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► **To cite this version:**

Lionel Pabion. Turning Gymnasts into Citizen-Soldiers: The Militarization of Physical Activities during the Third Republic in France (1870–1940). *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2023, 40 (2-3), pp.225-243. 10.1080/09523367.2023.2177275 . hal-04069517

HAL Id: hal-04069517

<https://hal.science/hal-04069517>

Submitted on 18 Apr 2023

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Turning gymnasts into citizen-soldiers: the militarization of physical activities during the Third Republic in France (1870-1940)

Lionel Pabion

This synthetic paper analyzes the development of the “military preparation” movement during the Third Republic, which, in turn, gives an insight into sports development in France in comparison with its neighboring countries. On the eve of the First World War, militarized physical activities were widespread in France. Gymnastics (USGF), shooting (USTF), and military preparation (USPMF) federations had more members than sports federations. The spread of training societies was linked to military and political issues, with the support of the republican government being a key explanation for the rise in the number of training societies. The latter aimed to prepare young men for military service, and turn them into French citizens. Furthermore, gymnastics and shooting societies fulfilled a social function in providing leisure activities. The distinction between sports activities and militarized activities was not always clear. Recent studies have underlined that the growth of shooting and gymnastics societies has been underestimated, especially for the interwar period. Such associations were still numerous in the 1930s. For a long time, physical activities were oriented by military or political issues, and early sports policies were mostly designed to develop militarized activities.

Keywords: Gymnastics; physical training; military preparation; First World War; France

The practice of sport was not extensive in France at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹ In 1914 there were only around 50,000 football players in France,² and the main federation for sport, *L'Union française des sociétés de sports athlétiques* (USFSA), had around 1,500 affiliated clubs on the eve of the First World War.³ At the same time, however, larger federations were structuring the field of physical activities in France. More than 3,000 societies were affiliated to the *Union des sociétés de tir de France* (USTF)⁴ and over 2,000 clubs were members of the *Union des sociétés de gymnastique de France* (USGF);⁵ *L'Union des sociétés de préparation militaire de France* (USPMF) had 1,500 affiliated clubs⁶ while the catholic federation, the *Fédération gymnique et sportive des Patronages de France* (FGSPF) also claimed 1,500 affiliated clubs.⁷ More than 10,000 gymnastics and shooting associations were officially created between 1901 and 1914.⁸ All these federations sought to prepare young men for military service, through physical exercise, gymnastics and training in shooting. These were also taught in many primary schools.⁹ “Military preparation”, as contemporaries called it, reached its peak on the eve of the First World War.¹⁰ Notably, this movement of sporting associations did not disappear after the conflict, despite the strength of pacifism. In the 1930s, there were still more than 3,500 clubs¹¹ offering “conscriptive practices”.¹²

This situation was largely due to the military position in which the French Third Republic found itself. In the wake of the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, conscription became a vital issue.¹³ Following the implementation of the “two years” military law of 1905, almost all 20-year-old men were required to undertake military service.¹⁴ It was a question of compensating for the demographic inferiority of France compared to Germany, with the aim of maintaining an equivalent number of soldiers. Physical education of the future conscripts prior to their military service was another way to

increase the military potential of the country. This aim therefore remained relevant in the interwar period.¹⁵ As a result, the association movement for military preparation was strongly supported by the republican governments from the 1880s to the 1930s. “Approved society” (“*société agréée par le gouvernement*”, *SAG*) status was created in 1908. Clubs could receive grants and subsidies. In 1937, more than 12,000 clubs still benefited from this status.¹⁶ In 1908, a military aptitude certificate (“*brevet d’aptitude militaire*”, *BAM*) was also created. It gave certain advantages to young men who agreed to prepare in these clubs before their military service. Between 1908 and 1914 alone, about 50,000 certificates were given, and in total nearly 300,000 young men were members of these associations.¹⁷ During the interwar period, about 20,000 teenagers obtained the certificate each year.¹⁸

Besides the military dimension, these associations were also favored by the republican regime in the context of secularization, particularly after the separation of the Church and State became law in 1905.¹⁹ The challenge for the republicans was also to compete with the Catholic movement, which tried to exert influence on the youth through sports and gymnastics.²⁰ Subsidies were therefore reserved for secular associations loyal to the regime. This led to the creation of some surprising hybrids of sports and militarized exercises. Gymnastics and shooting societies often organized football games before the First World War in order not only to attract young people but also to train them physically, with an educational and military perspective.²¹ Yet, a good number of sports clubs also organized militarized practices only in order to obtain subsidies.²² The Catholic federation was the most advanced in mixing sports and military practices.²³ This situation continued during the war, and in some cases even into the 1930s.

Nevertheless, few studies have given consideration to these clubs, in comparison with the quantity of available research into school physical education and sports federations. Specific studies carried out in the 1980s have not yet garnered the renewed interest they are due.²⁴ This is why the spread of training societies has often been misinterpreted. Many historians saw their reach as a manifestation of a *revanche* spirit,²⁵ fundamentally different from the practice of sports.²⁶ But gymnasts and shooters constantly asserted their pacifism. They were neither nationalists nor warmongers.²⁷ They were republicans who wanted to train strong and disciplined young citizens in collaboration with schoolteachers. The “preparatist federations”, like the USGF or the USTF, almost became republican institutions, aiming to prepare boys during the time between school and military service, hence their name. The aim was also hygienic, at a time influenced by the social reformers. Gymnastics and shooting societies were also places of sociability. These practices, despite their disciplinary aspects, could be attractive and enjoyable to young people.²⁸ Perhaps surprisingly, the Catholic societies pursued similar objectives to those of the republicans. Their aim was to train young men to serve “God and Fatherland”,²⁹ using gymnastics and sports to attract them to their associations.

This paper considers the political and military aspects of physical activities in France between 1870 and 1940. Gymnastics, shooting societies and some sports clubs participated to turn young men into citizen-soldiers. The strength of this “preparatist movement” underlines the singularity of the French physical activities field in the early 20th century, compared to its neighboring countries. The development of sport in France was deeply influenced by these military and political dimensions for a long time.

Four “preparatist federations” in particular have been examined for the present study: USTF, USGF, USPMF and FGSPF. A range of documents can be used to study

these associations. Firstly, the study of legislation and physical education policies is fundamental to understanding the appearance of these mass movements.³⁰ Secondly, federal bulletins provide a very useful resource³¹ that complements a view of physical activities in the early 20th century that is sometimes too exclusively based on sports newspapers, as the latter tend to make the militaristic and political dimensions invisible. And, finally, the archives of gymnastics and shooting societies provide essential insights into the reality of practices at the time.³²

Ludus pro patria: the influence of the preparatist federations in the field of physical and sports activities before 1914³³

Mass movements of physical and military education

USGF is one of the oldest French sports federations. The first gymnastics societies appeared in the 1860s, but the federation was not really structured until 1873³⁴. There were only about thirty clubs at the end of the 1860s.³⁵ The key figure at the time was Eugene Paz. He wrote in 1869 that “choral and gymnastics societies are trading posts, where the rich sell morality, entertainment and regeneration to the poor, and where the poor pay the rich with esteem and recognition”.³⁶ The Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 gave him the opportunity to develop the gymnastics movement, insisting on the idea of a national recovery.³⁷ The federation grew rapidly, and by 1914 more than 2,000 societies were affiliated.³⁸ Young members mainly practiced gymnastics and participated in large, uniformed parades. They also prepared for the military certificate, although the importance of the sporting dimension increased in the 1930s.³⁹ Charles Cazalet became president of the USGF in 1896 until his death in 1933. This position gave him significant political influence and he became president of the International Gymnastics Federation in 1924 until 1933.⁴⁰

