

THE YEAR 1492 IS FAMOUS IN THE ANNALS OF SPANISH history not only because America was discovered in that year, but also because in 1492 the Jews were expelled from the country, and the kingdom of Granada, the last remainder of the one-time powerful Mohammedan Spain, was conquered. The Jews were no longer of any use to the Catholic Kings, who had already collected the money needed for the American expedition. It is true that the order of expulsion also forbade the Jews to take any gold and silver with them, by which measure a new increase of the Crown's wealth might have been expected; but the advisers of the Catholic Kings, who were interested in the expulsion of the Israelites, chiefly from the religious point of view, were so lacking in commercial and financial knowledge that they took no steps to prevent the Jews from saving their wealth by making large use of their banking credits. Thereby the gain in the royal exchequer was greatly diminished. The sultan Bajazet said of Ferdinand the Catholic: "You call this man the "Politic King"—who impoverishes his own country and enriches ours?"<sup>1</sup>

Yet another important event occurred in 1492. In the town of Valencia, on the 6th of March, was born Joan Lluís Vives i March, in whose veins was united the blood of two ancient Catalan families of dissimilar traits and inclinations, but whose main features may be considered the basic components of the Catalan character. From his father's family young Vives inherited the commercial approach to life, his love of the middle way, and his sense of compromise. In 1460, Francesc Vives, a mer-

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chant of Perpignan, had transferred his residence to the town of Denia near Valencia, during the struggle of the Catalans against King Joan II. From Denia the son of Francesc and father of Vives moved to Valencia, and it was there that Joan first saw the light. From his mother he inherited one of the most glorious literary names of the country. His maternal ancestors were among the people who came to Valencia with King Jaume the Conqueror: one of these knights, Jaume March of Gandia, was the founder of the Valencian branch of this family. In 1388, another ancestor of Joan Lluís, also named Jaume March, was in charge of the organization of the reborn 'floral games' of troubadour tradition. Auziàs March (see p. 91), the greatest of the Catalan poets of the Middle Ages, and Enric March, the jurist who was to be the teacher of young Vives, were both members of his mother's family. The latter was his mother's brother and, as professor of law at the University of Valencia, he instilled into Vives his own profound juridical sense and also his fine interpretation of law, which was in keeping with the true Catalan tradition.

In Vives we can make an accurate study of the most permanent Catalan characteristics, as Vives himself was the most outstanding representative of his country's qualities and defects. As he was born when tyranny already had a firm footing in his country, it is not surprising that the whole of his adult life was spent in foreign countries, away from his native land.

While still very young, Vives attended the University at Valencia. In the beginning, he was under the antiquated influence of scholars who opposed the ideas of Antonio de Lebrixa—revolutionary in his time—on the classical languages. Lebrixa, who came from Andalusia, was one of the finest scholars Spain has produced. But one of Vives' teachers, Pere Badia, won him over to the new school of thought, and thanks largely to him Vives

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was able to derive full benefit from Lebrixa's doctrine and eventually to grow into a scholar of the pure Renaissance type. At the age of seventeen, he was sent by his parents to the University of Paris, and it was there that he developed his fierce hostility against the intolerant and narrow dogmatism of many of his teachers; the outcome of his reflections was his pamphlet *In pseudo-dialecticos*, published when he had already left Paris. One cannot help remembering the reaction of Arnau de Vilanova, more than two centuries before, against the same absolutist abuse of the intellect. Vives was not the first, nor was he to be the last, of the great men from that part of the Iberian peninsula who experienced some friction with the teachers of the Sorbonne: Miquel Servet, some years later, was forced to leave the great French city after being persecuted for his ideas (see p. 143).

From Paris, Vives went to Bruges to stay with relatives, the Valldaura family, who were living as merchants in the Catalan colony of that city. This happened in 1514, when war between France and Spain forced the Spanish colony in Paris to disband. Almost all his fellow-countrymen went back to the Peninsula; but Vives decided to go in the opposite direction. The same decision, as we shall see later, he took every time he had an opportunity of returning to his country. In Bruges, Vives taught his young cousins, among them a girl, Margarida, who years later was to be his wife. In 1518 he transferred his residence to Louvain and became the tutor of the young Prince William de Croy, who, although a mere boy, was Cardinal-designate of Toledo, the highest see in the Spain of those days. It was then, in 1519, that Vives published his above-mentioned attack on the teachers of Paris. In 1521 de Croy died at the age of twenty-three after a riding accident, and Vives, finding himself without resources, was compelled to write for a living. He had already made the acquaintance, by correspondence, of

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Erasmus, who had a high opinion of him ;<sup>2</sup> and through his mediation, Vives was entrusted with the editing of St. Augustine's *Civitas Dei*. This work proved too exhausting for his health and he fell seriously ill; a Basque friend of his, the rich merchant Pedro de Aguirre, came to his assistance and gave hospitality to the Catalan philosopher.

In Vives' commentaries on St. Augustine, we have further clear testimony of his liberal and progressive mind, for he takes the first opportunity to record his contempt for the use of torture as a means of obtaining conclusive evidence, thus openly repudiating the procedure of the Spanish Inquisition. This first great work of Vives' was dedicated to Henry VIII of England.

