

Lilí Alvarez: Star Athlete, Writer, and Feminist "a su Manera"

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Spain never had an authentic feminist movement. It had no Susan B. Anthony nor any group of women willing to suffer beatings, fasting, and imprisonment for the sake of the struggle for suffrage. In fact, as María Angeles Durán states, of the documents she collected on equality for women none qualifies as a manifesto "por no ser piezas independientes o no haber tenido un impacto social fuerte e inmediato" (*Mujeres y hombres* 23). This dearth of militancy does not mean that Spain lacked men and women who addressed the issue of the advancement of women. In the eighteenth century, Benito Feijoo called for sexual equality, and in 1899 Adolfo Posada, in his book *Feminismo*, defended the emancipation of women. In the nineteenth century women like Concepción Arenal and Emilia Pardo Bazán spoke about the need to improve the social condition of women, especially in the area of education. The surge in the feminist movement outside of Spain after World War I fostered a national discussion on gender, and the incipient modernization brought about in Spain by demographic and economic changes produced a climate in which women could participate more in the public discourse.¹ Women such as Carmen de Burgos, María de la O Lejárraga, María de Maeztu, and Margarita Nelken wrote and spoke on the economic, educational, and political conditions of women and some of them, through personal example, contributed to the advancement of women.²

The twenties in Spain was an era of prosperity, of technological and social advancement, and of certain improvements in the lives of women. For example, the number of women attending university in 1928 grew nearly fivefold over 1920 and eighty fold over 1910 (Capel *El trabajo*, 381, 473).. Several women's associations were formed that fostered the social involvement and the intellectual enrichment of women. For example, the Asociación Nacional de Mujeres Españolas, founded in 1918, promoted equal civil and political rights for women, and the Lyceum Club Femenino, formed in 1926, provided women with an access to the cultural and intellectual developments of the day. The Roaring Twenties, or the "felices veinte" as they were known in Spain, was also an era of novel kinds of entertainment like the frenzied Charleston and an array of mechanical marvel like the automobile and the airplane. A fun-loving, exuberant, and carefree spirit reigned among the youth. Women, or at least the most daring and those of means, went to night clubs, drove cars, and played sports. The increased emphasis on health and hygiene as well as the revival of the Olympics increased the appeal of sports not only for men but also for the first time for women. The twenties also saw the beginning of a phenomenon that would flourish as the century progressed: the star athlete. Just as Hollywood movies were creating film legends, sports were producing their own mythic figures. In soccer there were Ricardo Zamora, Jacinto Quinoces, and Pepe Samitier, and in boxing Paulino Uzcudun won heavy-weight matches in Europe and the United States. In tennis there was Lilí Alvarez (Elia María González-Alvarez y López-Chicerí), a consummate athlete gifted in many sports and an outspoken feminist, yet essentially forgotten today.

Lilí Alvarez (1905-1998) spent her youth in Switzerland, for the sake of her mother's poor health, and traveled throughout Europe learning several languages and enjoying an upper-class life style. Throughout her long life she practiced many different sports: ice skating, skiing, tennis, horseback riding, car racing, fencing, and golf. She won her first ice skating trophy at eleven in Saint Moritz and at sixteen won an international gold medal in that sport. She won the Catalonian car race in 1924, but shifted all her attention to tennis, a sport at which she was winning honors since the age of thirteen. She was the first Spanish woman to participate in the Olympics, when she formed part of its team in the Games of 1924 in Paris. It was, however, at Wimbledon that she gained international fame. She was a finalist there in 1926, 1927, and 1928, held the number-two rank in the world in women's tennis during those same years, and won the women's doubles at the French Open in 1929 with her partner the Dutchwoman Kornelia Bourman. She continued to play tennis and win championships up to 1942, but her years of glory were those at Wimbledon.