The USTF was created later, in 1886. Paul Déroulède, the “Ligue des Patriotes” leader,⁴¹ was the initiator of this federation.⁴² Its growth was clearly even more rapid than that of the USGF, as the 1889 directory of the federation announces more than 1,000 affiliated clubs. In 1914, this number almost tripled. The USTF was then the largest sports federation in France, and one of the largest in Europe, claiming 400,000 members.⁴³ Many shooting societies also organized gymnastics sessions in order to prepare future conscripts for the BAM. Daniel Mérillon, who was a republican deputy, became the president of the Union in 1886. He remained in this position until his death in 1925, also acquiring significant influence. He became the first president of the International Shooting Federation in 1907.⁴⁴

A third federation devoted to physical and military education appeared later. *L'Union des sociétés d'instruction militaire* (Union of military training societies) was established in 1887. At first, its focus was on military drill. With the transformation of the federation into the USPMF in 1906, physical education became more important. Its main purpose became the preparation for the BAM after 1908.⁴⁵ About 1,500 clubs were affiliated in 1914.⁴⁶ Adolphe Chéron, a former gymnast, was the president of the federation until his death in 1951. He also developed a great political influence, becoming a deputy in 1919 until 1936.⁴⁷ This federation was so popular that a dissident leader, Lucien Lattès, formed a rival federation in 1911.⁴⁸

Before 1914, France had no specific ministry of sports. In contrast, since 1908, an under-secretary of state attached to the Minister of War directed the military training movement and distributed subsidies to associations devoted to physical activities. In this context, major preparatory federations acquired and maintained very significant influence. Preparatory union presidents were identified by the Ministers of War as important interlocutors. In 1913, an advisory committee was set up to prepare a bill in

order to make physical exercise and military preparation for young men compulsory before their military service. Chaired by Senator Paul Doumer, it was composed of some fifteen parliamentarians and military officers and included Unions leaders Daniel Mérillon (USTF), Charles Cazalet (USGF) and Adolphe Chéron (USPMF).⁴⁹ Despite the militaristic element of “preparatist federations”, they occupied a very significant position in the field of physical activities.

The institutionalization of militarized physical education: a proto-sports policy?

Military preparation therefore functioned as a form of proto-sports policy in France.⁵⁰ This process, which has profoundly structured the field of physical and sports activities, was a long-lasting phenomenon. Two successive regulations were adopted in 1885 and 1892 to regulate shooting and gymnastics societies.⁵¹ A first advantageous military certificate for gymnasts was introduced in 1900.⁵² The 1905 reform of military service (reduction in length of service, but increase in the number of conscripts) made the development of military education a more pressing issue. This explains why 1908 was a crucial date, setting the stage for the military preparation movement on the eve of the First World War, with the creation of the BAM.

“Preparatist federations” were training young men to get this certificate. It was a mixture of physical activities, close to athletics, and other more directly military practices. Applicants had to pass two 24km walking tests, shoot six bullets in standard army positions (standing, kneeling, prone) and pass a map reading test. But the tests were also physical: they had to perform six gymnastic movements, a 60m run, another run of 2km, two long and high jumps with and without a run-up. Finally, they had to pass a rope climb and a high bar pull-up test.⁵³ This diploma oriented physical activities in France towards practices that mixed sports with military exercises. Many clubs affiliated to the USFSA therefore began to practice military preparation, at least

formally, in order to receive subsidies from the government. Approval was given in 1909-1913 to sports clubs such as the Stade Bordelais Université Club, Association sportive Michelin, Union sportive Tourquennoise, Union sportive Boulonnaise, Association sportive Biterroise, Foot-Ball club de Lyon, Stade Lavallois, Club athlétique de Marseille, Sporting Club Rémois and Union sportive le Mans. More than 6,000 societies were approved between 1908 and 1914, demonstrating the success of this administrative status.⁵⁴

USTF and shooting practice: the national sport before 1914

Furthermore, the example of shooting shows the importance of militarized practices in the origins of French sports. Shooting was the national sport on the eve of 1914. Of all the sporting federations, the USTF had the greatest number of both affiliated clubs and members (3,000 clubs, and claiming 400,000 members). Only cycling could claim this title, since cyclists were very numerous and big races were organized, but the clubs were incomparably less numerous.⁵⁵ USTF was undeniably a sport federation, despite its patriotic decorum. According to Guttmann's criteria, shooting was indeed a practice with a clear sporting identity.⁵⁶ The major national and international shooting competitions organized at the beginning of the 20th century resulted from a combination of sporting specialization, bureaucratic and rationalized organization and a quest for quantifiable records. Champions emerged, and shooting was a prestigious Olympic discipline. It was a massive, popular practice that was widely spread and enjoyed the support of republican institutions.

In addition, the format of the military training certificate encouraged shooting societies to practice gymnastics and physical exercises, contributing to the spread of new practices, especially in the countryside.⁵⁷ This is shown in the associations' archives. The Meuse department, in the east of the country, was home to several

shooting societies. For example, in the small village of Trémont-sur-Saulx, a shooting society was founded in 1909. The army provided ammunition to the association so that the young men could train and pass the certificate. In order to prepare the future conscript, societies purchased gymnastic material and organized lessons in addition to shooting exercises. At the same time, the association “*La Patriote de la Saulx*” functioned as a sports club, organizing small competitions and festivities for the inhabitants. It was the only association in the village that offered physical recreation to young men before the Great War.⁵⁸

Such associations were characteristic of the years before the war. They were particularly numerous in industrial regions like the Paris region (744), the north of the country (Nord 320, Pas-de-Calais 214), the eastern border, or the Bordeaux (206) and Lyon (96) areas. This is what appears from an inventory of 6,000 “approved societies” based on the archives of the Ministry of the Interior.⁵⁹ Regions with fewer associations, such as the Massif Central, were mainly rural and agricultural. It therefore seems that sociological factors were more important than geographical ones. Young men from the working class, formed the majority of the club's membership, and girls were excluded. For example, in a sample of nearly 3,800 members of associations in the Rhône region between 1870 and 1900, 26% were shopkeepers and craftsmen, and 30% were workers.⁶⁰

Training “athletes of the Republic” on the eve of the First World War⁶¹

The significant political influence of “preparatist” federations

Military issues are not the only explanation for the emergence of these mass movements. The idea was also to offer healthy, moral leisure activities to young men. The leaders were social reformers, typical of their time.⁶² Since the end of the 19th

century, hygienism had occupied a central position in France and it was welcomed in the hope that it would regenerate the country, both physically and morally.⁶³ The aim was also to bridge the gap between school and military service, and maintain control over young men. Adolphe Chéron, for instance, proposed a model of education based on military training, but also moral and civic education, walking, shooting and gymnastics (including athletics, boxing, swimming and “sports games”). According to Chéron, “the teacher forms the child, the officer forms the man; all post-school and pre-regimental groups form the adolescent”.⁶⁴ This plurality of factors explains the support provided by the republican State. The military preparation movement fits well with republican ideology, especially for the so-called “radical republicans” (center-left party) who were in the government during the Third Republic.⁶⁵

This support was particularly visible, from a symbolic point of view, during the major ceremonies organized by the federations.⁶⁶ Starting in 1875, the USGF organized a large gymnastics festival every year. It was both a sport competition (with a prize list) and a show. According to the historian Pierre Chambat, these demonstrations were a “mixture of popular festivity and official ceremony”, a “pedagogical spectacle which took its features from military reviews, classrooms, electoral meetings and religious Mass”.⁶⁷ These were massive demonstrations: in the 1910s, they gathered between 3,000 and 5,000 gymnasts in uniform.⁶⁸ On almost all occasions the President of the Republic came to honor the festival with his presence, in order to show the government’s support. The USPMF also organized an annual event in the Tuileries Gardens in Paris. The event included a large physical education competition followed by a huge parade. President Raymond Poincaré came himself to greet gymnasts in 1914.⁶⁹ The republican state very nearly delegated to these federations the task of taking care of the physical education of masculine youth. Given the importance of these

Unions and the support of “radical” leaders, federal presidents acquired a certain political influence and largely directed public policies of physical activities.

