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Salvador López Gómez: Apostle of Gymnastics in Spain

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ABSTRACT

Salvador López Gómez was a great exponent of gymnastics in Spain in the nineteenth and the twentieth century. His role as a teacher, a writer and even as a law developer who promoted gymnastics, deserves a detailed study. For that reason, through primary sources of this era and, specially, papers from López Gómez himself, this paper depicts his long professional career, his conception of gymnastics and the constant efforts, not always properly rewarded, that he made for its social respect and acknowledgement by that time.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 1 July 2015
Accepted 1 May 2016

KEYWORDS

Physical education;
history; gymnastics; Spain;
nineteenth century

Introduction

The historical period that includes the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century was very complex for Spanish gymnastics. There were many factors that influenced it. At the political level, the War of Independence, the dramatic political changes (First Republic, Restoration and Second Republic) and the loss of the last colonies were all worthy of note. Socially, the population increased in a largely rural society, which very slowly and, only in some areas (mainly Catalonia and the Basque Country), incorporated the industrial revolution. Economically, Spain experienced several periods of crisis, from the 1860s until the early twentieth century, which mainly affected the common people and the petty bourgeoisie. Regarding health, medical services were very poor, and there was an increase in infectious diseases and mortality. These factors were to influence, remarkably, the future of this discipline; which began to be gradually more recognized for its hygienic worth by the Regenerationist Movement.¹

In general terms, we can affirm that, in a period in which gymnastics developed in most parts of Europe (Germany, Sweden or France), Spain experienced some movements that determined a peculiar gymnastic development which featured, above all, in the political sphere, with highly progressive actions together with others that were fully reactionary.

Bearing that in mind, we could highlight, as an example, the early inclusion in 1847 of the subject named gymnastics, thanks to the Study Plan of Pastor Díaz, Minister of Commerce, Education and Public Works.² However, this did not last long for gymnastics lovers because in 1849, the minister, when amending the Secondary Education study plan,

eliminated the recently established gymnastics.³ Hence, in the nineteenth century, there were five progressive regulations and four which limited or simply eliminated this subject in the study plans.⁴

The example above shows clearly what could be and was not in the case of gymnastics in Spain. The most paradigmatic case is that of Francisco de Paula Amorós y Ondeano (1770–1848), from Valencia and the father of gymnastics in France. It is possible that, if he had not been expatriated because of his fondness for France and had got the necessary support, we could be referring to a diverging gymnastics reality regarding the slow and winding path that this discipline had to go through in the Spanish context.⁵

According to Pastor Pradillo, gymnastics was in a pre-scientific state in Spain.⁶ In order to understand the devious evolution that gymnastics had in Spain during this period, the situation requires some deep research about such facts as: the objectives pursued, the influences received, the way it was accepted by citizens, the reasons why these regulatory movements took place and, above all, the characters who were pioneers in the introduction and development of this discipline in the lives of Spanish people at that time.

In this field, we find Salvador López Gómez, a famous gymnastics teacher who fought all his life to promote this subject within Spanish society, not only in the practical sphere, but also in the theoretical and political one. He always looked for the highest recognition and respect towards gymnastics. This promoter, as it should be in the agitated Spain of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, was supported and rejected but he never ceased in his idea of defending and spreading the practice of gymnastics as a healthy and necessary activity in a person's comprehensive training. In fact, he is recognized as one of the apostles of gymnastics by Torrabadella. This author named 'apostles' to a group of gymnastics teachers, 12 men and 1 woman, who stood out for their tenacity in spreading the benefits of gymnastics. He also vindicated the academic and professional rights of these professionals.⁷

To become familiar with Salvador López Gómez will improve our understanding of the situation of gymnastics in Spain in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, especially that which was practiced in Southern cities, since Seville was the city where he mainly worked as a teacher. Regarding this, it must be pointed out that the South of Spain was characterized as being especially disadvantaged, far from the airs of social, industrial and economic progress that permeated Europe and that, partly, was noticed in some other more developed areas as Madrid, Catalonia or Basque Country.⁸ Thus, it is possible to say that Seville was the main town in the rural South of Spain. However, the city had a major university, schools and a bourgeoisie concerned with its city. This bourgeoisie wanted Seville to resemble and become one of the most important Spanish cities.

This situation of underdevelopment, as it should be, also affected gymnastics.⁹ There were few professionals who developed their practice in Southern cities. Most of them, as the well-known Francisco Aguilera y Becerril, José María Aparici y Biedma, Francisco Pedregal o José María Martínez Bernabéu, worked in the capital Madrid, and some close cities such as Segovia or Guadalajara.¹⁰

This brings to prominence even more the figure of Salvador López Gómez. Indeed, he is not unknown, since some researchers have studied him,¹¹ but this paper deals with his life and works, as a way to know deeply not only this relevant person but as a way of progressing in the knowledge of Spanish gymnastics, especially the form practiced in the South. The sources, mostly used in this research, were primary sources and the methodological line

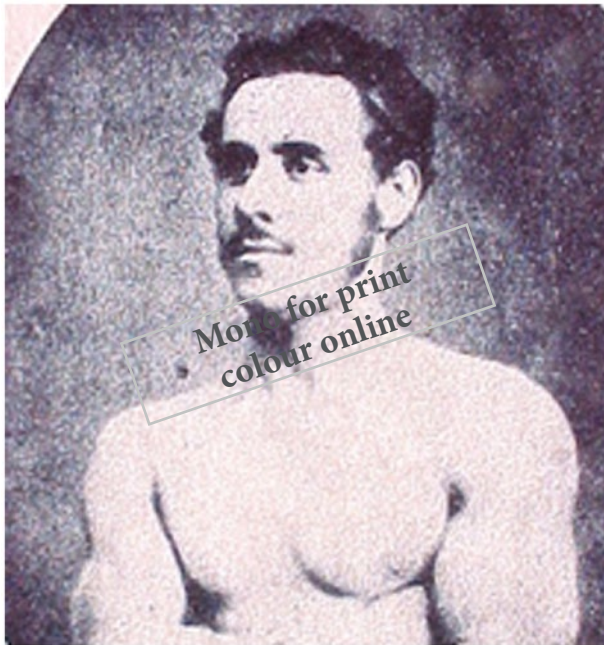


Figure 1. Image of Salvador López Gómez. Source: Book cover of S. López Gómez, *El Gimnasio* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Baldaque, 1873).

used to access them was the consultation of several documentary collections centres,¹² and different computerized databases.¹³

Salvador López Gómez: Background and Professional Career

Emilio Salvador López Gómez was born in Seville in 1852.¹⁴ Apart from studying Baccalaureate, he studied to become a public accountant, a title that he never used although this appeared in some guides to his academic training.¹⁵ His true passion was studying and practicing gymnastics.

