

## THE IMPACT OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR ON SPANISH SCIENTIFIC PSYCHOLOGY

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It is well-known that wars have had great influence and had changed the development of both science and technology in modern world. Here it will suffice to mention the great testing boom experimented by American psychology in the years of the First World War, or the radical changes suffered by German psychology under the Nazi regime in more recent times, to prove it.

In the present century Spain has suffered from an integral struggle between opposite groups that maintained uncongenial views about the country and its social and political structure. A portuguese historian of Modern Spain, Fidelino de FIGUEIREDO spoke of that problem as the "Two-Spains Problem": the progressive one against the traditionalist one, the former as an open-minded, liberal, reformist group, and the later as a conservative one, deeply influenced by the Spanish Catholic Church and reluctant about the developments of Western culture.

After many years of political unrest, in 1931 Spain underwent a change from Monarchy to Republic, and this change of regime seemed to pave the way for more important changes of the social structure, and the revolutionary ideal begun to exert a deep influence among increasing groups. A decentralized regime, in part inspired by

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autonomist projects for more developed parts of the country, such as Catalonia and the Basque country, substituted the older and anacronic, centralistic regime centered on Madrid. There were also some minor groups interested in the overthrow of the dominant social regime and the establishment of a proletarian government. And there were also opposing ideologies, that supported contrasting appraisals of the christian beliefs and the meaning of the Church and its social role.

A military revolt broke out in Morocco in July 1936. It aimed at the overthrow of the government. On their part, the loyal forces tried to put an end to the revolt. Neither the government nor the rebels succeeded, and a war began all over the country. The rightists received great support from Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy; meanwhile, the loyal army was reinforced with Russian supplies and the democratic countries contributed with the International Brigades. It took three years to arrive at an end, with an unconditional surrender of the government forces. Then began a totalitarian regime, close to the fascist and nazi ones, headed by General Franco, with the support of rightist groups, the Church and antiliberal forces, that would last for more than forty years, not without minor changes throughout this time. The Spanish War ended when the Second World War was about to begin. It was a prologue of the great confrontation between totalitarian and democratic regimes, that resulted in the strange situation of a totalitarian regime surrounded by democratic countries in a Western world that had to face the new problem of the "Cold War" and the East-West confrontation. This is the background against which we must delineate the changes arrived to Spanish psychology.

Scientific psychology in Spain had received great support of some minor groups interested in developing science, technology and new ideas in our country. Within the scheme of the "Two Spains" previously mentioned, psychology was supported by the progressive and liberal one. The men of the Free Institution of Education (GINER, SIMARRO), closely followed by other headed by ORTEGA y GASSET, MARAÑON, LAFORA, considered psychology as one of the means of building up the new philosophic outlook our country was in need of. Scientific psychology was likely to be seen as a tool for the new humanities - philosophy, pedagogy, anthropology -, well based on scientific data.

As a matter of fact, introducing psychology in Spain was a complex task accomplished along different lines during the first decades of our century. The process could be described in the following manner:

First, some governmental institutions became interested in the social value of applied psychology. Since an early date, in the 20's, the rehabilitation of accidented workers, and vocational guidance for young people had specialized centers in Madrid and Barcelona. Close contact with the Geneva School (CLAPAREDE, PIAGET) made possible the organization of two international meetings at Barcelona (1921, 1930) on that subject of applied psychology, that paved the way to new collaborations. Here the efforts of some psychiatrists - above all, Dr. G.R. LAFORA, and his younger collaborators E. MIRA and J. GERMAIN - had lasting influence. Intelligence testing,

mental retardation, job analysis, profession profiles, are some of the points brought into the limelight of psychologists by those years.

The teaching of psychology had great limitations in that period. A chair dedicated to experimental psychology was founded in 1902 in Madrid, at the Faculty of Sciences, as a subject of choice for graduated students, and did not received great attention for years. Psychology was also a subject inside philosophy and pedagogy specialties, but there it lost all its scientific flavour - and remained as a philosophic branch. Without laboratories in which research could be done, there was no formal training for psychologists, and those interested in these questions had to obtain information in a more or less informal manner.

