

History of Spanish Psychology, 1800-2000

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Summary and Keywords

In the history of Spanish psychology in the 19th century, three stages can be distinguished. An eclectic first stage was defined by the coexistence of currents such as spiritualism, sensism, ideology, and common-sense realism. Jaime Balme was the most prominent and original author, integrating empiricism and associationism in the Spanish tradition of common-sense philosophy. The second stage was characterized by the influence of Krausism, a version of German rationalist pantheism imported by Julián Sanz del Río, that reached great acceptance during the 1860s and 1870s among intellectuals opposed to traditional Catholicism. The third stage began in the late 1870s: the reception, adaptation, development, and debate of the “new psychology” flowing from Germany, Great Britain, and France. A group of neo-Kantian intellectuals led by Cuban José del Perojo, a disciple of Kuno Fischer, introduced and popularized experimental psychology and comparative psychology in Spain. His project was vigorously seconded in Cuba by Enrique José Varona, author of the first Spanish manual of experimental psychology. In this path, the Marxist psychiatrist and intellectual Jaime Vera promoted in Madrid a materialistic view of psychology, and his colleague and friend Luis Simarro won the first university chair of Experimental Psychology, fostering a school of psychologists oriented toward experimental science. In turn, the publication in 1879 of the papal encyclical *Aeterni Patris* stimulated the development of a Spanish neoscholastic scientific psychology, developed under the influence of Cardinal Mercier of the Catholic University of Louvain. Authors such as Zeferino González, Marcelino Arnáiz, and Alberto Gómez Izquierdo broke with the anti-modern tradition of the Spanish Church and developed an experimental psychology within the Aristotelian-Thomistic framework.

In the first three decades of the 20th century, applied psychology expanded radically, linked to a period of strong socioeconomic growth. Abnormal and educational psychology developed vigorously, and Spanish psychotechnics, led by José Germain in Madrid and Emilio Mira in Barcelona, was at the forefront of European science. In 1936 the Spanish Civil War imposed a bloody parenthesis to the economic and scientific development of the country. In the postwar period, the psychiatrist Antonio Vallejo-Nágera and his group tried to manipulate psychological research to legitimize some of general Franco's policies. Simultaneously, two neoscholastic scholars, Manuel Barbado and Juan Zaragüeta, supervised the recovery and scientific development of Spanish psychology through insti-

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tutions such as the Department of Experimental Psychology of the Higher Council for Scientific Research, the National Institute of Psychotechnics, and the School of Applied Psychology and Psychotechnics of the University of Madrid. José Germain was chosen to direct and guide these projects, and a new generation of academic psychologists was formed: Mariano Yela, José Luis Pinillos, and Miguel Siguán, among others. The economic expansion of the 1960s and 1970s and the end of Franco's dictatorship produced a huge development of academic and professional psychology, with Spanish psychology becoming positively integrated into Western science. On the other side of the Atlantic, the psychology of liberation developed by Ignacio Martín-Baró in El Salvador promoted the theoretical and methodological renewal of Latin American psychology.

Keywords: Spain, history, psychology, psychotechnics, applied psychology

Psychology in Spain: A Long Tradition

Spain has played an important role in the development of Western thought since the late Middle Ages. At that time, European universities lacked most of the texts of the great Greek philosophers, while the Muslim intellectuals established in the Iberian Peninsula worked with the Arabic versions of these authors. Aristotelian and neoplatonic psychology penetrated Western thought largely thanks to the medieval School of Translators of Toledo (Dod, 1982). The Renaissance produced in Spain a renewed interest in psychology. The work of humanists such as Luis Vives, Juan Huarte de San Juan, and Gómez Pereira, among others, entailed substantial contributions to the development of modern psychology (González, 2008; Greenwood, 2015; Virues, 2005). However, the 17th and 18th centuries were a period of slow social, economic, and intellectual decline in Spain. The Jesuit Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) was the last great author whose texts, including those on psychology, would be studied throughout Europe (Knuuttila, 2014). After Suárez, Spanish thought lost step with respect to the great European intellectual movements. The center of gravity of European science shifted definitively to the north, and a crisis of the Spanish conscience developed. Spanish imperial pride was displaced by an inferiority complex, and western Europe was set in place as the model for the redemption of Spanish backwardness. This mentality was firmly established in Spain and remained so until contemporary ages, reinforced by an uncritical assimilation of the “Spanish Black Legend” (Villaverde & Castilla, 2016). Thus the history of psychology in Spain basically involves the history of the reception, transformation, and development of the psychological doctrines flowing from Europe.

Spain: The 19th Century

The 19th century was a turbulent time in Spain. The country was involved in a process of conflict and disintegration that included the Napoleonic invasion, the proclamation of the first liberal constitution in 1812, the reign of Ferdinand VII during which the main Spanish-American republics claimed their independence, the increasing conflicts in the me-

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tropolis between progressives and reactionaries, the Carlist wars between 1833 and 1876 that intermittently destabilized the country, the revolutionary six-year period that followed the dethroning of Isabel II, the fleeting republic of 1873, and, finally, the Bourbon restoration in the person of Alfonso XII in 1874. From that moment on, an era of stability and economic and cultural development was experienced, only briefly altered at the end of the century by the loss of the last colonies in 1898.

In the turbulent 19th century, three periods of Spanish psychology can be distinguished. The “eclectic period” covers up to the first half of the century and is characterized by the predominance of a psychological empiricism and an eclecticism, imported from France and Great Britain, which encompassed lines of thought as diverse as “ideology” (the psychological analysis of logic), psychological anthropology, spiritualism, Scottish realism, and phrenology (Martínez, 1976). In the second period, between the 1850s to the 1870s, Spanish academic psychology was fundamentally oriented by the Krausist philosophy imported from Germany. In the third period, from the 1870s to the end of the century, the intellectual horizon of psychology changed radically with the irruption of the scientific positivist mentality.

The Eclectic Period

Spiritualism, Sensism, and Ideology

Spanish psychology entered the 19th century under the influence of sensism and ideology (Quintana, 2007). The translations of French authors, such as Cabanis, Destutt de Tracy, Laromiguière, Bichat, Cabanis, Buffon, Pinel, and Broussais followed one another. In addition, Spanish intellectuals received news of the French bibliographic novelties through newspapers such as *El Correo Nacional*, which informed its readers about the appearance of works such as Chardel’s *Essai de Psychologie Physiologique* and Bautain’s *Psychologie Experimentale*.

In 1804, Ramón Campos had published a work in which he maintained the strong version of ideologism (Campos, 1804), sustaining that abstraction is not an exercise of thought but rather a product of words. The applied consequence was that, according to Campos, it is impossible for those with congenital deafness to generate any abstract concept, as they lack articulated language. The response from the intellectuals involved in teaching deaf-mute individuals was hasty, with José Miguel Alea publishing in 1804 his own observations on the ability of deaf-mutes for abstract and general ideas. Alea also presented the positive results achieved by Sicard and himself in the teaching of deaf-mutes (Alea, 1804). Innovative Spanish authors gradually started to emerge, presenting creations and syntheses with a greater degree of originality, including Tomás García Luna, Juan José Arbolí, and Pedro Felipe Monlau.

Tomás García Luna (ca. 1800–1880) was one of the modern pioneers of the academic teaching of philosophy in Spain. He published *Lecciones de Filosofía Ecléctica* (García Luna, 1843), presenting an eclectic psychology that tried to escape both extreme spiritualism and materialism. Through his pages, one could find the ideas of Locke, Kant,

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Laromiguière, Bacon, Cabanis, Condillac, Destutt-Tracy, Damiron, Bossuet, and, above all, Cousin and Maine de Biran. The text presented a balanced panorama of European psychology and an explicit attempt to update Spanish psychology by means of a critical revision of the French sensualism and of ideology.

García Luna's book was dedicated to his friend and canon of the cathedral of Cádiz, Juan José Arbolí (1795–1863). This cleric published a *Compendio de las Lecciones de Filosofía* (Arbolí, 1844), presented as a simplified version of García Luna's psychology for secondary education. However, critics (e.g., Anonymous, 1844) understood it as an extension of García Luna's effort to update the study of psychology in Spain, overcoming the references, which were considered already obsolete, to authors such as Destutt-Tracy and approaching the spiritualism of authors such as Laromiguière. The Spanish spiritualists were increasingly convinced that the threat they perceived in materialism was to be fought with an update of the European spiritualist doctrines. Nevertheless, the progress of sensory physiology in Europe necessarily pushed the limits of this psychology of spiritualist inspiration: Magendie's or Johannes Muller's research and their experimental approach were becoming increasingly popular among Spanish scholars. Magendie's *Précis élémentaire de physiologie* was published in Spanish in two volumes between 1828 and 1829 and Muller's *Handbuch der Physiologie des Menschen* in 1846.