The British were enthralled by this extraordinarily talented woman, whom they dubbed "the Señorita."³ When she arrived in England in 1926 she instantly became a celebrity. According to an *ABC* article from the period, a month after her arrival she was the most sought after person in England. Newspapers published her picture daily, fans thronged to get her autograph, and admirers waited hours to get a glimpse of her leaving a restaurant or a theater. No doubt as María Campo Alange wrote, her attractive figure and dark Mediterranean beauty contributed to her charm (185). She was not paid much money, but fame had its rewards. She herself admitted that stardom allowed her to live like a millionaire: "No percibías un céntimo, es cierto; pero el 'vedettismo' adquirido mediante la raqueta te permitía vivir la existencia de un supermillonario" (*El mito* 104). Even after the high point in her athletic career in those Wimbledon years, Alvarez continued to excel in tennis. She was a semifinalist at Roland Garros in 1930, 1931, and 1936, a finalist there in mixed doubles in 1927, doubles champion at the French Open in 1929, singles champion at the Italian Open in 1930, the individual champion in Spain in 1929 and 1940, the doubles champion in Spain in 1941 and 1942, and the individual and mixed doubles champion in Argentina in 1930.

Thanks to her fame in sports, she began to work as a journalist. The Argentine newspaper *La Nación* asked her for articles after she won both the individual and mixed doubles championships there. From 1931 to 1936 she wrote for the London *Daily Mail* on Spanish politics, the Spanish civil war, and especially on the changing role of women. After 1940 she wrote numerous columns on sports for *Arriba* and *La Vanguardia*. In 1965 she was sent to Australia by the magazine *Blanco y Negro* to cover the Davis Cup. In 1934 she married a French aristocrat and diplomat, the Count of Valdène, but after losing her unborn child, they separated. She settled in Spain where she continued to engage in competitive sports, to write, and to encourage women to play sports. She played an important part in the training of the first female instructors of physical education. She was on the board of the athletic division of the Sección Femenina, the women's branch of the Falange charged with the socialization of girls in the ultra-Catholic, fascistic ideology of the dictatorship, and she taught tennis and ski classes for them. Toward the very end of her life she collaborated with the National Sports Council, which now houses her personal and profession memorabilia and makes them available for exhibitions throughout Spain.⁴

Despite her success in tennis, Lili Alvarez refused to turn professional. When the American sports promoter Charles C. Pyle offered her a blank check in 1926 to turn professional, she declined because she thought that would mean repeating the same match indefinitely (*CienciayDeporte* 2). In this way she retained her mystic as a star and maintained her status as an amateur. For her, the amateur or at least the athlete who played for the sake of the game and not the money was the noblest type of athlete, a spiritual and transcendent being. She crystallized her thoughts on this theme in her introductory remarks to *Plenitud* (1946), a collection of the maxims of Jean Girardoux on sports. Her essay outlines her ideas on the athlete as the incarnation of the perfect body and soul or, in other words, of "plenitude." She writes that in contrast to the poet who rejects the body and feels embittered, the accomplished athlete involves his whole body in what he does and feels confident and joyful. An athlete is characterized by his agility, quickness, flexibility, strength, skill and the equilibrium. Through these qualities he experiences an expansive and spatial perfection synonymous with beauty. For Alvarez sports are the foundation for a full and rich life. Superior to the non-athlete, who tends only to his inner life, the athlete is a total person, because he combines both inner and outer life. He enriches his spiritual self by developing his physical self and likewise he enhances his soul without disregarding his body. Alvarez carries her idealization one step further, portraying the athlete as godlike. Freed from the banalities of everyday life, he achieves harmony with nature: "Por eso sé que de todos los quehaceres del hombre actual, el deporte es el que más--por no decir el único--le hace andar en las fragantes cercanías de lo divino" (*Plenitud* 27). She converts sports into an aestheticism, a philosophy of life, and nearly a religion.