This discipline was introduced in Seville by the Frenchman Víctor Venitien. As in other Spanish cities by that time, this way of doing physical exercises and their justification regarding citizens' health could be soon noted in Sevillian society. In 1840, Venitien opened a gymnastics school in the old abbey of Jerónimos monks. Also here, in 1839, was settled the *Colegio Sevillano de Buena Vista* ('Buena Vista Elementary Gym') directed by Francisco Alejandro Fernel.¹⁶ Some years later, in 1860, he appeared as a gymnastics teacher in the *Colegio de primera clase San Fernando* ('San Fernando Elementary School'),¹⁷ and only five years later, not only was the first Sevillian gym opened, named *Gimnasio Elemental* ('Elementary Gym') but he was also recognized as being the instigator of this discipline in this part of Spain, as reflected on some pages of the *Guía de Sevilla* ('Seville Guide'), published by Gómez Zarzuela: 'GIMNASIO ELEMENTAL. Placed in "calle de Tarifa n° 1". Under the direction of Don José García Barraca ... the gym which was directed by Mr. Víctor Venitien, the true importer of gymnastics in the southern part of Iberian Peninsula.'¹⁸

As it appears in the previous quotation, José García Barraca, second director of the referred gym, was also important for gymnastics in this city. López Gómez was his disciple and there he met Méndez Bejarano, who stated:

5 Although he was five years older than me, he was my English and Gymnastics classmates, in the 'salón de Barraca', placed in 'calle de Tarifa' number one. All my advantage in English over him was recovered, and even more, in Gymnastics. I remember this with some envy since nowadays, old and weak, I understand the value of feeling strong over speaking English.¹⁹

10 The enthusiasm that López Gómez felt towards gymnastics made him open his first gym when he was only 21 years old, specifically in 1874. He named it *Centro de Educación Físico, Profiláctico y Terapéutico* ('Physical, Prophylactic and Therapeutic School'), since one of his main goals in this discipline was giving it scientific rigour that made it be socially recognized, basically aligning gymnastics to medicine, as this was a fully recognized science by the scientific community and by citizens.²⁰

15 This passionate condition made him study in the *Escuela Central de Profesores y Profesoras de Gimnástica* ('Gymnastics' Teachers Central School') and he was one of the 87 (71 men and 16 women) who received this degree.²¹ Nevertheless, his training was not limited to the knowledge that he got from this institution, since from his years prior to his admission he knew the works of expert teachers and he had contact with some of them, mainly in the neighbouring France, as can be noticed in the following reference:

20 Now, approaching 1849, the future of gymnastics was already based and, even better, some well-known people, among other, the lieutenant colonel d'Argy, Laisné current gymnastics inspector and our friends the hard-working Mr. Triat, and honourable Mr. Paz, forerunner and first President of the 'Unión de las Sociedades gimnásticas francesas' [French Gymnastic Societies Union].²²

25 From his beginnings as a teacher, López Gómez always tried to reach important goals and it seems that he was duly recognized because many people were interested in his figure and knowledge. In fact, this emerging teacher was the honorary director of many gyms in Spain: 'From October 1874, he was awarded with the position of honorary director of gyms in Cádiz, Alicante, Badajoz, Barcelona, Coruña, Cuenca, Valencia, Sabadell, Alcoy, Bilbao y Oporto (Portugal).'²³

30 This fame and recognition went beyond gymnastics and was noted in society. Thus, in this year, he was proposed by Real Camara's doctor as gymnastic teacher of Montpensier's dukes. He was so notorious that, as Méndez Bejarano indicates (Figure 1):

35 When I was a child, all young boys stopped at the bookshop window to look at the portrait of Salvador López, naked from the waist up, stamped in the cover of his first gymnastics books. His powerful muscles, his excellent thoracic development and his strong arms seemed to be stolen from Hércules Farnesio, were admired by Sevillian youngsters.²⁴

40 In 1877, there was an advertisement in the newspaper *El Universal* which referred to the gym of Medicine School, that was the transformation from the one founded by López Gómez three years before and that, when affiliated to the medical school, followed its way: 'Great gym in the Surgery and Medicine School by Mr. Salvador López Gómez. Provincial Gyms Director. Teacher through public contest in the main schools of the capital city.'²⁵ This is not a trivial fact since this teacher achieved the association that gymnastics was openly related to the medical world. This, as it has been emphasized above, was one of his objectives: a higher recognition and more respect towards gymnastics.

45

A year later, because of the Universal Exhibition, he visited Paris and that enabled him to know *in situ* some of the most prestigious French gyms. One of them was paradoxically directed by a Spanish man, Vicente López Tamayo. Both teachers had met in Madrid, when López Tamayo directed the so-called gym *Gimnasio Vignolles*, one of the first ones to be opened in Spain.²⁶

López Tamayo truly believed in Amorós' ideas and, desperate because of Spain's delay in many aspects (including gymnastics, obviously), decided to move to Paris, where he achieved his best accomplishments.²⁷ The fluent relationship among them is not only proved by the fact that López Tamayo was appointed as honorary director of the gyms in the province of Seville,²⁸ but for the description that López Gómez makes of his visit to Paris:

... in charge of our special friend and correspondent, Mr. Vicente López, current chief teacher of Heiser Gym in Paris, set in rue Martyrs, whose gym we could satisfactorily visit in our stay in the neighbouring republic, in 1978 because of Paris Universal Exhibition.²⁹

In his stay in Paris, he also visited the gym run by Eugène Paz, a pupil from one of Amorós' classmates, specifically *Hippolyte Triat*.³⁰ In this visit, he was pleasantly surprised when observing that: 'In our visit, in 1878 to the gym "Gimnasio Paz" in Paris, there was, subsidized by the Town Hall, a night training session exclusive for workers.'³¹

In 1879, López Gómez was still a teacher in the Medicine School gym, but his fame and prestige had expanded because of his increased knowledge, relationships and new machines. Additionally, by that time, he was a teacher in the private schools of San Pelayo and San Ramón in Seville. These schools offered gymnastic lessons within their complementary instruction.

Next year, in 1880, he visited France again in order to be enriched by its gymnastic advances. Back to Spain, and in the line that was initiated by Amorós with his public shows, he organized an event during the Seville Spring Festival.³² His purpose was to make gymnastics known and he organized again a similar event some years later, in 1888.

On 12 August 1880, López Gómez won a battle that he had started years ago when he wanted to teach gymnastics in Seville School. This position was held, from its beginning, by García Barraca and he had to accept this position in Málaga: 'Positions held ... On 12th August 1880 he was appointed Gymnastics teacher in Málaga School'.³³ After some years working in Málaga, in 1884 he received another award since after being proposed by a group of representatives in Seville, he was responsible for teaching gymnastics in Seville Hospice.³⁴ This recognition does not refer to holding this position since it was more important to be a teacher at Málaga School, but to the institutional conviction that gymnastics should be a subject in the training of children living in that hospice.

But if all previous appointments were important steps in López Gómez's life, the most important one, because of its spreading effect, was his appointment as a gymnastics teacher at the Education School in Seville. There he could teach and transmit students their love towards this healthy activity, fundamental for children's future life.

Education School Gym. Agreed by 'Excelentísima Diputación provincial' the construction of a gym here, and appointing Mr. Salvador López Gómez as his teacher on 30 June 1886. He taught there from 1886 to 1887, working exclusively with students from this school and some others appointed by the Director.³⁵

In 1887, his appointment as teacher in this School was confirmed by the *Dirección General de Instrucción Pública* (Public Education General Direction). A year later, he was appointed

by the same institution as a member of the tribunal of free examination in the *Escuela Central de Gimnástica* (Gymnastics Central School), where he had studied. This is shown in a personal file that can be found in its General Archive:

5 Public Education General Direction appointed him as a member of the tribunal of free examination in the 'Escuela Central de Gimnasia' (Gymnastics Central School), because of his role as gymnastics teacher in Seville School and of the publication of two Physical Education works that were awarded by several 'friend societies' all over Spain and in some pedagogical and literary exhibitions.³⁶

10 In the previous document from 1916, he appears as a Seville School teacher. Nonetheless, chronologically, this would not take place until 1893. With this, López Gómez reached one of his biggest ambitions. His appointment was published with a Crown Order on 24 January 1893,³⁷ taking possession of this position on 9 March of the same year,³⁸ and a year later he participated in the entrance examination and became a permanent teacher in that School:

15 Public Education General Direction, Section 2°. To the Public Education General Director, Madrid 15 June 1894. Mr. President: By virtue of the public tender and proposal of Public Education Board; The King of Spain and the Queen has appointed Mr. Salvador López Gómez as permanent gymnastics teacher at Seville School with a yearly salary of two thousand pesetas. To Seville University Dean and to the School Director.³⁹

20 This made him depart his position as gymnastics teacher at Education School, as both positions were not compatible, but, as Ávila states, this was not a sudden decision that he could luckily reconsider.⁴⁰ One academic year later, based on the fact that according to the Seville School Director, that incompatibility was not true since the Crown Order of 27 May 1894 requested that he return to the position that he had left vacant. This request was accepted by the Seville University Dean.⁴¹

25 Therefore, in 1895, he was teaching gymnastics in the two most important academic institutions in Seville, the Secondary School and the Education School. He did so in the coming years and until his retirement with the private teaching of this subject. This gives us an idea of the recognition that this teacher had and of his extensive job regarding the development of the practice of gymnastics among citizens.