Pedro Felipe Monlau (1808–1871) was the author who best represented this eclecticist effort to reconcile, within an empiricist framework, the spiritualistic thinking with the new horizons opened by physiological research (Santacatalina, 1980). He had a degree in medicine and was a versatile scientist, humanist, and writer. Monlau published *Curso de Psicología y Lógica*, which enjoyed great popularity, with 12 editions published between 1849 and 1881 (Monlau, 1849). Thousands of students learned psychology from his textbook. Monlau's work was embedded in a psychological empiricism that had already become detached from spiritualism, defining psychology as a science. He distinguished between experimental psychology, which is the study of the soul as conscious of itself and its observable manifestations, and rational psychology, which is the study of the origin, nature, and destiny of the soul and is part of metaphysics. For Monlau, psychology was one of the two components of anthropology, together with physiology, which studies bodily phenomena. He remained within the classical dualism but insisted that the study of the soul should advance through self-observation, observation of the behavior of others, and the study of language and other cultural manifestations. The fact that Monlau fit in so well with the psychological orientation of his time in Spain is proven by the success and academic permanence of his text for more than 30 years.

The School of Common Sense

The contact of Spanish intellectuals with the Scottish School of Common Sense occurred initially when a group of Spanish liberal thinkers went into exile in Great Britain during the decade of 1823–1833 (Ibarz & Villegas, 2006). Remaining on this track, Ramón Martí de Eixalá (1807–1857) was the initiator of the school in Spain, developed primarily in Catalonia. Eixalá was a professor of ideology, logic, and grammar and in 1841 published the *Curso de Filosofía Elemental* (Martí de Eixalá, 1841). In this and other texts, such as the

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unpublished manuscript *Estudios sobre la inteligencia de los animales. Especialmente de los mamíferos* (Studies on the Intelligence of Animals: Especially of Mammals), he exhibited a psychology that rejected scholasticism and criticism and was in tune with Reid and Dugald Stewart, although absorbed through the French texts of Jouffroy, Royer-Collard, and Cousin. For Eixalá, the research method in psychology was already positive, through an introspective practice that converts the facts of conscience into the path to develop philosophical research, although keeping a criterion of maximum prudence before venturing into universal concepts. A disciple of Martí de Eixalá, Javier Lloréns y Barba (1820–1872), professor of philosophy at the University of Barcelona, directly studied the texts of Reid and Stewart but, above all, delved into the thought of William Hamilton. Lloréns did not show any interest in bibliographic production, and thus only one *Discourse* (Llorens, 1854) and some lessons collected by his disciples remain (Llorens, 1920), in addition to numerous unpublished manuscripts. From these lessons, Llorens' interest in grounding the art of philosophizing in an empirical psychology, which starts from a phenomenological investigation of the human soul, can be understood. His analyses of consciousness, memory, attention, and the laws of association were in line with the ideas of William Hamilton, always based on the process of self-knowledge as the foundation of science.

The most original and innovative representative of this Spanish School of Common Sense was the priest Jaime Balmes (1810–1848). Balmes studied at the University of Cervera and held a chair of mathematics from 1837 to 1841. From that year on, he turned to writing and journalism, vindicating the role of Catholicism and the papacy in European civilization. Balmes shared with Lloréns a philosophy of common sense through the jesuit Buffier's version. He was interested in man in his integrity and, especially, in the psychological and gnoseological dimensions of the human being (Veganzones, 2002). One of his fundamental objectives was to counteract the skepticism that he detected in the philosophy of his time, and, to do so, he had to solidly support a theory of knowledge. Balmes parted from certainty as a primary data and not as the final product of a process of reflection. Certainty was not for him only the foundation of reasoning but also a genuine psychological need: "Certainty does not originate in reflection; it is the spontaneous product of man's nature and is annexed to the direct act of the intellectual and sensitive faculties" (Balmes, 1889, p. 14). Three criteria of certainty could be observed: conscience, evidence, and common sense. Thus individuals had access to three types of truths: those of intimate meaning, those that are necessary, and those of common sense. The starting point of all human mental life is the consciousness or intimate sense, to such an extent that if the other criteria of certainty disappeared, the intimate sense would still exist, but not the other way around. Consciousness is the realm of absolute certainty because its testimony to the presence of the phenomenon is irrefutable. The criterion of conscience is a primitive fact of human nature while the criterion of evidence is the inalienable condition of reason, while "that of common sense, properly so called, is the instinctive assent to truths" (Balmes, 1889, p. 238). To get from the idea to the object, the criterion of common sense or, as Balmes also called it, the "intellectual instinct," is essential. The intellectual instinct is, therefore, for Balmes, the essential mechanism for the rational resolution

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of the challenges posed to individuals at all levels, from physiological to moral (Amigo, 1964).

As Carpintero (1994) pointed out, the Catalan School of Common Sense represented an integration of empiricism and associationism in a Spanish realist tradition, whose roots can be found in the thought of Luis Vives and which could be considered an authentic Spanish tradition of common sense philosophy.

Phrenology

News about Gall's investigations reached Spain very quickly thanks to journals such as *Memorial Literario*. A good example is the article titled "Encephalo-Cranioscopia" (Anonymous, 1803), translated from French, which presented the general principles of the "craniognomic" system and of the main cranial regions in the psychological map. Thereafter, a multitude of articles for and against the phrenological system were published in the scientific and general press. Phrenology enjoyed a tremendous popularity in Spain in the early 19th century due to its materialist connotations, its promise of practical applications in fields as diverse as education, criminal law, and psychobiography, and its role as generator of new hypotheses about cerebral physiology. The translations of the phrenological literature of Gall, Combe, Lavater, and Bessières were numerous in Spain until 1840 (Rey, 1984). The controversy focused on three issues: the materialist nature of the phrenological doctrine, the lightness with which practical applications of the doctrine were developed, and the soundness of its scientific arguments. One of the most important discussions was presented in 1838 by José María Jiménez de Alcalá in the journal *El Instructor o Repertorio de Historia, Bellas Artes y Letras*, published in London (Jiménez de Alcalá, 1838A, 1838B). The author reviewed the main objections to phrenology and considered the accusation of materialism inappropriate, given that it is a topic alien to natural reason. He believed that other objections were more solid, such as the unjustified multiplication of the mental faculties, the total lack of evidence on the correspondence between the cerebral surface and the cranial one, and the innumerable cases of eminent personages (painters, writers, philosophers) who lack the cranial structure appropriate for their activity. Jiménez de Alcalá concluded that phrenology had no empirical basis, and, furthermore, it was useless. In the field of education, for example, phrenologists did not prescribe ligatures or cranial compressions to improve defects but simply to correct the inclinations of young people: "this can be done by fathers, mothers or guardians without phrenological knowledge; ergo Phrenology is useless, and its catalogue of organs and faculties is mere gibberish " (Jiménez de Alcalá, 1838A, p. 80).

Surprisingly, after phrenology had been known and practiced in Spain for 40 years and its weaknesses had been revealed, a Spanish teacher appeared on the scene in 1842, who, after traveling and working in the United States, returned to Spain and presented himself as an expert scholar and practitioner of phrenology, even overcoming the work of Gall and Spurzheim: Mariano Cubí (1801-1875). Cubí performed endless activities as lecturer, author of manuals, journal editor, and even as seller of porcelain heads. He was even prosecuted by the ecclesiastical authorities under suspicion of holding materialist doctrines contrary to the principle of free will (Domenech, 1977). Cubí was surrounded by a

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core of followers, mainly in Catalonia, who, like Magín Pers y Ramona, contributed to maintain phrenology's popularity even when in Europe it had definitively declined as a scientific theory (Nofre, 2005).

Spanish psychology in the second half of the 19th century was going to develop as a science driven by the great European intellectual movements of that time: positivism, Darwinism and neo-Kantianism. However, these movements coexisted and competed in Spain until the end of the 1870s with a philosophical school that had a peculiar impact on Spanish thought: Krausism. A specific circumstance also contributed to project the academic and social importance of psychology: the incorporation of this subject into the secondary education and university study plans (Castro, Castro, Casla, & Blanco, 1995; Quintana, 2004).

Krausism

When, in Europe, the wave of positive philosophy was flooding the intellectual landscape and metaphysics was retreating, in Spain a version of German pantheistic rationalism, embodied in the work of Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1781-1832), became ingrained for two decades. The person who introduced this anachronistic philosophical orientation in Spain was professor Julián Sanz del Río (1814-1869), who visited Germany in 1843 on a grant from the Spanish educational authorities. There, he made contact in Heidelberg with the disciples of Krause and in Brussels with the Krausist intellectual Henri Ahrens. He returned to Spain reaffirmed in the idea that Krause was the perfect synthesis between his Christian faith and German idealism. From that moment, he dedicated all his efforts to the dissemination of Krausism in Spain. His thought consisted of a pantheism with scientific, religious, and masonic ethics' elements. His psychology was determined by his idea of scientific knowledge: an in-depth knowledge of the self and a mixture of wisdom and virtue (Orden, 1998). Krausism enjoyed great popularity in academic circles until about 1875. Its ethical and intellectual proposals strongly attracted a considerable group of Spanish intellectuals who, tired of decadent Catholicism, saw in it a way to harmonize science, philosophy, and religion, avoiding the intellectual shock of positivism. Sanz del Río did not write specifically about psychology, with the exception of a secondary school program and some articles on child psychology, but some of his followers did. Among others, Francisco Giner de los Ríos and Urbano González Serrano are noteworthy.

