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The Literary and Political Influence of Miguel Antonio Caro

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Loyola University Chicago

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THE LITERARY AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE
OF MIGUEL ANTONIO CARO

BY

SISTER MARY VIATOR SUGRUE

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

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CHICAGO

JUNE

1945
VITA

Sister Mary Viator Sugrue was born in Chicago, Illinois. She received her primary and secondary education at Our Lady of Sorrows School and Our Lady of Providence Academy, Chicago.

The Bachelor of Arts degree, with majors in English, Spanish, and commerce, was conferred by Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College, Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, August, 1932.

For four years previous to her entering the Congregation of the Sisters of Providence, the writer was engaged in secretarial work in Chicago. Since then she has been assigned as instructor of religion, commerce, English and Spanish in schools conducted by the Sisters of Providence in Malden, Massachusetts; in Evansville, Terre Haute, Fort Wayne, and Indianapolis in Indiana.

After one summer session in the Graduate School at the University of Notre Dame, Sister Mary Viator enrolled at Loyola University in Chicago, June, 1942, as a major in the Department of Spanish.
Perhaps unknown to the vast majority of English-speaking literary scholars is the great señor Miguel Antonio Caro, one of Colombia's most prominent men of letters. His life was dedicated to organizing the intellectual background of his own country and to guiding it in civic ideals. Filled with a spiritual culture based on the teachings, traditions, and ideals of the Catholic faith, he carried on his various activities of politics, writing, criticism, and philology. First and foremost a loyal and militant Catholic, he used his unusual gift of forceful conviction in polemics in the interests of the Church to the extent of influencing decisively the deliberations of the Consejo Nacional in drawing up the Constitution of 1886. This Constitution, which re-established relations between the Church and State, exists even to this day.

Yet his greatest achievement is in the literary field in which he is one of the matchless writers of Spanish America. Caro is humanist, poet, orator, philosopher, historian, philologist; however, the culmination of his literary talent is in the field of criticism. Caro is considered the real founder of this literary genre in Colombia. He was founder of the Colombian Academy of Letters, an associate member of the Spanish Academy, and president of the Republic.
The purpose for presenting the life, influence, and critical evaluation of the literary contributions of Caro is to arouse interest and enthusiasm in the works of this profound thinker and to make a knowledge of him available in English. This investigation of Miguel Antonio Caro, although the first to be made in English, does not begin to exhaust the interesting possibilities in the literary contributions of one of the staunchest sons of the Church in Colombia, and outstanding man of letters in Bogotá.
A LA PROVIDENCIA DE DIOS

DEDICO ESTE HUMILDE ESTUDIO SOBRE UN CATÓLICO DISTINGUIDO, HIJO OBEDIENTE DE LA MADRE IGLESIA CATOLICA!
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INTRODUCTION

In order to appreciate more fully and to understand more clearly the great influence exerted by Miguel Antonio Caro on the politics and literature of his country, we might briefly survey Colombia's status in the nineteenth century. Colombia, the land of Bolívar, founded in 1538 and named Nueva Granada by the conquistador, Jiménez de Quesada, is by nature practically a hermit republic. "One of the richest countries in the world" and third largest country in South America, she has today by far the largest investment of American brains and American money of any territory washed by the Caribbean. The capital, Santa Fe de Bogotá, eighty-seven hundred feet above sea level, forms the setting for the eventful career we are about to present in these pages—that Bogotá of which Menéndez y Pelayo had said: "The Colombian Parnassus today excels in literary quality, if not in quantity, that of any other region of the New World."  

Since her independence in 1824, Colombia's history, so intimately bound up with this study, offers a variegated picture of alternating revolutions and peace. In 1830 the Republic of Nueva Granada, the forerunner of present-day Colombia, was founded; in 1863 the name was changed to the United States of Colombia; later to the Republic of Colombia.

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2 Ibid., p. 271.

The literary history of Spanish America presents two distinct periods corresponding to the two great epochs of its political life. During the Colonial era, from the Spanish Conquest until the Emancipation, literature in the colonies followed the vicissitudes of growth, decadence, and innovation that were taking place in the mother country. The second period, embracing the span from the Emancipation to the Contemporary, Hispanic-American literature reflects the influences and follows the various currents of European thought. Its principal features are the exuberance of lyricism, brilliancy of form, and niceness in the use of language. In this second period there were two principal conflicting tendencies—classical and romantic. In almost every country there were nuclei of highly cultured men who avidly discussed literary questions in periodicals and in social groups.

Although the Wars of Independence had politically ended Spain's control, nevertheless her cultural heritage—conservative, Catholic, classical, academic—was still a potential force in the intellectual life of the new republics. The great classical luminary in Chile was Andrés Bello. In Colombia where relative isolation from cosmopolitan influences and a conservative religious spirit fostered the academic attitude, the classic trend was maintained. Its greatest exponent was Miguel Antonio Caro. The classical school held for these principles: insistence on purity of language with a close adherence to traditional Castilian syntax and vocabulary;


restraint in the treatment of typically American themes, in the use of colloquial language; and reverence for the classics of Spain as literary guides.⁶

In contrast to this school were the writers of more unshackled inspiration, those of the romantic literary theory who insisted on Americanizing literature and creating nationalism through literature. This movement, particularly well developed in Argentina and Uruguay, led to the use of typical new-world backgrounds, situations, and language.⁷

The literary production of Colombia, including the older Granada, is generally admitted to have exceeded that of any other Spanish-American country: Bogotá, her capital, is frequently referred to as the "Athens of America." The people of Bogotá have retained many characteristics of their ancestors with less change, perhaps, than is the case in other Spanish American communities; "the educated class having distinction of ancestry as well as inherited wealth, it is quite natural that their literature should have aristocratic traits."⁸ "Of all the people of South America," remarks Juan Valera, "the people of Bogotá are the most devoted to letters and arts."⁹ Again Valera observes that "Although Colombia is a democratic republic, her poetry is aristocratic, cultivated, ornate."¹⁰

Since the Conquest there have existed schools, colleges, and a seminary in Bogotá, and since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Universidad

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⁶ Ibid., p. 535.
¹⁰ Ibid., p. 286.
Real y Pontificia de Santo Tomás was one of her glorious seats of learning.

During the Colonial period, however, Nueva Granada produced but few literary works, the most important among them being the pseudo-epic of Juan de Castellanos. The seventeenth century, too, was far from fertile. In the early eighteenth century the Jesuits brought the printing press to Colombia, and this caused a great intellectual awakening. However, it was not until the nineteenth century that the first poets of real artistic talent appear. Among the most prominent of these in the early decades is José Eusebio Caro, the father of Miguel.

The outstanding humanist of the century is Miguel Antonio Caro, whose versatility in literary production is unusual, embracing, as it does, lyric, oratory, criticism, philosophy, history, philology, and polemics—controversy both literary and political. Caro's literary fame rests principally on his critical studies. Characteristic of his method of criticism were his philosophical and philological approach, his reluctance to deal with living or recent authors, and his uncompromising Catholicism. Of him, Otero Muñoz has said, "la gloria de las letras Colombianas." 14

12 Ibid., p. 232.
CHAPTER I
CARO'S EARLY YEARS AND EARLY INFLUENCES

Miguel Caro is dead! This report flashed through Bogotá and all of Colombia on the morning of August 5, 1909. Sixty-six years of an eventful and well-spent life had ended a career in time, to begin the endless "now" of eternity. Two years later, September 30, 1911, the Republic of Colombia passed law number twelve, 1 honoring the name and the memory of her illustrious son whose virtues, talents, and knowledge brought honor to the country which he had served during long years as teacher, guide, legislator, and president. This law authorized the erection of a bronze statue in Bogotá to bear the inscription:

A Miguel Antonio Caro
La Republica de Colombia

The law further authorized the publication of all Caro's literary works at the expense of the National Public Treasury. The work was assigned to the direction of a Commission appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction; one fourth of the copies were to be distributed in national and foreign libraries, the other three fourths to be delivered to the family of Miguel Caro. This law was duly signed and executed; the statue was erected with impressive inaugural exercises on November 10, 1917; and between the years 1918 and 1933 nine volumes of Caro's works were published: six volumes of prose, Obras Completas, and three volumes of Obras Poéticas. Víctor E. Caro,

1 See Appendix I for copy of this law.
son of Miguel Antonio, and Antonio Gómez Restrepo directed the compiling and publication of the works.

Miguel Antonio Caro, on whom his father "had invoked heaven's favor," even before the child made his advent into this world, was born into a family where classic traditions and Christian ideals were cultivated and fostered. Caro is one of a long lineage of poets and men of literary accomplishments. Born in Bogotá in Colombia, November 10, 1845, the son of José Eusebio Caro, poet of the Romantic school, Miguel had but to follow the trail of a literary career blazed for him by his illustrious father and by his other gifted ancestors.

The renowned line of Caro's is so affectionately chained to the story of "la patria" that it may be said in all truth that the chronicle of their family is entwined at intervals with the history of Colombia. The most striking and important traits of the Spanish race mark these singular peoples. Their literary ancestry dates back to 1750 to don Francisco Javier Caro, a litterateur "de tomo y lomo," of great importance one well versed in Greek, Latin, and Castilian letters. Menéndez y Pelayo identified Francisco Javier Caro as the main stock of the most illustrious family in Colombian letters, a satirist and ardent student of Horation poetry, grandfather

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3 Eduardo Carranza, "La musa heróica y austera de don Miguel Caro," Revista de las Indias, 57: 544, September, 1943.

of the vehement and philosophic poet, José Eusebio Caro, and great grandfather of the great humanist, poet, and critic, Miguel Antonio Caro, "to whom we owe the best translation of Virgil that is in our language."  

Following this gifted family down to the early decades of the nineteenth century, we have the poet, José Eusebio (1817-55), one of the three dominant persons figuring in the life and early influences of Miguel Antonio. José Eusebio exercised a sway in the political as well as in the literary history of his country. He is characterized for us by Eduardo Carranza as: 

... radiant, homesick for heaven, American Ariel, singer of the serene solitudes, who is still for us the greatest of the first Spanish romanticists; and father of the titanic Miguel Antonio, who had the best organized mind in Colombia.  

A profound religious faith, a fervent patriotism a serenity and fidelity toward republican principles are resplendent in the life and works of "this noble patriarch."  Paternal love, an ideal dearly cherished by José Eusebio, is the theme of four of his best-known poems. Being a man of highly inflexible character, he became the champion of truth in journalism and in letters. The fountains of his literary inspiration were God, religion, lib-

5 Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología de poetas hispano-americanas, III (Madrid, 1894), quoted in Ibid., p. 7.


9 Ibid., p. 95.
erty, the joys of the family, and at times, the vicissitudes of the "patria." His metrical innovations gave to his verse a certain character of strength and disarray which are only understood when one recalls that there were in him four poetic styles.

All the reforms and changes in nineteenth century European literary movements had repercussions on this side of the Atlantic. José Eusebio read the Anglo Saxon poets; he felt his being harmonize with the gravity of English rhythm, and he was overcome with an earnest desire to assimilate into the Castilian meter this foreign element. Hills and Morley describe it thus: "As a result of reading English poetry he wrote verses of eight and eleven syllables, so very rare in Spanish." Composing hexameters and hendecasyllables, modeled on the style of Pope, he substituted movement and rhythm of verse and rotundity of stanza in place of cadence, thus representing a literary reform which established an innovation in Castilian verse. This was later taken up and perfected by Ruben Darío.

Caro's poetry was strongly influenced by studies of Martínez de la Rosa, Quintana, Moratín, and Byron. His poetry also reflected and re-echoed


12 Gustavo Otero Muñoz, Resumen de Historia de la literatura Colombiana Tercera edición (Bogotá: Editorial Escolar, 1940), p. 77.


much of his own personal experiences. He, the puritan of Spanish American literature, was collaborator, in 1836, in the founding of the first purely literary journal in Colombia, "La Estrella Nacional; 15 he also edited the political journal, "El Granadino. By the force of his elevated thought and outlook, together with his correct and elegant form of expression, his poetic compositions have merited a place in the leading anthologies of Colombian literature.

Being a man of strong conviction, especially when principle was at stake, José Eusebio found himself obliged to leave his country because of his courageous defense of what he considered to be righteous. Before dawn, on a Sunday morning in June, 1850, he left Bogotá, hurriedly traversed the territory northward and embarked from Maracaibo for New York. Caro, the valorous journalist, fearless of danger, had never refused to accept his responsibilities; he had never shirked a duty where justice was to be defended. 17 Because he would not change a word of what he had written when he believed he had spoken the truth, he turned his back on the enemy and fled. In those dark days of violent hates, of official persecutions and of personal insecurity, Caro's act, innocent and legal, was considered subversive. His self-imposed exile occurred shortly after a change in the government upon the


17 Víctor E. Caro, La juventud de don Miguel Antonio Caro (Bogotá: Minerva editorial, n.d.), p. 5.
election of José Hilario López. Caro, the man of uncompromising moral integrity, sacrificed personal advantages in defense of his ardent belief in political freedom and liberty of conscience.

This incident brought a prison order for him. He would have taken the consequences willingly, but his wife and friends prevailed upon him and convinced him of the futility of the sacrifice. With broken heart he decided to leave his home and native land. He remained in the United States nearly three years where he devoted himself to teaching and to study. In 1853 circumstances which motivated his expatriation having changed, he returned to Colombia, but on disembarking was overcome by a fever and died before reaching Bogotá. His death produced a profound impression throughout the country. Miguel Antonio was then ten years old.

The intellectual inheritance, so keen in Miguel Antonio, might have come to him also from his maternal grandfather, Miguel Tobar, who adopted the boy after his father's exile, and formed him to his own way of thinking along classical ideals. At a very tender age, Miguel Antonio was introduced to the great Latin writers and initiated by his grandfather into the language of Virgil and Horace for whom he acquired a profound admiration which colored his intellectual outlook throughout his entire life. Simultaneously with the learning of his mother tongue, Caro learned Latin.

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19 Loc cit.


Tobar, the grandfather, knew Virgil practically by memory, and he was able to read the Odyssey in the original. A fluent litterateur in French and Italian letters, he also possessed excellent esthetic taste. His favorite authors, Virgil and Fray Luis de León, were also the first choice of little Miguel. Until Tobar's death in 1861 he was tutor, guide, inspiration, and father to the lad in whom so many of the virtues and talents of the Spanish race fructified. One may well conclude that the unselfish and disinterested attitude Miguel Caro always held toward wealth and the goods of the world was instilled into him during his formative years by Tobar for whom the interests of fortune never held an attraction.

Before retirement from public life, Tobar had been Procurator General of the Nation, magistrate of the supreme court, and at times, deputy to Congress; yet, he had never taken active part in politics. A man of deep thought and study, he passed long hours in his library which was splendidly equipped with works on legislation, and of the classic Latin and Spanish writers. This library also formed a large part of Miguel Antonio's inner world, and from its valuable sources he drank in classic thoughts and ideas which definitely formed his ideals. In this sanctum of thought and inspiration, Tobar held tertulias [literary chats] with his friends of other days. On these occasions, the little Caro would be found hidden under the table or crouched in a corner listening avidly to the literary conversations and disc-

23 Ibid., p. 106.
24 Ibid., p. 106.
cussions. Recollections of all this remained so vividly engraved on his memory that often in later years he would lovingly recall them in reminiscence. The solitude and delights of the "study" held such a charm for Miguel Caro through his long life, that even after his retirement from political labors in 1898, he again sought his rest and consolation with books in the peace and quiet of the library.

Tobar had great affection for young Miguel; he had given him his first lessons in Castilian, Latin, and in the laws of versification. It was Tobar who led Miguel Antonio, as if by the hand, through the fields of history. Furthermore, in the formation of the boy's personality, Tobar left a very definite mark. Under this inspiring guidance Caro learned how to think in Latin and how to reason with precision and logic. It was these early teachings that awakened in the adolescent youth his unusual vocation for the classics.

After their father's death, Miguel Antonio and his younger brother, for a short time attended the colegio de Yerba Buena, directed by don Juan Antonio Marroquín, a personal friend of José Eusebio's. The following year the education of the children was confided to an English tutor, Thomas Jones Stevens, an Oxford University man, a devout Catholic, and a student of deep-seated learning. Stevens lived with the Caro's until his death in 1855 when the boys were placed in the colegio de doña Sixta Pontón, a sort of semi- conventual school for children. Shortly afterwards they were sent to a

school conducted by José Cuervo and Antonio José de Sucre. The Caro boys left these two training schools with little knowledge but with two good friends, Gonzalo Mallarino and Rufino José Cuervo.²⁷ Cuervo was later to be collaborator with Caro in a Latin Grammar which ran through many editions.

