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A tale of clubs, pitches and men. How association football took root in the Lake Geneva region (1860s–1910s)

Philippe Vonnard  ^{a,b}

^aContemporary History Department, University of Fribourg, Fribourg, Switzerland; ^bSport Institute, University of Lausanne, Lausanne, Switzerland



ABSTRACT

‘Tomorrow, Thursday, at 3pm, a football match will take place on the Plaine de Plainpalais, between 11 English from Lausanne and Geneva’. This brief notice, published in January 1869 in *Le Journal de Genève*, may be one of the earliest mentions in the area’s press of a new ball game – football. Although the chronology of association football’s ‘cultural transfer’ to Switzerland and the conditions that facilitated the game’s introduction to the country are well-documented, the game’s adoption by the local population remains under-researched. Based on extensive empirical research combining original archive materials and articles from contemporary generalist and sports newspapers, the present study explored the factors that led young men in Geneva and Lausanne to embrace a foreign game. It also examined two less-well studied aspects of the game’s early history in Europe: the difficulty of finding places to play football in urban areas and the profiles of football’s first leaders. The results extend previous research on the creation of the first football clubs (association or rugby) outside Great Britain and on the history of associations in Switzerland.

KEYWORDS History; cultural transfer; association football; Lake Geneva

Introduction

‘Tomorrow, Thursday, at 3pm, a football match will take place on the Plaine de Plainpalais, between 11 English from Lausanne and Geneva’.¹ This brief notice in the 20 January 1869 edition of *Le Journal de Genève* may be one of the earliest mentions in the area’s press of a new ball game – football. That the notice was published in English attests to the fact that it was British citizens (businessmen, engineers, students and tourists) staying in

CONTACT Philippe Vonnard  philippe.vonnard@unil.ch  Sport Institute, University of Lausanne, Bâtiment Synathlon, Dr. Philippe Vonnard, 1015 Lausanne, Switzerland

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the area who introduced football (association or rugby) to the shores of Lake Geneva, as was the case in many other parts of the world.

The chronology of association football's 'cultural transfer'² to Switzerland and the conditions that facilitated the game's introduction to the country are well-documented,³ but the game's adoption by the local population remains under-researched.⁴ The Geneva-Lausanne area is an interesting case because these two cities – together with Basel, St. Gallen and Zurich – were at the forefront of establishing football (association and rugby) in Switzerland in the late-nineteenth-century, alongside many other modern sports, including athletics, cycling, rowing and tennis. Whichever form it took, football came to the shores of Lake Geneva very early in the sport's development, allowing Paul Dietschy to call Switzerland 'the cradle of football's development in continental Europe'.⁵

There were many reasons for this, including the existence of a luxury tourism industry,⁶ the presence of numerous internationally renowned boarding schools,⁷ and the willingness of local promoters to launch exhibitions and competitions (in cycling, tennis and winter sports).⁸ Association football's early history in Geneva and Lausanne provides insights into how an imported game requiring large amounts of space could become established in urban areas. Football's parallel and interconnected development in Geneva and Lausanne allows these two cities, the largest beside Lake Geneva, to be studied together, despite differences in their demographic, economic and social structures.

The present study's aims were to identify the factors that led the local male population to embrace a foreign game,⁹ to provide further insights into the creation of the first football clubs (association or rugby) outside Great Britain and to add to research on the history of associations in Switzerland.¹⁰ It also explored two less-well researched aspects of football's early history in Europe: the difficulty of finding places to play football in urban areas and the profiles of football's first leaders.¹¹ As Eric Passavant and Julien Sorez noted, the limited amount of space available within urban areas leads to competition between different uses, so it is not always easy to find space for a football pitch.¹² This was certainly the case in late-nineteenth-century Geneva and Lausanne, which raises two questions: Where did people play football in the game's earliest days? And when were relatively large expanses of urban real estate first set aside almost exclusively for playing association football? For the profiles of football's first leaders, the present study builds on previous research on football's leaders in Switzerland by addressing the following three questions.¹³ What were the backgrounds of the men (they were all men) responsible for establishing football in Geneva and in Lausanne? Why did they give their time to developing association football? And did the social class of men promoting association football change between the 1860s-1870s and the eve of

World War I, by which time the game had become firmly anchored in the local social fabric?

To address these questions, I drew on previously unstudied documents held in local, cantonal and national government archives (e.g. administrative documents for the cities and cantons concerned, documents relating to secondary education) and in private archives (e.g. student societies, boarding schools, sports clubs). I combined these data with information drawn from the *Gazette de Lausanne* and *Tribune de Genève*, the cities' main daily newspapers at the time; *La Suisse sportive*, a sports newspaper that was first published in Geneva in 1897; and local clubs' commemorative albums. Finally, I obtained invaluable biographical information about football's early leaders from the 'Fabrique des sports nationaux' database.¹⁴

The results provide an overview of football's early history in the Geneva-Lausanne area. In Section 1 of this paper, I describe the chronology of the creation of the area's first football clubs within the context of the two cities' expansion during the late nineteenth century. I then discuss the difficulties football clubs had in finding places to play (Section 2) and look at the social backgrounds of association football's leaders during this pioneering period in the sport's history in Geneva and Lausanne (Section 3).

Adopting a foreign game

Profound changes to economic production and an accompanying rural exodus led to intense urbanisation within Switzerland during the last three decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Geneva and Lausanne were in the vanguard of this process and expanded rapidly, gradually taking the form they have today. Geneva's population rose from approximately 75,000 in 1880 to more than 115,000 thirty years later,¹⁶ while Lausanne, Switzerland's fastest growing city alongside St. Gallen, saw its population double over the same period to reach 65,000 in 1910.¹⁷

Football (association and rugby) undoubtedly benefitted from these demographic changes because most of the modern sports that emerged at this time first developed in urban areas. The Lake Geneva area clearly illustrates this fact, as it was the lake's towns and cities that first embraced a wide range of foreign sports, alongside the well-established practise of associative gymnastics.¹⁸ This process was largely driven by the proprietors of Lausanne and Montreux's new luxury hotels, who catered to their clientele's demands by providing private facilities for an-ever wider selection of activities, initially summer sports (notably tennis) and then, as of the 1880s, winter sports (e.g. ice skating).¹⁹ Swimming also became popular in Geneva and Lausanne at this time, with many people taking up the sport for medical reasons. Indeed, swimming's development was not due solely to the proximity of

the lake; it was also facilitated by the cities' internationally renowned medical/well-being spas (Pâquis and Haldimand baths, respectively),²⁰ which gradually turned themselves into more general leisure facilities.²¹ Foreign tourists and businessmen visiting Geneva introduced cycling, a sport that was already popular in London and Paris, leading to a 7-fold increase in the number of bicycles in the canton (from 900 to 6,500) between 1892 and 1897.²² Competition cycling was particularly well-developed (road racing had begun in the 1870s and a first velodrome was built in 1892), but cycle touring, boosted by the foundation of *Touring Club Suisse* (TCS) in 1896, was also popular, especially with the economic elite.²³ By the 1880s Geneva's cycling enthusiasts had begun taking an interest in other sports, especially one that was spreading rapidly – football.²⁴

Contemporary newspaper articles show that Geneva and Lausanne's British residents were already playing football in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Many of these games involved teams from the same city, but matches between teams from Geneva and Lausanne also took place, thanks in large part to the railway line between the two cities, which opened in 1858.²⁵ The absence of fixed rules for the game, even in England,²⁶ means it is difficult to know exactly what type of football was played, but the fashionable game in Geneva appears to have been closer to rugby than to association football.