The links between “preparatist” unions and schools

Militarized physical education was also promoted in schools. This policy was promoted from the 1880s, as soon as the republicans came to power. Léon Gambetta, one of their leaders, declared as early as 1871 that his aim was to put “the gymnast and the soldier alongside the primary school teacher”.⁷⁰ Gymnastics was made compulsory in primary schools by the “George Law” of 1880. A survey conducted in 1882 found that more than 800,000 pupils practiced disciplinary gymnastics;⁷¹ in spite of the legal obligation, many schools did not immediately implement this form of teaching.

Shooting exercises were included in the school curriculum in 1882 and 1893. 40,000 rifles were distributed to schools in the 1880s. After 1907, school shooting was widely developed. Teachers were strongly encouraged to create school and post-school shooting societies to train young men, especially in rural areas.⁷² The brief but significant experience of the school battalions was a symbol of the development of military exercises in schools.⁷³ Their withdrawal in the early 1890s symbolized a relative demilitarization of physical education, which re-emerged after the 1905 military law.⁷⁴

The preparatory unions were closely involved in this militarized school physical education. Firstly, the association leaders participated in defining the content of school physical education, in conjunction with the very influential “Ligue de l'Enseignement”. Charles Cazalet was a member of the League’s higher council from 1911.⁷⁵ The USTF organized an annual “primary schools shooting competition” until the Second World War, with the support of the school authorities. In 1914, more than 2,500 schools participated.⁷⁶ Edouard Petit, who held an important position in education

administration, was the leading figure in popular education. He sought to develop physical activities in after-school groups, to train adolescents between school and military service, in close connection with associations.⁷⁷ In a speech in 1911, he said that:

“[USPMF] is a school of citizenship. It makes soldiers for the regiment. It makes citizens for the Republic, because it teaches exercises rationally, it knows how to educate. It provides its pupils with a sense of freedom that respects the freedom of others, a sense of equality that respects recognized superiority, a sense of brotherhood that applies to effective mutual aid in the solidarity of collective work. [...] According to the plan that you have decided upon, military preparation will penetrate more and more from the towns into the countryside and, thanks to the associations of former pupils, thanks to the after-school activities, thanks to the teachers trained for their mission at the Joinville school, the hour is close when the future conscripts, “those who will be twenty years old”, will have completed the necessary apprenticeship that will make France ever stronger and more respected.”⁷⁸

This speech was very typical of the thinking of the “radical republicans”. It can also be interpreted, using Michel Foucault’s concept, as a desire to create new forms of ‘governmentality’.⁷⁹ In other words, these associations were created as government tools for educating and controlling the youth, especially young men from the working classes, supervised by middle-class and upper-middle-class leaders. These new technologies are characteristic of modern states. It was not just a matter of increasing the military value of the country. It was also a question of forming young men’s bodies and minds, following the political and moral model of the citizen-soldier. The gymnastics and shooting societies did not only have an important influence on the history of physical and sports activities. They were also a significant development in the history of social control.

The importance of competition between the republican movements and the Catholic FGSPF

The Catholic federation was also a key element for several reasons, first of which was its size. It was a large federation, with over 1,000 affiliated groups in 1914 and certainly over 150,000 members.⁸⁰ Dr Michaux, FGSPF founder and president in 1898, was an ardent patriot, exiled from Metz after the annexation by Germany in 1871, who began a kind of “sports apostolate”.⁸¹ From the outset, therefore, military preparation was an essential issue for these Catholic organizations dedicated to physical exercise. It was about serving two holy causes, “God and Fatherland”.⁸² These Catholic groups mixed sports and physical education to attract young people and maintain the influence of the Catholic Church, in the secularizing context of the “anticlerical Republic”.⁸³ Even if “the objective remained catechism and religious edification”,⁸⁴ this federation played a significant role in the history of physical activities in France, at least until the Second World War.

The government tried to limit the development of these Catholic groups, despite the significance of their military dimension, in favor of republican associations. The 1908 statute explicitly mentioned “political and religious neutrality” as a requirement of such associations.⁸⁵ Societies had to respect this neutrality to be administratively approved. The Minister of the Interior ensured this by means of administrative investigations, via the prefects. In reality, this was a way of excluding Catholic groups from receiving subsidies, and favoring republican groups. Catholic societies had therefore to operate by their own means.⁸⁶ This situation led to intense competition whereby societies emulated one another and produced a global development of associationism. There were often two rival clubs in the same town, one Catholic and one republican. These would compete to attract young people. Competition would also

lead to a number of innovations: patronages widely adopted football, contributing to its spread in France.⁸⁷

The rivalry became less intense after the First World War, since Catholics took part in the “Sacred Union”. However, it did not completely disappear. Many patronages were approved and received subsidies for military preparation. In 1924, the “Cartel des Gauches” came to power. The “radical republicans” in this government remained very anti-clerical and tried to reactivate the fight against Catholic influence, recalling the obligation of religious neutrality.⁸⁸ But the Catholic societies were by then well integrated and retained their accreditation during the interwar period.

Reorganization of physical activities in the interwar period

Physical training in postwar France

Clearly, the First World War was a major challenge for these federations. Many associations disappeared when soldiers left for the Front, and the federations themselves were severely affected. For example, Adolphe Chéron was seriously wounded in action, and was held prisoner in Germany from 1915 until the end of the war.⁸⁹ Paradoxically, despite the strong postwar pacifism, the preparatory federations were strengthened by the conflict. The Chamber of Deputies elected in 1919, known as the “Blue Horizon” Parliament after the blue of the veterans’ uniforms, was very attentive to military concerns. Several unsuccessful draft bills were proposed (1913, 1916, 1919, 1921, 1928),⁹⁰ trying to make military training for young people compulsory.⁹¹

The administrative structuring of militarized activities therefore continued during the interwar period. Physical education departments were gradually set up in every region, under the authority of an under-secretariat. Staff were mainly military, and the Joinville school⁹², with its military setting, continued to be central and influenced

sports policies.⁹³ In 1926, a High Commission in charge of “physical training, sports and military preparation” was attached directly to the cabinet of the Minister of War, Paul Painlevé, under the direction of a civilian, Jean Bourguignon. Paul Painlevé was the author of a major reform of military service in 1928 and a major figure in French defense policy.⁹⁴ This direct control by Painlevé shows the importance of the issue of military preparation at the time. There was, however, still no dedicated sports ministry in France. Despite the proliferation of sports clubs in the 1920s, particularly football clubs, militarized physical education therefore retained a significant position throughout France.

