

The American Historical Review has published a study by Mr. Eugen WEBER, whom you will remember from the Olympic Review, no. 34-35 of July, 1970. We are now starting to publish his study on

Gymnastics and sports in fin-de-siècle France

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Despite HUIZINGA's classic essay, the distance between *homo sapiens* and *homo ludens* seems to grow no smaller. The strange suspicion, or even antipathy, that man of pen and study still show for research in the more vulgar manifestations of physical activity deserves a study in itself. While we await a dissertation on such a promising topic, this disinclination leaves us ill informed on activities that have always taken up a good deal of public attention - not least in the past century.

Grandfather clocks, balloons, and potatoes have benefitted from historical studies that games and sports still lack. Journalists, psychologists, sociologists, and sportsmen themselves have written about sport; historians have paid it only incidental attention. To be specific, no

professional historian seems to have traced the cat's cradle of athletic activities rising and spreading in France in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Significantly, Antoine PROST's excellent "Enseignement en France, 1800-1967" (Paris, 1968) ignores the topic, while the 268 pages of Paul GERBOD's "Vie Quotidienne dans les lycées et collèges au XIXe siècle" (Paris, 1968) devotes nine lines to gymnastics and none to other exercises.

Yet physical exercise and the role that men attribute to it, that society envisages for it, can document times and mentalities as suggestively as can their industrial enterprises; and physical training always begs the question: training for what? The question is answerable, even if the answer remains tentative. After Prussia's defeat at Jena, Friedrich Ludwig JAHN's *Turnkunst* trained to withstand the French and, in due course, forge German unity. German gymnasts - *Turner* - were to rediscover the heroic qualities of their race and help create their still virtual nation. In England there was no defeat to avenge, no nation to forge for the future, but there were schoolboys to tame and civilize. Their physical development presented no great problems, but their wild, sometimes brutal play had to be disciplined. After the 1830s this was done by enlisting high spirits in regulated games and by turning poachers into gamekeepers.

Thus, where physical edu-

cation on the German model appears as a device to create national or civic sense and to revivify the young, games on the English model first emerged to serve specific ends. The one model addressed itself to the whole nation, the other to a limited educational system. The ideals behind the two approaches sound similar. For JAHN, physical exercise imparted a taste for effort and adventure taught that the most effective discipline was self-imposed and developed the moral character of the *Turner* along with his body.

For Thomas HUGHES, half a century later, games spurred patriotism, a sense of self-reliance, and a tempering of character and body. Both stressed the importance of freedom, of voluntary emulation, and of the pleasure offered by exercise. Both saw their enterprises as harnessing young energies and instincts to social ends. But where the JAHN tradition deliberately turned to service of the nation (and the state), that of English games, stressing character over discipline, team or individual over abstract collectivities, was elitist. Gymnastics lent themselves better to routine and to mass applications, while their social uses appeared more evident. Games were a kind of conspicuous consumption: they evolved in exclusive schools; they were costly in terms of space, time, and facilities and aristocratic in inspiration and implication.

This very rough distinction was recognized in most of nine-

teenth century Europe. For example, as the century ended, the Swedish labor movement "would not at first accept the sports movement, which was characterized as 'an invention of the Anglo-Saxon upper class'"

(1). In some countries the distinction remained academic, with one or the other of the two approaches clearly predominant. The Anglo-Saxons paid little heed to physical training, regarded as a poor substitute for livelier organized play (2). Germans, on the other hand, remained faithful to gymnastics both in and out of school, communicating their enthusiasm for them to neighbors like the Czechs, whose Sokols borrowed both the mass exercises and the patriotic mystique of the *Turner*. And when, at the century's end, young Germans rebelled against the constraints and corruption of society, their thirst for purity and action was stilled less by team sports than by return to nature and to romantically "primitive" sources of regeneration (3).

The interesting aspect of the history of sports in France is that the competitive presence of physical education and play both stressed and clarified the difference between them and between their advocates. First to appear, physical education was adopted by the state to serve national purposes. Games here also recognized as Anglo-Saxon upper-class inventions - appeared and remained for a long time the preserve of the privileged few. They provided

training, indeed, whether to bear the burdens of privilege or to face the challenge of the unprivileged many: but they also provided play for the game's sake and for the player's satisfaction - gratuitous, self-sufficing, without ulterior purpose (4). The possibilities of the topic are clearly vaster than the limited area of sporting history. The following pages attempt to furnish some preliminary information on how sports came to France and whom they were meant to serve. These pages are meant to open the subject rather than to cover a vast, unexplored territory. But they may suggest that, far from standing apart, sports were integrated and integrating activities, part of the contemporary scene, reflecting social and ideological preoccupations, and very likely affecting them in turn (5).

