

Spanish Psychiatry c.1900–1945: Constitutional Theory, Eugenics, and the Nation*

MICHAEL RICHARDS

University of the West of England

Civil War divisions in Spain were only a crude guide to the tensions in pre-war social relations. There were indeed ideological and political differences between liberal and Catholic traditionalist medical doctors, for example, but neither group was ever homogenous. Not all ideas mechanically attached themselves to definable groups. There had been a background of interchange between liberals and Catholics within the bio-medical culture in the decades before the 1930s which belied the antagonistic rhetoric. Moreover, the simple opposition, as depicted, was itself refracted through language.

Historical research into medical and psychological science in early twentieth-century Spain, during the last twenty years or so, has shown how relatively modern, sophisticated and eclectic the Spanish milieu was, especially in the period 1914–36. This has been particularly true in the case of the influence of Freud in Spain, but can also be said of neurology and endocrinology and in the related debates over eugenics.¹ In this essay I shall argue that eugenics in Spain was a highly protean scientific and social category which cannot be analysed historically as a whole. Indeed, it is not the aim here to provide a fully elaborated account of the influence of eugenics in Spain. The subject here will be restricted to the relationship of such ideas with the discourse of *psychiatry* in Spain. The relative youthfulness of psychiatry in Spain and the consequent relative underdevelopment of the discipline meant that incorporation of theory from outside was highly eclectic. This process of reception was related to the level and nature of bio-medical science in Spain and the ideological and

* This paper has been researched with the aid of financial awards from the British Academy and the AHRB for which the author is grateful. Thanks are also due to Richard Cleminson and Alison Sinclair for detailed comments on earlier drafts.

1 See Thomas Glick, 'El impacto del psicoanálisis en la psiquiatría española de entreguerras', in *Ciencia y sociedad en España*, ed. José Sánchez Ron (Madrid: El Arquero, 1988), 205–21.

political divisions already mentioned, though not in a consistently conflictive manner.² This relationship of eugenics to psychiatry will be explored specifically through theories of bodily constitution as they were perceived and developed in Spain in the 1920s and 1930s.

In the Spain of the 1920s and 1930s, the attempt to understand the mind and mental and emotional illness was to be conducted through forms of both the 'mentalist' (or psychological) and organicist (bodily) traditions, and both would rely to a degree on beliefs in the influence of heredity. I propose to examine three main themes related to eugenics, or racial hygiene as it became known in Catholic circles, that converged in public politics and discourse about the Spanish nation in the first third of the twentieth century. The first theme is the reception of theories of mind and body in Spanish medical culture and the ways they were understood in relation to heredity. These were apparently received according to the dictates either of rationalist-positivist theory and discourse or Catholic doctrine. The tradition of Catholic mysticism—particularly of Ignatius Loyola—as a 'psychological' discourse, was frequently vented and the hierarchy of the sexes of Thomas Aquinas gave this 'science' a gendered dimension.³ There were, however, several points of interaction with liberal thinking, particularly along these gendered lines.

The second theme is the apparent competition within the bio-medical community between claims on eugenics made by liberal social reformers, on the one hand, and those made by Catholic moralists, on the other. The international eugenics movement was in part motivated by a perceived need to find the biological roots of poverty. The social benefits of eugenic reform as postulated in Spain in the 1920s and early 1930s, were later, of course, to be condemned by the triumphalist civil-war ideology of Francoism. Such reforms were 'exiled' along with the Republicans who espoused them. By contrast, ultra-rightist Catholics, while they could not simply ignore scientific advances, placed '*moral hygiene*' above social justice, though they also drew on some of the ideas formally associated with liberal positivists. These conflicts and convergences had important social effects, especially for women.

The third theme is therefore the question of gender construction. Medicine, sexuality and gender relations cut deeply into political culture in

2 See Raquel Álvarez Peláez, 'Origen y desarrollo de la eugenesia en España', in *Ciencia y sociedad en España*, ed. Sánchez Ron, 179–204.

3 For example, Abdón Sánchez-Herrero, 'Los explotadores de mujeres', *El Siglo Médico*, LXV, No. 4 (1918), 715–16 (p. 716); Isidro Gomá, Archbishop of Tarazona, *La familia según el derecho natural y cristiano*, 2nd ed. (Barcelona: Librería Litúrgica [1931]), 9; Enríquez de Salamanca, 'La castidad ante la ciencia médica', *Acción Española*, No. 48 (1 March 1934), 1178–79; Alfonso Iniesta, *Garra marxista en la infancia* (Burgos: Ediciones Fe, 1939), 263–67; Víctor García Hoz, *Pedagogía de la lucha ascética* (Madrid: CSIC, 1941); Alfonso Fuente Chaos, *Los valores morales del nacional-sindicalismo y sus relaciones con el ejercicio de la medicina legal* (Madrid: n.p., 1942), 10.

Spain in the 1930s, crystallizing in the parliamentary debate on the right to divorce and the granting of the vote to women by the Second Republic in 1931. Most scientific endeavour that was avowedly conducted under the influence of Catholic doctrine accused liberal positivists of attributing *a priori* masculine and feminine qualities wholly to the body. Catholics counterposed the role of 'conscience' and 'the soul' in shaping conduct. Many commentators on the Left were convinced that women, because of their alleged innate religiosity, would vote *en masse* in the direction indicated by the Church. Catholic doctors, however, appeared to qualify the gender determinism of the positivists. They could pose as champions of autonomous womanhood. In the end, though, this Catholic critique of the so-called materialists merely introduced a similar physiological determinism while reinforcing familiar Catholic conditioning about feminine essences, purity and sin. Catholic rhetoric exalted the sublime spirit of maternity, woman's abnegation during gestation and nursing, and the ensuing standards of morality that accorded with God's harmonious creation. However much doctrinaire Catholics decried the 'Cartesian dogma' of the influence of the hormones, they accepted science in corroboration of this religious teaching: original sin was no myth, but a phenomenon of biology.⁴

Both before and during the Civil War, the famous biologist and essayist Gregorio Marañón (1887–1960) was accused by Catholic traditionalists of 'republicanizing' Spanish women, because he had argued forcefully for a female consciousness of womanhood.⁵ It could be said, however, that in other ways a traditional role for women was reinforced by liberal scientists such as Marañón who displayed a horror of the 'masculinized' woman and the virago.⁶ Whatever the truth, the part played by sex and the determining of gender roles was important in the political convulsions of the 1930s. The outcome of the Civil War in 1939 decided, at an ideological level—and, to a degree, at a practical level also—that women's role would be a subordinate one.

National-Catholic discourse also retarded the part played by genuine experimental science in explaining the relationship between the sexes. In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War Spanish scientific discourse was dominated by a state-led rhetoric of 're-Christianization'. At the opening ceremony of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in October 1940, the Minister of National Education, José Ibáñez Martín, proclaimed:

4 Antonio Vallejo Nágera, 'Psicopatología de la conducta antisocial III', *Acción Española*, No. 84 (February 1936), 285–302, (p. 286).

5 José María Pemán, 'Hablamos desde nuestra misma historia', *Sur* (26 September 1937), 9. For Marañón's relative radicalism on gender relations, see his *Tres ensayos sobre la vida sexual* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 1926).

6 See, for example, Gregorio Marañón, *La evolución de la sexualidad y los estados intersexuales*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Morata, 1930), 246–47.

‘queremos una ciencia católica’.⁷ This was a proposition which was full of problems for the native development of science in Spain, but it also highlighted the difficulties of the Catholic integrism of the hierarchy of the Church charged with reconciling its traditionalism with the realities of the modern world.

The material that follows develops these areas and is organized in three sections that overlap chronologically. In the first section, the broad theme of mind-body conflicts in Spain is briefly introduced. In the second section, the close relationship of psychiatry to endocrinology (the study of hormone-producing glands) is traced throughout the period 1914–45. Their closeness can be seen in the evolution in Spain through to the 1940s of three crucial areas in the production of social knowledge and the imposition of social control: racial hygiene, sexual reform and criminology. In the third section, the interchange between ‘positivist’ and ‘Catholic’ science, already explored in parts 1 and 2, is extended by way of analysis of theories of body constitution and Catholic ‘racial hygiene’ during this same period.

1 Mind-Body Conflicts in Spain, c.1900–45

Polarization on questions relating to medicine, the ambiguous relationship of religion with science, (as well as a degree of wartime bitterness), are suggested in the comment of a Jesuit priest in 1939: ‘No es el exceso de ciencia quien hace al médico materialista, sino la corrupción del corazón y la soberbia de la inteligencia’.⁸ In the struggle to define the Spanish nation in 1936–39, health and medicine, their availability and significance, were crucial. Although there was no simple ideological divide amongst doctors, the fact that medical doctors ranked high amongst the professional groups targeted in the political violence on both sides underlined the politicization of medicine and medical discourse.⁹

Well before the 1930s, from the late nineteenth century, with a backdrop of Catholic social doctrine and action, Spanish society had begun to develop industrially, technologically and organizationally. An element of this development was the institutionalization and professionalization of mental and forensic medicine, penal policy and criminology, and the social sciences. This process of gradual but significant medical control, within a general level of social and political *embourgeoisement*, has been analysed by several historians influenced by Michel Foucault and Robert Castel. Most notably, Fernando Álvarez-Uría has been critical of the socially reforming, controlling and surveillance aspects of ‘liberal’ mental medicine in relation

7 Martín Brugarola SJ, *La recristianización de la cultura española, 1939–1949* (Madrid: Editorial Magisterio Español, 1949), 7.