The relative decline of militarization in the late 1920s

Nevertheless, preparatory practices declined in the late 1920s. Subsidies were lacking, in a France ruined by the First World War. The demographic crisis caused by the conflict prompted the Ministry of War to reduce the military certificate’s advantages in order to avoid unbalanced recruitment, which led to a decrease in the number of gymnasts. From 1924 to 1926, the number of candidates for the military brevet dropped from 29,471 to 27,500.⁹⁵ After an upturn following the 1928 changes in military service, the number rose to 33,600, but fell again to its lowest level of 24,000 in 1934.⁹⁶

At the same time, sports became a mass activity. The symbolic milestone of 100,000 licensed football players was reached in 1928, with over 3,500 functioning clubs.⁹⁷ Sport became a mass entertainment industry. Stadiums multiplied, as did the the number of sports press publications. It was the emergence of a sport without military concerns. In this context, journalists and sports leaders began to criticize this militarized type of physical education, which appeared somewhat archaic. For example, Henri Desgrange, famous editor of the sports paper *l'Auto*, wrote that the enormous subsidies received by the "preparatist federations" were a scandal and disproportionate to the

federations' actual importance.⁹⁸ Young men, who formed most of the 'conscript associations', moved massively to sports clubs, which focused more on competition and leisure activities.

The new society's relationship with the Army was the final element in explaining this relative decline. School physical education was completely demilitarized, which removed a major source of support for the preparatory movement. Shooting training was deleted from the school curriculum in 1923. Physical education classes lasting from 1 hour 45 minutes to 2 hours were introduced.⁹⁹ Lastly, a strong anti-military trend emerged in France. Communists in particular began to criticize militarized physical exercise. The "Popular Front", an alliance of left centrists, socialists, and communists, which came to power in 1936, promoted leisure activities affordable for all, as shown by Léo Lagrange's appointment as Undersecretary of State "for the organization of leisure and sports". A "popular sports certificate" (*Brevet Sportif Populaire, BSP*) was created in 1937. The decree's document showed this growing distinction between sports and military objectives:

"Compulsory military preparation is only possible through compulsory physical education. Both institutions are complementary but do not overlap. Physical education must remain the task of teachers. Military preparation, which is fundamentally distinct, is the task of the Army's cadres".¹⁰⁰

A proto-sports policy?

In spite of this major shift, the influence of preparatory federations largely persisted, as shown by the case of Adolphe Chéron, who briefly became Under-Secretary of State for National Education, responsible for physical education, in 1933-34.¹⁰¹ As Marianne Lassus has shown, he was one of the leading political figures on these issues in the interwar period.¹⁰² Identified as a specialist, even in sports newspapers, he played a role in the construction of a sports ministry, placing military

issues at its center. Even in the 1930s, his federation had considerable power. In the midst of a financial crisis, the USPMF received considerable subsidies to renovate its building in the very heart of Paris. The building was inaugurated in 1933 in the presence of the President of the Republic, Albert Lebrun, and the Under-Secretary of State for National Education, responsible for physical education, Hippolyte Ducos.¹⁰³ This ceremony showed the influence retained by these groups.

Yet this institutional, political influence also had tangible effects, and there were many hybrids of sports and military training in France. In the 1930s, some major sports clubs still had a military training section. For example, the Olympique de Marseille football club was affiliated to the USPMF in 1930 and its military preparation section obtained some twenty military certificates that year.¹⁰⁴ In 1934, l'Association Sportive Stéphanoise was also approved and received subsidies as a result of the military certificates obtained.¹⁰⁵ These sports clubs were only supported by the government insofar as they could be useful from a military and hygienic point of view. In this perspective, military preparation can be analyzed as a kind of early sports policy, which oriented the form of physical activities.

In a tense international context at the end of the 1930s, preparatory federations were even revitalized. The number of candidates for the military certificates increased from 24,000 in 1931 to 35,817 in 1937; and went as high as 49,220 in 1938.¹⁰⁶ This can be explained by the government's desire to support the training of young men. The military certificate was reformed in 1938.¹⁰⁷ For their part, young men applied in large numbers for the certificate in order to be assigned to less dangerous positions during future conflicts thanks to the advantages granted by the certificate.

According to data provided to a Member of Parliament by the Ministry in 1937, there were then about 26,000 sports clubs, in the broad sense, throughout the country.

Of this total, about half had government-approved status (12,000). Over 3,500 clubs had obtained military certificates for their members, i.e., about 10% of the total number of sports clubs.¹⁰⁸ This was far from the decline of militarized practices during the interwar period.

As a conclusion: a French originality? Some points of comparison

It may seem interesting, in conclusion, to consider this picture of physical education in France in a broader geographic context. Of course, the aim is not to draw up a complete description of practices in Europe during the first half of the 20th century. It is rather a matter of suggesting a few points of comparison with some of France's neighboring countries (Great Britain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany), in order to highlight its original features, especially before 1914, since all these countries were democratic states.

The British context was very different before the First World War, especially from a military point of view. The absence of conscription did not produce the need for the physical and military training of young men. The Edwardian Army was essentially a professional army with very limited British troops. It was intended to be deployed rapidly all over the world, with the support of colonial troops, as a complement to naval power.¹⁰⁹ As a comparison, this fundamental difference underlines the importance of military issues in the French case, marked by the need to compensate for the demographic deficit compared with its neighbor Germany.¹¹⁰ As a result, attempts to militarize school and physical activities remained very limited in Great Britain.¹¹¹ There were debates about introducing drill in schools, but, as Alan Penn has shown, drill did not become widespread.¹¹² There were also patriotic, nationalist and militarist mass movements, such as the National Service League,¹¹³ but these remained outside the field of physical activity.

The scouting movement seems to have been the British innovation that most closely resembled the militarized physical activities in France,¹¹⁴ even if there were rather a lot of differences. The Boy Scouts did not practice the disciplined exercises of French gymnasts. Moreover, the British situation was characterized by the early development of a sports industry that was largely detached from military issues, as there were more than 500,000 football players in Britain at the beginning of the 20th century.¹¹⁵ These football clubs did not operate under the authority of the army and did not make the war one of their main concerns, despite the fact that sport was at the same time a part of military training.¹¹⁶

In Italy, conscriptive gymnastics was not very successful either. On the other hand, as in France, shooting was highly developed before the First World War. The practice developed in the 1860s, with ideological and patriotic backgrounds. Garibaldi was a central figure in the movement, like Déroutède in France. The aim was to strengthen the young Italian nation around the practice of war.¹¹⁷ There were therefore similarities in political and ideological terms. However, the practice was much more ideological than in France, where the sporting nature of shooting was much less pronounced. Moreover, the Italian state supported shooting less and less at the beginning of the century, whereas in France the USTF became a republican associative institution.¹¹⁸ In a movement similar to that witnessed in the French context, the Italian state tried to use gymnastics, especially in a school setting, to unify the nation.¹¹⁹ In the interwar period, the difference between Italy and France lay mainly in the authoritarian control of sport and leisure by the Fascist state from the 1920s,¹²⁰ whereas the French Republic remained more liberal. The French preparatist unions did not have the recruiting power of the *Opera Nazionale Balilla*.