In 1858, through the efforts of Archbishop Herrán, a group of Jesuits was brought back to Bogotá. The superior of this band was the Padre Pablo de Blas, an eminent son of Ignatius, who had been one of those expelled by López in 1850. The Jesuits were given the edifice of San Bartolomé; in February of 1859 the school was opened and the Caro youths enrolled. Listed among their classmates are the names of many men who later became prominent in literature and influential in government. Among Miguel's Jesuit instructors is mentioned Padre Proano, who at the time was only a scholastic. A close friendship between Miguel and Padre Proano was formed; a friendship which lasted through life and was another of the great influences to affect the formative years of Miguel. A Jesuit school publication of that time mentions Miguel Antonio Caro as recipient of first prize in four courses: Spanish grammar, Latin grammar, Spanish and Latin versification.²⁹ In El Catolicismo, a periodical founded by Archbishop Mosquera, there appeared some exceptionally fine Latin verses signed by Miguel A. Caro, alumno del Colegio de San Bartolomé.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 11.
²⁹ Ibid., p. 12.
Peace was again disturbed; black clouds of revolution once more hovered over the country. The revolutionary forces entered Bogotá in July of 1861, and on the 26th of the same month the decree of expulsion of the Jesuits was once more signed. On the thirty-first, the feast of Saint Ignatius Loyola, the decree was put into execution. Miguel and his brother returned home—to a home where death had again paid a visit. Miguel Tobar had gone to his eternal reward. This was one of the greatest sorrows in the life of Miguel Antonio. He was eighteen then, but until the close of his life he never refrained from centering most of his reminiscences around his beloved grandfather who was really the greatest of influences in his childhood and youth. These reminiscences were so frequent and so tender that they were vividly impressed on the mind of Caro's son, Víctor, who, although he had never seen his esteemed great grandfather, tells us:

En realidad lo conocí, porque es lo cierto que el niño, sin mengua de su personalidad original y vigorosa, se formó a imagen y semejanza de su abuelo. El espíritu y el carácter, la ciencia y los hábitos de aquel hombre sabio y bueno encarnaron en su nieto, y de tal modo se grabó en éste la marca de la fisonomía moral de aquél, que puede asegurarse que en cierto modo el doctor Tobar vivió casi hasta nuestros días. 31

Miguel lost his father at the dawn of boyhood, and his grandfather at the close of his adolescent life; at the same time his devoted masters and friends, the Jesuit Fathers, were being so brutally expelled from the country. At this time, too, the Caro family faced material difficulties and were exposed to persecution from the government. When the Jesuit school was forced to close, Miguel's companions were dispersed; only two of his intimates

remained in Bogotá, Rufino José Cuervo and Graciliano Acevedo. It is told that Miguel and his friend, Graciliano, would meet of an evening in the vicinity of their homes for friendly chatter. They would part at the cathedral square, each to go home: Graciliano, to retire for the evening; Miguel, to study! Víctor Caro tells us:

To study! Because he foresaw that the time was not far distant in which he would have to face arduous battles, and the young knight fled to solitude and prepared himself for the fight of the future, there in the shadows of this solitude. Perhaps there has not been among us, if we except Cuervo, a more formidable reader than that youth who wanted to know everything, to investigate everything, to understand everything.32

The rich library left to Miguel by his grandfather was soon inadequate for so insatiable an intellectual curiosity as was Caro's. He began adding to it many books imported from Spain and Paris. He annotated these books as he read them. Besides, he borrowed works on theology, philosophy, history, literature and law from the library of Doctor Hoyos, a notary public and an intimate family friend.

The third of the great influences in the formation of Miguel's character was doña Blasina Tobar de Caro, his mother. After her husband's expatriation, she continued living with her three children and her parents in the family home, "La Casa del Carmen." 33 She consecrated her entire time and life to the Christian upbringing of her children, rearing them in the school of labor and using every endeavor not to distract them from scholasm-

32 Ibid., p. 18 /See Appendix III for the quotation in Spanish/
33 Ibid., p. 6.
tic discipline. She had been close companion and inspiration to José Eusebio, her husband. We can glean some idea of her worth and character from this tribute of praise paid to her by her husband.

I have met the most celebrated women of Bogotá; I have been acquainted with women, beautiful and intelligent. Some, perhaps, could entertain me; none had succeeded in astonishing me. In her, and in her alone, have I been able to admire that exquisite delicacy of observation which knows how to indicate by just a mere word the object to which it is applied: that tactful handling of situations, as rare as it is precious, by which she senses rather than discovers the best procedure in each given case; that quick and clear understanding, by which without show or ostentation she makes each suggestion, advice, or compliment in the proper place; that penetrating intuition, by which, quick as a flash, she could judge the character of a person. . . . Her marvelous beauty is the least notable of her qualities, the lesser of her perfections.

The personality of this noble woman left an indelible mark on the character of her son, Miguel. For her, he always held a very tender affection. For nearly thirty years of his life he had lived under her authority. The seal of her nobility will be evident as we see the further developments of her influence in her illustrious son. In 1873, he left the family circle to marry Ana Narváez who was the inspiration of his delightful poems in the volume, Horas de Amor.

As a young man, Caro was of distinguished appearance: tall, slender, of robust complexion, possessing a high Roman forehead and a gracious and ani-


35 José Eusebio Caro, letter quoted in Obras Completas, II of Miguel Antonio Caro (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1920), p. 74. /See Appendix III for the quotation in Spanish/
mated expression; yet always of a serious demeanor as though in meditation. His voice was clear in conversation, powerful in oratory; his beautiful white hands formed a striking contrast with the blackness of his hair and beard. 36 Friends who knew him intimately spoke of his astounding knowledge and of his energetic perseverance in study. Despite the difference in years, older people likewise appreciated his abilities. Groot, the historian, had Caro translate into Castilian and annotate pontifical documents and encyclicals of Pope Pius IX. José Joaquín Ortiz invited his collaboration on La Caridad. Isaacs, the novelist, brought the manuscript copy of his famous novel, María, to the Caro home where he and Miguel together revised and corrected the proofs; a fact which was known only by a few. 37

Caro dreamed dreams; there welled up in his mind a vision of great projects which would further the interests of the Church and the people. He dreamed of the founding of a great Catholic college, of the establishment of a powerful Catholic newspaper, and of the existence of an influential Catholic political party. Part of his dream was realized when in 1871 he founded El Tradicionista, a newspaper which had for its aim the sustaining of religious liberty and the combating of the liberal government. Because of this apostolate, Caro was publicly recognized when Archbishop Padrón called him "adalid de Cristo y de su iglesia," "Commander of Christ and of His Church!" 38

At this time the intellectual life of adolescent youth was suffering from grave defects. Miguel sensed these deficiencies. He thought the problem over, and came to the conclusion that in order to be solid, instruction should be based on the discipline of the classics. To help raise the intellectual standards, Caro, collaborating with Cuervo in 1865, published a Latin Grammar which merited praise from the Spanish Academy and which has gone through several editions. Caro's contribution, the newest and most original part of the text, was devoted to syntax. Caro also collected material for the publication of an anthology which was to contain outstanding selections of Spanish and American authors with biographical notes and critical commentaries. The work was to consist of several volumes; however, because of unforeseen difficulties the plan was not carried through. Nevertheless, Caro left a written outline for the development of the project as he should like it done. The plan contained an index of the authors and an indication of the passages which should be published.

The literary ideology of Caro may be approximated by a brief survey of his favorite authors. Virgil and Horace, Cervantes, Fray Luis de León, Bello, and Menéndez y Pelayo are the great spirits with whom he loved to move. In Spanish literature there is no illustrious name which Caro does not respect, but he shows marked attraction for León and poets who best represented the traditions of Horace, such as the Argensolas Brothers, seventeenth century satirists. Among English writers, Caro preferred Macauley, Newman.

and the poet James Montgomery. Not only did Caro pay tribute to the poets and thinkers of his own taste, but he also sincerely appreciated beauty in the works of artists whose philosophies and ideologies were not in agreement with his own. He acknowledged beauty anywhere it was found, especially that type which carried on the finished forms of classic art. Littre as philologist, Joubert as critic, the atheist Chenier as poet, have received public testimonies from Caro. Byron, the skeptic; Sully-Prudhomme and Méne de Arce, two singers of modern doubt; the poet Olmedo, an enemy to Spain—all these were objects of Caro's literary admiration—an admiration which he rendered with moral and philosophical reservations.

In nineteenth century Spain, Hartzenbusch, Camete, Alarcón, and Tamayo y Baus were his choice. Campoamor disgusted him; Quintana failed to satisfy him. In Italian literature, Dante was Caro's guiding star; but after the death of Manzoni and Leopardi, he found Italian literature languishing. In general, French literature occupied only a secondary place in Caro's tastes.

The young manhood of Caro was spent, as we have seen, in the bosom of a devoted family: mother, brother, sister. His leisure hours were enjoyed with Cervantes and Calderón, with the classics of the Golden Age, and in philological investigation, a field for which Caro was especially gifted. Father, mother, grandfather! This is the trilateral influence which explains the unusual mental development of Caro. Nurtured in an atmosphere conducive to culture and virtue, trained from early life to reason with

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41 Loc. cit.
clearness and precision and to investigate thought for himself, Caro was undoubtedly well prepared to take a place among Colombia's most prominent men of letters. With so solid a basic foundation of learning and a literary background so thoroughly classical, Caro's fame as the greatest humanist of Hispanic America in the nineteenth century is not at all surprising.
CHAPTER II
MIGUEL ANTONIO CARO, THE HUMANIST

To study the true significance of humanism and of a humanist, we turn to Caro's own study of the word, hombre \[\text{man}\] found in one of his most important philological and grammatical studies, El Contradiálogo de las letras.

Los antiguos aryas creyeron que todos los hombres, de todas las razas, formaban una sola clase; pero, cuál era la propiedad común a todos los hombres? Qué idea general, cualitativa o atributiva, se vinculó con el concepto hombre? Max Müller nos responderá que el latín homo (castellano homne, hombre) procede de la misma raíz que humus (de donde en español inhumar), tierra y humilis, humilde. Homo, pues, ha debido expresar la idea de que el hombre fue formado del limo de la tierra. Y aquí podrá ver usted que esa h malamente omitida en ome en los tiempos de don Alfonso el Sabio (partida VII), se restableció después muy razonablemente en hombre, como señal que establece la filiación del vocablo. Otra palabra que designa al hombre es la sánscrita Marta, griego Brótos, latín mortalis (derivación secundaria), que con pequeñas variantes ha pasado a las lenguas romances y todavía llamamos mortales a los hombres. Y llama la atención, dice aquí Muller, que donde todo cambia, pasa y muere, esta idea se eligiese como característica del hombre. No podrá rastrearse que la idea de la muerte, que se consideraba natural respecto a otros seres, sólo en forma de castigo pudiera tenerse como característica de la especie humana. Hay en las lenguas indo-europeas un tercer modo de nombrar al hombre, y ese "verdadero título de nuestra raza, dice Muller, subsiste en el inglés, man. Ma en sánscrito significa medir. Man, raíz derivativa, significa pensar. De ahí el sánscrito mame, originariamente pensador, el hombre. En gótico aparece mann y mannisk, que en alemán moderno son mann y mensh." ¹

Mortal, rational, terrestrial, these are the three concepts with which man has been defined. Consequently, "human" is whatsoever is related to man in his natural aspects. Humanism, the doctrine of man as written in his own heart, is human impulse, passion, and experience as accumulated in his life; humanity, the abstract idea of all beings which have existed or will exist on earth. Humanism, then, is the study of man as he is with all his heroic grandeur and with all the baseness of his lower self. The humanist makes man the object of his study. The humanist in the more exalted sense of the word considers man not only in his human existence, but also as he is found before God.

If the field of the humanist is so vast, and its ideals so limitless, then, asks Cecilia Hernández de Marfío, "Why is the name of humanist commonly given to the one acquainted with Greek and Latin?" and: "Should the humanist necessarily know the dead languages?" She herself answers the questions by saying that sixteenth century humanists necessarily should have known the classics in their own language; that the humanist of the Renaissance, too, needed continuous contact with Greek and Roman civilization. However, in the modern era, she asserts, the humanist should have a knowledge of the classics for fundamental data, but this knowledge alone does not suffice. For it is not the one who lives in the past who is a humanist, but the one who can apply the criteria of the past to the present in proper perspective. The real humanist, then, according to Cecilia Hernández Marfío, is the one who loves tradition as fundamental, but at the same time does not disdain the

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present. Such a one applies the data of experiences to the human activities of present day life.

We find all the qualifications of a true humanist in Caro. He loved solitude and study; he conserved a youthful spirit at the same time that he pursued different branches of learning: Latin, law, philosophy, philology, and oratory. Caro could grow ecstatic before grandeur and at the same time be keenly surprised at the beauty of little things. His imperial mind embraced the grandeur of Rome and the grandeur of Spain as one harmonic entity. His knowledge was vast; he sought the roots of things, looking always for first causes. Caro's criterion was fundamentally philosophical. His ideas were rooted in God.

To Caro's way of thinking, the humanist takes man in his spiritual ascent up to God. Caro visioned man beyond the circumstances of time and place. While enjoying Byron, Keats, and Chenier, at the same time he could not accept their school of thought as universal manifestations of culture. It is only by concession that he recognized in some poets a spark of beauty in spite of their scepticism, for his concept of beauty lay within religious ideals.

Caro's profound knowledge of the classics is almost astounding. It is especially striking in an age of romanticism when the study of the humanities is in relative decadence, to find a scholar such as Miguel Caro. True it is that his early talent for the humanities was developed by Miguel Tobar and by the Jesuit Fathers; but added to these early influences was his own

3 Ibid., p. 78.
4 Ibid., p. 80
powerful mentality. This devotion to the classics and letters grew side by side with his love for the Church, his enthusiasm for his own native land, and his particular feeling of gratitude and affection for Spain from whence came his faith and his language.

As we have pointed out, love for humanistic studies manifested itself at an early age in Caro. At fifteen he had translated into Latin his father's sonnet, Héctor. At twenty, according to Father Proaño, fragments of the Georgics, had been translated into Castilian by Miguel who had already finished canto II of the Aeneid in royal octaves, and who had begun to compose in Latin his monumental Virgilian commentary. Caro cultivated Latin poetry intensely. He put into Latin verse La Monja desterrada of don José Joaquín Ortiz, Las Ruinas de Itálica of Rodrigo Caro, and two different versions of Cinque Maggio of Manzoni. His Latin poem, Himno Latino a Pío X, was read in the Sistine Chapel on the occasion of the sacerdotal jubilee of Pius X.

Caro published his first poetic efforts in Las Poesías, in 1868. Besides verses on friendship and pious meditation, this volume contained translations of English and Latin verse in Castilian, including selections translated from Horace and Virgil. José Joaquín Ortiz, through the columns of La Caridad, voiced his displeasure that a son of the Christian poet, José Caro, would squander his gift of genius on what Ortiz termed a sterile, pagan, materialistic literature, incapable of elevating the soul to contemplation;


6 Víctor E. Caro, La juventud de don Miguel Antonio Caro (Bogotá: Minerva editorial, n.d.), p. 25.

7 Alejandro Manzoni, Milanese writer (1785-1873), author of Los Novios and Himnos Sagrados, pages of imperishable beauty.

the reference being to Horace and Virgil. In those days, this thesis was sustained by other Catholic writers, but Leo XIII definitely refuted the objection by the example of his own interest in humanism and by the foundation he made in Rome of a pontifical academy for the study of the Latin and Greek classics.

The best years of Caro's youth were employed in his masterful translation of the complete works of Virgil. The motivation for this mammoth task was the simple applause and encouragement of don Eugenio de Ochoa who, in 1870, made the suggestion. This work merited the highest praise from critical authorities: Menéndez y Pelayo rated it as the most perfect version of Virgil in Castilian. A scholarly study, exacting and scrupulous, of this masterpiece of Caro's was made by the Latinist and philologist, Rufino José Cuervo; other detailed studies of Caro's Virgilian works were made by Enrique Piñeyro and Juan M. Gutiérrez. Rubió y Lluch declares that no other writer of Castilian has devoted a greater number of critical writings and studies to "al cisne de Mantua" than has Miguel Caro. From 1865 until 1886 these studies follow one another continuously. Volume II of Obras Completas contains: "Virgilio y el nacimiento del Salvador," "Virgilio..."

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12 Rubió y Lluch, worthy companion of Menéndez y Pelayo, who has enriched Cataluña with a series of monumental works, fruits of a truly Herculan labor, and is acquainted with Spanish American letters as few contemporary Spaniards are.

Estudio que sirve de introducción al primer tomo de su versión de sus obras," "Del metro y la dicción en que debe traducirse la epopeya romana," and "Nuevo estudio sobre Virgilio." This latter essay forms the introduction to Volume III of Caro's Virgilian translations published in 1878. "Una obra apócrifa," is an essay on a supposed translation in verse of the Georgics, attributed to Fray Luis de León. The essay was first published in 1878 in La Academia of Madrid.

Obras Completas, Volume III, contains three Virgilian studies: "XIX° centenario de Virgilio," a contribution to the centenary celebrations in Rome in 1882 under the patronage of Pope Leo XIII; "Camila, la amazona virgiliana," and "Virgilio estudiado en relación con las bellas artes."

Caro sees hidden in the fourth eclogue of Aeneid, a mysterious prognostication that agrees with Christmas day, the day sighed for by the prophets. He quotes thirty-eight authors who see the birth of Christ as the application intended by Virgil. Caro sees Virgil's work colored with a similarity to David and Isaias; he identifies Virgil as "A Christian before time." Caro refutes those who doubt that Virgil had visions of the supernatural. He quotes Scripture, Church Fathers, and Newman in proof. In his masterly, scholarly analysis of the fourth eclogue, Caro states the conclusion of many critics who hold that the Israelites brought news of the expectation of the Messiah to Rome. But Caro himself holds to the theory that Virgil was inspired. He mentions the many fathers of the Church who read Virgil daily.


while he quotes Cantú as saying: "In Virgilian philosophy there is something of the gospel, as if the WORD might have come close to earth sufficiently to enlighten a privileged intellect."

In an interesting account, Caro depicts St. Paul arriving at Naples, turning toward Possilipo, the spot near Naples wherein the ashes of Virgil reposed, and crying at the thought of how late he had arrived to convert the great Virgil to Christianity. Caro adds: "But Providence who chose as precursor the greatest born of woman, called also the most admirable of the poets to announce the Desired of the Gentiles." Caro definitely established Eclogue IV as prophetic.

In his analysis of the Aeneid, Caro sees religious thought as the fundamental and basic force, and he ascribes the universal appeal of Aeneid to the religious element. Claiming that Virgil had an advantage over Homer, Caro sees the workings of Divine Providence through the pen of Virgil. "Homer sang of his own day, but Virgil looked to the future, elevating man and adoring Providence," says Caro. "El uno concibe lo maravilloso, el otro adivina lo sobrenatural." Caro points out that Virgil sees the merit of man "not in not falling, but in his getting up and striving after the fall." Virgil always brought to Caro's mind the high Latin spirit, the union of the pagan empire and the Christian world; Virgil, the point of contact between the two civilizations. The Latin empire, the Catholic empire, the Spanish

16 Ibid., p. 180.
19 Ibid., p. 187.
Empire! Eneas, with his gaze always in the future, personified for Caro the divine guidance leading man to a better world.