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Organized physical activities, which England and Germany had known through the nineteenth century, came to France only late and quite *sui generis*. They came first of all to serve a patriotic purpose

that consisted partly in slamming the stable door after the horse had been stolen. And they approached the self-imposed task of national re-vivification from several directions. Thus, born in 1874, its founders still *"under the impact of their patriotic grief"* the Club Alpin Français sought to provide *"a school of physical energy and moral vigor"*, training French youth to be *"more virile, more apt to bear military life, more prepared to face a long conflict without discouragement..."* (6).

Despite relatively high dues that restricted membership to the upper and middle classes, the Club Alpin counted some seven thousand members by the end of the century. But less exalted and less expensive local walking, climbing and touring clubs subscribed to the same cause. Witness the Société des Marcheurs touristes de France, set up in Bordeaux in 1885. Its end, proclaimed its statutes, was *"both patriotic and scientific, since it favors the study of our country and since, at the opportune moment, excellent guides for our armies might be recruited in its ranks"* (7).

Most specific of all these enterprises, and most clearly directed to pre-military training, were the gymnastic societies founded in great numbers *"pour rendre aux français des muscles"*. Physical training would, and should, contribute to national preparedness. Shooting clubs and gym-

nastic societies, declared a pamphlet of 1886, were the seedbeds where the young soldiers of the future could be nurtured and trained. *"Your societies"* Octave GREARD, vice-rector of the Académie de Paris reminded the Association of Gymnastic Societies of the Seine in 1898, *"were born, nearly all, under the impact of our disasters ... all imbued with the same duty."* (8).

Everyone knew that Prussian schoolmasters had been the real winners at Sedan and, somehow, Father JAHN's gymnastics seemed easier to imitate than the playing fields of Eton. So, after 1871, rifle clubs, gymnastic societies, and enterprises devoted to premilitary training spread to fulfill their patriotic mission. In Besançon they sported names like La Française, La Patriote, La Vaillante. In 1887 Bordeaux counted ten of them with titles like Patriotes bordelais and Jeunesse patriote de la Gironde, the earliest founded in 1872, the total active membership nearly eighteen hundred.

The great idea inspiring all such clubs, at least in their inception, was that of national unity and *revanche*. Most, however, soon degenerated into semisocial societies open to those who could afford not only their moderate dues, but also the costly costumes they adopted, which consisted as a rule of body-length tights, special trousers and jacket in blue or white, sports shoes, and a yachting cap or some other

suitably martial headgear. By the 1880s many who joined such gymnastic societies did so in the hope of losing weight or, more simply, because they provided convenient occasions for members to meet, wives to chat, and children to admire their fathers' prowess. Working men might occasionally be offered a separate society of their own, like La Fraternité in Bordeaux; but men who worked, when they worked, eleven or more hours a day for six or seven days a week had little time (or strength) left over for self-imposed exercise.

The champions of national revival soon realized that the campaign for physical development had to begin elsewhere, notably in the schools, where gymnastics could be taught to large numbers of the country's youth. Gymnastics had been talked about well before that time. On August 13, 1793, the Convention had approved a motion of LEPELETIER de SAINT-FARGEAU, supported by ROBESPIERRE: *"During the course of National Education, the children's time shall be divided between study, manual labor, and gymnastic exercises. If the week belongs to labor, it is good and proper that youth should rediscover corporal exercises during the days of rest."* One hears of no practical implementation of such unimpeachable sentiments.

The 1830s and 1840s had seen some desultory official gestures toward introducing physical training into the curriculum, and the Second Republic



actually passed a law on March 14, 1850, placing gymnastics among the optional subjects of primary schools. But these schools lacked the resources, let alone the rooms, for such activities. Other optional subjects, like drawing and singing, could be taught in the classroom. But games and gymnastics required space and equipment, and most schools had only narrow playgrounds. In the 1880s, as in the 1960s, a good urban primary school in Orléans boasted a yard thirty yards long and twenty-seven yards wide.