Francisco Giner de los Ríos (1839-1915) had an enormous influence on Spanish society at the end of the century, through the founding in 1876 of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (Free Institution of Teaching), a private, nondenominational education center based on active pedagogy, moral responsibility, and love of nature. This alternative model to official education served as a reference for progressive pedagogy in Spain for half a century. The institution also published a bulletin, in which some educational psychological research appeared. Giner published *Lecciones Sumarias de Psicología* (Giner de los Ríos, 1874), intended to be used as a textbook for secondary school students, which explicitly proposed presenting psychology from the point of view of the rationalist idealism of Krause, Sanz del Río, Ahrens, and Tiberghien (Lafuente, 1980, 1987). A second edition (Giner de los

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Ríos, 1877) included references to some of the pioneers of scientific psychology, such as Fechner and Wundt, but without altering the original Krausist argument. Giner's psychology was a philosophical psychology, as it was oriented toward investigating the essence of the soul and, in addition, considered psychology as a previous step for rising in metaphysical investigation. Strictly speaking, psychology would be the analytical moment of every science (Lafuente, 1982).

The most prolific of the Krausist authors was Urbano González Serrano (1848-1904). He studied law, philosophy, and literature and in 1873 won a chair of psychology, logic, and ethics (Jiménez, 1993, 1996). González Serrano evolved from strict Krausism toward the so-called Krausopositivism, although remaining always faithful to the core of the Krausist doctrine. He authored numerous articles on psychological matters, collecting his contributions in volumes such as *La Psicología Contemporánea*, *La Psicología Fisiológica*, *Psicología del Amor* (Psychology of Love), and *Estudios Psicológicos*. González Serrano tried to adapt Krausism to the positive orientation of the new European psychology through a well-defined argumentative scheme: the traditional purely idealistic dualism is overcome and the results of associationist and experimental psychology are of great interest; however, the "new psychologists" make coarse use of the data, pursuing a chimerical monism and falling into a kind of positivist and materialist inverse metaphysics. The correct path is thus to integrate the empirical data into a psychology of the psychophysical cycle, respectful of the existence and spontaneity of the spiritual soul and its teleological character. In support of his theses, González Serrano did not hesitate to seek arguments from authors as heterogeneous as Jaime Balmes, Thomas Aquinas, Ribot, and Maudsley.

Scientific Psychology Arrives in Spain (on Both Sides of the Atlantic)

The first references to the new scientific psychology arrived in Spain at the hands of Emilio Huelín Newmann, a mining engineer who stood out in the mid-19th century as a scientific disseminator in the Madrid press (Huelín, 1867). In 1874, a man, José del Perojo and a doctrine, neo-Kantianism, came into play as the protagonists of the initial introduction of scientific psychology in Spain (Bandrés & Bandrés, 2019).

José del Perojo was born in Cuba¹ in 1850. Between 1869 and 1872, he studied philosophy in Madrid with Krausist professors Nicolás Salmerón and Urbano González Serrano and later lived in England, France, and Germany. In Paris, he attended the classes of Janet, Levecque, Taine, and Claude Bernard. In Heidelberg, he studied with Bartsch, Wundt, and Kuno Fischer, whom he always considered his mentor. Del Perojo understood that Wundt's neo-Kantianism was the instrument capable of overcoming the outdated idealistic metaphysics of the Krausism he had studied in Madrid. Back in Spain, he founded the journal *Revista Contemporánea* in 1875, which, together with *Revista Europea*, became the vehicle for Wundtian neo-Kantianism and positivism in Spain. Helped by young intellectuals like Manuel de la Revilla and another Spanish author born in Cuba, Rafael Montoro, del Perojo took on the project of overcoming Krausism and scholasticism. His journal published and disseminated in Spain the works of Wundt, Ribot, Delboeuf, Helmholtz, Tyndall, Schiff, Herbert Spencer, and James Sully, among others. He also

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founded his own publishing house, which would publish some of the first Spanish versions of *On the Origin of Species and The Descent of Man* and his own translation of the first part of the *Critique of Pure Reason*. Del Perojo was also a congressman in Madrid in several legislatures; he died in 1908 in his congressional seat after finishing an intervention.

In 1877, another Cuban intellectual joined forces with del Perojo: Enrique José Varona (1849–1933). Varona developed a long political and intellectual career that led him to be a congressman in Madrid, a professor at the University of Havana, and vice president of Cuba after the independence of the island. Varona worked from Cuba on introducing scientific psychology, in parallel with del Perojo, through two journals, *Revista de Cuba* and, later, *Revista Cubana*. In their pages, the work of Weber, Helmholtz, Delbeouf, Donders, Hirsch, Marey, Bain, Taine, and Wundt, among others, was disseminated and discussed. However, Varona's most significant contribution to the dissemination of scientific psychology in Spain was his *Conferencias Filosóficas: Psicología*, published in *Revista de Cuba* between 1881 and 1882 and completed in 1888 (Varona, 1881, 1882, 1888). This text constituted the first course of scientific psychology published in Spain. It consisted of 30 lessons and 475 pages and was an introductory text in line with the European works of that time.

The work of del Perojo and Varona was quickly known and appreciated in Europe. Their works were praised in journals such as *Mind*, *Philosophische Monatshefte*, *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'Étranger*, and *Revue de Philosophie Positive*. The situation in Spain, however, proved to be much more problematic. The neo-Kantian school, in which the monism of Wundt was inserted, landed in Spain in a hostile environment, in the midst of the crossfire held between Krausists and conservative Catholics. Neither of them welcomed the experimental psychology promoted by del Perojo.

The Catholic reaction was led mainly by the professor of metaphysics at the University of Madrid, Juan Manuel Ortí y Lara, and his journal *La Ciencia Cristiana*. In this publication and in several of his texts, Ortí y Lara and his collaborators rejected categorically both the new Wundtian psychology and Darwinism, without forgetting to attack their traditional enemy, Krausism. Any interpretation of psychological science that was not part of traditional scholasticism was discarded (Mendive, 1881; Ortí y Lara, 1876, 1884; Perales, 1881; Polo y Peyrolón, 1878).

On the side of the Krausists, the reaction to Wundtian psychology consisted of a cautious reception, full of objections and scruples. However receptive they tried to be, the Spanish Krausists could not renounce to their metaphysical core. Their reaction to scientific psychology was, on the one hand, to collect scientific references in support of the Krausist doctrine and, on the other hand, to show an apparent interest in experimental methodology, provided that it was integrated into the building of speculative psychology. This intellectual attitude became known as “Krauso-positivism” (Posada, 1892), an obvious case of *contradictio in terminis*, as it was tantamount to admitting the possibility of an idealist positivism. Outstanding representatives of this intellectual position were, among others,

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Mariano Arés, Nicolás Salmerón, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, Emilio Reus, Joaquín Costa, and Urbano González Serrano.

Scientific Psychology **Is** Here to Stay: Jaime Vera and Luis Simarro

On Friday, February 8, 1884, Dr. Jaime Vera presented before the section of Natural Sciences of the Ateneo Científico, Literario y Artístico de Madrid—the most important private cultural association of its time—his report titled *Concepto Naturalista de la Psicología* (A Naturalist Concept of Psychology). It was the opening document of the debate “Can Psychology be Considered and Studied as a Natural Science?” which was to take place in the Ateneo until the summer of that year. Jaime Vera (1859–1918) was a prominent psychiatrist, co-founder of the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers Party), and author of *Informe de la Agrupación Socialista Madrileña* (Report of the Madrid Socialist Group), the first Spanish Marxist political essay (Núñez & Tuñón, 1979).

Vera analyzed the psychological research procedures, disqualifying the intuitive and proposing external observation as the only viable alternative. He stated and defended the philosophical and social principles of materialism and denied that rejecting the principle of moral freedom meant discarding the principle of political freedom. Vera considered that the time had arrived to dismantle all the arbitrary hypotheses of spiritualism, regardless of whether they came from dogmatic schools or from free thinkers (Anonymous, 1884A, 1884B). Vera’s report was a call to arms for the defenders of spiritualist psychology in its different versions, scholastic or Krausist: Juan García Nieto, Father Miguel Sánchez, Eduardo Sanz Escartín, Ignacio Pintado y Llorca, Rafael Torres Campos, Gumersindo de Azcárate, and, of course, Urbano González Serrano, among others, intervened to refute Vera’s thesis. But there were also original alternative proposals such as that of Alejandro San Martín, which was centered on the embryonic concept of the brain (San Martín, 1884) or that of José Rodríguez Mourelo, centered around a reinterpretation of psychophysics (Rodríguez Mourelo, 1884). The final report on the debate presented by the chemist Laureano Calderón, co-founder of the Institución Libre de Enseñanza, tried to save the Krausist views while actually focusing on dismantling the arguments against materialism that had been handled by Vera’s opponents (Chichón, 1884). Positivism had already won the initiative in Spanish psychology. A few months after the conclusion of the debate, a great friend and collaborator of Jaime Vera and José del Perojo, Dr. Luis Simarro Lacabra, returned from Paris after a four-year study stay.

