A Study of the Life and Works of Andres Bello

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A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND WORKS

OF

ANDRES BELLO

BY

LULA M. PIGNATELLI

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
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V I T A

Lula M. Pignatelli was born in Rock Falls, Illinois, on November 10, 1910. She was graduated from the Rock Falls Township High School in June of 1928. The Bachelor of Arts Degree with a major in Romance Languages was conferred by the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, in June of 1932. For a year the writer was engaged by the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission as a caseworker in Whiteside County, Illinois, and for the following eight years she was employed as a commercial translator by The Chicago Association of Commerce, Chicago, Illinois. She is now a teacher in the Chicago Public Schools.
PREFACE

Events of the past few years have aroused in the United States a deeper interest in Hispanic American literature. Many outstanding writers, and among them many men of political importance, for often the two go hand in hand in Hispanic America, are for the first time being brought to the attention of Spanish students in this country in histories of literature and in anthologies. What has been written and said of many of these writers in English is still highly inadequate, but present enthusiasm would seem to indicate future improvement in this state of affairs.

Andrés Bello, South America's leading man of letters during the first half of the nineteenth century, is one of the important writers now receiving some of the attention long due him in texts and anthologies covering South American literature. However, no serious study of Bello's contribution to Spanish American letters has yet been made in English.

The sole purpose of this thesis is to make a study of the life and works of Andrés Bello. No attempt is being made to exhaust either. The name "Bello" is almost synonymous with "grammar" in the minds of many students of Spanish, for Andrés Bello is the author of one of the most comprehensive Spanish grammars ever written. Yet he wrote numerous other fine works as a man of letters and creative artist, and occupied various responsible official posts which made him a contributor to the cultural development of all South America in the nineteenth century. Among other things he wrote one of South America's greatest poems, prepared Chile's civil code, which was copied by other Latin American countries, was South America's first philolo-
gist of any note, and as the first president of the University of Chile was the recognized leader in the educational and intellectual development of his adopted land during the important years of transition following the Wars of Independence.

Bello's **Obras completas**, published by decree of the Government of Chile as a fit tribute to his memory, constitute the primary source for the material used in this thesis. Details on Bello's life have been secured from multiple sources, but chiefly from the biographies written by Miguel Luis Amunátegui and Eugenio Orrego Vicuña, both Chileans. Bello's writings attracted attention in the Peninsula, as well as on the continent, so that criticism of his works by prominent Spaniards such as M. Menéndez y Pelayo and Manuel Cañete are available.

Gratefully acknowledged is the helpful guidance of Dr. J. M. Espinosa in the making of this study.
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CHAPTER I

BELLO IN VENEZUELA

Life in the Spanish colonies in the last quarter of the eighteenth century presented a close relationship between the state, the church and the home. The Spanish crown still maintained its rule. The persons who dedicated their lives to religious pursuits cultivated close and cordial relations with the families of their respective communities and exercised a powerful influence over them. Colonial families punctually fulfilled their religious duties. But beneath the outward calm of general spiritual unity, new and heterodox ideas pregnant with consequences were becoming increasingly evident in the leading cities of Spanish America.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the hypothesis of religious unity was the fundamental principle of Spanish civilization. Books on all subjects current in Europe circulated freely in intellectual circles, and some priests and royal officials had excellent libraries. But the books which circulated most freely among colonial society were those explaining the Christian doctrine. These went into the hands of all members of the family, and even served as reading texts for the children, a Spanish American equivalent of The New England Primer. Eighteenth century Bourbon Spain, on the other hand, was inspired by the thought of the French Encyclopedists, and through Spain these ideas entered Spanish America. Among the religious and political conflicts which ensued, came the expulsion of the Jesuits, prominent as educators throughout colonial Spanish America. The Wars of Independ-
idence soon followed, and in the midst of turmoil and political and economic instability, letters suffered a setback from which some of the Spanish American republics have not yet fully recovered. It was in this atmosphere that the subject of this study passed his infancy and youth.

Don Andrés Bello y López, Spanish America's "mayor hombre de letras," was born in Caracas, Venezuela, on November 29, 1781. He was the son of don Bartolomé Bello and doña Antonia López. Don Bartolomé enjoyed a good reputation as a lawyer and, in addition, displayed some talent in the field of musical composition. Although don Andrés liked music, he did not inherit his father's musical ability. From his mother, an excellent woman, Bello inherited his frequent headaches and longevity.

The Bellos had four sons and four daughters in all, don Andrés having been the first-born. The family was a united one, and throughout don Andrés' life he conserved a great deal of affection for his family.

At an early age, don Andrés developed a fondness for reading. When he was eleven years old, a store in Caracas sold the plays of Pedro Calderón de la Barca for a real each. Bello, discovering it, put all the money he could secure into buying the plays, memorizing verses from them, which he recited to his mother. He also obtained some editions of Lope de Vega's plays.

1 Eugenio Orrego Vicuña, Don Andrés Bello (Santiago de Chile: Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1935), p. cx.

2 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1882), p. 2. This is in accordance with the baptismal record of the Parroquia de Alta Gracia and the Universidad de Caracas. Bello once told the above author that he was born on November 30, 1780. This date was often written by Amunátegui and others without correction by Bello.

3 Ibid., p. 3.
Don Andrés' extraordinary dedication to reading and studying attracted the attention of his uncle, Fray Ambrosio López, who obtained an excellent teacher for him, the Mercedarian Cristóbal de Quesada. From Cristóbal de Quesada, who was known throughout Venezuela for his knowledge, Bello received his first instruction in Latin and Castilian. Quesada's method was extremely thorough and inspiring. When his pupil translated Latin, Quesada would have don Andrés stop at each noteworthy passage so that he might point out the qualities of style, or the excellence of the thought. The pitfalls of ordinary writers and how successful authors avoided them also merited attention. Hence, what could have been limited to a simple grammatical explanation was converted into a valuable discussion. Bello never tired of his lessons and he later incorporated Quesada's methods into his own teaching.

Quesada was also the community's librarian and he tried to enrich the library with as many books as he could import from Europe. Bello read the books as quickly as he was able to do so, and it was thus that he read Cervantes' Don Quijote, which produced as great an impression on him as had the plays of Calderón de la Barca.

Bello was very fortunate in his teachers, for good teachers did not abound in Venezuela at that time, and when death deprived him of Cristóbal de Quesada's guidance, his parents placed him in the Colegio de Santa Rosa where he furthered his studies of Latin under the famous doctor José Antonio Montenegro. His attendance at the Colegio de Santa Rosa, where he had no

4 Ibid., p. 6.
5 Ibid., p. 14.
difficulty in distinguishing himself scholastically, afforded him contact with individuals who later were to be important to him. He was the companion of José Ignacio Ustáriz, whose brothers Luis and Javier, both poets, possessed "sólido ascendiente literario" in Caracas.⁶ In the home of the latter there flourished a sort of literary academy, to which Bello was admitted. It was from don Luis Ustáriz also that Bello received his first incentive and help for the study of French.

In 1797 Bello entered the Universidad Real y Pontificia de Caracas, from which he received the Bachelor of Arts degree on March 1, 1800. Here he studied with Rafael de Escalona,⁷ and became versed in logic and mathematics. Bello's completion of his university studies served only to emphasize what had been becoming apparent for a long time—that he was a perennial student, for he dabbled next in law and then in medicine. The law courses proved of some use later on when he drew up Chile's Civil Code during his active years in that country.

Curiously enough Bello did not have the aversion to out-door life that many real students have. From early childhood he explored the book of nature, both in the company of others and alone. As he grew older, he took many a walk over solitary roads with no other company than a favorite book. When Alexander von Humboldt, in 1800, came to Caracas on a scientific mission, Bello made his acquaintance and accompanied him on some trips. This first-hand contact with nature was later to stand Bello in good stead, for he used the information gathered when he composed his famous Silvas americanas in

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⁶ Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 17.
⁷ Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 19.
Humboldt\textsuperscript{8} gives an interesting account of Venezuela as he saw it at that time. In Caracas he found families with a taste for education and a knowledge of the masterpieces of French and Italian literature, as well as a marked predilection for music. He was astonished to find that no one in Venezuela engaged in the study of plants and minerals in spite of being surrounded by nature so marvelous and so rich in production. Further surprise was produced by the fact that Caracas, then a city of forty to fifty thousand inhabitants, did not boast a printing press before the year 1806.

There is no doubt that Bello's keen mind was able to assimilate much of what Humboldt was "discovering" about Venezuela. At the same time his reputation for knowledge was spreading and Caro\textsuperscript{9} states that he was considered "el mayor latino" in the city during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Fathers began beseeching him to teach their sons. Among his pupils was Simón Bolívar, to whom Bello taught geography with little success, for although Bolívar had talent, he did not apply himself.\textsuperscript{10} Thanks being about the only revenue resulting from the tutoring, don Andrés decided to seek something more profitable.

Luis Ustáriz, who had become Bello's protector, promised to obtain a job for him with the government. The affairs of Spain in Venezuela at that

\textsuperscript{8} Alexander von Humboldt, Voyage aux régions équinoxiales du nouveau continent, fait en 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803 et 1804, par Al. de Humboldt et A. Bonpland (Paris: F. Schoell, 1814-34), I, 590-95.

\textsuperscript{9} Miguel Antonio Caro, Poesías de Andrés Bello (Madrid: Antonio Pérez Dubrull, 1882), p. xx.

\textsuperscript{10} Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 21.
time were in the hands of Governor Manuel de Guevara Vasconcelos. To put an end to a state of disorder which was becoming acute in the *oficina de secretaría*, Vasconcelos decided to create three more positions. Luis Ustáriz recommended Bello for one, but as several persons sought the positions, a contest was held. Although Bello won, he only received the second ranking position which carried the title of *oficial segundo de la secretaría*, because of political considerations.

Bello's duties involved the handling of many government details, both internally and abroad, as well as the translation of French and English communications. He had been learning English with the aid of a grammar and a dictionary. As a result, he could only translate it. One of the first things he picked to translate was John Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding*. Bello acquitted himself so well that Vasconcelos recommended him to King Charles IV, from whom he obtained for Bello, in 1807, the title of *comisario de guerra*. Vasconcelos also offered to take Bello to Spain with him, but died before the promise could be fulfilled.

Vasconcelos was succeeded by don Juan de Casas, who, although a weak character himself, soon recognized Bello's ability. On March 22, 1808, he designated Bello *secretario de la Junta Central de Vacuna* in Caracas, and Bello was able to remain with the government and witness from an advantageous position the opening of the history-making events which were to lead to the complete breaking away of the colonies from Spain.

Prior to 1808 a Venezuelan creole, Francisco Miranda, had interested

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himself in the freeing of his homeland from Spain. The idea had seemed to come to him when he was fighting with Spain against the British in the West Indies. He was successful in organizing one expedition in New York, in 1806, which he landed at Coro, Venezuela, where he was repulsed by the Royalists. He then went to England to enroll her support and was meeting with success when in 1808 Napoleon found himself at war with Spain. England, an enemy of the French, was naturally allied with Spain, and did not deem it ethical at the moment to aid an ally's colonies to freedom.

One day Casas received from the Governor of Cumaná, Juan Manuel de Cajigal, an official communication accompanied by two copies of the Times. The communication merely advised that Cajigal had received the two issues of the Times from the English governor of Trinidad, and that they contained news worthy of being considered. Casas turned the issues of the Times over to Bello for translation. The latter gave the newspapers a cursory glance to determine how long it would take to render a translation, but he did not actually set about doing the work until the next day when Casas asked for it. Bello confessed that he had not yet begun the translation, but immediately prepared to do so. The newspapers contained the amazing information that the Bourbons had been replaced on the throne of Spain by the Bonapartes.

Later, on July 15, 1808, a French brigantine sailed into La Guaira, and two officials disembarked. One was Paul de Lamonon, special envoy of

13 Ibid., p. 181.
14 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 38.
Napoleon, who bore instructions and documents. Bello acted as the interpreter for his interview with Casas. Casas requested time in which to think over what had happened. In the meantime, the public learned the truth and Napoleon's envoys found themselves threatened by the cries of the multitude. Bello was sent to the envoys to advise that Governor Casas had been obliged to make an unfavorable decision. He further warned them that their lives were in danger. At last the envoys were forced to withdraw.

The rejection of Napoleon did not signify an immediate demand on the part of the colonies for independence. The first manifestation was one of allegiance to Spain's Fernando VII, who was proclaimed king by the cabildos in the capital cities of México, Bogotá, Caracas, Chuquisaca and Buenos Aires. This proclamation was approved by the Junta General de Notables convened by Casas, at which Bello acted as secretary.

In March 1809, the Junta de Sevilla in Spain named a new governor for Venezuela, Vincente de Emparan. However, he soon met with resistance that undermined his position. Orrego Vicuña\(^\text{15}\) declares that the spirit of the public in all of South America was far from tranquil and that the positions of none of Spain's governors was secure. In many homes of Venezuela, and among them that of Bolívar, the future leaders of the Wars of Independence were meeting. The government tried to woo the young revolutionaries with honors, but to no avail. Bolívar went so far as to tell one government intermediary that everything was well painted, but that he and his associates had declared war on Spain and that they would see what the results would be.\(^\text{16}\)

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15 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 23.
16 Ibid.
Thus, officially, the first uprising of the Wars of Independence was in Vene-
zuela.

The revolutionaries worked out a plot to take over the government by
deposing Emperan by surprise during the night of April 1 or 2, 1810, but their
plans were discovered and on March 30 the leaders, Bolívar among them, were
jailed. However, the government did not have conclusive proof, and most of
those implicated were freed. How had the government learned about the com-
plot? Bello’s name was mentioned in connection with the revelation and has
been repeated in that connection by some historians. He denied it and, in
reality, it appears that he was not the guilty party. Both Miguel Luis Amu-
nátegui and Orrego Vicuña accept Aristides Rojas’ version of the incident,
published in 1876 in his Recuerdos de 1810. Rojas contends that there was no
denouncement, merely suspicion on the part of the government, for the plans
were successfully carried out on the nineteenth of the same month. At that
time Emperan was constrained to admit defeat amid the jubilant cry, “El go-
bierno que necesitamos no puede ser compuesto sino de americanos.”

The unjust accusation, nevertheless, did not fail to cause Bello a
great deal of unhappiness; yet, he never came forth with any violent attack
against his accusers. Throughout his life, even though denying the accusa-
tion, he maintained the serenity toward it which made him so popular as a

17 Moore, op. cit., p. 186.
18 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 72.
20 Ibid., p. 25. Famous words of José Cortés Madariaga, revolution-
ary leader.
teacher. Orrego Vicuña believes that the following lines of the Oración por todos, poem written by Bello years later in Chile, and in which a father asks his daughter to pray for diverse individuals, are aimed at one of his accusers:

... i por el que, en vil libelo
destroza una fama pura,
i en la aleve mordedura
esquece asquerosa hiel.22

After Emparan's deposal Bello immediately offered his services to the new government. The offer was accepted and it stands to reason that it would not have been had there been any doubt as to Bello's trustworthiness. Thus it happened that Bello continued working much as he had done for the Spanish government. In June of the same year he was honored by being named one of a commission of three to be sent on a mission to England to obtain help in the campaign for liberty. The commission was headed by Simón Bolívar, the third member being Luis López Méndez.

But what of Bello the writer during the years in Venezuela? Menéndez y Pelayo23 dismisses Bello's poetry written in this period with the remark that Bello would never have published it, and that it is only of interest as exercises which give the key to the formation of Bello's tastes.

Bello was among the youths of Venezuela who attempted to write verse or prose in the atmosphere of the Ustáriz home. The Ustáriz brothers held

21 Ibid., p. 24

22 Obras completas de don Andrés Bello. Edición hecha bajo la dirección del Consejo de Instrucción Pública en cumplimiento de la Lei de 5 de Setiembre de 1872 (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1881-93), III, 173.

literary tertulias in their home regularly. It was here that the efforts of the peninsulares were read and discussed, and ultimately filed. Bello once told Miguel Luis Amunátegui24 that the Ustariz home contained a complete collection of indigenous compositions which, unfortunately, were condemned to the flames by the Royalists when they regained Caracas in 1812.

Bello took his place among the young writers of Venezuela through an ode of his written in 1804 and titled Poema en acción de gracias al Rey de las Españas por la propagación de la vacuna en sus dominios. It was dedicated to Governor Vasconcelos, thus expressing Bello's gratitude to Vasconcelos for favors shown him. In addition, Bello makes flattering reference to Vasconcelos throughout the poem:

Vasconcelos ilustre, en cuyas manos el gran monarca del imperio ibero las peligrosas riendas deposita de una parte preciosa de sus pueblos; tú que, de la corona asegurando en tus vastas provincias los derechos, nuestra paz estableces, nuestra dicha sobre inmuebles i sólidos cimientos;25

Caro26 describes the poem as a monotonous ballad in hendecasyllabic verse of nearly three hundred lines. Menéndez y Pelayo27 finds it unworthy of Bello's name and believes that it appears even worse than it is because of the unfavorable comparison with Quintana's admirable ode written at the same time and inspired by the same event.

24 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 59.
26 Caro, op. cit., p. xxiii.
27 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, cxxxv.
Bello also produced another poem, with the same theme more or less, entitled *Venezuela consolada*. This poem, too, is written in hendecasyllabic verse and is divided into three scenes, featuring as characters Venezuela, Time and Neptune.

The translations Bello made of Book V of Virgil's *Aeneid* and of Voltaire's *Zulima* have disappeared. They were read in the home of Simón Bolívar in 1806. From Miguel Luis Amunátegui it is learned that the reading of Book V of the *Aeneid* was well received, but not so that of the *Zulima*. The unfavorable reaction was not the result of the translation, however, but of the limited intrinsic merit of the work itself. These two translations were followed by still a third one, which took the form of an imitation in octaves of Virgil's *Second Eclogue*. The octaves were deemed by one Caracan as superior to those of Juan Bautista Arriaza, who was very popular in Venezuela at that time. Bello seemed to lack that spark of originality which poetry so definitely demands, but when it came to translation and correcting or improving what some one else had done, he was sure of himself and more successful.

When the news reached Caracas of the victory obtained by the Spanish on the battlefield of Belén on July 19, 1808, Bello improvised the sonnet to the victory of Belén. It was read in the theater on the same day when an ovation was being given to the French singer Juana Facompré.