Historians have highlighted the importance of private schools in establishing football in Switzerland, just as they had in Great Britain, at least according to the 'orthodox' interpretation of football's beginnings.²⁷ Some of the area's boarding schools had international reputations, most notably Lausanne's *Villa Ouchy*, run by Max Auckenthaler, and Geneva's *Institut du Château de Lancy*, run by Charles Haccius, and many had British teachers who believed strongly in the benefits of exercise and encouraged their schools to integrate modern sports into their programmes. Unsurprisingly, therefore, some of these boarding schools had football (association or rugby) teams.

Frequent matches between boarding schools and teams of British (predominantly English) players gave momentum to football, which at the time was played from October to April. As elsewhere in Europe, the British played a key role in introducing football (association or rugby) to Switzerland, and Geneva and Lausanne's British residents were particularly influential in this respect due to their large numbers and social position. In addition to upper- and middle-class tourists attracted by Lake Geneva's climate and landscape (especially the neighbouring Alps, which held a great fascination at this time), the expatriate population included students attending local boarding schools and members of the professional classes. Notable among this latter group were engineers, especially technical advisors for railway construction, a field for which Switzerland provided a veritable testing ground as

of the 1860s. Lengths of stay varied according to the reason for the visit, but many foreigners took up residence for several months or even several years, bringing with them a lifestyle that the local business and political elites considered the height of modernity.²⁸

A letter from Rodney Alfrey to Lausanne's mayor, dated 21 September 1867, confirms football's early arrival in the Geneva-Lausanne area. The letter was a request from a 'football society'²⁹ of around 20 players who wanted permission to play football in the Montbenon area of Lausanne city centre on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays (during the autumn and winter). The letter does not name the club, but Lausanne already had a Cricket and Football Club,³⁰ whose members could play cricket and tennis in summer and football (probably a version similar to association football) in winter.³¹ Although a British cricket club had existed since the 1850s,³² a notice in the 18 November 1885 edition of *Le Journal de Genève* suggests that British players gathered on a more informal basis to play football on the Plaine de Plainpalais two or three times a week (generally Thursdays and Saturdays) during the autumn and winter. The notice, inserted by an English expatriate, reads: 'Allow me to use your columns to remind young members of the English colony that we are counting on them for the grand Foot-ball match that will take place on Thursday at 3 o'clock on the Plaine de Plainpalais, in order to restore our colours, which were humiliated last Thursday by the Genevans' victory'.³³

Even though Geneva and Lausanne's boarding schools and British residents had created a favourable climate for establishing football, local people still had to adopt the game for it to truly take root in the area. How did this occur? First, during this early period in football's development, the British were often on the lookout for new disciples to make up the numbers for matches. Because games were generally played in the afternoons by young men from the higher echelons of society, new recruits would primarily have been drawn from among local students.³⁴ The writer Edmond Gilliard recalled how he and two friends joined a football team 'called Lausanne' (probably the Lausanne Cricket and Football Club team) via the intermediary of their Latin teacher at the *Gymnase Classique*, who had connections to the city's British community through his English wife.³⁵

Reports in local newspapers show that some matches attracted 'large' crowds', but they did not stipulate whether large meant a few dozen people or a few hundred.³⁶ In addition to players' friends and curious passers-by, these crowds would have included young people from the neighbourhoods in which the matches were played. Jean Narbel, who helped found *FC Montriond* in 1896, reminisced on how he began playing football:

During our gentle Saturday strolls, we sometimes stopped to watch the young Englishmen from the great boarding schools play football ... Together, on the

edge of the pitch, we spent long moments watching the matches and we got to know the rules of the game better and better. From there it was but a small step to say: 'Why don't we play, too?'³⁷

Although Geneva and Lausanne were expanding quickly, they were still quite small cities, so information travelled fast among the young bourgeoisie, who were keen to embrace all things modern. Did schools also contribute to this process? In his now-classic book, *Les archives du football*, Alfred Wahl showed that 'high schools, middle schools and teacher-training schools' played an important role in establishing football in France.³⁸ This was also the case in Geneva and Lausanne, as the area's first homegrown teams were formed in the cities' high schools and vocational schools. At first, it seems that the initiative for creating teams came from students,³⁹ rather than teachers, as local schools do not appear to have begun encouraging such initiatives until the 1900s, when football had become more established in the city. Even then, they expected teams to play within the school. In fact, school governors and the political authorities saw the game's increasing popularity as cause for concern. In its Management Report for 1901, Lausanne City Council stressed the need 'to put a brake on the game of football, which has become the passion of Lausanne's schoolboys', because it was 'too tiring and too exciting to be played during school time'.⁴⁰ Consequently, schools' motivations for becoming involved in football were partly to control how often students played and, possibly, to teach them how to conduct themselves.

Middle schools, high schools and universities seem to have been key places because they brought these young people together.⁴¹ *Servette Football Club*, for example, was an indirect product of the education system, as it was founded by a group of students from Geneva's vocational high school in 1890. Within a decade it had become the city's largest club. *FC Montriond*, the ancestor of *Lausanne-Sports* (which became Lausanne's leading club during the 1920s), also came into being at about this time, founded by a group of young people with similar social backgrounds, some of whom (e.g. Jean Narbel and Eugène Rey) were still at secondary school.

Clubs created by locals played a key role in anchoring football in the two cities. Indeed, local players saw their clubs as more than just temporary amusements; they wanted them to last. This was in stark contrast to the teams formed by British residents and, to a lesser extent, the area's boarding schools, which had relatively informal structures and a high turnover of players.⁴² Moreover, football matches may have provided a new way of playing out local rivalries between young people from different neighbourhoods or institutions (student societies, middle schools), with each group wanting to form its own team. Clubs distinguished themselves from their competitors by adopting uniforms, sashes or flags, a common practice

among many other types of society at the time (cycling, brass bands and, more generally, student societies).⁴³ Local footballers also had different notions of the football season to the British and boarding-school players who had inspired them. The British played football (and sports such as ice hockey and skiing) only in the winter, reserving the summer season for sports such as mountaineering, athletics, swimming and tennis. The local teams soon wanted to play football all year round, which meant finding regular opponents.

The early years of the twentieth century saw a surge in local youngsters' interest in association football. Although there was a certain amount of resistance to football's growing popularity from the leaders of gymnastics (Switzerland's most popular sport at the time), most grassroots sports enthusiasts accepted the new game, and the two sports' devotees often worked together.⁴⁴ The enthusiasm for football led to the first matches between teams of local players and boarding schools, a trend that was encouraged by the creation of local competitions (e.g. the Dewar Cup in Geneva) and a national championship (starting officially with the 1898–1899 season) organised by the Swiss Football Association (*Association Suisse de football*, ASF), which had been created in 1895.⁴⁵

In contrast to rugby, which had fallen out of favour by the 1900s, interest in association football continued to grow, and Geneva and Lausanne's main football clubs were now attracting several dozen members,⁴⁶ or more. If an article in the 8 October 1904 edition of *La Tribune de Lausanne* is to be believed, *FC Montriond* had almost 300 members (players and non-players) and five teams in the national championship's three divisions.⁴⁷ Thus, football seems to have been well established in Geneva and Lausanne at the beginning of the twentieth century – each city had about a dozen clubs⁴⁸ – but a question remained: Where could football be played?