8 Francisco García Alonso SJ, *Flores de heroísmo* (Seville: Imp. de la Gavidia, 1939), 155.

9 ‘Los asesinatos de médicos rurales’, *Semana Médica Española*, No. 55 (30 March 1940), 511–12.

to the marginal, the criminal and the poor in nineteenth-century Spain.¹⁰

Given the significance of Catholicism to symbolic constructions of the Spanish nation,¹¹ the history of medical thought in Spain necessarily incorporates the relationship between Christian morality, nationhood and medicine.¹² Anti-clericalism, for example, as a reaction to the authoritarian style of Spanish Catholicism, was partly expressed by *psychiatrists* (and other positivists in the bio-medical community) in the second half of the nineteenth century. They were defined by their anti-clericalism *and* by their reliance on somatic (bodily) theories of mental illness and sympathy towards such *biological* notions as degeneration.¹³ In turn, the emerging disciplines of sociology, criminology and sexology also developed in order to deal with what were seen as the processes resulting from ‘degeneration’, but viewed as a *material* rather than a *spiritual* problem.

Degeneration was also a prime concern of the Spanish Regenerationist movement around 1898. When one of the principal regenerationists, Ángel Ganivet, attempted to define the psychological constitution of the Spanish soul he loosely theorized the concept of *abulia* to diagnose Spain's turn-of-the-century malady as the ‘extinción o debilitación grave de la voluntad’. In doing this he borrowed explicitly from doctors and psychologists like Henry Maudsley, Jean-Etienne Esquirol and Pierre Janet, and implicitly from the pre-eminent Germanic theorist of degeneration, Max Nordau.¹⁴ ‘Will’ (‘voluntad’) was central to Nietzschean thought. Unlike Nordau, his contemporary and fellow cultural pathologist, Friedrich Nietzsche located decadence not in deviation from respectable norms but in conformity to them.¹⁵ Later, in the 1930s, with fascism rampant in Europe, the idea of degeneration was appropriated in the discourse of certain politicized Catholics in Spain, including psychiatrists, in order to repudiate the liberal

10 Fernando Álvarez-Uría, *Miserables y locos: medicina mental y orden social en la España del siglo XIX* (Barcelona: Tusquets Editores, 1983). Also J. M. Comelles, *La razón y la sinrazón: asistencia psiquiátrica y el desarrollo del Estado en la España contemporánea* (Barcelona: PPU, 1988).

11 See José Álvarez Junco, *Mater dolorosa. La idea de España en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: Taurus, 2001), esp. 305–496.

12 See, for a broad historical perspective, George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1985). On sexology and sexuality in Spain specifically, see Francisco Vázquez García and Andrés Moreno Mengíbar, *Sexo y razón: una genealogía de la moral sexual en España (siglos XVI–XX)* (Madrid: Akal, 1997).

13 See Rafael Huertas and José Martínez Pérez, ‘Disease and Crime in Spanish Positivist Psychiatry’, *History of Psychiatry*, IV (1993), 459–81 (p. 470).

14 See Ángel Ganivet, *Idearium Español*, 6th postwar ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1962 [1st ed.1895]), 131–39.

15 See also *abulia* in Pío Baroja's *Camino de perfección* (1902) and Emilia Pardo Bazán's *Pascual López: autobiografía de un estudiante de medicina* (1879), cited in Laura Otis, *Organic Memory: History and the Body in the Late Nineteenth & Early Twentieth Centuries* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1994), 87, 148.

state.¹⁶

Anti-positivist medical doctors who defined themselves primarily as Catholics were fearful of socially destructive, materialist ideas which dismissed the hierarchical control of the soul over the body. But gradually the socially controlling or repressive elements of positivist thinking were taken up by right-wing Catholics, though they did not jettison their pre-existing ideological-theological baggage. By the early twentieth century, morality and public order—the ability to control conscience and conduct—were an increasing concern whenever there were manifestations of social unrest. Spanish traditionalists, affected by the European cultural pessimism of the age, thus became curious admirers of Nietzsche's critique of the Enlightenment. In a Civil War booklet recommending social segregation, the military psychiatrist Antonio Vallejo Nágera would proclaim allegiance to Nietzsche for

la resurrección de las ideas espartanas acerca del exterminio de los inferiores orgánicos y psíquicos, de los que llama 'parásitos de la sociedad'. La civilización moderna no admite tan crueles postulados en el orden material, pero en el moral no se arredra en llevar a la práctica medidas incruentas que coloquen a los tarados biológicos en condiciones que imposibiliten su reproducción y transmisión a la progenie de las taras que los afectan.¹⁷

Materialism and spirit could, in a limited sense, be reconciled through a Spanish adaptation of nineteenth-century German mystical nationalism which allowed for an organic-positivist conception of insanity within a politically anti-liberal context.¹⁸ The vitalist 'superman', model for the new aristocracy of the race, would, respectively in Germany and Spain, be clad ideologically in authoritarian racial or religious garb.¹⁹

The rhetorical conflict between 'spirit' and 'matter' was most evident in the public arena, contributing to political polarization. As we have seen, liberal medical science in the 1920s and 1930s, because it diluted the mystical, sacred purity of woman, stood accused by Catholic doctors and race hygienists of pursuing the 'materialization' of women. This 'liberal

16 It is worth considering the cultural significance of *religious* degeneration and regeneration, and, in Spain specifically, the significance to Catholicism of spiritual palingenesis.

17 Antonio Vallejo Nágera, 'Intelectualidad revolucionaria', *Domingo*, 15 August 1937, p. 6. See also Vallejo Nágera, *Eugenesis de la Hispanidad y regeneración de la raza* (Burgos: Editorial Española, 1937), 49.

18 See Klaus Doerner, *Madmen and the Bourgeoisie: A Social History of Insanity and Psychiatry* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981).

19 Nietzsche was an influence on Ramiro de Maeztu, the intellectual leading light of the quasi-fascist, monarchist review *Acción Española* in the 1930s. See E. Inman Fox, *Ideología y política en las letras de fin de siglo (1898)* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1988), 291–94; Gonzalo Sobejano, *Nietzsche en España* (Madrid: Gredos, 1967), 144.

medicine' was exemplified by Marañón. Catholics viewed this as important because the very concept of purity was seen as resting on womanhood or femininity. If woman's purity was sullied what would become of the family, of men, and of the nation itself?²⁰

Purity and impurity were thus couched in gendered form. Liberal dilution of this gendered language of purity illustrated to Catholics the sense of cultural degeneration in Spain. Thus, as in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, the concept of degeneration, the dark side of bourgeois progress in the nineteenth century, was taken over by authoritarian nationalists, all of them overtly Catholic, and used *against* liberal bourgeois society in the twentieth century.²¹

By the 1930s, therefore, conservative political Catholics in Spain were advocating a peculiarly local form of *Rassenhygiene*. This contrasted with the diverse social reform measures, including eugenic ideas, that were argued for by liberals, although race hygiene, even for the most conservative Spaniards, also meant something different from what it meant in Germany. Conservative race hygiene in Spain was an off-shoot of the Latin eugenics movement (including France, Italy and South America), influenced by Catholicism and Lamarckism. This was somewhat different from the 'Nordic eugenics' of Britain and Germany which followed the more rigid Mendelian 'laws of inheritance'.²² Though heredity still played a role, there would be no concrete 'negative' measures (such as sterilization) to restrict the fertility of 'moral imbeciles'. This kind of strategy would go against explicit Papal instructions and would require a substantial infrastructure to set in train. Instead, the emphasis was on 'positive' eugenics—puericulture, a form of paediatrics combined with moral training—to encourage healthy births. Inevitably, even this 'softer' version of race hygiene involved directive propaganda aimed at women in particular.

This section has aimed to show how, in a broad fashion, materialist ideas, which neglected the spiritual, were publicly criticized as part of the struggle of Catholics and Catholic psychiatrists with 'liberal medicine' which dated back to the early nineteenth century. The credo of 'science' remained doctrinally problematic for Catholics in Spain even into the 1930s and despite such curiosities as Jesuit schools' commitment to the science of psychological observation and testing since the 1920s.²³ These Catholic

20 See, for example, Mary Nash, 'Género y ciudadanía', *Ayer*, XX (1995), 241–58 (esp. pp. 245–49).

21 See *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress*, ed. J. Edward Chamberlain and Sander L. Gilman (New York: Columbia U. P., 1985).