Other poems of Bello did not come out until years later. The ode to the Anauro, a river, written in Horatian style, seems to be about the oldest of his poetic efforts. Although it was not published until 1870, it appears

28 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Vida de don Andrés Bello*, p. 61.
to have been written around 1798. The poem dedicated to the Samán de Catuche, a revered, traditional tree to Caracans, was probably written in 1810.

In that year, when Bello accompanied Bolívar and López Méndez to London, he had reached the age of twenty-nine. He had not yet produced anything of note in the literary field, but he had equipped himself with considerable knowledge and had acquired study habits which were to help complete his education in London. Nor was the character of the man completely formed. As Caro points out, Bello did not belong to the family of the precocious; his career was to be a sure but very slow one, embracing many fields and activities.

29 Caro, op. cit., p. xxii.

30 Cf. Ibid., p. xxi and Obras completas, op. cit., III, viii. The former sets the date as 1810 and the latter believes it to be around 1800.

31 Caro, op. cit., p. xviii.
CHAPTER II

BELLO IN LONDON

Andrés Bello served as secretary for the commission sent by the Venezuelan government to London in 1810. Simón Bolívar was designated as diputado principal and Luis López Méndez, the segundo diputado. Bello's government experience highly qualified him for his new assignment.

When the commission arrived in London, it was received by Sir Richard Wellesley, British minister of foreign affairs, in his own private home, Apsley-House, rather than at the ministry as would have occurred had the envoys been sent by a recognized nation. Bolívar, as spokesman, delivered the commission's credentials to Sir Richard and with them the papers carrying his instructions. He then proceeded to deliver an eloquent speech in which he stressed fervent hopes for absolute independence for Venezuela. When Bolívar completed his talk, Wellesley advised him that his sentiments openly contradicted the contents of the documents which he had surrendered to him. The commission's credentials had been conferred by a junta ruling in the name of Ferdinand VII, and the instructions requested the commission to solicit Great Britain's help in order to impede any break with the peninsular government. As a matter of fact, Bolívar had not read the instructions, but had simply acted in conformity with his own ideas on the matter.¹ England's reply to Venezuela limited the help to be given to aid in case of invasion by

¹ Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1882), p. 89.
France and she advised reconciliation with the Spanish government, for she could not make any commitment that would disturb her relations with Spain at this time. As Orrego\(^2\) comments, the results of the meeting with Wellesley were mediocre, but it was not reasonable to expect them to have been better.

Bolívar, on seeing that immediate help from Great Britain on the subject of independence was impossible, decided to return to Venezuela. In the meantime, the members of the commission had met and talked with Miranda, then sixty years of age, and persuaded him to return to Venezuela with Bolívar. López Méndez and Bello were to remain in London to represent the interests of their country.

Bello's efforts on behalf of Venezuela brought him into contact with many important people, among them José María Blanco-White, Jeremy Bentham and James Mill. His relationship with Blanco-White developed into helpful friendship. Blanco-White was an ex-canon of the Cathedral of Seville, who had given up his religion and country to reside in England, where he acquired fame through his writings in both Castilian and English and became a canon of Saint Paul's Anglican Cathedral. In 1810 he founded in London a magazine titled *El Español*, in which he attacked Spain's policies in the colonies, although he felt that independence was then premature. From the beginning Blanco-White sympathized with the Caracan commission and offered to serve it in the columns of *El Español*.

Bello made the acquaintance of James Mill, who was only eight years his senior, in a library and kept in touch with him for quite some time.

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His conversations with Mill were a source of education to Bello, who through them became familiar with the theories of the utilitarian school, which he accepted in part and whose influence is apparent in his later works. On one occasion, when visiting the Mill's home Bello heard James Mill proudly say that his young son already knew Greek and Latin well. Bello had never undertaken the study of Greek, but began it now, at the age of thirty, and saw his efforts crowned with the same success as when he had undertaken the study of French and English in Caracas. After some time he read Homer and Sophocles in the original.

Bello's study of Greek was facilitated by the fact that Miranda had turned over his home to him and López Méndez when he left for Venezuela, and it contained a select library which included the principal Greek classics.

The lives of Bello and López Méndez, however, were soon to be upset by the current of events in Venezuela. The year 1812 was a bad one for the Venezuelan cause. Wellington was successfully driving the French out of Spain and separation of the colonies was not to be countenanced. Efforts were renewed to subdue Miranda, who was now the political dictator and commander-in-chief of the insurgents. Puerto Cabello, Miranda's chief depot for arms and munitions, at which Simón Bolívar was the commandant, fell to the Royalists. Miranda was forced to abandon his plans, and before he could get out of the country, he was arrested by Bolívar, who was acting under the orders of the governor of the port of La Guaira.3 As a result, Miranda was sent to prison in Spain, where he died four years later. Bolívar fared

better and was given passports by the Spanish commander to travel in foreign countries, as the Spanish commander did not want Bolívar to remain in the country.

López Méndez and Bello were left stranded in London, and with debts rather than funds, for their money from the revolutionary government had not arrived with regularity. Bello owed money to both the cobbler and the tailor. He satisfied the cobbler with the little he had, and had to confess his inability to pay to the tailor, who treated him understandingly and even invited him to continue frequenting his shop.

For the time being the British ministry saved Bello and López Méndez by granting the latter a pension of 1,200 pounds sterling, which López Méndez shared with Bello. This help, however, was only forthcoming for one year, at the end of which time the two had to separate, each to seek sustenance for himself. Return to Venezuela was impossible.

Bolívar's campaign of 1813 and his triumphs in it aroused new hope in Bello, but the reverses of 1814 and the submission of the country to Spanish rule soon snatched it away.

It was at this time that Bello called on Blanco-White for advice and aid. The editor of El Español advised him to give lessons in French, Latin and Spanish. The latter language was very popular in England at that time. Bello set about to follow Blanco-White's suggestion and was fortunate in finding sufficient students to cover his expenses, and to permit him to save some money. Thus encouraged, he married an English girl, María Ana Boyland, who bore him several children and died young.

The teaching revenue began to diminish in 1815 and Bello was again in narrow straits. It was during this troublesome period that he accepted
employment from James Mill, which caused him infinite trouble and taxed his patience. He was given the manuscripts of Bentham, the teacher of the English unitarian school, to decipher.

Equally arduous was the task of correcting a Spanish translation of the bible, entrusted to him by José María Fogoaga, another Spanish ex-patriot living in England with whom Bello had become acquainted. As a result of the translation, Bello received an excellent knowledge of the scriptures. He also formed some ideas on the proper manner of translating the scriptures into the modern languages.

Reconocemos desde luego que, en esta clase de obras, el mérito puramente literario debe sacrificarse sin la menor vacilación a las exigencias de la enseñanza cristiana.... Cada género de composición tiene su estilo y tono peculiar, y acerca del estilo y tono que corresponden a una traducción de las sagradas escrituras, lo que dictan los intereses de la religión, es lo mismo que sujere el buen gusto.... Una fidelidad escurpulosa es el primero de los deberes del traductor, y su observancia es más necesaria en una traducción de la Biblia que en otra cualquiera....

Fortune was again ready to smile upon Bello as Blanco-White, whom he had again gone to see, referred him to Mr. Hamilton, secretary of state for India in the British cabinet. Mr. Hamilton engaged Bello to prepare his sons for university entrance. He reimbursed don Andrés well and promised to obtain for him a pension from the government. The future looked brighter and Bello, consequently, refused an offer made him by the government of the Río de la Plata provinces on November 15, 1815.

Happily, when Bello's work ceased as teacher to Hamilton's children, in 1822, he was called to serve as secretary for the Chilean legation by Antonio José de Irisarri, who was in charge of it. He and Bello had become

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4 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, pp. 145-46.
friends because of their mutual love for letters. Irisarri was quick to appraise Bello's qualities and informed his government as follows concerning him: "Yo he creído hacer una adquisición muy ventajosa para Chile en la persona del señor Bello, cuyos talentos, erudición i moralidad le hacen apreciable entre cuantos le conocen."5

The internal disturbances in Chile in the latter part of 1822 and the early months of 1823 resulted in the O'Higgins government placing Bello in acting charge of the legation and in April of the same year Irisarri was replaced by Mariano de Egana and Bello himself by Miguel de Barra. However, when Egana took charge, he was so impressed by Bello's work that he felt him indispensable and retained him. Bello remained with Egana until he became disgusted with one of Egana's temperamental outbursts and resigned his position.

Bello's work in London on behalf of the colonies was not going unnoticed and in 1823 he was the recipient of two medals, one gold, one silver, from the Peruvian government. The medals commemorated the day on which Lima had declared her independence and the letter to Bello asked him to accept them as "una prueba del aprecio con que el gobierno del Perú mira en usted uno de los ilustres defensores i abogados de la libertad."6

Bello's withdrawal from the Chilean legation again placed him in a weak position financially, and although he was able to secure a job, his finances did not improve to a great extent. The Colombian plenipotentiary,

5 Ibid., p. 186.
6 Ibid., p. 188.
don Manuel José Hurtado, was at that time without a secretary and engaged Bello to fill the position, but his government did not remit salaries regularly and, consequently, Bello did some suffering. Also, he had added responsibility, for he had married for the second time on February 24, 1824, to Isabel Antonia Dunn.

Bello tried in various ways to better his position with little immediate success. He wrote for assistance to Bolívar, who had by now made a name for himself throughout the world. Bolívar had his former teacher's letters acknowledged by his secretary, but he did nothing concrete for Bello. On one occasion, after six years in the Colombian legation, Bello wrote to Bolívar on the subject of his salary. Bolívar's reply side-stepped the issue by saying that he was not in charge of foreign relations, but that he would make a recommendation on Bello's behalf to the right party. 7

Bello did not become disgusted with Bolívar and continued serving Colombia to the best of his ability. He even handled some business transactions for Bolívar in London, thereby serving him personally. 8

When Bolívar decided to reorganize the diplomatic service, he did Bello an injustice by naming him consul general in Paris, a post inferior to that he was filling in London. The injustice was covered up by promising him a better position in Portugal, when the latter recognized the new republic. Gossip accounted for Bolívar's attitude toward Bello, according to Orrego. 9

7 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 34.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid., p. 35.
Someone had told the general that Bello had allowed Bolívar to be criticized in his presence without challenge. Hence, Bolívar felt that Bello was not paying him due respect.

Be that as it may, Bello was very deeply wounded with the Paris appointment and decided to accept a more promising offer from the Chilean government, which was to take him from London to Chile.

Harassed as Bello's life was in London, he was such a sincere student that he never let himself be switched off the track of knowledge. He managed to spend many hours in the British museum doing research in diversified fields, such as astronomy, philology, medicine, literature, etc. One of the first articles he wrote dealt with the origin of syphilis.

In 1823, with the desire of placing his scientific and literary work before the public, and interested in contributing to the spreading of culture in Spanish America, Bello formed a society with Juan García del Río, Luis López Méndez and other friends, for the purpose of publishing a magazine to be devoted to the diffusion of culture. In April of the following year appeared the prospectus of the Biblioteca americana o Miscelánea de literatura, artes y ciencias. Each issue was to contain three sections, the first treating the humanities and liberal arts, the second physics and mathematics, and the third ideology, ethics and history. The enterprise was scarcely started, for only the three sections of the first issue and the first section of the second made their appearance. Reasons for the discontinuance of the project were in the main economic.

Two of Bello's contributions to the Biblioteca americana deserve special mention. The first, prepared with the collaboration of García del Río, bore the title Indicaciones sobre la conveniencia de simplificar...
uniformar la ortografía en América, and interested itself with the desire of facilitating the art of reading in Spanish America. For this it was suggested that pronunciation be the only basis for orthographic rules. The second composition was the Alocución a la poesía, which consisted of two fragments of a poem titled América. In it Bello invites the muses to leave Europe and its artificial culture based on the power of gold and to go to America where nature is supreme. He praises the South American people and particularly the individuals who had distinguished themselves in the Wars of Independence, and alludes to the traditions of the aborigines and the deeds of the explorers and conquerors.

Among the heroes to whom Bello pays tribute is Miranda, and the lines he devotes to him demonstrate the respect Bello felt for him:

¡Miranda! de tu nombre se gloria
también Colombia; defensor constante
de sus derechos; de las santas leyes,
de la severa disciplina amante.
Con reverencia ofrezco a tu ceniza
este humilde tributo, i la sagrada
rama a tu efíje venerable cino,
patriota ilustre, que, proscrito, errante,
no olvidaste el cariño
del dulce hogar, que vió mecer tu cuna;

Osaste, solo declarar la guerra
a los tiranos de tu tierra amada;
i desde las orillas de Inglaterra,
diste aliento al clarín, que el largo sueño
disipó de la América arrullada
por la superstición.10

South Americans were inhabiting a fascinating country, whose history,

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10 Obras completas de don Andrés Bello. Edición hecha bajo la dirección del Consejo de Instrucción Pública en cumplimiento de la Lei de 5 de Setiembre de 1872 (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1881-93), III, 38.
both ancient and modern, compared favorably with the most splendid inventions of the epic poets and Miguel Luis Amunátegui\textsuperscript{11} states that Bello's perspicacious intelligence caused him to realize that those were the fountains at which South American writers should seek inspiration if they aspired to obtaining the approval and applause of the maestros of the old world. The theme which attracted Bello most was that of nature, which he had always loved and admired, as his Alocución a la poesía clearly reveals. As can be imagined, the poem made don Andrés very popular in America.

Other contributions of Bello to the Biblioteca americana, whose titles might be mentioned for the sake of indicating the wide scope of his research, are as follows: Juicio sobre las obras póstumas de don Nicasio Alvarez de Cienfuegos; Qué diferencia hay entre las lenguas griega y latina por una parte, y las lenguas romances por otra, en cuanto a los acentos y cantidades de las sílabas, y qué plan debe abrazar un tratado de prosodia para la lengua castellana; Noticia de la obra de Sismondi sobre la Literatura del Mediodía de Europa; refutándose algunas opiniones del autor en lo concerniente a la de España; averiguase la antigüedad del Poema del Cid, si el autor de este Poema es el que pretende don R. Floranes; juicio de Sismondi demasiado severo respecto de los clásicos castellanos; extracto de su obra relativa al Quijote; Consideraciones sobre la naturaleza por Virey; Palmas americanas; Teoría de las proporciones definidas, y tabla de los equivalentes químicos; Avebruz de América, etc.

The brief existence of the Biblioteca americana did not discourage Bello in his original purpose and upon reaching an understanding with García

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., p. xvi.
del Río at the end of 1824, he decided to publish a quarterly magazine having the name of El repertorio americano. However, the difficulties repeated themselves, and the life of the new venture was also short. But four issues appeared, the first of which was in October of 1826 and the last in August of the following year.

The brunt of the editing work was borne by Bello and García del Río. Among the collaborators were the Spanish writers Pablo Mendivil and Vincente Salvá, and José Joaquín de Olmedo, the last mentioned having come to London in August of 1825 in representation of Perú as plenipotentiary. His friendship with Bello was very close and when a son was born to don Andrés and Isabel Dunn, Olmedo became the child's godfather.

Bello's contributions to El repertorio americano included Ensayo político sobre la Isla de Cuba, Bosquejo de origen y progresos del arte de escribir, Uso antiguo de la rima asonante en la poesía latina de la edad media y en la francesa; y observaciones sobre su uso moderno, some literary criticisms and last, but not least, the Silva a la agricultura en la Zona Tórrida.

The Silva a la agricultura en la Zona Tórrida was published in the Repertorio under the title of Silvas americanas, accompanied by the following note: "A estas Silvas pertenecen los fragmentos impresos en la Biblioteca americana bajo el título América." Caro is led to believe that Bello had intended to rearrange the Silvas into a single poem and that convinced of the impossibility of doing so he probably published them in their primitive form with some corrections and additions; also that Bello must have had other

13 Ibid.
Silvas, although what became of them, if so, is a matter of conjecture.

The Silva a la agricultura en la Zona Tórrida consists of seven stanzas with variation in the number of lines as follows: 17, 46, 69, 69, 67, 82 and 23. In it, in the apt words of Coester, Bello "presents the varied beauty of the tropics, its color, its rich perfume, the rare product of its cultivated fields, bounded by distant snow-capped mountains, and finally, urges the possessors of this paradise to enjoy its peace and union."¹⁴

Miguel Luis Amunátegui¹⁵ contrasts the Silva a la agricultura with the Alocución a la poesía by saying that the latter could be considered as having a poetic prospectus while the prospectus of the former is political and social, for the poet implores peace which is to seek the remedy of a bloody struggle. He advises morality and hard work which will bring happiness and prosperity. He clamors for liberty and respect of the law.

Caro,¹⁶ and Menéndez y Pelayo¹⁷ approves, describes Bello's Silvas as poesía científica, which is descriptive and didactic at the same time. To what extent Bello's style of poetry was original is summarized by Menéndez y Pelayo:

Bello, de quien no puede decir que cultivara, á lo menos originalmente y con fortuna, ninguno de los grandes géneros poéticos, ni el narrativo, ni el dramático, ni el lírico en sus manifestaciones más altas, es clásico é insuperable modelo en un género de menos pureza estética, pero sembrado por lo mismo de escollos y dificultades, en


¹⁵ Obras completas, op. cit., III, xix.

¹⁶ Caro, op. cit., p. clii.

la poesía científica descriptiva o didáctica; y es, además consumado maestro de dicción poética, sabiamente pintoresca, laboriosamente acicalada y brunita, la cual á toda materia puede aplicarse, y tiene su propio valor formal, independiente de la materia. En este concepto más restringido y técnico, puede llamarse á Bello creador de una nueva forma clásica que, sin dejar de tener parentesco con muchos anteriores, muestra, no obstante, un sello peculiar entre las variedades del clasicismo español, por lo cual sus versos no se confunden con los de ningún otro contemporáneo suyo.18

Whomever else Bello may have copied, it is very evident on reading the Silva a la agricultura en la Zona Tórrida that he also copied himself. The same enumeration of plants and their epithets appears therein as had already appeared in the Alocución a la poesía, and several verses of the latter are repeated verbatim. Miguel Luis Amunátegui particularly calls attention to the following two passages for comparison:

Alocución a la poesía

Tiempo vendrá cuando de ti inspirado algun Maron americano, ¡oh diosa!
también las mieses, los rebaños cante,
el rico suelo al hombre avasallado,
i las dádivas mil con que la zona
de Febo amada al labrador corona;
donde cándida miel llevan las cañas,
i animado carmín la tuna cria,
donde tremola el algodón su nieve,
i el ananás sazona su ambrosía:
de sus racimos la variada copia
rinde el palmar, da azucarados globos
el zapatillo, su manteca ofrece
la verde palta, da el añil su tinta,
bajo su dulce carga desfallece
el banano, el café el aroma acendrá
de sus albos jazmines, i el cacao
cuaja en urnas de púrpura su almendra.19

Silva a la agricultura en la Zona Tórrida

18 Ibid., p. cxxxiv.
19 Obras completas, op. cit., III, xvii.
¡Salve, fecunda zona,
que al sol enamorado circumscribes
el vago curso, i cunato ser se anima
en cada vario clima,
acariciada de su luz, concibés!
Tú tejes al verano su guirnalda
de grandes espigas; tú la uva
das a la hierviente cuba;
no de purpúrea fruta, o roja, o gualda
a tus florestas bellas
falta matiz alguno, i bebe en ellas
aromas mil el viento
i greyes van sin cuento
paciendo tu verdura desde el llano
que tiene por lindero el horizonte,
hasta el erguido monte
de inaccesible nieve siempre cano.