30 His recognition was such that, in 1899, he taught subjects traditionally linked to the medical sphere, something quite remarkable since it is not frequent that a teacher with gymnastic training teaches a subject related to the medical sphere:

35 On 17 February 1899, and by virtue of a Crown Order 27 January, he explained, at Seville School, notions of Physiology and Hygiene, as it is specified in the Royal 8th in the fourth article of the Crown Decree 13 September 1898.⁴²

This teacher kept on with his job within the gymnastics world during the first quarter of the twentieth century. He was well settled in some reference locations (a teacher in Secondary School and in Education School) and he was considered as a great expert in this subject in the national sphere. His last merit, one more in his broad curriculum, is his appointment as a member of the Childhood Protection Committee from 1913.⁴³

40 The long professional career of López Gómez ended on 28 March 1922, when he was 70 years old. That day the Crown Order 22 March was published and his retirement was effective.⁴⁴ Until this moment, he had worked more than 48 years in the teaching of gymnastics and it is estimated that he trained more than 30,000 students in nearly these five decades as a teacher. The words from his contemporary Méndez Bejarano exemplify the social relevance that this illustrious gymnastics teacher had:

On 26 March 1922, it has been published in the Gazette the decree that retires, currently in good health, the Dean of Physical Education teachers in Spain. He has been awarded with fourteen prizes in contests and exhibitions because of his works and more than thirty thousand, one hundred and twenty-five students have attended his gym, according to this gym's records.⁴⁵

5 Emilio Salvador López Gómez died in Seville on Sunday, 16 February 1936, before being 84 years old and, as Ávila indicates, on the same day that Spanish general elections were held and the 'Frente Popular' (Popular Front) won. These were the last months of the second Republic.⁴⁶

Promoter and Critic of Laws Regarding Gymnastics

10 In the nineteenth century, as already mentioned, there were even five progressive laws regarding gymnastics and there were four which limited or simply eliminated this subject in study plans.

Within these regulatory variations, it can be stated that López Gómez's influence was relevant in the regulatory initiative that culminated in the Decree 3 June 1873 establishing a new Plan which intended to reorganize secondary education that, as will explained below, included teaching hygienic gymnastics.⁴⁷

By chance, the Sevillian representative De Gabriel wanted to register their children in a Medicine School gym directed by López Gómez and he took advantage of this moment to remark on the importance of this subject in the training of Spanish youngsters. It seems that the persuasive endowments of this gymnastics teacher were fruitful in the initial stage of this project:

... that one of the emerging patricians, to whom we dedicate this humble work, attended our premises in Seville's Medicine School to trust the training of his children and there ... we dared, in fear, to communicate what our criterion regarding Physical Education was, the way that Spain was similar to other nations concerning this important subject and the urgent need for the government to leave the empiricism governing by that time. At this point, Mr. De Gabriel asked us how to achieve our intended purpose. Very easy, my honourable friend: Submitting the Courts a draft bill, declaring official and compulsory teaching Hygienic Gymnastics in our beloved nation.⁴⁸

30 The defence of this law proposal had to be assumed by Manuel Becerra, as he had been appointed Málaga's civil governor. The proposal text was brief but enormously clear in its objective, as it appears in the diary of Court sessions:

LAW PROPOSAL. Article 1 – Teaching Hygienic Gymnastics is official, fixing, gradually and within a short deadline, established by Development Ministry, lessons in secondary schools and education schools. Article 2 – These lessons' attendance will be compulsory for those pupils of the schools in the previous article. Article 3 – Baccalaureate degree could not be achieved if gymnastics had not been studied for a year and, from now on, three years. Article 4 – The Minister of Development will dictate the appropriate measures to enforce the current law.⁴⁹

This proposal was signed by representatives De Gabriel, Becerra, Carvajal, Domínguez, Conde y Luque, Loring y and the Marquess of El Arenal.

45 After this proposal, the Minister of Development Eduardo Chao, by means of Decree 3 June 1873,⁵⁰ specifically in its second article, considered hygienic gymnastics as a subject, but not a compulsory one. Unfortunately, short after Joaquín Gil Berges was appointed as Minister of Development and his first measure was a new Decree suspending the one previously passed by Chao only a few months ago.

It was not until 1893 that gymnastics appeared again in the curriculum. In this year, the Minister Segismundo Moret signed a Crown Order, on 10 September, in which hygienic gymnastics lessons became compulsory from the academic year 1893–1894.⁵¹ One year after, there was a new study plan for Baccalaureate, promoted by Minister Groizard in the Decree 16 September 1894,⁵² which, in order to harmonize purely mental and physical education, among other changes, proposed the substitution of the word gymnastics by the term physical education.

López Gómez, as a gymnastics professional who was committed with this discipline, openly criticized the rulers who, until this moment, had forgotten the official protection of these beneficial practices for citizens' health. Specifically, this can be read in the prologue of his book *Manual de ejercicios Gimnásticos para los Institutos y Escuelas Normales*:

One feels sorrow and grief when you worry about humankind's sake. Society is governed by physiological poverty and this seems to be the compulsory heritage of future generations. As little as we reflect on this, we can regret the indifference shown by the public powers as well as corporations and humans. They all ignore physical education, above all in childhood and adulthood, and this is very important and necessary in these dangerous life stages.⁵³

However, in the prologue, he keeps on thanking those who have made an effort to drive Physical Education far from the legal abyss where it was because of what was referred above.

Thanks to the effort and energetic enthusiasm of Excellencies Mr. Fernando de Gabriel, Mr. Manuel Becerra, Mr. Germán Gamazo, Mr. José L. Albareda, Mr. Carlos Navarro Rodrigo, Mr. Julián Calleja, Mr. Aureliano Linares Rivas, and lately the Ministers of Development, Mr. Moret and Groizard, and the estimated Sr. D. Eduardo Vincenti, Physical Education will not be a dead letter as it has been until now ... Today, through the last Crown Order 10th September 1893, Physical Education will go parallel to intellectual culture, this is a skillful way to balance energies.⁵⁴

The above explained ideas reflect the level of political information of teacher López Gómez in the regulatory future in which gymnastics lived. From his privileged position as a teacher, he initially fostered one of the progressive laws for this discipline although it was little in force. This fact made him, now from his position as a respected and prolific author of gymnastics books, denounce the situation of regulatory abandonment that Spain lived in. Nevertheless, he fairly recognized the effort of those who tried to promote it in a period, as it has been said, that was marked by continuous regulatory changes.