Finding a home in the city

Alfrey's abovementioned letter to the mayor of Lausanne refers to a major problem for Geneva and Lausanne's first footballers: finding somewhere to play. As *La Suisse sportive* noted in 1897, a football pitch (association or rugby) is 'approximately 100 metres long and 50 metres wide',⁴⁹ and such large areas of unoccupied land were rare in Geneva and Lausanne during the last third of the nineteenth century, when both cities were growing rapidly. Even when footballers found a suitable site, they had to obtain permission to play there from either the local authority or the private landowner. These practical and administrative hurdles were compounded by the fact that many people did not understand football or dismissed the game because of its foreign origins.⁵⁰

A sentence in *Servette FC*'s first annual report, written by the club's president, Paul Ackermann, illustrates the problems Geneva and Lausanne's pioneering football teams faced: 'One Thursday morning, shortly after our society's foundation, the owner of the land on which we played [Wendt Field] arrived and moved us on, saying he did not want us ruining his meadow'.⁵¹ *Servette FC*'s young members had no choice but to find another pitch, a far from straightforward task. The club eventually found a suitable space on the Plaine de Plainpalais, an 80,000 m² stretch of land on the edge of Geneva, part of which had been set aside as a public park.⁵² Plainpalais had been the scene of regular football (rugby and association) and cricket matches since the 1870s, apparently with the local council's consent,⁵³ but the teams that played there lost their pitches when Geneva hosted Switzerland's third National Exhibition in 1896, an event that attracted more than two million visitors over 131 days.

One solution for football teams was to find a private landowner who would make land available for matches. For example, the Parc de la Garance, which was owned by Daniel Fitzgerald Packenham Barton, the British Consul in Geneva, was one of the first places in Geneva to have true football (with painted lines and wooden goal posts) and cricket pitches. Another possibility was to play in the grounds of a local boarding school (such as *Institut La Châteline* in Geneva or *Institut Longchamp* in Lausanne). However, not all these schools had their own premises, and those that had to rent or acquire premises from the local authorities (e.g. *Villa Ouchy* in 1894) were often unwilling to give up their land, even temporarily, to other local teams.⁵⁴

Finding somewhere to play their next few matches was football clubs' immediate priority, but it was important for their long-term futures to find pitches they could use for many years. *FC Montriond*'s tribulations are typical of the hurdles Lausanne's early footballers had to overcome.⁵⁵ The club was formed by a group of young men from the middle-class neighbourhoods near Lausanne train station, so it would have been logical for it to play its matches in the grounds of *Villa Ouchy*, close to today's Milan Park (opened in 1908), which was then mostly fields.⁵⁶ Indeed, the club played a few games on *Villa Ouchy*'s pitch, but it soon had to move to the Beaulieu area, north of the city. Beaulieu appears to have been a football hub (undoubtedly association football) in the late nineteenth century, as so many teams played there that other matches often occupied all the available space.⁵⁷ When this occurred, *FC Montriond* had to move a little further up the hill, to a field close to the army barracks. For reasons I have not yet been able to determine, the club moved to the Montchoisi neighbourhood (south east of the city) in about 1902, where it played its first Swiss championship matches (*FC Montriond* was admitted to the ASF in 1902 and began playing in the ASF championship) and where it hoped to find a

permanent home.⁵⁸ However, this area between the station and the lake was prime development land, and *FC Montriond* had to move again in 1903–1904.

The club's next home was in the Malley neighbourhood, a sparsely built-up area to the west of the city. Because *FC Montriond* was a member of the ASF, its playing area had to comply with ASF rules. This meant having a properly demarcated playing area, with lines marked on the grass to indicate the pitch boundary and other areas of play, notably the penalty area, and erecting a fence to separate the pitch from the surrounding land. Nevertheless, the team soon had to pack their bags again, as the Malley site was engulfed by new factories, workers' housing and a municipal gasworks.⁵⁹

Following long discussions with the city authorities, and with the help of the public works department's secretary – who apparently played for the club⁶⁰ – *FC Montriond* was able to move back to the city heights, this time to the Plaines du Loup, just a few dozen metres from where it had played at the start of the decade. The site it rented from Association Sportive de la Pontaise, which had a contract with the city,⁶¹ became the club's permanent home, thereby ending an odyssey that had lasted almost 10 years.

FC Montriond's peregrinations, which were probably more complex than the itinerary described here,⁶² illustrates the problems clubs had in finding places to play and why they had to move so often. It also explains the frequent mismatches between a club's name, generally adopted when it was founded, and its current home. Paradoxically, the difficulties clubs had in finding a permanent base probably helped to propagate football across the two cities, as the teams' frequent moves spread awareness of the game, even if they were often forced out of built-up areas. Because there were not yet any changing rooms, players had to get changed beside the pitch or in neighbouring bars and cafés, which quickly became post-match watering holes.⁶³ Moreover, the separation from their home neighbourhoods and the lack of pitches encouraged some clubs to merge, thereby creating more solid entities with more members, stronger finances and, in some cases, stronger political connections.

Football's increasing popularity forced the local authorities to pay greater attention to the game at a time when there was growing interest in developing sports facilities in general. The Swiss government had been encouraging towns and cities to build gymnasiums since the mid-1870s,⁶⁴ but demand for other types of sports facility was also growing. One of the first purpose-built sports facilities in the area, in addition to the baths and tennis courts mentioned above, was the velodrome at La Jonction, in Geneva. Built in 1896 by a local entrepreneur called Charles Henneberg, *La Jonction* quickly became one of Switzerland's most important track-cycling venues.⁶⁵

Prior to that, an ambitious project to build a park with a racecourse and pitches for 'games'⁶⁶ (meaning cricket and football) in the Montriond area of

Lausanne in 1886 shows that there was already local demand for facilities for modern sports. A few years later, at the end of the nineteenth century, the local press reported a project to create a sports complex at Les Charmilles, which had once had a horse-racing track. Although this project did not come to fruition, in around 1900 Les Charmilles became *Servette FC*'s new home and the site of what can be considered Geneva's first true football stadium.⁶⁷ Spectators in the stadium's modest stand (built in 1903), which had space for just a few dozen people, witnessed many of the Swiss national team's first matches, including Switzerland's first ever game, against France, in March 1908. In the case of *FC Montriond*, the club built a grandstand at its Plaines du Loup ground in 1912 and two years later the municipal council 'took on the construction of the first changing rooms and showers'.⁶⁸ This was the first stage in the construction of the Pontaise sports complex, which in the 1920s comprised a football stadium, a velodrome and several tennis courts.⁶⁹

The early histories of Geneva and Lausanne's first clubs show that they gradually managed to reserve dedicated areas for playing football within the cities during the first decade of the twentieth century. These areas were initially on the edges of the cities (as was the case in Basel and Bern),⁷⁰ and it was not until the interwar period that urban development gradually engulfed the stadiums.