In 1522 Charles V made his historic journey to Spain after his election as Holy Roman Emperor, and many of Vives' friends accompanied him, among them Fernando Colón and Juan de Vergara. But Vives, as years before, refused to go to Spain, preferring to remain in Flanders rather than to return to his country. Shortly afterwards his great friend Aguirre died, and Vives went back to Bruges to live in the Lange Winckel quarter, where his compatriots were residing. That same year the Duke of Alba sent to him, proposing that he should supervise the education of his grandsons for a salary of 200 golden ducats a year. This proposal, however, fell through. In 1523 Vives finished the *De institutione feminae Christianae*, his first great personal work. It had an immediate success and was the only one of his more important books to be translated into Spanish during his lifetime. The translation was made by a Valencian, Joan Justinià, a secretary to the court of Queen Germana, the second wife of Ferdinand the Catholic. Justinià's knowledge of Spanish was inadequate, however, and the book was re-translated in 1527, this time by a Castilian, and printed in Alcalá. The subject of Vives' work fell within a

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sphere of traditional Catalan interest, which may be traced back as far as the twelfth century; not only had the troubadours centred their attention and interest on womankind, but in the practical life of the Catalan Guilds women were admitted with the same rights as men, including the right to vote, as early as the thirteenth century. Later, Eiximenis (see p. 74) in his *Carro de les Dones* dealt further with the subject of women's education, in a world which, as yet, cared little for anything concerning woman's part in society. Eiximenis' work as a forerunner of Vives' *Education of a Christian Woman* has been adequately analyzed elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after, Vives first met Erasmus—it is supposed, in Brussels—while the latter was engaged in building up the *Collège des Trois Langues* at Louvain, according to the testamentary dispositions of Jerome Busleyden. The *Collège* was inaugurated on 1 September 1518. It had been inspired by the creation of the chair of Greek in Alcalá University, founded some years before by Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros, the great Spanish Franciscan.<sup>4</sup> Both Ximénez and Erasmus, had cited Lull's suggestion to the Council of Vienna in 1311 (see p. 56), when the study of Oriental languages was for the first time recognized as a necessity and permission for their teaching was granted to several European universities. Cardinal Ximénez was one of the very few Castilian statesmen and scholars who understood the amplitude as well as the limitations of the Catalan mentality; he was an admirer of Vicenç Ferrer, whose *Treatise on the Spiritual Life* he caused to be translated into Spanish; it was published in 1510 under the title *Sta. Angeles de Foligno*.

In 1522 Antonio de Lebrixa died and his chair of Classical Latin at Alcalá University was offered to Juan de Vergara, another enlightened Renaissance scholar and friend of Vives. Vergara refused the offer and recommended Vives as more suitable. Both Vergara

and the Alcalá authorities wrote to Vives, but he too declined the vacant chair. Unfortunately, we do not know his motives in this decision, as his answers to both letters have been lost. The Spanish biographer of Vives, Sr. Bonilla y San Martín, believes that 'perhaps he feared that the tendencies then prevailing in Spain would not be favourable to him'.<sup>5</sup> It is very likely that Vives preferred to continue his life of poverty and exile rather than accept a high academic position in Spain, in which freedom of thought was so rapidly declining that its total extinction could be foreseen in the near future.

Shortly after he had finished the *Institutio Feminae Christianae*, Vives was invited to visit England at the request of Cardinal Wolsey. Vives had already been in touch with Thomas More, who had a high opinion of him. Queen Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel, entrusted Vives with the education of Princess Mary, for whom he wrote the *De Ratione Studii Puerilis*, showing thereby an interest in education such as Lull had shown before him in his *Doctrina Pueril*. On 10 October 1523 the University of Oxford bestowed on Vives the Degree of D.C.L.; and he took up his residence in Corpus Christi College, which had been founded in 1517 by the Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fox. This College was the English equivalent of the Alcalá School of Languages and the Collège des Trois Langues at Louvain; it was to prove one of the intellectual centres most directly responsible for the development of the Renaissance movement in England.

In 1524 Vives returned to Bruges, where at the age of thirty-two he married his cousin Margarida Valldaura, then a girl of twenty; by November he was back in London and Oxford. During 1525 and 1526 he remained in Oxford but made short visits to Bruges. In London he met Louis de Flandres, Seigneur of Praet, who, being acquainted with Vives' views on public welfare, invited

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him to write a work on that subject. This was the origin of his *De Subventione Pauperum sive de Humanis Necessitatibus* (1526). The *Collège des Echevins* (Aldermen) of Bruges presented Vives in return with the gift of a silver cup, and his book was immediately translated into Dutch at the expense of the magistrates of Bruges. As will be seen later, this book is the starting-point of modern social science; its influence has been felt so deeply that until recently it was the basis for Belgian social legislation.<sup>6</sup> In the following year Vives wrote another treatise, destined this time to be used in his native Valencia, in which he developed his ideas on education and outlined the duties of public authorities with respect to implementing their educational projects. This was probably intended as a complement to his *De Subventione Pauperum*—'probably', because the work has completely disappeared. Its title was *Del Stabliment de l'Scola*<sup>7</sup> and, as far as is known, it was the only thing Vives wrote in Catalan. Its loss is the more regrettable, as for a long time the original manuscript lay unpublished among the papers of the municipal record office of Valencia city. C. Damià Savalls, a follower of Vives, wrote in his *Oratio paraenetica de optimo statu reipublicae litterariae constituendo*, published in Valencia in 1531, that he had taken his ideas from Vives' work.