The goal of sports, for her, is not merely to win but to feel the splendid joy of the game: "Lo que importa es cómo se siente y no cómo se hace" (*Plenitud* 39). This state of joy and plenitude is reached by the amateur who focuses on the process of play rather than on the end result of an award of some sort. Later in life however she realized that amateurism is a "falso y anquilosado mito" (*El mito* 76). In the book *El mito del "amateurismo"* (1968), a collection of essays published previously in Spanish magazines, she contends that amateurism defined as sports played for pure pleasure and untarnished by money belongs to dilettantes. It is a luxury only affordable by aristocrats and is additionally antidemocratic and elitist. She defends sports as a professional activity, but ever the idealist, she sets its criterion not as a monetary gain but as disciplined dedication. The athlete, she argues, should not be judged by how much money he or she makes, but by his or her sense of good-sportsmanship. She reconciles the notion of amateur to that of professional by defining the athlete as a person thoroughly dedicated to competitive sports and who excels at them whether or not financially remunerated for the effort. The great athlete, therefore, is like an artist: "Para mí, el gran deportista se parece al artista" (*El mito* 86). The motivation is to win, to do one's best, to stand out, but above all to display one's art. What she deplores is not that an athlete might make money, but if what dominates is mercantilism, the placing money as the primary goal. She celebrates those who do not betray their art by inverting priorities: "Los puros hoy día no son los que no cobran, sino los que no se dejan sobornar por el dinero que cobran" (*El mito* 96).

Lili Álvarez was not only a champion athlete who wrote about sports, she was also a feminist in her actions and words. In the early twentieth century, Spanish women did not generally partake in competitive sports. Progressive institutions inspired by the philosophy of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, such as the Instituto Escuela and the Residencia de Señoritas,

recognized the importance of physical exercise for girls as part of a complete education and as a way to promote good health. However, women rarely competed on a national level. For one thing, public performance and corporal display were incompatible with the traditional conceptualization of innate feminine tendencies and of morally acceptable behavior in women. While a couple progressive institutions promoted a well-rounded education for women, the vast majority subscribed to the ideology of the Catholic Church, which viewed education for girls as the means of inculcating in them religious dogma and the values of decorum, obedience, and piety. *La buena Juanita*, the reading primer used for girls during the first half of the twentieth century, played a major role in the socialization of girls. It taught that the goal of life was to be clean, domestic, and virtuous. Social institutions molded young girls into passive, sheltered, and humble beings: all qualities antithetical to those needed to play sports. Thus girls engaging in sports in the early twenties were faced with the moral dilemma of how to challenge the acceptable model of femininity in order to play sports, an activity universally deemed masculine, without losing their gender identity. The answer of course is that the concept of gender would have to be altered. Sports were instrumental in bringing about changes in gender demarcations, but they have not resolved completely the gender predicament of the female athlete. Sheila Scraton explains in the following way the ideological difficulty that sports provoke: "By undertaking 'masculine' pursuits young women would be in danger of developing 'masculinity' and an 'active' sexuality. Thus the pioneers of physical education trod the new path to physical activity with restraint. At no time did they challenge the ideology of women's sexuality and they were careful to adapt and encourage new physical pursuits which would incorporate this ideology and contribute to its reproduction" (35). In the late twentieth century, North American sport sociology and social psychology still felt obliged to show that sport competition did not masculinize female participants psychologically and behaviorally (Hall 7). Alvarez was very aware of the double bind facing female athletes: "Para ellas, el deporte es como un arma terrible de dos filos, o mejor dicho, la resbaladiza arista de un monte erguida sobre dos abismos: las pobres han de esforzarse de un difícil equilibrio para no caer en el vacío de la ñoñez o en el precipicio de la desvergüenza" (*Plenitud* 75).

Lilí Alvarez made daring public gestures that unsettled prevailing thinking on gender. She not only competed in public, she was also triumphant and internationally famous. She was the daughter of a family of means who lived and traveled throughout Europe and indulged in sports and other leisure activities that were the privilege only of aristocrats and the financial elite. However, after World War I, as the world changed, becoming more industrialized, more prosperous, and more bourgeois, women slowly began to change. Even within this context of the merging modern woman, Lilí Alvarez was an exception. Accomplished, active, and independent, she challenged established norms of behavior with what could be called examples of militant feminism. For example, she caused a stir in the tennis world when she appeared at Wimbledon in a outfit designed by the famous Elsa Schiaparelli that was the prototype of today's shorts. The newspapers occupied themselves with debating whether the "white trousered frock" was more or less decorous than the skirt. Catherine Horwood quotes one daily as stating that the new outfit was evidence that women had a "masculine fixation" (54). As Horwood observes, whether women played sports for health, social, or competitive reasons, women faced a double-edged sword, because they not only had to cross the gendered boundaries of the game itself, they also had to overcome the restrictions of dress equated with feminine modesty (44-46).⁵ Lilí Alvarez managed to do both.