Before 1914, shooting was also a widespread practice in Switzerland, where it remains so to this day. Here, again, the nation in arms military model largely explains why it is so relatively commonplace. The Swiss militia system was even often cited as an example by supporters of the reduction of military service in France, such as Jean Jaurès in his military reform project, “l’armée nouvelle”.¹²¹ The Swiss shooting societies also inspired the leaders of shooting in France, like Lermusiaux, one of the leaders of the USTF, who was very enthusiastic.¹²² Gymnastics also became a national sport in Switzerland, charged with a number of ideological dimensions.¹²³ But state control does not seem to have reached the same proportions as in France, particularly because the military issues were very different in the two countries.

Only in Germany was gymnastics more widespread in the early 20th century than in France. With more than one million members, the *Deutsche Turnerschaft* was the largest sports federation in the world, and it contained a significant proportion of women.¹²⁴ Gymnasts’ demonstrations of strength were impressive: 63,000 participants gathered at the *Deutsches Turnfest* in Leipzig in 1913.¹²⁵ Beyond the numbers, there were many similarities between French and German gymnasts, underlining the importance of the conscription military model, which was similar in both countries. The German *Turnen* also played a role in the cultural and patriotic unification of Germany.¹²⁶

Two major differences seemed to exist. The integration of the USGF was greater in the French republican state, while the German gymnasts were more independent, in particular with regard to the military authorities. German gymnastics was also less fundamentally oriented towards military preparation, something illustrated in particular by the much less considerable presence of weapons and shooting exercises than in France. Between the wars, the authoritarian policy of youth propaganda on the part of

the Nazis, using physical and militarized activities, created a strong contrast with the liberal situation in France.¹²⁷ This authoritarian voluntarism, as in the case of Italy, produced a certain attraction for French athletics communities, especially among leaders who were in favor of compulsory physical education.¹²⁸

Similarities can therefore be found across different European countries, although there were clear variations in national situations. In short, the originality of the French model of physical activities in the early 20th century lay above all in the importance of military aspects in those activities. The centrality of the Joinville military school and the importance of the preparatory federations were the clearest proof of it. The objective of military preparation through physical activities, sports and shooting was fully supported by the Third Republic. This characteristic provides an essential explanation for the poor development of sport in France before 1914, which remained a very limited and mostly elitist practice. Public policies were structured around military preparation rather than sports competitions, and this largely continued in the interwar period. In this way, sport remained by and large absent from French schools, at least until the Second World War.

The 1920s and 1930s were marked by a certain continuity. The French experience showed an attempt to develop a form of youth control, albeit within a democratic and liberal framework, through physical and military activities that were similar in some ways to those of fascist and Nazi dictatorships. Despite the relative failure of this attempt, which never became widespread, it illustrates the inherent temptation to use physical and sports activities in this way in modern Western European societies. The authoritarian achievements of the Vichy regime – such as the development of physical education and sport and “Chantiers de Jeunesse” – were largely part of this tradition, and were in fact only a radicalization of trends that had already been present in France

for a long time.¹²⁹ Situated in this long perspective and in a Western European framework, these experiences of control and sport militarization therefore look more understandable.

Notes

- ¹ Jean-François Loudcher, « La France au centre de la modernité sportive ? », in *Histoire du sport en France*, éd. par Philippe Tétart (Le Mans, France: Université du Maine, 2007), 106-29.
- ² Arnaud Waquet, « Football en guerre : l'acculturation sportive de la population française pendant la Grande Guerre (1914-1919) » (Thèse de doctorat, Lyon, Université Claude Bernard, 2010), 110.
- ³ *Jeux et sports dans l'histoire* (Paris, France: Éditions du CTHS, 1992), 63.
- ⁴ *Le Tir National, Organe officiel de l'Union des sociétés de Tir de France*, July 25, 1914.
- ⁵ *Le Gymnaste, Moniteur Officiel de l'Union des sociétés de gymnastique de France*, June 27, 1914.
- ⁶ *Le Soldat de demain et l'élève soldat réunis. Organe bi-mensuel de l'éducation civique et de l'éducation physique et de la préparation au service militaire. Bulletin Officiel de l'Union des sociétés de préparation militaire de France*, July 1914.
- ⁷ Laurence Munoz, *Une histoire du sport catholique : la fédération sportive et culturelle de France : 1898-2000* (Paris, France: l'Harmattan, 2003).
- ⁸ Alex Poyer, « Cyclistes en sociétés : naissance et développement du cyclisme associatif français (1867-1914) » (Thèse de doctorat, Lyon, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2000), 316-17. F. de Solières, *Annuaire général des sociétés françaises patriotiques et militaires* (Paris, France: H. Charles-Lavauzelle, 1913). In 1913, this directory made a list of 7,000 active associations related to military preparation.
- ⁹ Lionel Pabion, « L'école de la revanche ? : le tir scolaire en France (1880-1920) », *20 & 21. Revue d'histoire* 149, n° 1 (mai 2021): 95-108, <https://doi.org/10.3917/vin.149.0095>.
- ¹⁰ Lionel Pabion, « Le sport embrigadé ? Les sociétés de préparation militaire en France, des loisirs militarisés (années 1880 - années 1930) » (Thèse de doctorat en Histoire contemporaine, Lyon, Université Lumière Lyon 2, 2021), 131-46.
- ¹¹ Pabion, 259-62.

- ¹² The term “conscriptive practices” was popularized by Pierre Arnaud. See, for example: Pierre Arnaud, « La trame et la chaîne : le réseau des sociétés conscriptives (1870-1890) », *Sport histoire*, n° 1 (1988): 41-83.
- ¹³ Thomas Hippler, *Soldats et citoyens : naissance du service militaire en France et en Prusse* (Paris, France: Presses universitaires de France, 2006). This rivalry between the two continental powers was the main reason for the extension of conscription armies during the nineteenth century.
- ¹⁴ Annie Crépin, *Histoire de la conscription*, éd. par Martine Allaire (Paris, France: Gallimard, 2009).
- ¹⁵ A bill was proposed in 1928 to make military preparation mandatory for young men. The minister at the time, Paul Painlevé, was not against this idea. See “Proposition de loi au Sénat, n. 184”, February 28, 1928. Service Historique de la Défense, GR 6N 401, “Préparation militaire (1919-1936)”.
- ¹⁶ As reported by the Minister in response to a parliamentary question: *Journal Officiel*, Chambre des députés, July 29, 1937, p. 2287; August 22, 1937, p. 2299.
- ¹⁷ Pabion, « Le sport embrigadé ? Les sociétés de préparation militaire en France, des loisirs militarisés (années 1880 - années 1930) », 139-41.
- ¹⁸ Pabion, 256-59.
- ¹⁹ Rachel Chrastil, *Organizing for War: France, 1870-1914* (Baton Rouge, USA: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 13.
- ²⁰ The social influence exerted by the Church on the youth took different forms, and not only physical activities. Gérard Cholvy, éd., *Le patronage, ghetto ou vivier ?* (Paris, France: Nouvelle Cité, 1988).
- ²¹ The most prominent example of this hybridization was the USPMF. See Lionel Pabion, « “L’Union Chéron” : le sport en uniforme (1906-1939) », *Staps* 127, n° 1 (2020): 29-43.
- ²² See Paul Dietschy, *Le sport et la Grande Guerre* (Paris, France: Chistera, 2018), 63-69.
- ²³ The importance of Catholic associations in the development of soccer in France is well known. See, for example: Laurence Munoz et Philippe Tétart, « Les Fédérations catholique et socialiste (fin XIXe siècle-1939) : un creuset de popularisation du sport ? », in *Histoire du sport en France*, éd. par Philippe Tétart (Le Mans, France: Université du Maine, 2007), 129-54.
- ²⁴ During the 1980s, several historians became interested in these issues, including Pierre Arnaud, Marcel Spivak, Pierre Chambat and Richard Holt. Since then, the subject seems to have been relatively neglected, despite a renewed interest in the theme of militarization linked to the centenary of the First World War (see, for exemple: Luc Robène, éd., *Le*

sport et la guerre XIXe et XXe siècles (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012); Patrick Clastres, « Culture de paix et culture de guerre. Pierre de Coubertin et le Comité International olympique de 1910 à 1920 », *Guerres mondiales et conflits contemporains* 251, n° 3 (2013): 95-114.