In the study, Virgilio, Caro says:

Concibe más correcta y más espiritualmente la gran- deza humana el que fundándose en virtudes intrínsecas la busca, sin embargo, en el hombre mismo, tal cual es cuando es bueno, valeroso pero no omnipotente, se- vero pero no inaccesible a la ternura, de modo que sin derribar gigantes ni matar hidras, combata como leal y sin rendirse a la seducción de los sentidos, ame y llores.20

Caro dedicates to Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo his classic study, Vir- gilio en España,21 a study which reveals the vastness of Caro’s Latin scholar- ship. In the prologue he tells us that before beginning his Castilian versions of Virgil he carefully gathered notes from all the Spanish interpreters and translators of the past and from this maze of Virgilian studies he compiled his well-annotated Tabla Bibliográfica. This bibliography, constituting the first section of Virgilio en España, is a chronological presenta- tion of all the Spanish writers on Virgil, together with a critical estimate and brief analysis of each translation. In the second part of this work, Caro offers a collection of Virgilian reminiscences; some literal versions, others, free imitations drawn from a large variety of Spanish poets, peninsular as well as Hispanic-American. His commentaries in this study form a resumé of his own theory on the art of translation. He modestly mentions himself as a translator of Virgil and adds a very breif commentary concern- ing his own translations. After reiterating his purpose in assembling this

20 Ibid., p. 196.

data, "En realidad lo que en esta lista presento al señor Menéndez y Pelayo es tan sólo lo concerniente a traductores americanos," Caro expresses the hope that his efforts will inspire others to contribute data to the Latin-American list. He closes the essay by saying that the literary history of Spain and America should be one, that Colonial emancipation does not, and should not, break the common bond.

Caro found all Virgil's fame in the creation of Eneas, who was for him not a man but a symbol, a semi-divine being suffering not for himself but always for others. Caro looked on Eneas as a religious ideal incarnated. Eneas is Rome; he is the future; he is the preserver of his race. The highest poetic and psychological intuition of Virgil is identified by Caro precisely in this contrast which he offers between Eneas and Dido.

If Virgil was for Caro, as he had been for Dante, a master and a guide, Horace, whose letter, "a los pisones," Caro had translated in 1865 into Castilian, occupied a place not so high but much more intimate in his affection. Horace was his life companion. This incident is related by Caro's son, Víctor: During one of the political turmoils in Bogotá, two friends came to advise Caro to hide since an order had been issued for his arrest. Caro took his hat and overcoat, put snuff in his snuff box and a copy of Horace in his pocket. Now they could take him to jail; he would not be alone, his best friend accompanied him. In 1867 Caro dedicated one of his earli-

23 Ibid., p. 158.
est essays to Horace, his second love after Virgil. His "Indicaciones sobre la poesía horaciana" is scholarly and enlightening.

Rubió y Lluch points out that Menéndez y Pelayo scrupulously preserves the original meter in his Castilian translations of Horace, but he remarks that Caro does not do this. Caro believed that rhyme not only does not weaken Latin meter, but rather that it very fittingly harmonizes with it. In his Castilian translations of Catulus, Tibulus, Lucrecius, Propercius, Ovid, and Horace, Caro gives us verse which is completely modernized. We present Caro's version of the description of Horace's rural estate from Epistle XVI of Book I, in the essay, "Algo acerca de Horacio."

Una cadena figúrate de montes que interrumpe valle profundo; la derecha siempre el sol le dora con temprana lumbre y la izquierda le baña en rayos tibios cuando su carro en Occidente hunde. El clima es de encantar y, pues, en grupos; árboles imagina que se cubren de cerezas retintas y ciruelas; robles, carrascas que a distancias lucen y a su dueño con sombra dilatada y con sustento el granadillo acuden.

The essence of the poetry is not based on the form, nor on a determined school; for after all, these things are only transitory elements in art; the essence is in the very root of the human sentiment.

La sombra de Cornelia, and the third elegy of Book I of Propercius are considered to be among the most powerful of Caro's translations, according

to Rubió y Lluch. To him these inspiring ancient poems became contemporary
verse, so perfectly had Caro converted them into definitely modern versions.

Religion and culture were looked upon by Caro as closely identical;
there being only one true culture as there is only one true religion. Like
Christianity, culture, too, has its apostles and its canonical books. Chief
among the leaders of these apostles of culture, Caro sees Homer and Aristotle
as the two great teachers of the philosophers and poets of all generations
and all times. Marco Fidel Suárez makes the observation that Caro himself
belongs to this fundamental classic school in which go harmoniously and in-
tensely united, philosophy, literature, and the Catholic faith. This
same critic further observes that in Caro we do not find the changeableness
of a Littré nor of a Voltaire, conservatives in literature but revolution-
ists in politics and philosophy; for Caro, the classicist, was conservative
in all phases of life and ideas.

Caro and Menéndez y Pelayo stand side by side as the two outstanding
figures of the intellectual vitality of the Spanish race in the nineteenth
century. These two glorious humanists of contemporary Spanish literature
had many literary gifts in common; yet their intellectual formation was in-
dependent one of the other. Born in a different land, into a different at-
mosphere, Menéndez y Pelayo had scarcely finished his university studies when

Suárez, "Elogio de don Miguel A. Caro leído el 12 de octubre de 1909 en la
Intro. p. xi.
32 Loc. cit.
33 Ibid., p. xi.
Caro had already made his name by his monumental work, his Virgilian translations. Caro owed none of his classic formation to the Spanish Menéndez y Pelayo. On the contrary, Caro had been the guide of the latter in American letters; this was honorably acknowledged by the Spanish critic in his Horacio en España.

As a modern humanist, Caro fulfilled a high mission in Hispanic-America. At the dawn of the new political era when independence had been won and adverse criticism toward Spain had not yet quieted, a new movement was afoot which, disregarding tradition, aimed to pursue ideals entirely different from the culture of the past. The exponents of the movement went so far as to think of a new language. Most prominent representatives of this movement were Juan María Gutiérrez and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Miguel Antonio stood for tradition which he revered as a glorious bond uniting the present to the past and linking it to the future. He reverently regarded the Spanish classics; he ardently loved his race and its illustrious ancestors of Rome. But what Latin America owes to the humanism of Caro today is his effort to unite the thought of the daughter nations of Spain, uniting it, as he did, through ideals and through tradition.

Latin America owes much to Caro for his efforts to keep the language pure and to preserve the bond of intellectual and spiritual union between Spain and her own republics. This task was so nobly and faithfully fulfilled by Caro that his name is linked with Andrés Bello as the two supreme humanists of all Latin America, and with Menéndez y Pelayo in the mother country. This identified him as the greatest exponent of españolismo in Hispanic America.

CHAPTER III
CARO AND ESPAÑOLISMO

The efforts of the great humanist, Caro, to keep the language pure and to preserve the bond of intellectual and spiritual union between Spain and Latin America had its foundations in Caro's deep-seated españolismo. Españolismo may be defined as that intense innate love which the true Spaniard has for the culture, the traditions, and all that pertains to his mother country, Spain. Caro's thorough education in the Spanish classics saturated his mind with the glories of the past and with a full realization of Spain's contributions to world civilization. Always conscious of this glorious heritage, he bent every effort to unite the thought of the daughter nations of Spain with Old Spain.

There predominated in Caro the philosophic spirit and the religious sentiment which also guided his illustrious father. This religious sentiment was not vacillating nor vague in Miguel Caro; it was consolidated in positive dogma; in his sincere and profound Catholic faith. Definitely and decidedly a traditionalist, Caro was by his vigorous sentiment of race the "most characteristic representative of 'españolismo' in America."¹ Never could he hold peace with anti-Spanish vulgar effusion, "so diffused in our continent through bad faith, ignorance or flippancy."² From early youth

² Ibid., p. 1014.
this fervent love of Spain was manifested in Caro. It made him burst forth at the outbreak of the war between Chile and Spain in 1866, into this energetic apostrophe:

De la propia y la extraña
Sangre que tñe el mar, toda es de España!

Your very blood and that of the alien, crimson the sea, but it is all Spanish blood! With very good reason it was that in 1886 Rafael M. Merchán wrote this paradox: "There is no one on the peninsula who loves Spain as Miguel Antonio Caro loves her." In the closing lines, "Madre eres tú de la familia mía; !Patria! de tus entrañas soy pedazo," of the sonnet, La Patria, Caro gives us a glimpse of the intensity of his españolismo.

PATRIA!

¡Patria! te adoro en mi silencio mudo,
Y temo profanar tu nombre santo.
Por ti he gozado y padecido tanto
Cuanto lengua mortal decir no pude.

No te pido el amparo de tu escudo,
Sino la dulce sombra de tu manto:
Quiero en tu seno derramar mi llanto,
Vivir, morir en ti pobre y desnudo.

Ni poder, ni esplendor, ni lozania,
Son razones de amar; Otro es el lazo
Que nadie, nunca, desatar podría.

Amo yo por instinto tu regazo,
Madre eres tú de la familia mia;
¡Patria! de tus entrañas soy pedazo.

Loyalty to Spain was militantly manifested during the Cuban insurrection in the 90's when under severe penalty he prohibited any group to gather


funds in Colombian territory which would further the revolt. For this moral support, the Spanish government in 1898 granted Caro the great Cross of Isabel, la católica.

Caro continued the magnificent undertakings of Andrés Bello in the Hispanic American nations where both these classicists exercised parallel influences, each in his own time. Caro, like Bello, vigorously opposed those who wanted to break all traditional ties, religious and cultural. When even the bona of language was being attacked, Caro, like Bello before him, labored strenuously to keep the purity of the Castilian. Reinforcing the ties of Caro to tradition and to Mother Spain were the similarity of tastes and the identity of ideologies in him and Menéndez y Pelayo. These two luminaries were united by the common bond of their religion, by their scientific and literary ideas, by the immense magnitude of their erudition as manifested so forcefully in their writings, as well as by their fondness for the classics and their great españolismo.

Caro's deep-seated españolismo was recognized on the other side of the Atlantic. His poem, A España, reprinted in La Política, a Madrid newspaper, on September 15, 1870, bore this editorial commentary:

**ESPAÑA IN AMERICA**

When we are accustomed to see Spain treated with so much injustice and blind ingratitude by our American descendants, it is a consolation to listen to the sweet notes of a friendly voice which speaks our own language and from the world of Columbus sings with enthusiasm the glories of Spain whose magnificent traditions all Americans do not deny. We do not doubt

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that our readers [peninsular] will be glad to see this ode to Spain by the inspired poet of Bogotá, Miguel Antonio Caro, author of those excellent literary works which have merited for him the distinction of being named individual correspondent of the Spanish Academy. 7

Caro was only twenty-seven years of age when he received the recognition mentioned in this editorial; as is evident, at this early age his fame for learning and españolismo were already known on the continent. He had just shortly before this been appointed corresponding member of the Spanish Royal Academy, a very great honor, indeed. Caro, together with Vergara and Marroquín, constituted the nucleus around which the Colombian Academy of Language was organized, in the year 1871. Authorization for the founding of this Academy was brought from Europe by José María Vergara y Vergara who had recently returned. The selection of Caro as co-founder of an Academy allied to the Spanish Academy had been made as compliment to the talent and españolismo of our great Bogotán humanist. This gesture was a vital contribution in the resuming of friendly relations between Latin America and Spain—relations which had been interrupted since the Wars of Independence.

Caro could extol the heroic work of Bolívar with filial and patriotic passion, at the same time not disowning nor denying the chivalrous deeds of the Conquistadores; nor did he wish for his country any other civilization which was not Christian and Spanish. 10 His filial love for the Church, his

7 Miguel Antonio Caro, Obras Poéticas, Musa Militante-Sátiras-Lira Cristiana, III (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1933), Notas, p. 228.


enthusiasm for his "patria" and his race, the "culto" of the Muse breathe everywhere in his writings.

Scarcely a page of the voluminous works of Caro can be found without specific evidence of his constant living in the presence of God. Into the most prosaic and objective study as that on a dictionary, he weaves the interplay of God's relationship in all things. From one of his philological essays we quote:

Y si se hubiese formado un Diccionario de apellidos españoles (que con sus correspondientes noticias históricas y biográficas, sería por cierto obra curiosa y útil) lo hallaríamos tan deficiente como el Diccionario general de la lengua, porque no alcanza sagacidad humana a recoger las voces de una lengua en todas sus formas pasadas, presentes, y futuras. Con los progresos de la investigación los Diccionarios irán ensanchándose—y según la ley económica de división del trabajo—subdividiéndose, multiplicándose.... Y cuando estos y otros léxicos estén compuestos, publicados y vulgarizados, ninguno de ellos será completo, porque el único diccionario completo está en el mente de Dios, y no en las limitadas facultades humanas.12

Caro was ever conscious, and proudly so, of his Spanish lineage. In 1873 he wrote in the prologue of his Virgilio: "Thus it is that Spain and America, though independent states, are people with the same origin, with the same culture, the same language—they may be different nations, but before God they form one family."13 He dreamed, as is seen, of a sort of political federation between Spain and her ancient colonies, where there would exist a union more than spiritual, with an entire and indestructible

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interaction between all peoples of Spanish origin. Loving the grandeur of
the Spanish race with the pride with which a Roman loves the glories of Rome,
Caro reveled in the majesty of the Spanish language as men of the Renais-
sance did the sovereignty of the world dominion of the Latin tongue. In
the dispute between Las Casas and Oviedo, Caro takes issue against Las Casas
whose complaints have served as food for the censors of the Spanish Conquest.

The sources and influences of Caro's españolismo may be adequately
traced in his poem, El Himno del Latino. This poem is one of the most beau-
tiful of emotional songs. It seems to us that we are hearing a chorus of
by-gone voices among which resound the sonorous words of the great Roman
orators. The poem exemplifies Caro's theory that in spite of colonial
emancipation, Spain and Latin America should be one in a spiritual bond.

When Caro composed El Himno del Latino his reputation as a writer and
as a Latinist of profound erudition had already been established. Merchán
said of him: "Although an American by birth, a 'Colombiano' by political
creed, he was known as 'ibero' by his spirit. Españošismo dominated him in
his esthetics, in his philosophy, and even in his religion." In the Latin
fiestas of Provenza held in 1878 to reward the best poem written in the six
tongues which are daughter languages of Latin, three works were honored: one
in Rumanian, one in Catalan, the other in Castilian; the latter was El Himno

14 Antonio Rubió y Lluch, in Obras Completas, Op. cit., IV by Miguel
A. Caro, Intro. p. xvi.


16 Cecilia Hernández Marínó, Miguel Antonio Caro: diversos aspectos
de un humanista Colombiano, (Bogotá: Frensa de la Biblioteca Nacional,
1945), p. 50.

del latino by Miguel Antonio Caro. It was the only Castilian poem to merit the honor. La Sociedad de lenguas romanas in Montpellier on May 25, 1878, declared Caro poet laureate among all the representatives of the sixty million individuals who spoke Castilian. The Faculty of Philosophy and the Humanities of the University of Chile unanimously identified the poem as "par excellence" and December 17, 1879, made Caro an honorary member of their University.

El Repertorio Colombiano was the medium for the publication of this poem and most of the other poetic and critical works of Caro. The greater part of the works of Caro, published chronologically from 1865 until 1884 in the eleven volume collection of El Repertorio Colombiano, are reproduced in Obras Completas.

The theme of El Himno del Latino is Caro's expression of intense love for the Latin race. He reveals his inner sentiments of pride at being a son of one of the daughter nations of Rome. The poem is a plea for the strengthening and the tightening of the bonds of love and union between the sister nations. It is a tribute of praise to the glories of ancient Rome and to the magnificent work of civilizing and Christianizing which Roman culture has spread throughout the world; it is the sincere, deeply emotional compliment of a real son of Roman culture. Laudng her deeds of the ancient past, the poet begs that some more worthy seer might rise up to sing adequately and forcefully the praises of "la madre, Roma." The closing refrain is a prayer

begging divine protection on the union of the Latin races. Union seems to be the keynote of the poem.

Intellectually and culturally Caro was preeminently a son of the Latin civilization, a remote descendant of ancient Rome. To the natural bond which was his by blood, was added the enthusiasm and pride in "la patria" which he imbibed in childhood and adolescent years with the study and admiration of Virgil. At the inaugural exercises of the dedication of the statue of Caro on November 10, 1917, Antonio Gómez Restrepo in the name of the National Government and of the Colombian Academy of Letters paid this tribute:

His creative intellect had the solidity, the severity of line, the grandeur of the Roman art of constructing. Not only does the Latin spirit continue shaping our civilization, but from time to time modern men arise in nations who worthily might have worn the toga and ably might have spoken in the august precincts of the Roman Forum. Of these was Caro. In him we find the elevation and sternness of thought, the majestic precision of expression which, among the Romans, deifies when it renders homage, and stamps with a burning iron when it condemns. 21

Incorporated herein, is the text of El Himno del Latino, the version which appears in Obras Poéticas, Musa-Militante, published in 1953. This version shows a modernized punctuation and capitalization, a breaking up into stanzas of four lines each, in contrast with the one break in the middle of the poem as it appears in older versions. Because of its nobility of sentiment and dignity of style, the poem may be classified as an ode. The first four stanzas form an introductory background or setting which adequately forms a preparation for the magnificent lyrical passages which work up to a climax and end with a prayer.

The poem opens with a metaphor in which the author says his stock, his lineage, is not a barren branch but a tree with a graceful bower of exquisite foliage which scatters far and wide its fruitful seeds; and then the poet presents a brief lyrical refrain, a wish that this stock, the Latin race, may flourish and bloom always and forever. ¡Florezca mil años y mil! Then after telling us that his native land is no encompassed region, no bounded territory nor confined space, since it embraces two worlds and can boast of centuries of noble achievements, he says that wheresoever in the wide world he may hear a language, a canticle, or even the "fugaz yaraví," or any tongue having the flavor of the Roman accent, a Romance language—there he will find his home and his hearth. The implication made by the poet is the great similarity among the Romance tongues.

In stanza four, Rome, "mi madre adorada," lives on, in her valor and her renown, even though her sceptre and her sword lie buried in history's regal casket. In spite of the vicissitudes of time, ancient Rome lives and will live, playing the part in Christian civilization that the Old Law played for the New.

In these introductory stanzas, so simple in language as in allusions, we find a climactic ascent: stock, fatherland, language, mother; four strong chains inherently binding the daughter nations of Rome with bonds that political differences cannot possibly sunder. Succinctly and graphically Antonio Gómez Restrepo identifies Caro's españolismo when he says:

23 That sweet and melancholy song of love chanted by Indians and Creoles in the mountain regions of Chile, Peru, or Colombia.
Caro had inherited the Latin spirit or tendency toward unity, a unification not in the form of tyranny and oppression, but a unity as a supreme intellectual bond which would synthesize Latin endeavor. Caro loved the unity of faith, without imposing intolerance; the unity of language without narrowness of exaggerated purity; the unity of the "patria," always making allowance for sectional development. He contemplated Hispánico-América not as a battlefield where regional interests and hates clash, but as a league where brother nations prepare a field for the civilization of the future.