22 Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca NY: Cornell U. P., 1991), esp. 189–92. A 'Catalan Eugenics Society' associated itself with the Latin International Federation of Eugenics Societies which held its first Congress in Paris in 1937 (*ibid.*, 189).

23 See José Piquer y Jover, *El niño abandonado y delincuente* (Madrid: CIC, 1946),

critics were members of social and professional elites who were widely perceived as enjoying the material benefits of non-religious society, thereby fuelling the charge of hypocrisy made by anti-clericalists (who were also in the positivist 'camp').

As well as conflicts, there were also broad areas of *convergence* between liberal positivism and Catholic moralists. This convergence may in part have been a function of the inter-disciplinarity across medicine and social science (including law and forensic medicine), as evidenced in the eugenics movements of the latter nineteenth and early twentieth century. The factor that unified professional elites was a common faith in the possibilities of producing 'scientific facts' from the practice of these disciplines. More fundamentally, there existed a basic common ground between the two main scientific traditions. Both 'Cartesian' and 'Christian' movements tended ultimately to objectify the human subject as an *abstract* individual, a putative 'cell' in the healthy 'social body'. The process of objectification had strongly gendered bases.

The dynamic relationship between these conflicts and convergences can be explored through the notion in Spain of 'racial hygiene' (see section 3 below). But in order to make some sense of this somewhat vague concept, it is necessary to undertake some prior *historical* analysis of the roles and relationship of psychiatry and endocrinology in Spain.

2 Psychiatry and Endocrinology in Spain: From the Golden Era to Catholic Authoritarianism, 1914–45

The period 1914–36 represented a golden era in Spanish psychiatric advance, as it did in other areas of culture.²⁴ The 'Generation of 1914', both in Barcelona and Madrid, absorbed research advances associated particularly with German science. The Spanish Association of Neuropsychiatrists was established in 1924. The era saw a new spirit of optimistic advance in contrast with what Gregorio Marañón described as the pessimism of 1898.²⁵ The creative power opened up by German science fed activities across the disciplines of Spanish medically-related research, including the work of Ramón y Cajal on the interaction of neurons in the functioning of the nervous system. The striking advances of this era were led by the example of Cajal and furthered through the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios (JAE), established in 1907 under his directorship, providing grants for Spanish studentships abroad, particularly in those

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²⁴ See Diego Gracia Guillén, 'Medio siglo de psiquiatría española, 1885–1936', *Cuadernos de Historia de la Medicina Española*, X (1971), 305–39; Manuel Tuñón de Lara, *La España del siglo XX (1914–1939)*, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1973).

²⁵ Gregorio Marañón, 'Medio siglo de psiquiatría', *España Médica*, No. 628 (January 1933), 9–11, (p. 11).

countries seen as being more scientifically advanced.²⁶ For Marañón, it was in this period that real medical science began in Spain, in the sense of laboratory investigation in physiology. Indeed, the cross-disciplinary nature of the Spanish reception of German science was indicated in the new journal *Archivos de Neurobiología* (1920), usually seen as the most representative organ of Spanish psychiatry of the period. Founded under the auspices of Ortega y Gasset, the title of the *Archivos* explicitly incorporated not only psychology and psychiatry, but physiology (the science of the functions of living organisms), histology (the science of organic tissues), and neurology (the scientific study of nerve systems). Papers by Marañón, as well as leading Spanish psychiatrists, were included in the first volume.²⁷

Psychiatry may be defined as the organized attempt to understand and treat mental illness and emotional disorders. In simple terms, modern psychiatry, over the last two hundred years, has veered between neurological, constitutional, organic (or bodily) explanations, on the one hand, and psychological causation, on the other. In reality, things are not so clear-cut. Psychiatry has inevitably interacted with the shifting (and socially constructed) fields of biology, heredity, eugenics, psychology and endocrinology. Darwinian evolutionism entered into psychological-psychiatric science in the nineteenth century, as did the associated theories of Jean Lamarck on the inheritance of environmental influences on the mind. Both of these blurred the boundaries between culture and biology, or between mind and body. Psychiatry evolved historically from the psychologically-oriented alienist theory in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, towards an organicist or somatic framework of understanding by the second half of the nineteenth century. So-called 'mentalists', in contrast to somaticists, were increasingly dismissed as overly psychological or even theological.²⁸

Neither psychiatry nor psychology had ever been merely institutional tools to control the negative human consequences of industrialization. There was, however, a clear link between the observation of the pauperizing effects of urbanization and the production of medical concepts such as degeneration.²⁹ The problem of degeneration produced many

26 The JAE was inspired by the founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza (1876), Francisco Giner, who was steeped in German philosophy, law and culture.

27 *Archivos de Neurobiología*, I, No. 1 (March 1920). On Ortega y Gasset's involvement with setting up *Archivos de Neurobiología*, as an example of developing progressive Europeanism, its expression and institutionalization, see Gracia Guillén, 'Medio siglo de psiquiatría española', 315, 332–33. *El Sol*, the leading liberal newspaper of the day, which Ortega helped to found, carried a regular section on 'Biología y Medicina' from 1917 to 1924.

28 Mark Micale and Roy Porter, *Discovering the History of Psychiatry* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1994), 4–10.

29 For the beginnings of the critical revisionist historiography on psychiatry, see, for

possible 'solutions' including eugenics. Francis Galton's 'new science' of the 1880s was heralded as making the improvement of racial qualities (including mental qualities) a possibility. In Spain, as elsewhere, eugenics meant different things to different groups, whether anti-clerical positivists, Catholics, or anarchists.³⁰ The transnational exchange of theory was important and ideas were disseminated within society and penetrated to a social level beneath the professional elite.³¹

In theoretical, experimental and clinical terms, psychiatrists had long been interested in the biology of sex and gender and had absorbed insights from other disciplines and specialisms. Sexual differentiation was a particular interest and was highlighted by the emergence of sex endocrinology in the first decade of the twentieth century. Biological differentiation formed the basis for understanding the way people acted, including sexual behaviour, and mental dispositions. By the turn of the century psychiatry thus formed a meeting point between the concepts of morality and biology. Woman's 'spirit', like her body, was considered less robust than that of the male. Female qualities were grace and delicacy while men were audacious and energetic. While women were thought to possess great intuition, the power of reasoning was possessed exclusively by men. These emotional features followed logically from the distinctive sexual purpose and objective of men and women. Leading doctors in liberal Spain, like Mariscal y García, the Vice-President of the Section for Natural Sciences of the Madrid Ateneo—and like many of his contemporary positivists, an expert in judicial medical evidence or forensics—argued in the 1890s that although women were not of lower intelligence they had intellectual capacities distinct from those of men.³²

The study of the endocrine organs, primarily the internally secreting glands, appeared to offer new insights about differentiation. By the 1920s, it seemed that in medical discourse the ovary had displaced the uterus as the site of origin and source of solutions to physical and emotional crises. The concept of hormones, the circulating chemical products of the endocrine system, provided a new model for understanding the physiology of the human body.³³ The analogy of chemical messengers is useful in explaining

example, Andrew Scull, *Museums of Madness: The Social Organization of Insanity in Nineteenth-century England* (London: Allen Lane, 1979).

30 See, for example, Álvarez Peláez, 'Origen y desarrollo de la eugenesia en España'.

31 See, for example, Richard Cleminson, *Anarchism, Science and Sex: Eugenics in Eastern Spain, 1900–1937* (Bern/Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000).

32 Nicasio Mariscal y García, *Ensayo de una higiene de la inteligencia: contribución al estudio de las relaciones que existen entre lo físico y lo moral del hombre, y manera de aprovechar estas relaciones en beneficio de su salud corporal y mental*, (Madrid: Imprenta de Ricardo Rojas, 1898), 70–76.

33 Nelly Oudshoorn, *Beyond the Natural Body: An Archeology of Sex Hormones* (London: Routledge, 1994), 20. See also the special section on endocrinology in the *Journal of the History of Biology*, IX, No. 2 (Fall, 1976).

the effect of hormones at times of bodily stress, as during bodily growth (puberty), procreation, pregnancy, child-birth and lactation. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, it was these traumatic periods as concepts which were applied metaphorically to describe or explain Spain's social revolution and war in the 1930s.³⁴ Many theories of difference were centred on the female body. Books of medical advice for women, as late as the 1930s (and then again in the 1940s and 50s, with Franco's triumph), often took the form of conduct books, or tracts on deportment. One typical example, in the style of letters to a fictional young woman, ostensibly dealing with the biological phases of womanhood, was published by one of the leading Spanish *editoriales* which produced medical manuals. The book in fact contained lengthy explications on 'la sana moral' determined by the peculiar feminine psychology and, inevitably, gave much advice on courtship and marriage.³⁵

In endocrinology, circulating hormones which pass into the blood stream as chemical regulators of physiological activity are related to states of disease. The hormones also play an active part in metabolic processes: they affect the shape and texture of the body, and are therefore intrinsic to the debates about bodily constitution and perception of human 'types'. Endocrinological research was of special significance in Spain because it had become a particularly advanced specialism by the 1920s owing largely to the research and practice of Marañón. His work, both as scientist and later as historian, was essentially concerned with the 'life-curve' of the individual and its relation to evolution of the human species and the broad environment.³⁶ Essentially, according to Marañón, endocrinal factors helped shape bodies and, therefore, behaviour. Lamarckian ideas, such as the notion of 'metabolismo social' and of organic memory, absorbed by Marañón through his attentive readings of the Basque regenerationist philosopher and novelist Miguel de Unamuno, are discernible in many of his writings.³⁷ Indeed, Marañón can be seen *in part* as a product of the conservative historicist atmosphere of Spanish thought in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with its quasi-biological morphology of cultures.³⁸ For Marañón, unlike many of the 'historicists', morality was not

34 For example, Emilio Mira, 'Psicología de la conducta revolucionaria', *Universidad de La Habana*, XXVI–XXVII (September–December 1939), 43–59.