Tú das la caña hermosa,
de do la miel se acendrá,
por quien desdeña el mundo los panales;
tú, en urnas de coral, cuajas la almendra
que en la espumante jícara rebosa;
bulle carmin viviente en tus nopales,
que afrenta fuera al múrice de Tiro;
i de tu añil la tinta jenerosa
dmula es de la lumbre del zafiro.
El vino es tuyo, que la herida agave
para los hijos vierte
del Anahuac feliz; i la hoja es tuya,
que cuando de suave
humo en espiras vagorosas huya
solazará el fastidio al ocio inerte.
Tú vistes de jazmines
el arbusto sabeo,
i el perfume le das, que en los festines
la fiebre insana templará a Liseo.
Para tus hijos la procera palma
su vario feudo cria,
i el ananás sazona su ambrosía;
su blanco pan la yuca,
sus rubias pomás la patata educa;
i el algodón despliega al aura leve
las rosas de oro i el vellón de nieve.
Tendida para ti la fresca parcha
en enramadas de verdor lozano,
cuelga de sus sarmientos trepadores
nectáreos globos i franjadas flores;
i para ti el maíz, jefe altanero
de la espigada tribu, hincha su grano;
i para ti el banano
desmaya al peso de su dulce carga;
el banano, primero
de cuanto concedió bellos presentes
Providencia a las jentes
del ecuador feliz con mano larga.
No ya de humanas artes obligado
el premio rinde opimo;
no es a la podadera, no al arado
deudor de su racimo:
escasa industria bastale, cual puede
hurtar a sus fatigas mano esclava.
Cree veloz, i cuando exhausto acaba,
adulta prole en torno le sucede.20

Bello undoubtedly copied himself in the interest of bettering his verses, for he was not easily satisfied and constantly corrected what he wrote. In this particular instance it was fortunate that he did correct himself, for the second poem is widely acclaimed. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica,21 it is Bello's Silvas which have assured his position in literature proper. The Silvas have caused other critics, such as Caicedo,22 to call him South America's leading poet. Menéndez y Pelayo is somewhat more conservative in his estimate.

Voz unánime de la crítica es la que concede a Bello el principado de los poetas americanos, pero esto ha de entenderse en el sentido de mayor perfección, no de mayor espontaneidad genial, en lo cual es cierto que muchos lo aventajan.23

Bello's treatment of the descriptions in the Silvas is classified by

20 Ibid., pp. xviii-xix.
22 J. M. Torrés Caicedo, Ensayos biográficos y de crítica literaria sobre los principales poetas y literatos hispanoamericanos (Paris: Librería de Guillaumín y Cía., 1863-69), I, 94.
23 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, cxxxiii.
Menéndez y Pelayo\textsuperscript{24} as Virgilian and he finds Bello translating bits of the Georgics therein. Yet, never has the translation been better. Bello not only followed the details of the Georgics

sino en el plan mismo, en la concepción general de una y otra, que son dos pensamientos virgilianos. Bello canta la Zona Tórrida como Virgilio á Italia .... El poeta llama á los americanos á la labor del campo y á las artes de la paz, como Virgilio congregaba á los pueblos itálicos después del sangriento tumulto de las guerras civiles. La enumeración triunfal de las ciudades y de los héroes en la Alocución a la poesía, recuerda en seguida el desfile de las sombras de los futuros romanos, que va mostrando á Eneas su padre Anquises en los Campos Elíseos. Y aun hay mas: el arte docto é ingenioso de la diócesis de Virgilio ....\textsuperscript{25}

Although Menéndez y Pelayo\textsuperscript{26} says that there can be no doubt of the originality of Bello's attempt in Spanish literature, he did have some antecedents, such as the \textit{Grandeza mejicana} by Bernardo de Balbuena in description and \textit{Poema de la pintura} by Pablo de Céspedes in didactics.

Menéndez y Pelayo\textsuperscript{27} also finds some similarity between the Silvas and Juan María Maury Castañeda's \textit{La agresión británica}, which was published in 1806. Maury poetizes on the South American plants and in octaves sings the greatness of the Andes, in comparison with which European mountains seem small.

Caro\textsuperscript{28} states that Bello studied Juan Bautista Arriaza, the Colombian poet who wrote \textit{Emilia ó Las artes} and followed him somewhat in the adaptation

\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., p. cxlii.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p. cxlv.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid., p. cxlviii.
\textsuperscript{28} Caro, op. cit., p. li.
of didactic matters, in certain descriptive touches and particularly in the
art of versifying. Arriaza had visited Caracas when Bello was frequenting
the Ustáriz home and it is quite possible that the two met. Caro submits
the following verses for comparison:

Bello

Castelli osado que las fuerzas mide
Con aquel monstruo que la cara esconde
Entre las nubes y á los hombres huella.

Arriaza

la tartara discordia
Cuya cabeza asoma agigantada
Por entre negro pabellón de nubes...

However, Bello obscured his predecessor in the field of the des-
scriptive and the didactic and appears in Spanish literature as the founder
of the type of poetry to which his Silvas belong.

Although the Silvas have incited much praise, they nonetheless do have
some defects. With reference to the Silva a la agricultura Menéndez y Pelayo
writes: "Se acerca á la perfección de estilo en cuanto cabe, pero todavía
puede notarse en medio de tantos granos de oro puro, alguna muestra de metal
más vil, alguna perifrasis afectada y pseudoclasica..." In treating the
didactic or moral part of the Silva a la agricultura, Menéndez y Pelayo
states: "Comienza admirablemente, pero se prolonga demasiado, tiene ciertos
trozos de sermón y sólo la nobleza de la frase sostiene y realza algunos
pasajes pensados de un modo prosaico."

29 Ibid.

30 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, ciii.

31 Ibid.
This criticism does not apply to the last stanza of the Silva a la agricultura, which is perfection itself.

Oh jóvenes naciones, que cenida
alzais sobre el atónito occidente
de tempranos laureles la cabeza!
honrad el campo, honrad la simple vida
del labrador, i su frugal llaneza.
Así tendrán en vos perpetuamente
la libertad morada,
i freno la ambición, i la lei templo.
Las jentes a la senda
de la inmortalidad, ardua i fragosa,
se animarán, citando vuestra ejemplo.
Lo emulará celosa
vuestra posteridad; i nuevos nombres
añadiendo la fama
a los que ahora aclama,
"hijos son estos, hijos
(prgonará a los hombres)
de los que vencedores superaron
de los Andes la cima:
de los que en Boyacas, los que en la arena
de Maipo, i en Junín, i en la campaña
gloriosa de Apurima,
postrar supieron al león de España."

Bello wrote several other poetical compositions in London. Among them were two patriotic ones, El himno de Colombia (1825) and the song A la disolución de Colombia (1828), both of which remained unpublished until 1861. El himno de Colombia, strangely enough, was a military song which Bello dedicated to the liberator Simón Bolívar, at whose hands he was not receiving the best of treatment.

Bello’s friendship with José Joaquín Olmedo furnished the inspiration for a composition in tercetos. When Olmedo was removed to Paris by his government, in 1827, Bello sent him a letter in poetry titled Carta escrita desde Londres a París por un Americano a otro. The poem consisted of forty

32 Obras completas, op. cit., III, 75.
verses and was incomplete. The verses were highly flattering to Olmedo as can be seen from the following:

Es fuerza que te diga, caro Olmedo, 
qued del dulce solaz destituido 
de tu tierna amistad, vivir no puedo.

¡Mal haya ese París tan divertido, 
i todas sus famosas fruslerías, 
que a soledad me tiene reducido! 33

Olmedo, elated, wrote Bello on June 12, 1827, as follows:

Sea que los 40 versos improvisados como principio de una epístola 
tengan un mérito real; sea que yo vea con preocupación las cosas de 
V.... lo cierto es que pocas cosas me han agradado como aquellos 
cuarenta versos. ¡Los prefiero, hablando con candor, los prefiero á 
los mejores trozos de la mejor de los Argensolas! 34

Cañete thinks that Olmedo is over-enthusiastic in his appraisal when he says that he prefers the poem "a los mejores trozos de la mejor de los Argensolas," but concedes "pero sí que puede hombrearse con cualquiera otra de los buenos tiempos de la poesía castellana." 35

Olmedo begged Bello to complete the poem and evidently Bello did work on it, for Miguel Luis Amunátegui was able to locate fifty-one verses in all. Yet, it is still incomplete, and whether the remainder was written and lost is unknown.

In addition to the original poetical compositions mentioned, Bello also attempted, and very successfully, the translation of poetry. He translated two long fragments of Delille, who at the time was very popular. One

33 Ibid., p. 86


was from the poem titled *Los jardines*, which appeared in *El repertorio* in 1827, and the other was *Los tres reinos de la naturaleza*, which remained unpublished until 1882. His translation of Berni's *El Orlando enamorado*, in spite of being incomplete, elicits from Menéndez y Pelayo the comment that it is the best translation of any long Italian poem in the Spanish language. Bello succeeded in translating fourteen cantos, which he put into octaves. He made many corrections in the poem and added ingenious introductions of his own invention.

Even though Bello was satisfied with his work he kept it, as was his wont, unpublished, and written in his unintelligible hand. In the last years of his life, some of his friends persuaded him to have it prepared for publication. Thus it was that it appeared in 1862 in Chile in *El correo del domingo*.

Bello regretted not having put the time used in this translation on some more important work, for Miguel Luis Amunátegui several times heard him say, "¿Cómo no se me ocurrió traducir, en vez del *Orlando enamorado*, la *Jerusalén libertada*, que es más corta y de mayor mérito?"

Bello's interests were not limited to the monuments of foreign literature. He closely studied Spanish literature and did some valuable research on the same. As far back as 1823, as seen from the article mentioned on the authorship and times of the *Poema del Cid*, which was published in the *Biblioteca americana*, he was delving into the history of this great epic poem. He gathered many notes in London and when he went to

36 Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, II, clvii.
37 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Vida de don Andrés Bello*, p. 184.
Chile he continued his work there, for which reason his findings in regard to the *Poema del Cid* will be discussed with his literary works in Chile.

Bello's studies on the *Poema del Cid* led him to undertake other studies on the *literatura caballeresca* in general. Among them was the *Crónica de Turpin*. Bello first carefully examined the various editions of this book. The result of his investigation was that all editions were incomplete and that the most modern, executed in 1822 by Sebastian Campo, was perhaps the most incorrect of all. The work had neither historic nor literary merit which made it worthy of attention, but there was one feature which was to keep it from becoming buried—it was the store from which versifiers of the Middle Ages had sought material for their fictions or authority for their statements.

Bello gathered sufficient data to clarify various questions to which it gave rise and which had not been satisfactorily treated by others. While in London he wrote an essay for a review in English titled *The History of Charlemagne and Roland*, attributed to Turpin, Archbishop of Reims. Later, in Chile, Bello rewrote the essay and divided it into two Spanish essays which he inserted in the *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, in the years 1854 and 1858. What Bello covered in his observations are indicated by the following paragraph headings taken from the 1854 essay:

*The Crónica de Turpin se escribió pocos años antes o después de 1109. El autor fue español, o residió en España. El autor fue algún eclesiástico personalmente interesado en la exaltación de la silla de Santiago. El autor no fue español. Parece que el autor fue Dalmacio, obispo en Campostela el año 1095. Relación de la Crónica de Turpin con los poemas caballerescos anteriores i posteriores.*

38 Ibid., p. 180.
Bello's nineteen years in London, as seen from the preceding account of his activities were very busy ones, and the end of that period marks the complete development of the man mentally. Bello was forty-seven years old when he left London and he was embarking on the most important phase of his career, a period even more fruitful and more inspiring.
CHAPTER III

BELLO IN CHILE

Andrés Bello's experience with the Colombian government, in the matter of both promotion and remuneration, made it necessary for him to look elsewhere for a position. Both Chile and Argentina interested him, and, as previously stated, he had already rejected one offer from the Argentine government in 1815.

Mariano de Egana, Chilean plenipotentiary, in letter of November 10, 1827, called the attention of his government to the availability of Bello's services. At that time Francisco Antonio Pinto, who was personally acquainted with Bello, was president of Chile, and he was quick to see the advantages of engaging Bello's talents. In letter of September 15, 1828, the Chilean Legation in London was advised that its government would defray the expenses of bringing the Bello family to Chile, and in the latter part of June of the following year don Andrés arrived in Valparaiso.

Bello came to Chile at a very bad time. The young republic had been experiencing troublesome days since the start of her independent career. When Bello was first serving Chile in London in 1823 Dictator O'Higgins lost his power. He was succeeded by Freire who began his rule under the Constitution of 1823. It restricted the authority of the executive and placed the real power in the hands of congress. The constitution soon proved unworkable and Freire became another dictator. His attempts at having a new constitution formed were fruitless. After convening four congresses, he resigned his authority into the hands of the last one, the congress of 1826.
Then an attempt was made to establish a centralized government on a federal basis. The republic was divided into provinces and popular elections were to be held. However, only confusion resulted. Blanco Encalada was elected president. He soon resigned and was succeeded by Vice-president Eizaguirre, who could not cope with the political difficulties which beset the nation. Finally, it was decided to bring Freire back. He was formally elected to the presidency, but promptly tendered a resignation in favor of Vice-president Francisco Antonio Pinto. The latter brought about the adoption of the Constitution of 1828, which restored some of the authority of the central government. However, he was harassed by financial difficulties and frequent military mutinies. It was in the midst of this that Bello arrived in Chile. Pinto's government finally fell when the Conservatives under General Prieto defeated its forces on April 17, 1830, in the battle of Lircai.  

García Calderón describes Chile from Pinto's administration to the founding of the Araucanian nation by Diego Portales as being overrun by vandalism, with commerce and industry at a standstill, finances in disorder and politics revolutionary.

As Miguel Luis Amunátegui indicates, Bello was a poor foreigner in Chile, for although a Spanish-American by birth he had been born in a distant land. He had neither friends nor relatives in his newly adopted country.

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3 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1882), p. 325.
torn by chaos. Luckily, he had an open mind and, what was more important, a repugnance toward participation in political strifes that kept him away from damaging entanglements. As a result, he was able to serve Chile in full measure.

When considering his removal to Chile, Bello had supposed that the nation would be in a lamentably backward state. Mariano Egaña assured him, however, that there were some learned men in Chile with whom he could form pleasant relationships. He gave Bello a letter of introduction to his father, Juan Egaña. When Bello called on this worthy gentleman, he naturally inquired as to the progress Chile had made in the sciences, the arts and industry. In the course of the conversation, Juan Egaña informed Bello that all the progress made in these fields could be written on a cigarette paper.4

In spite of Bello's desire to remain apart from political struggles, soon after his arrival in Chile he became embroiled in an unusual polemic which had its origin in politics. The controversy placed Bello in juxtaposition with a most excellent opponent, José Joaquín de Mora. Mora had arrived in Chile from Spain via Argentina. Further, his coming to Chile was on special invitation of President Pinto in 1828. Orrego describes Mora as "escritor agudo, hombre batallador de cultura vastísima, avezado en polémicas y en el manejo de la pluma satírica."5

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4 Gregorio Víctor Amunátegui, Anhelos de un padre recordados por su hijo, Miguel Luis Amunátegui Reyes (Santiago de Chile: Dirección General de Prisiones, 1938), pp. 367-68.

5 Eugenio Orrego Vicuña, Don Andrés Bello (Santiago de Chile: Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1935), p. 72.
Mora was welcomed into Chilean society and soon held a position in keeping with his ability. He was named oficial mayor auxiliar del ministerio del interior. He established two colleges, one for men, directed by himself and called El liceo de Chile, and another for women, directed by his wife. He founded a review El mercurio chileno, and, in addition, edited the Constitution of 1828, which allied him on the side of the Chilean Liberals. The Conservatives, consequently, watched his career with suspicion.

Mora's Liceo had the protection of the Pinto government, and the Conservatives could not bear the thought that Chilean youth, making up the new generation, would be imbued with Liberal ideas. They, therefore, availed themselves of the services of a French teaching enterprise that had entered the country under the royal protection of Charles X to form another college, known as the Colegio de Santiago.

The first rector of the new school was Juan Francisco Menéndez who had become Secretary of State as a result of the political upheavals of 1829. But Menéndez was not a man of Mora's caliber and that was precisely what was needed to combat the latter's influence. The man in Chile that did compare favorably with Mora in both education and ability was Andrés Bello and he was engaged to direct the Colegio. This was Bello's first opportunity to demonstrate his qualifications as an educator and he seized it.

In the meantime, the political developments of 1829 and 1830 resulted in the ousting of Mora's friends from power and deposited the leadership of state affairs in the hands of Diego Portales, making Mora the butt of politi-

6 J. V. Lastarria, Obras Completas (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta "Barcelona," 1906-14), XI, 84.
local targets, which he struggled against unrelentlessly, zealously attempting to improve the Liceo.

Bello had introduced two innovations in his program of courses, offering one in theory of legislation and another in Spanish literature. In teaching the former, Bello used extracts taken principally from the works of Jeremy Bentham, and for the latter he followed as guide the Arte de hablar en prosa y verso which José Gómez Hermosilla published in 1826. Lastarria says that up to Bello's time no effort had been made to study the theory of public, civil and criminal law as he proposed to do it. In the Instituto Nacional the principles of natural rights had been taught and to include this subject in the Liceo's curriculum Mora had published a text. The study of Spanish literature, on the other hand, was practically unknown and Spanish grammar was not studied at all in the colegios.

