St. Juan de Dios, 1495-1550 The Patron Saint of Nurses

Christopher Churchouse

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The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.
ST. JUAN DE DIOS, 1495–1550
THE PATRON SAINT OF NURSES'

BY

Christopher Churchouse B.A., Dip Health Sc.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Award of

Bachelor of Nursing (Honours)

at the School of Nursing, Edith Cowan University

Date of Submission: 15.7.93
# Table of Contents

Abstract ........................................... i
Declaration ........................................ ii
Acknowledgements ................................... iii
List of Figures ...................................... iv
List of Tables ...................................... v

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION .................................... 1
   Purpose of study .................................. 2
   Research Question ................................ 2
   Literature Review ................................ 3
   Significance of study ......................... 7
   Research methodology ......................... 8

II. CHRISTIANITY VERSUS ISLAM 
    The Battle for Supremacy of Spain and Granada. ......................................................... 10

   Origin of Juan Cidade .......................... 23
   Soldier of Spain ................................ 26
   Spiritual awakening ............................ 30
   Juan the bookseller ............................. 34
   Mental illness and hospitalisation .......... 36
   Discharge from hospital ....................... 42
   Opening of first hospital ..................... 44
   New Name ........................................ 48
   First companions ................................ 49
   Move to bigger premises ...................... 50
   Last days ....................................... 51

IV. JUAN CIDADE'S CONCEPT OF HOSPITAL ........... 54

V. CONCLUSION ...................................... 68
   Future research ................................ 74

REFERENCE LIST .................................... 76

APPENDIX 1
   Charles V of Spain does Battle with Francis I of France .............................................. 80

APPENDIX 2
   Religious Factions Battle for Supremacy. ................................................................. 82
APPENDIX 3
Chronological Events in the History of the Hospitaller Order of St. Juan de Dios."
Abstract.

For any profession to develop, grow and plan for the future, it is imperative that all members know from whence they have come. Nurses', however, do not generally consider this to be an important aspect to their professional development, and hence have focused more on empirical or experimental research. Whilst much literature has been written on nursing history, it has focused primarily on its founding women and its inception from the mid-nineteenth century when a more structured training evolved. This study, therefore, goes beyond this period of time and examines a man who played an equally important role in the profession's evolution.

Using primary and secondary sources of nursing, religious, sociological, military and Spanish literature, this qualitative historical study will examine Juan Cidade, a Portuguese/Spaniard, who in the sixteenth century opened a hospital focusing on holistic care. This generation of knowledge regarding men in nursing will broaden nursing knowledge, thus, provide a basis for further research.
I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Date ......... 15-7-93 ...............
I wish to thank the St. John of God Health Care Services, Perth, whose financial assistance was instrumental in assisting me in this research.

My appreciation and thanks to my supervisor, Dr Nancy Hudson-Rodd, for her patience, professionalism, support and advice. This support provided me with the motivation to complete this study.

Finally, my special thanks to the Brothers of the Hospitaller Order of St. John of God, Sydney, whose hospitality, support, encouragement and help in researching their archives was outstanding. It was an honour to be welcomed into their community to stay, work and observe the practical application of their founders' philosophies (philosophies established in the sixteenth century) being practiced in the twentieth century.
List of Figures

Fig.1. The Iberian Peninsula in 15th and 16th centuries.  

Fig.2. "The Spanish Empire" 16th century.  

Fig.3. St. Juan de Dios in the Hospital of the Brothers of Misericorde at Madrid.
List of Tables

Table 1. Nurses' by sex in Australia, 30 June, 1971, 1976, 1981.
INTRODUCTION

(Why study the past?) Simply because I am interested in the past? No, if one means by that writing a history of the past in terms of the present. Yes, if one means writing the history of the present (M. Foucault, cited in Bellaby and Oribabor, 1986, p. 147).

"How can we in nursing today possibly plan where we are going when we don’t know where we have been nor how we got there" (Christy, cited in Burns and Grove, 1987, p. 9). The idea of knowing the past in order to create the future is one on which psychologists, sociologists and historians all concur. (Gleitman, 1981; Worsley, 1984; & Burns et al, 1987) For the nursing profession to develop and grow, therefore, it is essential that its past be fully and accurately documented.

Authors of the history of nursing have been negligent in not adequately representing men in nursing. They have presented a history dominated by the image of women as the only forerunners to the present profession. With the growth in numbers of men in nursing, shown in Table 1, this deficit in historical reporting creates an environment in which men, not knowing their roots, find difficulty in planning the future. It is the evolution
to the present that allows them to "judge what may be accomplished in the future" (Goodnow, 1948, p. xxv).

Table 1 Nurses' by Sex in Australia, 30 June 1971, 1976, 1981.

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Table 1. (Australian Bureau of Statistics, June, 1981) (1)

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to recognise the historical roots of men in nursing. In doing this, the author will explore and describe the work of Juan Cidade, (2) a care-giver nursing in Spain from 1539 to 1550. It will examine his influences, philosophy and their effects on health care, an area previously not described by historians or nurses'.

Research Questions

The research questions being addressed in this paper are:

1. What events influenced Juan de Dios in the formation of his nursing philosophies?

(1) 1986 and 1991 statistics, due for release in 1993, were not available on completion of this paper.

(2) As Juan is of Portuguese origin, the Portuguese spelling of Cidade will be used in this paper, not the Spanish - Cuidade, which is often used.
2. How did Juan de Dios's principles of health care differ from those of the dominant health care systems of sixteenth century Spain?
3. What were the operational differences between Juan de Dios's hospital and other Spanish hospitals in the sixteenth century?

Review of Literature

The history of nursing predominantly depicts the nurse as being "white, young and female - always, always wearing a hat" (Schuessler, 1992, p. 48). Alternatively, Florence Nightingale is pictured as the founding saint of all 'nurses'. If not reporting directly on Nightingale, the literature has portrayed a Nightingale-type image when describing other nurses'. This is evident in historical reports such as that of Edith Cavell, entitled The Brussels Nightingale by Rowland Ryder (1990). It is these constant and continuing images of nursing which inhibits a more critical analysis of the profession's history. What role have men played in the evolution of nursing?

Nurses' and historians alike (Davies 1986 and Bellaby et al. 1986) cite Professor Abel-Smith's book, A History of the Nursing Profession, as being "the (authors emphasis) history of nursing" (Maggs, 1987, p. 3). Abel-Smith, however, is limited in his analysis. His account of nursing commences in "the middle of the nineteenth
century (with the development of) a body of skill and knowledge" (Abel-Smith, 1960, p. 1). He dismisses the importance of previous works, such as those by Seymer (1932) and Franks (1959). Abel-Smith states that whilst there had been "religious orders which dedicated themselves to the service of the sick" (Abel-Smith, 1960, p. 4) it was the family members or domestic servants who provided the care to those who required it. To Abel-Smith, therefore, nursing grew into an established profession in the second half of the nineteenth century with the introduction of a structured training. His implication being that it is this formal training that defines what or who is a nurse. He fails to recognise that the historical roots of nursing go back much earlier with the rise of monasticism where "medicine and nursing were taught as a liberal science to nuns and monks" (Abu-Saad, 1979, p. 10).

Historians of nursing have also failed to examine in detail the work of religious orders and established hospitals prior to the nineteenth century. Abu-Saad (1979), Dolan (1968) and Frank (1959) do discuss the existence of religious orders and the care the people in these orders offered to the sick. The focus of research, however, remains on great women and on their contribution to caring. These studies focus on deaconesses, such as Phoebe and St. Olympias, the social
forces which required women to nurse, and the duties they undertook as nurses'. These historians fail to acknowledge the deacons of the same time, their role in nursing, and the social forces which influenced their roles. They agree that society demanded that men nurse men and women nurse women. However, with the history of women in nursing being the main area of research, only half the story has been told.

One reason many historians have failed to analyse the nursing aspects of men in religious orders was identified by Frank (1959, p. 46) when she stated that for men, nursing was viewed as "not an essential part of their calling". The author reported that the principle purpose of male duty was the personal sanctification of the patient and of the monk himself. However accurate this interpretation of the role, these men were still trained to give care to those in need. They ministered to the sick, and functioned as nurses’, none of which has been appropriately documented.

Catholicism was the dominant religion throughout Italy, France, Portugal and Spain for centuries. Sixteenth century Christian principles advocated by disciples of this religion contributed to the development of nursing. These principles reinforced the belief that people should care for one another. In all societies people
have seen the need to care for others when they were sick. Those with Catholic beliefs were no different in their thinking. What was and is unique to each culture is the way this caring is to be organised and achieved. Recognising that many people were poor and homeless, did not have the support network of family and friends to give care; because of war, migration to the new worlds, and religious cleansing, hospitals were established as places to care for those in need. Those who worked in these institutions were men and women who felt "that love and service towards one's neighbour were regarded as Christian duties no less binding than love towards God" (Seymer, 1932, p. 21). With this attitude came a dedication of those in the service, eventuating in institutions where caring was paramount. This resulted in monasteries being opened throughout France and Spain in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These were run and staffed by men, becoming "the centre for medical education" (Mellish, 1984, p. 33).

Religious orders were not the only operators of hospitals. Many European cities had hospitals which were funded by the royal families or nobility. There were also hospitals operated by lay people, not representing any religious orders, but who believed in the principle of hospitality for those in need of care. One such man was Juan Cidade, who in 1539 in Granada, Spain, opened
his first hospital. Cidade’s principle belief was that everyone had the right to clean individualised care, designed to satisfy his/her physical, sociological, cultural and spiritual needs. (O’Grady, 1972) What is important to this research study is that, Juan Cidade, a sixteenth century lay man, not attached to a religious order, focused on principles rooted in nursing care, not in medical attention.

Significance of Study
The significance of this study lies in the exploration of nursing in the sixteenth century - a previously neglected area of nursing history. Whilst the study of Juan Cidade is specific to sixteenth century Spain in content, the spread of an order and philosophies of nursing care to other countries, including Australia, gives it current relevance. Authors who have written about Cidade, have focused on his religious perspectives, beliefs and spirituality, and have not addressed the contribution he made to nursing.

The aim of this study is to explore the past in order to broaden nursing knowledge and to raise questions with regard to the role men have played in the evolution of nursing. The generation of a knowledge hitherto unexplored in nursing history will help to raise awareness within the nursing community by informing
future nurses. It will also create an awareness of the past for men in nursing; a past that will lead to their present, and their future. With this, men in nursing will be able to attain a knowledge of their professional roots, thereby developing stronger links with the profession.

Methodology
This study is based on an historical perspective. It is not simply a chronological documentation of the past, but pursues a critical analysis of nursing in the sixteenth century. The focus of research will be on a contextual exploration of Juan Cidade and nursing actions in the context of the environment and social norms of the sixteenth century. It will examine the social, historical, environmental and religious factors and how these influenced the actors of the time.