Alvarez was intolerant of masculine domination and condescension. Her outspokenness against "machismo" is highlighted in some of the scant number of articles on her. In the Madrid newspaper *El Mundo* on the occasion of an exhibit on her in 2005, Antonio Sanchidrián quotes her as having said after her marital separation: "Los maridos parecían tutores y eso me indignó. Las mujeres somos idiotas porque nos han hecho idiotas." In 1941 her feminist stance cost her the skiing championship of Spain when she complained about the preferential treatment given by the judges to the men. Sports and feminism were inevitably linked in her. Through sports she achieved a type of social status formerly unknown to women and in so doing undermined the hegemonic concept of gender difference. Likewise, it was by shattering the mold of femininity that she succeeded in competitive sports. Sports and women like Lilí Alvarez have contributed in a meaningful way to the redefinition of women and especially as regards their physical potential. Lilí Alvarez first helped to bring about social change through her athleticism and then she used the authoritative implications gained that way to advance the cause of female emancipation.

During the height of her tennis career, Alvarez began writing in different European newspapers and magazines on sports as well as on the desirability of women's participation in them. She addressed, in particular, the women who were beginning to have more in leisure time. She considered sports a constructive way for them to use their free time, to enjoy contact with nature, and to develop an essential sense of well-being. She always believed that sports opened horizons that would change women's lives: "Lo extraordinario, misterioso, desconocido y profundo que se esconde en el deporte son los nuevos horizontes que se abren en nueva vida, es el papel verdaderamente creador que tiene en esta época el deporte. Es mi afán que vosotras, que tenéis en vuestras manos el desarrollo de la mujer española, el destino de su modernidad, sintieseis y tuvieseis una concepción de él que le diese toda su envergadura" (qtd. in Riaño González 393).

She went to live in Spain at the beginning of the Franco years. The dictator returned the country to its older and religion-based models for women's lives. Nevertheless, Alvarez continued to advocate on behalf of women in lectures, panel discussions, and articles. She promoted sports for young girls through her work with the Sección Femenina, and she helped found the Seminario de Estudios Sociológicos de la Mujer. The latter was a study group that conducted research on the social condition of women and that, by calling attention to its inadequacies, represented a female voice of protest against the authoritarian regime.⁶ Alvarez continued to be straightforward in her defense of women and blunt in her criticism of the treatment of women in Spain. Mocking the pointless moral standards of her country, she complains in *Plenitud* that Spain "mide los centímetros de las faldas y de las mangas de sus mujeres" (74). Similarly she decries the injustice of the double standard that makes women the sole victim of restrictive morality: "es la pobre mujer la única víctima, la única acusada en esa campaña general emprendida en favor de la moralidad y buenas costumbres (*Plenitud* 76). She places the blame on the smugness and vacuity of men and the silence and acceptance of society in general: "Contra esta desorbitación del varón nadie dice nada, todo el mundo lo toma como una cosa normal, forzosa, hasta casi meritoria. Es el lobo endémico, la bestia siempre en acecho que se come la ovejuela si ésta no se defiende... y le defiende a él" (*Plenitud* 77).

In 1951 she delivered a paper entitled "La batalla de la feminidad" at the Congreso Femenino Hispanoamericano. In it she reiterated her perennial theme: that the lack of participation by women in sports and their need for liberation in other fields are intertwined. She believed that only through sports can women truly free themselves from existing gender formulas and alter the dominant cultural constructs that limit women's daily practices, mind, and spirit. For her, Spanish women were still trapped by a passivity that blocked their psychological maturity and therefore impeded initiative, personal responsibility, and self-motivation--all qualities required for participation in society and instilled by sports. While she crusaded for the social and personal advancement of women, she understood that the place of women and their involvement in sports would not change without a modification in men's attitudes. On the surface, she seems to espouse a radical feminist view that goes beyond a call for increased social access and opportunities and becomes an appeal for an alteration in the deeply-rooted structures of masculine thinking and of national behavior. She argued that while women had to change their exterior dress, men had to change their inner "attire." Indeed, all Spaniards, she said, needed to take sports more seriously, erase their fear of exposing their bodies, become physically active, and discover the joyous freedom epitomized by sports (*Plenitud* 67-94).