In 1528 Vives was involved in the troubles caused by the divorce of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. Suspected of helping the Queen by his advice, Vives was held in custody for six weeks; as soon as he recovered his liberty he went back to Bruges. There he received a message from the Queen requesting him to direct her affairs and defend her interests. Vives replied that to him the best means of keeping intact her royal prestige seemed to be in submission to the King's will with Christian resignation, on the assumption that Henry's decision could not be altered by any motive, human or divine. The Queen appears to have insisted on entrusting

him with her defence; and Vives was moved thereby to write one of his most characteristic letters, which throws clear light on his intellect and his independent attitude. It is addressed to his friend Vergara; the date is missing but must have been towards the end of 1531: 'The Queen', Vives comments, 'was annoyed with me because I did not obey her request, as I prefer to be guided by my own understanding. For my own opinion is more valuable to me than the resolutions of Princes.'<sup>8</sup>

In a booklet written earlier, while he was still tutor to Princess Mary, the *Satellitium vel Symbola*, there is a delicious dedication in which he mentioned a special safeguard—*Satellitium*—which was supposed to take care of Princes and to prevent their being harmed by any danger: 'but', he says, 'this is only a product of the imagination; no better guard exists than innocence and love of the people . . . more dangers are caused by personal vices than by external attacks against the body. I am sending you more than two hundred guards; I have called them *Symbola* as they are reliable signs by which the princes of ancient times as well as the princes of nowadays may be recognized.'<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately the wise principles which Vives taught the young Princess were to have little effect on the future Queen Mary.

In these years, another side of Vives' nature became manifest. His father-in-law had been suffering from a chronic illness—probably syphilis, the disease imported from America by the Spanish soldiers which had swept all over Europe from the time of the siege of Naples in 1496. The economic situation of Valldaura's family became very precarious in consequences;<sup>10</sup> so Vives did not hesitate to take his father-in-law's place and directed the commercial activities of the family by selling fruit and wine to English merchants. Two accounts still exist among the English State Papers; one is dated 8 April 1525 and the other from the previous year, and they

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confirm that *Joannes Ludovicus Vyves* was granted a licence for importing wines, wheat, dyes, etc. This was during Vives' stay in England; and one cannot help thinking of the number of our Valencian contemporaries who still sell the fruit and wines of our country around Covent Garden.

In 1529 Vives wrote the *De Concordia et Discordia in Humano Genere*, one of his masterpieces, in which he advances the idea of a League of Nations as the only remedy for preventing aggressive wars among nations, and postulates that the first aim and object of all governing bodies must be the welfare of their people. In this book Vives, the most orthodox of Catholics, also makes explicit his ideas on the Inquisition and its supporters, in words which might be attributed to many of his Catalan ancestors and successors: 'It was not enough that in ancient times the gentiles and to-day the people laid down their laws in statutes, in order to settle disputes. To-day the clergy too has its jurisdiction, procedure, method of accusation; its witnesses, judges, police; its prisons, hangmen, sword, fire, poison. . . . And in the hands of this clergy is the sacerdocy of that same Christ who, being the judge of the quick and the dead, yet answered one who wanted Him to advise his brother to divide their heritage: "Who has made me judge between you?" ' And again "They (the clergy) live by the people's charity, and nevertheless they are pleased with being feared and are proud of inspiring terror and of their power of injuring the very people who support them. Insensate are those who have such thoughts! Perhaps it is because they forget how unstable is the power that is founded on fear.'

During the year 1531 Vives published his *De Tradendis Disciplinis*. Here, one of his main objects, public welfare, is stressed again and again. 'Public welfare is the first of all subjects we should study, and once we have acquired

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appropriate knowledge we must make it serviceable to the public good.' Also, 'Princes are, for the most part, so corrupt of heart and so intoxicated by the magnitude of their good fortune that by no skill can they be reformed for the better, since they show themselves harsh and unperceptive to those who would cure them. These blind men and leaders of the blind, as the Lord calls them,<sup>11</sup> must be left to themselves. We must transfer our solicitude to the people,' who are more tractable, for they offer themselves more easily to be dealt with and are more responsive to those who care for them. This is what Christ also did, with whom a Prince is not valued more highly than any man of the people.' In these words we hear the voice of the heir of many earlier Catalans from Olaguer to Sibiude, and most of all of Eiximenis (see p. 72).

Between the years 1532 to 1539 Vives wrote further the *Exercitationes Animi in Deum*, the *Linguae Latinae Exercitatio*, and especially the *De Anima et Vita*, the greatest of his works, which marks the beginning of the study of psychology and of education as it is approached to-day.