In seeking to identify events that explain or offer an understanding of the past, a qualitative historical approach will be adopted to examine Cidade's behaviour; his environmental, societal and personal influences. This allows for the formation of a close approximation of the climate of the times and ensures that analysis is not in accord to present-day beliefs.

Primary and secondary sources from diverse areas; sociological, historical, military, nursing and Spanish
literature, of the 1500's, have been collected and analysed in order to place Juan Cidade in context with sixteenth century beliefs and practices. To achieve this, the author gained access to the archives of the Hospitaller Order of St. Juan de Dios (John of God), Sydney, and has also made contact with the Orders translator of original Spanish and Castilian literature on St. Juan de Dios at the Curia Generalis, Rome.

The intention of this author is to broaden the research field to include the study of men and their historical roots in nursing. It will concentrate on Juan Cidade, a Portuguese/Spaniard who, in the sixteenth century opened a hospital focusing on humanistic holistic care. In presenting this, the paper will firstly address the religious and political climate in Spain and Granada before examining the life and work of Juan Cidade. This will be followed by an analysis of Juan Cidade's concept of a hospital, and how this differed from other sixteenth century hospitals. Finally, a conclusion, including suggestions for further research into the area of men in nursing, will be presented.
CHRISTIANITY VERSUS ISLAM

The Battle for Supremacy over Spain and Granada.

Men are sons of our century and therefore we carry in our personal and collective lives the imprint of our times, more or less marked according to each one's personality. (History of the Order, n.d., p. 35)

History is concerned with events, people, human activities, and the variables that influence human thought and activity. It is therefore essential that the actors be examined in the context of their own time. Juan Cidade was born in Portugal 1495 and died in 1550, spending the greater part of his life in Spain in the sixteenth century.

The two elements that Christians described as the 'soul of Spain' were the Catholic faith and the concern for one's honour. For the Christian, this combined to a single entity, "the honour of being Christian" (Defourneaux, 1970; p. 35). For the Muslim, however, the 'soul of Spain' was the honour of serving Islam. These two cultures were to create a gulf which cut across Spain. This gulf kept alive and exacerbated religious conflicts which were characteristic of Spanish history.
It also inhibited industrial, economic and social growth.

Prior to the sixteenth century, Spain had been a nation with few significant natural resources. It suffered from inadequate irrigation, extremes of climate, bad land distribution, intractable soil, poor investment, and bad communication systems (made worse by political and customs barriers.) This lack of political unity perpetuated economic disunity. The country was divided into small commercial regions with little contact with one another. This resulted in an environment where one province would have sufficient supplies, while in another one, people starved. (Kamen, 1983)

In reporting Spain's chronological history, historians (Vilar, 1967; Kamen, 1973; Davies, 1954; Elliott, 1969; Livermore, 1988) agree on the events leading up to the sixteenth century. Spain entered history in 3 BC when Hamilcar Barca (father of Hannibal) conquered and organised the country as part of the empire of Carthage. Rome, however, having designs on the country's resources, drove the Carthaginians out of Spain in 204 BC. They then crossed into Africa defeating Hannibal at Zama. The independent people of Spain were now forced to answer to Roman rule. By the first century of the Christian era, Roman language, fashion and culture were
well established, resulting in Spanish industry and agriculture contributing to the strength of the Roman empire.

The decline of the Roman empire caused a great amount of suffering for the people of Spain. The breaking of the Rhine frontier in 405 allowed the Sueves, Alans and Vandals to plunder Gaul for three years before entering Spain. Spain was later ruled by the Visigoths despite attempts by Roman Emperor Justinian to overrule. The Visigothic Christian kingdom then ruled Spain until the early 8th century, halted by the Islamic expansion from North Africa advancing on the Straits of Gibraltar in 711. The result of this advance was that the Muslim Army of Tariq gaining a decisive victory over the Visigoths on the Guadalete. By 713 all of Spain, apart from the country of Basques and a small number of smaller northern areas, was under Muslim rule. Thus, the history of Spain was greatly concerned with war and death between the proud representatives of two civilisations, the Christians and Islam. (Vilar, 1967; Encyclopedia Britannica, 1992, vol. 28, p. 25-46)

This war between the Christians and Muslims continued, leading to what Kamen (1973, p. 31) reports as "The outstanding feature of the 13th century... the progress
of the Reconquista or Reconquest". (1) The aim of the Reconquest was to remove Arab power and allow Christian society to take over. In order to achieve this, the Christian based States in the north rallied together and under the rule of Alfonso V1 (1073-1109) united Castile and Leon to conquer Toledo in 1085. This advance by the Christian forces continued through to 1212 eventuating in Islamic rule being confined to Granada alone. For the next two centuries the Spanish Christian kingdoms dominated. Unrest continued, however, with kingdoms competing with one another, being torn apart by the unsettled nobles.

With the secret marriage of Ferdinand - the heir to Aragon, to Isabella - the heiress to Castile, in 1469, the two kingdoms eventually united. Though united, each kingdom retained its own existing institutions. (Fig. 1) This union was to "mark the beginning of Spain's modern times" (Kamen, 1973, p. 51).

Ferdinand and Isabella, given the title of The Catholic

(1) The progress of the Reconquest took several centuries, however, it is fundamental in the role of Hispanic history. The nature of this process is difficult to define. Christian society saw it as the battle to regain control over their own land; an interesting perspective considering the Arabs had occupied it for nearly 7 centuries. However, the religious motive is also important; the Christian princes undoubtedly were dedicated in defending their faith against the aggressive Muslims. Whilst the Reconquest's aim was to remove power from the Arab community, it did not strive to eliminate the Arab population, as it was realised that the country could not sustain itself if there was a sudden withdrawal of Muslims from Spain. That aim of the Christian society was to slowly colonise the regions. (Kamen, 1973)
Monarchs believed in obedience to the crown and to their religion. The active co-operation of the two principal kingdoms, Aragon and Castile, ensured a secure basis for achievement of these ideals. Their ideal of royal justice which aimed to "protect the weak and humble the proud" (Elliot, 1969, p. 65). This was not a new ideal, for it originated from their predecessors. Unlike their predecessors, however, Ferdinand and Isabella believed their duty lay in restoring order and good governance, thus, restoring a "society in which each could freely enjoy the rights that belonged to him by virtue of his station" (Elliot, 1969, p. 66).

The Catholic Church was immensely important to these rulers and must to be examined in the context of the Catholic Monarch's ideals and intentions of the period.
Ferdinand and Isabella saw the infusion of Semitic blood from Carthaginian, Moor, and Jew as contributing "its share to making Spain a land of mystics" (Davies, 1954, p. 9). In order to complete the Reconquest, therefore, the Catholic Monarchs focused on the Muslims and Jews of Granada — the last remaining city held by the Moors. (1)

Throughout the 1480’s Arab towns fell; Rhonda 1485, Malaga 1487 and finally Granada in January 1492 (after a siege lasting one and a half years.) (2) Kamen (1973) sees this process of political unity of Granada and the purification of blood not as an attempt of the Catholic Monarchs to attain a unity in politics or religion, but as a completion of a long historical development. He supports this by stating that Castile and Aragon only came together in the persons of the rulers. In all other aspects of governance they remained wholly separate, and no attempt was made to unite them. This does support the statement that political unity was not their intention, but does not support the need for the abolition of religious orders which differed from the beliefs of the

(1) In 1447 the Spanish Inquisition was established under Torquemada to examine the sincerity of the Jews (Marranos) and Muslims (Moriscos) who had converted to Christianity. Four years after the establishment of the Inquisition all Jews were expelled from Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella later offered Muslims the choice of expulsion or conversion — it is reported that most accepted baptism. This however did not mean acceptance by the old Christians and they were often looked upon with suspicion. (Levermore, 1988) It was not enough to be Christian; a person needed to be an old Christian, which meant that they must be of old Spanish Stock. Nationality became the proof of orthodoxy.

(2) The terms of surrender included the tolerance of Islam. This was adhered to for some years, but then openly breached. With a revolt of the Granadians in 1501 they were ordered to convert or suffer expulsion. The Moors were the last great minority groups to suffer this way. Ten years previously the Jews had been given the same choice.
rulers. Under the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, Spain's economic, cultural and social growth, already established by the Moors, amplified. Christopher Columbus, the Italian navigator, setting out to discover the new world, had claimed America for Spain. (Columbus, 1963) Navigators such as Cortez, Pizarro and d'Almagro had claimed Mexico, Peru and Chile in the name of Spain. The printing press was invented with the first book being printed in Spain using movable type. This allowed for a notable growth of literature with over 800 titles being published in 1501. Spanish scholars were sent to study in Italy, the city recognised as being the centre of active humanism.

With Isabella's death in 1504 and Ferdinand's in 1515, Charles I was elected King of Spain. In 1519 he became the Holy Roman Emperor, succeeding his grandfather, Maximilian I. This title gave him control of Spain, Naples and Sicily, the Hapsburg lands in the Low Countries, (Belgium and the Netherlands) Austria, and the Spanish Colonies in the New World. Spain was seen as a world power and Charles was to be the most powerful ruler in Europe. (Fig.2)

Like his predecessors, Charles was more successful in promoting church reforms than making change to Spanish administration. On his abdication in 1556 the greater
part of his realm was passed to Philip II who had been raised in Spain and regarded as a true Spaniard. Philip, however, was not as bold a ruler as his father, and believing he was chosen by God to assist in the eventual triumph of Catholicism, allowed a steady decline of Spanish power to set in. (Livermore, 1988)

![The Spanish Empire - 16th Century](image)

Fig. 2 "The Spanish Empire" 16th Century. (Livermore, 1988, p. 398)

It can be seen that Spain had an unsteady and sometimes violent time in its development. Its growth and international standing as a political power was strong in the early 1500's when a young Juan Cidade left Portugal and began a life in what was to become his home - Spain. It was a time when all looked towards a new way of life. A time when political life, social life, ecclesiastical life, literature, painting, sculpture,
the arts in general were all developing at a great pace. There was a thirst for the new, a boldness where new conquests were being made - America and the Indies. It was a century of great contrasts, but also of ardent religious reforms, as well as moral and social reforms. (Davies, 1954)

Throughout the centuries of Catholic and Islamic conflicts, Granada had remained under Muslim control. Christian honour, however, plus the desire to control the noble city; to possess the beautiful champagnes, to control the industry and agriculture developed by the Moors, resulted in Granada's invasion and eventual conquer by the Catholic Monarchs in 1492. (Vilar, 1989)

When Juan Cidade arrived to settle in Granada in 1539, it was no longer the Spanish mecca it had once been. This ancient kingdom which had been developed by the Moors during their occupation, (711-1492) and had once enjoyed a rich prosperous livelihood where industry, literature and art had thrived, had declined in growth and prosperity under Christian rule.