Her efforts on behalf of women's greater involvement in sports brought her to reflect upon and redefine the nature of women. Even though her own life had been one of encroachment into the significant area of masculine domain that sports represented, she did not promote gender neutrality or equality for women. She espoused a feminism of difference that does not coincide with the aggressive feminism of a Hélène Cixous or Luce Irigaray, but rather with the notion of complementarity that Gregorio Marañón circulated in Spain in the twenties. In his 1926 book *Tres ensayos sobre la vida sexual*, he argued that women were not inferior to men, only different and that therefore men and women were biological, psychological, and social complements to one another. While he recognized that some women might manifest so-called masculine behaviors and preferences, he considered them exceptions and deviations. Alvarez endorsed Marañón's idea of gender complementarity, because she saw it as an ideological advancement in that it considered women as individual persons rather than as a generic idea. She saw men and women as two sides of a single coin who needed to grow and develop their own inner selves. She wrote: "el nuevo encuentro entre el hombre y la mujer es el que tenemos que descubrir con nuestra buena voluntad abierta y humilde de hombres y mujeres modernos . . . preparar el camino, abrir las posibilidades mentales y espirituales para que, en mutuo respeto y amor, nos complementemos el uno al otro" (*Feminismo y espiritualidad* 183). She went on to say that masculinism resides deep in the subconscious of men, reinforced by the words of Saint Paul and certain biological facts, and that both women and men must work to uncover and overcome masculinist injustices (*Feminismo y espiritualidad* 200). Although she may appear to call for the dissolution of patriarchal thinking and the emancipation of women, her vision remained pacifistic and moralistic. Her idealistic tone and sweeping generalities intensified in her later years when she colored her views on women with her new interest in religious themes. By settling on love and especially maternal love as the distinguishing nature of women, Alvarez slipped into the threadbare essentialism of the past.

In the latter half of her life, she denounces the subordination of women not only with regard to sports, but also from a religious perspective. In *En tierra extraña* (1956), she justifies a more active role in the church on the part of the laity by arguing that the Church is the whole

community of God, not just of priests. With this same reasoning she makes the case for greater involvement of women in the Church: if the laity can make a worthy contribution to the Church with its particular type of religiosity, women should be allowed to offer theirs. The eight printings of this book would suggest that her works were well received during the restrictive environment of the dictatorship. By framing her ideas within the framework of the orthodox promotion of religion commitment, she could defend women and advance their interests without censure. Her book *El seglarismo y su identidad* (1959) is devoted specifically to the exclusion of women from many religious events and activities. Resorting to the theory of complementarity of the sexes, she explains that women as well as men are part of a complete human portrait. In this book she also criticizes the moral code of Catholicism, which represses sexual desire for women more than for men. She contends that this double standard undervalues women's capacity for moral development.

Alvarez's brand of feminism might be called spiritual because she concerns herself with women's spiritual life not their civil rights, and she argues that women are naturally more spiritual than men. In a way, her feminism echoes the cultural feminism of the late nineteenth century that was based on the belief that women are by nature pacifist and reformists and therefore the adoption of their perspective improves and ennobles society. Alvarez fights not for women's social independence and psychological realization, but for their inner growth as religious beings, and at the same time she contends that as spiritual beings women are superior to men. In *En tierra extraña*, she employs a convoluted argumentation to leave traditional binary thought undisturbed while vindicating the value and even the superiority of women. She starts from the premise that the masculine personality is one of activity and extroversion and the female personality is one of stasis and introversion: "el cometido de las mujeres es otro: el ser simplicísimamente o *amar*. Una mujer es lo que *es* y ello aparte de sus actividades: si dimana pureza, luz, calor... En tanto que el varón se confunde mucho más con su acción, con lo que él crea o hace en la vida" (118). She goes on to declare that society and particularly its sense of religiosity degenerate in moments of cross-sex behavior; feminized societies fall into religious bigotry and when virility overtakes femininity, the story and silent *stabat mater* figure surfaces. What she advocates is that each sex acquire the qualities of the other without losing its own: "[A]sí un hombre se completa desembocando en el reino del Amor, que es el nuestro, y una mujer asimilando inteligencia y claridad masculinas" (123). With all this she seems to endorse androgyny, which essentially still preserves the patriarchal duality of gender construction and implicitly confirms the preference of the masculine over the feminine. However with another twist in reasoning, Alvarez declares the superiority of the feminine in matters of religion and the spirit: "en materia de vida del Espíritu, con toda probabilidad lo supremo es lo femenino, ya que la actitud receptiva de apertura expectante y humilde es la apropiada para la recepción del chorro del Don Divino . . . El alma, en fin de cuentas, es femenina, por más que pertenezca a un señor fieramente mostachudo y patilludo" (124).