On 6 May 1540 Joan Lluís Vives died in his beloved Bruges, at the age of forty-eight, having been absent for thirty years from his native land. He left behind an unpublished book, which was printed in Basle in 1543 under the title *De Veritate Fidei Christianae*. This posthumous publication was Vives' greatest contribution to the traditional theological philosophy of the Catalans. It has been called a modernized version of the basic ideas expressed by Lull in his various books and, later, by Sibiude in his *Theologia Naturalis*.<sup>12</sup>

Vives was buried in the church of St. Donation in Bruges. In 1552 his widow Margarita Valldaura followed him to the grave. They seem to have had no children.

It is impossible here to give more than a very summary account of Vives' ideas and works. He was a profuse

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writer, though not as copious as Lull or Eiximenis. His importance for the development of human knowledge, particularly his contribution to the building up of our modern Western civilization, is, I think, decisive.

One of the most constant pleas of Vives concerned the importance of education for human progress. Without the direct study of Nature and, as complement, the study of selected classics, knowledge could not be increased. In the *De Tradendis Disciplinis*—dedicated to King John III of Portugal—Vives expounds his ideas on education, and for the first time in the history of pedagogy the use of experiments is recommended as an essential means of developing knowledge. These are not to Vives merely one among a number of factors contributing to knowledge as they were to Roger Bacon and Ramon Lull; theirs is the decisive part in interpreting the secrets of Nature. Francis Bacon was to invest the word and the idea with a similar significance some eighty years later; to Vives as to Bacon experimentation meant finding out *naturae phenoemena* and whenever possible the repetition of these phenomena by the investigator in a manner which would be profitable to progress. On the similitude of Vives' and Bacon's works Watson writes:<sup>13</sup> 'The discredits of Bacon are the corruptions of Vives, that is, causes of vicious learning as arrogance of scholars, search of glory, jealousy, covetousness, ambition, love of victory rather than truth, the depreciation in which mathematics were held, the futility of studies undertaken for gain, the ill-equipment and small repute of teachers.' Bacon, like Vives, advocates a collegiate education, not in private houses nor merely under schoolmasters, but in colleges.

The influence of Vives' work on Comenius has been recognized by the latter himself.<sup>14</sup> A good example is the importance both Vives and Comenius attach to the use of vernacular languages in primary education. Both believed that it is essential for all teaching to begin

in the mother tongue until this is well mastered; thereafter, a second modern language and a classical one should be learned. Another striking parallel between Vives and Comenius which has not yet perhaps been duly emphasized arises from the similar social and political environment of the two great pedagogues: the mother tongue of Vives, Catalan, was in his time already being repressed in favour of Castilian, the language of the king and court and, commonly, of the royal administration of the Catalan lands; a century later, the native language of Comenius the Bohemian, suffered a similar suppression by German. In the *Education of a Christian Woman* Vives narrates that when Jaume the Conqueror liberated Valencia from the Moors in 1238, he populated the lands with Catalan women from Lleida, and from that time the progeny of the conquerors 'kept their mothers' language, which we speak there unto this day'. He further advocated the use of the vernacular for legal purposes, saying that 'all laws should be written in the vernacular, and in intelligible and clear language'. Poetry and history should likewise be written in the vernacular. Comenius in his *Didactica Magna* and in *Informatorium, Der Mutter Schule* supports almost identical views in very similar words.<sup>15</sup>

The eminence of Vives' influence as a sociologist has been widely recognized. In the *Subventionem Pauperum*, for the first time in history, a general plan for poor-relief was drawn up and the prevention and cure of poverty was laid down as the main duty of a modern State towards its citizens. In 1523, during his first year of residence in Oxford, Vives had written a small book called *De Consultatione* and dedicated the same to Louis de Flandres, Seigneur de Praet, to whom he also offered the *De Subventionem Pauperum*. The preface of this small book is the foundation stone on which modern sociology was built. It may be given in full.

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*J. L. VIVES TO THE CONSULS AND SENATE OF BRUGES,  
GREETING.*

A pilgrim and stranger, says Cicero, in a foreign State should abstain from prying into the affairs of the State that receives him. This is sound advice, for interference in the affairs of others is always hateful; but interest and friendly advice should not be disapproved of. For the law of Nature forbids that any human interest of one man should be alien to any other man. The love of Christ has united men with one another by an indissoluble bond. And as to my being a foreigner—truly, I am as devoted to this city as to my Valencia, nor do I call it anything else but my fatherland, since I have now dwelt here for fourteen years, albeit not continuously, yet being wont to return hither as to my home. I am fond of your rational government, of the education and courtesy of your people, and of your extraordinary equity and justice that are famed among all nations. Wherefore I have brought my wife hither, and I care for this city's welfare as for the place wherein I propose to spend whatever remaining years the goodness of God may allow me. I consider myself one of its citizens, and I regard its citizens as my brethren. The poverty of many of them has driven me to write down my opinion as to the manner in which it would be practicable to relieve their distress. Whilst I was in England I have already been asked what I regarded as the best course, by *Dominus Pretensis* [Seigneur de Praet] the Mayor of your City, who in matters concerning the public good ponders much and often on the general welfare of this city. This work is dedicated to you, both because you are eagerly set on doing good and relieving the distressed (as is proved by the crowd of needy persons who flock hither from all quarters as to a refuge ready-prepared for the poor). The original cause for the rise of cities was, that there should be in all of them, by giving and receiving benefits and mutual aid, facilities for the increase of charity and for the strengthening of human fellowship. It should be the task and keen endeavour of the cities' governors, to care that all men should help one another, so that no one should be overwhelmed or oppressed by any loss falling on him un-