Bello's innovations attracted public attention and Mora tried to prove in his classes on natural rights and Roman law that his explanations made a special course in legislation unnecessary. He had been one of Bentham's students and explained the latter's theories. Nonetheless, Mora did not offer a course in Spanish literature. Lastarria, who, incidentally, was first Mora's student and later Bello's, contends that Mora had not resigned himself to placing antiquated manuscripts of rhetoric, written in Spanish, into the hands of his pupils. Rather he wanted to take up the philosophic principles of the art first, but had not had time to prepare his lessons. The opening of the course of literature in the Colegio de Santiago pressed

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid., p. 87.
him to do so, and he began a class in oratory on April 20, 1830.

The class was formally opened with an inaugural speech, in which Mora attacked the French professors of the Colegio de Santiago, saying that the language of the country was undergoing decay because the professors of the Colegio were only learning it themselves. Mora's attack against the rival school aroused indignation among its faculty members, and they undertook to reply in kind. They began by inserting in El popular, an organ of the Conservative group, a series of articles against the Liceo. The public assumption was that Bello was the author of these articles and such mention was made in El mercurio de Valparaíso.

Bello felt obliged to give an explanation to the editor of El mercurio, for which purpose he addressed a letter to him on July 2, 1830. In it Don Andrés disclaimed authorship of the articles and declared that he had only contributed to the opinions expressed on points of literary controversy. In this connection Orrego writes:

En verdad los reparos de Bello eran de índole gramatical y no siempre justos, como su nobleza de carácter hubo de reconocerlo más tarde; eran, en suma, menudencias indignas de varón tan eminente, y mostraban un criterio cerrado de que no debía dar muestras en ninguna otra ocasión.

Of course, Mora's students were not letting the articles in El popular go unanswered, and under the signature Los Alumnos de Oratoria del Liceo they launched some violent lampoons against their adversaries. The attacks became the subject of discussion on the street, in offices, in government circles and at social functions. The merits of both sides were debated pro

9 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 323.
10 Ibid., pp 329-30.
11 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 87.
and con. Mora did not directly assist in the polemic, according to Lastarria. He merely conversed with his students, Cordovez, Vallejo, Silva, Rivera, etc., and they reproduced in their own words the conversations of the teacher.

Miguel Luis Amunátegui gives an impartial account of some of the points debated. One example is the meaning of the word "retrazar," which Mora’s group contended meant "ofrecer o presentar a la vista." Bello’s adherents challenged this by saying that it only meant "volver a trazar." Mora’s followers, in rebuttal, asserted that the "re" as a prefix in a French verb indicated the repetition of the action of the verb, but that the same is not true in Spanish and lamented having the meaning of words corrupted.

In the meantime, with the battle of Lircai, the Liberals were defeated for some time to come in Chile and the Conservative government withdrew the subsidy which maintained the Liceo, forcing it to close. Mora, however, did not conceal his hatred of the Conservative leaders and was finally ordered from the country by Portales. Bello deeply regretted the persecution of Mora and some years later the hatchet was buried between them, each acknowledging the other’s merits.

Miguel Luis Amunátegui makes a comparison of Bello and Mora, which might be summed up as follows: Both admitted themselves to be followers of

12 Lastarria, _op. cit._, p. 74.

13 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, _Vida de don Andrés Bello_, pp. 330-35.

the English philosophers and statesmen, whose doctrines they had adopted; both used their influence to have the peoples of Spanish origin modify their beliefs and inclinations to incorporate what they had observed in English society; both translated English literature; and both had an earnest desire to place Chilean youth on the path of true modern civilization. They differed only in profundity of thought and effort, Mora being the more superficial and brilliant, and Bello the more thorough and meditative.

The Colegio de Santiago closed soon after its rival because of lack of suitable financial support and in spite of the fact that it had been given the facilities of the Universidad de San Felipe by the government. The Instituto Nacional was the intellectual heir of the Liceo and Colegio, instituting among its courses in 1831 the one introduced by Bello in legislation.

After the closing of the Colegio de Santiago Bello did not teach in another school. He organized classes in various fields which he taught in his own home. Among his students were Chile's future statesmen and writers. These classes continued until 1843, and culminated in the foundation of the University of Chile. At the same time Bello served the government in various capacities, and Lastarria\textsuperscript{15} says that it was remarked that the government did nothing without consulting Bello.

On September 17, 1830, the Chilean government commenced to publish a weekly newspaper, which was to be its official organ. Its name was El araucano. The political section was entrusted to Manuel José Gandarillas, who was succeeded successively by other national and foreign figures. Bello was made editor of the foreign news section and of the section dealing with

\textsuperscript{15} Lastarria, \textit{op. cit.}, XI, 87.
letters and sciences. He held this post until 1853, and contributed a great deal of the material published himself. He managed to include many articles referring to public matters but which had no direct bearing on civil dissensons, from which he only desired to withdraw as far as possible.

Bello's first title of importance as a government employee was oficial mayor auxiliar del ministerio de hacienda. In 1834 there was a vacancy in the foreign relations department and Bello was asked to fill it as oficial mayor del departamento de relaciones exteriores. The salary was two thousand pesos annually. In this capacity he served until October 26, 1852.

No man who had as many connections with the government as did Bello and who was apparently as successful and popular as he was could fail to have some enemies. One of the charges made against him was that he was money-hungry and was getting rich at public expense.16 Miguel Luis Amunátegui17 insists that Bello's entire salary from the government was the two thousand pesos he received annually under the title of oficial mayor del departamento de relaciones exteriores, and when all of the other duties he performed are taken into consideration, there is no doubt that the government and public received excellent dividends on their investment.

Bello was well entrenched as an important figure in Chile when he engaged in a second polemic, which outdid the first in scope and intensity. His adversary was the fiery Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Chile had become a refuge for some of the Argentinians who were not in sympathy with the Rosas' dictatorship and wished to mark time until they could openly combat

16 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Ensayos Biográficos, II, 53.
17 Ibid., p. 54.
Rosas. Among the Argentine exiles who came to Chile were López, Gutiérrez, Mitre, Alberdi and Sarmiento.

Sarmiento had first come to Chile in 1829. Here he worked at several positions, including that of schoolmaster. In 1837 he returned to his native province of San Juan in Argentina where he organized a secondary school and founded a newspaper. Because of the opinions he expressed in his newspaper, Sarmiento was jailed, and in 1840 he decided to return to Chile. He made his living by writing for the newspapers and by teaching. To Sarmiento goes the credit for having founded the first normal school in Chile, and in all South America for that matter. What he did for Argentina, after Rosas' fall, is comparable to what Bello did for Chile. Speaking of Sarmiento's influence in Argentina, Echagüe writes: "El pensamiento y la acción de Sarmiento irradián en nuestras instituciones; no hay instrumento de progreso o de cultura en el país que no haya recibido su impulso."

Lastarria, who knew Sarmiento personally and who participated in the Bello-Sarmiento polemic which, before it was terminated, rocked Chile's literary world, describes Sarmiento at this time as follows:

El hombre realmente era raro: sus treinta y dos años de edad parecían sesenta, por su calva frente, sus mejillas carnosas, sueltas y afeitadas, su mirada fija pero osada, a pesar del apagado brillo de sus ojos, y por todo el conjunto de su cabeza que reposaba en un tronco obeso casi encorvado. Pero eran tales la viveza y la franqueza de la palabra de aquel jóven viejo, que su fisonomía se animaba con los destellos de un gran espíritu, y se hacía simpática e inteligente.  

19 Lastarria, op. cit., X, 100.
The picture might be completed by adding that Sarmiento was very out-spoken and had an aggressive nature. It was these two things which led to his polemic with Bello.

Bello, as has been stated, was teaching private classes and his educational program was much on the order of an apostolic mission. He was, in addition, a government employee, which made it imperative for him to act with prudence. He had to be careful about what reforms he introduced and, because of this, he concentrated on the study of the Spanish language and on philosophic education.

Lastarria is somewhat critical of the progress made in Chile from 1835 to 1842:

De 1835 a 1842, toda la juventud distinguida de Santiago era casuista en derecho y purista y retórica en letras. El espíritu filosófico atravesaba como una ráfaga de luz la mente de los estudiantes, mientras asistían a los cursos de legislación y de filosofía del Instituto; pero en cuanto ellos pasaban a los cursos superiores y se enrolaban en los círculos elegantes de casústas y retóricos, aquella luz se apagaba, para no renacer. El atraso social y la situación política así lo requerían, y eran parte muy principal en que prevaleciera aquella influencia. Los espíritus activos de la sociedad estaban aun en germen, y la política exclusiva del gobierno personal había apagado de tal manera el espíritu público, que no le dejaba otra senda franca que la de la elegancia en las formas. 20

In spite of the fact that Chile had not yet produced any great writers, several promising ones were coming to the front, such as Salvador Sanfuentes and José Joaquín Vallejo. In comparison, the Argentine exiles appeared more brilliant and rather dominated the scene. Furthermore, as Orrego notes:

20 Ibid., p. 97.
estaban aureolados por el prestigio de la persecución y del sacrificio... La simpatía pública y la consideración social los rodeaban pronto se pusieron a escribir, a laborar, a combatir con entusiasmo ardoroso; querían libertar a su pueblo, influir en el desenvolvimiento de Chile, y sobre todo, ondear al viento el loco y hermoso penacho de su juventud...

Sarmiento began his journalistic career in Chile in February of 1841. He had written an article on the victory of Chacabuco, whose anniversary was near at hand. The article, with a pseudonym, was sent to Manuel Rivadeneira, who published El mercurio de Valparaíso. It appeared and was well received. As a result, Sarmiento began to write regularly for El mercurio.

On May 31, 1841, a terrible fire destroyed the principal church left by the Jesuits in Santiago. Bello wrote a poem in classical style concerning the fire in which he expressed his regrets for the occurrence. Some six weeks later Manuel Rivadeneira published in the government's printing establishment a pamphlet titled El encendio de la compañía, Canto elejíaco. The author's name was omitted, but it was known that it was Bello's production.

In the July 15, 1841, edition of El mercurio de Valparaíso Sarmiento reviewed the poem. His opening remarks made it plain that he knew that Bello was the author. He admitted the pureness of the language employed and the perfection of the style, but attacked the latter by saying,

Mas lo que es digno de notarse, porque ello muestra el desapego del autor a las envejecidas máximas del clasicismo rutinario i dogmático es la clase de metro que, para asunto tan grave i melancólico, ha escogido, i que, en tiempos atrás, solo se usaba para la poesía ligera.

In the poem the author sees the famous clock in the belfry destroyed, and recounts its farewell to the city whose time it has kept for a century.

21 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 80.
22 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 582.
The force of imagination in these particular verses was praised by Sar-

miento. Yet, his criticism continues

...hubiéramos deseado que el autor se hubiese estendido mas, no

obstante que no se presta mucho para ello la materia. Habríamos

querido, por ejemplo, que a la descripción del incendio, hubiera pre-

cedido la de una escena tranquila, la paz doméstica, el orden que, en

la ciudad, reina, a fin de colocar en un cuadro apacible este terrí-

cífico i repentino acontecimiento para herir más fuertemente la imagi-

nación.23

With such a good start in his criticism Sarmiento then proceeded to gen-

eralize on the state of Chilean poetry, finding the offerings to the Muses

very deficient:

¿Por qué son tan tardías i tan contadas las ofrendas que se pre-

sentan en sus altares? ¿Será cierto que el clima benigno sofoca el

vuelo de la imaginación, i que Chile no es tierra de poetas? ¿Falta

acaso instrucción suficiente para pulsar con acierto las doradas

cuerdas?24

After refuting both possibilities, he placed the blame at another source.

No creemos tampoco que sea falta de gusto o conocimiento del arte, 

pues este país ha sido mui favorecido de algunos años atrás en los

estudios del idioma. Creemos, i queremos decirlo, que predomina en 

nuestra juventud una especie de encojimiento, i cierta pereza de es-

píritu, que le hace malograr las bellas dotes de la naturaleza, i la 

buena i sólida instrucción que ha recibido. Si el pueblo en general 

no gusta mucho de la poesía, es porque nada se hace para hacer nacer 

la afición a este género de literatura.25

The gauntlet was flung, and the question of why Chile had no poets 

became of paramount importance. Sarmiento's explanation that Chile's ster-

ility was due to "encojimiento" and "pereza" on the part of her youth was 

also debated and later Sarmiento modified the point by attributing the ster-

23 Ibid., p. 584.

24 Ibid., p. 585.

25 Ibid.
ility to the importance which was given to the matter of grammar and to the absence of ideas.

As the issue grew, the position of each side became better defined. The Argentinians placed the emphasis for literary art on the idea alone and not on the form of its presentation. They did not feel bound to seek guidance in what had already been accomplished; they were young and vigorous and felt that they could build without a foundation. Bello, on the other hand, with his wide research experience, had a deep respect for traditional values and he was willing to use them as a yardstick.

The formation of the Sociedad literaria added fuel to the fire. In 1841 a group of Chilean students, among them Juan Bello, son of Andrés, Lastarria and Valdés, conceived the idea of organizing a literary society for the purpose of writing and studying, and ultimately publishing a literary newspaper. In 1842 the society began to function. The inaugural speech of the Sociedad was pronounced by Lastarria, who a little over a decade previous had heard Mora deliver the inaugural speech of the class of Oratoria. In his speech Lastarria defined the type of literature he advocated for Chile: "... nuestra literatura debe sernos esclusivamente propia, debe ser enteramente nacional." The speech was favorably commented on by García del Río in the Museo de ambas Américas. Sarmiento reproduced García del Río's article and dedicated the accompanying editorial to the refuting of the opinion that a body of learned men is necessary to legislate on matters of language, fixing the laws governing the public's speech, and he advanced the opinion that it is the public which forms the language and writers

26 Lastarria, op. cit., X, 127.
should not occupy themselves with forms but with ideas to have a literature which represents society.  

Bello's views as to the capability of the public to form a language are expressed in the following passage:

Si el estilo es el hombre, según Montaigne, cómo podría permitirse al pueblo la formación a su antojo del lenguaje, resultando que cada cual vendría a tener el suyo, y concluiríamos por otra Babel? En las lenguas como en la política, es indispensable que haya un cuerpo de sabios, que así dicte las leyes convenientes a sus necesidades, como las del habla en que ha de expresarlas; y no sería menos ridículo confiar al pueblo la decisión de sus leyes, que autorizarle en la formación del idioma. En vano claman por esa libertad romántico-licenciosa de lenguaje, los que por prurito de novedad o por eximirse del trabajo de estudiar su lengua, quisieran hablar y escribir a su discreción.

Don Andrés charged the Argentinians with degenerating Castilian into a "dialecto gálico," and Sarmiento made the point that nonetheless "estos literatos han escrito más versos, verdadera manifestación de la literatura, que lágrimas han derramado sobre la triste patria."

Sarmiento's advice to Chileans on how and when to write is representative of his philosophy on the matter:

Pero cambiad de estudios, i en lugar de ocuparos de las formas, de la pureza de las palabras, de lo redondeado de las frases, de lo que dijo Cervantes o frai Luis de León, adquirid ideas, de donde quiera que vengan, nutrid vuestro pensamiento con las manifestaciones del pensamiento de los grandes luminares de la época; i cuando sintais que vuestro pensamiento a su vez se despierta, echad miradas observadoras sobre nuestra patria, sobre el pueblo, las costumbres, las instituciones, las necesidades actuales i en seguida escribid con amor, con corazón lo que se os alcance, lo que se os antoje, que eso será bueno en el fondo, aunque la forma sea incorrecta...

27 Ibid., p. 143.

28 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 85.

29 Lastarria, op. cit., X, 144.

30 Ibid., pp. 144-45.
That Sarmiento held Bello directly responsible for the state of Chilean literature might be deduced from the following reference he makes to him:

Por lo que a nosotros respecta, si la lei del ostracismo estuviera en uso en nuestra democracia, habríamos pedido en tiempo el destierro de un gran literato que vive entre nosotros, sin otro motivo que ser-lo demasiado i haber profundizado más allá que lo que nuestra naciente civilización exije, los arcanos del idioma, i haber hecho gustar a nuestra juventud del estudio de las esterioridades del pensamiento, i de la verdadera ilustración.31

The Sociedad literaria had recommended the study of language as a valuable instrument, but, according to Sarmiento's standards, the same or even better results could be obtained without it. In any event, if language were cultivated, it should be popular language, and in this regard Sarmiento wrote another article in which he recommended the Ejercicios populares de la lengua castellana, which were beginning to appear in El mercurio. These Ejercicios presented a list of words in the form in which they were popularly used. The vocabulary was attacked and Sarmiento sought to defend it. Orrego 32 says Bello intervened, without stating to what extent. Lastarria, 33 who shows certain hesitancy about mentioning Bello's name, communicates that an important grammarian wrote El mercurio, requesting that it abstain from making publications of that type "antes de que se acabase de difundir una idea mui mezquina de nuestra ilustración entre los estranjeros," and accusing those exercises of containing "errores groseros e imperdonables."

The polemic continued in this form for some time and Lastarria 34 says

31 Ibid., p. 145
32 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 82.
33 Lastarria, op. cit., X, 149.
34 Ibid., p. 151.
that some twenty articles followed the one in El mercurio, which had quoted García del Río's approval of the Sociedad literaria.

Sarmiento himself finally put an end to the articles by gathering together in one article, titled La cuestión literaria, the opinions of Larra, the popular Spanish Romantic-Liberal writer, on the points debated. He presented the opinions as his own. When no one discovered the plagiarism, Sarmiento made it known, saying that what he had sustained was what Larra had opined and it proved that modern Spanish, through Larra's mouth, had denied the existence of a model literature in Spain, had affirmed the need of new methods to accomplish the regeneration of ideas and had declared the incompetency of old language to explain the ideas.35

The polemic, however, had become a national issue, as it was felt that Chilean honor had been offended, and a new aspiration made its appearance—that of showing that Chile had talent and that her men of letters could compete with her critics.36 The need for a literary publication was pressing. The members of the Sociedad literaria made plans to publish a literary weekly, which was to contain compositions considered worthy of publication and translations made with the purpose of bringing in new ideas. Francisco Bello was to give special attention to the field of English literature, with which he was very familiar. One day Andrés Bello summoned the young men planning to launch El seminario, through his son Francisco. Bello gave them much good advice and told them to appear united since their first duty was to vindicate their literary honor. He warned them not to launch an exclusive news-

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., p. 167.
paper, representing only one literary doctrine and one party, and cautioned them about political dangers.