Prolific Author and Speaker

The same year when he opened his first gym, in 1873, he began with his prolific dedication as an author with the publication of *El Gimnasio*.⁵⁵ The prologue was made by Francisco de Molina and it is dedicated to the Deputation of Seville.

As a clear example of this author's concern about this work's scientific rigour and, hence, gymnastics, this information appears in the acknowledgements:

It is a pleasure for me to announce, for those who favour me with the purchase of this Treaty, that my special friend Mr. Carlos de Voisins, Medicine and Surgery teacher, has helped me since this book is related to the important theories that can be considered as new (it would not be regarded as such without them).⁵⁶

The book has a chapter dealing with preliminary notions, a brief anatomical human study and then, its next sections deal with gymnastic machines and their usefulness. Thus,

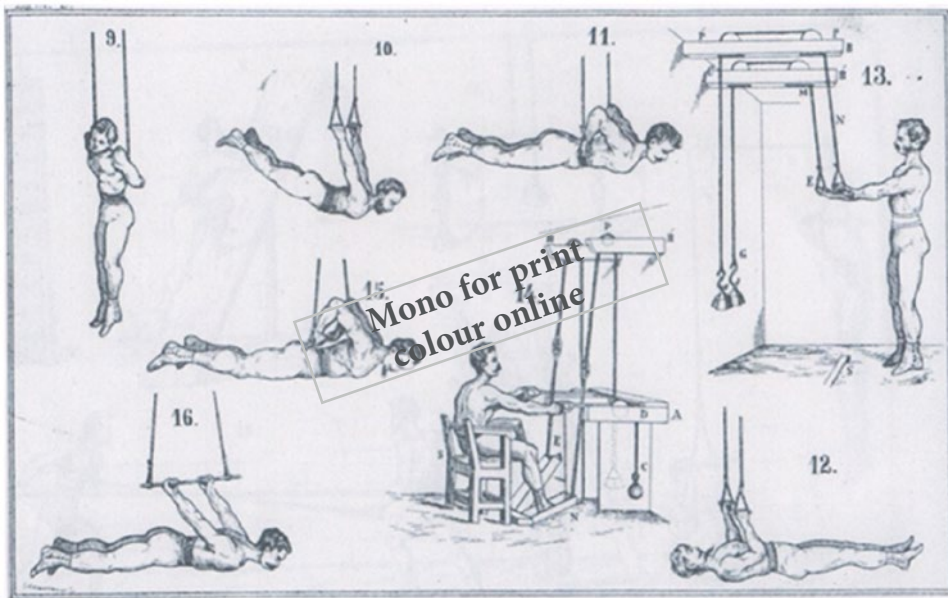


Figure 2. Gymnastic exercises and machines used by López Gómez, namely rings, gymnastic pulley machine, trapeze and pulleys. Source: S. López Gómez, *El Gimnasio* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Baldaraque, 1873), 241.

there are chapters regarding parallel bars, rings, pulleys and their different ways (gymnastic pulley machine, Vignolles' machine, Picheri's system, neupmo-dynamic machine), climbing frames, vaulting bucks, platforms, bars, octogon, ropes, poles and so on (Figure 2).

In 1881, he published his second work, *Breve Reseña Histórica de la Gimnástica en Europa*. It contains 39 pages in which he reviews gymnastics in the main European countries. It remarks that the Spanish situation is argued in just six pages. In this book's cover, his professional biography (until that moment) can be read and this indicates the impact that the works had at a national and international level:

Royal Dukes of Montpensier's teacher, director of the province gyms in Seville and Málaga. Teacher, forerunner of official gymnastics project in Spain. Collaborator in some sport national and foreign newspapers, author of 'El Gimnasio', the first and only of this type published in this city, awarded with medals in Paris, Sevilla, Cádiz and Pontevedra's universal exhibitions. Honorary Director of the first gyms in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Cádiz, Córdoba, Coruña y Bilbao, former honorary member of 'Centro Gimnológico Barcelonés' and correspondent of 'Gran Gimnasio Heiser' from, teacher in the first class schools of this capital city: Espíritu Santo, San Ramón, San Lorenzo, San Pelagio y San Hilario.⁵⁷

Because of the importance he achieved, the monthly magazine *El Gimnasta Español* (which published 12 numbers for 1892) included his bibliography. Even this magazine characterized him as one of the most renowned teachers of gymnastics.⁵⁸

Some years later, he published several articles in the magazine *Ilustración Gimnástica* (1886–1887), created by Felipe Serrate Martínez.⁵⁹ In 1892,⁶⁰ he published 'Higiene de la Gimnástica',⁶¹ which entered the competition called up by the *Sociedad Española de Higiene* ('Hygiene Spanish Society') and was awarded with an honourable mention.

On 20 October 1892 he gave a speech in the Ateneo entitled 'La Gimnástica como uno de los tratamientos de la escoliosis',⁶² at which many people attended. Next year,⁶³ he published a small book entitled *Hidroterapia. Su historia y aparatos portátiles más usuales*.⁶⁴ Its content, after a historical review on this subject, focuses on the benefits that water exercise have for someone's health.

In 1894, he published *Manual de ejercicios gimnásticos para uso de los Institutos y Escuelas Normales*. This 200-page book, mainly didactic, is based on the contents of his first work (*El Gimnasio*), but with a clear methodological approach so as to be used as a teaching manual in schools at that time. According to Torrebadella, in this book he demonstrates a significant knowledge of foreign sources.⁶⁵ However, its attempt to cover all the contents to be dealt with in gymnastics make it be a scattered work contains information about gymnastic exercises, machines, games, fencing, dumbbells and so on.

That year, as part of his job as a teacher in the secondary school, he published the 'Programa razonado de Teoría y Práctica de la Gimnástica'.⁶⁶ This programme consists of seven chapters made up of lessons, which are 86 in total. The topics of the chapters are to be highlighted since they convey a clear idea of this subject's approach and content. Hence, the first one refers to gymnastics history, the second one to mechanics, the third one is anatomy, the fourth one physiology; the fifth one, which is the most extensive, on exercise; the sixth one deals with the usefulness and importance of physical exercises, and last, the seventh one, is focused on gymnastic equipment, machines and instruments.

López Gómez, even without respite, presented in 1895 another work: 'Educación Física de las niñas',⁶⁷ that, according to the author, was aimed at answering girl school's needs, whose facilities were usually poor for physical exercise and games, provoking inactivity. This year, the magazine *La Regeneración Física* (1895–1897) appeared, López Gómez was a founding member and shareholder of this magazine, he even became a contributor.⁶⁸

In the remaining years of the nineteenth century, he wrote two works. In 1897, *La Gimnástica en España; su historia y legislación*, in which he makes an overview on the history and regulations of Spanish gymnastics, but with extensive references to the European context.⁶⁹ Apart from this, there is a speech from 1899, in the General Meeting of Spanish Gymnastics Federation, with the title 'Unificación de la enseñanza de la Gimnástica por un solo método',⁷⁰ that would be published that year and which refers to the importance of gymnastics, noting that to be respected as an educative and scientific discipline, it must unify its method and be based on a scientific perspective, in which medicine must have a dominating position, overcoming those positions based on experience and acrobatics.

He was invited to the second and fourth General Meeting, giving speeches, whose titles were: 'Manera de armonizar la Educación Física con la intelectual y la moral durante todo el periodo educativo, desarrollando la educación integral' and 'Modernos derroteros de la Gimnástica'.⁷¹ In both texts, he emphasizes the idea of basing gymnastics on science and the importance that this discipline has not only in a person's physical development, but in the intellectual and moral one.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when he was older than 50, López Gómez continued writing some monographs and newspaper articles. Indeed, in 1902 he published his second important article: 'Algunas consideraciones sobre la obesidad y su tratamiento',⁷² in which the author proposes some specific physical exercises to lose weight to counter what he calls 'nutrition vices'.