Luis Simarro (1851–1921) was a neuropsychiatrist and histologist, who became in 1902 the first professor of experimental psychology of the Spanish university (Carpintero, 2014A). His written legacy is very limited, but his work of promoting experimental psychology was intense. Simarro collaborated as a teacher at the Institución Libre de Enseñanza and stood out as a debater at the Ateneo, aligning himself with del Perojo’s positivist group. In 1878, he published his lectures *Teorías Modernas sobre las Funciones del Sistema Nervioso* (Simarro, 1878) and, after a frustrating experience as a mental hospital director in Madrid, he went to Paris to study with Ranvier and Charcot. On his return, he became a prestigious psychiatrist and was engaged in three fundamental scientific tasks: the promotion of experimental psychology, the development of forensic psychiatry, and

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neurohistological research. In the first task, Simarro stood out by organizing the first Spanish laboratory of experimental psychology in the Museo Pedagógico, where he researched and lectured on topics such as mental fatigue in teaching (Simarro, 1889). He also taught physiological psychology courses at the Ateneo, where Cajal, the psychiatrist Rafael Salillas, and himself managed to open a Laboratory of Experimental Psychology (Un Ateneista, 1899). Finally, in 1902, he won the new chair of experimental psychology at the University of Madrid, where he would form, with the help of his collaborator Cipriano Rodrigo Lavín, a remarkable group of experimental psychologists, such as Juan Vicente Viqueira, Navarro Flores, and Verdes Montenegro, among others. His fame also attracted enrollees in his courses characters as diverse as the socialist leader Dr. Juan Negrín, future prime minister, and the poet Antonio Machado. In the field of forensic science, Simarro was part of a group of psychiatrists, such as his friends Jaime Vera, José María Escuder, and Rafael Salillas, who promoted the debate on the relationship between criminal law and psychology and on the correctional institutions appropriate for the insane (Campos, 2002). They were following the path open by Pedro Mata (1811-1877), pioneer of Spanish forensic psychiatry, who had tenaciously opposed French spiritualism and maintained the identification between psychology and physiology (Toro y Mérida, 1986). The trio, Simarro, Vera, and Escuder, intervened in some of the most popular criminal trials of the time, such as the murder of the Archbishop of Madrid at the hands of a priest, which prompted the reflection within Spanish criminology on the relationship between crime, madness, and degeneration (Campos, Martínez, & Huertas, 2000). In the field of neurohistological research, it suffices to say that it was Simarro who taught Cajal the procedures and possibilities of the Golgi method, which became the basis of the future research carried out by the Spanish Nobel Prize winner (Ramón y Cajal, 1917). The figure of Simarro would not be complete if no mention was made regarding his role as leader of the Spanish Human Rights Movement (Carpintero, 2014B).

The chair of Luis Simarro fostered a school of psychology scholars oriented toward experimental science and inspired by the pedagogical renovation brought about by the Institución Libre de Enseñanza of Giner de los Ríos. Several of these scholars—Fermín Herrero Bahillo, Juan Vicente Viqueira, Eloy Luis André—had the opportunity to study at central European universities, through the scholarships granted by the Junta de Ampliación de Estudios, an official agency founded in 1907 and chaired by Cajal. Others, such as Francisco Santamaría Esquerdo, José Verdes Montenegro, and Martín Navarro Flores, developed their work entirely in Spain. The lack of institutional support to develop a scientific psychology project at the university relegated them to teaching at high schools.

Herrero Bahillo published an excellent psychology manual, translated Wundt's *Ethics*, and researched in the areas of collective psychology and psychology of religion (Arias, 2000). Juan Vicente Viqueira, with an excellent training with masters such as Bergson in Paris and G. E. Müller in Göttingen, conducted experimental research on identification memory (Viqueira, 1915) and studied areas such as the theory of psychology, aesthetics, and music, not forgetting his historical essay *La Psicología Contemporánea*, where he collected the ideas of Simarro and presented a synthesis of Wundt's thought and references to the work of Freud, James, Natorp, and Watson (Bernal, Castro, & Blanco, 2014). Eloy

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Luis André, close to the ideas of professor Miguel de Unamuno, conducted under Wundt's direction research on the melody of language, translated Wundt's *Introduction to Philosophy*, and promoted the renaissance of the "Spanish mentality," confronting the predominant Europeanist theses (Bueno Sánchez, 2009). Francisco Santamaría was assistant professor with Simarro and professor in the Escuela de Criminología (Gutiérrez Zon, 2007). His most original contribution was an experimental research on the psychology of testimony, which he developed between 1908 and 1909, focused on the reliability of witness testimony and in which he aimed to improve the experimental procedures of Binet, Stern, and Wreschner. Verdes Montenegro and Navarro Flores both contributed to the dissemination of the experimental approach with the elaboration of solid manuals (Navarro, 1914; Verdes, 1902). Navarro Flores also kept the Spanish public aware of the scientific developments in psychology through his section "Movimiento Psico-filosófico" in the journal *Nuestro Tiempo*.

For God and Science: Neoscholastic Psychology

Pope Leo XIII published in 1879 the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, which was to have a decisive influence on the development of psychology studies in Spain. The encyclical exhorted the Catholic intellectuals to be inspired by the principles of Thomas Aquinas' philosophy, not in the literal scholastic sense but as inspiration and frame of reference. The most advanced Catholic intellectuals understood it as the legitimization of experimental psychology within the framework of Christian science. Thus a European neoscholastic psychology was developed, with one of its fundamental axes at Louvain University, mainly through the work of Cardinal Désiré Mercier, which would have a powerful influence on Spanish Catholic intellectuals (Carpintero, 2014A; Leyssen & Mülberger, 2018). In any case, years before the *Aeterni Patris*, the Dominican friar Zeferino González (1831-1894), one of the most important Spanish Catholic intellectuals of the 19th century, had already promoted a vision of Thomistic thought open toward experimental science (González, 1864) and along that path, authors such as Marcelino Arnáiz, Alberto Gómez Izquierdo, Federico Dalmau, and Manuel Barbado advanced. The process, in any case, was not without difficulties. In 1901, the Louvain's *Revue Néo-Scholastique* still lamented the obstacles that neoscholastic psychology was finding in the conservative circles of Spain (Latinus, 1901).

Marcelino Arnáiz (1867-1930), an Augustinian friar, earned a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Madrid and studied at the University of Louvain with Mercier (Pérez-Delgado, 1996). Arnáiz would soon be featured in the pages of the Augustinian journal *La Ciudad de Dios* (The City of God) for two long series of articles on psychological and physiological phenomena and the experimental method in psychology (Arnáiz, 1898-1899, 1899-1900). These and other of his many works gave rise to volumes such as *Cuestiones de Psicología Contemporánea* (Arnáiz, 1903) and *Elementos de Psicología fundada en la experiencia* (Arnáiz, 1904). He fully supported the Mercier's Neothomist project, conceiving conscious life as a subject of psychology and, in this way, conceiving experimental psychology as the study of the relationship between consciousness and physiological phenomena. Moreover, Arnáiz disseminated the new experimental methods

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of the Würzburg School in Spain and tried to integrate them in the line of Mercier's epistemology.

Alberto Gómez Izquierdo (1870–1930) was a priest who studied at the University of Zaragoza and held the chair of logic at the University of Granada. During his time in Zaragoza, he was responsible, along with his friend and prestigious arabist Asín Palacios, for the Philosophy and Psychology section of the journal *Revista de Aragón* (later called *Cultura Española*), one of the highest intellectual publications at the dawn of the 20th century in Spain. Gómez Izquierdo published *Historia de la Filosofía en el Siglo XIX*, with a prologue by Cardinal Mercier, in which he dedicated a chapter to contemporary psychology (Gómez Izquierdo, 1903). The author reviewed and commented on the works of Lotze, Fechner, Wundt, Muller, and Ebbinghaus in Germany; Stanley Hall, Ladd, Baldwin, Dewey, Catell, and, particularly, William James in the United States; Sergi, Mosso and, above all, Binet, Janet, Ribot, and Brentano in the European panorama. Gómez Izquierdo also proposed an outline of the nascent specialization of psychology into the categories of child psychology, animal psychology, ethnic psychology, pathological psychology, and psychology of the professions. It is probably the first Spanish overall study of the scientific panorama of psychology.

Federico Dalmau y Gratacós (1874–1926), a priest and psychology teacher, moved to Louvain in 1911 to study experimental psychology with Professor Michotte. There, he developed research on the psychophysical variables of the voluntary act and on the subconscious images in hypnosis, one of the first experimental studies of a Spanish psychologist. Dalmau considered incomprehensible that neoscholastic psychology had not arisen before in Balmaes' homeland than in Louvain (Llavona & Bandrés, 1999). The experimental results of his research in Louvain were published years later (Dalmau, 1916) and were part of the revitalization of the Thomistic project that Dalmau sustained throughout his entire works, and which he made explicit in his psychology handbook (Dalmau, 1912), also prefaced by Cardinal Mercier.