In 1853 physical training became a compulsory part of the secondary curriculum, but the new requirement was respected largely in the breach. Of seventy-seven *lycées*, thirteen had no premises available for gymnastics; thirty had some kind of gymnasium, but half of these were useless. Pursuing the principle of *la fruite en avant*, Victor DURUY's decree of February 3, 1869, made gymnastics a required subject in primary schools. But the sunset years of the Second Empire did not see the new measures progress very far. "*The urgency and even the utility of gymnastic instruction*" noted one local authority, "*do not yet seem evident.*" In the provinces many reacted as skeptically as the Conseil général of the Nièvre, which alleged the diminished respect that children would bear teachers who "*engaged in exercises where the dignity of the man associated to the child can suffer cruel failures.*" Teachers should not

be asked to step off their podium onto a playing field where they could be outrun by their charges or splashed with mud (9).

This spirit began to change after the war. The ministries of war and of public instruction discussed ways and means of avoiding a break in continuity between gymnastic training at school and in the army. A law of January 27, 1880, made gymnastic training compulsory in all public boys' schools: four half-hours of physical training and military exercises every week. "*C'est une oeuvre patriotique que nous poursuivons*" stressed Jules FERRY's Circular No. 400, March 29, 1881. Despite enduring reserves - as in Bordeaux, where municipal councilors preferred to equip a local school with a workshop rather than a gymnasium (10) - the approval of the *conseils généraux* and a swarm of newborn gymnastic societies seemed to endorse FERRY's assertion.

On July 6, 1882, a presidential decree set up *bataillons scolaires* for military and gymnastic training in all teaching establishments. The civic and patriotic instruction the schools dispensed was to be furthered in premilitary training units that would be its concrete expression. Such *bataillons* would also suit the prevailing taste for military music and display. "*C'était l'époque douce où, au dimanches soirs, / La grand'ville e'clatait de légères fanfares...*"

recalled Francis JAMMES of that time when, in the 1880s, he had been a student of the Lycée de Bordeaux. But, while Sunday tattoos met with appreciation, the attempt to provide pre-military training was destined to only partial success.

Approved by patriotic Republicans, the initiative identified with the secular and *revanchard* politics of men like GAMBETTA evoked little enthusiasm in conservative circles. Not only did teachers no longer lead the children to Mass, the Catholics complained, but "*thanks to the bataillons, to gymnastics, etc., they prevent them from attending Catechism.*" Besides, argued the ultramontane *Univiers*, even if the government taught all Frenchmen arms drill and somersaults, such methods could not forge a military force, let alone a nation. "*Corporal-instructors and perfect acrobats*" did not an army make (11).

The sartorial expense involved when the *bataillons* sought to outfit themselves with uniforms, (12) the cost of equipping the little corps with approved rifles, and the difficulty of finding retired soldiers capable of training them-discouraged goodwill. The ragged results were often more evident in the provinces. On May 15, 1883, Senator Jules STEEG wrote the prefect of the Gironde to ask why Bordeaux was so slow in setting up its *bataillons*: "*A Paris, c'est une fête lorsque tous les jeudi matins notre jeunesse parcourt*

les boulevards avec ses clairons et ses tambours: tous se précipitent pour les voir et acclamer." A decade later, in the wake of the Boulanger crisis, the *bataillons* were quietly faded out: "*une erreur patriotique*" as a sporting enthusiast would describe them in retrospect (13).

Whether for *bataillons* or for straightforward gymnastic instruction, *moniteurs* and *professeurs* were recruited in haphazard fashion and hired at cut-rate salaries: from 300 to 700 francs a year in *collèges* and 1,200 to 1,800 francs a year in *lycées*. Economically, such men were less well off than contemporary miners (1,300 to 1,500 francs a year) or village postmen (1,100 francs a year); they did not even benefit from the local prestige of village schoolteachers, whose annual salaries after 1905 ran between 1,100 and 2,200 francs. Their meager wages had to be supplemented by some other job. Fireman, janitor, shopman or petty artisan, the *professeur de gymnastique* was obviously the social inferior of his charges. Whether he took this out on them or dazzled them with acrobatic exhibitions, the few hours spent in his company left little impression. Contemporary evidence suggests that most physical training instructors were retired noncommissioned officers, some of whom had attended a three-month course at the army physical training school at Joinville. Almost all lacked any real teaching method, and their dim figures pass unrecorded but for

the boredom or the pranks they aroused (14).