In El Hímnno del Latino we proceed from the introductory stanzas, which form a logical preliminary, to the explication and interpretation of lines seventeen to forty. These lines begin with an apostrophe to the Latin languages which by their musical accents always lend themselves so fittingly to poetic expression. The poet describes the intense joy that wells within his breast whenever he hears a Romance tongue—a joy which spurs him to deeds of chivalry. Then again the poet bursts into intense lyrical expressions which are heightened and intensified by the underlying symbolism. There follows a tribute of praise to the noble race that carries light and salvation throughout the world. Acknowledging his inability worthily to voice the glories of Rome and Roman culture, the poet begs that within her sphere there may arise one more worthy than he, who will ably exalt her noble mission. The poem closes with an invocation of the divine blessing on the union of the sister nations.

EL HIMNO DEL LATINO

Mi estirpe no es árida rama,
Es árbol de copa gentil,
Fecundas semillas derrama;
Florezca mil años y mil!

Mi patria no es breve comarca;
Objeto de culto y amor,
Mi patria dos mundos abarca
Y siglos de inmenso esplendor.

Doquiera yo escuche un idioma,
Cantiga o fugaz yaravi,
Que acentos repita de Roma,
Mi tierra, mi hogar está allí.

Es Roma mi madre adorada;
La historia, cual regio atalud,
Encierra su cetro y su espada,
Mas viven su gloria y virtud.

17. Oh gayos fablares latinos!
18. Oh trovas de són celestial!
19. Oh, cómo sus altos destinos
20. Revelan al alma inmortal!

21. Los oigo, y mi rostro se inflama
22. En fuego de orgullo y placer,
23. Y ya por mi Dios y mi dama
24. Me lanzo a lidiar y vencer!

25. Vosotras cuidades romanas,
26. Renuevos del alma cuidad,
27. Oh Galia! Oh Hesperias hermanas!
28. La santa cadena estrechad.

29. Honor a la raza sublime
30. Que lleva a otros mundos la luz,
31. Y pueblos sin cuento redime
32. Doquiera plantando la cruz!

33. Fatigan la voz del poeta
34. Tus glorias, oh raza sin par!
35. Despierte en tu seno un profeta
36. Tu excelsa misión a cantar!

CORO
37. Ampare la diestra divina
38. De pueblos hermanos la unión!
39. Mi gente es la raza latina;
40. Su nombre, mi rico blasón.
Oh festive Latin tongues, you languages of Roman culture, (l. 17) with your ballads and verses of heavenly sound, so well adapted to poetic expression (l. 18) how your high destinies disclose your immortal soul; that is, your affinity to the Latin tongue itself. (l. 20). Whenever I hear the sweet sounds of a Romance tongue, my face is aflame with heat of pride and joy (l. 22) and I am spurred on to fight and to conquer and even to die for God and my lady (l. 23-24). You, Oh Roman cities, the implication here is to the six Romance nations, offshoots of Rome: Italy, France, Portugal, Castile, Catalan, Romania. You! branches of the mother city, Rome, (l. 26) Oh Gaul, Oh Hesperian Sisters! (l. 27). The poet calls especially on France, (Gaul) Italy, and Spain indicating, perhaps, that they are the strongest daughters of Rome to tighten the holy bond of unity. Hesperia is the name given by the Greek poets to Italy and by the Roman poets to Spain and sometimes to Italy.

In the following stanza the poet continues the lyrical tone of the preceding apostrophies by: All honor to the noble race which carries light to other worlds (l. 30) and praise to that Roman civilization which plants the Cross wherever it spreads, and redeems countless nations. Caro would pay tribute here in this stanza to the great missionary activities of the Southern European nations. He would link civilization with Christianity.

Your glories exhaust the talent of the poet, Oh Race par excellence! Your glories of conquest when the Roman Empire carried Roman civilization to the then known world, this is your glory of the sword! But your glories of the scepter, Roman Law, the great contribution of the Empire to all mankind! Rome, the great law-giver of the world! The innovation of Roman law, consisting essentially in judging men on principles and not on the whims of
individual rulers, was a foreshadowing of the Christian principles of justice. All this glory of the "matchless race" is too gigantic a task for the author of El Himno del Latino, and he cries out, "Oh, from your innermost recesses may you raise up a prophet able to sing your sacred mission. (l. 36)

The poet brings the ode to a close with a "coro" begging divine favor (l. 37) to guard and protect the union of our sister nations (l. 38). It would seem that the poet may have visioned the present world conflict in which the forces of the enemy attempt to tear asunder Western Civilization, Greco-Roman civilization, and he calls on Heaven to guard the union of the sister nations. There seems to be an abrupt break between lines thirty-eight and thirty-nine. From the heights of prayer the poet turns without a gradual descent to the simple statement (l. 39) that his lineage is the Latin race and (l. 40) its name, "my rich heraldry." (l. 40). The Latin race is his glorious boast.

Perhaps one of the most lyrical passages of the entire poem is:

"Oh Galia! Oh Hesperias hermanas!
La santa cadena estrechad."

Caro loved Rome; he loved his race. The Latin Empire, the Christian Empire: language and religion—these may be called the two converging centers of Caro's personality. Rome and Latin; Spain and Castilian! Caro could not think of "la patria" without the language; for the ultimate expression of this sentiment is language. "La lengua es una segunda patria," he says. 25 Miguel Antonio Caro, Latin and Spanish, a bond in the fullest sense and meaning of the word! Caro loved Rome and Spain through their languages. Virgil and Cervantes! Aeneas and Quijote!

The language in *El Himno del Latino* is extremely simple; "Latino" in the title, originally was the legendary king of the people of the "Latium" (that ancient region of Italy between Etruria and Campania). Latino figures in the Aeneid. The reference in the title of Caro's poem is to the Latin stock. "Fablares" in line seventeen is obsolete form for the modern, "hablares." The versification seems to be not a mere musical sonority whimsically adapted to the point, but rather a vague mysterious accompaniment to the sentiments of the soul of the poet.

The deductions and conclusions that may be drawn from *El Himno del Latino* could not be expressed in clearer and more definite language than that of Antonio Gómez Restrepo who tells us in his essay on Caro that after a strong religious faith there shines forth in Caro as a directing principle, his fervent "Latinismo," his "culto a Roma"; which for him had never discontinued being la magna parens of civilization. Caro had been saturated in the spirit of Roman thought; he had made the treasures of the ancient civilization his own; his veneration for "la madre, Roma," had quickened in him an affection for the daughter nations, especially for Spain, which in modern times appeared destined to a Providential mission similar to that of the Roman Empire. Caro's classic education had impressed its seal with an indelible mark on his spirit.

Gómez Restrepo remarks further, in this same passage, that while Menéndez y Pelayo was founding in Spain his glorious propaganda in defense of "hispanismo," reclaiming for his country the part justly due to it in the work of modern progress, Caro was making efforts to revivify in America the
affection for the Spanish race, somewhat deadened by the recollections of the War of Independence and post-war isolation. Caro had once said that the Spaniards of both worlds, one in race, with similar traditions and with common destinies, have no more pernicious enemy than that which would sow discord and engulf the Spanish family in factions. Caro's españolismo, is, then one of the dominant and outstanding reflections in El Himno del Latino.

In his investigations, Caro moved "de Roma a España" and "de España a América." Because of unity of language, religion, and race, Caro loved Hispano-América. This was the philosophical basis for his serving so disinterestedly, without any thought of his own personal gain, the Republic of Colombia.

A ESPAÑA

He sido hecho extraño a mis hermanos y forastero a los hijos de mi madre. Psalm LXVIII, 9.

Todas las cosas de la noble España
Me agradan por extremo . . .
Sus abuelos, sus padres, sus parientes.

Lope, El Molino.

Yo desde lejos con pasión te miro,
España! tu memoria
Es legado de amor; filial suspiro
Brota del pecho al recordar tu historia.

¡Cuántas veces lloré tu lozania
Por tierra derribada!
¡Cuántas veces fingí que te veía
Del antiguo laurel la frente ornada!

... Salve, tú, cuya imagen me acompaña,
¡Oh patria dulce! oh nido
Antiguo de mi gente! Salve, España,
Tierra de promisión! Edén perdido!

...
Cúlpenme desleal porque te amo:
Ahi desleal sería
Si mi patria negase: patria llamo,
A la que fue de mis abuelos, mía.

Hoy yacen en la noche del olvido;
Hoy, patria, a tu ribera,
Cual huésped llegará desconocido,
No como el hijo a quien la madre espera.

Pasará entre los tuyos forastero,
Sin que tu auxilio invoque
Favores mendigando lisonjero;
Sin que a la puerta de tus grandes toque.

Veré los monumentos inmortales
Del nombre castellano,
Los usos de tu pueblo, las señales
Del arábigo imperio y del romano.

Beberé el aire de tus sierras puro;
Meditaré en la orilla
De Tormes a Genil, o cabe el muro
Rico de glorias de la gran Sevilla.

O ya en tu seno, Cádiz, los hogares
Al ver de mis mayores,
"Aquí, diré, sus risas, sus pesares,
Pasaron, y volaron sus amores."

¡Qué alta materia al pensamiento! Oh tierno
Objeto a un pecho amante,
Mudos vestigios del solar paterno,
Tristes memorias del lugar distante!

¡Allí, partido el corazón, tu suelo
Mojaré con mi llanto,
Y bajará la inspiración del cielo,
Y digno de mi amor será mi canto! 27

CHAPTER IV
PHILOLOGICAL WORKS OF CARO

Españolismo in Caro emphasized language as one of the strongest links between the mother country and her daughter nations, Hispanic America. Perhaps none of Caro’s literary contributions more brilliantly portray his profound learning than do his philological studies. "As philologist, critic, and humanist, Caro is truly a descendant of that race of illustrious Spaniards, today nearly extinct which since the sixteenth century produced scholarly writings unrivaled in any of the literatures of the world,"¹ is the verdict of Blanco García. Together with Rufino José Cuervo, Caro is an authority in matters of language, and even to this day no one has equalled them, nor has anyone been able to take from them the palm in America.²

When Caro was forced to leave the Jesuit school in 1861, there came to Bogotá a Mr. Samuel Stuart Bond, a University of Cambridge man, a student of Greek letters, and an apt Latin versifier. Miguel began the study of English with Bond, thus continuing the work begun at an earlier date under Thomas Jones Stevens, the man from Oxford.³

¹ Francisco Blanco García, La literatura española en el siglo XIX, Parte tercera (Madrid: Sáenz de Jubera Hnos., 1894), p. 345.


for "la divina lengua de los romanos," was the link that united master and student in ties of strong friendship. Bond, who was fifty at that time, said: "I shall one day be proud of having known you." "Algún día me mostraré orgulloso de haberte conocido!"4 When Bond made this statement he was aware of the fact that Caro was beginning work on the development of an original theory on the Latin gerund in its relation to Castilian, a theory that Caro had held for years. This English humanist did not doubt that the work, because of the novelty of the doctrine and the richness of the examples with which it was illustrated, would one day place Caro as grammarian and philologist on a plane of scholarship higher perhaps than the one he had won as Latinist and literator. However, what Bond did not know was that because of this work, El Tratado del Participio, the young Caro would be called to membership in the Spanish Academy of Letters in capacity of correspondent.5

The mental vigor of an author is wont to be less visible when he constructs a great doctrine than when he applies it. The doctrine has something in it of the static; the application, something of the dynamic. But an analysis of El Tratado del Participio reveals Caro's perfect integration of both doctrine and practice. In this essay the author fully explains and exemplifies his theory on critical philology. Tomás O. Eastman, in his study on our philologist, Caro, and substantiating his theory, shows how the participle in many languages causes such difficulty that the gerund "became a malignant tumor in the body of the language and a surgical operation became necessary."6


5 Ibid., p. 56.

The evolution of the gerund in Spanish was very rapid and it invaded the domain of the participle. This is explained by the fact that verbals ending in "ante" and "ente" lost their participial character and it was necessary that the gerund occupy the place left by them. Because the functions of the gerund are nearly all participial, Caro refers to it as "participle," and not "gerund." The critical study of the Spanish gerund offered formidable difficulties. Caro applied himself to the problem and the result was the first critical monograph to exist in the language, *El Tratado del Participio*.

In this, as in his other philological studies, it would not have been sufficient for Caro to be a philologist of first rank; he needed, besides, great capacity for induction and deduction—the characteristic of the true philosopher. He must also be exceptionally conversant with Spanish literature. Furthermore, he was required to be a consummate stylist in order to duly appreciate the needs of the language. Caro possessed all these essential qualifications.

The Cuban critic, Merchán, says "*El Tratado del Participio* and the *Gramática de la lengua latina*, for the use of Spanish-speaking peoples, published in 1867 in collaboration with Cuervo, and running through several editions are two pyramids highly elevated in the field of philology." The Spanish Academy in official statement of February 1882 pronounced the Grammar a masterful work, "the best of its kind in our language."

7 Ibid., p. 56.
8 Ibid., p. 52.
9 Loc. cit.
11 Ibid., p. 274.
Caro's leanings were definitely grammatical, rather than sociological. It can be said that his esthetic appreciation emanated not only from a refined taste and from his mastery of literatures, but principally from his knowledge of the Latin and Spanish languages. It is evident, too, in all the philological essays of Caro that while he cultivated assiduously the science of language, he did not lose sight of its intimate connection with literature.

In this study, *El tratado del participio*, Caro substantiates the quotation he uses from Bello: "The language which best conserves the character of the conquerors of this hemisphere is Spanish." In it also, he ably demonstrates his deep and penetrating powers of logical reasoning. A distinguishing mark in this study, as in most of Caro's writings, is the spiritual and lofty theme in the sentences he chooses to exemplify his principles. *El tratado del participio* was first published in *Los Anales de la Universidad*, June 1870; later, in 1881, Caro corrected and revised his treatise.

The orderly and logical turn of mind so characteristic of Caro is well exemplified in another of his scholarly philological studies, *Del uso en sus relaciones con el lenguaje*. This study formed the subject of a discourse Caro delivered before the Colombian Academy in the junta inaugural of August 6, 1881. A brief analysis of the essay is this:


Part I  A preliminary philosophical study of the question  
A succinct survey of theories, grammar, and "use"  
The literary doctrine of Horace, in brief

Part II  A presentation of the opinions of some humanists  
on the question: Cervantes, Fenelon, Littré,  
Andrés Bello

Part III  A rapid exposé of the doctrine of Horace  
An examination and study of one of his passages

Part IV  Forms and characteristics of "use"  
Historical variations of "use" in ante-classical times  
Laws of language and spontaneity of "use"  
Factors of language

A description of literature as the expression of society, showing its changes through the centuries, proving there is no drama more worthy of study than that of the birth and formation of the Romance languages in the medieval ages; and of the structure which they present now in the modern age

Part V  "Use" and the classic writers

Part VI  Regional variations of "Use"  
Academic convention  
Principles directing and rectifying "Use"

Part VII  Conclusion

The pivotal argument exposed in this thesis by Caro is that "Use" only would be tyranny. With the penetrating logic of a disciplined mind, Caro defines and illustrates "use" of language, the form it takes, and the course

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14 Miguel A. Caro, "Del uso en sus relaciones con el lenguaje,"  
it follows in the mouths of the people who speak it, freed from the direct influence of books. After granting to "use" all its powers, privileges, and rights, he concludes, convincingly, that "use" is not the supreme arbitrator nor the only norm of a language. He shows that a language entirely delivered to "use" would naturally end in decomposition. Caro says this disintegration is stopped only by the action which literature exercises upon language. Caro names literature the salt of language, the only power capable of impeding the dissolving action of "use."\textsuperscript{15}

Caro has exposed, more than anyone else, that exquisite balance which should exist between a prudent traditionalism which preserves the unity of the language without modifying it, and a rational neologism which adapts the vocabulary to the new necessities without revolutionizing it. It is in this light that Eastman views \textit{Del uso en sus relaciones con el lenguaje} when he identifies it as an admirable study of idiomatic biology.\textsuperscript{16} Furthermore, he says that if we were to cite fundamental works upon the philosophy of the "classic use and of the neologic use," we would in justice have to cite the writings of Caro since he is the master in this province.\textsuperscript{17} In a fine tribute to Caro's studies of philology, Eastman continues: "It is a solid work, because it is scientific and this is due to the fact that the intellect of the author was essentially philosophic.\textsuperscript{18}

Caro, so well grounded in the realities of true living, was ever conscious of the relative value of things. In a short philological essay,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Ibid., p. 266.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Ibid., p. 42.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 29
\end{itemize}
Diccionarios Castellanos, he shows how some modern enemies of Christianity in the intellectual order, force the sense of words. Thus, Tracy eliminates all connection with the spiritual order in the word, "pensar" as Bentham does in the word, "virtud." Moleschott defines "pensamiento" as "movimiento de la materia" and Vogt, author of Lecciones sobre el hombre, defines the same word as "producto del cerebro." After other such citations, Caro adds that all the modern languages are Christian, but that none abounds so much in the spiritual sense as the Castilian with her wealth of spiritual books and her vast collection of mystical writings. In this same essay Caro emphasizes the importance of an example to go with every definition. He likens the definition to an inscription on a tombstone and says when the example is present, the soul has joined the body. The principal reason he ascribes to the advantage of supporting a definition by an example is the vast opportunity offered for placing high thoughts before the reader.

In apt philosophic comparison Caro likens language to an organic body, calling the multiplication of dialects the inherent power of procreation. This organism animated by a divine breath, the reflection of the human mind, must conform to rational laws. The development of a language is the history of the two innate tendencies fighting each other; by nature language tends to dissolution; and by reason, tends to a state of fixation.