The last neoscholastic considered here is Manuel Barbado y Viejo (1884–1945). He was a Dominican friar who studied natural sciences at the University of Madrid. After occupying various teaching positions at Dominican centers in Spain, he went to Rome in 1918, where he served for 22 years as professor of experimental psychology at the Angelicum International School, founding its Experimental Psychology Laboratory (Zanón & Carpintero, 1981). After the Spanish Civil War, Barbado was called in 1940 to Madrid to direct the start-up of new research institutes in the areas of philosophy, pedagogy, and psychology. He also took charge of teaching experimental psychology at the University of Madrid. The entrusted task was interrupted abruptly by his death in 1945. Barbado directed the *Boletín de Psicología Experimental* of the *Ciencia Tomista* journal and published numerous articles, collected after his death in the volume *Estudios de Psicología Experimental* (Barbado, 1946). His most influential work was his *Introducción a la Psicología Experimental* (Barbado, 1928), soon translated into French and Italian. Barbado defended the independence of experimental psychology as a full-fledged science and defined it in introspective terms, without denying that sometimes introspection is insufficient and it is nec-

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essary to resort to data from physiology or neurology. Significantly, the history of psychology occupied almost half of his experimental psychology handbook. This anomaly was noted in the review that appeared in 1931 in the *American Journal of Psychology*, with the author underlining that “The actual history which emphasizes Aristotle’s contributions to experimental Psychology is contained in about half the total number of pages” (Möller, 1931). It was not a coincidence. Barbado’s objective was to vindicate the Aristotelian-Thomistic psychology that had been reaffirmed, from his point of view, by experimental psychology.

Other names might be mentioned as well in their own right, such as the priests Juan Zaragüeta and Prudencio Conde Riballo or the Jesuits Juan José Urraburu, Eustaquio Ugarte de Ercilla (student of Wundt), and José María Ibero. They all shared a common project: to assimilate the energy of positive science to revitalize Thomistic metaphysics. They all shared, to a greater or lesser extent, the same conceptual scheme: absence of misgivings toward positive science and faith in the instrumental role of experimental psychology at the service of rational psychology.

Spain: The 20th century

The Pre-Civil War Era

The 20th century marked the transition between a psychology focused on the field of academic theory to a scientific practice involved with social needs and problems. This practice could be referred to as, in a general sense, an applied psychology. This applied psychology developed essentially as clinical psychology, mental hygiene, educational psychology, and, especially, psychotechnics.

Notably, this development in Spain was not produced from within a university framework, in which the continued influence of the conservative mentality discouraged the crystallization of a scientific psychology, but within the framework of initiatives linked to reformist sectors, fundamentally connected to the educational and industrial sectors (Saiz & Saiz, 1998). Scientific applied psychology promised to offer solutions for the problems of a Spanish society that was entering the 20th century.

Abnormal Psychology and Mental Hygiene

Gonzalo Rodríguez Lafora (1886–1971) was probably the most important Spanish neuropsychiatrist of the 20th century. He was a disciple of Simarro and Ramón y Cajal, studied with Kraepelin and Alzheimer in Germany, and worked with Franz at the Government Hospital for the Insane in Washington. Probably, this experience in Washington awoke in him a special sensitivity toward intellectual disability (Carpintero, 1986). Lafora had a brilliant but short scientific career in neurophysiology in United States, which would be transformed into research on child psychopathology when he returned to Spain and perceived the social needs of that time.

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In 1910, the Spanish government founded the Patronato Nacional de Sordomudos, Ciegos y Anormales (National Board of the Deaf, Blind and Abnormal), which had been insistently claimed by the Spanish Society of Hygiene (del Cura, 2012) and by publications such as *La Escuela Moderna*, where authors like Dr. Vicente Pinedo, translator of Binet and Simon's *Les Enfants Anormaux*, claimed the institutionalization of abnormal children (Pinedo, 1910). The orientation was initially medical-psychological, with a psychology laboratory under the direction of two front-line neuropsychiatrists: Gonzalo Rodríguez Lafora and Nicolás Achúcarro. Lafora took advantage of his experience in the laboratory to write his text *Los niños mentalmente anormales* (Mentally Abnormal Children), which not only had a high scientific level but also served as a guide for the application of tests and the development of school therapies (Rodríguez Lafora, 1917). It was not the only medical-psychological initiative for the treatment of the "abnormal."

Francisco Pereira, a teacher at the Institución Libre de Enseñanza who had studied abnormal childhood in various European institutions, founded the Instituto Psiquiátrico Pedagógico in Madrid and the *Infancia Anormal* journal, where he defended a model of "orthophrenopedia," which sought neurophysiological modification through stimulation and exercise (del Barrio, 2001). In Barcelona, Dr. José Córdoba and his wife, the pedagogue Rosalía Ferreiro, founded in 1915 the Instituto Médico Pedagógico, which is still active, where they developed a psychological gymnastics therapy. Lafora himself founded in 1925 his own institute, where he surrounded himself by young professionals such as José Germain and Mercedes Rodrigo, called to be protagonists in the Spanish psychology of the 20th century.

Inevitably, the medical-psychological concept of "abnormal childhood" overlapped in part with that of "asocial or delinquent childhood." In this area of intersection, two outstanding initiatives emerged: the Lluís Folch i Torres project in Barcelona and that of the Capuchin Tertiary friars. Folch i Torres was a self-taught intellectual who developed a project for the protection and reform of young delinquents, which included a psychology laboratory installed by the Barcelona board for children protection. Folch, like Lafora, also founded his own institution in 1928, the Torremar Institute, still active today, where avant-garde psychometric techniques were used and forensic expert reports were performed for the juvenile courts (Saiz & Saiz, 2012).

The Capuchin Tertiary friars began their work in Spain in 1890, managing the youth reform center of Santa Rita in Madrid. In 1920, they also took over the reformatory house of El Salvador in Amurrio (Mestre et al., 2012). The Children's Courts Act of 1918 authorized the courts to place minors in these centers for reeducation and a 1926 order required the personnel of those centers to have received sound scientific training. The Capuchin Tertiary friars rigorously assumed this requirement, making contact with the Folch i Torres center, visiting the avant-garde establishments in Europe, and setting up the Amurrio study center, which, since 1928, annually organized open courses of psychopedagogical training. In the same way, they introduced into their friars' training a compulsory three-year program of scientific psychology and a program of visits to European research centers. Psychology laboratories for practice and research were estab-

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lished in the centers of the order, which produced, for example, the Spanish adaptation of the Vermeulen method, which was considered more appropriate than that of Binet-Simon for the examination of the young people in their centers (González Pérez, 2009).

Of course, the Freudian theory also had a strong impact on the Spanish intellectual and scientific media of the early 20th century. Apart from an early translation of an article by Freud in 1893, psychoanalysis was soon commented on and discussed in medical circles: Although the Freudian debate was normally held within medical circles by doctors such as Juarros, Lafora, Sacristán, Sanchís Banús, Marañón, Emilio Mira, and, above all, Ángel Garma, it was a philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset, who decisively contributed toward integrating Freud in the Spanish culture, promoting the translation of his works and presenting his theory in 1911 in the article *Psicoanálisis, ciencia problemática* (Ortega y Gasset, 1911). Psychoanalysis soon broke the academic circles to enter the fields of civil law, criminal law, and the theory of education (Carpintero & Mestre, 1984; Sánchez-Barranco, Sánchez-Barranco, & Balbuena, 2012).

Educational Psychology

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Spain felt the need to extend primary education to all sectors of the population, as well as to develop a process of updating and improving educational practices. The objective was to promote the process of national regeneration that was perceived as essential after the decline and final loss of the remains of the colonial empire. Scientific psychology appeared as a tool at the service of this regeneration.

Interest in scientific educational psychology soon emerged in Perojo's neo-Kantian circle. In 1878, Pedro de Alcántara García, one of the most influential pedagogues of the late 19th century in Spain, published in the Perojo's *Revista Contemporánea* the article "La educación de los sordo-mudos y los ciegos" (The Education of the Deaf-Dumb and the Blind), where he predicted that psychophysics should have a powerful influence and application in pedagogy (Alcántara, 1878). Later, he insisted on the role of basic psychological research in pedagogy, this time by commenting on Ribot's text on psychological inheritance (Alcántara, 1892).

In other intellectual circles, the same concern was expressed. In 1889, the physician and journalist Alfredo Opisso commented on Galton and Bernard Perez's research on mental fatigue at school (Opisso, 1889) and warned that it was a different phenomenon and even more serious than physical fatigue. In 1894, Luis Simarro was already carrying out laboratory research on this same topic and divulging his results through his courses at the Museo Pedagógico in Madrid (Hoyos, 1894). By this time, the message had penetrated the official spheres and on March 18, 1895, the general director of primary education announced a reform project of the Museo Pedagógico Nacional, which aimed to guide this research center toward four main objectives: the extension of pedagogy to all educational levels, the development of an integral education, the extension of physical education, and, above all, "the cultivation of scientific pedagogy based on physiological psychology and experimental observation of children" (Vincenti, 1895, p. 117). The decree stated categor-

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ically that without considering the work of authors such as Preyer, Sergi, Mosso, and others, “it is impossible to modernize the science of education” (Vincenti, 1895, p. 118). It was also decreed the organization of an anthropology laboratory, with two sections: an anthropometry laboratory and a physiological psychology laboratory. The experimental approach to education was firmly established and was strengthened with the creation, in 1909, of the Escuela Superior del Magisterio (Higher School of Teaching). In August of that year, an urgent contest was published to acquire the necessary apparatus and furniture for the new center: most of them were instruments for the Experimental Psychology Laboratory (Castro, 1909).