Bound on the west by Andalusia, on the east by Murcia, and on the south and south-east by the Mediterranean, its greatest length from north-east to south-west was
approximately 210 miles, with its greatest width being approximately 80 miles. A beautiful province, it has the chief mountain ranges - the Sierra Nevada, the Sierra de Ronda and the Alpujarras, which run parallel with the coast. Its principal rivers are; the Almanzora, Almeria, Jenil, Guadalhorce, and Guadalquiver, all of which flow into the mediterranean. A wealthy region, the surrounding mountain being high in minerals such as silver, copper, lead and iron. (Vilar, 1989)

During the Moorish occupation the province of Granada had grown, supporting an estimated 400,000 inhabitants at its peak. Decorated with Arabic architecture, the flat roofs and projecting balconies were extremely functional for the Spanish climate. The streets were narrow, crooked and uneven making up a city that was surrounded by a great wall in which was built many strong towers. These towers were relics from the fractional days with the Christian forces. (Chamber's Encyclopaedia, 1970, vol. VII, p. 140-150)

With the fervour of the Reconquest and the Inquisition, the difference in religion between Christian and non-Christians assumed a larger importance. This resulted in unrest between Christians, Jews and Muslims. The poor treatment of non-Christians by Christians is believed to be religiously motivated. It could also be
argued, however, that there was an economic motivation behind it. Most of the industry and commerce developed by the Moors and Jews in Granada prior to Christian occupation remained in their possession, resulting in some expected jealousy by the now dominant Christian forces. Whilst most Jews had suffered expulsion – an estimated 150,000, many had stayed and converted to Christianity – some 15,000. Even conversion, however, was no guarantee of prosperity or survival, for the old Christians doubted the sincerity of these members of their community. (Adams, 1959)

The standard of living for the general populace was depressingly low in spite of the general level of prosperity in Granada. This was despite the cities progress being made in agriculture, mining, textiles, industry and commerce. The labor forces had achieved some degree of organisation. Fairs and markets were encouraged, foreign merchants were coming to purchase goods, trade had opened with other nations such as England and Flanders, and bills of exchange had come into general use. (Adams, 1959)

The distribution of wealth, however, was limited. This created an economic environment which Marx was to describe centuries later as being the "capitalist society (where) employers exploit their employees"
(Haralambos, 1984, p.13). Consequently, a conflict of interests between social groups arose, where one was seen to gain at the others expense. The Crown claimed ownership of the subsoil and the coastal waters, therefore, fishing and mining of minerals - quicksilver, silver, lead and gold, became a royal monopoly and an important source of income. The Crown placed regulations on prices, hours of labor, and interest rates, limiting private enterprise. Taxes were also imposed, but only on the lower and middle classes as the clergy and nobility were exempt.

The results of the social and economic standing in Granada in the sixteenth century, therefore, were that some were able to build their private wealth, while most were not able to support themselves and their families. This created a society where many lived in degrading poverty, depending on the compassion of others for support. The majority unable to house, feed or clothe themselves. They were forced to fend for themselves in all weathers, whilst the wealthy lived in luxury. It was a time when "beggars had become embittered, that the continual neglect by their fellow-men had caused them to sink to the level of animals" (McMahon, 1951, p. 109).
Juan Cidade

The Child - The Man - The Nurse

It is a fact, an undeniable truth, dear Brothers, that God...through his infinite mercy is accustomed to assist men in trouble and in time of need, to relieve them of the straits they are in....This he has manifested in this city and kingdom where there were previously so many wars and revolutions, plagues and other different kind of illnesses unknown in these countries, also countless necessities brought on by famine and poverty...Before this, it pleased the Divine Majesty to give us the remedy to repair such evils, sending us that blessed and grand man, John of God (Salvatierra, 1581/1961, p. 239).

To understand the motivations of an individual it is necessary to know the events that have influenced his/her life. Juan Cidade was living in sixteenth century Spain at a time of great development and change, where adventure and discovery dominated the times. It was a time when Christianity dominated over the Islamic faith and Judaism. It was also a time when capitalism was thriving, resulting in the rich prospering and the poor suffering. These social and economic times played a strong part in the events of the life of Juan Cidade. A life with many turning points, some more prominent than others, which are best documented under a series of headings, each focusing on prominent events that occurred throughout his life.
In drawing from primary and secondary sources this study will, therefore, attempt to seek an understanding of the life of Juan Cidade; his motivations, his philosophies, his actions and his beliefs. The first of the primary sources are his own writings—six letters and one receipt. These contain little information regarding dates and actual events, but are rich with information about his hospital, his work and his spirituality. Other primary sources are, three letters written to him by his advisor and mentor the Blessed Juan de Avila; and the early biography by Francisco de Castro (1585/1986/1587/1970) (1).

The Origin of Juan Cidade

In 1495, three years after Granada had fallen to Ferdinand and Isabella, (2) with John II ruling Portugal and Ferdinand and Isabella reigning Spain, in the Portuguese town of Montemor-o-Novo, Juan Cidade was born of humble parents, neither rich nor poor. Little is known of his early years in Portugal. Castro (1587/1970) writes that "he was brought up in their house until he was eight years of age when, without their knowledge, he

(1) Contemporary historians such as Russetto (1969); Callan, (1970) O'Grady (1972); and McMahon (1951), all consider Castro to be the finest biographer of the sixteenth century. Although a man of his times, he avoids many of the excesses of his contemporaries remaining faithfully to his introductory statement of "what cannot be verified we have omitted" (Castro, 1585/1986, p. 21). A native of Granada, he was rector of the hospital founded by Juan Cidade. He is believed to have visited the hospital often and wrote his biography by talking to those who knew Cidade and from the notes of one of Cidade's followers. The translation analysed for this thesis are Callan's translation of the 1587 publication of the Italian translation by Bordini, and O'Grady's translation of the Spanish publication published in 1985.

(2) The fall of the Moorish kingdom of Granada to Ferdinand and Isabella was important to Juan Cidade, for Granada was to become his home in later years and the place where he was to open his first hospital.
was taken away by a priest, or more probably an itinerant theological student, to the village of Oropesa 200km. away" (p.1).

From Castro's writings, therefore, it is believed that the Cidade family gave a nights lodging to an itinerant cleric. It was common practice in medieval and renaissance Europe for itinerant clerics or theological students to seek hospitality in private homes, convents or monasteries; a practice still documented in the Church's Canon Law in the early part of the twentieth century as "clerici vagi" (Cousson, 1973, cited in Cross, 1974, p. 4). Why Juan left with this cleric remains a mystery. Perhaps he was fascinated by the wonderful tales told by the visitor, perhaps he was swept up with the mood of the times where all were seeking adventure and a new way of life. O'Grady, (1972) reports that there have been many theories as to why he left, such as, he was kidnapped or it was divine inspiration. The truth, however, is not known.

The events of the 200km. journey to Oropesa are also unknown, however, knowledge of the time suggests it would not have been easy for an 8 year old boy. The rugged countryside, extremes of climate, and lack of basic resources such as food and water would have undoubtedly made life difficult for both travellers.
Arriving in Oropesa, some 20 miles from Madrid, Juan Cidade was left by the cleric at the home of Francisco Cid, known as "el Mayoral, the steward" (Russotto, 1969 p. 37). Again Castro (1585/1986/1587/1970) fails to explain as to why the young Cidade was left by the cleric and why he was taken in by the Mayoral family. Did the cleric tire of being held back by an eight year old child? Did Juan "spin him (Mayoral) a yarn about being an orphan or abandoned?" (O'Grady, 1972, p. 20). Whatever the circumstances, Francisco Cid accepted the young child into his home, raising him as one of his own.

There is some disagreement regarding the Mayoral's position in Oropesa. The Life of St. John of God, (1691, p.15) states that "Francois Mayoral, a gaoler at the prison, heard of the circumstances in which the boy found himself, and took him into his home". He goes on to state that at the age of 14 years he went out to tend the private flock of the Mayoral, hence Cidade's introduction to the work of shepherding. This, however, does not concur with Castro, who states that Juan "lived there for a long time in the house of a good man called Mayoral, or chief shepherd, who, when he was old enough, sent him into the fields...to mind sheep" (1587/1970, p.1). The latter statement is one that appears more correct. It was customary for those holding positions to
adopt the position title as a surname. The label Mayoral, therefore, which, when translated from Spanish means steward, is likely, as Castro states, to be 'chief shepherd'. Juan lived and grew up with his adopted family for 20 years until the events of history led him from the fields of the shepherd to those of battle at the age of 28. (1)

Soldier of Spain

In 1523, Juan, no doubt inspired by the mood of the time, "urged on by the desire to see the world and to enjoy the taste of liberty which is so common to those who follow war" (Castro, 1587/1983, p.1) joined a company under the charge of John Ferruz. The mission, to fight for Charles V against the French invasion of Navarre in Northern Spain. (See Appendix 1 for summary of wars between Spain and France) Like he had as an eight year old boy, Juan again set off from home and those who cared for him, in search of adventure.

His military career, however, was not the wondrous adventure Juan had probably hoped for. Having led a Christian life at the home of the Mayoral, the hard-drinking, poorly paid and socially unacceptable practices of soldiering (the looting and pillaging to supplement low pay) led Juan to later reflect on this

(1) Callan's translation of Castro's biography has Cidade as being 22 when volunteering for war. In examining the military history, however, it is concluded that he was 28 as published in O'Grady's translation.
time of his life with "sorrow for the offenses he committed against God" (O'Grady, 1972, p. 29). Not only was he subjected to the moral dilemmas of this life, but there were other personal experiences which possibly led this man to question his role as a soldier. One such experience occurred whilst out on a mission to find food. (1) He came close to being thrown into the hands of the French when his horse bolted for the French camp, throwing him to the ground. Injured, he eventually made his way back to camp on foot. Another experience occurred soon after when Juan found himself sentenced to hang having been accused of allowing loot, taken from the French, to be stolen whilst on guard duty. With the noose around his neck, he received a last minute pardon by "an important official" (Castro, 1587/1983, p. 3). Given a dishonourable discharge, Juan returned home to Oropesa in disgrace. (Munn, 1967)

Biographers (Castro, 1585/1986/1587/1970; The Life of St. John of God, 1691; McMahon, 1951) have stated the Mayoral cared not of the events of war and the dishonourable discharge, but accepted Juan back into his home without question. These biographers are in agreement of this return to the home of the Mayoral, however, none discuss the events of the next

(1) The poverty of the army meant that soldiers were often left to find supplies by whatever means they could from the neighbouring countryside.
four years. (1) It is only known that Juan returned to his former duties of shepherding.

1532, however, again saw Juan, spurred on by the growing optimism of Spain's discoveries of new lands and the talk of adventure, join forces under Charles V (encouraged by Pope Clement VII), this time to fight the Turks who were invading Vienna. (See Appendix 2 for a summary of these wars) Castro's interpretation of Juan's re enlistment is that "having forgotten all about... all that had happened to him in Fonterabia" (1587/1983, p.3) he joined the army. O'Grady (1972) however, believes "he (Castro) surely meant that he no longer feared the perils of army life; for he certainly could never forget his accident with the horse and his close shave with death by hanging" (p.42).