Finally, football's development within urban areas was undoubtedly helped by improvements in public transport.⁷¹ Geneva focused on trams and had built 130 km of tracks by the beginning of the twentieth century, giving it one of the best networks in Europe.⁷² Lausanne, which lies on a slope, built a funicular railway ('La Ficelle') between the lakeshore and the city centre in 1877, followed by a tram network (in 1896) and another funicular (in 1899), this time between the city centre and Sauvabelin, a hill to the north of the city. Sauvabelin soon became a leisure destination for local people and its artificial lake was popular with ice skaters in winter, especially on Sundays, which were now a day of rest for most of the city's workers.⁷³

Despite this generally favourable context, clubs gradually had to rely upon prominent local figures to improve football's status and to obtain more permanent homes, which often meant reaching agreements with the local authorities. This observation raises another question: Who were football's first leaders in Geneva and Lausanne?

The profiles of the game's first promoters

Although the last two decades have produced a few studies of Swiss football's first leaders,⁷⁴ this topic remains under researched compared with the recent historiographical reassessment of the central figures ('elites') in Geneva and Lausanne's late-nineteenth-century economic growth, including bankers,⁷⁵

members of the tourism sector⁷⁶ and philanthropists.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, it is worth looking at the individual and collective biographies of football's pioneers because support from prominent figures was essential to establishing the game in the area so quickly, even given the favourable context. Football's first promoters – all of whom were men – came from four categories of people: boarding school principals, foreign residents, local middle-class youngsters and local students.

Jérôme Gogniat has already described the contribution made by two boarding school principals in Geneva: Charles Haccius (*Château de Lancy*) and Charles Thudichum (*Institut de la Châtelaine*). Gogniat noted the importance many of these boarding schools accorded to exercise and sport because: 'as well as their physical benefits for students, sports activities were also an essential part of these young, high-society girls' and boys' future socialisation'.⁷⁸ Max Auckenthaler, *Villa Ouchy's* headmaster, played a similar role in Lausanne. Born in Hanover and brought up in Pully, a small town near Lausanne, Auckenthaler studied at the University of Lausanne, in Germany (he obtained a doctorate from the University of Jena) and in England, where he tried several new sports.⁷⁹ Coming from a family of sportsmen, he believed strongly in the benefits of modern sports, which he actively promoted, as did his brother Oscar and his son Frédéric. Max held various positions in Lausanne's sporting community (most notably as a founder member of *Lausanne Rowing Club*) and presided the 1913 Olympic Congress held in Lausanne. Oscar was a key figure in developing ice hockey in the region,⁸⁰ and Frédéric, followed in his father's Olympic footsteps to become the International Olympic Committee's first chancellor in 1922.⁸¹ Boarding school principals such as Auckenthaler were well-known and respected figures in their communities, so, even though their interest in sport was primarily educational, they were often asked to contribute to other sporting projects or to help set up clubs or societies.⁸²

Most of the expatriates involved in promoting sport were English.⁸³ Among the students, businessmen, entrepreneurs and tourists who visited Switzerland and who dabbled in modern sports, it was, quite naturally, those who resided in Geneva or Lausanne the longest who contributed most to the area's clubs. Sportsmen, a category that has been thoroughly studied, also played an important role in gaining acceptance for modern sports. Although often considered mere leisure activities, Pierre Lanfranchi noted that, in this context, doing sports was 'a way of displaying and following a way of life and a social choice, notably to express opposition to xenophobic and protectionist currents'.⁸⁴ Sports were enjoyed as part of a social round that included activities such as tea parties, card games and attending balls. Thomas Lawton Kilham and Richard Stanley Taylor, both leading members of *Lausanne Cricket and Football Club*, were two such sportsmen.

Kilham, a keen summer mountaineer, was the club's president in the 1890s⁸⁵ and secretary of Christ Church – the English Episcopalian church built in 1878.⁸⁶ He later became director of the English Naval and Military Academy and was an important enough figure in Lausanne's British community to be one of the few people Queen Victoria received when she visited the city (by train) in the spring of 1890.⁸⁷ Taylor, who played tennis and golf in summer, succeeded Kilham as secretary of Christ Church in 1896. He was also a founding member of Lausanne's English and American Club, whose goal was to 'provide a meeting place for its members and English-speaking people who live in or who are passing through Lausanne or the surrounding area'.⁸⁸ In 1906, he became secretary of the board of the Anglo-American Club of Geneva's future golf coars (18 holes).⁸⁹

But the English were not the only foreigners to promote modern sports and, more generally, a sporting lifestyle in Geneva and Lausanne. The Swedish-born aristocrat Axel de Reuterskiöld arrived in Lausanne when he was 9 years old, accompanied by his mother, who was a member of the very grand De Cerjat family. Well-integrated into Lausanne's British community,⁹⁰ he became treasurer of Christ Church and was a member of the English and American Club. He was also involved with Lausanne Rowing Club⁹¹ and helped found the *Lawn-Tennis Club*, as well as running *Lausanne Cricket and Football Club*'s secretariat during the 1890s. In Geneva, Dr Isaak Aimé Schwob, a doctor at the French consulate (like his father before him), was very active in cycling and helped create both *Geneva Bicycle Club* and the *Union Velocipédique Genevoise* (UVG). He later helped found Switzerland's national Olympic committee (1912).⁹² Schwob was a man with enormous social capital thanks to his voluntary work, which resulted in him becoming very well connected with many of Geneva's most prominent philanthropists⁹³ and the city's Jewish community.⁹⁴ De Reuterskiöld and Schwob contributed to association football's adoption by local people, as their social status and networks of contacts allowed them to act as bridges between expatriate footballers and locals, who began taking up this foreign game in the 1890s.

These locals included young aristocrats who had discovered modern sports while studying in England and who had returned to Switzerland with the necessary equipment.⁹⁵ More importantly for football's future development, many local middle-class youngsters were also keen to take up modern sports. Given their unstinting efforts to establish these new sports and their contacts with people like de Reuterskiöld and Schwob, it can be argued that it was these middle-class sportsmen who did the most to root modern sports in the Geneva-Lausanne area.

François-Jean Dégerine's career illustrates this well. The son of a baker and himself a baker by training, Dégerine came from a very different social milieu to the boarding school principals and British expatriates who had originally done the most to promote modern sports. He began his

sporting career by racing in the velodromes at *Varembé* and *La Jonction* and soon became a champion cyclist – cycling was the first professional sport and therefore attracted many people of Dégerine's age and social class. But Dégerine was not just a great cyclist; he was an excellent all-round sportsman who went on to become a leading figure in Genevan rugby football, captaining Geneva against Lyon in a match in 1896 that attracted several hundred spectators.⁹⁶ However, rugby struggled to take hold in Switzerland, even in Geneva, so Dégerine turned to association football, where he also made his mark. After helping to found *FC Stellula* and *Racing-Club de Genève*, he joined *Servette FC* in the early 1900s.⁹⁷ Although I have been unable to find details of how Dégerine came to rugby and then association football, it may have been via cycling, as Geneva's racing cyclists were very open to other sports, particularly those played outside the cycling season. For example, the sports complex envisaged by *Bicycle-Club de Genève's* sports commission in 1889 included provision for several sports, not just cycling.⁹⁸ In collaboration with Aimé Schwob, Dégerine founded *La Suisse sportive*, Romandy's first weekly sports newspaper, whose columns he used to push for the creation of a Swiss football championship. He had, in fact, begun his working career as a columnist for *La Pédale*, the newspaper of the *Union Vélocipédique Genevoise* (UVG).