Some years later, he published a small book *Atlas de ejercicios gimnásticos higiénicos*, made of some charts of easy physical exercises, specifically devised and illustrated for students in these schools.⁷³ This job would be published again in 1914 under the name *Atlas de ejercicios de cultura física*.⁷⁴

5 Within the framework of the first Education General Meeting held in 1910, López Gómez presents a work named '¿Debe subsistir la enseñanza de la Gimnástica?'; in which he defends vehemently gyms and education's social need of teaching gymnastics as a fundamental part not only of a person's welfare but of comprehensive education.⁷⁵

10 Also in another specialized sphere, the National Meeting for Child Protection and Homelessness Repression, we find the publication: 'La cultura física en sus relaciones con la higiene de la infancia', a speech in which he gathers different theories on the importance of gymnastics as hygienic practice, especially recommended in childhood.⁷⁶

15 Two years later, he published *Curso teórico práctico de Educación Física*, made up of two volumes. He changed the term used for this discipline and he will not use again the term 'gymnastics', but, in accordance with the times, the modern concept of physical education. With this work, López Gómez wanted this discipline to be considered as 'public utility' and to be compulsory at schools. With this goal, he wrote a request to Education and Arts Minister on 14 April 1917:

20 ... while teaching in those schools he had published a work on Physical Education and I would like you to give the appropriate commands to inform Education Ministry in case it is necessary to declare it useful to be read at schools.⁷⁷

This claim was denied in a devastating report given by Medicine Royal Academy. Here, are some compelling paragraphs:

25 The work entitled 'Curso teórico-práctico de Educación Física', is made of a small volume, whose printing is average, its paper of low quality and with some images which are not properly correct or carefully done ... It is obvious that it is not a book of elementary study; but a mere summary whose only goal is to give an idea of what Physical Education is and what its aims are; but it is so brief, and it lacks explanation, that this study can just be regarded as a subject index⁷⁸.

30 In spite of this setback, López Gómez kept on working and a year later, in the 'VI Congreso de la Asociación Española para el progreso de las Ciencias', he published 'La Educación Física en la mujer'. In this presentation, the author foregrounds the importance of gymnastics practice in women in order to keep a balanced body and, accordingly, according to López Gómez and to the prevailing thought by that time: '... complies with the physiological goals that nature itself imposes, because of the interesting purpose that must be accomplished here, since it is well proved that healthy, vigorous and strong mothers usually have strong, powerful and virile children.'⁷⁹

35 His last book was *Pro Educación Física*.⁸⁰ In this work, López Gómez emphasized again, with ideas previously pointed out, the importance of physical education in society of that time, the need to make it a habit in citizens' everyday life (as a subject at school and as a frequent practice in gyms) and the scientific basis of this discipline.

40 The year he retired, being 70 years old, he published a brief 10-page booklet titled *Las colonias escolares desde el punto de vista higiénico, educativo y social*.⁸¹ In this text, he points out the need of childhood protection, the importance of physical education in infant training because of its hygienic and educative value and, consequently, he proposes that these new educative experiences, named school camps, use this educative mean: physical education.

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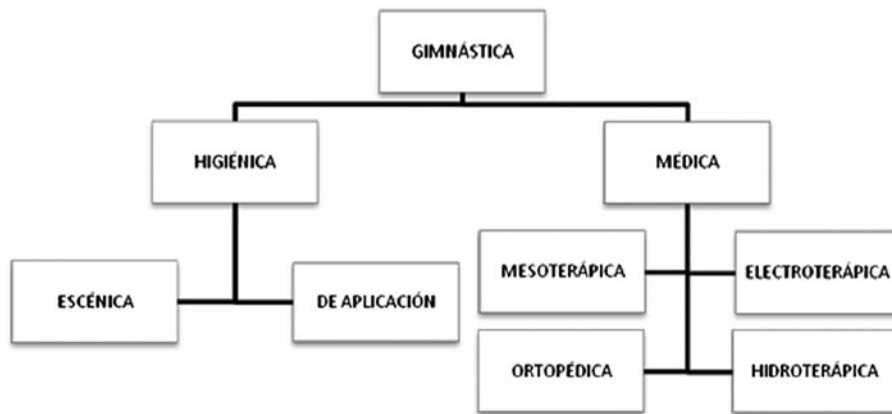


Figure 3. Gymnastics classification according to López Gómez. Source: Chart made from his work, S. López Gómez, *Manual de ejercicios gimnásticos para los Institutos y Escuelas Normales* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Gironés y Orduña, 1894).

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Last, when he was already retired, he published a vast number of articles in the magazine *Pro-Infantia*, probably due to the fact that he was a member of the 'Junta de Protección de la Infancia' (Infant Protection Society) from 1913. Their contents are directly related to other previous publications. The total number of articles that he published in this magazine from 1924 until 1931 is 16.⁸² We should highlight that he made these publications when he was between 72 and 79 years old. This gives us an idea of his productivity as an author and also of his commitment and professionalism with the discipline to which he dedicated his life.

Gymnastics Teacher

López Gómez was a man ahead of his time in all the aspects regarding physical practices, thanks not only to his training but to some trips to France. He knew methods, machines, exercises, games and even sports which came from France. This would be a fundamental source in his idea of gymnastics, but not the only one since, as it has been already pointed out, he attempted to bring gymnastics closer to medicine, as this was a fully recognized subject by the scientific community and citizens.⁸³

In order to understand his idea of gymnastics, we should begin stating that even he himself admitted this term's ambiguity because of its three senses: for some people it implies fight, struggle and rivalry, for others it implies a superhuman effort and for a reduced group, just some deliberate and methodical exercises.

Taking into account this conceptual and processing ambiguity, the implementation of gymnastics admits that it has provoked opposed results. On the one hand, it has been praised by doctors, philosophers and educators but, on the other hand, it is conceived in some gyms according to some principles, which are far from the essential medical, philosophical and educative precepts.

Bearing this in mind, he claims that the most accurate concept of this term is the one given by Colonel Lieutenant Amorós: 'Reasoned science of our movements, our relationships with our senses, our intelligence, feelings and customs.'⁸⁴

From this definition, and with the clear purpose of providing this discipline with seriousness and scientific recognition, López Gómez himself gives his own definition: 'Set of deliberate movements, wisely and perfectly calculated, reasoned, ordered and systematic whose goal is the improvement and balance of all body forces.'⁸⁵

Once gymnastics are defined, he takes a classification already cited by other authors, who differentiate between hygienic gymnastics (which had a corrective character and whose aim was to prevent disease) and medical gymnastics (whose objective was to contribute to the cure of diseases).⁸⁶ The first one, López Gómez says, is subdivided into Scenic and Applied. For the second one, the division is based on the different therapeutic applications that it has: Message Therapy, Electrotherapy, Orthopaedics and Hydrotherapy (Figure 3).⁸⁷

For López Gómez, gymnastics' fundamental component, in all its categories, was physical exercises. He makes a deep bibliographical review of contemporary authors on these and, from it, he proposes his own classification: (1) Elementary or free exercises: those in which different parts of the body are moved without needing any machines at all. These are divided into: head, upper limbs, trunk, lower limbs and general body movement exercises. Within this last group, he studies gymnastics running, that he curiously defines: 'Running is just a hasty March alternated with jumps';⁸⁸ (2) Mixed exercises: those in which some machines or material is needed in order to move someone's body.