Given that these were exciting times in Spain, the discovery of new lands, the publication of adventure and romantic novels, and having seen that Juan exhibited a thirst for adventure, it is Castro's (1585/1986/1587/1970) analysis, that he forgot about all that had happened, which is supported. Perhaps Juan chose to forget all that happened in his previous adventures, or perhaps he was bored with the quiet

(1) Russotto (1969) calculates this at 7-8 years as both Castro (1585) and Govea (1690) appear to have confused the expedition towards Vienna in 1532 with the Emperor's expedition to Austria in 1529.
simple life of shepherding. After all, he was now venturing out to do battle in a "crusade against the Turkish peril which was threatening Christian civilisation" (Russotto, 1969, p. 40). Given events in later life, it appears to have been this belief in Christian duty, promoted strongly by Charles V, that was fast becoming the driving force in the life and work of Juan Cidade.

With the defeat of the Turks, Juan returned to Spain in triumph, making a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

(1) At this time Juan also resolved to return to his native home of Montemor-o-Novo, seeking the whereabouts of his parents whom he had not seen since he was eight years old. The need to return to his family can only be summarised. Castro states that Juan had a great desire to return to his home and "it appeared to be a splendid opportunity to make the journey from where he was...wishing news of his father and mother and other relatives" (1587/1970, p.4). O'Grady disputes this as reason enough, stating that "considering the long time since he ran away from home as a child, they (his

(1) The importance of Santiago, St. James the Great, to the Spanish, is immense, as the shrine at Compostela was seen as a symbol of national unity. The legend, as reported by O'Grady (1972) is that for seven years, the Iberian folklore warrior, St James, preached in Spain before returning to Palestine where he was beheaded by Herod. Learning of this, his disciples are supposed to have taken the body back to Spain, arriving at Compostela where the tomb became lost from the third to the sixth century. It was discovered again when the struggle against the Moors was gaining momentum. The warrior Santiago is said to have helped drive the Moors from Spain. Santiago became the patron saint of Spain; and it is to his shrine soldiers travelled to give thanks for protection in battle.
parents) hardly seem worthy of a dutiful son. And the truth is John Cidade had not been a dutiful son" (1972, p. 48).

O'Grady's assumption that his parents would not 'seem worthy of a dutiful son' would probably be far from the mind of the jubilant soldier returning from successful battle. Seeing himself as a victor and worthy of forgiveness would be reason enough to believe he could return home. Perhaps just wanting to make contact with his past is reason enough. It has been agreed by the original biographers and contemporary historians that Juan had an impulsive nature, setting off on adventures with little thought or consideration of the outcome. Could this have been such an adventure, where he was seeking to establish his 'past in order to create his future'?

**Spiritual Awakening**

Like many of his past adventures, Juan's homecoming was not to be the joyous occasion he had possibly hoped for. Already laden with guilt of his past - the desertion of his family, his unsavoury life as a soldier - Juan was overwhelmed to learn that his mother had died of grief shortly after he had left home, and that his father had become a Franciscan friar and had since died. Juan is reported to have been haunted by guilt for the rest of his days. (McMahon, 1951)
These past events seem to have triggered a change in the course of Juan's life. At least some of the extreme penances and bizarre behaviour displayed later on in his life may be traced to the remorse over his actions of youth. Now forty years of age, Juan returned to shepherding for the Count of Dropese but felt remorse in "seeing the horses in the stalls fat, beautiful and well covered, whilst the poor were weak, languished, naked and ill-treated" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 6). Feeling the desire to help the poor sick but uncertain as to how to achieve this, Juan found himself "with a burning desire, sadness and melancholia...and he was no longer satisfied with minding sheep" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 6). It is these observations of the sick poor and their plights that appears to have changed Juan in some way, influencing the events that were to occur later in his life.

With the desire to help the less fortunate, but still with the need to seek adventure "the thought came to him to go to Africa, to see the country" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 6). Travelling to Gibraltar - the port for Ceuta, Juan prepared for the short journey across the Straits of Gibraltar. Whilst on the boat, Juan met a Portuguese nobleman who, with his family, were on their way to Ceuta having been exiled by the King of Portugal. In
telling his plight to Juan, and realising that they were not going to be able to manage life in exile very well, the nobleman offered to employ Juan as a servant and "to take him (Juan) with his family and give a just wage, and to treat him well" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 7).

On arrival in Ceuta, the nobleman and his family became sick, not able to cope well with the poor conditions and the climate. Juan found that the family's wealth was soon depleted from buying food and medicine. It was necessary, therefore, for him to obtain work as a laborer on the fortifications being built in Ceuta. Determined to help this family, he changed from being their paid employee, to that of provider and counsellor, using his earnings to support them. During this period in his life, working to help others, Castro (1585/1986/1587/1970) reports that Juan reflected on it as the time when his future was becoming clear and that "God in His mercy put him on this road in order to exercise him in his good work" (1587/1970, p. 8). After forty years of uncertainty as to a life vocation, Juan was now beginning to realise that it may be in helping those in need. How this was to be fully realised was still unclear to him. In great moral agony over the situation in Ceuta and his personal struggles, Juan sought the spiritual advice of an old priest, who advised him to leave the family for whom he was caring.
and return to the mainland.

In analysing his time spent in Africa, a pattern appears to emerge in Juan's life. First the separation from his parents, his separation from his adopted family in Oropesa and now the separation from the family in Ceuta. Also the theme of religious dependence or need for Christian guidance is emerging. This is becoming evident on analysis of his association with the cleric when he was eight years old, his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela when returning from war, and his seeking counsel to his personal dilemmas from the priest in Africa.

Arriving back in Spain, Juan is reported to have realised what he wanted from his future. What he now had to overcome was the nomadic lifestyle he had adopted and look to settling in a given place. In looking to achieve this, Juan is said to have knelt before the Crucifix, giving thanks to God, saying "'Blessed be You, O Lord God, by your immense goodness and I so great a sinner....Deign to show me the way I must follow to enter Your service...so that I may know and do your holy will'" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 10). It appears to have been this need for structure, this religious guidance and service to God, coupled with the desire to serve people, that was to become the driving force behind Juan
Cidade in the years to follow.

The Bookseller

To earn his living Juan began to sell religious books and pious pictures in the streets of Gibraltar. He always read first what he sold; in this way he improved his own learning and was indoctrinated at the same time. Castro (1585/1983/1587/1970) also describes how Juan bought a few profane books so that when anyone approached to buy one, he was able to take advantage of the occasion to persuade them not to take them, rather, to buy one of the devotional ones. Finding it difficult to carry his sack of goods from place to place, Juan resolved to move to Granada and settle down. This he did at the age of forty-three, ending the wonderlust years of his past. Arriving in Granada in 1538, Juan opened a small book stall close to the busy Elvira Gate.

Several historians, (The Life of St. John of God, 1691; Meyer, 1900; McMahon, 1951; Chearbhaill, 1989?) believing Juan’s life was guided by divine intervention, are not satisfied with Castro’s claim that Cidade simply “decided to go to Granada and settle down there” (1587/1970, p. 11). These historians were determined to place greater emphasis on his move to the city. One report by McMahon (1951) writes:

One sultry day, while tramping towards a village, with his load of books on his shoulders, he overtook a little boy, bare-footed and poorly clothed. The
surface of the road was rutted and strewn with sharp stones, and the small feet were cut and bruised. The poor child seemed so uncomfortable that John took off his own shoes and offered them to the wee fellow. The shoes were too large, of course, and were handed back with a sweet smile. Anxious to save the little one further discomfort, John lifted him on to his shoulders, and putting the sack across his arm, set off again. Strangely, the child who had seemed so light and small when standing on the road, now became a very heavy burden on John...Although a vigorous man, the weight of the child and the heat of the sun were too much for him, and coming to a spring that trickled by the wayside, John set down child and sack, and knelt to drink the cool water.

His thirst satisfied, he felt sufficiently refreshed to resume his loads, but first he looked to see if the child wished to drink. To John's amazed eyes, the child was a different being to the dusty little boy he had borne on his shoulders. A radiance shone around him, and in his hand he held a half-opened pomegranate, surmounted by a cross. Addressing himself to the startled man, the child uttered these mysterious words: "John of God, Granada shall be thy cross." Thereupon he vanished from sight. (pp. 55-56)

This story may make pleasant reading and place a divine influence on the life of Juan Cidade, however, it has little substance in reality what so ever. Castro (1585/1983/1587/1970), the first biographer of Juan Cidade does not concur with McMahon (1951). Not prone to report occurrences in Juan's life unless he was able to confirm them, Castro clearly states that "thinking it was too much trouble to be going from place to place
with a bundle on his back, he determined to go to Granada and settle down there" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 11).

Mental Illness and Hospitalisation
Juan Cidade's biographers and contemporary historians attribute the principle precipitating factor to his becoming a nurse occurred on January 20, 1539. This marked the Feast of St. Sebastian when Juan, along with other citizens of Granada, turned out to hear Father Juan de Avila, the famous Doctor of Theology, give a sermon about St. Sebastian, the Roman Christian martyr. The sermon entitled "The happiness of those who suffer for Jesus Christ, and the reward that God has in store for them" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 12), used the example of Sebastian and his loyalty to Jesus Christ, stressing the severe consequences for those who offended God.

O'Grady quotes Juan de Avila as calling to "his hearers to imitate the virtues which distinguished the martyr Sebastian" (1972, p. 86). (1)

Seated in the crowd, Juan Cidade felt an affinity with the martyr Sebastian. Like Sebastian, Juan had been a soldier, but had chosen the pursuit of pleasure rather than the law of God. Feeling as if he had been abandoned

(1) Sebastian was reported to have served Diocletian well and was considered to be Caesars favourite, but rather than deny Christ, he forfeited his life.
because of the sins of his past Juan burst from the
church "despising himself for not having esteemed that
which he should have esteemed" (Castro, 1587/1970, p.
13). Running into the street he began shouting loudly,
begging for mercy, rolling in the mud and beating his
breast. Ridiculed and jeered by the crowds, he then went
to his stall and gave away all his stock and money to
the bystanders. After his stall was totally emptied by
those willing to take personal clothing and all else
that Juan was willing to give them, the crowd continued
to physically and mentally torment him. Eventually some
bystanders, having witnessed the events following Juan
de Avila's sermon, sensing this as the catalyst for
Juan's behaviour, took him to meet Father Avila. Avila
listened to the story Juan had to tell, and in trying to
calm him promised to help in any future need. (1) Juan,
momentarily calmed, returned to the street, but soon
again began calling for mercy, insisting on revealing
his past sins to the world. Those people around amused
themselves by putting him through religious charades,
such as kissing the ground for the love of God. After
several days of this behaviour, two citizens, apparently
taking pity on Juan, took him to the Royal Hospital of
Granada (2) where the insane of the city were treated.