Soon, the need to use intelligence tests that allowed standardized and comparable evaluations was also felt. Eugenio Cuello applied in 1908 the Binet-Simon tests to adolescent inmates of the prison of Madrid (Cuello, 1911). That same year, a group of doctors led by Luis Comenge applied them in the context of the selection of children for school summer camps (Mülberger, Gómez-González, Cañas, Cervantes, & Anglada-Llistosella, 2019). In 1910, the same author reported his experiences in the Municipal Schools of Barcelona (Comenge, 1910). Rodríguez Mata also applied them in 1914 among schoolchildren, and José María Villaverde tried the intelligence tests in 1915 on an intellectually disabled patient (Rodríguez Lafora, 1915). In 1918, Aloguín and Rosell used them in Madrid to evaluate the intelligence of schoolchildren from the new school Virgen de la Paloma (Pí, Arsua-ga, & Soria, 1918), and Víctor Ruiz Albéniz applied them on the homeless population of Madrid (Ruiz Albéniz, 1921). In Barcelona, the teacher Llorenç Cabós i Badia tried with his students the tests of Yerkes, Bridges, and Hardwick (Mülberger, Balltandre, & Graus, 2014). At the same time, translations and adaptations of the Binet-Simon, Yerkes, and Terman tests appeared, such as those carried out by Anselmo González, Lafora, Domingo Barnés, Jacobo Orellana, and Rodolfo Tomás y Samper, among others, which allowed for the expansion of the psychometric method (Arbulú, 1994). Intelligence tests quickly acquired a status of scientific respectability, as evidenced by the fact that, in 1920, Lafora and Juarros decided to use the Yerkes tests before the courts to prove the mental incapacity of an individual (A.U., 1920).

This scientific orientation of education had an important effect on the progress of developmental psychology. The work of Pedro de Alcántara García also had a pioneering character here. In works like *De los estudios llamados de Psicología Infantil* (On the So-Called Studies of Child Psychology), he presented the investigations of Egger, Lemoine, Taine, Tolosa Latour, and, above all, Bernard Perez, Compayré, and Preyer (Alcántara, 1899). Alcántara celebrated the achievements of scientific psychology but cautioned against the temptation of disregarding the value of internal observation data, such as those contained in autobiographical accounts. In any case, Spanish psychologists ended up being influenced singularly by the so-called Geneva School and by two of its most outstanding representatives, Claparède and Piaget. The ideas of the former were introduced in Spain by Domingo Barnés (1879–1940), translator of Claparède and introducer of pedagogy in the formative curriculum of Spanish teachers, and were also widely disseminated in the pages of the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* and *Revista de Pedagogía* (Lafuente & Ferrándiz, 1997). Several Spanish psychologists visited Geneva, and Cla-

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parède himself traveled to Madrid and Barcelona, establishing a firm base of collaboration. It was also Domingo Barnés who translated Piaget's first works, but even more important were the years of training at Geneva of psychologists such as Pedro Roselló, Juan Jaén, and José Peinado. The latter and their followers helped the Piagetian theory influence many of the governmental educational designs that happened in Spain up until the end of the 20th century (Carpintero, 2003A).

Psychotechnics

The strong development of applied psychology in Spain was linked to the problems that arose within the spheres of industry and scientific organization of work after World War I. In this way, it is understandable that two nuclei of psychological activity were to develop in Barcelona and Madrid, the industrial and commercial centers of the country. The center of Spanish psychology would shift toward Barcelona, capital of the Spanish region at the forefront of the industrialization process. The development of Spanish psychotechnology was channeled through the vocational guidance institutes, which assumed more and more tasks of professional guidance and specialist selection: "The brilliant days of Spanish psychotechnology had begun" (Carpintero, 2012B, p. 519).

In 1914, the Secretariado de Aprendizaje (Secretariat of Learning) was created in Barcelona on the initiative of the engineer José Maria Tallada. It was a world pioneering professional guidance center, as, at that time, only those of Parsons in Boston and Christiaens in Brussels existed (Saiz & Saiz, 1998). In 1918, the Secretariado became the Instituto de Orientación Profesional and, in 1919, the physician Emilio Mira y López joined the team as an auxiliary psychologist. Mira was later to become the soul of the institute and the psychologist of reference in Spain until the civil war. Emilio Mira had been a student with Augusto Pi Sunyer, who, in turn, was a disciple of a very brilliant scientist, Ramón Turró, who had promoted biological research in Barcelona and was the author of an original psychobiological theory on the origin of human knowledge (Turró, 1912).

The institute, soon directed by Mira, developed an intense activity of test validation and construction and professional behavior analysis. The center's international prestige grew quickly (Sánchez y Ruiz, 2012), and, in 1921 and 1930, the Psychotechnics International Conference was held in Barcelona. At the same time, the center was involved in the professional selection of specialists, such as the one carried out for the Barcelona Bus Company (Mira, 1924). The success of the institute encouraged the authorities to expand its network, creating branches in other cities of Catalonia. Thanks to Emilio Mira's work, psychotechnics penetrated all areas of society, and Spanish psychotechnics was considered as one of the most advanced of its time. In addition, Mira also developed original psychotechnical applications, such as a program for the selection of football referees, which sparked a public controversy when the referees realized that Mira intended to include moral and technical areas in their evaluation (Bandrés & Bandrés, 2017).

It is impossible to summarize Mira's activity in areas as diverse as **psychometry**, psychodiagnosics, clinical psychology, legal psychology, and educational psychology. Having resided in Spain only until the end of the civil war in 1939, he can be considered among

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the more, if not the most, relevant Spanish psychologist of the 20th century (Iruela, 1993).

On the other hand, in Madrid the Instituto de Reeducción de Inválidos (Institute for Re-education of the Work-Disabled) was founded in 1922 (Monteagudo & Chisvert, 2007). In the institute, a Professional Guidance Service was created, where José Germain, Mercedes Rodrigo, and José Mallart developed an advanced research program and established contact with European psychotechnologists (Mallart, 1974).

The institutes of Barcelona and Madrid were accredited in 1927 by the Spanish government as Institutos de Orientación y Selección Profesional, and the following year the installation throughout Spain of Oficinas-Laboratorio de Orientación Profesional was decided. This multiplication of centers required the training of professionals: courses were thus developed in the Madrid and Barcelona centers, which would continue their activity with strong official support until the outbreak of the civil war.

Military Psychotechnology

A particular area within applied psychology in Spain was that of military psychology. Six major areas of interest can be described: collective psychology, the psychological effects of combat, psychopathology in the military, detection of simulation, colonial ethnic psychology, and professional selection and orientation. Focusing only on this last area, the figure of Santos Rubiano Herrera (1871-1930), military doctor, friend of Luis Simarro, and translator of Wundt, Kraepelin, and William James, must be mentioned. Rubiano spent a year studying in the United States in 1917 and on his return proposed the use of mental tests for the professional selection and orientation of soldiers and officers and warned about the importance of being able to cope professionally with the mental disorders derived from modern wars (Bandrés & Llavona, 1997B).

World War I also introduced the use of aviation as a military weapon. This stimulated research in neutral Spain on the psychotechnical selection of pilots. The two research nuclei were the Cuatro Vientos aerodrome in Madrid and the naval aeronautics base of El Prat de Llobregat in Barcelona. In Cuatro Vientos, several military doctors concentrated on refining the psychophysiological procedures for the selection of pilots, and two of them, César Juarros and Antonio Pérez Nuñez, presented in 1919 their conclusions regarding the so-called aviator neurosis in the Société de Biologie of Paris. In El Prat de Llobregat, the protagonist was the navy doctor Luis Figueras Ballester. Dr. Figueras not only implemented rigorous methods of psychotechnical and psychophysiological selection—in some cases, he rejected more than 50 percent of the aspiring pilots—but he even designed a kind of flight simulator, unique in Europe, to examine the discriminating and inhibiting ability of the pilots (Bandrés & Llavona, 1996).

Spanish applied psychology had achieved an international prestige that was recognized when Madrid was designated as the venue for the XI International Congress of Scientific Psychology, under the honorary presidency of the philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (after the death of Ramón y Cajal), the presidency of Emilio Mira and with José Germain as gen-

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eral secretary. The date of the Congress was set for autumn 1936 (Carpintero & Lafuente, 2008).

Psychology During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939)

On July 18, 1936, part of the Spanish army tried to seize power through a coup d'état. The failure of the coup in some areas of the country and its success in others left the country torn and gave rise to a bloody civil war. The rebel side, led by General Franco, soon obtained the military support of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The Madrid government soon understood that the Western powers, France and, especially, the British government, were going to adopt a totally passive attitude toward the Nazi-fascist intervention. The only viable alternative was to resort to the help of the Soviet Union. In the rear-guard of both sides, a wave of terror was unleashed, which, in the case of the Francoist zone, lasted throughout the war and into the first years of the postwar period.

Obviously, the war interrupted any academic or research activity, starting with the projected International Congress of Psychology that was to be held in Madrid. Neither side had the time or the interest in organizing psychological recruitment, which, in fact had not been in use before the conflict either. Hence, psychological activity depended fundamentally on the initiative of those responsible for the psychiatric services: Antonio Vallejo Nágera for the rebels and Emilio Mira in the government army, without forgetting the work carried out by Mercedes Rodrigo at the Instituto Nacional de Psicotecnia in Madrid.