- ²⁵ See, for example: Richard Holt, *Sport and Society in Modern France* (Basingstoke, Great-Britain: MacMillan, 1981), 46.
- ²⁶ This was especially true in Pierre Arnaud's work. For example, his diagram that distinguishes three types of sociability (sports, conscriptive practices, recreational practices). Pierre Arnaud, « Le sportman, l'écolier, le gymnaste. La mise en forme scolaire de la culture physique » (Thèse de doctorat d'état Sciences de l'éducation, Université Lyon 2, 1986), 146.
- ²⁷ The idea of "revenge" has also been widely criticized in French political history. It is in fact a kind of historiography myth, constructed retrospectively after the First World War. Bertrand Joly, « La France et la Revanche (1871-1914) », *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, n° 46 (2) (1999): 325-47.
- ²⁸ Rachel Chrastil, « Military Preparation in Peacetime: Training Societies, 1871–92 », *Dix-Neuf* 4, n° 1 (2005): 35-51.
- ²⁹ Fabien Grøeninger, *Sport, religion et nation : la Fédération des patronages de France d'une guerre mondiale à l'autre* (Paris, France: l'Harmattan, 2004).
- ³⁰ The administrative procedure of "agrément" has been extensively documented. Firstly, the documents of the Ministry of the Interior are an important source: Archives Nationales (A.N.) F/1CI/201, "Extraits des rapports des préfets. Sociétés de tir et de préparation militaire. (1909-1910)". A.N. F/7/12811, "Sociétés de préparation militaire (1909-1913)". The Under-Secretariat attached to the Minister of War has also left many interesting documents concerning the physical activities of that time: Service Historique de la Défense (SHD) 5 N 270, "Organisation de l'éducation physique et de la préparation militaire (1916, 1920)". S.H.D. 7N 4237, "Bureau des écoles. Section d'instruction physique". S.H.D. 9N 14, "Direction de l'Infanterie, Section d'entraînement physique et préparation militaire (1912-1914)". S.H.D. GR 2I 358, "Sociétés agréées (1882-1914)". S.H.D. GR 2I 359, "Sociétés agréées de tir et sociétés scolaires de tir". S.H.D. GR 6N 401, "Préparation militaire (1919-1936)". Finally, the archives of the cabinet for physical education, sports and military preparation, under the authority of the Minister of War from 1926 to 1929, are particularly well preserved: A.N., 313AP/272-298, "Archives de Jean Bourguignon directeur du cabinet de l'Éducation physique, des sports et de la préparation militaire".

- ³¹ *Le Gymnaste* (USGF) 1882-1940, *Le Tir national* (USTF) 1891-1940, *Le Soldat de demain* (USPMF) 1908-1940, *Les Jeunes* (FGSPF) 1904-1940.
- ³² Several associational archives are available, especially in the departments of eastern France, such as Meuse or Vosges. See, for example: archives départementales de la Meuse (A.D.M.): A.D.M. E-Dépôt 269/194-206 “Morley, société de tir et de préparation militaire des sapeurs-pompiers (1906-1946)”; A.D.M. E-dépôt 395/107 “Société de tir: la Patriote de la Saulx ; membres (1906)”, A.D.M. E-dépôt 395/77 “Société de tir ‘La Patriote de la Saulx’: statuts, concours, matériel, adhérents, divers (1906-1939)”. Archives départementales des Vosges (A.D.V.) 30J “Société de tir la Vigilante, de Dommartin-lès-Remiremont (1909-2003)”, A.D.V. 273J “Société mixte de tir et de préparation militaire la Fraternelle de Basse-sur-le-Rupt (1899-1925) », A.D.V. 304J « Fonds de la société de tir du Val d’Allarmont et de Vexaincourt ([1909]-1937)”.
- ³³ “*Ludus pro patria*” was USFSA’s motto when it was founded.
- ³⁴ Thierry Terret, *Histoire du sport* (Paris, France: PUF, 2016), 24-26.
- ³⁵ Pierre Arnaud, *Le militaire, l’écolier, le gymnaste. Naissance de l’éducation physique en France, 1869-1889* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1991), 138-39.
- ³⁶ Eugène Paz, *Documents pour servir à l’histoire de la gymnastique en France* (Paris, France, 1881), 21, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb31070967q>.
- ³⁷ Claude Digeon, *La crise allemande de la pensée française (1870-1914)* (Paris, France: Presses universitaires de France, 1992).
- ³⁸ Benoît Lecoq, « Les sociétés de gymnastique et de tir dans la France républicaine (1870-1914) », *Revue historique* CCLXXVI (1986): 159.
- ³⁹ Benoît Caritey, « De la gymnastique conscriptive à la gymnastique sportive (1919-1939), l’exemple de la fédération des sociétés de gymnastique d’Alsace », *Movement & Sport Sciences - Science & Motricité*, n° 40 (2000): 3-9.
- ⁴⁰ Jean-Paul Callède, « Charles Cazalet (1858-1933), patron bordelais. Philanthropie, réseaux d’action sociale et modernisation de la vie locale », *Bulletin d’Histoire de la Sécurité Sociale*, 1999, 47-76.
- ⁴¹ Bertrand Joly, *Déroulède : l’inventeur du nationalisme français* (Paris, France: Perrin, 1998).
- ⁴² William Charpier, « Joseph Sansbœuf (1848-1938). Itinéraire d’un gymnaste alsacien engagé. (De l’AGA à la LNEP en passant par la LDP) », *Staps* 56, n° 3 (2001): 19-32; Pabion, « Le sport embrigadé ? Les sociétés de préparation militaire en France, des loisirs militarisés (années 1880 - années 1930) », 66-69.