(1) Father Avila agreed at that time to become "his spiritual director and father" (Castro, 1587/1970, p.
14) a relationship that was to grow over the next years.
(2) The hospital had been opened by Ferdinand and Isabella, as a gesture of bringing aid to the insane and
the sick poor.
An analysis of past reports of this event in Juan’s life reveals conflicting descriptions and reasons for his behaviour. Castro, a product of the sixteenth century, no doubt subscribed to the belief of the time that mental illness was the result of possession of evil spirits, denied a madness; believing that one destined for sanctity and raised to the alters of the church could never have been mentally ill or unbalanced. He therefore attributed Juan’s behaviour to that of a "sickness (which) was none other than being wounded by the love of Jesus Christ" (1587/1970, p. 16).

This becomes an issue in much of the literature written concerning the life of Juan Cidade. For those authors from within the Hospitaller Order of St. Juan de Dios, the supposition that he was mentally unbalanced appears to have been a difficult area to report on. Rev. Raphael Meyer (1900, p. 9) omits the hospitalisation issue completely as illustrated in the following description.

Coming at last to his little shop, he tore up some books on chivalry he chanced to have, distributed gratis all his other books and pictures, gave away all his furniture and whatever little money he possessed, and then issued forth to begin afresh his course of public penance. Thus he arrived once more at the cathedral, still crying out: "Mercy! O my God, Mercy" At last some charitably disposed men, conceived the idea of conducting him to John of Avila, whose sermon had so touched his heart.
The zealous preacher heard our saint's confession, gave him words of comfort and consolation, and bade him to desist from this method of atoning for the faults of his past life. John immediately obeyed, and resolved at once to make a pilgrimage to our Lady of Guadalupe. (1)

By 1972 there is evidence of a greater social understanding of mental illness for Brother Benedict O'Grady (1972) does not ignore the madness of Juan. He believes that "from John's sanctity, we are able to appreciate that it is even enhanced by the patience and fortitude in which he accepted and bore his suffering" (1972, p. 90). O'Grady maintains that by modern standards of psychiatric medicine, Cidade would have been diagnosed as being neurotic, (2) stating that "the neurotic person thinks, speaks and acts as others do, but unreasonable fears and persisting anxiety torment him in spite of knowing there is no logical reason for this" (p. 91).

The madness of Juan Cidade has been discussed by several writers; Lombroso, Malvy, Ruland, Biordani, Pazzini, and Rumbaut. (Russotto, 1969) Analysis of these works, highlights the work of Professor Alberto Pazzini which

(1) Juan did indeed make a pilgrimage to our Lady of Guadalupe, however, this was some five months later, on his discharge from the Royal Hospital of Granada.
(2) Interestingly, O'Grady believes a neurotic disorder to be an emotional state and not insanity. Therefore, could this interpretation be paralleled with that of Castro who could not believe in an altered sanctity or mental imbalance of the Blessed St. Juan de Dios.
defines Juan’s condition as a "mental imbalance" (Russotto, 1969, p. 47). This 'imbalance' is stated as being "between his former life and the prospect of a perfection which had been held out to him in the words of Blessed John of Avila" (Russotto, 1969, p. 47).

Accepting this as an answer to the cause of the behaviour is concluded by analysis of the fact that previous to this outburst after the lecture, Juan had shown no reported signs or behaviour of a mental disorder. Also, on his discharge from hospital some five months later, he never showed any signs of mental disorder or abnormal behaviour again.

Mental illness, according to medical theories of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a result of possession by evil spirits or as consequence of past sins. The accepted cure for such conditions required "the patient (to be) chained, immersed in boiling hot or ice-cold baths, starved, flogged, or tortured" (Glietman, 1980, p. 657). The treatment of Juan Cidade, as described thus by Castro (1587/1970, p. 16) was the accepted approach to mental illness in the sixteenth century.

They took hold of him, tied him feet and hands, stripped him of his cloths, and with a double cord flogged him, so that the pain and agony of the chastisement would calm the agitation and bring him back to his senses.

Castro (1585/1986/1587/1970) reports that Juan accepted
his treatment without question, but at the same time was
disturbed over the way the other patients were treated.

He chastised the nurses saying:

"Why do you behave so cruelly and so
badly to my unfortunate brothers, my
companions in misery? Would it not be
better to take pity on their distress
and to keep them clean and give them
enough to eat, with charity and love,
seeing that the Catholic Sovereigns have
given sufficient income for all their
needs". (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 17)

Castro believes that this only angered the nurses'
resulting in "an extra dose of treatment not usually
given to others" (1587/1970, p.17). (1)

As his condition improved, in spite of the treatment,
Juan began to go about the hospital as a helper, caring
for the patients. He constantly expressed his feelings
with regard to the abuses he saw, the unsanitary
conditions, the poor quality of care and the
misappropriation of funds. By analysing documents in the
sixteenth century, (Cidade, 1550/1987; Castro,
1585/1986/1587/1970) the seventeenth century, (The Life
of St. John of God, 1691) and works of the twentieth
century (Russotto, 1969; O'Grady, 1972; Rumbaut, 1978;
Thomas, 1985) an understanding of the hospital
conditions can be reached. These include:

(1) Monies allocated for the care of the sick poor was renowned for being squandered by the directors. The
nurses' seeing this became discontent, and believing that the administration showed no care for the
patients, followed their example and neglected and mistreated the patients, leaving them dirty and uncared
for.
- all patients no matter condition, disease or sex, were nursed together.
- Patients chained to rings set into the walls.
- Many patient on dank straw on the floor.
- Where beds were available - 2 or more patients were in them.
- No hygiene practices.
- Complete isolation of patients for days at a time.
- Few procedures such as dressings of wounds.
- Dirty conditions.
- Cruel inhumane treatments.
- Crowded conditions.
- Physical abuse.
- Neglect of patients.
- Poor diet.

Having lived in the environment and experienced the cruel treatments for some months, Juan became determined to do something worthwhile with the rest of his life on behalf of the sick and the poor he had seen so badly treated.

**Discharge from Hospital**

After five months Juan Cidade was considered well enough to be released. Believing that he had realised his calling, Juan decided to first make a pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of our Lady of Guadalupe in order to give thanks and to ask for help in his new life. Contemporary
writers such as Russotto (1969), O'Grady (1972), and Cross (1974) agree with Castro (1585/1986/1587/1970) on the length of time that Juan spent in hospital. They disagree with Castro, however, as to Juan's activities after discharge. Russotto (1969), O'Grady (1972) and Cross (1974) state that Juan went from the hospital to Baeza to visit his spiritual director, Juan de Avila, who then advised him to go to Guadalupe, before going to the Marian Shrine. Castro, (1585) however, clearly states that Juan went first to Guadalupe and then to visit Juan de Avila on his journey back to Granada.

Cidade's motivation on discharge, according to Castro, (1585/1986/1587/1970) was to visit the Marian Shrine to give thanks for the guidance in life he now had. Castro states that whilst travelling back to Granada, through Baeza, he heard that Juan de Avila was there and decided to then visit him. Russotto (1969), giving no reason for contradicting Castro's work, simply states that "he left the hospital and must have gone from there to Baeza, where his father confessor, Blessed John of Avila could be found" (Russotto, 1968, p. 45).

It was while in Guadalupe, Juan is reputed to have visited "the hospital and medical school run by the monks of St. Jerome" (Chearbhail, 1989?, p. 18) learning skills for nursing the sick. O'Grady (1972) and Chearbhail (1989) state that Juan spent three months
with the monks learning this craft before returning to Granada. Castro (1585/1986/1587/1970) fails to mention this period of nurse training in his biography of Juan Cidade. A personal communication with Benedict O'Grady – translator of Spanish and Castilian literature at the Curia Generalis in Rome (June 5, 1993), however, supports the idea that Juan participated in nurse training. This is evidenced by the ideas of Sebastian Garcia and Felipe Trenad, Guadalupe. Historia, Devocion y Arte (1978) which examines nursing in the sixteenth century, the Jeronymite monks, the time Juan Cidade spent with the order, and his training. (1)

Opening of first Hospital

Encouraged by Juan de Avila to return to Granada and minister to the sick poor, Juan returned to begin the work that would one day make him known throughout the world. Entering the city he was subjected to much ridicule from those who had witnessed his episodes of madness some months previously. Content to tolerate the ridicule, Juan busied himself collecting firewood from the hills and selling it. Living a frugal life amongst the poor of the city, he managed to save money which he then gave to those in more need than himself. Finding so many sick and poor being turned away from doorways

(1) The Hermits of Jerome, also known as the Jeronymites, are said to have conducted a school of medicine and a hospital adjacent to the sanctuary of Guadalupe. In 1560 the hospital is reported to have housed 120 monks in two hospitals - one for men and one for women. The Jeronymites nursed the men and female oblates nursed the women.
where they were begging for food and shelter, Juan was
"so moved with compassion at having seen so much of all
this, that he decided to do something about it as soon
as possible" (Castro, 1585/1986, p. 60).

So as to be able to open a hospital, Juan sought
financial assistance and help from those with a similar
belief in the necessity of helping the sick poor. With
this help, in December 1539, he was able to rent a house
in Calle Lucena, near the fishmarkets, allowing him to
be near Rivaambla Square. Other donors, and a local
bishop, assisted in the furnishing of this two-story
house with 40 beds and bedding. Juan's dream of opening
a hospital had been realised - to be run as a house of
hospitality where all who came were guests and to be
treated as such. (Castro, 1585/1986/1587/1970)

O'Grady (1972) reports that with funds Juan was able to
employ a few trusted helpers to assist him in his work.
Contrary to this opinion, Castro (1587/1970, p. 23)
described Juan as having "no money to pay for them or
for medicines" because "his madness was still fresh in
the memory and opinion of the people, and none dared to
come and help him". Given that many in the city
remembered the madman's carryings on in the streets, it
is not difficult to conclude that the citizens of
Granada would have been apprehensive to help him.
O’Grady (1972) writes that people were eager to work for Juan in these early days. Given the public perception of mental illness and of madmen in the sixteenth century, it is difficult to agree with the statement by O’Grady (1972) of the generous help of people eager to work with Juan. A much more likely situation is that described by Russotto (1969) who writes that the work required in running the hospital fell to Juan to carry out alone. Years later, when he was seen to have achieved his ambition of administering a hospital with success, Russotto (1969) reports that he was then able to employ helpers.

In order to support his patients, Juan began a ritual of going into the streets each evening begging for alms.