35 Francisco Haro, *Fases biológicas de la mujer* (Madrid: Editorial Morata, 1934).

36 Laín Entralgo, *Gregorio Marañón*, esp. 121–46.

37 See Otis, *Organic Memory*, 128–35. On 'metabolismo social', see Juan Rof Carballo, 'Marañón y España', in *Homenaje al Doctor Marañón* (Madrid: Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, 1968), 16–18. For an example of Unamuno's concept of 'intra-history', see, for example, the passage in his *En torno al casticismo*, 11th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1991 [1st ed. 1895]), 50.

38 For the wartime and postwar version of this conservative historicism, see Manuel García Morente, 'Idea de la Hispanidad' [June 1938], in García Morente, *Idea de la Hispanidad* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1961).

merely a question of religious training, national character, or social control. Biological terms applied to history were, for him, not merely metaphorical. Deviance had organic traces and could therefore theoretically be measured scientifically.

The protean character of endocrinology as a field meant that its influence spread across several medical disciplines, including psychiatry and the study of 'abnormal personalities'. The Spanish psychiatrist, José María Sacristán (1887–1957), explained the crucial relationship between the endocrine glands and their secretions acting upon the brain, or 'la vida del espíritu', in 1926: the endocrine glands 'presiden la formación de nuestro cuerpo y de nuestra psique [...] Su papel es de suma trascendencia para el estudio de las relaciones entre el soma y la psique'.³⁹ Sacristán would become an important conveyer of German medical research, largely through the pages of the *Archivos de Neurobiología*, within the circle of Spanish theorists and practitioners of the 1920s and '30s, where the opportunities to develop these ideas were somewhat restricted by institutional fragmentation and financial deficiency.⁴⁰ Marañón declared this significance in gendered terms to the Peruvian Society of Neuropsychiatry and Legal Medicine in September 1930, 'la endocrinología, la novia que yo me había creado, tenía muchos puntos de contacto con la neurología y la psiquiatría. Sus problemas se rozaban constantemente. Y esto me permitió ser fiel a mi mujer legítima y a la vez flirtear a diario con la novia de la juventud. Nunca he dejado de leer cuanto he podido de las materias psiquiátricas'.⁴¹

There is a further and significant factor in the protean nature of the influence of endocrinology in Spain. Endocrine studies and theories, many of them emanating from a German-Spanish dialogue, become important in looking at such issues as sexual and penal reform, and racial hygiene, and their gendered links with psychiatry in Spain. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, German psychiatric theory and practice had begun to usurp the leadership of the French school, and this Europe-wide German dominance was maintained until the 1940s. The German innovation was to view mental illness in a more inclusive, or 'holistic' manner, as a *process* involving a number of factors or conditions interacting with each other. The new thinking represented a major shift from the static anatomical-clinical model to a physio-pathological framework of understanding. It by no means ditched ideas associated with anatomy, but the causes of illness

39 José María Sacristán, *Figura y carácter: Los biotipos de Kretschmer* (Madrid: Imp. Ciudad Lineal, 1926), 10–11. See also, Sacristán, 'Constitución en psiquiatría', *Archivos de Neurobiología*, XI, No. 4 (1931), 252–64 (p. 252).

40 See, for example, J. M. Sacristán, J. Germain and B. Rodríguez Arias, 'Psiquiatría práctica e higiene mental', *Archivos de Neurobiología*, X, No. 4 (1930), 327–66.

41 Gregorio Marañón, *Obras completas*, ed. Alfredo Juderías, 2nd ed., 9 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1972), II, 392–93.

became located in changing etiological complexes, that is, inter-acting causes. This conceptual Germanic revolution was thoroughly absorbed in Spain during the period 1914–36, so that by the early 1930s Spanish psychiatrists of all ideological colours, including authoritarian Catholics, could readily admit to it as the essential framework for psychiatric progress.⁴²

The international figurehead of the Germanic psychiatric revolution after the turn of the century was the classifier of types and sub-types of mental disease, Emil Kraepelin (1856–1926) whose work became integrated in Spain during this frenetic era of scientific advance around the time of the First World War. The second German edition of Kraepelin's famous textbook of clinical psychiatry was published in Spanish translation in 1905.⁴³ A number of leading Spanish psychiatrists, including José María Sacristán, studied endocrinological factors for a while with Kraepelin in Munich (1912–14), benefiting from a JAE grant, as part of the team led by the brilliant histologist Nicolás Achúcarro.⁴⁴

Kraepelin's nosology (classificatory scheme of disease types) became standard. It minutely detailed psychological symptoms, defined primary and secondary diseases, and gave their origins and relationships. Kraepelin's nosology isolated types while giving a fairly compact structure to what had been seen as the chaotic life of the psyche. Most significantly, Kraepelin described and assigned causes of manic-depressive ('circular') psychosis and of *dementia praecox* (schizophrenia), based on the relationship between these mind disorders and bodily form. According to Kraepelin, there were essential differences between circular psychosis and *dementia praecox*. The first allowed periods of recovery, whereas the second led to progressive brain deterioration. In fact, Kraepelin, with this structure and nomenclature, was following the argument of the nineteenth-century French physician Bénédict-Augustin Morel, the first theorist of degeneration in the 1860s, according to whom *dementia praecox* in adolescence was a sign of hereditary decline.⁴⁵

The significance of Emil Kraepelin can hardly be overstated; almost every innovation in psychiatric research and policy seems to have filtered through him. Although Kraepelin was, in political terms, a right-wing

42 See, for example, Antonio Vallejo Nágera, 'Progresos recientes de la psiquiatría', *El Siglo Médico* (4 April 1931), 10–43.

43 Emil Kraepelin, *Introducción a la clínica psiquiátrica* (Madrid: Nieva, 1988 [1st ed. 1905]).

44 'Nicolás Achúcarro. "In Memoriam"', *Archivos de Neurobiología*, I, No. 4 (December 1920), 337. Achúcarro, who was deeply immersed in German science and culture and who met an untimely death at the age of thirty-eight, also conducted research into the endocrine functions and neuropsychiatry.

45 See Eric T. Carlson, 'Medicine and Degeneration: Theory and Praxis', in *Degeneration*, ed. Chamberlain and Gilman, 121–44 (pp. 121–22, 129).

authoritarian,⁴⁶ his typology of mental disease was accepted equally by Spanish progressives and traditionalists.⁴⁷ Kraepelin believed that the rigid stratification of Imperial German society was genetically determined and that the 1918 revolution was essentially the result of the hysterical mental disorder of the ignorant masses. Though these arguments, laced with anti-semitism, were far from progressive, much of his conceptual framework and methodology, structured by a rigid sexual differentiation, represented a defence of scientific positivism.⁴⁸

Kraepelin's post-1918 Munich Psychiatric Institute was a hive of activity, enthusiastic for a nationally oriented biology at a time of great political and social upheaval, not unlike Spain in the 1930s. The Munich Institute hosted teams in the 1920s including Ernst Rüdin, working on anatomical pathology, heredity and clinical psychiatry and another on somatic changes in the mentally ill and hereditary aspects of mental illness (including Johannes Lange's studies of twins). In 1920s' Germany, criminal biological surveys like those conducted by Lange, author in 1928 of a determinist study entitled *Crime as Destiny*, and psychiatrist at the clinic of Breslau, recorded mental and physiological disorders, alcoholism, and character traits, and related them to criminal heredity.⁴⁹

These activities were enthusiastically reported in the *Archivos de Neurobiología*. In his review of the multi-volume summary of the work of the Institute during these revolutionary years, Sacristán praised the work of Rüdin as being the first to apply Mendelian ideas to heredity in psychosis. Sacristán commented in 1924, somewhat enigmatically, that psychological inheritance ought to be taken very seriously in Spain, 'ya que el factor de la raza juega un gran papel en problemas [psicológicos]'.⁵⁰ Research into what was believed to be the endocrine determination of the alleged constitutional factors of sexuality was also available to Spanish science. The 'causes' of homosexuality, for example, were discussed in the light of theories in vogue in Germany in the 1920s. Summarizing one German contribution, Sacristán declared that

46 See Eric J. Engstrom, 'Emil Kraepelin: Psychiatry and Public Affairs in Wilhelmine Germany', *History of Psychiatry*, II (1991), 111–32.