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justly, that the stronger should assist the weaker, so that the harmony of the association and union of the citizens may increase in love; and that day by day harmony should prevail more among the citizens and in their assemblies, and should endure for ever. And just as in a wealthy family it were a disgrace for the father to allow anyone to go hungry, or naked, or to be disgraced by rags, so it is similarly unfitting in a city by no means needy that the magistrates should permit any citizens to be harassed by hunger and poverty. I hope you will read this book with pleasure, or at any rate that you will consider the subject with as great attention as you would give to a private lawsuit in which thousands of florins were at stake. I wish you and your city all prosperity and happiness.

*Bruges, the sixth day of January, 1526.*

The impressions of Vives' childhood are patent in the preface as in the whole book. He stresses the necessity of State inspection and control of houses for the assistance of the poor, among them hospitals and asylums for lunatics and for waifs and strays. In all this we can easily see the old tradition of his country, especially the Order of Mercy and the Hospital for Lunatics of Valencia, then more than a hundred years old. A few quotations will show how deeply he probed into the question.

The causes of poverty are, wars with the ensuing economic distress; continuous increase of population; a wrong basis in our economic system; and above all, insufficient education.

Church discipline is so depraved that nothing is done without payment. Beggars cannot pay their share of Church dues, and therefore have no chance of receiving instruction. Hence their opinions and morals are corrupt. If they grow up to be strong, they become intolerable on this account; but their offences are not so much their own fault as that of the magistrates who have neglected them and concerned themselves only with lawsuits about money and with the

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punishment of crimes. It were better to strive to turn these beggars into good citizens than to punish them when it is too late.

There is nothing so independent in a city as not to be subject to the cognizance of those who rule the State. For it is no liberty to refuse subjection and obedience to the public magistrates, rather is it an incitement to savagery and an occasion for licence, which will overflow in any direction it pleases. Nor can anyone withdraw his goods from the care and control of the city unless he himself at the same time leave the city.

In a well-ordered city, as in a well-ordered household, laziness is not to be tolerated. But health and age must be considered.

Let the natives of our city be asked if they know any trade. Let those who know none, if of suitable age, be taught that for which they declare themselves most inclined.

Nor would I allow the blind to sit or wander about idly, as there are many ways in which they can employ themselves. Some are capable of education, let them study; in several of these we may see a progress in learning by no means to be despised. Others are musical; let them sing, or play stringed instruments or the flute. Let some blow the bellows in the smiths' forges. We have known blind men to make satchels, little chests, baskets, and other receptacles. Blind women spin, and wind thread into balls. Provided only that they do not desire to be idle or refuse work, they may easily find some work they can do.

It is worth noting that this is the first time that care of the blind is considered a social duty.

Cure of reason, man's most precious possession, is of the first importance. When a person of unsound mind is brought

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to hospital, it should first be ascertained whether his insanity is congenital or caused by some mishap: whether there is a chance of recovery or not; nothing must be done to increase the insanity or to make it persist—as for instance by irritating or mocking the sufferer. How inhumane that is! Treatment suited to each individual case should be tried; for some, gentle care; for some, teaching; others may require coercion or bonds, but everything should be done in a way likely to pacify and lead to recovery.

Here perhaps is to be seen Vives' finest contribution towards a greater dignity of mankind. While in most European countries lunatics continued to be accused of witchcraft and to be burned in large numbers, Vives recognized the loss or disturbance of reason to be mental diseases. Thus it is from him that psychiatry originated. Before Vives' time, his fellow-countrymen (as I mentioned) had built the first mental asylum in 1409. And a century after Vives' book had been published the first work on deaf-mute education appeared—1620—written by Joan Pau Bonet, a follower of Vives.

Let there be a hostel [Vives continues] where abandoned children may be cared for, and let some women be appointed to act as mothers to them; these shall look after them until their sixth year; then let them be moved on to schools run by the city, where they shall receive their education and training, and maintenance as well.

This is all very well, some people will say. But who will pay for all this? For my part, far from foreseeing a deficit, I am inclined to think there will be a surplus, sufficient not only for the relief of ordinary daily needs but also of extraordinary ones, such as often arise in various cities.

He then explains in detail his system for the economic support of the city finances as a whole, touching in passing on the distribution of wealth:

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Indeed, it is not to be tolerated in a city, I will not say in a Christian community alone but in any other as well, so long as it is a community of human beings, that some should be so wealthy that they can lavish thousands of pounds on their tombs, or on a tower, or pretentious buildings, or on a banquet, or public gifts, while for the matter of fifty or a hundred florins others are forced to endanger a girl's chastity, or an honest man's life and health, or to desert their wife and young children.