(1) Carrying a large basket on his shoulders he would call out "'Who wishes to do good to himself? Do good for the love of God, my brother in Jesus Christ'" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 23). (2) His aim was to collect food, money, and clothing. This he did in all weather and soon people became more and more attracted by this new style of begging, and much later by the fruits of his labors.

(1) Because of the poor economic times, begging was common practice in the streets of Granada. Most people placed themselves at the gates of the city or at the doorways to churches calling for monies from the affluent as they entered and left. Those with missing limbs, gross deformities or purulent wounds displayed them in order to gain sympathy from those from whom they begged. (Gleitman, 1980)

(2) In Italy, this motto is so well known that for centuries the Brothers of the Order have been known as 'Fatebenefratelli'; literally, 'the do good brothers.' (Rumiantz, 1970)
Whilst out on his rounds of the city begging for alms, Juan would find many sick poor, suffering pain, starvation, weakness or disease. Picking them up in his arms he would carry them back to the shelter of his hospital. His seeking out those sick and in need of help was a greater concern than was the knowledge of how he was going to support them. Believing that when dealing with 'one's brother' it was one's moral duty to help, this taking priority over all other considerations.

The number of patients in his hospital increased dramatically as Juan Cidade's reputation grew. Juan described in his letter to Gutierre de la Vaga how:

Many poor people come to this house of God... All together they number more than a hundred and ten. As this is a general house, it takes in all sorts of diseases and every type of person. Hence we have cripples, the maimed, lepers, the dumb, mentally ill, the paralyzed, people with skin troubles, as well as very old folk and many children. On top of all these we have many pilgrims and itinerant come here. (Cidade, 1550/1989, p.6)

The hospital created by Juan was based on his philosophic principle of respect for human life and hospitality towards fellow humans. This theoretical respect translated in practice into a respect for the individual's right to a clean, safe, comforting environment. Each person was to have his/her own bed, made up with clean linen. Each person was given adequate
food of good quality. All patients were given individualised humane treatments. They were isolated from contagious diseases, and maintained in a clean, well ventilated environment. These principles based on Christian ideals of the sixteenth century clearly influenced Juan's philosophic approach to care of the sick and needy. They differed dramatically from traditional approaches to care of the sick poor in the sixteenth century and in many ways appeared advanced for the time.

With time, the increasing number of patients and insufficient funds required to support patients in a proper manner according to Juan's principles made management of the hospital difficult. This is evident in a letter written in 1550:

Not a day goes by that we need at least four and a half or even five ducats to maintain the house. This is all used for bread, meat, chickens and firewood, not to mention medicines and clothing which are separate expenses. On the days when alms do not suffice to cover these items, I get them on credit and there are times too when we fast. So that is why I am in debt...I am owing more than two hundred ducats for shirts, cloaks, shoes, sheets, blankets and many other items which are necessary in the house of God. And then there is also the education of the children left there. (Cidade, 1550/1989, p. 6.)

New Name

The citizens of Granada began to admire the hospital run by Juan Cidade and how he managed to provide and care
for those under his roof. In offering hospitality and care to his patients, his generosity spurred the generosity of others. His practice of helping others resulted in patients who were able to, helping one another. Thus evolved a "therapeutic community in every sense of meaning" (O'Grady, 1973, n.p). In recognising the work of Juan Cidade, Sebastian Ramirez Fuenleal, the Bishop of Tuy, gave him the name of Juan de Dios - John of God, which "signified and summarised the highest human qualities he knew he possessed" (O'Grady, 1972, p. 127). Not only was a new name given to Juan, but seeing him dressed in rags, the Bishop bade Juan wear "a vest and underpants made of sackcloth and a habit made of coarse material over all" (Castro 1587/1970, p. 41). This investiture of name and habit did not represent the initiation into a religious society or the beginning of a new one. Juan took no vows and to the day he died, remained a layman in the church. Only after several years did his followers become recognised as a religious order.

First Companions

Six years after Juan de Dios had begun his hospital work, he was joined by the first of his followers. In 1546 Anthony Martinez and Pedro Velasco, once arch enemies, became reconciled as a result of Juan's efforts, and joined him in his work. These men were
trained by Juan in the philosophies of nursing and were to continue his work after his death in 1550. It is also through their continuation of his works that the Hospitaller Order of St. Juan de Dios was established. 

(Appendix 3 gives a summary of the chronological events in the history of the Hospitaller Order of St. Juan de Dios.)

Establishment of a Bigger Hospital

In 1547, realising that his two story building in the Calle Lucena was not large enough, he moved to a larger building at Cuesta da Gomez, a former Carmelite monastery at the foot of the Alhambra. This was a three story building, Moorish in architecture and better suited to the large number of patients he was now caring for.
Last Days

Juan de Dios was now fifty-two years of age. His health was rapidly declining, and he was burdened by the debts that he continually incurred. Through one of his greatest benefactors, the Duchess Maria de los Cobros Mendoza, he was able to gain an audience with the Royal Court at Valladolid. At this time the Regent of Spain was Prince Philip, the only legitimate son of Emperor Charles V and the future King Philip II of Spain. Barefooted, Juan stood before the young monarch and pleaded his case well, winning royal favour. (Castro, 1585/1986/1587/1970)

Juan's health suffered a further setback when trying to rescue a drowning man in the winter of 1549, nearly drowning himself. Never allowing himself to fully recover, seeing to the care of his patients he continued with his work until 1550. On March 8, 1550 Juan de Dios died. The citizens of Granada, who had once ridiculed the man, made amends to him in death. Castro, an eye witness to the funeral describes it:

At about nine o'clock in the morning, there was such a crowd that the house and the streets could not contain them. Preparation to move began. The bier was placed on the shoulders...and taken down the street....The procession...first passed in front of the hospital, where were assembled the poor and a large number of women whom he had given to marriage, children and widows, each with a lighted candle in hand, weeping bitterly, and proclaiming loudly the
good alms they had received... Not only did the Christians weep, but also the Moors, telling in their own language the good, the alms and example he had given them, blessing him a thousand times.
(Castro, 1587/1970, pp.53-54)

Whether it was Juan's need for forgiveness for past sins that drove him to the work he did, or the deep compassion that he felt for all around him who were suffering, he became a man who was completely open to others and to their needs. This openness is called 'hospitality', often referred to as 'charism' which is best defined by O'Donnell to mean "the spirit, the philosophy and the values" (1991, p. 3) of Juan de Dios.

The life of Juan Cidaof was an eventful one. A young boy, leaving home at the age of eight years; growing up in another country; learning the language and becoming part of that country; going off to war; becoming an itinerant bookseller; being hospitalised and labelled mad; and finally choosing a career in caring for the sick poor. His life as a nurse creates a stronger image than that of the lady of the lamp (Florence Nightingale) walking amongst the soldiers offering them comfort. Here was a man who not only instigated hospital change, but also personally tended to the needs of the sick; cooking, cleaning, laundering, bathing and feeding, journeying out into the night to beg for food, clothing and money so as to meet the needs of the poor. A man who
led by example which others chose to follow. Whatever his motivations, salvation of his own soul or the souls of those he cared for, he was a major force in the evolution of nursing for men.
The humanised hospital is completely outward looking: it is an open, transparent hospital. Everyone can feel free to go there, acknowledging its efficiency; everyone can see it, criticize it and can help it to enhance the service it provides. (Marchesi, 1981, p. 11)

Sixteenth century Spaniards made enormous advances in art, architecture, trade and travel. When it came to the treatment of illness, however, they continued to remain steeped in superstition. Illness, whether of body or mind, was dominated by the Catholic Church’s doctrines of the time and viewed as the result of sin or evil spirits. The official form of treatment, therefore, was flogging. This action evolved from the philosophy that beating would force the evil out of the sick person, resulting in a complete cure.

According to Zilboorg and Henry (1942) (cited in Gleitman, 1981, p. 657) "the demonological approach to mental disorder reached its culmination during witch hunts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries". It was this time in history when there was marked social, political and religious upheavals, of war, famine and
disease. Administrators of government and church, not wanting to admit that the social and political situation was a cause, looked for scapegoats whose punishments may remove these ills. It was persons accused of witchcraft who were focused on. According to most theological authorities "they had become possessed by striking a bargain with the devil" (Gleitman, 1981, p. 567).

Believing these people to be deviants within society, they were treated by harsh means. If not put to death by burning, they were hospitalised in asylums for the insane where they were subject to *cleansing* treatments to rid them of the devil.

These *hospitals* were viewed not as places of curing but more as places to contain people, thus removing *undesirables* from the eyes of society. They were only a hospital by name, rather than by function. In describing these institutions, Foucault (1965, p. 72) claimed that patients were:

> chained like dogs at their cell doors, and separated from keepers and visitors alike by a long corridor protected by an iron grille; through this grille is passed their food and the straw on which they sleep; by means of rakes, part of the filth that surrounds them is cleaned out.

Contemporaries of the time saw this as just treatment, believing the *mad* were no better than animals and deserved the same treatment as animals. Not until Juan Cidade suffered with these people did he experience the
inhumane treatments and make moves to change. Whilst those who followed Juan's example did make change, the general populace did not, as Gleitman (1981) reports on the treatment of mentally ill 200 years later:

since the animals are interesting to watch, some of the hospitals took on another function—they became a zoo. At London's Bethlehem hospital,...the patients were exhibited to anyone curious enough to pay the required penny per visit. In 1814, there were 96,000 such visits. (p. 658)

Juan de Dios observed that poverty is a major cause of disease in the world and that one of the greatest needs of the poor is health care. Working from this premise of the social factors influencing health, Juan, the Christian humanist, established a hospital which was to contradict the dominant beliefs of the time and provide humanistic holistic health care. It was not a hospital in the sense of the word that we in the twentieth century understand; that is an "institution for care of the sick or wounded or for giving medical treatment" (Sykes, 1982, p. 519). He designed an institution that not only took in the sick, wounded and the destitute, but also one that went out into the community offering help to the homeless, the abandoned and pilgrims. (Castro, 1585/1986/1587/1970)

The administration of Juan's hospital was progressive for the sixteenth century and well ordered in its
approach to care. Unlike other hospitals where patients were hospitalised as a means of removing them from society and treated in an inhumane manner, patients in Juan’s hospital were to be treated with respect. This respect is evident in the hospital regime which focused on holistic care, recognising physical, spiritual, emotional and environmental needs of individuals.

Patients were visited daily by Juan. Treatments were administered daily, spiritual needs meet by visiting priests, social problems were discussed and moves to improve each person’s social situation were made. He gave shelter to the poor, met their physical and spiritual needs, initiated the practice of individual beds for each person, supplied a clean comfortable environment and assisted them in returning to the community well and able to support themselves.