- ⁴³ Isidore Tournan, deputy, noted 560,000 shooters in 1913. *Journal Officiel*, Chambre des députés, 10/07/1913, p. 2570. This number seems exaggerated, but it gives an idea of how widespread the practice was.
- ⁴⁴ Database of holders of the Legion of Honour (*Legion d'honneur*). Base Léonore: file LH/1837/22.
- ⁴⁵ The beginnings of the federation are recounted in a yearbook published in 1923. USEPPSM, *Annuaire du Soldat de Demain*, 1923.
- ⁴⁶ Henri Bunle, « L'éducation physique et les sports athlétiques en France », *Journal de la société statistique de Paris* 63 (1922): 127-54.
- ⁴⁷ Pabion, « "L'Union Chéron" ».
- ⁴⁸ It was called "National Federation of Military Training Societies of France and the Colonies" (*Fédération nationale des sociétés de préparation militaire de France et des colonies*). Lattès also attracted a lot of support among the republican political elites. See the federation's publication, "Towards the Army" (*Vers l'Armée*).
- ⁴⁹ Decree, May 29, 1913; Ministerial order, May 31, 1913. *Journal Officiel, lois et décrets*, June 3, 1913, pp. 4780-4781.
- ⁵⁰ Benoît Caritey, « Les sociétés agréées (1908-1940) : prémices d'une politique sportive », *Stadion*, n° 27 (2001): 33-42.
- ⁵¹ Ministerial Order, October 9, 1885. *Bulletin officiel du Ministère de l'Intérieur*, 1885, p. 124; Ministerial Order, April 29, 1892 « sur l'organisation et le fonctionnement des sociétés de tir et de gymnastique ». *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 28-47.
- ⁵² *Journal Officiel*, lois et décrets, September 3, 1900, p. 5925.
- ⁵³ *Journal Officiel*, lois et décrets, November 26, 1908, p. 7986.
- ⁵⁴ Archives nationales, F/7/12811, "Sociétés de préparation militaire, 1909-1913".
- ⁵⁵ Alex Poyer, *Les premiers temps des véloci-clubs : apparition et diffusion du cyclisme associatif français entre 1867 et 1914* (Paris, France: l'Harmattan, 2003).
- ⁵⁶ Allen Guttmann, *From ritual to record: the nature of modern sports* (New York, USA: Columbia University Press, 2004).
- ⁵⁷ See Lionel Pabion, « Les mairies et les sociétés de préparation militaire : aux sources des sociabilités sportives en milieu rural. Le cas de la Drôme et de l'Ardèche (1880-1914) », in *Les édiles au stade*, éd. par Philippe Tétart et Sylvain Villaret, PUR, 2020, 383-404.
- ⁵⁸ Archives départementales de la Meuse, E-dépôt 395/77, E-dépôt 395/107.
- ⁵⁹ A.N. F/7/12811, « Sociétés de préparation militaire (1909-1913). »

- ⁶⁰ Archives départementales du Rhône, A.D.R. 4 M 537- 540, 4 M 543- 569. These are lists of members produced by the prefectural administration, as it was usual before the 1901 law on freedom of association.
- ⁶¹ The pioneering collective work that remains the main reference on this issue is: Pierre Arnaud, éd., *Les athlètes de la république. Gymnastique, sport et idéologie républicaine 1870-1914*, Espaces et temps du sport (Paris, France: l'Harmattan, 1987).
- ⁶² Hygienism occupied a central place in the concerns of the social elites of the time. See Christian Topalov, éd., *Laboratoires du nouveau siècle : la nébuleuse réformatrice et ses réseaux en France, 1880-1914* (Paris, France: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1999). It was also an important issue from a military point of view: Anne Rasmussen, « Préserver le capital humain », *Mil neuf cent. Revue d'histoire intellectuelle*, n° 33 (2015): 71-95.
- ⁶³ Marcel Spivak, « Un concept mythologique de la Troisième République : le renforcement du capital humain », *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 4, n° 2 (1987): 155-76.
- ⁶⁴ This speech was given in 1905. Adolphe Chéron, *Discours de M. Adolphe Chéron* (Paris, France: H. Charles-Lavauzelle, 1914), 68.
- ⁶⁵ Pierre Chambat, « Les muscles de Marianne », in *Aimez-vous les stades ? Les origines des politiques sportives en France 1870-1930*, éd. par Alain Ehrenberg (Paris, France: Recherches, 1980), 139-84.
- ⁶⁶ Rémi Dalisson, *Célébrer la nation. Les fêtes nationales en France de 1789 à nos jours* (Paris, France: Nouveau Monde, 2009), 259-65.
- ⁶⁷ Pierre Chambat, « Les fêtes de la discipline. Gymnastique et politique en France (1879-1914) », in *La Naissance du mouvement sportif associatif en France. Sociabilités et formes de pratiques sportives*, éd. par Jean Camy et Pierre Arnaud (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1986), 88.
- ⁶⁸ Benoît Caritey et Michael Krüger, « Les fêtes nationales de gymnastique en Allemagne et en France (1860-1914) », in *Les politiques au stade : étude comparée des manifestations sportives du XIXe au XXIe siècle*, éd. par Benoît Caritey, André Gounot, et Denis Jallat, Histoire (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007), 31-54, <http://books.openedition.org/pur/6503>.
- ⁶⁹ The scene is recounted in the federal periodical: *Le Soldat de demain*, July 1914.
- ⁷⁰ Léon Gambetta, *Discours et plaidoyers politiques de M. Gambetta. 2e partie* (Paris, France: G. Charpentier, 1880), 22-23.
- ⁷¹ Louis Armagnac, « L'enseignement militaire à l'école », *La Revue pédagogique* 2 (1882): 111-27.
- ⁷² Pabion, « L'école de la revanche ? »

- ⁷³ Philippe Marchand, « Les petits soldats de demain : les bataillons scolaires dans le département du Nord, 1882-1892 », *Revue du Nord* LXVII (septembre 1985): 769-803; Albert Bourzac, *Les bataillons scolaires, 1880-1891 : l'éducation militaire à l'école de la République* (Paris, France: L'Harmattan, 2004).
- ⁷⁴ Jean-François Chanet, « Pour la Patrie, par l'École ou par l'Épée ? L'école face au tournant nationaliste », *Mil neuf cent. Revue d'histoire intellectuelle*, n° 19 (2001): 127-44.
- ⁷⁵ Callède, « Charles Cazalet (1858-1933), patron bordelais. Philanthropie, réseaux d'action sociale et modernisation de la vie locale ».
- ⁷⁶ *Le Tir national*, April 4, 1914.
- ⁷⁷ Jean-François Condette, « De l'école au régiment. Le réveil de l'éducation populaire républicaine (1894-1897) », in *Histoire de l'éducation populaire. 1815-1945 : perspectives françaises et internationales*, éd. par Carole Christen et Laurent Besse (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2017), 221-36.
- ⁷⁸ *Le Soldat de demain*, December 1911.
- ⁷⁹ Michel Foucault, *Sécurité, territoire, population : cours au Collège de France (1977-1978)*, éd. par François Ewald, Alessandro Fontana, et Michel Senellart (Paris, France: Seuil, 2004).
- ⁸⁰ Munoz, *La fédération des patronages, lien institutionnel entre le sport et le catholicisme en France (1898-2000) / Laurence Klein (Munoz)*. -.
- ⁸¹ Patrick Clastres et Paul Dietschy, *Sport, culture et société en France : du XIXe siècle à nos jours* (Paris, France: Hachette supérieur, 2006), 50.
- ⁸² Grøeninger, *Sport, religion et nation*.
- ⁸³ Jacqueline Lalouette, *La république anticléricale : XIXe-XXe siècles*, L'univers historique (Paris, France: Seuil, 2002).
- ⁸⁴ Grøeninger, *Sport, religion et nation*, 26.
- ⁸⁵ "Instruction relative à l'organisation et au fonctionnement des sociétés de préparation et de perfectionnement militaires et à la délivrance du brevet d'aptitude militaire, 8 novembre 1908", *Journal officiel*, November 26, 1908.
- ⁸⁶ Catholic groups were also under intense surveillance, under the supervision of the Minister of the Interior. A.N. F/7/13214, "Mouvement catholique. Sociétés de gymnastique et de tir et patronages cléricaux dans les départements (1907-1925)".
- ⁸⁷ Alfred Wahl, *Les archives du football : sport et société en France, 1880-1980* (Paris, France: Gallimard, 1989).
- ⁸⁸ Ministry of the Interior's memorandum dated October 29, 1924.
- ⁸⁹ *Le Soldat de demain*, January 1919.

