about the drama of professional contests. His essays on “big-game” hunting were real and picturesque. His life-long obsession in portraying “pure amateur sport” as infinitely superior to the individual athlete that of professional display, was often narrow, obdurate, cantankerous, sometimes unfair and sometimes inaccurate. He was unable to say much good about six Olympic Games; the athletes were great, the bureaucrats were bunglers, he often said. Whitney never attended an IOC meeting and was present at only one Olympic Games (1904), and yet he threw himself into his work as AOC president. An editor of the literary journal, *The Critic*, applauded Whitney and his brilliant approach to practical and wholesome physical activities for “the younger generation.”

Mr. Whitney has insisted...that travelling and camping and climbing are a joy in themselves, but that their real value is not their joy; it is not even that they reveal character; it is that they build character as unmistakably as books and companions.<sup>52</sup>

The very great African-American athlete-actor-singer, activist, Paul Robeson, once said that the symbol “plus” [+] in Chinese picture-word language means “looking in all directions.” Robeson exclaimed to his biographer: “Isn’t that symbol beautiful. Truth, the word-picture showed us, is that which is found by an intelligent and all-sided view of things.”<sup>53</sup> He probably did not have Caspar Whitney in mind in making such a statement, although Whitney did write several praiseworthy picture images of the remarkable Rutgers University honor student and amateur football player. Whitney, the imperfect person, like Robeson and everyone else, had strong points. The narrowly-focus Whitney, like a powerful lens in sunlight, helped “lit a fire.” In Europe and North America, some of Whitney’s ideas on the purported intrinsic greater benefits to an individual participant

of pure amateur sport over athletics-for-pay still remain. He influenced a great many journalists, a few scholars and public persons in this direction all through the first quarter of the last century. His membership in the IOC was an aberration. an anomaly, and he made no discernible positive contribution to the Swiss-based committee. Contrastingly, he worked hard and effectively in making the “new-born” AOC a viable and semi-permanent entity - a precursor to both the American Olympic Association (AOA), which in turn preceded the United States Olympic Committee (USOC).<sup>54</sup> Whatever the faults of this USOC, and there are many, it is the largest, wealthiest, and most influential national Olympic committee of its kind. Caspar Whitney helped make it so, “warts and all.”

#### Notes:

1. See “Cricket Mania,” *Harpers Weekly*, (October 15, 1859), 660.
2. See Wilkes’ *Spirit of the Times*, September 14, 1872. This reference, without page number, comes from Robert Korsgaard, “A History of the Amateur Athletic Union of the United States;” an Ed.D. dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University. 1952, pages 35-36.
3. See *The Amateur Athlete*, (March 6, 1884), 1. This journal is located in the New York Public Library “Annex.” A *New York Daily Tribune* [Tribune] editorialist wrote on February 26, 1883, p. 4 that “The professional tendency of amateur athletics is much to be regretted.” The editor of *Outing* magazine (volume 6, 1885, p. 491) wrote:  
  
*There are indications that the feeling against the distinctions between amateurs and professionals will before long rise so high as to sweep away the artificial barriers now set up.*
4. Whitney to Camp; letter dated December 31, 1890; Walter Camp Papers; reel 18; box 26; folder 738. These Papers contains scores of correspondences between the two men, alternating business ventures, criticisms and praise. “We are striving to build up a reputation on the critical side,” he wrote Camp on September 11, 1890. See Walter Camp Papers; reel 18; box 26; folder 738.
5. Whitney to Roosevelt: letter dated January 3, 1900; Theodore Roosevelt Papers; series 1: reel 4. For a brief time, the two were classmates at Harvard University. The future American president wrote:  
  
*He was in Harvard when I was, but left it and, like a good many other Harvard men of that time, took to cow-punching in the West. He went on a ranch in Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, and was a keen hunter, especially fond of the chase of cougar, bear, and elk.*  
See Theodore Roosevelt, *The Wilderness Hunter* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1893), p. 323.
6. See *Collier’s*, 42, March 13, 1909), 15.
7. Whitney’s private and published correspondence exceeds 300 pages. For the *Week’s Sport* and *Harper’s Weekly*, his writings number 1,450 pages, while the *Outing* and *Saturday Evening Post* magazine “output” is approximately