All in all, López Gómez understands gymnastics from a useful and healthy sense, both preventive and therapeutic. This is pointed out in the following clear paragraph:

He embraces the practice of all the exercises which, appropriately done, make people strengthen and able to resist different life hardships, getting used to overcome difficulties and be successful no matter how many obstacles there are. This is also a fundamental part of many illnesses' therapies.⁸⁹

Also, we must point out, due to the importance in his efforts for using gymnastic machines, the idea that he has of mechanics. He follows D'Alembert's principles: inertia, complex movement and balance power. Accordingly, mechanics is defined as the science which studies balance and human body movements and keeps on making a division into two categories: static and dynamic mechanics.⁹⁰ The first one has to do with balanced postures, whereas the second one is related to movements.

This concept of mechanics, together with Amorós' influence, was crucial in his interest towards the usage of gymnastic equipment, which he called machines.⁹¹ He differentiated two categories of machines: constant and mobile. The first ones were 'objects aimed at fixed exercises' and the second ones aimed at 'objects aimed at easy exercises'.⁹²

Within constant machines, according to some writings,⁹³ the most used ones were: parallel bars (simple, orthopaedic and triple), rings (separated 43 or 45 centimetres approximately and with a height of 2.15 metres), pommel horse (from Amorós' 'Manual de Educación Física y Moral'), gymnastic pulley machine, trapeze, Vignolles' machine and pulleys. López Gómez comments this on gymnastic pulley machines:

The gymnastic pulley machine has a roller of average dimensions hung on the roof and a rope which goes through a cleft. In one of its ends, there is a hook to hang on it the different weights that are used in diverse exercise. From the other side, there are two ropes that end in a cylindrical stick similar to the one in a trapeze or in a small stick similar to a triangle.⁹⁴

Also, within mobile machines, he makes a distinction among ropes, poles (as pole vaults), climbing ropes, trampolines, bats, short dumbbells (a metal bar whose ends are linked to metal balls of different weights), big dumbbells (the same that the previous ones but with

large weights) and long dumbbells (with a metal bar whose length varies between a metre and a metre and a half).

Furthermore, as a complement of his gymnastic proposal, López Gómez turns to sports, making brief descriptions of the ones which were more popular by that time and that he used in his lessons. Among them, horse riding is found and it is defined, in a peculiar way, as an activity based on mixed exercises, neither passive nor active ones.⁹⁵ He claims that its effects are healthy if it is practiced sensibly and that tone, energy, balance apart from other moral and leisure ones are among its benefits.⁹⁶

Similarly, he writes on swimming, which he defends. In his works, there is an extensive historical review of this sport activity, mainly focused on the classical period in which it was already used as military training.⁹⁷ It is defined, according to Dr Ronquillo's work written in Barcelona in 1876 as: 'The most perfect of all active exercises, the art of sustaining and advancing in the water, executing some rhythmic exercises that we should learn.'⁹⁸

He distinguishes among two swimming varieties, the sport one and hydratia, a term that from the nineteenth century is equivalent to hydrotherapy, which dates back to the seventeenth century.

Another sport that he deals with in some chapters is fencing, that he defines as an art and says that some people regard it as a science.⁹⁹ Despite describing some fencing exercises, he recognizes, in a hidden way, that he is not specialized in it. In the book *El Gimnasio*, the four pages dedicated to it are from an article taken, literally, according to his description: 'To the benevolence of our special friend M. Tirso de Arregui, *Caballero Teniente Mayor del Reino y de la Real Orden americana de Isabel la Católica*, we owe him the following copied lines.'¹⁰⁰

In this line, he also admits that he knows most exercises of this kind thanks to Carbonell brothers, who visited Seville to teach in the 'Círculo de Labradores':

For the description of fencing exercises, we follow the one from our special friends Mr. Carbonell brothers, which is the best one known, as we could see in the hall of arms of Seville's 'Círculo de Labradores', where they were established as teachers for some years.¹⁰¹

Through fencing, we could notice his interest in the therapeutic and rehabilitative aspects of these exercises. He said about fencing that medicine uses it in order to correct lack of balance or side body weaknesses, making people exercise those weak sides.

Last, in his vast works he dedicated, although briefly and with less knowledge, attention to croquet, lawn tennis, bowling and football. In this last case, because of the descriptions that he makes of its rules in his work *Manual de Ejercicios Gimnásticos para uso de Institutos y Escuelas Normales*, his knowledge was biased and rudimentary since in its description there are some elements already disappeared with the unification of rules that took place in 1863. Nonetheless, López Gómez, as a gymnastics teacher, made his students in the secondary school play football in 1895, when this sport was barely practiced. Hence, there is a specific reference in a Sevillian newspaper in 1895.¹⁰²

Conclusions

The figure of López Gómez as a teacher, prolific writer and speaker, law developer and critic make him one of the most relevant figure in Spanish gymnastics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁰³ In fact, this is proved by the high number of gyms all over Spain that recognized him as honorary director or the large number of books and articles that he

published in his life.¹⁰⁴ As a result, he was given a striking name that was reflected in this article's title: apostle of gymnastics in Spain.

Regarding this, it is to be pointed out that his professional career was developed in a remarkably hostile context. Even though there are some remnants of the growing development of gymnastics in Europe, this was only perceived in the largest cities as Madrid or Barcelona since the underdeveloped and rural South was far from those modernity flares.

It is true that he did not develop his own method but his enormous job as an author shows the knowledge that he had from the different nineteenth century gymnastic trends and even those of the emerging sports. In any case, he always had the gymnastics from his admired Amorós as a model, although he was informed of the latest news and innovations that emerged in this discipline. Actually, he was acquainted with the newest material and machines, which he introduced in the sphere of Sevillian gymnastics for the first time.

His ultimate purpose was to make gymnastics, which was considered as a fundamental discipline not only in physical but in intellectual and moral personal training, be respected and acknowledged by society at that time. In order to achieve this, there were two objectives: on the one hand, trying to bring gymnastics closer to medicine since he thought that gymnastics should be more scientific and medicine was the right science in which they could support, and; on the other hand, achieving this through the discipline's legal acknowledgement so that its practice was spread not only at schools but to the everyday life of citizens in gyms. To that end, apart from criticizing the laws which went against this, he tried unsuccessfully to make gymnastics regarded as 'publicly useful'. Nevertheless, this setback cannot obscure his professional career but, on the contrary, it must be an example of his commitment and passion towards this discipline. This is the last point of the paper since its outcome cannot be other than López Gómez's acknowledgement as a passionate gymnastics person who, with his huge professional effort, made this discipline become more popular, respected and practiced.

[AQ2](#)

Notes

1. As Tuñón de Lara shows in his book, the Regenerationist Movement wanted to modernize all spheres of social and political life. See M. Tuñón de Lara, *La España del siglo XX* (Barcelona: Laia, 1974), 15–6.
2. Crown Decree, 8 July 1847. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 12 July 1847.
3. Crown Order, 14 August 1849. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 16 August 1849.
4. J.P. Sanchís Ramírez, *La actividad gimnástica y deportiva en Sevilla durante el siglo XIX* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 2010), 231–5.
5. Fernández Sirvent, *Francisco Amorós y los inicios de la Educación Física moderna. Biografía de un funcionario al servicio de España y Francia* (Alicante: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, 2005), 309–15.
6. J.L. Pastor Pradillo, *Manuales escolares y libros de texto de Educación Física en los estudios de Magisterio (1883–1978)* (Alcalá de Henares: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá, 2005), 31.
7. X. Torredadella Flix, 'Los apóstoles de la Educación Física. Trece semblanzas profesionales en la Educación Física española contemporánea', *Revista Española de Educación Física*, 406 (2014), 58.
8. J. Castro Prieto, *Orígenes del fútbol sevillano. La olvidada memoria británica* (Madrid: Punto Rojo, 2012), 14.
9. In fact, as X. Torredadella Flix, J. Olivera Betrán and M. Martínez Bou show in 'Origen e institucionalización del asociacionismo gimnástico-deportivo en España en el siglo XIX

(1882–1900), *Apunts. Educación Física y Deportes* 119 (2015), 7–54, there were 34 gymnastics associations in Spain during the nineteenth century, out of which only two were located in the south of the Iberian Peninsula (Badajoz and Cádiz). X. Torreadella Flix and J. Olivera Betrán also show in ‘The Birth of the Sports Press in Spain Within the Regenerationist Context of the Late Nineteenth Century’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 30, no. 18 (2013), 2164–96, this reality, because there were no magazines related to gymnastics in southern Spain.