Juan initiated many features to his hospital that differed from other hospitals and proved to be an innovator of patient care. His basic philosophy of care focused on hospitality. Patients were to be welcomed. No longer were they to be mistreated as he had witnessed in the Royal Hospital, but with respect as warranted a guest in one’s house. For many who had neither shelter nor food, who had sought comfort in the porticoes of public monuments and palaces, exposed to the weather,
suffering from hunger and disease, this display of love was enough to give them a sense of belonging in a community which had treated them badly. A belonging that may restore their will to continue in a society they believed had abandoned them. This early form of psychology; giving a sense of love and belonging, allowed the patients to then focus on other issues in their life that were in need of attention; health, employment, housing.

Juan also followed Christian doctrine and maintained that those who slept in public places were being exposed to sin. To prevent this, he went out in search of them, bringing them to his hospital, thus, sheltering them “from criminal temptations which accompany misery and wandering” (Magnin, 1936, p. 138). This process of going out into the community to help people differed from the practice of other hospitals. Firstly he was looking to prevent the individual from sinning which in turn would prevent them from becoming ill. Juan continued to adhere to the Christian doctrine of the era, and although he was imposing his Christian ideals onto others, he was practicing a form of preventative medicine. By following sixteenth century ideals, he was helping the individual not to sin, therefore they would not become ill.

Another of his practices which differed from those of
contemporary sixteenth century hospitals, was the ritual of giving every patient a foot bath. This ritual can be interpreted at a symbolic and a practical level. First it was a welcoming gesture - a symbol of physical cleanliness and also spiritual welfare - for the way to reach the soul is through the body. The second purpose was a means of recognising human dignity. The Christian humanist believed that it was the feet of Jesus Christ that he washed, hence the spiritual welfare of his patient was also being addressed. (Castro, 1585/1986/1587/1970) Because many of the sick poor coming to this hospital had no shoes, this practice would have also been a welcoming treatment for dirty sore feet.

This experience of having their feet washed was also a symbol of care. Many of the poor, having come from a society that had spurned and pushed them aside, had come to believe that they were inferior to others by nature. Entering the house of hospitality, being treated with kindness and care, little by little they were able to regain their self esteem.

In instigating change in hospital design, Juan initiated the practice of removing the communal bed, ensuring each person be given his/her own bed. He offered counselling regarding needs of each individual. He also initiated a
form of asepsis to prevent the spread of disease by boiling the cloths of all who were admitted to the hospital. This practice he discusses in his second letter to the Duchess of Sessa (Cidade, n.d/1989). His letter tells of:

the poor, many of whom come ill-clothed, bare footed, some with sores, covered with vermin - so much so that we must needs (sic) have a man or two doing nothing else but scalding the garments in a kettle of boiling water to kill such vermin. (p.208)

Strict hygiene was also perceived to be important. Thus patients were bathed, and beds were given clean linen.

This preoccupation with hygiene and cleanliness was not common to sixteenth century hospital care. This was the period of pre-bacterial theory, consequently, no importance was placed on hygienic practices. As a result, the level of hospital hygiene was deplorably low. These revolutionary changes in the treatment of the sick poor were all part of the efficient running of the hospital. (Castro, 1585/1986/1587/1970; The Life of St John of God, 1691; Magnin, 1936; Russotto, 1968; O’Grady, 1972; Cross, 1974)

Providing open, well ventilated, and heated rooms, Juan also introduced the new concept of isolating patients with different conditions. The different categories of wards were divided thus;
- those suffering from fever
- those with contagious diseases
- those who were prone to ulcers - here he placed paralyzed patients
- those suffering from itch or ringworm
- mental illness.

Having no scientific or biological grounding in the need to isolate patients with different diseases, Cidade was centuries ahead of his time in instigating these practices. As to Juan's reasons for initiating these practices, the answer is not known. One can only surmise that he saw the contamination of disease from one patient to another and made a conclusion that it would be better to place them in separate areas. (Castro, 1585/1986/1587/1970; The Life of St John of God, 1691; Magnin, 1936)

Juan actively took part in the day to day life of the hospital, washing dishes, sweeping rooms, preparing beds, fetching water and gathering firewood as well as tending to the care of patients, bathing and dressing their wounds. Viewing himself as a nurse, Juan did not aspire to be a physician, therefore, he arranged for medical physicians to visit and treat the ill, executing their prescriptions scrupulously. Believing that the whole body be treated, he also arranged for a "spiritual physician (to) take care of your soul" (Castro,
Not isolating his attentions to the sick in his hospital, Cidade also sought to help orphans, the unemployed, soldiers returning from war, and students. He found homes for the orphans, obtained employment for the unemployed, and seeing students as the country's future, provided books and financial assistance to allow them to continue their studies. He also persuaded government administrations to provide fertiliser for farmers so as to make them more productive and able to support themselves and their families. (The Life of St John of God, 1691)

When a patient was close to death, Juan de Dios would spend time with him/her ensuring that they were not alone until they "had given up (their) soul to God" (Magnin, 1936, p.139). In Juan de Dios, the sick poor had found a nurse who attempted to make death easy, like a peaceful sleep.

As time progressed, Juan's work was recognised more and more by Church authorities, nobility and the community. No longer was he viewed as the madman, but a person who was doing good for the sick poor. With this respect came some financial assistance, but more importantly, he was now able to employ men and women to help with the care
of the sick. This employment of others, added to the financial burden of his hospital, an area that was to plague Juan continually. Now he was more respected, however, his begging for alms was made slightly easier, thus more profitable.

In addressing the needs of women, Juan established separate ward areas, unlike the Royal Hospital which was reported to have had sexes mixed together. (Castro, 1585/1986/1587/1970) In accepting societal norms, that men not nurse women, Juan employed a Matron to care for them. Castro (1585/1986/1587/1970) fails to discuss how women were cared for in his hospital, however, the constitutions of the Order of St. Juan de Dios, 1585, 1587 and 1611-12 all refer to the care of women. These constitutions, written after Juan’s death in 1550, follow the methods Juan de Dios verbally set down for the brothers. (O’Grady, personal communication, June 13, 1993)

It is unclear how women were cared for within Juan’s hospital. What is known, however, is that Juan de Dios’s holistic approach to care did not only focus on women who came to his hospital for attention. His charity extended beyond the sick poor, to widows, prostitutes, nuns, and secluded girls — girls who chose to live a secluded life so as to maintain their virtue. Not
waiting for them to come to him, he was constantly going into the streets, identifying their problems and working towards resolutions for them.

His work with prostitutes was an area that raised much criticism amongst some community members. (1) Concerned for their health and spiritual well-being, Juan would visit the brothels and "try to snatch some unhappy souls from the clutches of the devil" (Castro, 1587/1970, p. 26). Castro (1585/1986/1587/1970) explains how Juan would visit the brothels each Friday, pay for the women’s time and spend it talking to her of the sins she was committing against God. He would also discuss many of the sexually transmitted diseases of the time and the results of contracting these diseases. Many of the prostitutes, trapped into the lifestyle by circumstance – poverty and starvation, agreed to go with him.

Once they agreed to leave, Juan would pay off their debts and take them to the women’s infirmary with the other women who had lived the same lifestyle. His reasoning for taking them to the hospital was to show

(1) Many religious community members doubted Juan’s motives for visiting the brothels. Wanting to discredit him they voiced their concerns regarding taking the women from the brothel and then housing them in his hospital. Juan must have addressed this issue to his spiritual counsellor – Juan de Avila. Obviously concerned that these women ‘worked for the devil’ and would cause trouble or harm to Juan and his work, Avila writes:

Take great care that the women you draw to the service of God do not become a great obstacle and expense to you. It would be better to keep them only until you can have them married, and that as quickly as possible; or, have them enter the service of ladies. Otherwise, they will drag everything down with themselves into disaster. (Avila, n.d./1989, p. 231)
them: the reward the world gives to those who persevere in such a life. There were some among them whose bodies rotted from head to foot. Rotting bones and flesh were cauterized and cut off, causing great pain and leaving them deformed and hideous. (Castro, 1587/1970, p.27)

Counselling the women, Juan would ask of them what life they wanted. If they chose to withdraw from society to do penance for their sins, he took them to a convent for converted women and provided financially for their needs. Others who wished to marry, he sought out a dowry and found a husband for them.

According to twentieth century principles these actions could be described as scare mongering and male/Christian domination; confronting the women with a life of eternal damnation because of their lifestyle, the images of disfigurement caused by disease, and arranged marriages. In sixteenth century Spain, however, where Christianity was a major factor of social living, when men were perceived as the dominant gender, where health care was poor, these action of Juan’s were perceived as acceptable by members of society; men and women.

Other women’s issues that he confronted focused on secluded girls and nuns. These were women who had chosen a lifestyle where they wished to remain secluded and virtuous. This was a difficult life, but one made easier
by Juan de Dios who bought food and textiles - silk, wool and flax for them to make garments; then sell and use the profits to live off. By doing this, he made it possible for them to maintain their virtue and seclusion, but also gave them hope, as long and they continued to live this life.

With unerring accuracy and surprising practicality, Juan de Dios sensed the need of far reaching reforms in the diagnosis and treatment of disease. Although he subscribed to Christian superstitious beliefs, Juan was able to make changes in his hospital that differed to those of other hospitals. The founder of this house of hospitality instigated many branches of medical and social reform so as to care holistically for his patients. Far removed from the norm of the sixteenth century, Juan de Dios challenged medical, financial, social, moral and religious issues that were the concerns of those he cared for. Based on Christian beliefs, Juan initiated changes in the treatment and prevention of illness. Some of these changes include aspects of what we today see as being:

- preventative education
- indivisibility of mind and body
- continuity of treatment
- inpatient and outpatient care
- holistic care
- physiological and psychological approach to care
- social work
- primary health care
- community involvement
- community nursing
- awakening social conscience of people. (Rumbaut, 1978)
CONCLUSION

St John of God, in the history of medicine, or better still, in social assistance, merits a place which cannot be obliterated by the centuries.
(Professor Pazzini, 1956, cited in Callan, 1970, p.xvii)

Juan de Dios belonged to the sixteenth century. To the century, that is, when people feverishly looked towards a new way of life and order of things. It was also a time of vast contrasts where the majority of people lived in dire poverty while others lived in unashamed luxury. This son of humble Portuguese parents lived in a time when adventure and the thirst for the new acted as strong motivation for one's actions. Possibly driven by the mood of the time, or impetuous in nature, he travelled to Spain, fought in battle, travelled to Africa, was taken for mad, and through his own experiences came to understand the sufferings of the poor, the sick, the mentally ill, the abandoned, and the forlorn. His life experiences "led on to a mighty work for the bodies and souls of all afflicted creatures"
(Blacam, 1950, p.1).

Callan (1970) cites Professor Lombroso of Italy as referring to St. Juan de Dios as being "a precursor of
modern medicine" (p.xvii). This author, however, would suggest that Juan de Dios was more a precursor to nursing than a precursor to medicine. His practices of individualised care, asepsis, isolating different conditions, caring for people in their homes, his recognition of himself as a nurse and training others to nurse, his recognition of social and environmental health issues, addressing psychological, physiological, spiritual and cultural needs, all offer support for the practice of nursing rather than medicine.