- 1,400 pages. Whitney's full-length books, pamphlets and brochures number 2,200 pages, for a total of 5,350 pages.
- Caspar W. Whitney's published books and pamphlets.
- A Sporting Pilgrimage* (New York: Harper and Bros., Pub., 1895).
- On Snow Shoes to the Barren Grounds* (New York: Harper's 1899).
- Hawaiian America* (New York: Harper's Pub., 1899).
- Musk-Ox, Musk-Ox, Bison, Sheep and Goat* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1904); with authors George Bird Grinnell and Owen Wister.
- Jungle Trails and Jungle People* (1911).
- The Flowing Road* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1912), 319 pages.
- What's The Matter with Mexico?* (1916)
- Gott Mit Uns [God is with us] - The Boche Delusion* (1918).
- The Critical Year*, 1918.
- Shall We Be Too Late?* (1918).
- The Tempering of the Doughboy, First Line Defense* versus Bolshevism (1919). Fifty-four pages.
- Hunt Club and Country Clubs in America* (1928); private printing, Merrymount Press.
8. David C. Young is unremittingly critical of Caspar Whitney's interpretations of athletic amateurism. See the "index" in Young's *The Olympic Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago: Ares Pub., Inc., 1984), and his *The Modern Olympics. A Struggle for Revival* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1996). Ronald A. Smith discusses Whitney on amateurism in *The Rise of Big-Time College Athletics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), and, as editor-compiler, *Big-Time Football at Harvard 1905. The Diary of Coach Bill Reid* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994). In Michael Oriard's book "index", only Walter Camp has more references than Whitney, and all on "amateurism." See Oriard's *Reading Football. How The Popular Press Created An American Spectacle* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993). See Scott A. McQuilkin, "A History of Intercollegiate Reform During the Progressive Era, 1890-1920," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Pennsylvania State University, 1995 (see chapter on "Summer baseball."). There is a great deal on Whitney and on amateurism in S. W. Pope, *Patriotic Games. Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Even more revealing on Whitney's views on "fair play and amateurism" is Mark Dyreson, *Making the American Team. Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998).
  9. See *Harper's Weekly* [HW], 40 (April 18, 1896), 406. See also "American and Greek victors at the Olympic Games," p. 525.
  10. S.W. Pope, *Patriotic Games. Sporting Traditions in the American Imagination, 1876-1926* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), p. 34.
  11. One lengthy biographical essay has been published on Sloane. See "Professor William Milligan Sloane: Father of the United States Olympic Committee," in *Festschrift für Horst Ueberhorst* (Bochum, Germany: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1991). pages 230-242.
  12. See page 146 in *Le Comité International Olympique* (Lausanne, Switzerland: IOC, 1981). Wolf Lyberg's more than fifty years of research on the IOC notes that "both Stanton and Whitney were co-opted in October, 1900, and served until December 31, 1904." A portion of Lyberg's soon-to-be published findings were sent to this researcher in November of 1999.
  13. See *Coubertin's Olympic Memoirs* (1931), translated in 1976 by Geoffroy de Navacelle and republished in 1997 (IOC 1997), pages 66-67.
  14. Sloane quotes Whitney in a letter to Coubertin, and published in the IOC president's first autobiography, *Une campagne de vingt-et-un ans 1887-1908* (Paris: Librairie de L'Education Physique, 1909), p. 149.
  15. Sloane to Coubertin; letter dated February 12, 1900. "Correspondence Sloane-Coubertin" in IOC archives.
  16. In a June 7, 1900 essay titled "Outdoor Sports - What they are doing for us," published in *The Independent* (volume 52, pages 1361-1363). Whitney praised Coubertin as "a thorough and enthusiastic sportsman,..." (p. 1363), and, on the same page, he stands in horror at "Professionalism, that deadly enemy of real sport." Also see "An offensive prize list and Sunday Games," *Outing*, 36 (June, 1900), 318-319; "No Sunday athletic events," *Outing*, 36 (July, 1900), 423-424; "Mug Hunters and Disregarded Agreements," *Outing*, 36 (August, 1900), 566-567. and "Record of American Athletes Abroad," *Outing*, 36 (September, 1900), 677.
  17. Whitney, "A Few Plain Words," *Outing*, 37 (January, 1901), 474.
  18. Sloane to Coubertin; letter dated March 31, 1901; see IOC archives "Sloane-Coubertin correspondence."
  19. See Coubertin's *Une campagne...*, p. 156.
  20. Bill Mallon, *The 1904 Olympics. Results of All Competitors in All Events, with Commentary* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Co., Pub., 1999). pages 5-6. Coubertin, in 1901, seemed convinced that Chicago was the right city for an out-of-sequence 1903 Olympics. and so informed Sloane. Whitney, and AAU boss Sullivan. See Whitney's "Olympian Games at Chicago in 1903," *Outing*, 38 (August, 1901), 587. In a chapter titled "Chicago or St. Louis," Coubertin wrote that during early negotiations "Stanton, Whitney and Sloane favored Chicago." See Coubertin's *Une campagne...*, p. 156.
  21. Whitney to Harper; letter dated April 30, 1901; Avery Brundage Collection (ABC); reel 56; box 103. The strange configuration of the phrase "American Committee of the International Committee of the Olympic Games" resulted from the fact that no formal and permanent Olympic Committee of the United States existed at that time, 1901. It was not until 1908 that the "American Olympic Committee" (AOC) came into existence. See *The New York Times* (NYT), April 12, 1908; part 4, p. 1.
  22. See Compiler James E. Sullivan's *Spalding's Official Athletic Almanac, for 1905... Containing the Official Report of the Olympic Games of 1904* (New York: American Sports Pub. Co., 1905), p. 159. Mallon wrote that Whitney worked hard in helping Sullivan's efforts in St. Louis. See Mallon's *The 1904 Olympic Games*, pages 29, 41. Dyreson was more direct and correct: "The AAU had grabbed complete authority over the third Olympics from the IOC." See his *Making the American Team*, p. 80.