Bello pledged his help to the young men and influenced Salvador Sanfuentes, Juan E. Ramírez and M. A. Tocornal in joining the group. J. J. Vallejo's cooperation was secured through another source.

The first issue of El semanario appeared on July 14, 1842. Sarmiento greeted it in El mercurio, making the following commentary on the mission of the American writers:

Si todos nuestros jóvenes estuvieran persuadidos de estas humildes verdades, no veríamos a cada paso el escándalo que da nuestra polémica periodística con la irritación que escita una idea nueva, i los insultos i vejaciones que llueven sobre el que la emite, o el que pone en duda la verdad de ciertas doctrinas recibidas por la juventud como inconcusas.38

Prior to this admonition, V. F. López had published in May of that year, in the Revista de Valparaíso, an article on Clasicismo i romanticismo, which had displeased the Chileans, and in the second issue of El semanario Sanfuentes came forth with an article on Romanticismo, which made allusions to the opinions of López. Sanfuentes called attention to the fact that the word "romanticism" had been used in Chilean literary circles without its real meaning being known and that it was old-fashioned. Sanfuentes explained that he was not following the classical school fully, but thought that the romantic school should not make use of its liberties without need.39 This article provoked the Carta a un amigo de Santiago, written by "Jotabeche" and published in El mercurio, in which the author ridiculed romanticism, saying that

37 Ibid., p. 171.
38 Ibid., p. 174.
39 Ibid., p. 175.
it was the cheapest fashion that had come from Europe and had been received with open arms by Argentina. 40

The attacks were beginning to get out-of-hand and unjustifiable. Besides, Bello himself had begun his studies on Victor Hugo and had already published Los fantasmas. A truce was finally called between El semanario and El mercurio as both sides realized the absurdity of the turn of affairs, and it was agreed that there had been a misunderstanding.

In 1843 the University of Chile was founded and Andrés Bello became its first rector. Sarmiento also became a member of the faculty, and pursuing his policy of breaking with the past, he presented to the Facultad de humanidades a paper concerning the need of founding a new system of orthography, based on pronunciation.

As to whose influence was felt more in the polemic in Chile, and which can only be measured in the light of what followed, Blanco-Fombona has the following to say:

Chile, desoyendo las declaraciones de Sarmiento, siguió tras las banderas culturales y civilizadoras de Bello. El resultado lo conocemos. El propio Sarmiento--repitase--iba a seguir en Argentina las huellas del humanista caraqueño, divulgando a las márgenes del Plata lo que aprendió, como Bello, en libros europeos. 41

The climax of Bello's career in Chile was being made the first rector of the University of Chile, a post which he retained until his death. His excellent service in that capacity and his works as a legislator and writer will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

40 Ibid., p. 176.

CHAPTER IV

LAW MAKER AND STATESMAN

From the time of his arrival in Chile, which as shown was government sponsored, Andrés Bello was closely connected with state affairs. His many government activities, though varied and far-reaching, were not dictated by partisanship, nor was he motivated in any way by personal desires for power and fame. At all times he had Chile's welfare at heart and was prompted by true public spirit.

From the very first Bello displayed an interest in the operation and formation of Chilean laws, although he never did obtain a law degree. On November 17, 1836, he did receive from the Universidad de San Felipe the diploma of bachiller en las Facultades de Sagrados Cánones y de Leyes. Where did don Andrés acquire his vast knowledge of law and legal practices? His father, Bartolomé Bello, had been a lawyer and although Andrés, in his youth, had entertained some notions of following in his father's footsteps, he received no encouragement from don Bartolomé. His association with the Venezuelan government and his consular duties in London had given him a profound knowledge of the legal aspects of international relations. Miguel Luis Amunátegui states that during Bello's residence in London he studied legislation and the judicial institutions of England. His desires to understand international law thoroughly led him to examine the compilations of Kent and

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2 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1882), p. 452.
ghitty, which familiarized him with the forensic practices of both English and North American magistrates. His explanations of Roman and Spanish law, which he taught simultaneously in Chile, obliged him to possess a good knowledge of them. In addition, he read French authors on the subject, so that all in all Bello was well versed in matters of law.

In 1838 Bello's career began as a legislator. In that year the Supreme Court consulted the legislative branch of the government on the correct interpretation of certain laws relative to sucesión ab intestato. Mariano de Egaña, then Secretary of Justice and Public Education, considered Bello an authority and sought his opinion. Hence he was requested, along with Rodríguez Aldea, ex-minister of O'Higgins, to give an opinion. Bello submitted his and it was adopted by the courts, being made into supreme decree with force of law on November 22, 1838.³

From the columns of El araucano don Andrés launched a steady attack on the inadequacy of Chilean laws and brought to the public's attention problems involving law and state action. In 1831 he inserted therein an interesting article on crime in Chile and set forth what the government was doing to combat it. Bello believed the reason for crime in that country to be the semi-savage ignorance of the populace which had no idea of morals and had not been accustomed to using reason.⁴ He recommended the establishment of schools in the rural districts to combat crime—schools where right from wrong, along

³ Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 107.

⁴ Obras completas de don Andrés Bello. Edición hecha bajo la dirección del Consejo de Instrucción Pública en cumplimiento de la Lei de 5 de Setiembre de 1872 (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1881-93), IX, p. 16.
with duty, would be taught, and habits in keeping with the law would be formed.

In 1834 Bello followed up the subject of crime with an article titled Establecimientos de confinación para delincuentes, saying that "tarde o temprano es preciso que nos convenzamos de la necesidad de tener un establecimiento de confinación para los delincuentes." He included a description of prisons in other countries and particularly of those in the United States.

As early as 1833 Bello was bringing to the attention of the public the urgent need of codifying the laws, and he especially states as reason:

Sin aquel paso previo, el laberinto de una legislación como la nuestra hará siempre ilusorias e insignificantes las garantías constitucionales; habrá siempre incertidumbre e inconsecuencia en los juicios.

Orrego makes it clear that don Andrés was not the first to work for the codification of the laws in Chile. In 1828 President Vicuña had fought unsuccessfully for it. Three years later Vice-president Fernando Errázuriz sent the senate a message requesting that a competent person be commissioned to prepare suitable codes. This message carried an idea sponsored by Portales and Egaña and received the approval of the Senate, but failed in the other chamber. Months later Manuel Camilio Vial proposed naming a committee to make a compilation of the laws in force. Bello backed Vial's project, only to have the Senate file it. But Bello did not surrender hopes and took retreat in El araucano.

5 Ibid., p. 17.
6 Ibid., p. 44.
7 Ibid., p. 35.
In an article written in 1833 don Andrés concentrated on the Commercial Code, and pleaded for uniformity in the mercantile laws which would result in "no solo un nuevo estímulo para las especulaciones, sino un nuevo lazo de amistad i union entre los habitantes de los más lejanos climas del globo."\(^9\)

In 1835 don Andrés was occupied with the matter of the courts and made known his views in Organización de tribunales. He maintained that the sentences should be well founded.\(^10\) In the same article Bello raised the question as to whether all the petitions and statements of the litigation should be made under oath, bringing out as principal objection that oaths when taken too frequently lose their moral force.\(^11\)

Two years later Bello was again hammering at the Chilean codes, describing them as follows:

Nuestros códigos son un océano de disposiciones en que puede naufragar el piloto más diestro i experimentado. Leyes de Partida, leyes de Toro, leyes de Indias, Nueva Recopilación, ordenanzas de varias clases, senadoconsultos, decretos del gobierno, leyes de nuestros congresos, autoridades de los comentadores, etc., etc. A esta inmensa colección tiene que arrojarse el juez para hallar el punto que busca, la decision en que ha de apoyar su sentencia.... La consecuencia es que, mientras no se los reduzca a lo que deben ser, despojándolos de superfluidades i haciéndolos accesibles a la inteligencia del juez i del público, no podemos tener jamás una buena administración de justicia.\(^12\)

All of Bello's efforts, however, seemed to be falling on deaf ears.

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9 Obras completas, op. cit., IX, 41.
10 Ibid., pp. 68-82.
11 Ibid., pp. 85-86.
12 Ibid., pp. 221-22.
Therefore, according to Orrego, understanding that the task of codifying the laws would have to be undertaken in spite of the disinterest of the politicians, he resolved to go to work on it himself and he began to prepare the necessary materials in his workroom.

This work went on silently for several years and when the foundation was ready he proposed from his seat in the Senate, in 1840, that a committee of two senators and three representatives be named to codify the civil laws. The proposal met with better luck than the previous ones and was transformed into law on September 10 of that same year.

As was to be expected, Bello was designated by the Senate to represent it on the committee and the first thing he did was to present the committee with two books containing the proyecto of the future code, one referring to succession by reason of death and the other to conventional contracts and obligations. Both books, with the notes and comments of the author, began to appear in El araucano in 1841.

As Congress saw the work progress, it decided to name a revising committee composed of two senators and three representatives, and four years later the two committees were merged. Nevertheless, as Orrego says can be supposed, the work was done mostly by Bello himself. Don Andrés and the committee worked for some years until the former put an end to it himself in 1852 when he presented the proyecto to the government.

The government ordered the proyecto printed and chose a new revising committee, composed of José Alejo Valenzuela, José Gabriel Ocampo, Manuel

13 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 110.
14 Ibid., p. 111.
The committee worked rapidly and on September 22, 1855, presented the final proyecto to the consideration of Congress. The message of accompaniment was written by don Andrés.

Bello's original proyecto, comments Orrego, which was much more ample and liberal in its dispositions, was modified for the purpose of attenuating some of the regulations which seemed too advanced. However, in the preamble to the proyecto de lei, in which Manuel Montt proposed to Congress that the editor of the Civil Code be given some compensation and thanks, there is contained the following:

... debo consignar aquí que muchas de las innovaciones que se observan en el último trabajo han sido propuestas por el mismo autor, quien, redactando las propias y ajenas, e introduciéndolas en los pasajes correspondientes, a fin de conservar la mitad y armonía de todo, hásese conquistado un nuevo título a la gratitud nacional.

The Civil Code, as it was approved, aside from the reforms made in the course of time and which Orrego classifies as secondary in nature, consists of four books: De las personas; de los bienes y de su dominio, posesión, uso y goce; de la sucesión por causa de muerte, y de las donaciones entre vivos; de las obligaciones en general y de los contratos. It contains

15 Obras completas, op. cit., XIII, x1.
16 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 111.
17 Obras completas, op. cit., IX, x1-x1i.
18 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 112.
ninety-four titles and two thousand five hundred twenty-five articles.

The best proof of the efficiency and historic and social value of the Civil Code lies in the fact that it has had a partial or total influence on the civil legislation of almost all Latin America.¹⁹

Lastarria, who at times praises and at times criticizes his former teacher, said of the Code:

La redacción de aquel Código es una de sus más brillantes glorias, no porque en nuestro tiempo sean una empresa de romanos las obras de este género, sino porque el Código chileno se distingue entre los demás por su admirable precisión, filosófica y por la concisión y propiedad de su estilo profundo.²⁰

Menéndez y Pelayo wrote of the Code:

Mucho mayor esfuerzo, y tal que por sí solo bastaría para inmortalizar la memoria de un hombre, fue la redacción del Código Civil Chileno de 1855, anterior a todos los de América, salvo el de la Luisiana; y uno de los que, aún obedeciendo a la tendencia uniformista que tuvo en todas partes el movimiento codificador de la primera mitad de nuestro siglo, hacen más concesiones al elemento histórico y no se reducen a ser trasunto servil del código francés.²¹

The Montt government entrusted to Bello by decree of October 26, 1852, the task of drawing up a proyecto de Código de Procedimiento Civil. It was to serve as a complement to the Código Civil. Don Andrés agreed at first to accept the assignment, but his health, which was beginning to fail him, made it necessary for him to refuse.

Bello occupied a seat in the Senate for twenty-seven years, starting in 1837. Hence, he had an excellent opportunity to use his influence in the

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ J. V. Lastarria, Obras completas (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta "Barcelona," 1906-14), XI, 102.

making of Chile's laws. Orrego cites some of the many laws with which Bello was connected. He drew up among others, the law of September 6, 1844, which authorized foreigners to marry validly among themselves and to have legitimate children; the law of October 31, 1845, on privileges and mortgages; and the law of October 25, 1854, which deals with credit preference and modifies the law of July 31, 1845. He participated in the passing of the law of July 14, 1852, which treats of the transfer and negotiability of real estate. He backed the weight and measure bill of January 29, 1848, and defended Antonio Varas' proyecto on the manner of discussing and drawing up sentences in the courts. Naturally, not all the measures which don Andrés favored were enacted into law, and among the latter can be cited one fixing intellectual property rights, which Bello advocated in an article printed in El austral in September of 1848.

What type of government ruled Chile during the years that Bello was attempting legislative reforms and with what type of superiors did he have to deal? The Liberals lost out in Chile as a result of the battle of Lircai, fought on April 17, 1830, and the Conservatives, who then came into power, 23 managed to retain it until 1861. These years of Conservative rule cover Bello's most active years in Chile. Joaquín Prieto served as president from 1841-51. His businesslike, progressive administration insured peace until the end of his second term. Then trouble arose during the presidential elections of 1851, and after Manuel Montt was elected as General Bulnes' successor


an attempt was made to prevent his inauguration. Some four thousand people
were killed in the uprising. The opposition to Montt came from a liberal, radical element which recognized Montt as the most influential minister in Bulnes' cabinet. They knew that Montt was responsible for many of the progressive measures effected during Bulnes' administration and opposed him because he belonged to an aristocratic group. Manuel Montt also served two terms from 1851-61. When he was about to leave office, trouble again appeared. The Conservative party had ruled for thirty years, and, as was natural, disruption was arising within the dominant group. The opposition, or Liberal group, was growing stronger. A rumor to the effect that Antonio Vargas, a rigid Conservative, was being sponsored by Montt as his successor, accounted for the uprising of 1859. The revolt made it plain that Vargas was unacceptable, and a candidate with more liberal views had to be chosen. The choice was José Joaquín Pérez, and he introduced a period wherein Liberals competed with Conservatives for the control of parties and political policies.

Diego Portales was a forceful dictator, who gave himself wholeheartedly to the task of building up Chile politically and he always sought the cooperation of capable men to accomplish his ends. Portales knew how to listen and this was probably his chief asset. Letters written by Portales to Antonio Garfias offer uncontestable proof of Bello's influence with the dictator.²⁴ Don Andrés had been in Chile eight years when Portales was assassinated and his work during this time was mainly technical and ad-

²⁴ Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., pp. 233-34.
visory. With Portales' death Bello's influence became more decisive. He had become acquainted with General Bulnes at the home of the latter's father-in-law, Francisco Antonio Pinto. Bulnes was both a good military leader and a man of culture, and was endowed, in addition, with political sense. His contacts with Bello led him to regard don Andrés as a man of extraordinary ability, upon whose advice one could depend. Hence, it is not surprising that Bello, during his administration, should have the occasion to have ample influence on Chilean politics. This influence was maintained intact during Montt's administration and only diminished because of Bello's advancing years. Orrego considers don Andrés' influence so decisive in developing the fundamental lines of Chilean politics that he would baptize the period from Portales' death to the end of Montt's administration with the name Período de Bello.

Ample as Bello's influence was in the shaping of domestic policies and laws, he exercised as equally great an influence in shaping Chile's foreign policies. In 1832 when Bello was serving the government under the title of oficial mayor auxiliar del ministerio de hacienda his real duties were those of adviser and secretary in the ministry of foreign relations. This work, and that as professor of international law, brought to his notice the lack of a text containing the general doctrines and the practices adopted by civilized nations in their many relations, and induced him to prepare

25 Ibid., p. 117.
26 Ibid., p. 118.
27 Ibid.
his Principios de derecho de gentes. The first edition of the Principios went to press in 1832, appearing the following year. It came to fill a great need in Spanish-speaking countries. In the prologue thereto Bello states as objective the facilitating of the study of international law which up to that time had been unsatisfactorily covered in the Spanish language.

The text is a combination of the doctrine of Emeric de Vattel, Swiss jurist whose reputation rests chiefly on his Droit de gens ou Principes de la loi naturelle appliqués à la conduite et aux affaires des nations et des souverains, and that of the various publicists of the century on common law. Don Andrés named Joseph Chitty's A Treatise on the Laws of Commerce and Manufactures and the Contracts Relating Thereto and James Kent's Commentaries on American Law as the books which served him as guide on what he included as the general doctrine of the publicists of the eighteenth century. He also declared that he made use of Jonathan Elliot's Diplomatic Code of the United States of America and had before him the Maritime Ordinances of France promulgated by Louis XIV. Then with the idea of gathering together in one volume all the indispensable elementary notions on the subject Bello inserted in the third part of the Principios an extract from the Guide diplomatique of the Baron de Martens.

Don Andrés' definition of international law is as follows: "El Derecho Internacional o de Jentes, es la colección de las leyes o reglas

28 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, op. cit., p. 354.
29 Obras completas, op. cit., X, 1.
30 Ibid., p. 2.
31 Ibid., p. 3.
jenerales de conducta que las naciones o estados deben observar entre sí para su bienestar común."32

Calvo,33 who quotes both Bello’s definition and opinions in his own work on the subject, describes the *Principios de derecho de gentes* as an elementary *traité*, in which, in a restricted fashion, all the essential questions on international law are settled, and he claims that Bello is the first person to indicate the insufficiency of the principles set forth in Vattel’s work and to attempt to make up the deficiency.

How successful was Bello’s text in the actual teaching of international law? Lastarria34 gives an account of the first courses in international law based on Bello’s text which were given at the Institute Nacional, starting in the year 1834. The students of the first three courses offered had to limit themselves to taking down from memory the compact chapters, which were very obscure in meaning to their inexperienced minds. This method really tormented them, for Bello’s style was rigorously precise as was necessary for a work having a scientific doctrine. With the fourth course a method was followed in explaining the text which aided in making it more comprehensible. When the difficulty of understanding the material was brought to Bello’s attention, he said that if the students did not understand it then, they would later on when they had to deal with an international question.