Geneva and Lausanne's school and college students, who founded several new clubs during the 1890s, form the fourth and final category of people who helped establish football in the area.⁹⁹ For example, *Servette FC* was founded in 1890 by five classmates from Geneva's *Ecole Professionnelle* (Paul Emile Bally, Albert and Emile Fiala, Charles Liomin, Marc Perrenod) when they were still only between 14 and 17 years old. The school students who founded *FC Montriond* in Lausanne in 1896, notably Maurice and Louis Ramelet, Albert Klunge and Jean Narbel, were a similar age. Their addresses and family names are not those of Geneva and Lausanne's grand families, which suggests that they were all members of the middle classes. Although some of them went on to successful professional careers (e.g. Jean Narbel became a doctor, a position that served his club in return), more prominent society figures began to become involved in football clubs during the 1900s, once they had become more structured and football had become better established.

The early pioneers, who were now university students or starting their professional careers (often in the profession *liberale*), began working closely with prominent local figures. In 1900, Gustave Hentsch, a member of the eminent Hentsch banking family, joined *Servette FC*. Then aged 20, he quickly became captain of the first team and later of the second team, but, most importantly, he used his network of contacts and his influence in financial (and political) circles to advance the club's interests.¹⁰⁰ Another important change that occurred at this time was that clubs began appointing men of Hentsch's social standing as their presidents. These

prominent society figures were prepared to fulfil the role for much longer periods than their middle-class predecessors. Aimé Schwob, for example, became president of *Servette FC* in 1900, a position he held for the next 12 years. Baron de Reuterskiöld served as *FC Montriond's* president from 1908 to 1914, whereas his predecessor, an engineer called Louis Berthod, had stepped down after just two years (1906–1907). Schwob and de Reuterskiöld used their wealth and their positions within Geneva and Lausanne's business and political elites to help their clubs,¹⁰¹ so it is certainly no coincidence that these clubs managed to persuade the local authorities to grant them more permanent premises during Schwob and de Reuterskiöld's presidencies.

Conclusion

The current study retraced the early history of football in the Geneva-Lausanne area, starting from the premise that this region helped pioneer the game's introduction to Europe. The results confirm and expand the findings of previous studies by showing that British (especially English) expatriates and the area's boarding schools played important roles in importing the game. Football quickly became popular with local secondary school students, notably during the 1890s, and it was thanks to the actions of these middle-class youngsters (they were mostly between 15 and 18 years old) that football became established in the area. Indeed, the clubs they founded galvanised football (which became ever closer to modern association football) by playing the game all year round and creating local rivalries.

My research also highlighted the difficulties early footballers (all of whom were men) had in finding somewhere to play (e.g. La Garance in Geneva, *Villa Longchamp* in Lausanne). Clubs frequently had to negotiate with the local authorities for permission to use sites, which they often had to share with other clubs. These sites, which were on the outskirts of the cities, gradually became more established and provided the main local clubs with long-term homes. The lack of suitable pitches also encouraged mergers between clubs, thereby helping to create more robust entities, such as *Servette FC* and *Urania Genève Sports* in Geneva and *FC Montriond* (then renamed *Montriond-sport* and finally *Lausanne-sports*) and *Stade Lausanne* in Lausanne.

In each city, well-known sportsmen (e.g. François-Jean Dégerine in Geneva) worked tirelessly to develop the game. They also helped seal alliances with prominent figures from society's upper classes (e.g. Aimé Schwob in Geneva, Axel de Reuterskiöld in Lausanne), whose financial and social standing made it easier for clubs to reach agreements with the local authorities and whose presence greatly facilitated the game's establishment.

Other aspects of football's development in the Geneva-Lausanne area not covered by the present study include the role played by religion (e.g. the

members of Christ Church in Lausanne) and the impact of philanthropy. Indeed, Aimé Schwob was very active in Geneva's philanthropic circles, and *FC Montriond* organised several 'philanthropic' tombolas and rummage sales to support charities that helped the poor (e.g. by organising holiday camps for children or running school kitchens).¹⁰² Was it a way for local elites to try and improve the morals and health of the lower classes?¹⁰³ This avenue remains to be explored, but it shows that other factors need to be taken into account to understand association football's rapid spread across every level of Geneva and Lausanne society during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Last but not least, the Geneva-Lausanne area is an interesting case to study because several men who learnt to play football in these cities later helped spread the game throughout Europe. Indeed, it could be argued that the Lake Geneva area was a key hub for football's development in Europe. For example, it was undoubtedly not just by chance that Walther Bensemann, a tireless promoter of football at the end of the nineteenth century, chose Montreux for his first club, which he founded in 1888, after spending time in England.¹⁰⁴

Notes

1. 'Football', *Journal de Genève*, 20 January 1869.
2. Defined as the passage 'of a cultural object from one context to another [that] results in a transformation in the object's meaning, a resemantization process'. Michel Espagne, 'La notion de transfert culturel', *Revue Sciences/Lettres* 1 (2013) [published online].
3. Christian Koller, 'Sport Transfer Over the Channel: Elitist Migration and the Advent of Football and Ice Hockey in Switzerland', *Sport in Society* 20, no. 10 (2017): 1390–1404.
4. Thanks to the historian Hans-Dieter Gerber, the city of Basel is currently the most thoroughly researched case. Hans-Dieter Gerber, 'Fussball in Basel von den Anfängen bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Alterumskunde* 107 (2007): 10–33.
5. Translation by the author. Paul Dietschy, *Histoire du football* (Paris: Perrin, 2014), 111.
6. Cédric Humair, Marc Gigase, Guigoz Julie Lapointe, and Stefano Sulmoni, *Système touristique et culture technique dans l'arc lémanique : analyse d'une success story et de ses effets sur l'économie régionale (1852–1914)* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2014).
7. Jérôme Gogniat, 'L'éducation des corps dans les pensionnats et l'émergence du sport en Suisse au tournant du XIXe siècle', in *Faire corps. Temps, lieux et gens*, eds. Monica Aceti, Christophe Jaccoud, and Laurent Tissot (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2018), 45–58.
8. Fabien Favre and Philippe Vonnard, 'Un tourisme sportif?: le rôle des hôteliers dans l'apparition des sports dans la région de Montreux (1880–1914)', *Revue historique vaudoise* 123 (2015): 219–33.
9. None of the documents examined mention women.