10. J.L. Hernández Vázquez, ‘Los aparatos de Amorós y su influencia en la gimnástica española del siglo XIX’, in T. González Aja and J.L. Hernández Vázquez (eds), *Seminario Francisco Amorós su obra entre dos culturas* (Madrid: Excmo. Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1990), 35.
11. A. Ávila Fernández, ‘Salvador López Gómez y la conformación de la gimnasia como disciplina académica durante el siglo XIX: Postulados teórico-prácticos’, in *XI Coloquio de la Historia de la Educación. La acreditación de saberes y competencias. Perspectiva histórica* (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2001), 39–47; A. Ávila Fernández, ‘La importancia y necesidad de la gimnasia según el pensamiento educativo de Emilio Salvador López Gómez’, in *I Jornadas Andaluzas de Historia del Deporte* (Sevilla: Departamento Educación Física y Deporte de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2008), 3–21; and Herrera García, ‘Emilio Salvador López Gómez’.
12. Documentary collection centres: Archives (Archivo del Casino Militar de Sevilla, Archivo de la Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, Archivo General de la Administración, Archivo General de Andalucía, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, Archivo Histórico de Protocolo de Sevilla, Archivo Histórico de la Universidad de Sevilla, Archivo del Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria y Bachillerato ‘San Isidoro’ de Sevilla, Archivo Municipal de Sevilla, Archivo de la Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País de Sevilla); Libraries (Biblioteca de la antigua Real Sociedad de Medicina, Biblioteca del Ateneo de Sevilla, Biblioteca Municipal de Sevilla, Biblioteca de la Escuela de Magisterio de Sevilla, Fondo Antiguo, Biblioteca del Instituto Nacional de Educación Física de Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Biblioteca Central de la Universidad de Sevilla); Newspaper libraries (Hemeroteca Municipal de Sevilla, Hemeroteca Nacional, Hemeroteca del Instituto Andaluz del Deporte).
13. Computerized databases (Google Scholar, Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias Españolas, Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español, Catálogo de Bibliotecas Públicas del Estado, Fondo de las bibliotecas perteneciente al Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Catálogo Colectivo del Fondo Antiguo en Lengua Española en materia de actividad física y deporte).
14. A. Herrera García, ‘Emilio Salvador López y Gómez, Catedrático de Gimnástica’, *Hespérides: Anuario de investigaciones* 15 (2007), 66.
15. Ávila Fernández, ‘La importancia y la necesidad’, 7. Sanchís Ramírez, *La actividad gimnástica y deportiva en Sevilla*, 246.
16. X. Torreadella Flix, ‘Victor Venitien, un gimnasiarca discípulo de Amorós en Sevilla (1839–1861). Notas para completar la historia de la Educación Física española’, *Arte y Movimiento* 9 (2013), 25.
17. V. Morillas Alonso, *Guía general de Sevilla y su provincia* (Sevilla: Imprenta y litografía de la Revista Mercantil, 1860), 83.
18. *Ibid.*, 206.
19. M. Méndez Bejarano, *Diccionario de escritores, maestros y oradores naturales de Sevilla y su actual provincia* (Sevilla: Tipografía Gironés, 1922), 406.
20. Ávila Fernández, ‘Salvador López y la conformación’, 44.
21. This is the commonly accepted number of graduates, but Martínez Navarro raises it to 97 (80 men and 17 women) in ‘Datos para la historia de una iniciativa fallida’. A. Martínez Navarro, ‘Datos para la historia de una iniciativa fallida: la Escuela Central de Gimnástica’, *Historia de la Educación*, 14 (2013), 147.
22. S. López Gómez, *Breve reseña histórica de la gimnástica en Europa* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Juan Moyano, 1821), 21.
23. *Revista La Educación Física*, 1919, 25.
24. Méndez Bejarano, *Diccionario de escritores, maestros y oradores*, 405.

25. *El Universal*, 16 January 1877, 37.
26. A. Ávila Fernández, *Moverse es vivir. Emilio Salvador López Gómez (1852–1936). La gimnasia en Sevilla* (Sevilla: Diputación de Sevilla, 2014), 242.
27. R. Fernández Sirvent, 'Memoria y olvido de Francisco Amorós y su método educativo gimnástico y moral'. *RICYDE Revista Internacional de Ciencias del Deporte* 6 (2007), 42.
28. Ávila Fernández, *Moverse es vivir*, 55.
29. López Gómez, *Breve reseña histórica*, 34.
30. Fernández Sirvent, 'Memoria y olvido', 32.
31. S. López Gómez, *Curso Teórico-Práctico de la Educación Física* (Sevilla: Imprenta Eulogio de las Heras, 1916), 65.
32. F. Collantes de Terán Delorme, *Crónicas de la Feria (1847–1916)* (Sevilla: Ayuntamiento. Servicio de Publicaciones, 1981), 111.
33. *Revista La Educación Física*, 1919, 25.
34. *Ibid.*
35. A. Ávila Fernández, *Historia de la Escuela Normal de Maestros de Sevilla en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XIX* (Sevilla: Alfar, 1986), 230.
36. 'Standing committee of Public Instruction Ministry's report, dismissing Salvador López's request to appear in the secondary teachers' general scale', Salvador López Gómez's personal file, Signatura 5766, Archivo General de la Administración.
37. 'Release from Public Instruction's General Direction informing Salvador López Gómez of his appointment as gymnastics teacher in the secondary school of Seville, with annual wages of 2000 pesetas, Legajo 5766–7, Archivo General de la Administración.
38. 'Literary University of Seville in which the Seville University Chancellor communicates Public Instruction's General Director that the headmaster of Seville Institute sent a him a letter informing that the current 9th March (1893), D. Emilio Salvador López Gómez took office as Gymnastics teacher', Legajo 5766–7, Archivo General de la Administración.
39. Salvador López Gómez's personal file, Signatura 5766, Archivo General de la Administración.
40. Ávila Fernández, *Moverse es vivir*, 60.
41. 'Report from 13th June 1984 for Public Instruction General Director made by Province Institute of Secondary Education of Seville', Legajo 661, Archivo Histórico de la Universidad de Sevilla.
42. *Revista La Educación Física*, 1919, 25.
43. Legajo 5766–7, Archivo General de la Administración.
44. Crown Order, 22 March 1922. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 28 March 1922.
45. Méndez Bejarano, *Diccionario de escritores, maestros y oradores*, 406.
46. Ávila Fernández, *Moverse es vivir*, 37–8.
47. *Colección Legislativa de España*, Tomo 110 (Madrid: Imprenta Ministerio de Gracia y Justicia, 1960), 1443–54.
48. López Gómez, *Breve reseña histórica*, 36.
49. P. Alcántara García, *Teoría y Práctica de la Educación y la Enseñanza* (Madrid: Gras y Compañía Editores, 1882), 90.
50. *Colección Legislativa de España*, 1443–54.
51. Crown Order, 10 September 1893. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 11 September 1893.
52. Decree, 16 September 1894. *Gaceta de Madrid*, 16 September 1894.
53. S. López Gómez, *Manual de ejercicios gimnásticos para los Institutos y Escuelas Normales* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Gironés y Orduña, 1894), 6.
54. *Ibid.*, 9.
55. López Gómez wrote many books, unpublished typescripts, magazine articles and conference papers. Due to the scope of this paper, we will focus on the books, since they are his most relevant publications, dedicating less importance to unpublished typescripts, conference papers and articles (quoting only the most relevant).
56. S. López Gómez, *El Gimnasio* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Baldaraque, 1873), 3.
57. López Gómez, *Breve reseña histórica de la gimnástica en Europa*, cover page.