This note of realism is everywhere apparent.

Supposing that it is not expedient to put the whole scheme into operation at once, because perhaps long-established custom will oppose innovation, one can use tact and get the easier items started upon first, and then gradually those which may be considered more difficult.

Some will always fight against the good, the World against Christ. Thus some will calumniate these attempts at relief of distress, but adduce pretexts against them, such as that we make the conditions of the poor worse rather than better, or that we seek to disprove Christ's saying that there must always be poor. Christ did indeed foresee poverty to be inevitable, as St. Paul foresaw heresies, but it does not follow that we are to refrain from relieving the poor or withstanding heresy. We, like physicians, should raise these poor up from their miserable condition, and cure them. . . . There will perhaps be some, as there often are in public affairs, who disapprove of any efforts they have not themselves initiated, as though they had a monopoly of wisdom and talent.

As Roscher and many others have noted,<sup>16</sup> the principles of Vives form the universally accepted basis of the social science of to-day; these principles are based on the psychological study of the poor as much as on the medical and educational understanding of the problem. Weitzmann emphasizes that Vives was the first to plan the

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assistance and prevention of want as a State obligation and not as a Church charity.<sup>17</sup> Ideas such as these indeed make it difficult to rank Vives with the typical Spaniard as he is known abroad. Only if it is remembered that in the Iberian peninsula there still lives a nation which out of its fundamental Christianity developed a theory of economic welfare, can one see Vives in a proper light. His Catholicism may be compared to that of Ramon de Penyafort. The latter gave to the Catalans of the thirteenth century a moral standard on which to develop economic welfare (see p. 41); the former, in the sixteenth century, suggested to Europe the first plan of social collaboration, from which one of the most important characteristics of Western civilization was to evolve. Thus Vives' life of exile contributed to the progress of humanity when his efforts could no longer be of advantage to his own country. English readers interested in this aspect of Vives' personality may turn to Salter's book on poor-relief<sup>18</sup> which deals at length with the *De Subventionem Pauperum*.

Another interesting side of the Catalan philosopher's nature is his religious candour combined with a pure Christian Catholicism utterly devoid of superstition. As his English biographer Foster Watson puts it, Vives' Catholicism was one of 'practical piety'.<sup>19</sup> He published a collection of *Prayers and Devotional Exercises* which were incorporated in the *Book of Christian Prayers* issued in 1578 by the Royal Authority of Queen Elizabeth of England, and which apparently were used by the Queen herself.<sup>20</sup> Later, these prayers were included, with many others, in the official *English Protestant Book of Private Prayers*. 'We ought to pray' says Vives, 'that our studies may be sound, of no harm to anybody, and that so we may be sources of sound health to ourselves and the community.' Foster Watson pointed out that 'the fact of the Catholic source of these prayers must have been

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outbalanced in England by the sense of the fit expression in them of human aspiration'.<sup>21</sup>

For all his hopes for a better world based on economic welfare, it would be a mistake to believe that Vives was a collectivist. In a pamphlet which he called *De Rerum Communionem ad Germanos Inferiores*, written to oppose the indigent egalitarianism of the German and Netherland anabaptists, and in particular the collectivism of Jan Benkelszoon of Leyden on whom had fallen the mantle of Jan Mathijsen, Vives stresses that this communism would have a fatal consequence for the future of humanity and asserts that it would last for a short time only; believing it contrary to human nature, he is horrified at the prospect that in a communistic society freedom and liberty would vanish. These communistic societies, he apprehends, would be formed by a minority of unscrupulous men and a mass of ignorant ones, though some few might be attracted by the mere novelty. Our philosopher may be called a progressive individualist, who wished the State to be at the service of the individual. We can see the rational nature of his constructive individualism in his *De Conditione Vitae Christianorum sub Turcis* (1528), in which he explains that authority is essential to the stability of society and, further, that political liberty does not mean that everyone is entitled to do what he pleases. On the contrary, everyone should diligently observe the rules of society. A society in which these principles were not adhered to would, he thinks, collapse without delay.

Vives' outlook was so far in advance of his time that forty years ago his best Spanish biographer, Bonilla y San Martín, a modern progressive scholar, could still write of his social conception: 'It is an impossible policy, this strange mixture of pseudo-Christianity and hybrid socialism, known by some as Catholic socialism.'<sup>22</sup>