Avarice could mitigate enthusiasm and affect achievement on other fronts as well. one aspect of the physical exertions involved in gymnastics as in sports was the unusual need for washing they created. This raised difficulties in a France where "*at least until 1914 people wash practically not at all, they are not in the habit of washing.*" (15).

At Sceaux, near Paris, Lakanal, which had been designed as the model *lycée* of the Third Republic, could pride itself on facilities that permitted its boarders to enjoy a footbath every week and a shower every month. But this was exceptional and most *lycées* marched their boarders to a public establishment: once a term at Orléans, once a month at Louis-le-Grand in Paris. Most *externes*, especially outside the capital, were no better provided since few private homes were equipped with bathrooms. The soiled and sweaty heroes of playing field or gymnasium could present perplexing problems.

Sporting clubs tried to provide showers on the premises for a membership who often lacked such facilities at home. One reason why, in 1889, the Bordeaux Université Club agreed to merge with the Stade Bordelais was that the latter had showers and proper changing rooms. But such luxuries called for means beyond those of

most societies and beyond the credits that municipal councils or the ministry of education would make available to the schools. The fact that gymnasiums had to be endowed with showers, therefore, made for greater cleanliness; it also restricted the number of gymnasiums and playgrounds undertaken by public and local authorities. The public health law of February 5, 1902, led to the appearance by about 1908 of departmental public health services concerning themselves with setting up public wash-places and showers. But as late as 1916 the inspector of health services in the Nièvre complained that "*no playgrounds exist, no sporting institutions for adolescents, no one thinks of sports...*" - certainly not for long, once they became aware of the costs involved. Nevertheless, it is worth remembering that, especially in backward regions like the Nièvre, the patriotic efforts of the 1880s and 1890s produced the first and for a long time the only opportunities for physical activity and hygiene.

Such ends were subordinate to that of national revival. The great Republican educational reformers were also great patriots. In 1881 Paul BERT, the minister of public instruction in GAMBETTA's short-lived cabinet, appointed Paul DEROULEDE to preside over the commission of military education of the ministry of public instruction. Its mission was to teach young Frenchmen the cult of the flag, a taste for arms, respect for

discipline, and pride in being French (16). It was DEROULEDE who organized the national shooting competitions out of which in 1886, there arose the Union des Sociétés de Tir de France. In 1885 Jean MACE, another prominent progressive figure who had begun his teaching career at Beblenheim, in lost Alsace, wrote the preface to a "*Manuel de tir à l'usage des écoles primaires*". Like his ally Fernand BUISSON, the founder of the Ligue de l'enseignement had abandoned his pacifism to encourage the *bataillons scolaires* that drilled in schoolyards with their condemned rifles.

This aspect of physical education went on riding the preparedness wave up to the eve of 1914, when we can find a man like JAURES' friend, Charles ANDLER, socialist and patriot, referring to the rivalry between Greek cities and their athletic and artistic jousts: "*The need to be constantly ready for the final and vital struggle, tempers a humanity of rare physical integrity, sober, well-trained, nervous, muscular, all made for action*". In ANDLER's mind, as in the pages of an anonymous pamphlet of 1898, "*Ludus pro patria*", the need to be prepared provided the ulterior justification of activities that - ideally - are their own ends.

There was little of play and less of ludic exuberance about such officially sponsored enterprises. French sport did not grow out of the *bataillons scolaires*. It grew

out of a rival impetus championed by men with very different ideas, like Pierre de COUBERTIN, whose name remains linked to the Olympic Games he was responsible for reviving in 1896. COUBERTIN and his friends saw athletics as a means of freeing French youth from deadening disciplines, including physical training or physical education. The divergence between official initiatives and the new wave that COUBERTIN represented is what concerns us here.