Antonio Vallejo Nágera (1889–1960) was a military psychiatrist strongly influenced by the biotypological theory of personality. In the 1930s he had tried to promote a eugenic policy adapted to Catholic morality and based on the biotypological diagnosis of the romantic couple. During the war, Vallejo created in 1938 the Gabinete de Investigaciones Psicológicas de los Campos de Concentración de Prisioneros de Guerra (Psychological Research Cabinet of the Concentration Camps for Prisoners of War) based in the camp of San Pedro de Cardeña, a place described by some of the survivors as “a preview of Dachau or Buchenwald” (Eby 1969, p. 254). This camp had the peculiarity of gathering foreign prisoners—volunteers in the government army—and was soon visited by German researchers who were interested in the psychosocial characteristics of the inmates. Vallejo developed there a research project titled “Biopsiquismo del Fanatismo Marxista” (Biopsychism of Marxist Fanaticism). The hypotheses that guided the project were the relationship between certain biopsychic personalities and the constitutional predisposition to Marxism, the high incidence of Marxist fanaticism in those who were mentally inferior, and the high presence of antisocial psychopaths among Marxists (Bandrés & Llavona, 1997A). Several tests were applied to the prisoners—Kretschmer, Neymann-Kohlstedt, Yerkes—and Vallejo published the results between 1938 and 1939 in a military journal, the *Revista Española de Medicina y Cirugía de Guerra*. In one of his papers, for instance, Vallejo (1939) reported that, among the American prisoners of the “Abraham Lincoln Brigade,” degenerative tempers predominated, with a low intellectual level and a high frequency of social imbeciles. Vallejo found it especially interesting to investigate the case of “Marxist women,” for which he moved to the prison of Málaga, where he expanded his project by examining

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50 women, in collaboration with Dr. Eduardo Martínez. The authors reported the predominance of the introverted primary temperamental reaction, degenerative temperaments, low intelligence, and psychopathy. These findings were not surprising for Vallejo and Martínez, given that, according to the authors,

as the female psyche has many points of contact with the infant and the animal psyche, when the brakes that socially contain women disappear and inhibitions of instinctive impulses are released, then the instinct of cruelty awakens in the feminine sex and surpasses all imaginable possibilities, precisely because of the lack of intelligent and logical inhibitions.

(Vallejo & Martínez, 1939, pp. 398-399)

It should be noted that this use of psychology as an argument for the scientific legitimacy of Franco's dictatorship continued in the postwar period in the hands of the group of psychiatrists surrounding Dr. Antonio Vallejo Nágera. Only two examples are quoted: One of Vallejo's close collaborators, Dr. Francisco Javier Echalecu, psychology professor at the General School of Police, proposed in 1942 the use of scientific psychology to detect potential delinquents and dissidents, in view of their preventive detention and eugenic intervention (Echalecu, 1943). The study visit he carried out in 1943 at the Nazi Institute of Criminal Biology in Berlin convinced him of the convenience of imposing what he called a "totalitarian criminal psychology." On the other hand, both Vallejo and his collaborators, Echalecu and Eduardo Martínez, also justified on the basis of scientific psychology the decision of the postwar authorities to intern, without any judicial process, women who were considered "conflictive prostitutes" (Martínez, 1942). According to these authors, these women should be incarcerated because they were innately affected by sexual psychopathy, mental deficiency, and amorality (Bandrés, Zubietta, & Llavona, 2014).

On the government side, in 1938 Emilo Mira was appointed inspector of the military psychiatric services. Mira developed an intense work of psychological action (Estalrich, 1996). Regarding, for instance, the attention to soldiers who presented mental symptoms at the front, Mira organized a series of advanced centers, located less than 30 km from the front line, where the soldiers were subjected to psychotherapy for a maximum of 10 days to try to reintegrate them into combat. He also paid special attention to the detection of simulators and the treatment of alcoholics. He considered essential for victory the development of a campaign of mental hygiene in the army, focused on the maintenance of a high fighting attitude, paying special attention to the control of fear. In order to achieve this objective, he prepared a *Breviario de Higiene Mental del Combatiente* (Breviary of Mental Hygiene of the Combatant), whose reading by the soldiers had to be coordinated with the action of officers, political commissars, and doctors in order to always maintain a high combat moral. Mira published reports of his activity during and after the war (Mira, 1938, 1939A, 1939B) and summarized his experience in *Psychiatry in War* (Mira, 1943).

In Madrid, Mercedes Rodrigo took over the Instituto Psicotécnico when the director, José Germain, decided to leave Spain at the beginning of the war. Her work focused on meeting the needs of the children who were being evacuated from Madrid to safeguard them

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from Nazi-fascist bombings against the civilian population. Similarly, she set up a reeducation center for young people with antisocial behaviors, which managed to control the danger of uncontrolled youth gangs in Madrid during the war (Herreros, 2000).

The civil war produced a trauma in Spanish society that has not yet been completely healed. The most immediate consequences were the exile of many of the most prestigious Spanish psychologists and the physical disappearance of some, such as the neuropsychiatrist and Simarro's disciple José María Villaverde and the director of the Psychological Laboratory of the Amurrio center, Vicente Cabanes, both murdered in the government zone during the war.

The Post-Civil War Era: Restoration and Institutionalization of Spanish Psychology

The end of the civil war left a panorama of interior desolation and external isolation. Psychology was not an exception. Many of the best psychologists had gone into exile: Emilio Mira, Mercedes Rodrigo, Domingo Barnés, Dionisio Nieto, Miguel Prados, Ángel Garma. Publications such as *Archivos de Neurobiología*, *Revista de Psicología y Pedagogía*, *Revista Catalana de Neurología y Psiquiatría*, and, of course, the *Boletín de la Institución Libre de Enseñanza* also disappeared.

Despite everything, some hopeful signs appeared. On the one hand, the prewar Instituto Nacional de Psicotecnia soon resumed its activities in other locations and with a new director, but with the help of José Mallart and the launch of the journal *Psicotecnia*. On the other hand, the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) was created in 1939. Father Manuel Barbado was called to Madrid from Italy to take charge of the direction of the Institutes of Philosophy and Pedagogy, created in the brand-new council. Germain immediately returned to Spain too and worked for two years as assistant of Barbado at the chair of experimental psychology of the University of Madrid.

Barbado intended to create an independent psychological center in the CSIC but died in 1945, and soon the Institute of Philosophy was taken over by another cleric: Juan Zaragüeta, a neoscholastic intellectual very close to Cardinal Mercier and with extensive experience both at the university and in the prewar Instituto Psicotécnico. In 1948, a fundamental event for the development of Spanish psychology took place: a Department of Experimental Psychology was created within Zaragüeta's Institute of Philosophy in the CSIC. José Germain was appointed director, who surrounded himself with a group of enthusiastic young people whom he motivated to train outside of Spain and who collaborated with him to slowly resume research activities (Padilla, Montes, & Huertas, 1996). Among others, the names of Mariano Yela, José Luis Pinillos, Miguel Siguán, Francisco Secadas, Juan García Yagüe, Jesusa Pertejo, María Eugenia Romano and Manuel Úbeda are noteworthy. The group of young people at the department was heterogeneous—there were doctors, philosophers, pedagogues, engineers, lawyers, and more, united only by the desire to collaborate with Germain in the task of establishing once again a respectable scientific psychology in Spain. One of the priorities of the department was the

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adaptation of tests, such as Thurstone's Primary Mental Abilities or the Thematic Apperception Test. This orientation was reinforced when Franco's government signed a military agreement with the United States that included collaboration between the U.S. Air Force and the CSIC for the adaptation and development of selection tests.

Germain aimed to provide Spanish psychology with multiple institutionalization in the form of (a) a scientific society, (b) a journal, (c) a training center, (d) a research center, and (e) an application center. This very ambitious plan was implemented within the limited economic possibilities of postwar Spain (Germain, 1980). The application center already existed; it was the Instituto Nacional de Psicotecnia, which, after a few years led by Ricardo Ibarrola, was again entrusted to Germain, that tried to resume the activity prior to the war. In 1946, the *Revista de Psicología General y Aplicada* was founded and, led by Germain, opened toward theoretical, applied, and experimental fields (Carpintero & Tortosa, 1996). The research center was launched, as aforementioned, with the Department of Experimental Psychology of the CSIC. In 1952, Germain achieved the creation of the Sociedad Española de Psicología, which brought together founding legends of Spanish psychology, such as Simarro's assistant, Cipriano Rodrigo Lavín, and young researchers, such as Mariano Yela (Carpintero, 2002), but with the thunderous absence of many of the masters of Spanish psychology, who remained in exile. The only thing left to create was what, in theory, should be the foundation of the project: the training center.

After years of negotiations, Germain managed to start in 1954 the Escuela de Psicología y Psicotecnia at the University of Madrid. It was a center for university graduates in which to follow a two-year curriculum and which provided a degree in psychology, the first official university degree in psychology in Spain. Its management was entrusted to Juan Zaragüeta, as director and "political manager," the scientific leader was Germain as deputy director, and the administrative manager was Mariano Yela. The school had sections on clinical psychology, pedagogical psychology, and industrial psychology (Bandrés & Llavona, 2004). One of the teachers at the school, Miguel Siguán, would later constitute another school with sections of educational psychology and industrial psychology at the University of Barcelona. The Department of Experimental Psychology of the CSIC functioned as a nursery in which the first postwar psychology professors were trained. The payroll was broad, but three names are especially noteworthy: Mariano Yela, José Luis Pinillos, and Miguel Siguán.