10. Given the paucity of research on sports sociability in the nineteenth century, Hans-Ulrich Jost's opening remarks written in 1998 remain interesting avenues for study: Hans-Ulrich Jost, 'Leibeserziehung und Sport im Rahmen des Vereinswesens der Schweiz', *Traverse. Revue d'histoire* 5, no. 3 (1998): 33–44.
11. Sources of inspiration include Christiane Eisenberg, *English sports' und deutsche Bürger. Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte 1800–1939* (Schöningh: Paderborn 1999); Julien Sorez, *Le football dans Paris et ses banlieues. Un sport devenu spectacle* (Rennes: PUR, 2013); Tony Collins, *How Football Began. A Global History of How the World's Football Codes Were Born* (London: Routledge, 2019).
12. Eric Passavant and Julien Sorez, 'Le ballon de la discorde. Sociohistoire du football dans l'espace public urbain', *Histoire urbaine* 57, no. 1 (2020): 109–31.
13. For example, Hans-Dieter Gerber's previously cited research on Basel and, more recently, Jérôme Gogniat's studies of the principals of Geneva's boarding schools: Gogniat, 'L'éducation des corps dans les pensionnats'. Similarly, Benjamin Zumwald's investigation of Pastor Paul Pettavel's work at La Chaux-de-Fonds provides welcome insights into the role of religious organisations: Benjamin Zumwald, 'Les fidèles du ballon rond. L'Union Chrétienne de Jeunes Gens et la création du FC La Chaux-de-Fonds', in *Histoire du sport en Suisse. États des lieux et perspective*, eds. Thomas Buset, Michael Jucker, and Christian Koller (Neuchâtel: CIES, 2019), 101–17.
14. The data were initially collected for the 'La Fabrique des sports nationaux' database, which lists 850 leaders of Swiss sport (between 1860 and 1939), including approximately 150 members of the board of the Swiss Football Association (between 1895 and 1939). These data are currently in a process of transfer to the public data base from Observatoire suisse des élites (OBELIS), held at the University of Lausanne [<https://www2.unil.ch/elitessuisses/index.php>]. Further data for the present study was collected by investigating the presidents of the area's two main clubs between the 1890s and 1910s: *Football Club Montriond* (Lausanne) and *Servette Football Club* (Geneva).
15. For more on this process, see: François Walter, *La Suisse urbaine. 1750–1950* (Geneva: Ed. Zoé, 1994).
16. Martine Piguët, Jean Terrier, Charles Bonnet, Liliane Mottu-Weber, Irène Herrmann, and Charles Heimberg: 'Genève (commune)', in *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse (DHS)*, 7 February 2018. Online: <https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/002903/2018-02-07/> (accessed June 5, 2022).
17. André Lasserre, 'La croissance et ses problèmes (1845–1914)', in *Histoire de Lausanne*, ed. Jean Charles Biaudet (Lausanne: Payot, 1982), 304.
18. Véronique Czaka, *Histoire sociale et genrée de l'éducation physique en Suisse romande (milieu du XIXe siècle – début du XXe siècle)* (Alphil, Neuchâtel, 2022), 37–68.
19. See for instance: Susan Barton, *Healthy Living in the Alps: The Origins of Winter Tourism in Switzerland, 1860–1914* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2008); Laurent Tissot and Grégoire Schneider, 'Hôtel et sport: quelles relations? L'exemple de la Suisse alpine (XIXe siècle – 1954)', *Entreprises et Histoire* 4, no. 93 (2018): 12–26.
20. For more on medicine at Lausanne, see: Guy Saudan, *La médecine à Lausanne du XVIe au XXe siècle* (Lausanne: Editions du Verseau, 1991).

21. In 1893, Lausanne's Haldimand Baths moved into a new building in which the spa built one of Switzerland's first indoor swimming pools. Marie Gabaglio, 'Emergence et développement du tennis à Lausanne', in *Architecture de poche. Lausanne – Ville sportive*, eds. Catherine Schmutz-Nicod and Grégory Quin (Berne: SHAS), 32–33.
22. Olivier Perroux and Gérard Duc, 'Du dangereux vélocipède au vertueux vélo', *Les chemins et l'histoire* 2 (2012): 24. https://www.unige.ch/rectorat/maison-histoire/files/4114/0975/1692/2012_2_wg_DucPerroux.pdf (accessed May 10, 2022).
23. Gil Mayencourt, 'Les débuts du Touring Club Suisse à Genève : le tourisme vélocipédique et la mobilité cycliste à l'aune de l'entreprise privée et publique (1896–1920)', in *Sports et entreprises. La performance en jeu*, eds. Thomas Busset and Laurent Tissot (CIES: Neuchâtel, 2020), 45.
24. Thanks to Gil Mayencourt for this information.
25. Gérard Duc noted 'although the train began democratizing travel, this democratization remained relative: around 1914, a manual worker earned, on average, 4.50 francs per day. And a train ticket from Geneva to Lausanne cost 2 francs'. Translation by the author. Gérard Duc, *Une histoire de la mobilité à Genève. Le centenaire du TCS Section Genève* (Geneva: TCS Section Genève, 2017), 14.
26. Collins, *How Football Began*, chapter 5.
27. Gary James and Dave Day, 'The Emergence of an Association Football Culture in Manchester 1840–1884', *Sport in History* 34, no. 1 (2014): 50.
28. For more on these points, see: Laurent Tissot, *Naissance d'une industrie touristique : les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle* (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2000). It is also important to note that Switzerland was a 'liberal island' in the middle of Europe and therefore had strong political and cultural links with England: Cédric Humair, *La Suisse et les puissances européennes. Aux sources de l'indépendance (1813–1857)* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2018).
29. Lausanne City Archives (hereinafter LCA), Letter from R. Alfrey to the mayor of Lausanne, 21 September 1867.
30. Christian Koller, Transnationalität und Popularisierung. Thesen und Fragen zur Frühgeschichte des Schweizer Fussballs, *Ludica* 17/18 (2011–2012): 154.
31. In 1898, *La Suisse sportive* wrote this about the club: 'Composed mostly of young Englishmen staying in Lausanne or the surrounding area, it is just a section of the city's rich and powerful Cricket, Lawn-Tennis and Football Club'. 'Nos clubs de football', *La Suisse sportive*, 8 March 1898.
32. Untitled, *Journal de Genève*, 25 November 1850. The club's members were not all English; they included expatriates from other countries and a few Swiss.
33. Translation by the author. Untitled, *Journal de Genève*, 18 November 1885.
34. 'Geneva's English residents will be very happy to welcome Genevan students who would like to take part in the game of Football that will be played at Plainpalais this winter'. '1871', *Journal de Genève*, 14 October 1871.
35. Gilliard Edmond, 'Les débuts du football à Lausanne', in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Edmond Gilliard (Geneva: Trois Collines, 1965), 1223.
36. *Journal de Genève*, 3 December 1878. Spectators also had to learn how to behave during matches. An article published on 5 December 1885 about that day's match noted, 'the public is immediately asked to stay outside the line of flags. Untitled, *Journal de Genève*, 5 December 1885.
37. Translation by the author. Anonymous, *FC Montriond/Lausanne-sports. Livre d'Or. 1896–1946* (Lausanne: Lausanne-sports, 1946), 11.