The first gymnastic society had been founded at Guebwiller, in Alsace, before the end of the Second Empire. sports, on the other hand, entered France via England. For the *fin de siècle*, the very term "sport" carried an equivocal sound. LITRE had described it as an English word and warned: *"In France, one often confuses sport and turf; but turf (racing) is only one kind of sport."* Nevertheless, to most people, the two terms remained interconnected with the *"vulgar and unpleasant"* overtones of horse racing, race courses, and betting (17). "Le Sport", *"Journal des gens du monde"*, first published in 1854, had been chiefly devoted to racing and hunting. The fashionable Société sportive de Bordeaux concerned itself solely with horse-racing. Until the turn of the century, a sportsman was usually a man who owned, rode, or betted on horses. Thus, when Léon BLUM joined Tristan BERNARD to launch a regular "Critique de Sport" in

the "Revue Blanche" of 1894, their very first article largely equated "sport" and horse racing. And the same confusion was to reappear (although slightly mitigated) in an 1897 passaged of BLUM's "Nouvelles Conversations de Goethe avec Eckermann" (18).

On a less literary or esthetic plane, contemporary publications mirror this prejudice. Louis BAUME's "Moeurs sportives" (1895) deals with racing, betting, and the race course public. Jacques LOZERE's "Sport et Sportsmen" (1896) consists of racing chronicles. That same year the only reference to sport in Henri ROCHEFORT's "Aventures de ma vie" was a comparison between the "turf" of 1865 and that of his old age, ruined by the introduction of *pari mutuel*. When in 1899-1900 Baron de VAUX published two large, magnificently illustrated volumes on "Le Sport en France et à l'étranger", the first volume (334 pages) was devoted to shooting, fencing, and the sporting activities of crowned heads; the second volume (442 pages) to riding, hunting, falconry, and "athletics". This last section, seventy-three pages long, mixed pell-mell boxing and wrestling, golf, tennis, skating, running, discus throwing, and football.

There were other sports, recognized leisure activities more or less athletic according to mood and circumstance, whose names proclaimed their English origins. The Rowing Club de Paris had been set up in 1853.

The Bordeaux Athletic Club would be founded in 1877 by fourteen British residents of the port. There were also *le yachting and le footing* (19). These activities were not taken very seriously. "It was the fashion in those days to scoff at sports", writes Guillaume APOLLINAIRE revealingly in 1907 about the mood of the 1880s (20). At least rowing, riding, and yachting were familiar, while the new games continued to seem strange. In his memoirs Pierre de COUBERTIN remembers how, in the 1890s, *le Gaulois* referred to "the long flat mallets" with which one played football. For the Bonapartist *l'Autorité*, football was played with racquets and small, hard balls. And Francisque SARCEY in "L'Echo de Paris" praised holidays spent at *jeu de paume*: "journées pleines de charme même quand on les décore du nom anglais de football" (21). By that time, as we shall shortly see, football of one sort or another had been played in France for twenty years. It would remain a quasi-confidential enterprise as long as most people continued to ignore games or regard them as fit only for children.

(1) C. G. ANDRAE "Popular Movements in Sweden", *Social Science Information*, 8, pt. 1 (1969):75.