- ⁹⁰ Draft bills from November 4, 1913, June 30, 1916, May 23, 1919, April 13, 1921 and March 13, 1928.
- ⁹¹ See Daphné Bolz et Jean Saint-Martin, « Physical education and bodily strengthening on either side of the Rhine: a transnational history of the French bill on physical education and its German reception (1920-1921) », *Sport in History*, 2021, 1-27.
- ⁹² **The Joinville School, created in 1852, was the army regiment responsible for research and training in physical exercises in the Army.**
- ⁹³ Marianne Lassus, *Jeunesse et sports : l'invention d'un ministère (1928-1948)*, éd. par Comité d'histoire des ministères chargés de la jeunesse et des sports (Paris, France: Insep-éditions, 2017).
- ⁹⁴ He launched the project to build the Maginot Line and stayed in office almost continuously from 1925 to 1929. Anne-Laure Anizan, *Paul Painlevé : science et politique de la Belle Époque aux années trente* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 361-88.
- ⁹⁵ As reported in a document from Ministry of War (May 22, 1925). S.H.D. GR 6N 401, « Préparation militaire (1919-1936) ».
- ⁹⁶ According to data provided by the Ministry. « Sports et loisirs », *Documentation de statistique sociale et économique IX*, n° 73 (1939).
- ⁹⁷ *L'Auto*, August 4, 1929.
- ⁹⁸ Henri Desgrange, « A quand la fin du scandale ? », *L'Auto*, January 19, 1926.
- ⁹⁹ *Journal Officiel*, lois et décrets, February 25, 1923, p. 1857-1859.
- ¹⁰⁰ *Impressions : projets, propositions, rapports*, Sénat, May 20, 1937.
- ¹⁰¹ Marcel Oger, one of the journalists of the largest sports daily in France, *l'Auto*, referred to him as “someone from the house” (*quelqu'un du bâtiment*), in other words, as one of the sports leaders. *L'Auto*, November 28, 1933.
- ¹⁰² Lassus, *Jeunesse et sports*, 50-53.
- ¹⁰³ *Le Journal*, February 19, 1933.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Le Soldat de demain*, March 1931.
- ¹⁰⁵ Archives départementales de la Loire, T 687, “Sports : associations, demandes de subventions (1925-1940)”.
- ¹⁰⁶ « Sports et loisirs ».
- ¹⁰⁷ Ministerial order, July 26, 1938.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Journal Officiel*, Chambre des députés, July 1937, pp. 2287-2288 ; August 22, 1937, p. 2299.
- ¹⁰⁹ David G. Chandler et I. F. W. Beckett, éd., *The Oxford History of the British Army* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

- ¹¹⁰ For example, Adolphe Chéron wrote in 1921 that “physical culture, by improving the quality of the population [*race*], compensates for its insufficiency in quantity [...] A numerous and strong population [*race*] would make a respected nation, and this nation would exercise without risk, for the benefit of all, the most peaceful influence”. *Le Soldat de demain*, August 1921.
- ¹¹¹ Richard Holt, « Contrasting Nationalisms: Sport, Militarism and the Unitary State in Britain and France Before 1914 », *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 12, n° 2 (1995): 39-54.
- ¹¹² Alan Penn, *Targeting Schools : Drill, Militarism and Imperialism* (Londres: Routledge, 1999).
- ¹¹³ Roger T. Stearn, « 'The Last Glorious Campaign' : Lord Roberts, the National Service League and Compulsory Military Training, 1902-1914 », *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 87, n° 352 (2009): 312-30.
- ¹¹⁴ Allen Warren, « Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900- 1920 », *The English Historical Review* 101, n° 399 (1986): 376-98.
- ¹¹⁵ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford, Great-Britain: Clarendon Press, 1993), 135-36.
- ¹¹⁶ J.D. Campbell, « 'Training for Sport Is Training for War' : Sport and the Transformation of the British Army, 1860–1914 », *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 2007, 21-58.
- ¹¹⁷ Ilaria Porciani, *La festa della nazione: rappresentazione dello Stato e spazi sociali nell'Italia unita*, Saggi 462 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997), 63-96.
- ¹¹⁸ Gilles Pécout, « Les sociétés de tir dans l'Italie unifiée de la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle », *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome* 102, n° 2 (1990): 533-676.
- ¹¹⁹ Paolo Alfieri, « La ginnastica come disciplina della scuola elementare negli anni dell'unificazione italiana. Una proposta di «ri-contestualizzazione» storiografica », *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación* 4, n° 2 (1 juillet 2017): 187; Fabrizio La Manna, « Dalla scuola all'esercito », *Diacronie. Studi di Storia Contemporanea*, n° 34, 2 (2018).
- ¹²⁰ Paul Dietschy, « Sport, éducation physique et fascisme sous le regard de l'historien », *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, n° 55-3 (2008): 61-84.
- ¹²¹ Jean Jaurès, *L'Armée nouvelle* (Paris, France: J. Rouff, 1911).
- ¹²² Adolphe Tavernier et Florimond Lermusiaux, *Pour la patrie ! Origine, histoire, but, fondation et constitution des sociétés de tir en France et à l'étranger, précédé d'une lettre autographe de Paul Déroulède* (Paris, France: A. Lévy, 1886), <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb314373470>.

- ¹²³ Gil Mayencourt et Grégory Quin, « From Mandatory School Gymnastics to Physical Training for Youth. How the Société Fédérale de Gymnastique Became a “Gymnastic State” Dedicated to the Physical Preparation of Swiss Youth From 1873 to 1907 », *Frontiers in Sports and Active Living* 3 (2021): 1-17.
- ¹²⁴ Ute Frevert, « Citoyenneté, identités de genre et service militaire en Allemagne (XIXe – XXe siècle) », *Clio*, n° 20 (2004): 71-96.
- ¹²⁵ Caritey et Krüger, « Les fêtes nationales de gymnastique en Allemagne et en France (1860-1914) ».
- ¹²⁶ George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich* (New York, USA, Howard Fertig, 1975); Michael Krüger, « Body Culture and Nation Building: The History of Gymnastics in Germany in the Period of Its Foundation as a Nation-State », *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 13, n° 3 (décembre 1996): 409-17; Svenja Goltermann, « Exercise and Perfection: Embodying the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Germany », *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire* 11, n° 3 (janvier 2004): 333-46.
- ¹²⁷ Michael Krüger, « Gymnastik, Turnen, Spiel und Sport im 20. Jahrhundert », in *Grundlagen von Sport und Sportwissenschaft* (Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg, 2018), 1-16.
- ¹²⁸ Jean Saint-Martin, *L'éducation physique à l'épreuve de la nation : 1918-1939* (Paris, France: Vuibert, 2005). One example is George Barthélémy, who travelled around the country in the 1930s to produce extensive reports for Parliament.
- ¹²⁹ Jean-Louis Gay-Lescot, *Sport et éducation sous Vichy 1940-1944* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1991), 211. “Vichy's EGS [general and sports education (*éducation générale et sportive*)] was not an accident. It was neither a complete break with previous years, nor was it without consequences”.