Historically, the literature has not fully explored the role of men in nursing. The principle flaw being that studies have only commenced with the formal recognition of nursing in the nineteenth century, a time dominated by women nurses. Authors have failed to adequately address nursing prior to the nineteenth century and therefore, the role that men played. Historians have documented that in countries, such as France, Italy and Spain, men did nurse in institutions run and staffed by members of religious orders. (Frank, 1959; Mellish, 1984) These historians, however, have tended to focus their studies of men based on acceptable gender expectations, not on the actual life situations of men in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Because these authors viewed nursing by men as not being "an essential part of their calling" (Frank, 1959, p. 46)
they have failed to fully examine men's roles and influences in the development of nursing.

Interestingly, those who initiated training for nurses' in the nineteenth century were required to use knowledge previously developed by their forebears of the profession; that is the work of the men and women who came before them. This use of acquired knowledge, however, has not been reported, and more importantly, the role of men in the development of this knowledge and the profession's evolution has not been recognised.

In this thesis three research questions were proposed. In conclusion, these questions will now be addressed individually as means of giving concise answers to them.

1. What influenced Juan de Dios in the formation of his philosophies?

Personal life experiences and his Christianity were the major influences that led to the development of Juan de Dios's philosophies. His preoccupation, almost obsession, with the sins of his past; leaving home at the age of eight, the resulting early deaths of his parents, and the socially unacceptable life as a soldier, were events which appeared to have affected Juan deeply in later life. It was obsession with his
past actions that probably resulted in his quest to seek absolution by serving God. His dedication to, and understanding of the Roman Catholic faith led him to follow the literal teachings of the Church, ignoring the superstitious practices of the sixteenth century. Instead of chaining and flogging the patients, Chearbhaill (n.d.) states how Juan "paid heed to the Gospel (for) Christ's way was the way of gentleness and compassion" (p.16). His philosophy of treating the body and the soul so as to attain better health, also derived from his faith - if the soul was cleansed, it would allow the body to heal. And finally, the principle belief in hospitality, upon which his hospital was based, stems from his Christian faith. Thus in following the teachings of the Bible, when providing care to the sick poor, Juan adhered to teachings, such as Matthew 7, verse 12, "Do unto others what you want them to do for you" (Good News Bible, 1991, p. 10).

2. How did Juan de Dios's principles of health care differ from those of the dominant health care system of sixteenth century Spain?

By not conforming to health, religious, and social norms of the sixteenth century, Juan de Dios's principles of health care were able to evolve differently, far beyond the normal practices of the sixteenth century. His
principle of faith allowed him to develop a nursing care different to the existing one based on superstition. Also, his principle of expanding nursing, taking care from the hospital environment, into the community, offering help and guidance, enabled Juan to address the social problems of unemployment, starvation, sexually transmitted diseases, poverty, and abandonment of women and children. It was this recognition that social factors affected health which aided in the initiation of a service which was not offered by the other hospitals. Other changes he made to his health care system involved treating the persons spirituality, environment, psychological, physiological and cultural needs.

3. What were the operational differences between Juan de Dios's hospital and other Spanish hospitals in the sixteenth century?

Compared to other Spanish hospitals of the sixteenth century, Juan de Dios's hospital was instrumental in marked operational change. Giving each patient his/her own bed. Ensuring everyone had clean linen. Maintaining clean, well ventilated, and heated wards. Separating patients with different conditions. Ensuring treatments and wound care prescribed by medical practitioners were carried out regularly. Treating patients in a humane manner. Counselling patients as to how to help
themselves overcome problems. The sterilisation of infested clothing. Introducing hygienic practices such as foot baths and regular washing of patients. As far as can be ascertained from primary and secondary sources, these were all aspects of health care initiated by Juan de Dios that were not practiced in other Spanish hospitals.

This study has focused on Juan Cidade, a Portuguese/Spaniard who, in the sixteenth century opened a hospital focusing on humanistic holistic care, and whose efforts have not previously been recognised in the evolution of nursing. Juan de Dios taught by example and passed on a body of knowledge to others who went on to develop The Hospitaller Order of St.Juan de Dios. This order now trains male health workers and operates more than 194 institutions on six continents, and continues to follow the principles of its founder. Also, in recognition of his work in nursing, Pope Pius XI declared St.Juan de Dios - Patron Saint to nurses’ in 1930.(1)

It has been the aim of this study to explore the past, to broaden nursing knowledge, and to raise questions with regard to the role that men have played in the evolution of nursing. By doing this, it is hoped that a

(1) This figure does not include the hospitals behind the Iron Curtain as data on those institutions is not available, nor does it include the institutions run by the Sisters of St.John of God. (Kumbat, 1978)
level of awareness will be raised within the nursing community. It is also significant to men in nursing as it gives them a knowledge of their past, allowing them to create a future within the profession.

A difficulty in conducting this study has stemmed from the availability of data written in English. As translations of the Spanish works by Castro (1585), Cidade (1550), Avila (n.d.) and *The Life of St. John of God* (1691) have been used, this author has compared translations by different authors, Russotto, (1969), Callan (n.d.) and O'Grady (1972) so as to ensure accurate analysis. There has been no external criticism of original documents conducted by this researcher. These works, however, have been analysed by other authors, Russotto, (1969) and O'Grady (1972), thus confirming the authenticity of the original documents. Internal criticism of all available data has been adhered to, recognising that many of the authors of the life and work of St. Juan de Dios are members of the Hospitaller Order, thus, have shown some bias in their reporting of facts regarding events in their patron's life.

**Future Research**

As little has been fully documented on the role that men have played in the history of the nursing profession, more research needs to address the work of men in
religious orders in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This will give a greater understanding and knowledge of the health care of the time.

The context and boundaries of what is known as nursing may be expanded by acknowledging the past contributions of men within the profession. Further research, therefore, could also examine men's involvement in the nursing profession's evolution in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For during this time, men have re-emerged and established themselves within the profession, which until then had been dominated by women. In establishing this basis, men will gain a firmer understanding of their roots in the profession, allowing them to be able to grow equally with their female counterparts.
Reference List


APPENDIX 1

Charles V of Spain does Battle with Francis I of France

The hatred of Charles V for Francis I was limitless, resulting in entire nations being unjustly forced to endure deprivation, suffering, blood-shed and death. The principle reasons for these two monarchs to do battle focused around the battle for the imperial crown and their territorial vendettas.

With the ruling Emperor - Maximillian I close to death, preparations were under way in Germany to elect his successor. Maximillian naturally supported the election of his nephew, already crowned King of Spain over the young twenty year old Francis, King of France.

Both men, eager to gain the position and the power that went with the title Emperor of Rome, are reported to have bribed the seven men who were to elect the ruler with gold. This resulted in the vote wavering from one King to another, depending on who made the best offer. Victory, however, bought the competition to an end in June 1519 when Charles I was elected Emperor, taking the
Francis's loss hardened his hatred for Charles, and taking advantage of Spain's economic difficulties he crossed the Pyrenees and marched into Navarre which he conquered with little resistance. The only real opposition he met came from Pamplona. Even the fortified town of Fuenterrabia fell, beginning the first war between the two powerful rulers.

It was these battles against France that a young Juan Cidade was to go in answer to the call from his King, Charles V. (Russotto, 1969, *Collier's Encyclopedia*, 1988, vol. 21, p. 392-399)
APPENDIX 2.

Religious Factions Battle for Supremacy

Europe was torn by violent religious disputes and continual war. Luther was rebelling against Rome, Charles V was fighting to gain supremacy, and Francis I was attempting to prevent him no matter the cost. Amid this chaos, the Popes were attempting to recall the attention of the Christian Princes to the magnitude of the danger presenting itself from Turkey. The Christian Princes, however, whilst ready to make promises to help in the battle, were often too involved in the rivalry amongst themselves. The result; they did not manage to overcome their internal differences with one another so as to unite against the Turks and their threat to European Christianity.

With the death of Sultan Selim I in 1520, his son Suliman II succeeded him. A forceful soldier and leader, Suliman II was given the title of 'Great Conqueror' following his victories over Africa and Asia and in his fight against the Christian countries.

Suliman's dream was to capture Vienna, the bastion of Christianity in Europe. In his march to succeed in this
quest, he set out in 1522 occupying Belgrade and the island of Rhodes. 1526 he conquered Hungary annihilating an army of 28,000 men. In symbolising his victory, he ordered 2000 Christians heads be hoisted in front of his tent and then massacred 1500 prisoners. From Hungary he planned to march into Vienna, but was forced to withdraw in order to quell a revolt in Asia.

Encouraged by his successes, the Sultan then marched from Constantinople in 1529 to gain power over Vienna. First taking Belgrade, then Buda before attacking Austria on September 13, 1529. It was in Austria, however, that the 20,000 strong troop managed to fend off the attacking Muslim forces, eventually breaking the 'Great Conqueror' forcing him to retreat to Constantinople.

The Turkish peril did not end there and in 1532, Suliman again marched to Hungary with 450,000 men, winning victories everywhere he went. It was at this time that Charles V mounted his army against Suliman forcing him to retreat again to Constantinople. It was in these battles that Juan Cidade joined the armies of Charles V to ensure the continued safety of Christianity from the advancing Moslems. ([Russo, 1969, Collier's Encyclopedia, 1988, vol.21, p. 392-399]
APPENDIX 3

Chronological Events in the History of the Hospitaller Order of St. Juan de Dios.

1550 Juan de Dios dies March 8 at age 55. Anthony Martinez is his successor.

1571 Bull Licet ex debito of Pius V recognises the brothers as a religious order, Hospitaller Order of Juan de Dios.

1580 Original biography of Juan de Dios by Francisco de Castro.

1586 Bull Etsi pro debito of Sixtus V confirms the order.

1592 Bull Ex omnibus of Clement VIII.

1622 Process towards cannonisation begun by Archbishop of Granada. The ordinary process of beatification began, 72 years after his death. Altogether 460 witnesses were interviewed. The witnesses were divided into 2 categories; those over 80 years of age who had known Juan de Dios, and those who had been
told of his life by their elders.

1630 Urban VIII beatifies Juan de Dios: Bull
In sedis principis apostolorum.

1679 Cause for canonisation approved by Innocent XI.

1690 Pope Alexander VIII canonises Juan de Dios.

1691 Innocent XII promulgates Juan's canonisation.

1722 Adoption of the present habit used by the Hospitallers.

1886 Pope Leo XIII declares St. Juan de Dios,
together with St. Camillus, 'patron of all hospitals'

1930 Pope Pius XI declares St. Juan de Dios
patron to nurses, nursing associations,
hospitals and hospital auxiliaries.

1947 Brothers establish themselves in Australia.

(History of the Order, n.d.; Cross, 1974;
Thomas, 1985)