To Vives' contribution to psychology, in his book *De*

*Anima et Vita*, two contemporary historians of psychology, Zilboorg and Henry, have paid this tribute: 'The psychologist did not reach this scientific maturity until the last years of the nineteenth century, when Sigmund Freud published his first formulations. It is even more impressive to find that the first true forerunner of Freud was a deeply religious man who lived three hundred and fifty years before Freud and whose background of religious traditions was combined with a truly devotional personality. The man was a Spaniard from Valencia, Juan Luis Vives, and his contributions to psychology surpass those of any of his contemporaries and many of his scientific descendants for over three centuries.' It is not surprising to find these American scholars amazed at the sort of 'Spaniard' Vives was, when Erasmus himself, who was well acquainted with the nature and thoughts of Vives, writes of him that he was not a typical Spaniard, but better described as a mixture of French and Spanish. Erasmus, like a great number of more modern thinkers, had failed to realize that as early as the first part of the thirteenth century the Catalans had given up their crusading spirit for a more evangelical and rational system of correcting errors by education and self-conviction. In the words of Zilboorg and Henry 'this Catalan-Spaniard, from Valencia by birth, while living in England sent a clarion cry in a letter to Henry VIII'.<sup>23</sup> It is in this letter that Vives says: 'My anxiety is great in seeing the Christian world divided by dissensions and wars, and it seems that a perturbation cannot be caused in any part of the world without affecting all the rest.' Here again, in his belief in the 'indivisibility of peace', Vives preceded us by more than four hundred years. In the early *In Pseudo-dialecticos* he had already sensed the birth of a new world. 'Out of the depths I see a change coming. Amongst all nations men are springing up, of clear, excellent and free intellects, impatient of

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servitude, determined to throw off the yoke of tyranny from their necks. They are calling their fellow citizens to liberty.' These were the words of the Renaissance of mankind, the Renaissance to which, while Erasmus represented *intellect* and Budé *eloquence*, Vives stood and stood worthily for *judgement*.<sup>24</sup> 'This was the period traditionally designated as that of Renaissance, and while it foreshadowed the coming rationalism, it also contained more than the mere germ of the romanticism which was so characteristic of the latter part of the nineteenth century and which revolutionized modern European philosophy (Bergson), science (Einstein) and psychology (Freud). The romantic trend, which put the accent on self-observation, introspection, and understanding of feelings and emotions and their role in human behaviour, was defined in all the writings of Vives. It was this trend which made him stand out among all the humanists of his own and later days, and it was this trend which brought forth a social consciousness, a sense of the emotional, interdependent unity of all people and all nations.'<sup>25</sup> The first description of psychological associations, which were to be re-discovered by modern science, is due to Vives.

It is obvious that a man who was more than four centuries ahead of his time (many of Vives' suggestions are still awaiting realization to-day) was bound to be deeply concerned about the conditions of his own country, where his was the first generation that used the term *Spaniard* instead of the ancient native names of Castilian, Catalan, and Basque. But if Vives was a Spaniard, he was one who felt great suspicion and apprehension of the means by which the new State was intending to mould its citizens. The imperial aspirations of the Kings of Spain and their continuous struggle for dynastic 'grandeur' were quite alien to Vives' mentality, in which the previous historical experience of his people

had crystallized. He could not but visualize princes such as they had been in his own country throughout the centuries: namely, the servants of the common people. His ideas on law and justice are stressed in the foreword to his *Areopagitica sive de vetere Atheniensium republica*, a work dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey. In this he considers the profusion of laws to be a sure indication of bad government; governors should not be proud of the number of regulations they have laid down, but rather of their ability to convey to the conscience of every man the principles of justice, because 'it is not by decrees but by good customs that people should be governed'. The traditional customary laws collected in the centuries-old Catalan *Usatges* were Vives' source for his understanding of law and justice. By their means the Catalans had been able to maintain order and justice ever since 1060. Thus Vives was unable to acquiesce in the new principle of 'justice' introduced by the first kings of Spain and their followers, by which citizens became mere subjects and were at the mercy of any insignificant despot who happened to be supported by the Inquisition. And the manner in which the conquest of America was undertaken by the Castilians would have cooled Vives' enthusiasm—had he ever felt any—for their exploits. In his *De Concordia et Discordia in Humano Genere* he writes that if the language of a man is not understood he is as distant from other men as an elephant or a lion, and adds, 'This is perhaps the reason why our *conquistadores* thought that the Indians of the New World were not men at all, of which injustice I shall speak in another work.' This promised work he seems never to have written; it was written instead by Las Casas, a great and liberal-minded though hyper-emotional Spaniard, who there gave to posterity the best evidence of the Spaniards' faculty of feeling deep humane sympathy and an unerring sense of justice.<sup>26</sup> Vives himself had a poor opinion

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of the intellectual standard of the Spain of his time. He wrote: 'I do not believe that any men envy me, particularly in Spain, among other reasons because I am completely detached from that country; few people read my books there, and among those who do the majority do not understand them; very few have any interest in the study of letters.'<sup>27</sup>

When Vives wrote his *De Subventionem Pauperum* in Oxford, he was also sowing his noble seed in the fertile soil of Britain. Less than a century later, Sir Francis Bacon was to give new dimensions to some of Vives' ideas, particularly to those on education. Some of the parallels between Vives and Bacon have been mentioned already (see p. 122). Others could be added, such as their common dislike for dialectics and their optimism. It seems, too, that Vives' *De Consultatione* was of great use to Ben Jonson.<sup>28</sup>

But where Vives' influence was most strongly felt was in the Scottish 'Common sense' school of philosophy, whose outstanding figures were Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, and Sir William Hamilton. All these thinkers mention Vives with praise and admiration, and their ideas on the development of the human faculties correspond almost exactly to the thoughts of Vives. Britain, as Vives' Spanish biographer Bonilla y San Martín wrote,<sup>29</sup> 'is the country where the social individualistic philosophy of Vives has taken root'.