Mariano Yela (1921-1994), born in Madrid to a working-class family, attended primary school with various scholarships and was classified as a gifted student. His secondary studies were interrupted by the war, and by the end of the conflict he was a young member of the PCE (the Communist Party of Spain) and a soldier. He avoided postwar repression, attended the last years of secondary school, and in 1941 enrolled in the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Madrid, graduating in 1945 with honors. That same year he moved to the United States with a scholarship and studied with Louis L. Thurstone and later with Michotte in Louvain. On his return to Spain in 1948, he joined Germain's department and the Faculty of Philosophy, holding a university chair from 1957. Yela pro-

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moted research in areas such as intelligence and language and introduced in Spain the factor analysis technique (Yela, 1982).

José Luis Pinillos (1919–2013) was born in Bilbao and, after participating in World War II enrolled in a Spanish volunteers' unit of the Wehrmacht, studied philosophy and literature in Zaragoza and Madrid. He joined the CSIC as a fellow in the group of intellectuals surrounding the conservative royalist politician Rafael Calvo Serer. There, he came in contact with José Germain, who incorporated him into the work of the Department of Experimental Psychology and the School of Psychology. He trained in Germany with Rothacker and Gruhle and in London with Eysenck. In 1961, he was granted a chair at the University of Valencia and, in 1965, he held the chair in Madrid. Pinillos investigated in very varied areas, such as the theory and measure of personality, psycholinguistics, social attitudes, and psychohistory. He was a great promoter of psychology among Spanish society. His book *La Mente Humana* (The Human Mind) was an authentic bestseller, and his manual *Principios de Psicología* was the textbook for thousands of university students. Official recognition came in 1986 with the Prince of Asturias Award for Social Sciences (Carpintero, 2012A).

Miguel Siguán (1918–2010) was born in Barcelona. After the interruption of the civil war, in which he fought as a soldier in the loyal army, he obtained a philosophy chair in Santander but later returned to Barcelona to run a vocational school. He spent a year in London studying industrial psychology at the London School of Economics and, on his return to Spain, obtained a doctorate and joined the Germain group at the CSIC and the School of Psychology, collaborating at the same time as an industrial psychologist in important companies in Madrid. In 1959, he received the Francisco Franco National Prize of Literature for his research on the rural exodus in Spain and in 1962 won the chair of psychology in the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Barcelona. Siguán promoted in Barcelona a research program in psycholinguistics and bilingualism that was to deeply influence the linguistic policies in Catalonia (Siguán, 1985).

While psychologists working in Spain were advancing in the institutionalization of psychology, the Spanish professionals forced to exile after the civil war had to develop their projects far from their homeland, contributing to the evolution of Latin American psychology. Among others, Ángel Garma had an important role in the deployment of psychoanalysis in Argentina, Mercedes Rodrigo designed the first university degree of psychology in Colombia, and Emilio Mira developed psychotechnics and applied psychology in Brazil (Carpintero, 2003B).

Spanish Psychology in the Last Third of the 20th Century

Since the end of the 1960s, economic development and the growing expansion of an emerging middle class profoundly changed Spanish society. Economic development required the technification of industrial and commercial activities, and that included the human factor. In turn, families looked upon the university as a mechanism to climb the social ladder. All this was added to the social perception of the unstoppable decadence of

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Franco's regime, which was identified as obsolete and isolated from Western thought. These factors resulted in university classrooms overflowing with a new generation that sought a higher education.

In 1968, the Psychology section was created in the Faculty of Philosophy of the Complutense University of Madrid. Similar sections were quickly created in other universities. In 1972, there were 3,666 students; in 1982, 17,130 students; and five years later, 37,030 students. In the year 2000, they exceeded 50,000 (Hernández, 2003). Since 1980, study programs independent of the philosophy schools were implemented. The dark side of this rapid growth was the inability to recruit a sufficient number of competent teachers. The well-trained professionals were not interested in the overburdened and poorly paid jobs offered by the university, so the only way out was to recruit the new faculty among the recently graduated students. The current president of the Academy of Psychology of Spain, professor Carpintero, recalls that, at the University of Madrid in those years, there were "some very valuable and serious professors, and some more inexperienced and unique" (Carpintero, 1991, p. 5). Miguel Siguán, on his behalf, recalled that, in Barcelona "This is the biggest inconvenience we have had, an excessively rapid growth of the teaching staff, which in part has been excellent, but which in part was certainly not prepared" (Tortosa, Alonso, & Civera, 1996, p. 518). The process of university expansion also claimed some institutional victims: without too many arguments other than those of limited official resources, the Experimental Psychology Department of the CSIC and the National Institute of Applied Psychology and Psychotechnics were eliminated.

The abundance and professional influence of psychologists was reflected in the creation, in 1980, of the Colegio Oficial de Psicólogos (Spanish Psychological Association). The Colegio raised several fundamental objectives: the defense of the social role and the unity of the organization, the attention to the relationship between professionals and the university, the promotion of applied research, the promotion of interdisciplinary research, and the community approach of the profession. Some of these objectives were met while others were undermined by factors such as intraterritorial tensions in Spain and a university reform that created "areas of knowledge," which contributed to isolation and hyper-specialization within the academic and professional world. In any case, the 81 psychologists officially recognized in 1959 had become the 30,000 members of the Colegio by 2000 (Padilla, 2008).

Psychologists continued to work and research in all areas of the educational, social, and economic life of the country in a manner perfectly comparable to that of their European colleagues. Long stories of individual efforts were crowned with institutional recognition. An example of this was the creation of the military Servicio de Psicología y Psicotecnia (1977) or the foundation of the Servicio de Psicología de la Guardia Civil (1979).

In the university sphere, the cognitive-behavioral paradigm and the same lines of research as in the rest of Western psychology were clearly predominant. Prieto, Fernández-Ballesteros, and Carpintero (1994) reviewed contemporary psychology as a scientific field of research in Spain to conclude that "scientific developments and professional practice

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in Spain share theoretical frameworks and models with, and address the same topics and follow similar approaches and methods as the worldwide scientific community” (p. 70). The unstoppable growth of the number of publications raised also the problem of their evaluation, as well as that of the evaluation of the teaching activity. Several authors warned about the dangers of evaluations lacking rigor and validity and presented proposals to try to overcome these problems (Fernández, Mateo, & Muñiz, 1995; García-Pérez, 2000).

The Psychology of Liberation

Previously, it has been claimed that the Spanish psychology of the late 20th century shared the theoretical and methodological orientations of Western scientific psychology. Actually, this is not entirely true. An author born in Spain and later a Salvadoran citizen, the jesuit Ignacio Martín-Baró (1942-1989), led in these years a renewing current of thought and action inspired by the so-called theology of liberation, which would later be known as “psychology of liberation” (Martín-Baró, 1994). He had a doctorate in social psychology from the University of Chicago and worked for the psychology department of the Universidad Centroamericana José Simeón Cañas of San Salvador (UCA). There, he became deeply involved in overcoming the armed conflict in El Salvador at that time. Martín-Baró suggested a proposal of critical social psychology for Latin America that was based on three essential elements: first, changing the focus in psychology, from individual to social liberation, ceasing to reflect on the status of science to do so on the needs of the population; second, developing a new epistemology based on the search for truth from the oppressed majorities, an epistemology from below to reach the existential truth of the Latin American peoples; and third, adopting a practice of transformation of reality as a way to obtain information, building psychology from action, as the only way to liberate the oppressed (Gondra, 2013).

Ignacio Martín-Baró was killed by a Salvadoran army death squad along with his colleagues of the UCA on the dawn of November 16, 1989. As he would have liked, his praxis and his death did not only change how psychology was conducted in Latin America but also drove the peace process in El Salvador.

History of the History of Psychology in Spain

One of the most exciting aspects about the history of psychology in Spain is that it is an area full of documents and materials still quite unknown. If the area is not truly a *terra incognita*, it is thanks to the initiative of Professor Helio Carpintero, who founded the *Revista de Historia de la Psicología* in Valencia in 1980 and promoted the founding of the *Sociedad Española de Historia de la Psicología* in 1988, which has held an annual conference since then. Almost 40 years of publication of the journal and more than 30 years of activity of the society testify that the initiative responded to a concern of the community of Spanish psychologists.

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The last few years have not been easy for the discipline. A generalized movement of specialization in university psychology curricula and a sick obsession with “impact publication”—provoked by the more than questionable quantitative system of teachers’ evaluation—has led to the cornering of and, in some cases, the practical disappearance of the subject of history of psychology in some universities. The result, obviously, is the demotivation of teachers and difficulty in recruiting new researchers to guarantee the future of these studies. But there is reason for hope too. Professor Carpintero has reinvigorated a new spirit, leading the constitution and recognition by the Spanish government in 2015 of the Academia de Psicología de España, a forum open to theoretical and historical reflection. *Cogito, Sentio, Ago* is its motto: a good slogan also to move forward in the fascinating field of the history of psychology.

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Notes:

(1.) Cuba was part of the Kingdom of Spain until the Spain-U.S. War of 1898.

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