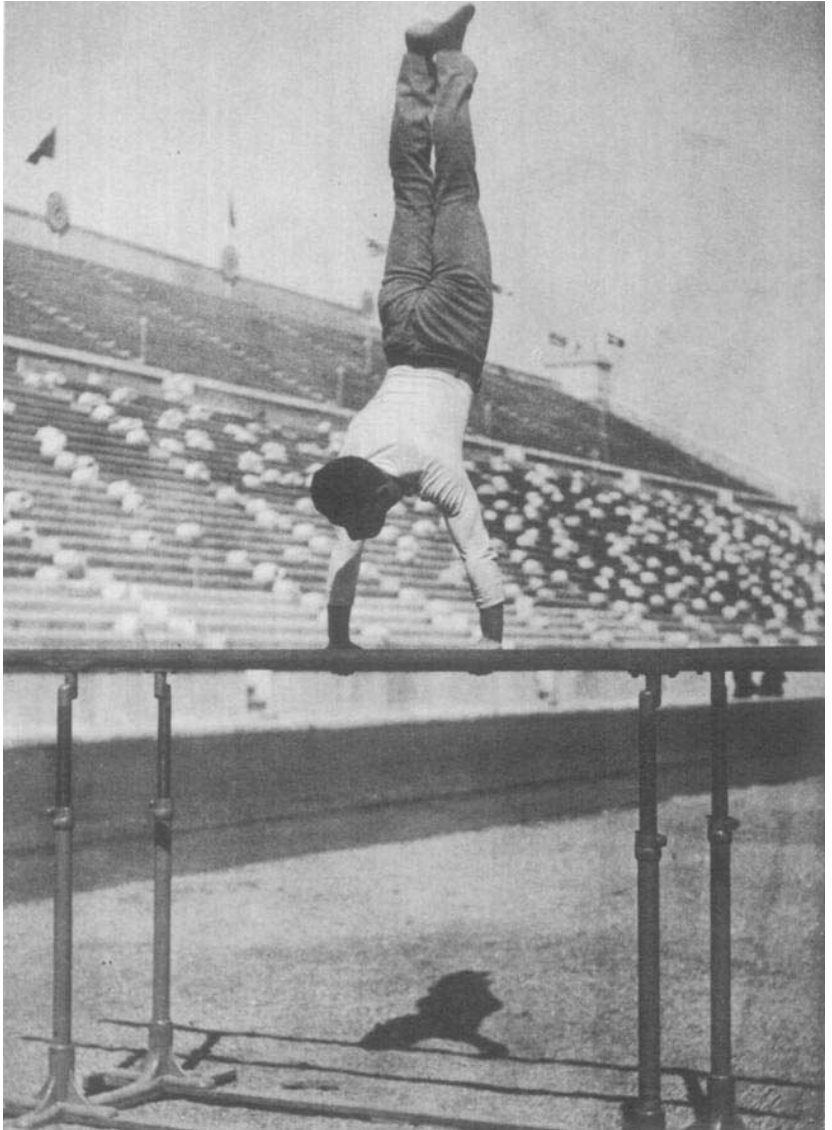
(2) In an article in February, 1884, "Journal of Education", the author could not understand "that men who know and have tasted the powers and pleasures of play should yet in cold

blood drive children into this dead and barren routine." Quoted in P. C. McINTOSH, "Physical Education in England since 1800" (London, 1968), 58. In the United States, John DEWEY omitted gymnastics from his curriculum for the excellent reason that "children do not like it."

(3) Interestingly enough, the major exception that confirms the rule appeared in workers' sporting clubs sponsored after the 1880s by the banned Social-Democrats as front organizations that held the faithful together and helped to collect funds.

(4) And thus evocations - wistful or purposive - of passing or menaced values. Thus, Charles PEGUY, speaking of work well done and the sense of workmanship for its own sake among the workers of his youth in the 1880s, compares it to the sporting spirit: "Ce que nous nommons aujourd'hui l'honneur du sport, mais en ce temps-là répandu partout. Non seulement l'idée de faire rendre le mieux, mais l'idée dans le mieux, de faire rendre le plus. Non seulement à qui ferait le mieux, mais à qui en ferait le plus, c'était un beau sport continu, qui était de toutes les heures, dont la vie même était pénétrée." "L'Argent" in "Oeuvres en Prose, 1909-1914" (Paris, 1957), 1051-52.

(5) For more detailed discussion of these social and ideological aspects see E. WEBER "Pierre de Coubertin and



the Introduction of Sport in France", *Journal of Contemporary History* 5" (1970): 3-26.

(6) Club Alpin Français, presidential address, Apr. 3, 1879, in "Annuaire" (Paris, 1880), not paginated.

(7) Archives départementales (Gironde), Sociétés sportives, unclassified. (Hereafter AD, followed by the name of the French department and the collection). The name of another walking club, l'Eclair russe, founded at Bordeaux in 1892, commemorated the Franco-Russian Convention that revanchards found so encouraging.

(8) LERMUSIAUX and TAVERNIER, "Pour la Patrie", (Paris, 1886). Octave GREARD was vice-rector of the Académie de Paris from 1879 to 1902. Antoine PROST called him the "grey eminence" of all successive ministers of public instruction during this period. "L'Enseignement en France, 1800-1967", (Paris, 1968), 224.

(9) Paul GERBOD, "La Vie quotidienne dans les lycées et les collèges au XIXe siècle", (Paris, 1968), 18; AD (Nièvre), Conseil général, Aug. 28, 1869. Compare this with an entry of 1862 in the diary of Edward THRING, the famous headmaster of Uppingham: "I could not

help thinking with some pride what headmaster of a great school had ever played a match at football before. Would either dignity or shin suffer for it? I think not." Quoted in David NEWSOME, "Godliness and Good Learning", (London, 1961), 220.