But at the same time, growing information about the new psychology begun to spread among the intellectual sectors of Spanish society. Still in the twenties, FREUD's and PAVLOV's main works appeared in careful translations as in the same way, did many others of KOFFKA, CLAPAREDE, JUNG, PIAGET, BUHLER, HUSSERL, SPRANGER and many others. The presence of European psychology clearly balanced the absence of works from American psychology, and mainly of the behavioristic one. Some journals began the spread these new theories - *Archivos de Neurobiología*, *Revista de Pedagogía*, *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza*, and cultural magazines as the *Revista de Occidente*. Intellectual leaders, such as ORTEGA y GASSET, MARAÑÓN, D'ORS, dealt with psychological questions in their works. At the end of the period, in 1936, all was set for receiving in Madrid psychologists from all over the world, as the XI International Congress of Psychology had to be held there. It was a time of hope and possibilities for Spanish psychology, that the Civil War interrupted.

The story of the XI International Congress has, perhaps, the value of a whole symbol. Scheduled for the autumn of the year 1936, scenery of one of the longest battles of the war - the battle of Madrid. The honorary president would have been the philosopher J. ORTEGA y GASSET, the effective president, Emilio MIRA, and secretary, José GERMAIN. The name of ORTEGA had many connotative values -liberalism, republicanism, social reformism, cultural innovation -; MIRA and GERMAIN, both psychiatrists, had devoted great efforts to obtain institutional support for psychology, and, the former in Barcelona, the latter in Madrid, they clearly headed of two growing groups specialized in applied psychology. Without any doubt, the Congress would have given the needed social support and the necessary foreign connections for Spanish psychology. But in the summer of that year the war broke all the projects and the sessions were held in Paris a year later. Many of the most significant names of science and culture - among them, those of ORTEGA and MIRA - were forced to leave the country going into exile, and the intellectual horizon changed dramatically.

One of the great changes was due to the large number of qualified persons forced to exile, as the war came to an end. Some conservative estimates of the volume of persons that fled the country give us about 300.000 emigrants (TAMAMES). As a matter of fact, many of the most renowned intellectuals were among them. I will here concentrate on those names with some implications for psychology. I have already



mentioned ORTEGA; now I will add those of G. RODRIGUEZ LAFORA and José M. SACRISTAN - two psychiatrists that with ORTEGA founded the first journal partially dedicated to psychology - the *Archivos de Neurobiología* - and that did a lot to introduce the new psychiatry and psychology among us; and also the well-known physiologists PI y SUÑER and LORENTE DE NO (the latter, many times quoted in the works of D.O. HEBB for describing retroactive neuronal structures that paved the way to his "neuronal assemblies"), and DEL RIO-HORTEGA (one of the great pupils of CAJAL in neurological histology); and the psychiatrist Dionisio NIETO, but, in my opinion, the greatest loss was that of Emilio MIRA, a man full of energy and creative force, author of a well-known psychological test, (the myokinetic proof, or PMK), and the founder of an important center for professional counselling and guidance in Brasil (the ISOP), that could have headed the Spanish group of psychologists, had the war had a very different end. To these names it is possible to add some others: the pedagogue D. BARNES, L. LUZURIAGA, and L. ZULUETA, very close to the ideals of the active school and that had promoted the acquaintance with the Geneva School among Spanish teachers (five of PIAGET's books were translated into Spanish before the beginning of the war), not to mention P. ROSSELLO, who for many years collaborated with PIAGET in educational research.

All these names represent a dramatic loss of the intellectual capacity of our country, that had made great efforts to assimilate the new scientific developments from the last years of the nineteenth century.

Not only great researchers, university professors and specialists had been lost: their departure put an end to some important scientific enterprises, as many of them were journal editors and/or headed research groups at various centers.

The *Revista de Occidente*, the great magazine edited by ORTEGA, that for many years reflected every innovation appearing in Western culture, disappeared. It was the same story with the *B.I.L.E.*, the *Revista de Pedagogía*, or the *Archivos de Neurobiología*, journals that offered detailed information about psychoanalysis, functionalism, Gestalt, or behaviorism, and gave place into their pages to interesting contributions of well known psychologists.

The empty space created by the disappearance of those journals needed to be filled. So was born *Psicotecnia*, published in the thirties, now put under a new direction by the government; *Psicotecnia* partly received the heritage of the existing tradition of applied psychology, and was mostly inspired in an european line of research -F. BAUMGARTEN and E. JAENSCH were, in fact, the most cited authors in it. In an analogous manner, a new society for neurology and psychiatry substituted the previous existing Society of Neuropsychiatrists that had been directed by LAFORA; LOPEZ IBOR was the founder, and he also edited a journal (*Actas Luso-españolas de Neurología y Psiquiatría*) with room for psychopathological and psychopharmacological questions. Finally, in 1946 it is possible to appreciate a real advance, when J. GERMAIN, that had passed some years in the darkness, managed to edit a new journal *Revista de Psicología General y Aplicada*, in which the war gap was overcome. Younger people

joined another men coming from the pre-war tradition, and foreign contributors helped to raise the scientific level; in the long run, this journal had become our oldest psychological journal, and has been sponsored by the Spanish Psychological Society (SEP).