She applies her type of feminist thinking in *Feminismo y espiritualidad* (1964), a book that bemoans the decrease in the number of nuns as a result of modernization and women's increased desire for autonomy. She sees the need to revise the image of women, from that of a passive, childlike, domestic being to one who has a full stature as a human being. She opposes the traditional ideal of femininity, which has emphasized obedience, and insists that women can be active within their own femininity. She insists women or, in this particularly case, nuns, must

assume responsibility, acquire psychological maturity, and engage with the outside world. However, for Alvarez, these qualities are not to be directed toward self-realization, but toward proselytization, the "verdadera dignificación de la mujer en el plano religioso" (53). She again declares that women is above all love--receptive, intuitive, and contemplative. Where she attempts to modify the patriarchal notion of the Eternal Feminine is by affirming that these traits do not preclude intelligence, initiative, and will. She distinguishes between "the feminine," which she defines as family and domestic life," and "woman," which implies, for her, an openness to life outside the home. While seeming to reconcile the private and the public spheres and to accommodate the traditional, religious view of women to the exigencies of the modern, she quickly slips into an essentialist view of women: "por natural tendencia, la mujer escogerá aquellas ocupaciones o profesiones que mejor expresen ese cuidado y ese mimo 'maternales;' y para las cuales, por fuerza, se encontrará como innatamente dotada" (123). For her the new woman is still primarily a mother, but a mother who extends her circle from the home outward and who projects her spirituality or Christian self on society.

She is well aware that her feminism does not coincide with the one beginning to emerge in the sixties. In the fourth section of the book, she offsets commonly known feminism with its "acento resentido y antihombre," with her new "sonriente" feminism (154). She neutralizes any suggestion of a plea for rights or improved conditions by declaring that she advocates maturation as much for men as for women. More than equality or parity of rights, she calls for the replacement of the destructive culture of men by "valores femeninos," the spiritual values of love, purity, and humility (156-57). In the end she acknowledges that her goal is the realization of an Eternal Feminine, but in her mind one better than that of the past. Alvarez firmly believes that the spirituality of women, which she considers innate in them, is a transformative power for all humankind. Her patent idealization is unrealistic not only because, like any set of ideals, it depends on generalities, perfection, and absolutes, but because in the sixties in Spain, women and, much less nuns, did not possess the political strength or the practical means to effect social or cultural changes. Her essentialist arguments perpetuate the stereotypes that typical feminists struggle to erase. Nevertheless, *Feminismo y espiritualidad* projects a positive image of women, their potential, and capacity to mature.

Lilí Alvarez continued to publish and well into her eighties focusing primarily on the religious aspects of life and women's function within the Church.⁷ By maintaining her concept of women within the framework of gender difference established by patriarchal demarcations, she did not threaten the foundation of common thinking in Spain. Where she deviates from these past constructions detrimental women's sense of agency and maturity in, first, in her promotion of gender complimentary, of the idea that each sex possesses an innate nature that is valuable to society and, second, in her hierarchy inversion by which she declares the "innate" qualities of women superior to those of men, at least in the realm of religious spirituality. Her discussion of gender may seem timid, but it increases in merit when we realize that she was writing in favor of women's physical and social development during a period devoid of freedom of speech, assembly and press but replete with restrictions on writing, thought, and political action. Although the contextualization of her publications enhances our understanding of them, there is no need to rationalize the impact of her athletic achievements. She challenged widely held concepts, crossed gender boundaries, and broke new ground in sports. She helped revise the

image of woman and create a new archetype: that of the sport star. Daring, versatile, and energetic, Lili Alvarez is a paragon of the modern spirit.