23. Whitney, in his "Which Shall Be?," *Outing*, 45 (October, 1904), 112.
24. See *Dyreson*, p. 134.
25. The official IOC historian, Wolf Lyberg, wrote: "Whitney was never present at an IOC meeting." See Lyberg to Lucas; letter dated May 15, 1998.
26. See Whitney's "The View-Point," *Outing*, 47 (September, 1905), 786.
27. See NYT, January 11, 1906, p. 10. The newly elected president of the American Committee of the Olympic Games held its meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. President Whitney called the meeting to order. He was not pleased that the Greeks' time schedule, April 22 to May 2, 1906, was "a poor time for American college athletes who are still in school." See his "Olympic Games in Athens," *Outing*, 47 (March, 1906), 785. Gary Allison, Ph.D., Olympic Games publisher and film-maker, wrote that: "Caspar Whitney was elected president of his country's Olympic committee on 20 January 1906" (Letter Allison to John A. Lucas, dated October 7, 1994).
28. See Whitney's "Victories of American Athletes at the Olympic Games," *Harper's Weekly* 50 (June 2, 1906), 774-775.
29. See *Outing*, 49 (March, 1907), 795.
30. See "President Caspar Whitney...," NYT, December 4, 1907, p. 7; "American Committee knows its business," *Outing*, 51 (February); 1908), 632; see also "Whitney and his 1908 American Committee," in Walter Camp Papers; reel 1; folder 22, lastly, the NYT, April 12, 1908, speaks of "James Pilkington and Julian W. Curtiss, members of the American Olympic Committee."
31. See page 218 in *The International Olympic Committee - One Hundred Years 1894-1994*: volume 2 of 3 volumes, by Karl Lennartz and Otto Schantz (Lausanne: IOC, 1995).
32. Cook's book was published in New York City by George H. Doran Co., 1925. See page 238 for quote.
33. This "Whitney to Desborough" letter is located in British Olympic Association archives under "Desborough." Ian Buchanan, tipped by Don Anthony about its existence, read the letter, xeroxed it and sent it to the editor of the *Journal of Olympic History* Anthony Th. Bijkerk, who in turn sent a copy to this researcher on August 24, 1999. Don Anthony, Ph.D. when requested, told the editor he knew the letter and gave his comments in the *Journal of Olympic History*. Volume 8, number 1, January 2000, pages 22-25.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. See Whitney's "View-Point" in *Outing*, 52 (September, 1908). 763-764.
37. See his "Olympic Games American Committee Report," *Outing*, 53 (November, 1908), 249.
38. Set "American Olympic Committee Named," NYT, December 11, 1910; part 4, p. 6. The new AOC president, F. B. Pratt (1865-1945) was a wealthy businessman-educator and president of the Pratt Institute. See his biography in *Facts on File* 1945, p. 146; *Who Was Who in America* 1943-1950, p. 430; *Current Biography* 1945, p. 480, and Pratt's obituary in the NYT, May 4, 1945, p. 19. The New York Times Personal Names Index has six additional references to Mr. Pratt, who served as AOC president for a very brief five weeks, to be succeeded by Colonel Robert Means Thompson (1849-1930). The remaining fourteen wealthy vice-presidents were: The Honorable Herman D. Lagercrantz; the Honorable Egerton L. Winthrop; Caspar Whitney; Judge Bartow S. Weeks; the Honorable Victor J. Dowling; General George W. Wingate; J. W. Spalding; Everett C. Brown; Gustavus T. Kirby; the Honorable David R. Francis; F. J. Skiff Robert Means Thompson; W. C. Thorne, and A. C. Mills.