38. Alfred Wahl, *Les archives du football. Sport et société en France (1880–1980)* (Paris: Gallimard-Julliard, 1989), 33.
39. According to the ASF's 30th anniversary album, a team in Lausanne called 'Cantonal' 'was founded in 1891 by 9th-grade students from the Collège Cantonal [middle school], hence the name Football Club du Collège Cantonal', Edouard Filliol, *Le livre du Jubilé. ASF 1895–1925* (Geneva, 1925), 7. It was undoubtedly when students moved onto the next stage of their studies, that is, to high school, that the team was set on a firmer footing. In fact, a decision by the public authorities in 1859 banned students from the Collège Cantonal de Lausanne from joining societies. It was not until 1905–1906 that this rule was altered so 'exceptions could be made for certain physical exercise clubs, such as football clubs. It is for the headmaster to decide', article 4. Vaud Cantonal Archives (hereinafter VCA), document relatif au Collège cantonal (KXIII 372/1), 'Collège Cantonal Lausanne, Curriculum. Academic year 1905–1906'. Recent research in Basel showing that school curricula included football from the late 1880s highlights the need for further study of this issue. I would like to thank Hans-Dieter Gerber for this interesting piece of information.
40. Translation by the author. LCA, *Rapport de gestion de la municipalité*, Direction des écoles, Cours spéciaux : gymnastiques, 1901, 31
41. Despite examining the documents held in the *Belles-Lettres* section of Lausanne cantonal archives, I have been unable to find any information about football within student societies. In his personal journal, the literary writer and future doctor Jules Jacot-Guillarmod noted at the end of the 1880s that he often played football on the pitch at Beaulieu. I would like to thank Prof. Laurent Tissot for this information, which came from documents that he have collected in the personal archives of Jacot-Guillarmod.
42. Several articles in *La Suisse sportive* highlight the frequent changes in the composition of these teams.
43. Edouard Filliol, 'L'apparition et les débuts du football à Genève', in *L'Almanach du Vieux Genève*, ed. anonymous (Geneva: Willy Aeschlimann, 1944), 56–63.
44. To date, historiography has focused on the conflicts between proponents of gymnastics and supporters of modern sports. However, the ASF's 30th anniversary album notes that Lausanne Bourgeoise gymnastics club had a football team in 1898, although the club's 100th-anniversary album, published in 1945, does not mention a football team. Further investigation of this case, and of the relationship between gymnastics and football in general, is needed.
45. Fabian Brändle and Christian Koller, *4 zu 2. Die goldene Zeit des Schweizer Fussballs 1918–1939* (Göttingen: Die Werkstatt, 2014), chapter 1; Jérôme Berthoud, Grégory Quin and Philippe Vonnard, *Le football suisse. Des pionniers aux professionnels* (Lausanne: EPFL Press, 2016), chapter 1.
46. For more on the collapse of rugby football in Geneva, see: Jérôme Gogniat, 'Quand le ballon rond remplace le ballon ovale. Les pensionnats lémaniques et le non-développement du rugby en Suisse au tournant du XIXe siècle', in *Des réseaux et des hommes. Participation et contribution de la Suisse à l'internationalisation du sport*, eds. Grégory Quin, Philippe Vonnard, and Christophe Jaccoud (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2019), 23–50.
47. 'Football', *La Tribune de Lausanne*, 8 October 1904.
48. The most important clubs in Geneva were *Champel FC*, *La Châtelaine*, *La Garance FC*, *FC Genève*, *Olympia*, *Racing Club Geneva*, *Lancy FC* (Château

- de), *Servette FC, Stade Genevois, Stellula FC and Union Athletic*. In Lausanne's leading clubs were *FC Grancy, Helvetia FC, Lausanne Cricket and Football Club, Montriond FC, FC Signal, Villa Longchamp and Villa Ouchy FC*. Information drawn from commemorative albums, local newspapers, and the tables in Filliol, *Le livre du Jubilé*, 10.
49. Translation by the author. 'Athlétisme. Football Association', *La Suisse sportive*, 26 October 1897.
 50. Jean Narbel remembered that 'this game, which was still poorly known in Lausanne, provoked a sort of quite inexplicable disapproval'. Anonymous, *FC Montriond/Lausanne-sports*, 11.
 51. Translation by the author. 'Le rapport d'Ackermann', in *1890–1930. 40 années de sport*, ed. Edouard Filliol (Geneva: Servette, 1930), 9.
 52. 'Plaine de Plainpalais', in *Les parcs de Genève. 125 ans d'histoire*, ed. Anonymous (Geneva: City of Geneva, 1988), 105. This plain still exists but it now has a tarmac/gravel surface. Plainpalais became part of the city of Geneva in 1931.
 53. The city of Geneva's archives do not appear to contain any document authorising football matches at Plainpalais. However, 'Le rapport Ackermann', published in *Servette FC's* 40th anniversary album, mentions that the club received a letter from Plainpalais district council, dated 22 May 1890, giving it the right to play football in the park. In addition, an article in *Le Journal de Genève* on May 1884 notes that football and cricket matches had to receive prior approval from Plainpalais council. Untitled, *Journal de Genève*, 11 May 1884.
 54. LCA, *Rapport de gestion de la municipalité*, 1894, 7. The document notes 'on this site [...] was established a game of football'.
 55. I reconstructed this account from information contained in newspaper articles, *Lausanne-Sport's* 50th anniversary album and Alexandre Gilgen's master's thesis: Alexandre Gilgen, *Implantation et développement du football à Lausanne et dans le canton de Vaud. De la fin du XIXe siècle à la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (Master's thesis, University of Lausanne, 2003), 29–31.
 56. Magali Russbach and Liliya Tyapkin, 'Les espaces verts dans l'urbanisme du XXe siècle', in *Architecture de poche Lausanne. Parcs et jardins publics*, ed. Dave Lüthi (Lausanne: SHAS), 94.
 57. As of 1880, the local newspaper, *L'Estafette*, published several notices about matches on Place de Beaulieu.
 58. Although the ASF did not yet have an official set of 'rules of the game', it based its rules on those published by England's Football Association. For more on the ASF's early development, see: Philippe Vonnard and Grégory Quin, 'Les premiers temps de l'institutionnalisation des sports modernes en Suisse. L'exemple du football des années 1870 aux années 1910', in *Histoire du sport en Suisse*, ed. Busset, Jucker and Koller, 55–78.
 59. Léa Marie D'Avigneau, 'Sur les traces du passé : une balade à travers les trésors du patrimoine de Malley', *recherche historique pour le projet RE-PLAY*, http://www.ouest-lausannois.ch/wp-content/uploads/Sur-les-traces-du-passe_Balade-a-travers-les-tresors-du-patrimoine-de-Malley.pdf (accessed June 13, 2022).
 60. Information quoted in: Anonymous, *FC Montriond/Lausanne-sports*, 26.
 61. LCA, RB14/90, folio 66, Minutes of the Council Meeting, 26 November 1908.
 62. For example, *La Feuille d'avis de Lausanne* records that on 8 November 1902 the club played a Swiss championship match on the pitch at *Villa Longchamp*, beside the lake.
 63. The clubs' commemorative albums include photos of these sites.