Into this, Caro reads that parallel duelism found in the life of man, the fight of immortality against death. Caro's theory is, as we see, that

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20 Ibid., p. 107.
living languages are organisms which develop and grow, or decay, in conformity to natural laws. In the life of languages, as in the life of men and all biological order, real fecundity is not the work of caprice nor of arbitrariness, but of law. 22 As we saw in a previous chapter, Caro was opposed to the defacing of the Colonial language. He ably demonstrated that the Castilian language, without any appeal to foreign materials or sources, is an inexhaustible quarry for the formation of new words. With an admirable sense of vision, Caro foresaw disastrous possibilities in any Hispanic American movement aimed at lingual revolution. He bent every effort to preserve and to root most firmly the maternal language, the Castilian, in Hispanic America. So profound was his effort, so tenacious his investigations, that we can say Caro established a doctrine which today is classic. 23

Holding firmly to the dogmatic power of the literary lights of the past, Caro claims that the works which are read and studied a great deal are like a universal school of education; its authors are like peripatetic teachers of language. He quotes Moratin and Herreros among the modern writers who show the power of language because they were faithful to the oral tradition of the cultured society of their time and to the usages of the good writers who preceded them. 24

In a commentary on Gómez Hermosilla's Arte de hablar en prosa y verso, Caro tells us that while inspiration comes from heaven, ideas are acquired in meditation and in well-ordered reading; but, rich diction, language itself,

is learned only in the writers and poets who possessed it as their own and who left lasting signs of it in their works. He stands ademant, in this commentary, against those writers who would throw all rules to the winds, as he tells us "All reasonable people recognize in literature certain principles methodically arranged and forming a philosophy and science." 25 Explaining that the history of words is a faithful reflection of the customs, history, philosophy, and science of a civilization, Caro calls language "poetry in fossil."

The Spanish Language! This was one of Caro’s great affections, the logical sequence of his disinterested españolismo. His literary friendship with Rufino José Cuervo and his scholarly grammatical treatises which have contributed so much to the purification of the Spanish language in America, these were the outcome of his love for "la lengua madre." 26 Caro was not blind to the fact that the Castilian would suffer transformation in America, but he wanted the changes to be the outcome of a logical development. Believing that all possible efforts should be made to prevent idiomatic division equivalent to an ideological division, Caro worked unceasingly for the preservation of unity in the mother tongue. 28 Caro devoted himself to a cultural union of Spain and Spanish America, and at his instance literary academies were established in various parts of the New World in order to

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unify language and literary form. That the efforts of Caro have born fruit is evident today. Colombia boasts with pride of a language preserved in its purity and transparency.

The material contained in the philological essay, Americanismo en el lenguaje, formed, for the most part, the subject matter of a conference given by Caro on February 5, 1878, in the Mercantile Academy of O’Leary. It was the introduction to a course on literary and philological subjects to be given by Caro himself. In this essay Caro pays tribute to the great Andrés Bello as being the most chaste and correct of Hispanic-American poets. However, the main thesis hinges around the question of division of the language into peninsular Spanish and American Spanish—or, to the decomposition of the language into dialects. Caro stands for strict unity, as we have said, repeating as his motive, that which induced Bello to compose his famous grammar—the consideration of the grave dangers ensuing on lingual division. This same point is emphasized again by Caro in Contradiálogos de las letras, when after quoting Pott, the German philologist who foresaw disintegration of the Castilian into Hispanic American dialects, Caro observes that since there is no central political unity it may be possible that the English language may exercise so strong an influence that Latin America might come to accepting English as its literary language. Clinching his arguments with "this would be the shipwreck of the glorious traditions of our race," he maintains that for Hispanic Americans there is a patriotic duty to preserve the unity of the Castilian language.

Linguistics and philology are not identical. Philology is based on the former since its conclusions must be scientific, but philology transcends science and goes to the realms of art because it studies literary monuments not only with a view of examining deeds and ascertaining laws as does linguistics, but with the object of appraising such works artistically and of finding in them the most adequate and expressive way of speaking. Caro was not a professional linguist, but he was a philologist par excellence. Caro knew the works of the linguists on his little finger, says Eastman; but his own works were the critical examination of "words." The field of philology attracted him as a means of acquiring precision in the word, and of knowing the root and the reason of thought in the phonetic patterns. Language was the servant of thought for Caro, a servant of such high lineage that its disregard merited severe criticism from him. "He who does not know language does not know thought," was his axiom.

Caro considered the conservation of Spanish in Latin America as an omen of future grandeur for a great community of nations, and he looked upon Cervantes as the vivifying principal of that ethnic and literary organism. According to Caro, Cervantes should be for Spanish-speaking people what Shakespeare is for the English, and what Dante is for the Italian. In the linguistic system of Caro, a language is fixed when it attains literary perfection in the best works of a particular period, but this fixedness does not bar progress. The usage of the learned writers should be like a filter for the language. The etymology of words, the logic of common sense, good


taste, respect for the language of the masters, and even the influences of
the moral order are criteria that erudite use should investigate in order to
further the progress of the language. Caro, recognizing Cervantes as the
highest model of the Castilian tongue, as the cornerstone of our literary
edifice, made a special study of him. He considered El Quijote as a national
poem and the literary bible of the entire race. 34 Caro's devotion to the
sources of pure Castilian, the literature of the Golden Age, was evident
throughout his life. For him, it meant more than simple linguistic study.
Of the literature of this period he said: "La hermosa unidad católica se
refleja en todos los monumentos literarios del siglo de oro de España." 35

The investigations made by Caro in the field of phonetics may really
be considered as the first made in the language. At the time Caro produced
his Castilian phonetic studies the work of don Ramón Menéndez Pidal was not
in existence, nor were there writers on phonetics such as Tomás Navarro. 36

Caro's noble and refined spirit which sought out the gold nuggets of diction
was a contributing factor to his devotion to philology.

In spite of his tolerance of neologism, his constant interest was phil-
ological conversation with Cervantes, Fray Luis de León, and San Juan de la
Cruz.

34 Marco Fidel Suárez, "Elogio de don Miguel A. Caro leído el 12 de
octubre de 1909 en la Academia de Historia," Revista de las Indias, 57:304,
September, 1945.


37 Loc. cit.
The philological doctrine of Caro, from his essay *Del uso en sus relaciones con el lenguaje*, is contained in these words:

Tenemos una lengua tan hermosa, tan rica, tan fértil, que para todo sirve y a nadie jamás viene estrecha, tan sólo al que no ha estudiado sus inagotables recursos; y cogemos las flores y los frutos sin acordarnos de que la fuerza y la savia de su organismo es la vida y la sangre de escritores ilustres, de los clásicos españoles; que lo mejor de su propio ser que ellos en ella pusieron, recibiólo y asimilóse a la lengua, y ahora como de sí misma nacido lo presenta bajo el nombre vago de uso que sirve, como el de casualidad, a encubrir y postergar el mérito personal del genio creador.

Throughout his philological investigations, Caro was never unmindful of beauty of style. In fact, the massiveness of his works is due not only to the logic of his language, but in no small part, to the finesse of his style. The charm of sentiment, so marked in Caro's writings, gives a youthful freshness and vigor to his works. He was in our America what his great friend, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, was in Spain. "He resembled Menéndez y Pelayo so much in tastes and aptitudes, perhaps equalled him in erudition, and at times surpassed him in analytical strength and in the heights of his poetic aspirations." These poetic accomplishments we shall discuss in the next chapter, where we shall see that in spite of the fact that Romanticism was diffused throughout South America in the latter nineteenth century, it had no effect on Miguel Antonio Caro, the classicist.


CHAPTER V
CARO, THE POET

The powerful analytical faculty predominant in Caro as evidenced in his philological and critical studies, was not opposed to the development of the poetic sentiment in the soul of him who began and closed his career writing verses. When Colombian romanticism was at the heights of its glory, Caro’s verses appeared, presenting a well-marked fusion of sentiment and of thought with the classical ideal and finish. Caro, preeminently a classicist and a Latinist by temperament and by deliberate intention, was a true representative of Latin culture in the Spanish tongue. His syntax and construction, his power of synthesis, all recall to us the source of the poet’s models, Virgil, Horace, Propercius and Catulus. "Caro canta porque lleva una armonía que no puede manifestar sino en expresión exacta, matemática." One cannot fully enjoy Caro’s poetry on one reading; one must live with his poetry, so logical in form and so profound in sentiment in order to find in it an inexhaustible treasure, richer in proportion as it is known.

The frankly classical form of Caro’s poetry is not that of the oratorical style exemplified in the Spanish school toward the end of the eighteenth century.


2 Cecilia Hernández Marín, Miguel Antonio Caro: Diversos aspectos de un humanista Colombiano (Bogotá: Frenses de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1943), 35.

3 Loc. cit.

4 Loc. cit.
and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. It is finished and polished with the simplicity and naturalness of style we find in the great Latin classics so well understood by Caro. His style is not due to technical ability of masterful combination of sound, but rather to the intimate music of his soul combined with a natural sense of harmony.\(^5\) In the poetry of Caro we find not only the melody of a Garcilaso de la Vega, but thought and substance as well. Furthermore, Caro possessed a complete and perfect mastery of the Castilian, acquired at the pure fountains of the Golden Age, and evident throughout his poetry. It is the combination of all these elements, comments Oyuela, which has given Caro so elevated a place among the artists and poets of America.\(^6\) In an editorial appearing in *El Eco Hispanoamericano*, Paris, August 15, 1867, José Segundo Flórez remarks:

Miguel A. Caro, one of the literary glories of America, has just published a precious work of poems \(^7\) whose reading is recommended to all lovers of classical literature. . . . The poetry of Caro is characterized by a facility and elegance of verse, by a style severely correct, and above all by a delicate nobility of sentiment, a depth of concepts, and a pronounced beauty of imagery. . . . We do not hesitate to classify the illustrious Colombian bard among the classic poets of Europe as well as of America, since poets such as Caro are truly cosmopolitan. . . .

This critic further states that the masterly manner in which Caro takes the beautiful language of Cervantes and Calderón and models it on the forms of

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\(^6\) Ibid., p. 1014.

\(^7\) Miguel A. Caro, *Obras Poéticas, Musa Militante-Sátiras-Lira Cristiana*, (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1933), notas pp. 225-26. \(\text{See Appendix III for original Spanish text.}\)
virgil, Horace, Catullus and Propercius is a rare accomplishment.\(^8\)

Merchan makes this observation regarding the poetry of Caro: "... en poesía, creemos que tiene \(\text{Caro}\) dos minas: heredó la una, descubrió la otra; prefiere explotar la primera, por afecto de familia intelectual; pero la segunda saca mineral más rico."\(^9\)

Caro himself gives us the key to his poetry in his "Estudio sobre Menéndez y Pelayo":

\[
\ldots \text{los estudios clásicos subordinados al espíritu católico, al mismo tiempo que halagan y llevan tras sí la voluntad sin esclavizarlos, fecundan el entendimiento para toda suerte de trabajos, amenizando los que de suyo son áridos y enmbliendo los que parecen frívolos; la poesía, por ejemplo, que para el humanista no es un entretenimiento baladí, un mero juego de sociedad, sino la más bella y agradable de las ciencias enlazada en curiosas investigaciones históricas y con el estudio profundo de los símbolos de pensamiento humano.}\(^{10}\)

Poetry is, then, for Caro the most beautiful science of historical and psychological investigation of man's expression. He says, furthermore, in the essay quoted above:

\[
\text{La poesía es arte de invención de expresión y de imitación. Imita el poeta a la naturaleza y imita también a otros poetas, no siendo, como algunos piensan, incompatibles ni diversos por esencia estos dos linajes de imitación; puesto que los libros llevan en sí mismos mucho de naturaleza humana.}\(^{11}\)

Caro argues that a great poet must study what has preceded him, and refuting objections to his theory on imitation, he asks: "Who gave Dante the idea of

\(^8\) Ibid., p. 226.


\(^{10}\) Miguel A. Caro, Obras Completas, Estudios Literarios, III (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1921), p. 236.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 243.
the Inferno?" Caro himself answers, "Virgil". He quotes Víctor Hugo as an imitator of Sophocles, Euripides, Racine, Corneille, and of Byron. We may apply the words of Chenier, "Frutos frescos con sabor conocido," as expressive of Caro's idea of poetry, which is, succinctly, not only the art of invention and expression but also of deliberate imitation.

From early childhood Caro had felt an irresistible inclination toward poetry, cultivating it without intermission, making it serve as the expression of his most intimate fancies and thoughts. In his poetic collections, one must of necessity distinguish the youthful beginnings from the more seasoned fruits, even though one finds a great similarity of taste in both. Those with contemporary and popular leanings do not turn to the poetry of Caro, because in these compositions are found the dominant tendencies of the ancient schools: predominance of reflection, and sobriety of form. Because of this, some critics identify the poetic works of Caro as being pleasing only to those few who are well versed in classic letters. These critics say the poetry of Caro is cold and the language is antiquated. Merchán, the Cuban critic, in refutation says that a poet is not the exclusive author of his works since the spirit of the epoch from which he takes his inspiration collaborates with him, and that poetry without being essentially altered, changes in taste or in style de gusto o de moda in nearly all periods; and Caro follows sixteenth century models.

15 Francisco Blanco García, La literatura española en el siglo XIX, (Madrid: Sáenz de Jubera Hnos., 1894), p. 344.
16 Ibid., p. 345.
After offering several well-founded arguments to offset these critics, Merchán says if we find the true lyrical note in Caro's poetry, we will see that he has attained the laurels of a poet: 17 and asking the question: "Hay ahí sentimiento, o no lo hay?" he quotes for our consideration, Caro's "Sueños" from Horas de Amor:

El aire a veces tu rumor se lleva,
Síntese entonces general vacío;
Se asusta el corazón, despierta el alma
   Con un latido;
   El alma llora
   Vienes perdidos;
Mas vuelven los rumores, y el pensamiento vago
   Se aduerme de tus ondas al amoroso ruido.

Ay! que para morir las alegrías,
Toman de la tristeza el colorido!
Tus murmullos en eco se prolongan
   Que son suspiros,
   Y en sombras mueren,
   Oh claro río!
Así a las frescas voces de los primeros años
Los años que en pos vienen responden con gemidos.

The logical and mathematical precision of mind in Caro found its best poetic manifestation in the sonnet. His sonnets are perfect in form and possess an intensity and fullness of feeling which give them an overpowering sense of strength. 18 Carranza, admitting the grave subjective intensity in Caro's sonnets, says, nevertheless, they suffer from a certain formality and lack of flexibility. 19 Yet, he points out very apropos that the Christian tone and fragrance of the sonnets wherein Caro always solves the problems of the soul in the light of Christian philosophy, offer a striking contrast to

the singers tormented by doubt, such as Núñez de Arce and other nineteenth
century pessimists.

As an original poet Caro excelled best in grave and meditative poetry
where Nature forms the basic theme. The tree attracted him as the symbolism
best suited to the poet.

Arbol es el poeta, que sí aferra
en recóndito seno la honda planta
a las regiones de la luz levanta
la frente, que sublime instinto encierra.

Huyendo del contacto de la tierra
más dulce el aura, entre su sombra santa
silba, y de amor y gozo el ave canta
cuando refulge el sol tras la alta sierra.

Paz y serenidad a el alma enseña
su copa remecíándose en la altura
con vago giro y con susurro arcano;

y al cielo, en cuyo fondo se diseña.
Cual de alada visión, su vestidura,
llama y convida al pensamiento humano.

Nature seems to be subjective rather than objective in Caro. It was not for
him, as it was for the romantic poets, an echo to his sentiments; "it was the
framework of his verses, the charm of his metaphors--the tree and the poet;
the birds and freedom; the river and the continuous inconstancies of life." Caro does not transfer his soul to Nature, rather he "expresses his sorrows
to her and begs her advice"; at times he reminds us of Francis of Assisi.

In his sonnet, Los Dos Huéspedes, we find three entities, a tree, a man,
a bird, as represented by the three pronouns: Yo, tú, él.

20 Ibid., p. 346.
22 Loc. cit.
Tú, cuya copa abierta se levanta
Con sombra amiga protegiendo el suelo;
Tú, do el alado morador del cielo
Oculto anida y amoroso canta!

Yo medo el campo con humilde planta,
El cruza el aire con gallardo vuelo:
Codicioso de amor, yo de consuelo,
Juntos llegamos a tu sombra santa.

Inquieto, enamorado y engreído,
El en tu verde copa floreciente
Viene a trinar cabe el sabroso nido.

Pensativo, callado, falleciente,
En tu nudoso tronco envejecido
Yo busco arrimo, de mi bien ausente.

The man and the bird come to the tree, one begging advice; the other, love.
The bird seeks a home, the man bemoans his lost goods. Cecilia Hernández
Marifio sees in this poem the artist's desire to mount to heights where human
misery cannot overtake him. In this sense it is that she interprets the
23
bird as Caro's symbol of paradise. Caro loved birds very much. He has
left us his lovely Castelian version of Pajarillo de Lesbia by Catulus:
Elegia a la muerte de un Papagayo de Ovidio, and his own delightful, Las Aves:

LAS AVES

Para la eterna inmensidad nacida
gime el alma y quisiera
en edades lanzarse sin medida,
en espacios hundirse sin ribera.

Por eso amar, volar nos place tanto:
el que ama los lugares
y el tiempo olvida, ¿qué es el desencanto
sino al fondo bajar de los pesares

23 Ibid., p. 45.
Y volver a cantar menguadas horas?
!

¡Ay! Aves pasajeras . . .

Os sigo con la vista; ya no os veo;
Y miro todavía,
que absorbe en la ilusión de su deseo
os busca el alma en la región vacía.

Sombra y esclavitud cubren el suelo;
siguiendo vuestro giro,
la alegre libertad que hay en el cielo
gozo un instante, pues gozarla os miro.

Solitude, nature, and love seem to be the principal sources of Caro's inspiration. He preferred the simple life, frugal and quiet—just as Fray Luis de León had wished it; a life in solitude with nature. This longing is expressed in one of Caro's lengthier poems, the last one he wrote, El Canto al Silencio. This is the final great inspiration in which the "fearless warrior who had calmed so many storms by his burning words now invokes silence, the forerunner of perpetual peace." 24

Vengo en ti a descansar, SILENCIO santo,
Yo, la PALABRA honrada, y a ofrecerte
Respeto y gratitud en débil canto.

... ...

Como noche apacible y claro día,
Alternas tú conmigo, o me haces mudo,
Como a la luz la sombra, compañía.

... ...