58. X. Torreadella Flix, 'Las primeras revistas profesionales y científicas de la Educación física española (1882–1936)', *Apunts. Educación Física y Deportes* 109 (2012), 14.
59. Ibid.
- 5 60. Two years before, he published 'Importancia y necesidad de la gimnástica. Concepto de esta parte de la Educación Física en las escuelas públicas', which has not yet been discovered.
61. S. López Gómez, 'Higiene de la gimnástica', unpublished typescripts, Sevilla, 1892.
62. This conference paper text, consisting of 17 pages, was published in several numbers of the biweekly magazine *Los Deportes* (1897–1910). In fact, this was his first great article.
- 10 63. In 1893, he published another work 'Catálogo descriptivo de aparatos. Proyecto de Gimnasia Higiénica Municipal', which has not yet been discovered.
64. S. López Gómez, 'Hidroterapia. Su historia y aparatos portátiles más usuales', Unpublished manuscript, Sevilla, 1893.
65. X. Torreadella Flix, 'Crítica a la bibliografía gimnástica de la Educación Física publicada en España (1801–1939)', *Anales de Documentación* 16, no. 1 (2013), 8.
- 15 66. S. López Gómez, *Programa razonado de Teoría y Práctica de la Gimnástica. Lecciones explicadas* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Díaz y Carballo, 1894).
67. S. López Gómez, 'Educación Física para niñas', unpublished manuscript, Sevilla, 1895.
68. Torreadella Flix, 'Las primeras revistas', 15–6.
69. S. López Gómez, 'La Gimnástica en España. Su historia y legislación', unpublished typescripts, Sevilla, 1897.
- 20 70. Although X. Torreadella Flix indicated in *Repertorio bibliográfico inédito de la educación física y el deporte en España (1800–1939)* (Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 2011) that he has not found this publication, we have located a copy of this book in 'Archivo Histórico de la Universidad de Sevilla'. See S. López Gómez, *Unificación de la enseñanza de la Gimnástica por un solo método* (Sevilla: Imprenta El Mercantil, 1899).
- 25 71. S. López Gómez, *Manera de armonizar la Educación Física con la intelectual y la moral durante todo el periodo educativo, desenvolviendo la educación integral* (Sevilla: Imprenta El Mercantil, 1900); S. López Gómez, *Modernos derroteros de la Gimnástica* (Sevilla: Imprenta de Francisco de P. Díaz, 1902).
- 30 72. This article, consisting of 17 pages, appeared in several numbers (published between 29 June and 31 August 1902) of the biweekly magazine *Los Deportes*.
73. S. López Gómez, *Atlas de ejercicios gimnásticos higiénicos* (Sevilla: Escuelas Profesionales de Artes y Oficios, 1906).
- 35 74. S. López Gómez, *Atlas de ejercicios de cultura física* (Sevilla: Establecimiento tipográfico Francisco Díaz, 1914).
75. S. López Gómez, *¿Debe subsistir la enseñanza de la Gimnástica?* (Sevilla: Imprenta Eulogio de las Heras, 1910).
76. S. López Gómez, *La cultura física en sus relaciones con la higiene de la infancia* (Sevilla: Imprenta del Asilo de los Huérfanos del Santo Corazón de Jesús, 1914).
- 40 77. Salvador López Gómez's personal file, Signatura 5766, Archivo General de la Administración.
78. Ibid.
79. S. López Gómez, *La Educación Física en la mujer* (Sevilla: Imprenta La Exposición, 1917), 6.
80. S. López Gómez, 'Pro Educación Física', unpublished typescripts, Sevilla, 1918.
- 45 81. S. López Gómez, 'Las colonias escolares desde el punto de vista higiénico, educativo y social', unpublished typescripts, Sevilla, 1922.
82. The referenced articles can be viewed in Ávila Fernández *Moverse es vivir*, 544–5.
83. According to Pastor Pradillo lack of knowledge of the early teachers tried to compensate with knowledge from other areas, such as medicine. See J.L. Pastor Pradillo, *Gimnástica. De la inopia conceptual a la utopía metodológica* (Madrid: Librería deportiva Esteban Sanz, S.L., 2003), 139.
- 50 84. López Gómez, *Manual de ejercicios gimnásticos para los Institutos y Escuelas Normales*, 12.
85. Ibid.
86. A. Ávila Fernández, 'Influencia de la educación física (gimnástica) en la higiene infantil como fuente de salud: estudio analítico a través de la bibliografía pedagógica de Emilio

Salvador López Gómez, in P. Dávila y L.M. Naya (ed.), *La infancia en la historia: espacios y representaciones*, vol. 1 (San Sebastián: Erein, 2005), 510.

87. *Ibid.*, 48.

88. *Ibid.*, 46.

89. *Ibid.*, 13.

90. *Ibid.*, 35.

91. López Gómez, *El Gimnasio*, 98.

92. *Ibid.*, 99.

93. His two works in which he deeply explains the notion of machine and its types are: López Gómez, *El Gimnasio*, and López Gómez, *Manual de ejercicios gimnásticos para los Institutos y Escuelas Normales*.

94. López Gómez, *El Gimnasio*, 92.

95. López Gómez, *Manual de ejercicios gimnásticos para los Institutos y Escuelas Normales*, 187.

96. *Ibid.*, 188.

97. *Ibid.*, 185.

98. *Ibid.*, 173.

99. *Ibid.*, 180.

100. López Gómez, *El Gimnasio*, 189.

101. López Gómez, *Manual de ejercicios gimnásticos para los Institutos y Escuelas Normales*, 143.

102. *Diario el Noticiero Sevillano* 321 (1895), 23.

103. We agree with Miguel Ortega because he says that López Gómez boasted a great leadership within gymnastics at his time, which was manifested in his work as a teacher, author and promoter of laws. Indeed, he was a great propagandist of gymnastics during the last third of the nineteenth century and during the first third of the twentieth century. See A. Miguel Ortega, 'Don Emilio Salvador López Gómez. Iniciador y propagandista de la formación del profesorado de Educación Física en España', PhD diss., Universidad de Burgos, 2015.

104. In fact, Torreadella Flix and Olivera Betrán presented a selection of hundred books from the bibliographic repertoire of physical education and sport, which included three of López Gómez's books: *El Gimnasio*, *Breve reseña histórica de la gimnástica en Europa* and *Manual de ejercicios gimnásticos para los Institutos y Escuelas Normales*. See X. Torreadella Flix and J. Olivera Betrán, 'Las cien obras clave del repertorio bibliográfico español de la Educación Física y el deporte en su proceso de legitimación e institucionalización (1807–1938)', *Revista General de Información y Documentación* 22 (2012), 119–68.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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