32 Ibid., p. 11.


The Principios added much to Bello's fame both home and abroad. It was translated into French and German and was used to establish the study of international law in many American countries, being adopted in the course of time by the University of Chile. In 1844 Bello prepared a second edition of the text, for which work he stated that he had been able to consult many books whose names had been scarcely known to Chileans before but which had come to occupy the place they merited in the libraries of the courts and government departments. A third edition, correcting and considerably augmenting the second one, made its appearance in 1864, under the title of Principios de derecho internacional, for don Andrés had come to feel that the name derecho internacional was tending to prevail in the language over derecho de gentes. With this last edition Bello wished to bring the work up to date. Like the first two editions, it was divided into three parts. In the first the author deals with the nation, territory, dominion, citizens and foreigners, commercial and maritime law in times of peace, consuls, titles, treaties and their interpretation, and means of avoiding a break between nations. In part two he handles the state of war, its immediate effects, hostilities in general, maritime seizures, good faith in war, obligations and rights of neutrals, restrictions imposed by law in war, pacts relative to the state of war and civil and other types of war. Part three treats of the duties and functions of diplomatic agents.

In the prologue to the third edition Bello gives a bibliography of

35 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 119.
36 Obras completas, op. cit., X, 5.
37 Ibid., p. xv.
the works he had consulted in revising the Principios. Among the authors cited are Henry Wheaton, A. G. Heffter, James Reddie, Antonio Riquelme and Robert Phillimore.

Bello's interest in international law went much deeper than theory. He was highly concerned with its application. From June 30, 1834, to October of 1852, Bello officially served as oficial mayor del departamento de relaciones exteriores, from which post he was able to do much in shaping Chile's foreign policies. Orrego says that the chancery still suffered the disorder it had inherited from the colonial period when don Andrés came into it, but that he imposed order and method. When Portales was personally directing the department, Bello organized Chile's foreign service. His duties in the foreign relations office included the making of records and the drawing up of treaties and agreements. For example, he arranged the treaty of peace, commerce and navigation of May 16, 1832, between the United States and Chile and the supplementary agreement of September 1, 1833.

One of the international projects being dealt with at the time by the Latin American countries was the constitution of an American Congress. Calvo gives a resumé of the origins of this project. In 1822 the president of Colombia had invited the governments of México, Perú, Chile and Buenos Aires to send their plenipotentiaries to a congress which was to meet in Panama or in some other place chosen by the majority. On June 6, 1822, a

38 Ibid., pp. 7-8.
40 Ibid., p. 236.
41 Calvo, op. cit., I, 78-9.
treaty was arranged between Colombia and Perú which pledged them to use their good offices with the governments of the other countries in order to induce them to sign a pact of perpetual union and alliance. A similar treaty was concluded between Colombia and Mexico on October 3, 1823. In another treaty, ratified on June 10, 1823, Colombia and Buenos Aires contracted for a defensive alliance with the object of sustaining their independence from the Spanish nation or from any other foreign domination. In November of the same year the Peruvian congress approved a treaty of union among the republics to defend their independence. On December 7, 1824, Bolívar, who was then at the head of the Peruvian government, renewed the invitation to the other American republics to form a general congress. This invitation was enthusiastically accepted and on June 22, 1826, the plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Central America, Perú and México met in Panama. The congress closed its session on July 15 after having signed four treaties, the first of which consisted of a pact of union. However, the Congress of Panama led to no practical result for only Colombia ratified the agreements reached at it.

The idea of an American Congress, nevertheless, had its appeal. In 1831 Chile celebrated a treaty with México in which she pledged herself to promote a general assembly of her sister republics and to be represented at the assembly by a plenipotentiary. But Chile did little about it. On March 18, 1834, Juan de Dios Cañedo, Mexican plenipotentiary, demanded the fulfillment of the pledge and proposed certain matters for discussion at the future congress, which he thought could be conveniently held at Tacubaya Palace in México.

Bello, thinking over the project, found it as beautiful as it was
illusory. He personally felt that the most practical manner of making agreements was through negotiations from country to country and not by discussion at an American Congress. The Chilean government accepted Bello's opinion and in the reply to Cañedo, Chile stated that although she was not refusing to fulfill the 1831 agreement she did not believe it was a suitable manner of obtaining the ends pursued. México's efforts continued and in 1840 she again insisted with the Chilean government. The Chileans, or rather don Andrés, reaffirmed the previous sentiment, but added that Chile was willing to attend the proposed congress.

Orrego is of the opinion that Bello committed an error in not sponsoring the Mexican proposal from the start as was proved by the difficulties which Isabel II's government incited and which ended in the war of 1865 with Spain. As time went on, Bello modified his viewpoint to some degree. In spite of having no faith in the practical results of an American Congress, he later concluded that it might at least serve to bring the American republics closer together and to make them better known to each other. Also a congress would afford the opportunity of discussing matters of mutual interest.

After the exchange of many communications Chile, Bolivia, Perú, Nueva Granada and Ecuador decided to send their plenipotentiaries to Lima. México,

42 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 371.
43 Ibid., p. 372.
44 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 123.
45 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello, p. 373.
owing to internal conflicts, could not attend. These five nations opened their conference on December 11, 1847, and closed it on March 1, 1848. During this period they agreed on various pacts, which their respective governments failed to ratify for one reason or another, thus confirming Bello's previous contentions regarding the practicability of achieving any positive results. Later, on October 28, 1864, about three months before the Spanish occupation of the isles of Chinchas, and following a circular from the Peruvian government, dated January 11, 1864, a new congress met in Lima. Representatives attended from Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, Guatemala, Peru and Venezuela. México and Paraguay were at war and absent. The result was the stipulation of an agreement of alliance, which was to be carried out only in part.

The necessity of reaching rapid solutions, which slowness in ratification and other inconveniences made evident in the conflict with Spain, suggested to Bello the desirability of making changes. He advanced his ideas in a letter which he wrote to Antonio Leocadio Guzman, Venezuelan plenipotentiary, on September 24, 1864, prior to the meeting of October 28, 1864. He thought that perhaps negotiations could be accelerated by making ratification by the various countries unnecessary and by accepting instead the signatures of each country's representative. Also, if a permanent congress should be decided upon, the questions before it should be decided by majority vote rather than unanimity. Don Andrés explained that such procedure would entail the formation of a federation, for which purpose each state would have to give up part of its sovereignty.

46 Ibid., p. 377.
The war with Spain crowned a long series of diplomatic negotiations, begun in 1833, in which Bello played an important role. The death of Ferdinand VII brought Isabel II to the throne and under her Spain showed herself willing to enter into agreements with her former colonies, now republics, and even to recognize their independence. Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, Isabel's chancellor, obeying insinuations from the United States, invited the Spanish republics to send representatives to court for the purpose of negotiating the recognition of their independence. Perú, Colombia, México and Uruguay accepted, while Chile consulted congress. The question gave rise to much debate in the press. Among those not in favor of sending representatives were José Miguel Infante of El valdiviano federal, and Diego José Benavente and Manuel José Gandarillas of El filopolita. They considered Chilean independence assured. Bello, on the other hand, looked at the question from a different angle. He felt that accepting the invitation was the courteous thing to do and it would, in addition, stimulate commerce and industry. 47

The polemic continued for some time and finally José Manuel Borgoño was sent to Madrid in the capacity of plenipotentiary. He succeeded in bringing to a happy conclusion a pact in which Chile's national independence was recognized. However, the diplomatic peace was not a real peace. Throughout Spanish America an atmosphere of unrest was discernible, which, coupled with Isabel II's international policy, prepared the ground for the war of 1865. Don Andrés' personal attitude throughout was one of pacifier, one of friendship to Spain and Spaniards. Nevertheless, when the queen's squad-

47 Ibid., p. 529.
48 Orrego Vicuña, op. cit., p. 126.
ron occupied the isles of Chinchas Bello saw the futility of peaceful gestures. He called together the faculty of the University of Chile and obtained from it on May 8, 1864, a formal protest against Spain's action.

With the passing of the years don Andrés had become a prominent figure in international circles. He was called upon to act as arbitrator in disputes between foreign countries. In 1864 the United States submitted to him for arbitration a question which she had pending with the Republic of Ecuador, and in the following year Perú and Colombia submitted another similar matter to him.

It has been difficult for some writers to decide in which field Bello did his best work, but there is no doubt that his efforts as a legislator and statesman did much to aid Chile's political development.

CHAPTER V

LITERARY WORK IN CHILE

Andrés Bello's writings in Chile fall into the two general classifications of poetry and prose. His poetry is comprised of original compositions, imitations and translations; it represents but a small part of what he wrote. As a prose writer he is more prolific and his productions include the juridical works already mentioned in the preceding chapter, numerous didactic works, and studies in philology and literary criticism.

There was little incentive for Bello to write poetry on arriving in Chile, as the interest in verse, or literature for that matter, was quite limited. Don Andrés had brought with him some copies of Dr. J. Fernández Madrid's collection of poems for distribution. In letter of August 20, 1829, Bello wrote Dr. Madrid the following: "Siento decir a V. que he traído demasiados ejemplares de su colección de poesías. La bella literatura tiene aquí pocos admiradores."¹ Later, in letter of October 8 of the same year Bello said, "No sé qué hacer, amigo mío, con los ejemplares que tengo de las poesías de V. Si se proporcionara remitir algunos al Perú, lo haré, aquí nada se lee."
²
The bulk of Bello's original poetry consists of patriotic odes, an unfinished legend in verse, fables, album verses and minor literary satires.


² Ibid., p. liv. Dr. Fernández Madrid was a Colombian who went to England and there made Bello's acquaintance. He wrote some drama and poetry.
None of these can be scorned, according to Menéndez y Pelayo, because Bello is always a great master of language and poetic style; yet they add nothing to his fame. The best of the patriotic odes is Al diez y ocho de septiembre, written in 1841. This national ode first appeared in 1830, but was not satisfactory to its author, who rewrote it and presented a far superior version in 1841. In the ode Bello praises his adopted country and commemorates its Independence Day.

Diez y ocho de Septiembre, hermosa fiesta
de Chile, alegre día,
que nos viste lanzar el grave yugo
de antigua tiranía...

Mention was made in Chapter III of El incendio de la compañía, which was published in 1841 and which has come to be a literary landmark, for it gave rise to the polemic with the Argentine exiles which was simultaneous with Chile's first important literary movement. Menéndez y Pelayo finds it a "muestra palpable de que Dios no llamaba á Andrés Bello por los caminos del nuevo lirismo."  

About this same time don Andrés began to write a legend in verse titled El proscrito, in which he painted colonial personages and the fashions and customs of old Santiago. It was never completed and only a few fragments

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4 Ibid.

5 Obras completas de don Andrés Bello. Edición hecha bajo la dirección del Consejo de Instrucción Pública en cumplimiento de la Lei de 5 de Septiembre de 1872 (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1881-93), III, 125.

6 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, clv.
of it have been published.

As an example of Bello's fables, *La cometa* can be cited. It was first written in 1833 and revised in 1846.

The album verses are of some interest, for they reveal don Andrés as the perfect gentleman, and, in the words of Orrego, "llevan sello de galantería; son ligeras, amables, y tienen la tristeza del término, ese suave olor de los árboles en otoño." There are five of these compositions, written for the albums of señorita doña Mercedes Nuñoz (1848), the Italian singer doña Teresa Rossi (1850), doña Josefa Reyes de Garzenda (1853), señora doña Enriqueta Pinto de Bulnes (1861), and señora doña Julia Codecido de Mora (probably 1851).

Bello seldom touched directly upon the personal in his poetry, but in the verses for the album of señora doña Julia Codecido he makes allusion to the death of his daughter, doña Ana Bello de Valdés, which occurred on May 9, 1851.

Si es humilde homenaje, si es tardío encantadora Julia, el que te envío,
perdona a la aflicción, perdona al duelo en que abrumó mi corazón el cielo.

Tú supiste la causa de mi lloro,
i también la lloraste, lo aseguro,
que, de cuando es amable, i tierno, i puro,
tu pecho es el santuario i el tesoro.8

To find excellent poetry among Bello's Chilean compositions one has to turn to his imitations and translations.9 This may be partly due to the fact

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9 Meméndez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, clv.
that he was always timid about his own poetic work but was a constant admirer of the good poetry of others.10 Juan García del Río, who founded the magazine _El museo de ambas Américas_, wrote don Andrés a letter in 1842 in which he pleaded for contributions to help keep his publication alive.11 Bello finally sent him the two imitations of Victor Hugo titled _Las fantasmas_ and _A Olimpio_, described respectively as follows by Caro:

... llena la primera de ideales febriles y lúgubres del romanticismo germánico, pero de lindas y dedicadas formas en la traducción de Bello; grave y melancólica la segunda, con reminiscencias calderonianas en el estilo del traductor...12

At this time don Andrés was studying the verses of Victor Hugo, who, says Caro, "ejercía evidente prestigio sobre la imaginación de Bello."13 In addition to _Las fantasmas_ and _A Olimpio_, Bello imitated Hugo in _Los duendes_ (1843), _La oración por todos_ (1843) and _Moisés salvado a las aguas_ (1844). In his imitations don Andrés seized Hugo's original thought and developed it in Spanish.14 He was so successful that _La oración por todos_ is judged by Menéndez y Pelayo15 as superior to the original in French, and Caro believes _Moisés salvado a las aguas_ "...bella en francés, más bella, intachable en la versión castellana de Bello."16 Besides the general idea and some thoughts don Andrés took for _Los duendes_, in imitation of Hugo's _las Djinns_, the

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11 Obras completas, op. cit., III, lxxviii-iv.
12 Caro, op. cit., p. lviii.
13 Ibid.
14 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, cxxi.
15 Ibid.
16 Caro, op. cit., p. lviii.
progressive ascent and descent of the meter, that is, the progressive increasing and decreasing of the syllables in the verses.17

For La oración por todos don Andrés had a very touching theme. A father calls his daughter to prayer and tells her for whom to pray. No one, living or dead, is omitted in his enumeration and a responsive chord is sounded in the heart of every reader. An especially beautiful verse is the one describing children at prayer.

Sonó en la torre la señal; los niños conversan con espíritus alados; y los ojos al cielo levantados, invocan de rodillas al Señor. Las manos juntas y los pies desnudos, fe en el pecho, alegría en el semblante, con una misma voz, a un mismo instante, al Padre Universal piden amor.18

Among Bello's translations of poetry are Plautus's Rudens and Byron's Sardanapalo, which he began as the result of admiration for Byron; however, he did not finish it, much to the regret of Orrego,19 who believes it contains some of Bello's most beautiful passages. Orrego20 is also of the opinion that poetry led don Andrés directly to the theater. For a Spanish troupe he translated Teresa, drama of Dumas senior. After its successful performance in 1839, he made an adaptation of Ramón de la Cruz's sainete Las tres damas apuradas, and in 1844 his translation of Madame Ancelot's Clemencia o La hija del abogado was favorably received on the stage.

17 Obras completas, op. cit., III, 158.
18 Ibid., p. 169.
19 Orrego, op. cit., p. 134.
20 Ibid., p. 135.
Chief among Bello's many didactic works are his *Filosofía del entendimiento* and *Cosmografía o Descripción del universo conforme a los últimos descubrimientos*. The former was originally conceived as a text for use in the Instituto Nacional, but Bello delved so much deeper into the matter than he had intended that the book, still incomplete, was not published until after his death. Bello had begun his study of philosophy under Rafael Escalona in Venezuela. While in England he had absorbed the theories of the English philosophers and later in Chile he taught a course in philosophy in his own home.

Don Andrés divides philosophy into philosophy of the mind, which included mental psychology and logic, and moral philosophy. He only covered the first part or *Filosofía del entendimiento*. Baldomero Pizarro, who edited the work for the Obras completas in 1881, states that even though the influence of the English philosophers and Kant is very evident, the independence of Bello in his thinking caused him to disagree with many of their opinions and to substitute his own.

Pizarro considers the *Psicología mental* as the most important part of the *Filosofía del entendimiento*, saying:

La parte más importante de la Filosofía del entendimiento es la Psicología Mental. En efecto, rara vez se ha dirigido una mirada más poderosa y penetrante a los fenómenos de la conciencia; rara vez se ha hecho un análisis más profundo y delicado de la sensación y de la percepción de las relaciones; y rara vez, por fin, se han aplicado a las arduas cuestiones metafísicas una inteligencia más nutrida y despreocupada, tan buena voluntad y tan acendrado amor a lo verdadero.

22 Orrego, op. cit., p. 102
24 Ibid.
With all the praise Pizarro does not hesitate to point out many defects in the work which he finds result from a deficient method and incorrect definitions:

A consecuencia del método deficiente i de las definiciones i principios sensualistas o escépticos, desconoce la idea del infinito, da una falsa noción de eternidad, de causa, de sustancia, i desnaturaliza otras varias nociones i principios metafísicos.25

Why should the Filosofía del entendimiento be considered as one of Bello's most important works? Precisely because it is the first work of its type to be published in Chile and in all of America.26

Don Andrés began his investigations in cosmography when he was in London and continued them in Chile with increasing interest. From time to time, and as his many occupations permitted, he inserted articles in El araucano on the subject, which later became chapters of his Cosmografía o Descripción del universo conforme a los últimos descubrimientos.27 Orrego describes it as "un tratado meramente descriptivo, en que se siguen los estudios astronómicos de John Herschel."28 Amunátegui Reyes claims that it is not "un libro elemental destinado a los principiantes sino un tratado que podrían consultar con provecho aun las personas versadas en esta ciencia."29

The Cosmografía, which appeared in 1848, was reviewed in El comercio de Valparaíso by the distinguished Argentinian Bartolomé Mitre as follows:

25 Ibid., p. viii.
26 Ibid., p. xvii.
27 Ibid., XIV, xiv.
28 Orrego, op. cit., p. 95.
29 Obras completas, op. cit., XIV, lv.
Siendo también el primer tratado que se haya escrito hasta ahora, en lenguas nuevas o antiguas, sobre cosmografía en el hemisferio del sur, tiene la ventaja para los países meridionales de América de las aplicaciones i ejemplos australes, de que carecen los libros sobre la materia hechos al otro lado del equinoccio, es decir, todos los libros que no son hechos en la parte meridional de la América del Sur (porque no toda la América del Sur es meridional); o mejor, todos los libros europeos i norteamericanos.30

It is difficult to separate Andrés Bello's didactic works from his numerous philological studies, many of which are now antiquated but still important because of being the first of their type to be carried on in América.31 Bello's outstanding contributions to philology in the order of their appearances are the Principios de la ortografía y métrica de la lengua castellana (1835), the Análisis ideológico de los tiempos de la conjugación castellana (1841), and the Gramática de la lengua castellana (1847).