Fundó, huyendo de turba cortesana,
Su templo la gentil Sabiduría
En monte excelso, en soledad lejana;

... ...

A soledad remota y escondida
Lleva el Señor al alma, y la consuela
Con ósculo suave y pan de vida.

Dejad, hijos de Egipto, las ciudades!
Cual zorita en su peña, haced mansiones
En el centro de vastas soledades.

¡Oh, cuántos generosos corazones,
Lejos allí de terrenal tumulto
Buscaron sólo celestiales dones!

The influence of Horace is very clearly seen here: simple, placid, nature--
tranquility, peace; a nature that knows not how to mourn nor to weep. It is
not a Nature tragic and full of mysterious inquietudes, "but rather nature,
transparent, clear, idyllic."

With El Himno del Latino, the poem analyzed in a previous chapter, La
Vuelta a la Patria also finds an important place in the Latin American anthol-
ogies. This is a beautiful composition in which we ascend with the poet,
stanza by stanza, from the low and obscure regions of earth until we reach
the splendors of the divine ideal. Valera wrote beautifully of this poem:

Aquella dulce y mística melancolía, aquella vague-
dad esfumada con que percibimos como verdadera pa-
tria la que está más allá de la muerte, y aquella
pintura, tan natural y verdadera, de la patria te-
renal, de la casa de mestros padres, del valle
tranquilo en que pasó nuestra niñez; y aquella men-
gua y abatimiento del corazón enfermo, que vuelve
a su antigua soledad, que la desea, y que ya no la
hallá, porque ya no existe sino en su mente como
ideal divino: todo, en suma, en esta composición
en que hay más ideas que palabras, la hacen en mi
opinión perfecto dechado de poesía de sentimiento

en cualquier idioma. No se puede citar un solo verso sin citarlos todos. Nada huelga en la composición. Todo está primorosamente enlazado y forma el más aromonioso conjunto. 26

However, in the eyes of the Colombians, Caro's greatest poetic glory rests on his elegiac ode, A la Estatua de Libertador. This poem contains one hundred sixty lines forming a presentation of the moral character of Bolívar, accomplished partly by incorporating into the poem certain historical sayings of the Liberator, such as: "Who knows whether I have ploughed on the sea and built on the wind," and "Perhaps the curses of a hundred generations will fall on me, unfortunate author of so many ills!" These sublime doubts, says Caro in the poem, have been expressed by the sculptor who wrought the great statue of the Liberator in the main square, La Plaza Major, of Bogotá.

The ode was written for the centenary of Bolívar, July 24, 1885, and first published in commemoration of the event in the Bogotán newspapers. Later it was copied by other papers. Belisario Peña writing from Quito, August 30, 1885, says: "Anteayer leí en el número 19 de La Verdad, la oda de M. Caro a la estatua de Bolívar; la releí, la aprendí de memoria, la repito sin cesar, no pienso en otra cosa, no hablo de otra cosa." 27

Caro had gone for a rest to the village of Chía, the most beautiful part of the region liberated by Bolívar. Here nature offers an aspect of immutable serenity and inspires a sweet melancholy. Caro was reminiscing on the deeds of the hero and especially on the theme presented by the Italian sculptor, Tennerani, in the bronze statue before which Caro had so often stopped


since early childhood. It was then and there that he conceived the idea of the poem, mentally elaborating on it before committing it to paper. 28

Most of Caro's recognition in the field of poetry rests on this poem. Menéndez y Pelayo in a letter dated February 1884 says that it is some time since any Castilian poem has produced so profound an impression on him. He remarks that the feeling of melancholic grandeur and serene resignation running through it is a great contrast to the confusion and declamatory ostenta
tion of the numberless odes inspired by the same "caudillo." "The stanzas are polished, elegant, rapid in movement—Horatian, without pretending it." 29

Again Menéndez y Pelayo says:

El eminente humanista a quien debe nuestra len
gua la mejor traducción poética de Virgilio, ha pulsado más de una vez el arpa mística de Fray Luis de León, y ya en el tomo de sus ensayos ju
veniles, impreso en 1866, hay varias muestras de este género, felices primicias de su bien nacida
musa, que luego se ha levantado con tan sostenido
vuelo en su magnífica oda A la estatua del liber
tador, no horaciana de todo punto, más bien man-
zoniana, pero mucho más próxima a la manera igual
y reposada de los discípulos de Horacio que al li-
rismo intemperante y oratorio de Quintana. El que
ha escrito esta oda tan profundamente elegíaca,
pensada y sentida con tanta elevación y tan no-
ble tristeza, tan original en el pensamiento y
tan desviada de todo resabio de declamación pa-
triotica, y versificada además con tanta plenitud
y tonto número, bien puede contarse, aunque sólo
por ella fuera, entre las primeras líricos castella-
nos. 30

28 Ibid., notas, p. 231.

29 Ibid., p. 244, a copy of this letter.

In the words of Caro himself, in a letter of thanks to Diego Fallon for his congratulations, we read:

... la oda es una manifestación ingenua de lo que muchas veces he considerado y he sentido al contemplar a Bolívar en la obra admirable de Tenerani. Los bajos relieves del alto pedestal de mármol, ... expresan bellísimamente los puntos de vista biográficos que eligió el escultor italiano: Bolívar proclamando la Independencia ante el clero, la milicia y el pueblo; Bolívar jurando la Constitución, y pidiendo a los Disputados que "le cambien todos sus títulos por el de buen ciudadano." Bolívar en el acto de perdonar al vencido "por la centésima vez"; Bolívar, en fin, enseñando a una familia africana el decreto de abolición de la esclavitud, ratificado con aquellas palabras que dirigió al Congreso: "Imploro la libertad absoluta de los esclavos como imploraría mi vida, la vida de la República." ... Quise en mis versos consignar esta interpretación, enlazándola con reflexiones melancólicas que despierta la memoria de Bolívar, mayormente en esta ciudad de Bogotá, teatro importantísimo de su vida pública.

Gómez Restrepo says the inspiration of the poem carries us on and on, to greater heights somewhat like the flight of an eagle, adding: "Nuevamente Caro unió su destino al de un inmortal, como lo unieron Manzoni y Tennyson al de los dos guerreros que decidieron la suerte de Europa en el campo de Waterloo." Oyuela calls the poem a masterpiece wherein the poet, like the sculptor, Tenerani, contemplates the liberator not as a hero triumphant and glorious, (a point to which Caro refers only incidentally) but as a man wounded by sorrow, disillusioned by ingratitude, and consequently dejected.

Inclinando la espada
Tu brazo triunfador parece inerme,
Terciado el grave manto; la mirada
En el suelo clavada;
Mustia en tus labios la elocuencia duerme.

The thought, so intensely condensed in sober and manly expression in these lines, nobly portrays the simple majesty of the pathetic figure. "It is," as Carranza so well puts it, "that we feel ourselves suddenly raised on the wings of words to the purest heights of the epic, because Caro sings not to the glorious Bolívar on the pinnacle of success, but he exalts him beautiful and sad in an air of melancholy and heroic repose." 34 "Ese canto vivirá tanto o más que el bronce idealizado por el estatuario," 35 is the opinion of Marco Fidel Suárez, as he adds that the distinctive marks of the best of Caro's poetic works, A la Estatua del Libertador, are: "perfection of form, depth of ideas, and nobility of sentiment coupled with chaste and religious aspirations." 36

In the funeral oration for Caro, made in the name of the Republic, Valencia said:

... otra estatua, inmortal que, erguida eternamente bajo el cielo purísimo de la memoria colombiana, vivirá para siempre cuando el bronce de Tennerani, limado de los siglos, yazga mútilo e informe cabe el pedestal derruido que hubo de sustentarlo un día ... Y Bolívar vivirá mientras el habla castellana nos esté pregonando, en las estrofas

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35 Marco F. Suárez quoted in José Joaquín Ortega Torres, Historia de la literatura colombiana, p. 376.

36 Loc. cit.
del poeta, un pasado glorioso y un compromiso para lo futuro. 37

If Caro's prose is the analysis of his inner self, his poetry is a synthesis of his Ego since his religious beliefs, his political creed, his Latinity, his esthetic theories, and his intimate sentiments are all found in his poetry. 38 In the estimation of Caro, poetry was not only the expression of a fleeting sentiment and the combination of images; it was, as it was for Lucretius, an instrument of synthesis. 39

Enumerating the most notable features in the intellectual personality of Miguel A. Caro, Valdaspe lists: vigorous and convincing expression in that which pertains to morals; strong and loyal bonds of friendship with Spain; defender, protector, and supporter of order and of the Catholic Church; vast learning and unusual mental acumen; and the gifts of the classic poet "a la manera del siglo XVIII." 40

 Appropriately applied to the close of this chapter is the last stanza of Caro's, "La Religión al Poeta":

Yo soy la Religión: tal vez mañana 
Vendrá a anublar tu ceño
Y tu pecho a turbar la Ciencia humana;
Ella es del mundo y su doctrina es vana;
Yo soy de arriba y la verdad te enseño. 41


39 Loc. cit.


CHAPTER VI

CARO, CRITIC AND PHILOSOPHER

Miguel Caro, the poet, possessed many and versatile gifts; that of literary critic stands out preeminently. No one can dispute him first place in the field of criticism in Colombia, nor probably in all of Spanish America. Caro entered this field through the humanities as did many another of the great critic artists who preceded him. Reading the Latin classics in their original, Caro learned to model his thinking on the language of Virgil, long before he exercised his critical faculties on non-classical works. At the dawn of youth the classic seal was indelibly impressed on Caro’s spirit. Miguel Tobar, his esteemed grandfather, who moulded his mental life, may be said to have carved the path for Caro. In so doing, he rendered a signal service to the general culture of his country.

Although Miguel Caro was the son of one of Colombia’s great Romantic poets, nevertheless, he was never fascinated by the splendors of that school. Caro is identified with Andrés Bello as an outstanding classical personality; in this respect, a master of his race, representing the highest of Spanish culture in Hispanic America.¹ Miguel Caro is considered the inaugurator of literary criticism in Colombia. A study of the literary productions of that

country during the second half of the nineteenth century reveals a definite and decided break, without transition, from articles purely panegyric and criticism plainly grammatical, to the profound and philosophical studies of Miguel Caro. Caro profited from his knowledge of the old didactic criticism which usefully embraced a detailed examination of the niceties of composition and style. However, he did not confine himself exclusively to this phase of criticism. Parting from a philological analysis of the texts, he elevated himself to a higher sphere wherein the critic envisions synthetically the work of art in the aggregate.

The criticism of Caro can truly be called philosophical because it does not rest satisfied with a study of details; it penetrates depths, revealing the thought produced by the work. It examines the basic source of the artist’s inspiration. Conclusive proof of the fruitful results obtained from this system of criticism is seen in Caro’s several critical studies on Virgil. Caro, who in political struggle was always found in the first line of combatants, as a critic preferred to treat of men and things which were at a sufficient distance in time and space to guarantee independence of judgment. It was only on a few occasions that he passed literary critical judgment on contemporaries, and then only because by exceptional circumstances the work had evidenced a classic note. An example of this is seen in his two masterpieces of criticism, Poesías de Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez y Pelayo y la ciencia española.

Under a pseudonym, Caro wrote in 1889:

La crítica verdadera es luz y no eclipse. Ella es incórporea; ilumina los objetos para aguzar

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3 Ibid., p. 15.
4 Loc. cit.
la visión del espectador, no para entorpecerla; y hace los objetos visibles y hermosos sin alterarlos. El crítico y el historiador han de mostrarse por los efectos mágicos que producen, no por la vana ostentación de su impertinente personalidad; por eso el crítico como el historiador, sin dejar de ser exacto y científico, ha de tener no poco de poeta o artista, así como la luz embellece las cosas sin perjuicio de una absoluta fidelidad." 5

Gómez Restrepo, in quoting the above, says that few critics have fulfilled this admirable formula as has Caro himself; a formula which Sainte Beuve might have adopted for his own, with great pleasure. 6

The combative temperament of Caro found an adequate outlet for the expression of his majestic thoughts in the vast field of literary criticism. The greater part of his literary accomplishments is in this genre. Besides the studies of the classic authors and the philological critical studies mentioned previously in other chapters, Caro has left us:

Contradiálogo de las letras, "joya de erudición" 7 a challenge to the criticism which señor Juan Ignacio de Armas made on the philological works of Rufino J. Cuervo and José Manuel Marroquin, and which was published in La Opinión Nacional of Caracas.

Oración de estudios, a discourse on the importance of knowledge, and of the greater need of virtue.

Literatura mejicana: this was reproduced by the Biblioteca Clásica of Madrid in the reprint of Poetas bucolicos griegos, translated into Castilian verse by Montes de Oca y Obregón; (volume XXIX of the Biblioteca).

6 Loc. cit.
La Alteración considerada como elegancia métrica.

Del verso endecasílabo: Sus variedades: Sus origenes.

Ensayo métrico de una traducción de Byron. This is a Castilian translation of "España en la Guerra de Independencia" (1809) and "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage," Canto I, 32-43, with an enlightening critical introduction.

Un Recuerdo Historico y Una Poesía Latina: This essay, in the form of a letter directed to the editor of El Orden Público, January 1900, is a justification of the Jesuits with a brief history of their labors in Colombia in the latter nineteenth century. Caro attached a Latin poem, an elegy of forty-eight lines, an affectionate farewell from a European Jesuit to those who formed the apostolic band to New Granada in 1844. Identifying it as good poetry, Caro requests publication so that it will be saved for the future.

San Cirilo de Alejandría, a powerful refutation of the Englishman, Edward Gibbon (1737-96), who tried to prove Cyril was instigator in the killing of the Greek girl, Hipatia. Caro's defense, a reply to an article of August, 1882, by a New York professor who was simply reiterating the doctrine of his master, Gibbon, is clear and logical, characterized by historical exactness and documentary proof. Caro quotes Cyril's letter to Pope St. Celestine and also cites the great Jesuit, Petavio. Gibbon, asserting that Nestorius was innocent of heresy and unjustly condemned, is quoted by Caro with all the substantial omissions of this historian. Caro's essay, a fine exposé of the divine maternity, reveals the vastness of his theological knowledge. Caro's challenge, in which he shows up, one by one, all the false
statements of Gibbon, clears Cyril.

Caro has several critical studies serving as prologues to literary works; in some cases these are purely critical, others are both biographical and critical.

A study entitled Madrigales is a treasure of erudition. Caro formulates a definition and examines many poems in the light of this definition, showing that many works are real madrigales that have not previously been considered as such, and vice versa.

Caro's study of sonnets and sonneteers, his appreciative and critical interest in Bello as an American poet, his critical biographies of Arboleda, of José Eusebio Caro, of Olmedo, his study on "utilitarismo," and numberless other valuable studies—all speak to us of the Master of Criticism in America. Miguel Antonio Caro in his criticism analyzed both medium and artist before taking up a detailed study of the work; thus going from cause to effect in accordance with his metaphysical spirit. This method may be better understood by outlining the order established in his essay on Juan de Castellanos which is a study of Castellanos' life and writings. This work is found in Obras Completas, III.

Caro enumerates the editions of the work of the chronicler, then the commentaries which it has merited. Next he begins on the unfortunate life of the "Cura of Tunja," completing in part, correcting in part, the data collected previously by Vergara. Caro, penetrating deeply into the work, points

9 Spanish poet and historian (1522-1606) author of Elegíás de varones ilustres de Indias. Very little is known of him except that he was one of Columbus' soldiers who lived here half a century as "vecino y cura de Tunja;" information which is gleaned through his poem.

10 pp. 51-88.
out the great courage Castellanos manifested as historian of the Conquest, thus indicating praiseworthy qualities in passages where he fails to find literary excellence. Noting the influence of Ercilla and particularly of Oviedo, Caro compares the style of the latter with Castellanos. He analyzes the sources of research of the author of Las Elegías; he compares the two different tendencies of Padre Las Casas and of Oviedo. While censuring Las Casas, Caro praises the equanimity of Castellanos when speaking of the conquistadores. He tarries on the foreign literary influences which molded Castellanos, and gives us important data concerning his library. Caro qualifies the work as essentially American since all the accounts in the work relate to the conquistadores on this continent. He notes the influence of Italian literature in Spain and the use of the "octava real" in the Peninsula. He praises the biographical method chosen by the author; he refrains from analyzing him as a poet since the verses are poetry only in part; yet, he recommends the work to youth as a worthy source for the study of the history of their country in particular, and of the Conquest in general.

Cecilia Hernandez Mariffo says of Caro as critic:

Muy español y nada indígena. La gloria de España ha de continuar en América. La conquista fue un derecho legal que derramó bendiciones en el Nuevo Mundo. Protesta contra Las Casas y su anhelo emancipador del indio; protesta--como Bolívar protestará--de que la independencia de América lo hubiera sido también del indio. El aborigen no figura en su visión crítica; empero, las glorias de España en América, la historia de España en América, la literatura castellana en América, forman su incolmable centro de interés.


12 Ibid., p. 69.
One of the most interesting characteristics which Caro offers us as a critic is his study of Horace. Horace and Caro were antagonistic personalities. Perhaps this is the only case where Caro shows decided admiration for a type so opposite to himself. Horace, the Epicurian, the man of easy life, subtle and satirical, wanting to pass his life at the foot of a tree "en medio al placer del vino," vacillating and fickle, loving nothing with certitude, was surely a drastic contrast to the sincere warrior, the man of virtue and integrity, the deep thinker, the modest but valorous Miguel Caro. In his essay on Horace, Caro makes special mention of Ode II of the Epodes, one of the most beautiful descriptions of rural life; of Satire VI and of Book II, in which Horace contrasts the conveniences of the city with the "innocent pleasures which he enjoyed in country life"; of Epistle X of Book I, in which he gives us the reasons for his loving the rustic life; and of Epistles XIV and XVI of Book I. The modes of sense perception seem different in Horace and Caro, comments Cecilia Hernández Marín; in Horace there seems to be a voluptuous pleasure, while in Caro we find a tranquility, serenity, and a peace inspired by the contemplation of nature. Caro finds in Horace the summit of lyrical perfection:

Horacio, que como autor de sátiras y epístolas, es un romano que se codea con grandes y plebeyos en las calles, como poeta lírico es un sacerdote de las musas, a quien el cielo protege, que canta a las doncellas y a los niños, que despiide al vulgo profano y se goza en tocar la flauta o en pulsar la lira, en opacas grutas en compañía de ninfas y sátiros.  