¹ José Franco Rodríguez was the most famous defender of female suffrage. In 1920 in *La mujer y la política españolas*, he advocated women's participation in politics and integration in the work force. In 1926 Gregorio Marañón created quite a stir with his *Tres ensayos sobre la vida sexual* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva). Relying on his prestige as a physician, he promoted his theory of "complimentarity," by which he meant that men and women complemented each other through their innate differences. Less generous to women were writers such as Edmundo González Blanco and Ortega y Gasset, who considered women emotional, irrational, and therefore inferior.

² For a discussion of the daily life of women at the time and their efforts to achieve more rights, see Pilar Folguera, *Vida cotidiana en Madrid: El primer tercio del siglo a través de las fuentes orales* (Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987), Rosa María Capel Martínez, *El sufragio femenino de la segunda república española*, (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1975) and *El trabajo y la educación de la mujer en España (1900-1930)* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986), Concha Fagoaga, *La voz y el voto de la mujeres* (Barcelona: Icaria, 1985), and Mary Nash, *Mujer, familia y trabajo (1875-1936)* (Barcelona: Anthropos, 1983). Although a panoramic view of one hundred years of history, *La mujer en España: Cien años de su historia. 1869-1960* by María Lafitte, Condesa de Campo Alange (Madrid: Aguilar, 1963) contains abundant pictures and helpful lists of names of women in a variety of different fields. For biographies of prominent female intellectuals of the period see Shirley Mangini, *Las modernas de Madrid: Las grandes intelectuales españolas de la vanguardia*. Barcelona: Península, 2001.

³ Perhaps nothing illustrates better the extent of her fame than the fact that T. J. I'a Brownich, in an article entitled "Easy Mathematics and Lawn Tennis" published in *The Mathematical Gazette* (14. 195 [1928]: 229-232), closed his discussion of the mathematics of the trajectory of tennis balls with a statement made by Lili Alvarez. His found that her statement was confirmed by his formulae.

⁴ In 1995 the Círculo de Bellas Artes in Madrid displayed among other things her racquets, ski boots, trophies, and copies of some of her publications. See "La prodigiosa vida de Lili Alvarez," *El Mundo*, 9 December 2005.

⁵ Campo Alange points out that the garb necessary for swimming had a great influence on the physical transformation of women (192). The wardrobe demands of sports along with the elimination of physical constrictions like the corset and long skirts inevitably changed both women's appearance and notions of propriety.

⁶ The Seminario de Estudios Sociológicos sobre la mujer was founded by Lili Alvarez, María Salas Larrazábal, and principally María Lafitte. Although social movements of resistance are generally associated with democratic societies with group action, resistance can be found in nondemocratic regimes on the level of individual efforts. Celia Valiente Fernández argues that there were women in Francoist Spain, who working through their writing or even from within organizations of the Catholic church, advocated if not for rights for a more active participation of women in society. See <<http://investigadoresfranquismo.com/pdf/comunicaciones/mesa5/valiente/pdf>, January 26, 2010>.

⁷ Besides the books already cited, Alvarez wrote the following books: *Diagnosis sobre el amor y sexo* (Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 1977); *En tierra extraña* (Madrid: Taurus, 1956); *La gran explicación* (Córdoba: Fundación Lili Alvarez/Madrid: Arganda del Rey, 1998); *Mar adentro* (Madrid: Ediciones Paulinas, 1977); *El pueblo de Dios en marcha* (Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1968); *Revivencia* (Córdoba: El Almendro, D.L., 1993); *Testamento espiritual: ideario de una beata atípica* (Madrid: Biblia y Fe, 1983); and *La vida vivida* (Barcelona: El Ciervo, 1989). Earlier she had published *Modern Lawn Tennis* (London: J. Lane the Bodley Head, 1927).

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