The Principios de la ortografía y métrica de la lengua castellana is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the fundamental sounds of words, their accents and quantity, and the second with rhythm and its accidents. In his treatment of orthoepy Bello noted the different opinions of orthoepists and stated that if he decided in favor of some particular one or proposed an entirely new solution, it did not mean that he condemned the others.32 Meter, he defined, as the "razonamiento dividido en tiempos iguales por medio de un órden fijo de acentos, pausas, rimas, con el objeto de agradar al oido."33 Bello reached the conclusion that the Spanish lan-

30 Ibid., p. xvi.


32 Obras completas, op. cit., V, 4.

33 Ibid., p. 107.
guage lacked long and short syllable, such as found in Latin and Greek, its syllables being of the same duration, so that it had to resort to different metric accidents in its versification. 34

The Principios de la orto\'log\'\'a y m\'etrica de la lengua castellana was approved by the Spanish Academy, which, on June 27, 1862, asked the author's permission to adopt it officially, with reservation of adding notes and making opportune corrections. 35

The most original and profound of don Andr\'es' linguistic studies, according to Men\'endez y Pelayo, 36 is the An\'alisis ideológico de los tiempos de la conjugación castellana. The study was actually made, Bello 37 states, in his youth and confirmed constantly by observation over a period of years.

Don Andr\'es preceded his presentation with an exposition of his ideas on the nature of the verb and its various moods. His illustrations for the different tenses, which are the same as the present day tenses, but with another nomenclature, have been taken from the best of Spanish literature. What Bello's study proved is summarized by Su\'arez:

En efecto: las leyes del significado de la conjugación caste\'llana descubiertas por BELLO existen en el lenguaje de Berceo casi lo mismo que en el de Cervantes, y prueban as\'i que no dependen de las invenciones de la cultura, sino que son desarrollo espontáneo de cierto genio oculto que los gu\'a. 38

34 Orrego, op. cit., p. 97.
35 Ibid.
36 Men\'endez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, cxxvii.
37 Obras completas, op. cit., V, 235.
38 Marco Fidel Su\'arez, Estudios gramaticales; introducción a las obras filol\'\'ogicas de d. Andr\'es Bello (Madrid: Imprenta de A. Pérez Dubrull, 1885), p. 42.
The most important of don Andrés' philological studies is his Gramática de la lengua castellana destinada al uso de los Americanos, "which, with the notes of Rufino José Cuervo..., is still considered the most complete and penetrating grammar of the language."39 It revolutionized the study of grammar. Bello's pretensions in writing his grammar were very modest. He made it clear that he was not writing for the castellanos, but for the inhabitants of Spanish America, as he judged it important that they conserve the purity of their mother tongue.40 The excellence of his work did not go unobserved in Spain. A few months after the appearance of the first edition Bello sent the Spanish Academy a copy. In acknowledging the work, the Academy wrote:

Deseosa la Real Academia de dar a tan insigne literato un testimonio público del concepto que ha formado de su obra, le ha nombrado académico honorario, distinción, que, por primera vez, se ha concedido ahora después de publicado el nuevo reglamento.41

Even though don Andrés wanted to conserve the purity of the language, he felt that Spanish Americans had a right to participate in the formation of the language and the laws governing it, and that logical expressions should not be condemned because of some caprice in the Peninsula which had declared them old-fashioned.42 Bello was reasoning the matter of grammar much as he had law and philosophy.


40 Obras completas, op. cit., IV, 8.

41 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Vida de don Andrés Bello (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1882), p. 542.

42 Obras completas, op. cit., IV, 10.
Don Andrés' Gramática was not entirely original and he acknowledged indebtedness to the Spanish Academy, Vincent Salvat and to Juan Antonio Puigblanch. But in spite of his borrowings, he introduced many innovations:

... creó un sistema gramatical propio, completo y científico; estableció un nuevo método de declinación; inventó nociones exactas sobre cada una de las partes del discurso; fijó puntos que eran antes problemáticos; expuso fielmente el uso clásico y corrigió los más notables yerros del habla castellana.

In all Bello devoted fifty chapters to the subject of grammar. One of the things his Gramática did was to clear up the various functions of words having more than one use, such as que, pues, mientras, mas and porque. The subject most perfectly treated by Bello, in the opinion of Suárez, is the Spanish verb: "Este es su argumento preferido, el que con mayor elegancia desenvuelve y el que por sí solo es bastante a conquistar a su autor el puesto de gran filólogo y gran filósofo." 

Four years after the appearance of the first edition of the Gramática Bello prepared an abridgement for the use of the schools. Two editions of this work appeared before his death, for he kept a copy on his desk and each time that an improvement occurred to him, he would jot it down.

Bello's desire to simplify the understanding of grammar occupied his attention even in his home life. His second wife, Isabel Dunn, being English, made as was natural, many mistakes in the agreement of words, such as

43 Ibid., p. 10.
44 Suárez, op. cit., p. 373.
45 Ibid., p. 43.
46 Ibid., p. 180.
adjectives with nouns. Don Andrés would tell her on this point: "Hijita, haga todas los sustantivos masculinos o femeninos esclusivamente; i así incurrirá en la mitad menos de las equivocaciones en que ahora incurre."48

Menéndez y Pelayo is very generous in his praise of Bello's three philological studies discussed above and what he says is a most appropriate close to the remarks concerning them:

... a él se debe, más que á otro alguno, el haber emancipado nuestra disciplina gramatical de la servidumbre en que vivía respecto de la latina, que torpemente se quería adaptar a un organismo tan diverso como el de las lenguas romances; y á él también, en parte, aunque de un modo menos exclusivo, el de haber desembarazado nuestra métrica de las absurdas nociones de cantidad silábica, que totalmente viciaban su estudio. Y aunque la Análisis de los Tiempos de la Conjugación parece á primera vista trabajo más metafísico que práctico, y más adecuado para mostrar la admirable perspicuidad y fuerza de método de su autor en este ensayo de álgebra gramatical, que para guiar al hablista ó al escritor en el recto uso de las formas, accidentes y matricies del verbo, y especialmente en la expresión de las relaciones temporales, todavía es grande el provecho que de él se saca...49

As a literary critic and scholar Bello's work was endless. From the time of his arrival in England in 1810 he investigated the origins of Spanish literature.50 In fact, says Valdaspe, "cabele la gloria de ser uno de los iniciadores de la historia literaria de la España medieval."51 Don Andrés' research, however, went beyond the beginnings of Spanish literature. He examined all the material available to him on the ancient literature of the Orient and on Greek and Latin literature. These findings he began placing

48 Gregorio Víctor Amunátegui, Anhelos de un padre recordados por su hijo, Miguel Luis Amunátegui Reyes, (Santiago de Chile: Dirección General de Prisiones, 1938), p. 366.
49 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, cxxvii.
50 Obras completas, op. cit., VI, xvii.
51 Valdaspe, op. cit., p. 228.
into a text in 1850 for the use of the Instituto Nacional, but he completed only the first two parts, the Literatura antigua del Oriente and the Literatura antigua de la Grecia.

The major portion of Bello's literary criticisms were published in El araucano. His method was eclectic. He understood that as a critic "debe ser generoso y benévolo, aproximarse a los jóvenes, alentarlos, convivir con ellos." 52 Chile was only beginning to produce writers and Bello well realized that his task was one of forming as well as criticizing, and for this reason he was always quick to make comparisons with the best of European literature. With all his generosity he did not allow himself to be influenced concerning his opinions. Gregorio Victor Amunátegui 53 recalls how one of Bello's opinions cost a friendship. Gabriel Alejandro de Azúa, an Argentine man of letters established in Chile, brought a volume of his fables, elaborately bound, to don Andrés for the latter's evaluation. Bello gave a frank but unfavorable verdict on the work which aroused the author's defense. Finally, Alejandro de Azúa said to Bello, "Señor don Andrés, sírvase Ud. devolverme el ejemplar que le he remitido, pues supongo que Ud. no quiera tener en su biblioteca un libro que le parece malo." Whereupon Bello retorted, "Señor don Alejandro, no puedo entregárselo ahora porque no lo tengo a mano; pero sírvase Ud. decirme su precio para pagárselo mañana si no puedo encontrar el libro."

With reference to dramatic literature, Bello was probably the first to

52 Orrego, op. cit., p. 139.

write dramatic criticism. Among the plays he reviewed were *Los amantes de Teruel*, *La condesa de Castilla*, *Los aspirantes* and *Marcela o A cual de los tres*.

Don Andrés' masterpiece in the line of literary research is his reconstruction of the *Poema del Cid*. Bello undertook this project on the medieval Spanish epic poem around 1823, and probably completed the major portion of what he did by 1834. In 1846 he offered the work to the editor Vincent Salvá, who advised him from Paris not to publish it unless he was willing to defray the costs as Salvá was certain that not more than fifty copies would be sold in ten years. Years later, on the suggestion of the *Facultad de Filosofía i Humanidades*, the Chilean government decided to pay the publication expenses, and Bello replied that he would attempt to get it into shape as quickly as possible. A letter written to Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, Secretary of the Spanish Academy, in June of 1863, reveals something of Bello's problem in putting the finishing touches on the work:

> Tengo un cúmulo no pequeño de anotaciones i disertaciones destinadas a explicar e ilustrar aquella interesante composición..... Mi designio habia sido sugerir las correcciones necesarias o probables que necesita el texto, que son muchas; manifestar el verdadero carácter de su versificación, que, a mi juicio, no ha sido suficientemente determinado, exagerándose con eso la rudeza i barbarie de la obra; i aun suplir alguno de los versos que le faltan con no poco detrimento de su mérito..... Me sería sumamente lisonjero que se dignase pasar la vista por algunos de los principales escritos que había trabajado con el objecto de dar a luz una nueva edición de la *Gesta de Mio Cid*, empresa iniciada 40 años há, pero que ya me es imposible llevar a cabo.

54 Orrego, op. cit., p. 139.

55 Obras completas, op. cit., II, vi.


57 Obras completas, op. cit., II, v.

58 Ibid.
Bello was familiar with the edition of the *Poema del Cid* published in 1779 by Tomás Antonio Sánchez. In preparing his edition Sánchez had used a manuscript dated 1307 found in a monastery in Vivar, near Burgos. Bello believed this manuscript to be disfigured by the *juglares* who sang it and by amanuenses.

On the actual date of the *Poema* don Andrés wrote:

Por otra parte me inclino a creer que el *Poema* no se compuso mucho después de 1200, i que aun pudo escribirse algunos años antes, atendiendo a las fábulas que en él se introducen, las cuales están, por decirlo así, a la mitad del camino entre la verdad histórica i las abultadas ficciones de la Crónica General i de la Crónica del Cid, que se compusieron algo más adelante.

Bello's guess as to the author follows:

Sobre quién fuese el autor de este venerable monumento de la lengua, no tenemos ni conjeturas siquiera.... Pero bien mirado, el *Poema del Cid* ha sido obra de una serie de generaciones de poetas, cada una de las cuales ha formado su texto peculiar, refundiendo los anteriores, i realzándolos con exajeraciones i fábulas que hallaban fácil acogida en la vanidad nacional i la credulidad.

According to Bello's theory, the first Spanish ballads are derived from the early epic poems, the explanation generally accepted by later students of Spanish balladry, including don Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the outstanding living authority in this field.

How should the *Poema* be classified? According to don Andrés

... no debemos clasificarlo sino con las leyendas versificadas

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59 Ibid., p. 2.
60 Ibid., p. 3.
61 Ibid., p. 20.
62 Ibid.
de los troveres; llamadas chansons, romans i gestes. Su mismo autor, dándole el título de Jesta, ha declarado su alourna i su tipo, según se ve por el principio de la segunda sección o cantar del Poema del Cid: "Aquí s'empieza la Gesta de Mio Cid el de Bivar. (v.1103)." Por donde aparece que el verdadero título del Poema es La Jesta de Mio Cid. I por aquí se ve también el jénero de composición a que pertenece la obra, el de las gestes o chansons de geste.

Bello evaluates the poem:

En cuanto a su mérito poético, echamos menos en el Mio Cid ciertos ingredientes i aliños que estamos acostumbrados a mirar como esenciales a la épica, i aun a toda poesía. No hai aquellas aventuras marabilosass, aquellas ajencias sobrenaturales que son el alma del antiguo romance o poesía narrativa en sus mejores épocas; no hai amores, no hai símiles, no hai descripciones pintorescas. Bajo estos respectos no es comparable el Mio Cid con los mas celebrados romances o jestas de los trovers. Pero no le faltan otras prendas apreciables i veraderamente poéticas. La propiedad del diálogo, la pintura animada de las costumbres i caracteres, el amable candor de las expresiones, la energía, la sublimidad homérica de algunos pasajes, i, lo que no deja de ser notable enaquella edad, aquel tono de gravedad i decoro que reina en casi todo él, le dan a nuestro juicio, uno de los primeros lugares entre las producciones de las nacentes lenguas modernas.

Of the meter, don Andrés notes:

No creo se haya advertido hasta ahora que La Jesta de Mio Cid está escrita en diferentes jéneros de metro. El dominante es sin duda el alejadriño de 14 sílabas, en que compuso sus poesías Gonzalo de Berceo; pero no puede dudarse que con este verso se mezcla a menudo el endecasílabo i algunas veces el enneasílabo.

To fill in the missing part at the beginning of the Poema del Cid Bello quoted material taken from the Crónica del Cid which covers the principal facts concerning Ruy Díaz prior to his banishment. Bello's version

63 Ibid., p. 2.
64 Ibid., pp. 21-22.
65 Ibid., p. 22.
66 Ibid., p. 28.
of the text is made up of 3,795 verses, in which he follows Sánchez in all except those places where the orthography was particularly bad or where there was danger of mistake in the legitimate pronunciation of the words.67 The text is followed by copious notes, which Bello feared might be regarded as having nothing to do with the question under discussion.

Tal vez se me acusará de haber dado demasiado libertad a la pluma, dejándola correr a materias que no tienen conexión con la obra de que soy editor; pero todas la tienen con el nacimiento e progreso de una bella porción de la literatura moderna, entre cuyos primeros ensayos figura el Poema del Cid.68

A glossary which attempts to supply some omissions and correct some oversights on the part of Sánchez completes Bello's work.

Even though Ramón Menéndez Pidal's research on the Poema del Cid has superseded all previous studies,69 at the time Bello's work appeared in 1881 it was "el más cabal que tenemos sobre el Poema del Cid."70

67 Ibid., p. 29.

68 Ibid.


70 Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., II, cxxxi.
CHAPTER VI

"EDUCATOR OF A WHOLE CONTINENT"

"In his own right, Bello ranks as a great figure in the Era of Independence: just as Bolívar was the liberator, so Bello was the educator of a whole continent."¹

When Bello arrived in Chile, it was one of the most backward of the Latin American republics in the matter of education.² México, Lima, Bogotá and Buenos Aires had continued to produce poets and writers of note throughout the period of the Wars of Independence. Chile had a few, but of secondary rank. What accounted for Chile's lag? Not lack of ability and intellectual faculties, but excessive ignorance resulting from neglect of education.³ Some progress had been made in the matter of reform in the few years that intervened between the close of the Revolution and don Andrés' coming to Chile, but the reform was far from producing satisfactory results, and one of the tasks to which Bello dedicated himself from the start was that of teaching.

The Chilean public was little aware of the rich prize it was getting


² Obras completas de don Andrés Bello. Edición hecha bajo la dirección del Consejo de Instrucción Pública en cumplimiento de la Lei de 5 de Setiembre de 1872 (Santiago de Chile: Pedro G. Ramírez, 1881-93), IV, xxxii.

³ Ibid. See also the opening paragraphs of Chapter I, above.
Esta riqueza no era visible en aquellos momentos, porque venía encerrada en la cabeza del recién llegado. Era un conjunto de ideas, de ideas muy superiores a las que en aquel tiempo circulaban entre nosotros, de ideas formadas en el severo modelo inglés, de ideas sazonadas al calor de una reflexión tan intensa como severa, de ideas en fin, cuya realización debía producir por fruto, el engrandecimiento, la gloria i la dicha de la comunidad chilena.  

The press was in as deplorable a state as education and Bello killed two birds with one stone by enriching it with his many articles, which in turn served as a source of public enlightenment. *El araucano*, the official weekly newspaper, began to be published shortly after don Andrés' arrival and he was soon made its editor. The fact that it is regarded as the outstanding Chilean publication of the period only serves to emphasize the genius of its editor.

Naturally it was not possible to make noticeable progress in the space of a few years and most writers are agreed that Chile's intellectual stagnation in the 1830's is in no way a reflection of Bello's efforts. However, one writer, José Victorino Lastarria, sees Bello during this period as the leader of an intellectual contrarrevolución brought about by his methods of teaching. Special mention is made of Bello's insistence on the teaching of law and the perfection of Latin, which Lastarria claims never served

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4 Ibid., p. xxxi.

5 J. V. Lastarria, Obras completas (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta "Barcelona," 1906-14), X, 146-48. Lastarria was a liberal who had studied with both Mora and Bello. In 1838 he joined the faculty of the Instituto Nacional and was later affiliated with the University of Chile. He distinguished himself as an orator, teacher and writer. He is the only author read by the writer who wrote critically of Bello's first years in Chile.

6 Ibid., p. 148.
Chileans as an instrument of progress. Miguel Luis Amunátegui⁷ rallies to don Andrés' defense, asserting that a man with Bello's ideas could not have led a reactionary movement in the colonies. In all events, the so-called period of intellectual retrogression was followed by Chile's first important literary movement, and Orrego⁸ concludes that Lastarria's attitude was the result of an attempt to obtain some of the glory which it brought for himself.