64. Following the introduction of three hours of obligatory gymnastics by the Federal Army Law of 1874, cantonal and municipal councils were encouraged to build gymnasiums. However, the costs involved, the need for large areas of land and political differences (centralist vs. federalist) led to large discrepancies between regions and even between city neighbourhoods, in how they applied this injunction. See: Czaka, *Histoire sociale et genrée*, chapter 8.
65. This velodrome replaced an earlier velodrome in the Varembe neighbourhood, close to Geneva station, which was used from 1891 to 1895.
66. VCA, dossier PP 952/139 Divers, 1844–1901 [Dossier de la famille Mercier], documents relating to the project to create a park at Montriond, April 1886.
67. Les Charmilles is a 5-minute walk from the Servette neighbourhood, which illustrates the fact that many clubs had had to move from their original homes. The local press and the city's political leaders refer to this place as the 'Parc des sports des Charmilles'. For example: Geneva City Archives (hereinafter GCA), Council session of 6 December 1901, *Mémorial des séances du Conseil Municipal de la ville de Genève, 1901–1902* (Geneva: Imprimerie W. Kündig & fils, 1902), 519.
68. Franz Graf, *Le Parc des Sports de la Pontaise. Étude patrimoniale* (Lausanne: EPFL, 2008), 5.
69. Philippe Vonnard and Grégory Quin, 'Au nord c'était "La Pontaise" ! Retour sur l'histoire du principal stade de football de la ville de Lausanne (1912–2008)', in *Sport-Arenen – Sport-Kulturen – Sport-Welten / Arènes du sport – Culture du sport – Mondes*, eds. Dietmar Hüser, Paul Dietschy, and Philipp Didion (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2022), 265.
70. Observation based on presentations given by Hans-Dieter Gerber (on Basel) and Grégory Quin (on Berne) during a workshop entitled 'Jouer dans la ville. Les débuts du football dans l'espace urbain en Suisse (1880–1920)', held at the Swiss Social Archives, Zurich, in October 2021.
71. For a recent reflection on this aspect, see, for example: Diego M. Gutierrez, Marco Bettine and Borja Garcia, 'The Railway and the Ball, the Spread of Football in São Paulo State', *Sport in History* 41, no. 3 (2021): 309–32.
72. Olivier Perroux, *Histoire de Genève. De la création du canton en 1814 à nos jours* (Neuchâtel: Alphil, 2002), 88.
73. Bernard Degen, 'Essor économique et Lutte des classes', in *La Valeur du travail. Histoire et Histoires des syndicats suisses*, ed. Valérie Boillat et al. (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2006), 49–100.
74. Zumwald, 'Les fidèles du ballon rond'. Hans-Dieter Gerber's 2007 article on football's debuts in Basel provides the most complete biographical information about football's pioneers: Gerber 'Fussball in Basel'.
75. Alix Heiniger and Frédéric Deshusses, 'La Banque de Genève : premières notes sur la composition du conseil d'administration et les actionnaires', *Revue suisse d'histoire* 57, no. 4 (2007): 441–56.
76. The BIOLEMANO database, drawn up by Cédric Humair and his team, lists people involved in this industry: <https://www.unil.ch/hist/fr/home/menuint/recherche/poles-de-recherche/histoire-des-techniques/biolemano.html>.
77. Thomas David and Alix Heiniger, *Faire société. La philanthropie à Genève et ses réseaux transnationaux autour de 1900* (Paris: Edition de la Sorbonne, 2019).
78. Translation by the author. According to Jérôme Gogniat, students attending the Institut Thudichum (La Châtelaine) in the mid-1890s spent 33% of each

- school day on leisure and sport activities. Gogniat, 'L'éducation des corps dans les pensionnats', 48.
79. 'Décès', *Gazette de Lausanne*, 27 December 1932.
 80. Thomas Busset, 'De la sociabilité mondaine à la compétition : les débuts du hockey sur glace en Suisse', in *Sports en formes : acteurs, contextes et dynamiques d'institutionnalisation*, eds. Christophe Jaccoud and Thomas Busset (Lausanne: Antipodes, 2000), 132.
 81. The IOC set up its headquarters in Lausanne in 1915.
 82. For example, Auckenthaler was a member of the committee behind the project to create the park at Montriond mentioned a few lines earlier. *La Fabrique des sports nationaux* Data basis: Max Auckenthaler.
 83. Ouchy's team for the 1897–1898 season consisted of 9 Englishmen, 1 German and 1 Swiss. 'Football-Club Villa Longchamp', *La Suisse sportive*, 28 December 1897 – 4 January 1898.
 84. Translation by the author. Pierre Lanfranchi, Football et modernité: la Suisse et la pénétration du football sur le continent, *Traverse. Revue d'histoire* 5, no. 3 (1998): 83.
 85. He was the first mountaineer to cross the pass of the Gemmi in 1891, a way that was known to be particularly dangerous at that time of year due to the risk of avalanches. 'Valais', *Journal de Genève*, 2 May 1891.
 86. For more on Christ Church see: Michel Jequier, 'L'Eglise anglaise de Lausanne', *Revue historique vaudoise* 86 (1978): 57–105.
 87. *La Fabrique des sports nationaux* Data basis, Thomas Lawton Kilham.
 88. *Feuille officielle suisse du commerce* 110, no. 17 (1899): 441.
 89. Untitled, *Tribune de Genève*, 3 October 1907.
 90. Anne Van Muyden, Ouchy. Mon village (Morges, Cabedita 1989 [1943]), 33.
 91. *La Fabrique des sports nationaux* Data basis: Axel de Reuterskiöld.
 92. *La Fabrique des sports nationaux* Data basis: Aimé Isaac Schwob.
 93. This work resulted in him being named a Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur in 1924. The citation mentions that he worked as a volunteer doctor for several associations and that he was a very active member of all the French philanthropical societies in Geneva and for all wartime and post-war charities'. Archives of the Légion d'Honneur – Léonore database [online], 'Information required by the Grande Chancellerie to support nominations for the Légion d'Honneur', 4 January 1924. See also his obituary, published on 27 October 1926 in *Le Sport suisse* under the title: 'Le Sport suisse mourns its editor in chief.
 94. Christian Koller, Pioniere, Verteidiger, Verfolgte : Juden und Antisemitismus im metropolitanen Schweizer Sportin der ersent Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts, *Aschkenas* 27, no. 1 (2017): 130.
 95. For example, Treytorrens de Loys (in Lausanne). These young people's families sometimes helped, directly or indirectly, introduce them to the game. It seems that at *Servette FC*, the Fiala brothers' father had given them a football he had brought back from a business trip to England.
 96. In an interview given to *Le vélosport Suisse* in November 1896, Dégerine said that he did 'cycle touring' and foot sports, adding that in winter he skated, sledged and 'often' played football. Thanks to Gil Mayencourt for this information, and more generally for his piece of advices about the link between cycling promoters and football development in Geneva (information that he found after a careful reading of the *Bicyclub-Revue*).
 97. *La Fabrique des sports nationaux* Data basis: François-Jean Dégerine.

98. The cycling community wanted to build a velodrome with a grass pitch in the middle that could be ‘used for all sorts of outdoor sports, such as football, cricket, tennis, running, gymnastic festivals, etc’. ‘Piste vélocipédique’, *Journal de Genève*, 13 January 1889.
99. The information provided in this paragraph was drawn from the clubs’ commemorative albums, local newspapers and the obituaries of several of the leaders mentioned.
100. Loïc Lüscher, *La Coupe des nations 1930 à Genève. Une compétition ‘européenne’ dans la Genève Internationale*, master’s thesis, University of Lausanne, 2015.
101. For more on this concept see Luc Boltanski’s classic article: Luc Boltanski, ‘L’espace positionnel. Multiplicité des positions institutionnelles et habitus de classe’, *Revue française de sociologie* 14, no. 1 (1973): 3–26.
102. LCA, Direction des finances (C20, box 54/1656, folder 92), Letter from the organising committee to Lausanne City Council, 2 November 1902.
103. Thomas David and Alix Heiniger defined the aim of philanthropy as being to produce ‘an effect on society in general by altering the behaviours of individuals’. David and Heiniger, *Faire société*, 38.
104. Heiner Gillmeister, The First European Soccer Match, *The Sport Historian* 18, no. 1 (1998): 152–8.

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Notes on contributor

Philippe Vonnard holds a doctorate at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences of the University of Lausanne. He is currently a SNSF Senior researcher on the “La mondialisation des Alpes” project at the University of Fribourg. He is focusing on the International sport relations (De Gruyter 2017, Palgrave 2020), the “socio-histoire” of sports and leisures in Switzerland (Entreprises & Histoire 2018, Alphil 2019) and on the Global History of environmental issues in the Alps. He is the co-editor (with Dr. Amanda Shuman) of the “RERIS studies in International Sport Relations” series (De Gruyter).

ORCID

Philippe Vonnard  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8564-1509>