47 Kraepelin was the guest of honour in December 1924 at the founding meeting of the Asociación Española de Neuropsiquiatras, *Archivos de Neurobiología*, V, No. 1 (1925), 81–82.

48 See particularly Emil Kraepelin, 'Psychiatric Observations on Contemporary Issues' (originally, 'Psychiatrische Randbemerkungen zur Zeitgeschichte', *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, XVI, No. 2 [1919], 171–83), trans. with an intro. by Eric J. Engstrom, *History of Psychiatry*, III (1992), 253–69.

49 Johannes Lange, *Verbrechen als Schicksal. Studien an kriminellen Zwillingen* (Leipzig: n.p. 1928).

50 See Sacristán, review of H. Hoffmann, *Vererbung und Seelenleben* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1922), *Archivos de Neurobiología*, IV, No. 2 (1924), 180. Also, for example, *Arbeiten aus der deutschen Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie in München*, 7 vols (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1923), reviewed by José María Sacristán in *Archivos de Neurobiología*, IV, No. 2 (1924), 186.

las causas endógenas hay que buscarlas en una complicada alteración del terreno del aparato endocrino-cerebral, dentro del cual poseen una particular significación los órganos germinativos, las glándulas cerebrales [...] y las cápsulas suprarrenales. En favor de la teoría de Steinach, que admite, exclusivamente, como causa para la homosexualidad constitucional una disposición hermafrodita del tejido intersticial de las glándulas genésicas, no hay, hasta ahora, ningún argumento decisivo.⁵¹

Marañón noted how psychiatrists, including Kraepelin, emphasized the crisis of puberty as having an enormous influence in 'la génesis del homosexualismo'.⁵² He did not, however, mention that Kraepelin included homosexuality in the symptomatology of the 'insanity of degeneracy', a category of 'constitutional psychopathic states' in his famous textbook.⁵³

The path from experimental innovation and advance towards the social application of science through discourses of 'hygiene', 'sexual reform' and criminology in Spain could hardly be described as a straight one. This section has merely attempted to show that the crucial interaction of the disciplines of psychiatry and endocrinology was both at the leading edge of European scientific endeavour *and* profoundly shaped by surrounding cultural factors and the backdrop of international scientific and political processes. The nodal point of this interaction was the protean phenomenon of eugenics, or 'racial hygiene', a factor that drew the liberal and Catholic Spanish medical communities closer together. The *conflictual* elements of the relationship between liberal positivists and Catholic moralists were increasingly rhetorical, linguistic, and political. The link to eugenics can be explored further by more explicit reference to 'racial hygiene'.

3 Theories of Body Constitution and Racial Hygiene in Spain: The Positivist and Catholic Positions, 1914–45

By the 1920s the international focus was shifting from the brain, the mind and the sexual organs in themselves towards the broader more holistic concept of constitution wherein all of these factors coincided. Constitutional theory, as elaborated in the early 1920s principally by Ernst Kretschmer (1888–1964), the German organic psychiatrist and professor at the University of Marburg, was based on endocrinological and psychiatric

51 Sacristán, review of an article by F. Kehrer, 'Ueber wesen und Ursachen der Homosexualitat', *Deutscher med. Wochenschrift*, XIX (1924), *Archivos de Neurobiología*, IV, No. 3, 279. In the early twentieth century the Viennese gynecologist Eugen Steinach first attributed the idea of sex antagonism to the concept of sex hormones. See also Sacristán, review of A. Kronfeld, *Sexualpsychopathologie* (Leipzig: Deuticke, 1923), *Archivos de Neurobiología*, IV, No. 3 (1924), 285–86.

52 Marañón, *La evolución de la sexualidad*, 148.

53 Emil Kraepelin, *Clinical Psychiatry* (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles, 1981 [repro. of 7th ed. 1907]), 485–514, cited in Carlson, 'Medicine and Degeneration', 139.

foundations. As we have seen, these were disciplines that were fast developing in Spain.⁵⁴ Kretschmer's theory constructed physical and mental 'bio-types', establishing relational hereditary patterns between mental and physical types. Kraepelin's formulations of mental disorders, accepted uncritically by Kretschmer, were placed within endocrine, somatic structures, and used to explain dispositions towards pathological states such as manic depression and schizophrenia.⁵⁵ Criminologists and sexologists in the 1920s and 1930s were confirmed in their belief in the determinacy of the cellular and humoral elements of the body.⁵⁶ The grading of political prisoners and racial enemies in Nazi-run centres of biological-criminal data-collection and investigation would be partly based on Kretschmer's biological-hereditary inventory, while Spanish military psychiatrists, led by Antonio Vallejo Nágera, developed during the Spanish Civil War a remarkably similar 'Marxist criminoid typology' based on Kretschmer's theory.⁵⁷

The bases of Kretschmer's analysis were far from immune to the weaknesses associated with other German surveys of the time. One major fault with Kretschmer's experimentation was that many of the bodies he examined (domestic servants, factory hands, working people) were in fact in a chronic state of near physical exhaustion.⁵⁸ Many of his so-called 'schizophrenic-leptosomic' constitutions were found amongst Jews in Germany, for example, who had lived a ghetto life for generations.

The military psychiatrist and race hygienist, Vallejo Nágera (1889–1960), a contemporary of Marañón, became the best known advocate of the Kretschmerian bio-typology in Spain during the Civil War and in the 1940s. Both Vallejo and Marañón attained professional maturity and political

54 Ernst Kretschmer, *Körperbau und Character Untersuchungen zum Konstitutionsproblem und zur Lehre von den Temperamenten* (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1921). For the presence of Kretschmer in Spain, see Kretschmer, 'Genio y figura', *Revista de Occidente*, I, No. 2 (August 1923), 161–74. Also, Vallejo Nágera, 'Progresos', 9. See also J. M. Sacristán, 'Constitución en psiquiatría', *Archivos de Neurobiología*, XI, No. 2 (1931), 252–283. Sacristán also translated Kretschmer's closely related work *La histeria* (Madrid: Biblioteca de la *Revista de Occidente*. Nuevos Hechos, 1928).

55 Juan José López Ibor, prologue to Ernst Kretschmer, *Constitución y carácter*, trans. Dr J. Solé Sagarra (Spanish trans. of 18th German ed. [Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1947]). The translator had studied in the clinic of Kretschmer. Marañón referred to the 1925 German edition. See Marañón, *La evolución de la sexualidad*, 198.

56 See, for example, Quintiliano Saldaña, *Nueva criminología* (Madrid: Aguilar, 1936), 502.

57 For example, Vallejo Nágera, *Locura*, 217–25; M. Eyrych, 'Fursorgezoglinge, erbbiologisch gesehen', *Zeitschrift für Kinderforschung*, XLVII (1938), 250–61, cited in Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), 223–33.

58 E. Miller, 'On Recent Contributions to the Study of Physique and Character', appendix to Kretschmer, *Physique and Character*, 2nd US ed. (New York: Cooper Square, 1936 [reprinted 1970]), 271–78 (p. 274). See also Richard F. Wetzell, *Inventing the Criminal: A History of German Criminology, 1880–1945* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2000), 144.

profile as the struggle to fill the vacuum of Spanish political culture in the early 1930s accelerated. Prior to the war Vallejo appeared a slightly marginalized figure, possibly because he was essentially an army insider. However, whereas Marañón, a convinced Republican, was forced into temporary exile in 1937, Vallejo's career burgeoned into the martial-ideological psychiatry of the war and postwar. It is easy to see the two figures as representatives of diametrically opposed ideas of progress and, indeed, of 'the Spanish nation'.

Raised the son of a Spanish cavalry captain, Vallejo's military career had begun in a similar way to his father's with voluntary inscription at the age of sixteen in the cavalry regiment, the Lanceros de Farnesio.⁵⁹ Gradually, and without apparently displacing these cultural bearings, Vallejo's interests focused on military medicine and psychiatry in particular. He had begun work in the Spanish army's department of health in 1910 and during the First World War was attaché of the military commission of the Spanish Embassy in Berlin. He was decorated with both military awards, with campaign medals from Morocco in the 1920s and the Civil War of 1936–39, and civil honours, becoming a Caballero de la Orden de Isabel la Católica, an honour conferred by Alfonso XIII in June 1919.⁶⁰ From January 1918 until February 1919 Vallejo served as part of an international commission to inspect German POW camps. It was thus at the time of the Great War, as the empire was about to disintegrate, that Vallejo absorbed the organic bent of psychiatry in Germany.⁶¹

In the summer of 1936, Vallejo became director of Franco's military psychiatric services, based in Burgos, and indirectly administered fourteen psychiatric clinics in the Nationalist zone. In January 1939 he was made Head of Military Health in the recently occupied territory of Barcelona, before being moved to Madrid in April as Head of the neuro-psychiatric services of the Hospital Militar. He was appointed first professor of psychiatry in Madrid in 1942.⁶² Vallejo was also a ministerial advisor, on health (from 1943) and on education policy (from 1941), and President of the Spanish Association of Neuropsychiatry in the early 1950s. As well as many other national and international honours, Vallejo became an honorary member of the International Congress of Forensic Medicine in Bonn in 1938 after presenting a paper at the congress there in September on psychiatric observations made during the Civil War. His paper was a

59 'Antonio Vallejo Nágera. Hoja matriz de servicios, 1910–1952', Ministerio de Defensa, Archivo General Militar de Segovia, Legajo B-382.