13 Ibid., p. 71.

14 Ibid., p. 72.

Other qualities which Caro admired in Horace were his power of expressing philosophy in poetic images, and of individualizing abstractions. But it was the elevated, classic mind in which only a word sufficed to express a world of thought, which formed the basic point of contact between Horace and Caro.

The firm and unmovable basis of all Caro's thinking in philosophy, in politics, in literature, was his profound Catholic faith. In a century of doubt and of negative criticism, Caro never faltered in his unwavering orthodoxy. In his eyes, religion was not only an essential element in society, but it was, furthermore, the fundamental basis of all artistic inspiration. Caro considered Victor Hugo a great poet only when he sought his sources of thought in Christianity; when he left this field and manifested scepticism, Caro says he fell into puerility.

In his essay on Núñez de Arce, our critic identifies the muse of this poet as "doubt," that cancer "which undermines political as well as religious faith." He says that Núñez de Arce is worth infinitely more for that which he believes than for that which he doubts. Again he shows that the unity of thought in the Colonial era was due to sentiments definitely Catholic. He upholds Prescott, the Protestant historian, who fails to see that Catholicism is the tree which bears leaves and flourishes while the sects are the dying branches.

Some critics have accused Caro of identifying as one, the concepts of goodness and of beauty, exacting of art a direct moral or religious lesson.

16 Ibid., p. 246.
This is not so; Caro's understanding was too vigorous not to perceive the distinction of those philosophic concepts, and his artistic sentiment too lively and sincere not to render tribute to beauty wherever he found it. Yet, Caro held as an indisputable axiom that art requires the ideal as an essential element and that "All ideal is directly or indirectly religious, since all ideal is superior to the material and supposes ecstatic experience in the person conceiving it." This theory permits many who would never be in agreement in the field of dogmatic definitions to find themselves on common ground in their oneness in aspiring to the Infinite. This explains why Caro could sympathize so deeply with the philosophic poetry of Sully Prudhomme, "who, though not a Christian, yet thirsted for the Infinite."  

In the essay, "El Quijote," Caro's masterful study of Cervantes' obra maestra, he tells us:

Yo creo pues que Cervantes no tuvo en particular ninguna de las intenciones que se le atribuyen, y que él mismo deja pensar que tuvo al escribir su obra inmortal. La mayor parte de las bellezas literarias que brillan en las obras maestras, brotaron por sí de la pluma de los autores, sin estudio ni deliberado esfuerzo, y lo mismo que en lo literario sucede en lo moral: Horacio descubre en los poemas de Homero grandes enseñanzas que Homero, si ya existió, probablemente no se propuso como objeto de su canto. Y es que Dios, sabio y equitativo en la distribución de sus dones, rara vez, si alguna, concede al genio creador la facultad de analizar. El genio produce por instinto, como la fecunda naturaleza física, sin conciencia clara de lo que hace, frutos maravillosos en que la análisis científica gasta años desentrañando la riqueza, variedad y armonía de elementos cuya producción colectiva fue tal vez obra de pocos días o acaso de breves momentos.

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22 Loc. cit.
Por eso en las obras de la naturaleza y en las inspiraciones del genio vemos productos de un autor divino que mueve al genio y a la naturaleza, y es el verdadero creador, de las cosas perfectas. Por eso es también impertinente en el crítico buscar en las obras de genio determinada intención.23

Merchán read into this, the idea that Caro would close the door to all philosophic investigation on the transcendental meaning of the works of art, and concluded that such theory limited the functions of the critic, going contrary even, to what Caro himself practiced.24 Restrepo refutes this charge by stating that Caro's distinction between the intuitive vision, which is the gift of genius, and the literary analysis which is proper to the critic, simply emphasized the great difference between the synthetic creation of the artist and the work of the critic who decomposes the masterpiece in order truly to appreciate its full significance.25 Some time after the appearance of Caro's study, "El Quijote," D'Annuzio in a discourse in Il Fuoco, supported the opinion of Caro.

In his study, "El Quijote," one of his most beautiful and profound essays, Caro proves himself a philosophical critic. He finds in Quijote the truly typical national character, which every real epic should possess. Classifying Cervantes among the greatest dramatic geniuses of the world, Caro points out the distinction that, while the artist is eminently dramatic in action, he is lyrical in expression. Commenting on the style of El Quijote, Caro compares it to an opera in which the perpetual chorus of the sublime music gives a tone to the entire composition which the dramatic elements

alone could never attain. Then going into the technical make-up of the masterpiece, he makes us see the enchantment of the rythmic prose. He calls it not merely a vain, artificial poetic prose, but an organic musical symphony of infinite tones which follow the various sentiments and ideas, communicating to them a depth of resonance.  

Very few persons have been placed in the ideal conditions for carrying to a successful end a literary career as has Caro. Inheriting, as he did, from his worthy father the ardent calling for letters, and pursuing it under wise direction, he was able to consecrate his entire life to it. He was named director of the National Library, a treasure house of "obras antiguas"; he was founder and owner of la Librería Americana, the most important bookstore of the period. This store still exists, directed by señores Michelsen.

Caro kept the Librería Americana until he became president in 1892; this enabled him to keep informed on current literature and to select for circulation the best offered in the various fields of learning. He knew how to profit from these privileged circumstances. He could speak authoritatively on so many subjects that it could be said of him "no puede tocar ninguna materia sin arrojar sobre ella abundante luz."  

Merchán notes a degree of superiority in Caro over the eminent critics, Macauley and Taine, when he says that these latter are wont to distract at times with exactitudes of a historical epoch or other detail which blur the principal figure in the picture; whereas Caro is direct, forceful, and to the point.  

Restrepo, in further tribute to Caro's criticism, says:

28 Ibid., p. 242.
El talento crítico tenía tal fuerza en Caro, que lo hacía polemista irresistible, pues le permitía descubrir rápidamente el punto débil del contrario; y penetrando por allí en la fortaleza enemiga, la conmovía con el empuje de su dialéctica, triturando los argumentos para dejar a descubier-to su falsedad y endeblez. Y cuando organizaba la defensa de una tesis, sabía escalonar en torno de ella series de razonamientos, enlazando el caso particular con principios generales; del tal manera que el contrario, aun cuando no estuviese convencido, no hallaba manera de replicar ni medio de desembarazarse de aquella tupida trama de pruebas y de objeciones, que lo oprimían y paralizaban sus esfuerzos. 29

Rubió y Lluch is of the opinion that among the expert writers of the Spanish race of that epoch, excepting Menéndez y Pelayo, no one but Caro could produce works of such profound critical intuition, of such solid erudition, and in such variety of fields; Rubió y Lluch continues to say:

... y aun en este último aspecto aventajaba el colombiano al coloso español, porque la actividad mental de éste no trascendió a la esfera de las ciencias jurídicas, morales y políticas, en las que aquél tanto sobresaliera. Y sin embargo, tiempos vinieron más tarde, cuando su vuelo de águila había subido aun a mayor altura, en los que la pasión política puso en tela de juicio sus grandes méritos, que no todos estaban en condición de medir exactamente. 30

29 Antonio Gómez Restrepo, "Semblanza del señor Caro (Discurso pronunciado en la inauguración de la estatua de don M. A. Caro)," Revista de las Indias, 57: 337, September, 1945.

CHAPTER VII

THE INFLUENCE OF CARO IN THE AFFAIRS OF STATE

Bolívar and his Army of Liberation secured the colonial independence for which the North had been striving. Almost immediately the Republic of Gran Colombia was proclaimed; this included Venezuela, Ecuador, and Colombia. Venezuela and Ecuador broke away from the republic in 1830. The year following, the Republic of New Granada was set up. The name was changed to the United States of Colombia in 1863, and later, to the Republic of Colombia. Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century the political history of Colombia is interspersed with revolution and civil war. Not until the beginning of the twentieth century did the country achieve the smooth working of democratic processes which characterizes her today.

The two parties, Conservatives and Liberals, appeared for the first time in the election of 1849. The Liberal Party, saturated with French ideas then came into power. Mosquera, in 1861, recognized by the revolutionists as provisional president, convoked a congress in the city of Rionegro where he drew up a constitution which was approved in 1863. At the same time Mosquera set himself up as Dictator of the Liberal Party. This


provisional government decreed measures of persecution against the Church and forced the Archbishop into exile. The Constitution of Mosquera established absolute separation of Church and State.

Rationalistic errors and principles of the most exaggerated individualistic liberalism had become quite the vogue among the leading classes of New Granada. The ideas had passed into the constitution, to the laws of the republic, and had invaded official public education. It was not without protest and combat that the regime of Mosquera was implanted in the United States of Colombia. Bishops and priests defended the dogmas of faith and the laws of the Church; many of the Catholic faithful waged war in the press in the cause of religion. In the field of politics, other men of good will fought sharply and energetically to bring about the restoration of truth and order. These efforts lacked the unity that would converge them into a single entity and give them the strength they needed. It was then that Miguel Antonio Caro arose. Without human respect nor counting the cost, he appeared the champion of the regeneration. At the beginning, a few followed him; afterwards, a legion. Disciples of the conservative falange and of the older liberal army came. From 1865 until 1885 the triumphant party imposed their constitution which was, as we said, contrary to Catholic beliefs and inimical to the Church. All this time Miguel Antonio Caro, José Manuel Groot, José Joaquín Ortiz, and other notable writers of the opposition, fought with the pen in defense of


6 Ibid., p. 495.

their ideals.

When Mosquera rose to power, Caro was twenty years old. Some conservatives suggested that Caro take an active interest in the political juntas being formed. But the time was not then ripe for Miguel Caro to participate in politics. He was not yet ready to assume burdens and responsibilities which were not incumbent on him. Besides, Caro believed that to regenerate the country it was necessary to get at the root of the evil. It was necessary to begin by restoring the Church to the people, and God to the schools; it was necessary to throw out of the educational institutions the two intruders, Bentham and Tracy, whose false philosophies had saturated learning.

During fifty years of the nineteenth century the Republic of Colombia was menaced by the moral contagion of utilitarianism as explained in the books of Bentham and transplanted to the official teaching of Colombia. Such a system was not only subversive to true science, but it alarmed the real patriots and scandalized, rightly so, the Christian conscience of the nation. Padre Mario Valenzuela, one of the glories of the Jesuit Order, did much to expose these errors. But the refutation most formal and conclusive was the book of Miguel Antonio Caro in which he analyzed the pernicious doctrine with such vigor and method that no one could make reply nor gainsay him.

Caro had begun his exposition of these errors in a series of articles which later formed the basis for his masterful philosophical study, *El Utilitarismo*, which he published in 1869. It was this series of articles and open letters published in *La Caridad*, *La República* and *La Fe* in which his gift of

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polemics was discovered. His El Utilitarismo merits praise for the clarity of the exposition, the strength of the arguments, the sublimity with which the subject is treated, and the purity of the language. Dr. Mallarino said it should have been printed in a monograph and sent to all the American Republics because it is an honor for all America to have so young a man able to produce such a work.

There was nothing of the temporizing in the ideology of Caro. He realized the need of a periodical of his own in which he could expound his doctrine with full liberty. In 1871 he founded the periodical, El Tradicionista, for the purpose of combating the liberal and anti-religious government and of defending the conservative and Catholic traditions of his country.

The El Tradicionista of Caro was in truth "la cuna de la Regeneración." Doctor Núñez said that he had completely changed his political creed, convinced, as he was, by its doctrine. The paper was censored by the government in 1876, the press destroyed, and the family of Caro made to suffer great annoyances and hardships.

In these moments of great danger, Caro defended the cause of Justice with intrepidity and boldness by means of his powerful word. In this field of eloquence Caro fully exemplified the classic definition of orator. His eloquence was not just garrulous expression, void of truth and reason; it was the


11 Cecilia Hernández Marínó, Miguel A. Caro: Diversos aspectos de un humanista colombiano (Bogotá: Prensas de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1943), p. 27.


perfect, precise, and spontaneous sentence pronounced in an energetic way and expressive of reasons formed by rare and extraordinary logic. Caro did not seek applause, nor did he solicit approbation. As he expounded truth there was joined to his gift of logic, a world of learning and experience acquired from solitude and study.

Cecilia H. Marifio says that if by orator we understand the psychology which obeys the audience, or the cunning which in falsely majestic terms is called "parliamentary ability," or the brilliant images of eloquent words, then Caro was not an orator. But Caro was an orator in the true sense of the word. In the gatherings in which he took part, the judgment of those of opposite opinion was influenced by the force of his logic. His masterful discourses, wherein solid and massive arguments rested on the firm base of incontrovertible logic, often made colleagues out of bitter opponents.

Caro's powerful fight in the daily conquest of self, developed the spirit of combat in him. From this inner battle there issued a placid, meek and majestic spirit which, combined with firmness of conviction, armed him mightily in the defense of righteousness.

The political career of Caro really began in 1868 when he attended congress for the first time as representative for Cundinamarca. This experience was a pivotal point in Caro's life since it culminated in two vitally important effects: his attendance at the Council of Delegates in 1886 for the formulation of a new constitution of which Caro became the principal author; and

17 Ibid., p. 53.
18 Loc. cit.
his ascendancy to the presidency of the Republic in 1893. 19

While it is true that Caro's campaigns against the Liberal government caused him untold trouble and annoyance, on the other hand, they won for him great popularity among his compatriots who considered him as one of their most honorable and intelligent statesmen. All the while that Caro carried on this political defense, he continued dedicating himself to literary studies and to the publication of notable works. 20

The harassing revolution of 1876 subsided, but not the odium. The thinking men of the time were greatly concerned. Among them was el doctor Rafael Núñez who said: "Regeneration or Catastrophe!" From then on, "regeneration" was the by-word in political circles. Núñez rose to power in 1880. 21 He had organized the National Party from those who had withdrawn from the radicals and who called themselves "Independents." The first inklings of reform were now in the air. 22 Núñez decided that the moment had arrived for the adoption of another constitution; he issued his decree of September 10, 1885, inviting the governors of the states to send delegates to Bogotá for a national council for the purpose of discussing reforms. Two men chosen by the governors of each state were sent. The council was composed of eighteen members, either conservatives or independents. Núñez's message to the assembly was powerful, tolerant, Christian. Among other things he told them that any action of the


government to exclude the Catholic Church would lead to disaster; "that liberty and justice are harmonious entities, and on this simple principle should be based the definition of individual rights. ..." 23

The council of delegates reached an agreement regarding the basis of constitutional reform and submitted it to the municipal councils of the republic for approval. It was ratified almost unanimously; only fourteen of the 619 councils voting against it. This agreement authorized the National Council to assume the role of a constitutional convention and to proceed to frame a constitution which would eventually be considered the basic law of the land. Three plans for a constitution were presented; however, the assembly decided to draft an entirely new document, and Miguel Antonio Caro was commissioned to the task. Núñez saw in Caro the apostle of the regeneration of Colombia; the ideology of the new party just called to power had taken its cue from the editor of El Tradicionista. The substance of the political creed of the Constitution of 1886, drafted by Caro, had been contained in his previously published articles. 24

Caro drew up the document, defending it with irresistible logic through long debates. 25 The Constitution of 1886 of the Republic of Colombia, still in force today, although modified by some amendments, was issued by the council, August 4, 1886, and formally signed by the executive the following day. This historical document substituted federal regime for the unilateral and re-established relations between Church and State. 26 Besides this re-estab-

23 Loc. cit.
lishment of national unity and liberty to the Church, its main characteristics were: a clear definition of individual liberties, and the strengthening of the principle of authority. Into the constitution was placed the name of God, supreme source of all authority. As we have seen, Caro played the principle role in this fundamental political transformation in Colombia. This he accomplished by the competence revealed in his discourses concerning the fundamental questions of public law. His power in polemics decisively influenced the deliberations of the council and lead to the final drafting of the constitution. Caro left his mark in this Constitution, the classic seal which characterizes it--"a foundation, permanent, secure, and firm." The mind of Caro will live after him in this document.

The concept of a state without God, according to Caro, was a dangerous thing and something anti-natural. His work, therefore, during this trying time was that of a self-sacrificing and valorous champion who does not sleep while he is defending the cause of God and Country. In the assignment of the new constitution, Divine Providence permitted that Caro should have a significant part. His dreams and aspirations were always the liberty of the Catholic Church, and education and learning in accordance with her teachings and philosophy. He lent himself with all his strength to fight and to conquer in order to obtain his ideal. The articles of the constitution were studied one by one with reflection, care, and tact; their reasons explained with unas-


Pope Leo XIII considered Colombia's Constitution of 1886 an example and a model of that which should rule in Catholic nations. Like all things human, the document surely has its defects; but one would be blind who would not recognize that it brought unity to the country and peace to consciences.

The political change of 1886 carried the conservative party to power. Núñez had been elected president in December, 1885. He profoundly admired Caro; with great reason did he see in Caro, as he later said: "la primera ilustración y la primera virtud del país." He appointed Caro as Counsellor of State. From that time, date his magnificent juridical studies which, according to the jurists, form a very important exposé of Law and are among the best of the country. Many of these are preserved in Volume VI of Obras Completas.

Characteristic of the political ideology of Caro is his motto: "El que es enemigo de la religión es enemigo de la patria." This was the theme of his polemics; it was also the rule which he observed as legislator and governor. He proved that the State without God is a calamity for any nation, and especially for Colombia. The State without God is anti-natural.

A significant culling from one of Caro's parliamentary discourses discloses a phase of his sincere disinterestedness: "The incidents of this discussion are not important; they are subordinate to the greater interest—the needs of the nation and the common good of all. Here personalities disappear

30 Ibid., p. 30.
34 Ibid., p. 31.
as we are nothing more than instruments."—Discourse on Citizenship, June, 1886. Again: "Those who hinder the course of action planned by lawful and regular authority are the instigators responsible for military dictatorship."