(10) See Albert SAUBESTE, "L'Ecole Pèlègrin", (Bordeaux, 1912), 215. The governors of the school felt that "(A workshop) would go much farther than any gymnastics course in satisfying the children's need for movement and physical exercise." Besides, "and above all" such a policy would avoid the risks of training "future mechanics, carpenters and masons" for positions above their station. L'Ecole Pèlègrin was an école primaire supérieure de garçons.

(11) "Bulletin de la Société d'Education et d'Enseignement", Dec. 15, 1883; "L'Univers", Jan. 27, 1882.

(12) The "Manuel général de l'instruction primaire", July, 22, 1882, described the "ensemble commode et élégant" of Paris detachments participating in July 14 festivities that year as dark blue tunic and trousers and a sailor's cap with a red pompom. It was in this uniform that the apprentices could be admired by readers of illustrated magazines (see "Le Monde Illustré", May 6, 1882), and in a number of paintings exhibited at the salon of 1885. See also Mona OZOUF, "L'Ecole, l'Eglise et la République", (Paris, 1963), 126-128.

(13) AD (Gironde), Bataillons scolaires 1881-92; Philippe TISSIE, "L'Education physique" (Paris, 1901), 6. In a less convincing version, a witness told the Royal Commission on Physical Training (1903) that the bataillons had been abandoned because children learned

not only drill "but also habits of spitting and swearing in true barrack-square manner". P. C. McINTOSH, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London, 1968), 151.

(14) For salaries, see *Revue des jeux scolaires et d'hygiène sociale*, Oct. 1908, pp. 142, 144. Raoul BLANCHARD (*Ma jeunesse sous l'aile de Péguy*, (Paris, 1961), 147), recalls the occasion in 1896 when Charles MULLER, the future author of *"A la Manière de..."*, presented the ritual good wishes of the cagne of Louis-le-Grand to their gym instructor in a speech ending "Sursum corda! Tout le monde en haut des cordages," and the instructor's delighted rejoinder: "Bravo! I didn't know that's what it meant." *Si non e vero...*

(15) Guy THUILIER, "Pour une histoire de l'hygiène corporelle" *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 46 (1968): 233, *passim*.

(16) See Paul DEROULEDE, *De l'Education militaire* (Paris, 1882). Shortly thereafter, DEROULEDE himself placed his greatest hopes in the "jeunesse des écoles gymnastes français, fils d'ouvriers ou de bourgeois, toute la France adolescente et déjà virile..." (*"Le Drapeau"* July 14, 1883). Gymnastic schools provided some of the strongest supporters of the *Ligue des patriotes*, which had been founded in a Paris gymnasium whose owner, Jules SANSBOEUF, vice-president of the Association of French Gymnastic clubs, was one of DEROULEDE's

leading lieutenants in the Ligue.

(17) "Les 'sports athlétiques', mots nouveaux, mots hostiles et barbares contre lesquels se hérissèrent les préjugés d'un Comité mal informé, enclin à ne retenir de ce terme de 'sport' que son acception vulgaire et déplaisante." *Georges BOURDON, "La Renaissance athlétique et le Racing Club de France" (Paris 1906), 126. Written by a founder-member of the Racing, BOURDON's book is one of the few authoritative sources for the events of these years.*

(18) "*Revue Blanche*", Jan. 1894; "*Oeuvres de Léon Blum*", (Paris, 1954), 1: 204-06. I am indebted for the indication to Professor Annie KRIEGEL.

(19) "La marche, qui se contente de ce substantif quand les personnages qui la cultivent sont de condition moyenne ou inférieure, prend le nom de footing quand ceux qui la pratiquent appartiennent au high-life". CRAFTY, (pseud.), "*Paris sportive*" (Paris, 1896), 23. The word rowing was also steadfastly preferred over native terms like *aviron* or *canotage*. See categories of that name in "*Les Sports athlétiques*" or even provincial publications like "*Midi-Football*" (Toulouse, 1908). The *Cyclist Club Lillois* founded in 1893, also bears the mark of English influence.

(20) "Maupassant athlète", "*La Culture physique*", no. 52, Mar. 1907.

(21) Pierre de COUBERTIN, "*Une Campagne de 21 Ans, 1887-1908*", (Paris, 1909), 85; M.-Th. EYQUEM, "*Pierre de Coubertin*", (Paris, 1966), 59.

(to be continued)