In 1840 Lastarria and his group felt that a new political party was the solution to the implanting of some of the ideas which they entertained on educational reform. While complimenting Bello for the ready support he always gave them, Lastarria noted that don Andrés, like all persons who continue to study and learn throughout their lives, varied and progressed in his ideas:

Mas en cuanto a los planes que tratábamos de realizar con nuestra enseñanza, aquellos amigos los miraban con recelo y varios de ellos los condenaban como peligrosos. No así el señor Bello, en su honor debemos decirlo, que lejos de reprobarnos, nos estimulaba, discutiendo y aconsejándonos, cada vez que nos acercábamos a consultarlo, lo que hacíamos con frecuencia....su espíritu por entonces tomaba nuevos rumbos, y ese cambio progresivo en sus ideas, que se operó siempre hasta su más avanzada edad, es uno de los caracteres más notables de su vida literaria. Pero él nos instaba a que nos consagráramos de preferencia a la enseñanza literaria para formar buenos escritores.⁹

Lastarria unwittingly proves that Bello had the Chilean situation well analyzed. If Chile had no poets, no writers, it was not a source of dismay

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⁷ Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Ensayos biográficos (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Nacional, 1893-96), II, 57.

⁸ Eugenio Orrego Vicuña, Don Andrés Bello (Santiago de Chile: Prensas de la Universidad de Chile, 1935), p. 137.

⁹ Lastarria, op. cit., X, 90-91.
to Bello, even though he had come from England where good literature was appreciated as well as written. Chile would have her authors with proper instruction.

Bello’s idea of education was that it should reach the masses and be one of the government’s chief concerns:

Yo ciertamente soy de los que miran la instrucción general, la educación del pueblo, como uno de los objetos más importantes e privilegiados a que pueda dirigir su atención el gobierno; como una necesidad primera y urgente; cimiento indispensable de las instituciones republicanas. 10

At another time he raised a question as to the advantage of having a handful of intellectuals when the majority of the population dwelt in ignorance.

¿Qué haremos con tener oradores, jurisconsultos e estadistas, si la masa del pueblo vive sumergida en la noche de la ignorancia, i ni puede cooperar, en la parte que le toca, a la marcha de los negocios, ni a la riqueza, ni ganar aquel bienestar a que es acreedora la gran mayoría de un estado? No fijar la vista en los medios más a propósito para educarla, sería no interesarse en la prosperidad nacional.11

As early as 1831 don Andrés advocated Sunday schools for the poorer classes in which they could learn to read and write without taking time from their daily work. 12 He also asked for the publication of books within the means of the underprivileged.

The classes that Bello taught in his own home provided Chileans with two advantages. First, they created interest in intellectual matters and provided a better education for a select number of students and, secondly, they were the source from which Chile drew many good teachers, for among his

10 Obras completas, op. cit., VIII, 309.
11 Ibid., p. 220.
12 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Ensayos biográficos, II, p. 75.
students there were many who dedicated themselves to teaching and who patterned their methods after Bello's.13

When Bello came to Chile there were only three popular careers, that of lawyer, land surveyor and ecclesiastic. As a result the only subjects studied thoroughly were jurisprudence, mathematics and theology. Medicine had no place in the school curriculum. In 1833 don Andrés picked up his pen to stimulate youth to abandon the unjustifiable shunning of this profession, which sprung from old-fashioned aristocratic ideas.

¿Por qué, siendo tan excesivo el número de los jóvenes que se dedican a las profesiones legales, se ve casi eternamente abandonada una carrera que en el estado actual del país conduciría con mucha más facilidad i seguridad a la reputación i a la fortuna? ¿Por qué se mira con tanto desdén la nobilísima profesión de la medicina, tan importante a la humanidad, i cultivada con tanto ardor i esmero en todos los países civilizados, i por las personas que tengan algún influjo sobre la juventud...14

Bello called attention to the fact that the Instituto Nacional, on the request of the government, was opening some courses in the medical sciences and that all that was lacking was a sufficient number of competent students.15

In 1834 the Biblioteca Nacional opened its doors. It was to be accessible to the public from 10:00 A.M. until 1:00 P.M. daily, except Sundays. Bello found this arrangement very inconvenient because it would not be easy for all those who desired to come during these hours.16 On the other hand,

13 Obras completas, op. cit., IV, xxxv.
14 Ibid., VIII, xiii.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., pp. 1-li.
don Andrés defended the regulations which kept the public from going directly to the shelves on which the books were kept.

Algunas personas de las que han visitado la Biblioteca han extranado que no se les permitiese entrar a su interior. Estamos seguros de que los que han pronunciado esta queja no se han detenido a considerar los graves daños que de semejante práctica se seguirían al establecimiento, pues no sería posible conservarlo, si se dejase entrar a las piezas donde están depositados los libros, i sobre todo si cada cual tuviese la facultad de ir a los estantes a sacar los que excitasen su curiosidad.  

The sciences had a particular attraction for Bello and he never failed, when the occasion presented itself, to publish articles of scientific interest. The neglect of scientific subjects in the school curriculum was lamented by him. He cited the need of scientific knowledge in 1832 merely as a matter of rounding out one's education:

Mas no es bastante al hombre el conocimiento de sí mismo i el de las relaciones que lo unen con los de su especie. Es preciso, además, darle a conocer los seres extraños que lo rodean i sus naturaleza que asombran al vulgo; es preciso darle una idea general del universo, i manifestarle cómo descienden los cuerpos, de qué modo suben los líquidos; por qué medio los objetos materiales hieren sus sentidos, i cuáles son los recursos con que un habitante de la tierra recorre las inmensas órbitas que describen los astros, i demarcada dada punto de su carrera.

In 1841 Bello was visualizing the need of sciences if Chile was to develop her mining and manufacturing possibilities and he hailed physical sciences and mathematics as the "antorcha que preceda i alumbre esta marcha o este gran progreso." In the last years of his long life don Andrés became interested in the propagation of meteorological observations in Chile.

17 Ibid., pp. 1-11.
18 Ibid., p. 194.
19 Ibid., p. 224.
and it was due to his efforts that the Facultad de Ciencias of the University of Chile acquired a good supply of instruments destined to regularize observations throughout the republic. 20

Along with the sciences, more attention was imperative to statistics. Data of all types on the country itself were very scarce. Don Andrés believed that in order to improve the lot of the general public, the first step was to know it thoroughly, but unfortunately Chile had no statistics to show what its actual condition was. 21 In March of 1843 he inserted the following in El araucano:

De una buena estadística depende en gran parte el acierto de las medidas administrativas, pero no es esto solo lo que la hace preciosa. Ella da antecedentes seguros a los que piensan y escriben sobre los medios de desenvolver los recursos naturales del país; sin la luz que ella suministra, solo pueden hacerse hipótesis aventuradas, i cálculos que no merecen confianza. 22

A campaign instituted by Bello that brought no immediate results was the campaign against the censorship to which books were submitted which reached the customhouse. He wrote several articles on the subject but it was not until 1878 when Miguel Luis Amunátegui was Secretary of State that this was suppressed. 23 In spite of lack of success don Andrés did not stint himself in his efforts to gain entrance to the country of all kinds of printed works and theatrical productions, notwithstanding the fact that independent thought and the theatre were warred upon by the clergy and religious

20 Ibid., XIV, xviii.
21 Ibid., VIII, lvii.
22 Ibid., lxiii.
23 Orrego, op. cit., p. 94.
folk. Those that did not frequent the theatre for pleasure, wrote Bello, should do so on behalf of public spirit.

Bello made it his business to keep abreast of what was being taught in the various schools in Santiago, his favorite among them being the Instituto Nacional. He visited the schools at examination time to interrogate the students on Spanish grammar, Latin, philosophy, and law. Then almost always he would give an account of his observations in the press. He also was present at the schools when prizes were awarded and he liked to have the awards made with great pomp.

In 1842 don Andrés summarized with pleasure the progress in the growth of schools in El Araucano. Fifteen years previous there had only been the Instituto Nacional, but at this time there were five colegios for young men and as many more for young women, in addition to a multitude of subordinate institutions for both sexes and free municipal schools for men. The government was further sponsoring a free institution for poor girls.

How much importance can be laid upon the actual value of Bello's double action in teaching and in the press up to the year 1843? The truth is that, through both, ideas of his knowledge became generalized and his word "llegó a ser un oráculo en las materias sobre que versaba." His authority because indisputable and he came to have a true literary and scientific sceptre in his hands.

24 Miguel Luis Amunátegui, Ensayos biográficos, II, 133.
25 Orrego, op. cit., p. 94.
26 Obras completas, op. cit., VIII, lxiv.
27 Ibid., IV, xxxvii.
28 Ibid.
The creation of the University of Chile afforded Bello the means of putting into practice many of his ideas regarding education. Orrego considers don Andrés' work with the University as probably his greatest achievement on behalf of Chilean and South American culture.

Con aquel instituto que moldeó desde sus primeros pasos y en cuya marcha influyó en el sentido del mayor progreso ideológico que consentían las circunstancias... se inicia una etapa fundamental en la vida intelectual de nuestra América.

The University of Chile succeeded the Universidad de San Felipe and carried on to a higher plane the studies begun in the Instituto Nacional. Its creation was not the work of Bello alone. Mariano de Egaña had first introduced the university project. In 1839 he succeeded in winning the government's consent to dissolving the Universidad de San Felipe and to founding an institution to take its place. But it was not his good fortune to give life to the project. The actual plans did not mature until several years later when Manuel Montt was serving as Secretary of Education under General Bulnes. The government at that time called upon Bello to draw up a basic organization project for the future university. The project was prepared, referred to a committee and finally submitted to congress. Once approved, steps were taken to convert the project into a reality. The university was to be modeled after the French universities and particularly the Institute of France. It was to have five departments, philosophy and humanities, law, physical sciences and mathematics, medicine, and theology. It was subject to the almost absolute control of the government, the president.

29 Orrego, op. cit., p. 146.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., p. 147.
of the republic having the title of patrono. The university board, headed by the president or rector, was subject to government selection and had no real authority, its functions being primarily of an informative nature. Nevertheless, says Orrego,

Con todo, era tal la autoridad de Bello, su primer rector, que durante la vida de éste o sea en el periodo de formación de la Universidad, los gobiernos que se sucedieron en el país le pres-taron el mayor acatamiento que las circunstancias políticas y los de carácter general hacían posible. 32

Don Andrés was named first president of the university by supreme decree of July 21, 1843, his closest competitor for the position having been Juan Francisco Meneses, last president of the Universidad de San Felipe. To this office Bello was reelected four times. He died soon after the beginning of his fifth term in 1865.

In September of 1843 the university was installed with great pomp and ceremony. When don Andrés rose to present the inaugural address he was given a deafening ovation. In his discourse which followed he expressed his ideas on the two-fold mission of the university, namely, the direction of higher and professional education and the supervision of public education in the primary and secondary schools. The latter was to be the task of the Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades.

Bello made specific reference to many of his favorite ideas and the role the university would play in putting them into effect. On statistics he said:

La universidad estudiará también las especialidades de la sociedad chilena bajo el punto de vista económico, que no presenta problemas menos vastas, ni de menos arriesgada resolución. La universidad exa-minará los resultados de la estadística chilena, contribuirá a for-

32 Ibid., p. 148.
marla i leerá en sus guarismos la expresión de nuestros intereses materiales. Porque en este, como en los otros ramos, el programa de la universidad es enteramente chileno: si toma prestadas a la Europa las deducciones de la ciencia, es para aplicarlas a Chile. 33

Medicine was to be given its due place among the professions:

La medicina investigará, siguiendo el mismo plan, las modificaciones particulares que dan al hombre chileno su clima, sus costumbres, sus alimentos; dictará las reglas de la higiene privada y pública, se desvelará por arrancar a las epidemias el secreto de su germinación y de su actividad devastadora; y hará, en cuanto es posible, que se difunda a los campos el conocimiento de los medios sencillos de conservar y reparar la salud. 34

The attention to be given to the study of the Spanish language was stressed by don Andrés, 35 who stated that he did not seek exaggerated purity and believed that new words brought in by new ideas should be incorporated into the language. Language study was one of don Andrés favorite subjects and the work he did in this field alone was a great contribution to Chilean and South American culture. One of the first articles he wrote on the matter was titled Advertencias sobre el uso de la lengua castellana dirigidas a los padres de familia, profesores de los colegios y maestros de escuela, in which he expressed himself as follows:

Son muchos los vicios que bajo todos estos aspectos se han introducido en el lenguaje de los chilenos y de los demás americanos y aun de la Península, y basta una mediana atención para corregirlas. Sobre todo, conviene extirpar estos hábitos viciosos en la primera edad, mediante el cuidado de los padres de familia y preceptores, a quienes dirigimos particularmente nuestras advertencias. 36

33 Obras completas, op. cit., VIII, 312.
34 Ibid.
36 Rudolfo Lenz, El español en Chile (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1940), p. 51.
The university did not delay in giving splendid evidences of fulfilling the mission entrusted to it, thanks to Bello's skilful guidance. According to its statutes, each year someone from the university was to read an essay or memoria on Chilean history. This regulation did much to stimulate its study, with the result that the history of Chile became better known than that of any other Spanish American country. Don Andrés guided the authors with advice and corrections. For the preparation of the first memoria in 1844 Bello designated Lastarria. The title of his paper was Investigaciones sobre la influencia social de la conquista i del sistema colonial de los españoles en Chile.

How well don Andrés knew history and how much help he was to Chilean youth in this connection is evidenced by a tribute paid him by Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, one of Chile's outstanding historians: "... cuando empezaba mi carrera de escritor público, recibí el aliento y consejo del más ilustre crítico americano, que comprendía la historia como Salustio y como Tucídides y así aconsejaba escribirla."  

In 1848 in a discourse which he presented on the occasion of the university's anniversary Bello was able to make a detailed report as to its progress and achievements. Primary education was spreading satisfactorily,

37 Domingo Amunátegui Solar, Historia de Chile. Las letras chilenas (Santiago de Chile: Balcells & Co., 1925), p. 78.

38 Ibid., p. 79. This treatise, according to Amunátegui Solar, presented the form of a dissertation and revealed Lastarria as a publicist rather than as a historian.

39 Ricardo Donoso, Don Benjamín Mackenna, Su Vida, sus escritos y su tiempo (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Universitaria, 1925), p. 520.
a great deal of the credit for this being due to Sarmiento. Secondary education was reaching a larger percentage of the population. The study of foreign languages had increased and Bello\textsuperscript{40} said that all that was to be desired was that the knowledge of them be completed with some notions as to their respective literatures. In history, an improvement was noted because facts were being sought.\textsuperscript{41} The Spanish language, however, was still not being written in a way that pleased don Andrés,\textsuperscript{42} judging from what he read in the press. A good knowledge of Roman Law was essential and Bello felt that its study should be penetrated more deeply. Mathematics and geography were being well taught, and medicine was making notable progress.

The chief obstacle encountered in the fostering of education was the lack of good texts and Bello recommended the translation of foreign texts to overcome it, as well as the writing of more texts by university professors. He himself set an excellent example with his own texts. A shortage of good teachers and adequate inspectors for the public schools was another drawback, but the teaching profession was gaining in popularity and this shortage would disappear with time.

In two detailed memorias which Bello presented to the university board in 1854 and 1859 he demonstrated the effectiveness of statistics. He proceeded to show the percentage of persons receiving instruction in the various schools in different sections of the country in comparison with the

\textsuperscript{40} Obras completas, op. cit., VIII, 379.

\textsuperscript{41} Ibid., p. 380.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., p. 387.
population. He also gave an idea of the subjects taught in these schools. As an example of the progress being made, according to Bello's figures, the membership of the Escuela normal can be cited. In 1854 Bello reported this as seventy students and in 1859 it had increased to one hundred five students. Night schools had been established to accommodate those who could not attend day schools. A school for deaf-mutes had flourished for a time as a department of the Escuela normal, but had to be subsequently discontinued for lack of a suitable teacher. Technical schools were finding a trailbreaker in the Escuela de artes i oficios, which in addition to religion, taught writing, Spanish grammar, principles of algebra, elementary geometry, trigonometry, descriptive geography, drawing, etc.

In deference to its cultural policy, the university sponsored important contests and awarded prizes. It also encouraged the exchange of scholarly works with foreign institutions, thereby enriching its own library, and it began to publish original works.

Notwithstanding the fact that don Andrés was being permitted rather a free hand in shaping educational policies, he was constantly aware of governmental power and knew when not to antagonize it. As time went on he made several attempts to gain autonomy for the university. His first efforts got under way in 1848 when a former pupil of his, Salvador Sanfuentes, held a post in the Ministerio de Justicia. A few changes were brought about and Bello then made a bid for radical reform. The university board drew up a plan which it finally submitted in 1861 to the government, only to have it filed. 43 An attempt to revive interest in the matter was also unsuccess-

ful and Lastarria\textsuperscript{44} states that this left Bello sad and discouraged. Orrego does not agree with Lastarria's point of view, writing:

Bello no se consideró ni vencido ni sus decepciones, con no ser pocas, fueron tales como las describe su discípulo. Hombre realista sabía que la lucha era de años y había de ser ganada al fin y que para mejor lograrlo tenía importancia especial vitalizar la Universidad por todos los medios, afianzar las conquistas hechas, preparar otras, combatir la invasión oficialista en donde fuera posible y con todos los medios que parecían razonables. No desmayó en esos trabajos.\textsuperscript{45}

The many services which Bello rendered the university during his terms as president are excellently summed up by Orrego:

En los años que él la presidiera había formado los cuadros de la educación general del país, había formado la enseñanza superior, creado escuelas, liceos y bibliotecas públicas, reorganizado la Nacional, abierto los cauces de la investigación del pasado y plantado las piedras militares de nuestra historia; había analizado el territorio chileno, estudiado su naturaleza y sus posibilidades, creado un ambiente intelectual que antes existía sólo embrionariamente; había preparado maestros, fomentado las letras, servido las ciencias y hecho los cimientos de la cultura nacional. Y en el inventario de esos servicios y triunfos podía aún añadirse que la Universidad de Chile era, en las medianías del siglo XIX, el más alto foco intelectual de Hispano América.\textsuperscript{46}

Andrés Bello died on October 15, 1865. To honor his memory the Chilean government decreed that an edition be made of his complete works and that a marble statue of him be erected, both of which were done.

South America has produced many great men but few that can match Bello in talents well used and accomplishments. He distinguished himself and brought honor to Chile and the continent as a poet, literary critic, statesman, lawmaker, philosopher, philologist and educator. Time has judged him favorably and placed his name in the temple of immortality.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[44] Ibid., p. 104.
\item[45] Orrego, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 171-72.
\item[46] Ibid., p. 172.
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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Miss Lula M. Pignatelli has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Modern Languages.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

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