The influence of Vives on Spain was, unfortunately, negligible. Of all his works only the *Institutio Feminae Christianae* and three works of secondary importance, the *Dialogues*, the *Ad Animae Exercitationem in Deum*, and the *Commentatumenlae* were translated into Spanish, and published in his lifetime. No further work of Vives' appeared in Spain before the period of 'Europeanization' and liberalism introduced by Charles III in the eighteenth century. It was then that the Valencian Mayans i Siscar

published the first collected edition in the original Latin, preceding it by a biography which has served as the basis for all the modern works on Vives. During the eighteenth century the *De Subventionem Pauperum*, also, was published in Valencia in a Spanish translation. The major works of Vives', *De Concordia et Discordia*, *De Tradendis Disciplinis*, and *De Anima et Vita* are still awaiting publication in Spanish and in Spain.<sup>30</sup> It is not surprising therefore that, as Bonilla admits, 'Lluís Vives has been, and still is, little known in Spain.'<sup>31</sup>

In the preface of the *De Officio Mariti*, which he dedicated to Joan Borgia, Duke of Gandia, Vives narrates that a friend of his, the Spaniard Alvaro de Castro, with whom he was then living, 'ardently desired' that he would write this new treatise in Spanish, and Vives says that he 'wrote some notes in Castilian, as de Castro did not understand Latin. These notes did not satisfy me completely. I think they need augmenting and correcting and they should be re-written in Latin. . . .' This points to one reason why Vives had no influence in Spain: the fact that he never wrote in Spanish. We have a few short letters in Spanish, signed by Vives, but, like Justinià's translation into that language (see p. 115), they are unmistakably written by a man whose native language was not Spanish. But the principal causes of such a striking lack of interest were the line of thought and the general mental attitude of the average Spanish reader, so opposed to Vives' approach to his problems, and, even more than this, the suspicion and mistrust with which the Inquisition looked upon the free expression of Vives' thoughts in his writings. A writer as critically-minded as the Spanish Jesuit Mariana wrote later in the sixteenth century: 'Others will be able to express their opinions. I, as a member of the Society of Jesus, may say with certainty that even before the Holy Inquisition had forbidden the works of Erasmus,

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Vives, and other people of suspect doctrine. . . .<sup>32</sup> When a man of Mariana's standing was compelled to write that Vives' doctrine was 'suspect', we must infer that Spain had been as hermetically closed to Vives' influence as it was to any other contribution of Catalonia's distinctive culture.

In 1759 Charles III came to the Spanish throne from Naples, imbued with European ideas. It was he who in 1778 cancelled the prohibition by which in 1504, shortly after the discovery of America, the Catalans were forbidden to trade with, or settle in, the new continent. It was also mainly during his time that the Valencian Catalans, Mayans, Piquer, and Pau i Forner, spread the thoughts of Vives among their compatriots. Not long afterwards, in 1800, Majorca gave official approval to the teaching of Vives' doctrine, when his book *Ad Sapientiam Introductio* was translated by Felip Guasp and made a subject for reading in all the schools throughout the island. In the nineteenth century several Catalan philosophers of repute, among them X. Llorens, M. d'Eixelà, and P. Codina became acquainted with the works of the Scottish school of Reid and Hamilton, through whom they were referred anew to Vives, and with this contact an astonishing intellectual revival set in Catalonia. Milà i Fontanals, Rubio i Ors, Balmes, Pi i Margall, Almirall, Torres i Bages, Prat de la Riba, to mention only a few of the generation of yesterday, have all contributed to this notable re-awakening of Catalan cultural life in our own times. This new Renaissance would not have been possible had not the specific Catalan spirit survived all its persecutions. Its own reflected image, seen in Vives' work as in a mirror, was enough to call the Catalan mentality to life again.

When Lull gave to manual work a most important place in his social scheme, he was only expressing a national line of thought and valuation which two and a

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half centuries later was to produce, in Vives, the *De Subventionem Pauperum*. When Sibiude tried to understand the Divinity by observing Nature, he was a precursor of Vives' *De Veritate Fidei Christianae* and *De Prima Philosophia, sive de Intimo Naturae Officio*, which arrive at the same advanced conclusions. The *Indicium Naturale* of Vives is likewise conformable to the most characteristic teaching of Sibiude: namely, a belief in the high value of general consent based on the idea of Christianity as a faith which considered every single immortal soul to be equally precious, no matter what a man's worldly position might be. 'That which is recognized by "common sense" cannot be false, because there is no better procedure for discovering where the truth lies than the general consent of men', as Vives puts it. A hundred and fifty years before him the greatest of Catalan writers in the vernacular, Bernat Metge, had written that 'in every matter we must believe what is believed by the greater part of our fellow-men, as it is the nearest to the truth. The consensus of all men has the same virtue and force as the law of Nature.' It was this deep respect for the people and love to humanity that made so intense the sympathy between Thomas More and Lluís Vives, those forerunners of modern 'democracy'.