39. Sloane to Coubertin; letter dated April 14, 1909, and located in IOC Archives under "Sloane-Coubertin Correspondence."
40. In Whitney's first Collier's contribution, his essay was a futurist look at the burgeoning outdoors, hunting and fishing movement "for all Americans," See "What We Stand For," in volume 42 (March 13, 1909), 15. Scores of Whitney essays followed in the next thirty-three months.
41. Whitney quote in Collier's, 44 (November 13, 1909), 23-22.
42. There are more than 150 letters sent to the president, all about this "Commissioner's" post to the Stockholm games. They make fascinating reading. See microfilm William H. Taft Papers; series 6; reel; 401: case 576.
43. Whitney to John Hayes Hammond letter dated January 31, 1912; William H. Taft Papers; series 6; reel 401; case file 576.
44. Whitney to Charles Hilles; *ibid.*
45. Whitney to Leonard Wood: *ibid.*
46. The Burnham, Hadley, and Schurman letters are all in case number 576; reel 401; series 6 of the William H. Taft Papers, on microfilm.
47. *Ibid.*
48. See Whitney to Hills letter. dated February 14, 1912, *ibid.*
49. See endnote 7 for his views on the Mexican border wars and on World War. AU of Whitney's biographies and obituaries mention his "eye-witness" accounts of these two wars See NYT, April 18, 1915; sec. 8, p. 1; NYT, January 22, 1916, p. 3; NYT, July 11, 1916, p. 8; NYT, February 10, 1917, p. 8; NYT, March 5, 1917, p. 10. On Whitney's death, see *The Nation*, 128 (January 30, 1929), 121; NYT, January 19, 1929, p. 17; *New York Herald Tribune*, January 19, 1929, p. 12; also *Who's Who* (1926), p. 3097; *Who's Who in America 1906-1907*, p.1933, and "Caspar Whitney" in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, volume 25, p. 284.
50. The IOC archives have almost nothing on the first four of these very wealthy Americans who served between 1900 and 1919. Their "papers" are to be found in the Archives of Rutgers University; Harvard University, Yale University, and Harvard, respectively.
51. Sloane to Coubertin; letter dated January 11, 1911; see IOC files "Sloane-Coubertin Correspondence."
52. Zona Gale, "Editors of the Younger Generation," *The Critic*, 44 (April, 1904), 318. There is a splendid photograph of Whitney on p. 321.
53. Robeson quoted in Lloyd L. Brown, *The Young Paul Robeson* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), p. 131.
54. The semipermanent AOC became a permanent organization in 1921, when the American Olympic Association (AOA) was created. For details on this transition, see John Lucas, "American Preparation for the First Post World War Olympic Games 1919-1920," *Journal of Sport History*, 10 (Summer 1983), 30-44.