An analogous change had taken place at the academic level. The Franco's regime established a rigid control over the education, as well as over the books, magazines, the press and mass-media, and all sort of cultural activities. At the University, ideological and political conformity was needed in order to become professor in it. The dominant ideology could be briefly described as a mixture of nationalistic exaltation (the term Empire was frequently employed) and a conservative conception of life that included religious unity around the Catholic Church, traditional views of the past, and social control under the State.

Scientific and intellectual research was partly controlled by the State through a Council newly founded (Higher Council for the Scientific Research); it had a center for philosophy, and another for pedagogy; psychology was included in the former, without any separate existence. Both centers were put under the direction of a dominican friar, Father M. BARBADO, that was also appointed to the psychology chair of the University of Madrid. That man had in his hands the sort of psychology till his death in 1945.

BARBADO had written a well documented book on the history of experimental psychology in 1928; a new edition appeared in 1942; that work offered the clues for the new inspiration dominating psychology. His author claimed at the perennial validity of thomistic psychology, conceived as the study of conscious phenomena under the introspective method. BARBADO acknowledged ARISTOTLE as the founder of experimental psychology, and ALBERT THE GREAT and SAINT THOMAS as the men that gave an adequate status to that discipline. He also criticized WATSON for its "true psychological nihilismus", and also dismissed freudian ideas and reflexology, as unsatisfactory theories for real psychology.

With all the academic power in his hands, BARBADO greatly determined a process that put psychology under the control of neothomistic philosophy, a sort of regression from the scientific levels it had achieved in the pre-war times.

His influence was not restricted to teaching at the university level. He also inspired the lines for teaching psychology at high school level, through the programs imposed by the government. He stressed the necessity of orienting psychology to the knowledge of soul as a spiritual, incorporeal being, putting in accordance philosophy, psychology and the christian beliefs in a similar manner. (It must not be forgotten that textbooks were forced to pass a previous ecclesiastical censorship, that took care of all those details). As a result, we have detected an interesting change in the lists of cited authors by high school textbooks, when considered those published before the Civil War and the ones appeared after the war: In the pre-war textbooks, WUNDT was the most cited author, in the post-war ones, this was SAINT THOMAS AQUINAS. For many years, young Spaniards have learnt some psychological ideas included in their training in

philosophy, and the most they could learn were that the senses, the intellect and the will are the soul's faculties, confirming the spiritual nature of man's soul.

The cultural restrictions imposed by the new regime also included the ban of certain literary school and lines of thought, and for many years some authors and books were out of reach of Spanish readers. Marxist and existential thinkers, european left-wing authors, critical historians, heterodox religious critics, were banned from bookshops and libraries; among them, the old translation of PAVLOV or FREUD seem to have been included. The story of the FREUD's work is also a paradigmatic one: they were translated in sixteen volumes, from 1922 to 1935; after the war, the original collection was out of reach, but a new edition was authorised only in two volumes and in a very elegant edition at a high prize; it has been necessary to arrive to 1966 to find a paperback edition of FREUD's works, that turned to be an editorial success.

The picture I have tried here to delineate could be summarize as follows. The Spanish Civil War has had a deep impact in the development of Spanish culture, science and technology, as a result of both the dramatic destruction of men and social institutions, and the totalitarian regime that emerged from it. As an ideological confrontation between a progressive Spain and a traditionalist one, many subjects directly related with a certain idea of man became under strict political control by the State. This was the case of psychology. As a discipline concerned with potentially dangerous questions related to religious convictions and beliefs, it was submitted to scholastic philosophical orthodoxy in order to become accepted. Its ideological values, not the scientific ones, and its compatibility with a religious *Weltanschauung*, turned to be decisive for its admission in the new situation.

The great loss of brains produced by the war, destroyed or forced to exile; the destruction of institutions, university chairs and departments, journals, and the break of that social matrix of science made of interpersonal connections between researchers of different countries, all these were impaired or lost.

At the same time, new lines substituted the previous ones, masking the real situation, and adding more confusion to the scene.

The only way open to the recovery passed by the return to a psychology conceived as a scientific enterprise, recovering from the past all that had remained from the old spirit. It is the great merit of Dr. GERMAIN to have organized the reconstruction of Spanish psychology after the catastrophe. But this is another story.

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