60 Orden de Isabel la Católica, 2 junio 1919, Archivo del Ministerio de Asunto Exteriores, Cancillería, sig. C305 exp. 002.

61 Vallejo Nágera translated several German works on psychiatry, including Robert Gaupp's *Psicología del niño* (Barcelona: Labor, 1927).

62 See Antonio Carreras Panchón, 'Los psiquiatras españoles y la guerra civil', *Medicina & Historia*, XIII (1986), 3–26 (p. 7); Gonzalo Moya, *Gonzalo R. Lafora: medicina y cultura en una España en crisis* (Madrid: Univ. Autónoma, 1986), 122.

summary of what would shortly become a book entitled *La locura y la guerra* in 1939 for which he received the Cruz del Mérito Militar in 1941.⁶³ After the Second World War he was honoured with membership of the US Association of Military Surgeons.⁶⁴

Vallejo was particularly interested in the relationship of bodily constitution, which he saw as largely determined by the function of the endocrine system, to psychological character and illness. He viewed this relationship from the standpoint of authoritarian military Catholicism and therefore gave special attention to Civil War 'crimes' (all aspects of the violence of the wartime social revolution), and to the family, sex and gender, and eugenics or racial hygiene.⁶⁵ Vallejo claimed that, while his ideology was inspired by Nietzsche, his 'psychopathology' was inspired by Thomism.⁶⁶ He therefore symbolizes the interaction of the discourse of mental medicine and Catholic rhetoric, as well as the ideological turn of psychiatry during the Civil War years.

Author of numerous works published during the war and in the pro-natalist 1940s, treating such themes as the 'eugenics of Spanishness', Vallejo attempted to popularize eugenic culture in conformity with a Catholic prophylactic social programme. He argued that the decline of natality was always an indication of a nation's decomposition and 'degeneración biopsíquica'.⁶⁷ During the conflict he conducted a series of psychological-psychiatric studies on Republican prisoners in concentration camps and Francoist prisons based on Germanic theories of bodily constitution. The aim of these was to confirm positivist views of revolutionary behaviour as originating in mental disturbance and sex-determined difference. Many revolutionaries were found to be hereditarily marked by degeneration—a typically positivist conclusion. The argument that they therefore needed to be segregated from 'healthy' society, as if they were contagious, could only be logical in positivist terms if the aim was to prevent their procreation. But the Francoist authorities would only take the logic of positivist medical research so far. Revolutionary acts were to be

63 Antonio Vallejo Nágera, *La locura y la guerra* (Valladolid: Santarén, 1939); 'Psychiatrische beobachtungen im Spanischen krieg', *Internationaler Kongress für gerichtliche und soziale Medizin* (Bonn: Scheur, 1938), 512–17.

64 Vallejo Nágera, *Enseñanzas psiquiátricas de la segunda guerra mundial (Discurso leído en la Real Academia Nacional de Medicina)* (Madrid: n. p., 1951), 86.

65 See Michael Richards, 'Morality and Biology in the Spanish Civil War: Psychiatrists, Revolution and Women Prisoners in Málaga', *Contemporary European History*, X, No. 3 (2001), 395–421.

66 See Carlos Castilla del Pino, 'La psiquiatría española (1939–1975)', in *La cultura bajo el franquismo*, ed. Castilla del Pino (Barcelona: Ediciones de Bolsillo, 1977), 79–103, (p. 96).

67 Vallejo Nágera, prologue, C. Fernández-Ruiz, *Eugenesia y esterilidad: factores sociales de disminución de la natalidad* (San Sebastián: Editorial Española, 1939), 6. See also Vallejo Nágera, *Política racial del nuevo estado* (San Sebastián: Editorial Española, 1938).

treated both as caused by inherited conditions or deficiencies *and* as *crimes* to be punished, avenged and ‘redeemed’.

Vallejo displayed a need to constantly vulgarize ‘liberaloid Marxism’ in a rhetorical style which distanced its assumptions from his ‘Catholic’ psychiatry. In his pre-war (1935) medico-political study of the psychopathology of antisocial behaviour, published serially in the monarchist intellectual review, *Acción Española*, he purported to defend Catholicism from the incursions of positivism, represented by liberal doctors such as the pro-Republican Gregorio Marañón.⁶⁸ Marañón’s views about ‘inter-sexuality’, which were viewed by traditionalists as socially advanced, came under fire for appearing, scientifically, to blur sexual differences. Parodying Marañón, and at the same time underlining the dangers posed by cities and urban values, Vallejo described the liberal urban gender ideal as the ‘matrimonio unigénito’, arguing that liberal society was becoming characterized by social deviancy with ‘intra-sexual’ features.⁶⁹ But in other respects Vallejo’s ideas can be interpreted as extreme versions of liberal positivism. According to Vallejo, for example, a harmonious and ‘national’ synthesis of body and soul could be achieved through psycho-racial hygiene.⁷⁰

A belief in sexual difference was of course essential to the structure of traditional Catholic morality. It was believed that the moral disordering of the 1930s had been led by women neglecting their nurturing essence. This moral crisis, centred on women and children, was to be set straight in the aftermath of the war through campaigns of puericulture which had much in common with the programmes characteristic of the ‘soft’ eugenics in France and Latin America.⁷¹ Social policies were developed on this basis and carried out by activists of the Francoist state’s political *Movimiento*, particularly the Sección Femenina of the Falange.

Vallejo, despite his extremism, was necessarily ambivalent about ‘negative’ eugenics. The Nazi sterilization laws had, he felt, to be scrutinized ‘tanto para aceptar lo bueno como para rechazar aquello que tengan de repudiable’.⁷² In his 1934 book on ‘la asexualización de los

68 Antonio Vallejo Nágera, ‘Psicopatología de la conducta antisocial (I)’, *Acción Española*, No. 82 (December 1935), 495–521 (p. 499).

69 See Vallejo Nágera, prologue, Fernández-Ruiz, *Eugenesis y esterilidad*, 6.

70 See Vallejo Nágera, *Eugenesis de la Hispanidad y regeneración de la raza* (Burgos: Editorial Española, 1937).

71 On the French and Latin American examples, see William H. Schneider, *Quality and Quantity: The Quest for Biological Regeneration in Twentieth-Century France* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1990), esp. 63–73, 129–33; Leys Stepan, ‘The Hour of Eugenics’, 76–82.

72 The Papal Encyclical, *Casti Connubi* (December 1930), critical of US sterilization laws, but also opposing ‘positive’ measures like pre-marital health certification, clearly made Catholic doctors wary. See Antonio Vallejo Nágera, *Higiene de la raza: la asexualización de los psicópatas* (Madrid: Ediciones Medicina, 1934), 3–4. Also ‘Ilicitud científica de la esterilización eugénica’, *Acción Española*, No. 2 (1 January 1932), 142–54, and *Acción*

psicópatas', a further vulgarization of Marañón's work on sexual dimorphism, Vallejo was critical of eugenics because, first, he saw it as a product of liberal positivism, and, second, as being against Catholic teaching. Rather he preferred what he called 'la higiene racial' which was to do with improving the health of the race through the strict imposition of a particular morality. In Vallejo's mind, on this occasion, racial hygiene referred to the perfecting of the superior classes, 'mientras que la eugenesia limitase a la conservación de los genes sanos de la totalidad del pueblo', though the relationship between improvement of 'los selectos' and broader society remained obscure.

It is worth noting that Vallejo's ambivalence may have been due in part to his wish clearly to put himself in opposition to 'liberals' who were often more openly positive about eugenics. Indeed, in 1931 Marañón had published a prologue to a work on eugenics and marriage, where he was highly critical of political dictatorships (particularly that of Mussolini) but, at the same time, supported eugenic measures, in somewhat intemperate Malthusian language: 'La Humanidad tiene que acomodar el ritmo de la propia producción a las necesidades del momento. Y tiene, además, que oír la voz de la ciencia y procurar que las generaciones nuevas estén limpias de hombres degenerados, enfermos e inútiles, en la medida en que esta selección está al alcance de nuestra voluntad'.⁷³ Marañón's views must be set in the context of the devastating pre-war infant death rate (especially in rural areas), and his primary concern, first essayed in 1926 in *Tres ensayos sobre la vida sexual*, was that women should have fewer births. There he established the relationship between the number of children in a family and mortality, showing that if a mother gave birth to nine children the death rate was on average 60%—she would lose five or six of them before they were a year old, a situation he saw as tragic for 'Spanish maternity'. The highly politicized nature of the issue is evidenced in the fact that Catholic moralists apparently prohibited the reading of Marañón's book.⁷⁴

Postwar Francoist psychiatrists and other members of the bio-medical community thus moulded pre-war scientific thinking to the theoretical process of restoring the population, both in terms of quantity and quality.

Española, No. 3 (15 January 1932), 249–62. These 'anti-eugenics' articles have curiously been cited to illustrate Spanish Nationalist condemnation of Nazism. See Benjamín Rivaya, 'La reacción contra el fascismo. (La recepción en España del pensamiento jurídico nazi)', *Revista de Estudios Políticos*, C (1998), 153–77 (p. 154). For a comparison with French efforts to find a 'Catholic eugenics' based on moral health to deal with 'physical and moral defects', see Schneider, *Quality and Quantity*, 195–97.

⁷³ 'Eugenesia y moral', review of Francisco Haro, *Eugenesia y matrimonio* (Madrid: Morata, 1932), in Marañón, *Obras*, I, 99–101. Marañón had been a founder member of the Instituto de Medicina Social in 1919 and was President of the Spanish branch of the World League for Sexual Reform from 1931 to 1933.

⁷⁴ See Marañón, 'Eugenesia y moral', in *Raíz y decoro de España* (1933), Marañón, *Obras*, IX, 41–46.

They were thus fully implicated in pushing the repressive priorities of the 'New State'. Organic psychiatrists played an important role in reinforcing the conservative notion that women were physically and mentally ill-suited to work outside the home, for example, and that they should be directing all their energies to supporting the institution of the family and the postwar pro-natalist drive to replenish the life-blood of the nation.⁷⁵

The theories of several German sexologists were employed in order to give scientific legitimacy to traditional Catholic notions of womanhood in Spain. The considerations of Erich Wulffen, for example, figured prominently in Vallejo's Civil War study of women Republican prisoners. Wulffen was Director General of criminology in the Berlin Ministry of Justice in 1930, and worked in the area of sexual criminality, famously publishing a treatise on 'woman as sexual criminal' which argued for an innate female inclination toward criminal activity. Vallejo may have known Wulffen's work through the Spanish criminologist Quintiliano Saldaña, a prominent member of the Spanish branch of the World League for Sexual Reform (WLSR) from 1931 until 1933, who praised Wulffen's 'profundo análisis psicológico de la fémina, iluminado por paradigmas eligidos entre los más radiantes de esencialidad—la mujer espía, la furia revolucionaria, la sufragista, la envenenadora, etc.—conduce directo y, mejor, arroja rápido a la evidencia de estados anormales de la vida sexual en la mujer'.⁷⁶

In his Civil War bio-typological studies, Vallejo contended that in order to comprehend the active participation of women in the revolution it was necessary to be aware of their 'característica habilidad psíquica' which was accompanied by a 'debilidad del equilibrio mental', and a lesser resistance to environmental factors than men.⁷⁷ The possibility was considered that social oppression of women exacerbated the emotional features of such weak beings—envy, wickedness and vengeance—and explained the cruelty of revolutionary women. The female personality had less control and was less secure: 'el sexo débil' could not contain unconscious tendencies. These feminine psychological qualities occasioned abnormality of social conduct and plunged the subject into psychopathological states.⁷⁸

These crude, Victorian-sounding ideas were to be applied in the Spanish postwar era in order to restrict the social role of women and define their 'natural' emotional make-up and morality. They were also linked directly

75 See Mary Nash, 'Pronatalism and Motherhood in Franco's Spain', in *Maternity and Gender Politics: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare States, 1880s–1950s*, ed. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane, (London: Routledge, 1994), 160–77.

76 Quintiliano Saldaña, *La sexología*, (Madrid: n.p., 1930), 234.

77 Antonio Vallejo Nágera and Eduardo Martínez, 'Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista. Investigaciones psicológicas en marxistas femeninas delincuentes', *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra* (9 May 1939), 398–413.

78 Vallejo Nágera and Martínez, 'Psiquismo del fanatismo marxista'; Vallejo Nágera, *La locura y la guerra*, 222–25.

to women's constitutions. Women were drawn to politics, it was argued, because of religion, not because of ideas but out of emotional instinct. This clearly gave the lie to pre-war conservatives' claims to be 'safeguarding' female consciousness. In a 1940 study by Dr Clavero Núñez, constructed under the same influences as Vallejo's work, physical and sexual infantilism, which were not propitious for child-birth, were linked to criminal psychological features such as extraordinarily heightened suggestibility ('manía imitatoria'), ingenuousness, unstable psycho-motor functions, fantasies ('soñar despiertos'), fear, lying and negativism. In more maternal feminine anatomies 'un ligero estado hipomaniaco' predominates,

con hiperactividad psicomotriz que se traduce en el alegre optimismo, la laboriosidad incansable, en la satisfacción e intenso goce sentidos con el esposo, los hijos y las cosas del hogar, en la gran tolerancia para el sufrimiento y las contrariedades, en la disposición al sacrificio, en la seguridad en sí misma que no le hace sentir los celos, en la desenvoltura fácil con que se afrontan y resuelvan los problemas de la vida, en la condescendencia espontánea. A todo esto va unido una finísima percepción del aspecto práctico de las cuestiones que se tienden a solucionar con esta orientación. Sociabilidad. Gran afectividad. Comportamiento del erotismo, normal.⁷⁹

Although there was no necessary causal association between the theories about constitutional inheritance and inhumane medical experimentation discussed thus far, much of this work was used to justify such 'treatment'. In Germany, the Nazi state provided the conditions for ambitious and immoral doctors to pursue their work regardless of the human cost. Notoriously, Rüdin was later co-author of the German Law for the Prevention of Progeny with Hereditary Defects of July 1933, associated with Nazi compulsory sterilization for 'congenital mental defects', 'schizophrenia', 'manic-depressive psychosis', 'hereditary epilepsy' and 'severe alcoholism'.⁸⁰ The law ultimately legitimized the Nazis' murderous 'euthanasia' programme.

The Spanish Civil War defined a conjuncture of extreme social and political instability which was as fundamental as that of Germany in 1918 and in 1933–39. The defeat of the proletarian revolution (and of liberalism and liberal reform) presented opportunities to put in place totalitarian solutions to social problems, as defined by Catholic traditionalists like

79 A. Clavero Núñez, 'Biotipo y fecundidad. Los factores constitucionales como causa de esterilidad', *Medicina Española*, IV, No. 5 (March 1941), 215–30. See also Francisco de Echalecu y Canino, *Contestaciones al programa de psicología criminal: con nociones de psiquiatría, sociología y política criminal* (Madrid: Dirección General de Seguridad, 1943), 157.

80 On the inherent racism of this law, see Gisela Bock, 'Antinatalism, Maternity and Paternity in National Socialist Racism', in *Nazism and German Society, 1933–1945*, ed. David Crew (London: Routledge, 1994), 110–40.

Vallejo who had been advocating such action since the early 1930s. In 1938, as Catalonia was falling to the Franco forces, Vallejo published a booklet on Spanish race policy. His summation was heavily influenced by witnessing the war and revolution, by Catholic elite fear, and by his experience of German society during the Great War:

El Nuevo Estado debe tomar oportunas medidas de protección social contra los psicópatas [...] siendo la más urgente segregarlos en *campamentos de trabajo*. Jamás se presentará ocasión tan propicia como la presente para tomar decisiones con los psicópatas, pues los de la zona liberada o están en prisión gubernativa o condenados a reclusión por sus delitos. Desgraciadamente hemos de *recuperar* innumerables psicópatas al reconquistar la zona todavía irredenta, y a tiempo advertimos el peligro de que puedan infiltrarse en las filas de honrados ciudadanos, pues el mimetismo es una de sus mejores cualidades. (His emphasis).⁸¹

The endocrinologist Marañón had believed that the tenets of German proponents of bodily constitution theory were fundamentally correct. Though he was considerably more cautious than some of his pre-war Spanish colleagues, he approved the Kretschmerian typology. He professed that constitutional theory had potentially reinvigorated endocrinology, but he commented in 1929 that few Spanish psychiatrists had taken up the challenge to do related laboratory study. Emilio Mira, the leading Catalan republican psychiatrist of the 1920s and '30s, pointed to another problem with Kretschmer's typology: the crucial *inverse* relationship; that is, the influence of personality *upon* physiology and somatic pathology.⁸²

The merit of Marañón's interpretation was its relative flexibility and his avoidance of a 'determinism of the glands', in that he preferred to look at constitution more broadly as 'el subsuelo esencial' of the human subject.⁸³ Marañón believed that the endocrine system exerted its influence primordially in human morphology, and he agreed that there was evidence of a relationship, although not constant or fixed, between morphology and 'spirit'.⁸⁴ But he also believed that classification of morphological types was extremely difficult, and this, for Marañón, was especially the case with women, because 'woman' was an 'organismo en evolución'.⁸⁵ In fact, something similar could be said of 'man', though historically discourses on the female body have seen it as unstable compared with the 'canonical'

81 Vallejo Nágera, *Política racial del Nuevo Estado*, 90.

82 Emilio Mira, 'Influencia de la personalidad psíquica en la fisiología y la patología somáticas', *Revista Médica de Barcelona*, X (1928), 425–38.

83 See Marañón, 'Constitución y endocrinología', *Obras*, I, 79–81 (p. 80). The metaphor is close to the eugenic notion of the genetic 'sub-stratum'. See Laín Entralgo, *La generación del noventa y ocho*, 5th ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1963), 146–56.

84 Marañón, 'La endocrinología y la ciencia penal', prologue to Quintiliano Saldaña, *Nueva criminología* (1936), Marañón, *Obras*, I, 569–75.

85 Marañón, *La evolución de la sexualidad*, *passim*.

male body.⁸⁶

Marañón was thus suspicious of the framework of the biological-criminal link which seemed to offer a totalizing solution.⁸⁷ He considered biology an inexact science which was inevitably completed by subjective interpretations. Marañón had studied emotions as a function of endocrine formation.⁸⁸ He admitted that his laboratory research had always been considerably supplemented by observing human behaviour. His own subjectivity meant that he tended to assume the normative liberal categories of masculinity and femininity of the time, less in relation to the separation of spheres of activity than in relation to those functions most closely and obviously related to biology, like child-birth and rearing. The roots of crime, a category that Marañón failed to problematize, were to be found in the neurohormonal mechanism. In line with this normative conception of crime, he argued, for example, following the ideas of Carl Jung, that emotion was 'la atmósfera de lo excepcional', and since all crime was an exceptional act, it was always basically emotional.⁸⁹ Certain glands, he argued, had a direct influence on social activity—the parathyroid, in particular, could influence crime. In 1936, however, Marañón still considered the science of the endocrine secretions to be in a juvenile state. He confessed himself, moreover, to be concerned by extreme interpretations based on characterology, psychology and social activity, including criminality. Each sin, he declared sceptically in 1936, seemed to have its own gland assigned to it. By this point in time, Marañón's declarations may well have been made indirectly in response to the dubious practices and conclusions about crime and heredity being publicized in Nazi Germany. They were also made in the context of the Spanish political crisis. Antonio Vallejo, at the height of the Civil War, would reveal no such hesitation in making mechanical links between the body and revolution.

Some Conclusions

Historicizing medicine, including psychiatry, has for two decades or more meant moving away from the internalist-progressive histories of institutions and scientific 'advance' written as a heroic or humanizing narrative. The language and social relationships embedded in the laboratory, asylum or hospital, and in public dissemination and the political sphere, were not directly interrogated in this traditional kind of account. The work of revisionist historians has suggested that medicine, though it is

86 Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass./London: Harvard U. P., 1990), 35.

87 Marañón, 'La endocrinología y la ciencia penal', 569.

88 See, for example, Marañón, 'Sobre la edad y la emoción' (1921), *Obras*, III, 35–56; 'Emoción y edad crítica' (1924), IV, 65–74; 'Patología e higiene de la emoción' (1925), IV, 101–15.

89 C. G. Jung, 'Tipos psicológicos', *Revista de Occidente*. XXIX (November 1925), 167.

based on empirical method, is both socially constructed and ideological.⁹⁰

The eclecticism of Spanish medical practice and discourse originated in a context of ideological divisions and conceptual contradictions. The most obvious contradiction was between Catholicism and liberalism, crudely translated into competing worldviews: creationism (religious doctrine), for example, *versus* evolutionism (materialism-positivism). Such divisions, however, had a strongly rhetorical element to them, though this was less evident in the 1930s, when the profound differences over renovation of Spanish state and society pushed the social and cultural aspects of medicine and science—such as eugenics—to the forefront of public debate.

In effect, psychiatrists like Antonio Vallejo opportunistically reconciled the potentially repressive aspects of integrist Catholicism with constitutional determinism, a process already begun and politicized before 1936. There was an obvious contradiction in criticizing the studies of the Kretschmerian school for being ‘*francamente materialista y evolucionista*’, while arguing that determined relations between the bodily figure and individual personalities confirmed an ‘*íntima unión que tienen cuerpo y espíritu*’.⁹¹ Both the ‘materialist’ (positivist) theory and Catholic doctrine suited the authoritarian ideology of the Catholic Right in the 1930s and the Francoist state in the 1940s. Purification of the mind and body was understood both pathologically and as redemptive. ‘Hard’ eugenics was impossible in Catholic Spain. But demonization and criminalization, twin processes facilitated by the context of revolution and war, pushed psychiatry towards an alternative but also repressive form of racial hygiene.

Psychiatrists’ theory thereby repressively addressed human behaviour according to discriminatory typologies. The Catholic notion of conscience was inserted rhetorically and repressively between the stimulating and reactive factors that are the orthodox focus of psychiatry. But the factors conditioning reactions, according to this analysis, were still based on positivist thinking: inherited defects, acquired affective complexes, especially of inferiority and resentment, producing ‘*rencor*’, ‘*perversión*’, and a desire for vengeance.⁹² Vallejo considered this ‘insight’ to be of extraordinary interest for sociologists and political leaders because it ‘proved’ that science had to be ‘Christianized’ to have any sense. Biology taught that the masses react psychologically, pushed by instinctive forces and external excitations when *spiritual* inhibitions (morals, religion and patriotism) are not opposed to them, in the way that hysteria did in the individual personality.⁹³

90 See David Bloor, *Knowledge and Social Imagery* (London: Routledge, 1976).

91 Vallejo, ‘*Psicopatología* (I)’, 507.

92 See, for example, Juan José López Ibor, *El español y su complejo de inferioridad* (Madrid: Rialp, 1951); Vallejo, ‘*Psicopatología* (I)’, 515; and ‘*Psicopatología* (III)’, 301–02.

93 Vallejo, ‘*Psicopatología de la conducta antisocial*’, II, 175. The debt to Gustave Le

General Franco's published message in July 1938 warned that 'la salud de [la Patria], como la de los cuerpos, necesita de cuarentena para quienes proceden del campo apestado', suggesting a sense of disease and a need for segregation.⁹⁴ Whether the mutual pathologizing of enemies went deeper than language is a moot point. Much of the language of condemnation directed by the Nationalists at Republican Spain, reflected in the plague-literature produced in the war period itself centred on the alleged 'infections', bodily malformations and mental deficiency of Republicans.⁹⁵

It remains difficult to know for certain how much this pathological language shaped the hard, physical and psychological repression of the war and its aftermath. However, this article has aimed to illuminate three related issues through psychiatrists' discourse on eugenics and the nation. First, areas of scientific disagreement were less important than social conflicts over ethics, beliefs, morality and language. Second, the magnifying of these more rhetorical conflicts was a product of ripening ideology in the 1930s and the crusade mentality during the Civil War. Third, this magnification became a significant contributory factor in the scientific legitimization of the official Francoist image of the social and political enemy and therefore of the repression. Several postwar social studies and policies, particularly those carried out by Catholic charitable organizations and related to women and children, were influenced by psychiatry and bolstered the victors' triumphalist memory of the Republic and Civil War.⁹⁶

Bon's theory of the suggestibility of crowds is clear.

94 *Palabras del Caudillo* (Barcelona: Ediciones Fe, 1939), 137.

95 See, for example, Concha Espina, 'La pesta roja' [sic], *ABC*, Seville ed. (13 December 1938), cited in *The Spanish Civil War: A Cultural and Historical Reader*, ed. Alun Kenwood (Providence/Oxford: Berg, 1993), 116–17. For more on Nationalist novels of this kind, see Gareth Thomas, *The Novel of the Spanish Civil War* (Cambridge, Cambridge U. P., 1990), 79–89, who, for example, cites Francisco Salinas Quijada's, *Un alférez de cursillos* (Zaragoza, 1938) on Republican prisoners displaying 'unas caras hostiles, lombrosianas, de hampones y errabundos [...] Seguían con aire de desafío, con denuedo fanfarrón, con chulería enfermiza [...]'. In Enrique Noguera's *La mascarada trágica* (Zaragoza, 1941), Quinto concludes (Thomas, 76) that Communism 'es para los degenerados del tipo de Azaña, Galarza, Casares Quiroga y demás casos clínicos de la patología española' (Thomas, 85).

96 See, for example, Assumpta Roura, *Mujeres para después de una guerra: informes sobre moralidad y prostitución en la posguerra española* (Barcelona: Flor de Viento, 1998); Montse Armengou and Ricard Belis, *Los niños perdidos del franquismo* (Barcelona: Plaza y Janés, 2002).

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