Núñez paid high tribute to Caro in 1888 through the columns of La Nación: "When in future an impartial and competent pen will narrate the extraordinary deeds of the Regeneration of Colombia, it will have to assign the highest place to Miguel Antonio Caro." As president, Núñez placed absolute confidence in Caro. Caro was a nominee for the vice-presidency in 1892. On November 25, the eve of the election, Núñez wrote to Rubió y Lluch:

"... Without a doubt el señor Caro will be elected. Since my resolve to retire to private life is absolutely irrevocable, Caro will be an incomparable president and he will descend from the throne leaving an indelible imprint. He is a person who has studied much; the more I know of him, the more I admire him." Without enthusiasm, Caro accepted the direction of government; he accepted only in compliance with a sacred duty of citizenship—a supreme sacrifice which God had asked of him. Rubió y Lluch remarks:

When Caro took the reign of government, there was repeated in Colombia something of that which happened in the time of Cicero. His parliamentary discourses, his eloquent commentaries on the Constitution of 1836, his political and diplomatic messages—all were magnificent literary masterpieces. Even the Bureaucracy seemed, for the first time, to employ a noble and pure language.


37 Ibid., p. 358.

38 Ibid., p. 360.
It was, then, during the second administration of Núñez that Caro took active part in the destinies of the republic. Núñez, in failing health, retired to Cartagena and died there in 1894. The government of the nation then devolved on Miguel Antonio Caro.

The presidency of Caro was filled with great troubles and anxieties. In 1892 while Núñez was still in power, there came a division in the conservative party. The dissensions grew and became more agitated after Caro's inauguration. The liberal press began an attack on the administration. The radical party had again reorganized, and it was later discovered that their leader was the one responsible for the opposition campaign in the press. In the midst of all this agitation, Núñez died on September 18, 1894. In this confusion, Caro assumed the government of the country in his own name. His opponents in Congress were now free to act; his party soon divided into nationalists and conservatives and four months after the death of Núñez, the liberal party took up arms against the government. In a few months the official forces subdued the insurgents; shortly afterwards, the government raised the state of siege and granted pardon to most of those implicated in the revolution. In 1896, when the trouble was at its height, Caro resigned; but he resumed office some few weeks afterwards and remained president of the republic until July, 1898. 39 This insurrection of 1896 broke a peace which had lasted for ten years. Caro's Christian forgiveness of the instigators gave proof of his respect for the social guarantees of the Constitution which he himself had formed.

In the confusion of these many and varied difficulties, Caro always remained irreproachable. He feared no one except God and the testimony of his own conscience. In the most adverse circumstances he manifested the dignity of a son of the Roman Republic. Even his enemies respected him. Those who did not sympathize with his principles paid him honor and showed him regard. Flatterers got nowhere with him. Caro was not a politician; that, he knew well. Rather, he resembled a magistrate of ancient Rome. "If I had to explain Caro to a foreigner, I would say to him: 'Imagine a Roman patrician of the epoch of Marcus Aurelius, one educated by the stoic masters with the greatest polish and finish; suppose him converted to Christianity through long conferences with the Fathers of the Church; resuscitate him toward the middle of the nineteenth century; infuse into him the language of Cervantes with the accent of a Bogotan, and allow him to step forth. There you have Miguel Antonio Caro'."  

After religion, Caro's greatest virtue was true patriotism. Underlying this, was his disinterestedness and his detachment from money which he considered unworthy of a true patriot. To serve Justice and "La Patria" could well have been his motto; for letters, science, and patriotism were to him a species of profession to which he consecrated his "all" without any thought of personal consideration. He loved learning, religion, and the "patria" for themselves "as an artist who cultivates Art for Art's sake."  

40 Antonio Gómez Restrepo, "Semblanza del señor Caro" (Discurso pronunciado en la inauguración de la estatua de don Miguel A. Caro), Revista de las Indias, 57: 339, September, 1943.


Underlying and influencing Caro's daily life was his religious and literary background. From Horace he drew wisdom and from him, he extracted the advice which, as a young man, he gave to the students he taught at the colegio del Espíritu Santo when he exclaimed: "Lejos de vosotros el vil propósito del lucro, que todo lo esteriliza y degrada y que fue la causa de la decadencia intelectual de la juventud romana." He preferred tranquil retirement and study which he heroically surrendered for the arduous and painful labors of public office. Caro loved solitude as a companion, and he always preferred to be away from the turmoil and pomp of large cities. But these sacrifices of his personal likes, his disinterested services, and his untiring labors opened an illimitable field for the future of Colombia. As a public man Caro believed he carried within himself a mission which he must fulfill. In one of his most beautiful sonnets, he conveys this idea to us:

Si no vencer sino luchar me obliga
por la fe y el honor, si hay un Dios bueno
que enmender sabe el éxito terreno,
cuándo, supremo juez, premia y castiga.

¡Adelante! No temo la enemiga
sarna, aleve puñal, sutil veneno;
con pecho firme y ánimo sereno
dispuesto estoy a la mortal fatiga.

Sólo el contagio de pasiones temo;
temo la justa indignación que inspira
de perfido enemigo la asechanza.

¡Oh Dios! A los asaltos de la ira
cierra mi corazón. Y en lance extremo
Prefiera yo el martirio a la venganza.


As political orator Caro took for his guide the theme expressed in these poetic lines. Well did he use his power of polemics: first, in the work on the constitution; then again, in the Senate of 1903 and 1904 relative to the Treaty with Panamá.

Caro's was one of the most agitated and difficult of political experiences. On becoming president of the Republic, he was not prepared for governing, nor for the many daily slanders and violent and sudden attacks to which the governor in democratic countries is exposed. Those days were the bitterest in his life. After a long and honorable fight, he left public office, wounded in spirit and without material fortune. His only desire was to return to his humanistic pursuits. In spite of the embitterment left by six years in the Palace of San Carlos, there remained for his comfort, intercourse with the diplomatic ministers who learned to appreciate his great character and his exceptional intelligence.

At Las Nieves, his suburban home, Caro passed his remaining days. It is there the bronze statue to his memory has been erected. It was there that he became himself again on returning to the serene felicity of solitude and of study. The aftermath of public office—days of abandonment and forlornness—to which, in the majority of cases, the man of public life is destined, were days of contentment for Caro. His greatest political enemies, who had fought him for six years, now bowed respectfully before him who continued being for all, "la primera virtud y la primera ilustración de Colombia." 45

45 Ibid., p. 32.

46 Ibid., p. 32.
Toward the end of his life, because of failing eyesight Caro did not go out alone. He could be seen walking on La Calle Real always accompanied by one or other of his sons to whom he was exceptionally devoted. This devotion is evident from some of his correspondence with them during their absence from home. See Appendix II for copies of some of these letters.

In general, Caro's government was rich in benefits to his country. All his actions were inspired by purest patriotism. His absolute probity of life left him revered by all. He continued exercising influence over the destinies of his country almost to the time of his death. His eloquent voice was always raised against injustice and the abuse of power. Caro was the indisputable chief of the Conservative Party which will extol him always as its great patron.

In 1905 Caro was named professor of Constitutional Law in the Escuela de Derecha. Not only students, but practicing lawyers and magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice as well, came to hear his conferences. In 1903 and 1904, Caro attended the senate of the Republic and delivered a forceful oration of disapproval of the Treaty with Panamá. In 1905 he was named the defense for Doctor Angulo in the Martial Court in the process which tried the conspirators against General Reyes, dictator president. Caro proved his valor in that court; his inexorable discourses against the regime are lost, since it was not permitted that they pass before the public. The sessions took place in the greatest secrecy.

During Caro's days of retirement he advised as many as sought his help. La Gruta Simbólica, a literary organization of young people, which by choice of name paid homage to the literary school popular at that time in France, recounts the visits of Miguel Caro as one of its greatest treats. Caro's last days were characterized by the tranquility of one who has fulfilled his duty faithfully. He carried on correspondence with distant friends: the most interesting part of the letters now preserved are those between Caro and his two great friends, don Rufino José Cuervo, and the literary light of Spain, Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Doña Ana de Narváez, Caro's beloved wife, died in 1903. Miguel, always stoic in face of sorrow, did not show external grief on this occasion, but he felt that a part of himself had gone; he sensed the closeness of his own end. August 5, 1909, Caro died. Rubió y Lluch said he had lost a precious friend, and Caro's death, like that of Menéndez y Pelayo, left him in the depths of spiritual desolation.

"We recognize Caro as master; we linger at the fount of his teachings; we consult him with great profit on the thousand things we do not know," this was the verdict of Merchán.

Caro has a place among the wisest masters in America.

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50 Gustavo Otero Muñez, Resumen de historia de la literatura colombiana tercera edición (Bogotá: Editorial Escolar), pp. 136-37.

52 Rafael Merchán, Obras Completas, III de Miguel Antonio Caro (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1921), Intro. xiii.


La Última Página

¡Es la postrera página! Le llega
Su turno como a todo,
Y a mi pluma se entrega
Para que ella de docta la habilite,
O la desacredite
Con inútil borrón. Del mismo modo
A terminar las horas de la vida
Llega la de muerte,
No anunciada tal vez, siempre temida.
Al escribir en ella,
Haciéndola nefasta o meritoria,
Decide el hombre de su eterna suerte:
Página hórrida o bella,
La última de una siempre breve historia
Feliz quien en aquel final momento
Escribe un pensamiento
Conquistador de gloria! 54

54 Miguel A. Caro, Obras Poéticas, Musa Militante--Satiras--Lira-Cristiana (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1933), p. 212.
APPENDICES

Appendix I  Document of the Colombian Republic authorizing honors to Caro

Appendix II  Letters of Miguel Antonio Caro to his sons, 1893-1900

Appendix III  Original Spanish text of material quoted directly, but in translation


2 Margarita Holguín y Caro, Los Caros en Colombia de 1774 a 1925: su fe, su patriotismo, su amor (Bogotá: Editorial Antenam, S. A., 1942), pp. 192-95.
APPENDIX I

LEY NUMERO 12 DE 1911 DE 30 DE SEPTIEMBRE

EL CONGRESO DE COLOMBIA

DECRETA:

Artículo 1. La República honra el nombre de don Miguel Antonio Caro, hijo ilustre de Colombia, quien por sus virtudes eximias, por su abnegación y probidad, por sus talentos y saber, hizo honor a la patria y la sirvió durante largos años como maestro, como publicista y filólogo, como legislador y primer Magistrado.

Artículo 2. En el patio principal del edificio de Santo Domingo, en Bogotá, se levantará una estatua de bronce del grande hombre, con esta inscripción:

A Miguel Antonio Caro
La República de Colombia

Artículo 3. Las obras de Caro se publicarán a costa del Erario Nacional, previa la autorización de su familia. La edición será ordenada y dirigida por una Comisión que designará el Ministro de Instrucción Pública, y se destinará la cuarta parte para distribuiria en las bibliotecas nacionales y extranjeras, y las otras tres cuartas partes para entregarlas a la familia de Caro, por derechos de autor.

Artículo 4. En el Presupuesto se incorporarán las partidas necesarias para dar cumplimiento a esta Ley.

Artículo 5. Un ejemplar autografo de esta Ley será entregado a la familia de Caro.

Dado en Bogotá a veintiocho de septiembre de mil novecientos once.
El Presidente del Senado, Pedro Antonio Molina.
El Presidente de la Camara de Representantes, Miguel Abadía Méndez.
El Secretario del Senado, Carlos Tamayo.
El Secretario de la Camara de Representantes, Miguel A. Peñardonda.
Poder Ejecutivo, Bogotá, 30 de septiembre de 1911.

Publíquese y ejecútense ............. Carlos E. Restrepo
El Ministro de Gobierno ............. Pedro M. Carreno
CARTAS DEL SEÑOR CARO A SUS HIJOS

Junio 2, 1893

Mi querido Alfonso:

Aunque muy buena tu carta de Barranquilla, espero que tengan algo más que decirnos desde esa Babilonia.

Todas las noches rezamos por ustedes y les enviamos nuestra bendición. Ayer fiesta de Corpus pensamos que ustedes habrían asistido a la catedral de Nueva York.

Gocen con lo que vean, pero no los deslumbe nada, porque en todas partes uno es el mismo, y sólo dos cosas nos importan: la fe y el honor.

No dejes de comprar buenas plumas de ave para escribirme con ellas. Te abraza con el corazón.

Tu papá

7 Junio, 1893

Mis hijos queridísimos:

No hemos recibido cartas suyas después de las de Barranquilla; las aguardábamos de Panamá, donde vinimos sin temor por los fiebres, que se demoraron algunos días. El parte de Nueva York me llenó de contento, y ese día me di de alta (del dengue, o perendengue). Esperamos con ansiedad sus impresiones sobre Jeremías, qué? y su continente.

1 "The familiar correspondence of el señor Caro is very scarce, because he did not travel, nor did he separate himself from his wife and family;" this is a note in Los Caros en Colombia by Margarita Holguín y Caro (Bogotá: Editorial Antena, S. A., 1942), p. 192.
Ya saben mis consejos: ser buenos cristianos y hombres de honor en todos sus actos. Tomen un maestro de inglés práctico, si fuere necesario, y aprendan a bailar con elegancia, para que si ocurre el caso sepan dar las vueltas y mudanzas en un salón sin mostrarse desairados. Vístanse decentemente, evitando cosas de relumbrón y mal gusto . . . .

Que Dios los bendiga como los bendice su amante

Viejo

Julio 25, 1893

Mis hijos queridos:

Cuatro palabras van para cada uno de ustedes. No tengo que decirles que los pensamos constantemente; de noche rezamos la oración pro peregrinantibus, que Antuco se sabe de memoria y reza con la mayor devoción. Sus noticias nos llenan de regocijo, y sus cartas, bajo todo concepto satisfactorias, son motivo de solemne fiesta.

Las dos condiciones que distinguen al hombre son ser buen cristiano, y gentleman: no les digo caballero, porque aquí llaman así a muchos vagabundos. No tengo que recomendarles más, porque en esas dos palabras queda comprendido todo. Procuren aprovechar para el porvenir. No se afanen por verlo todo, porque la agitación constante hace que pasen las imágenes sin dejar huella . . . .

Los abraza contra su corazón, su

Papá

All these letters are copied from Los Caros en Colombia de 1774 a 1925 (Bogotá: Editorial Antenam, S. A., 1942), pp. 192-95.
13 de Junio, 1899

Mis queridos hijos:

No tengo que aconsejarles, pues bien sé que ustedes comprenden sus deberes y la obligación de mantener en alto el honor de su familia. Sólo les recomendaré que procuren las buenas compañías, no solamente entre los hombres, sin entre los libros: las malas lecturas envenenan el alma. Tengan en esto much cuidado. Cultiven buenas y constantes relaciones con los frailes de mejor reputación, con los más humildes: el hábito burdo y la sandalia son el signo de la presencia de Nuestro Señor en medio de las liviandades del mundo. Sólo un fraile pudo escribir la Imitación de Cristo. . . .

Su Viejo

13 de Julio, 1899

Hijos míos de mi corazón:

Las cartas suyas que hemos recibido por varios correos nos han encantado, porque vemos en ellas la buena y digna conducta que observan, la constancia y pureza de sus afectos, su sólido juicio, en una palabra, su perfecta corrección moral y literaria. Le he dado muchas gracias a N. S. por todo eso. Siguiendo por ese camino, con las gracias de Dios, ya veo que tienen asegurado su porvenir, cualesquiera que sean los contratiempos y dificultades de la vida en lo material. Sean mis hijos mi corona, y quedaré con usura indemnizado de los sinsabores que me causan los ingratos y traídores que ustedes conocen. . . .

Su Viejo
Sin fecha (1900)

Mis queridísimos y siempre pensados hijos:

... ...

El gobierno ha levantado muchas fuerzas y gastado mucho millones, pero aún la situación está oscura. ... Yo he permanecido retirado y alejado de toda intervención en los asuntos políticos, consagrado a mi familia y a mis estudios literarios. No trato con ningún personaje influente. ... Las gentes que no viven sino de intrigas, y que juzgan a los demás por su mezquina condición, no pueden comprender que un hombre viva consagrado a honestas ocupaciones. Triste condición de países desmoralizados.

... Por lo demás estoy seguro de que observarán como siempre una conducta cristiana, circunspecta y honorable para honrar el nombre de su padre y el suyo propio. Esto vale más que todo el mundo.

Los abrazo y bendigo con todo mi corazón.

Tu Papá
APPENDIX III
ORIGINAL TEXT OF MATERIAL QUOTED DIRECTLY, BUT IN TRANSLATION

CHAPTER I, PAGE 15, FOOTNOTE 32:

¡A estudiar! Porque él presentía que no estaba lejos el tiempo en que habría de librar recias batallas, y el joven paladín velaba en la soledad y se preparaba para la lucha en la sombra. No ha habido tal vez entre nosotros, si exceptuamos a Cuervo, un lector más formidable que aquel mozo de diez y siete años, que quería saberlo todo, averiguarlo todo y entenderlo todo.

CHAPTER I, PAGE 16, FOOTNOTE 35:

Yo me he acercado a las más celebradas mujeres de Bogotá: he visto las más hermosas, he tratado a las más inteligen- tes. Algunas habrán podido divertirme, ninguna habría logrado sorprenderme. En ella, sólo en ella, he podido ad- mirar aquella exquisita finura de observación que sabe car- racterizar con una mera palabra el objeto a que se aplica: aquel tacto de las situaciones tan raro como precioso, por el cual adivina más bien que descubre el mejor procedimiento en cada caso dado; aquel entendimiento despejado y sin nu- bes, que sin envenenarse y sin humillarse pone cada consejo, cada recomendación, cada elogio en el lugar que le corres- ponde; aquella sagacidad penetrante que de una sola ojeada y deduciendo de un solo dato el carácter entero de una per- sona, en una acción toma principio para desenvolver una con- ducta. . . . Su maravillosa hermosura es la menos notable de sus cualidades, la menor de sus perfecciones.
Cuando con tanta injusticia y ciega ingratitude estamos acostumbrados a ver tratada nuestra España por los americanos que de ella descienden, es consolador escuchar el dulce acento de una voz amiga que habla nuestra lengua misma y desde el mundo de Colón canta con sentido entusiasmo las glorias españolas, de cuya tradición no reniegan todos los americanos.

Así que no dudamos verán con gusto nuestros lectores la linda oda a España que a continuación insertamos, compuesta por el inspirado poeta de Bogotá don Miguel Antonio Caro, autor de una traducción en verso de Virgilio y de otros preciados trabajos literarios que le han valido la distinción de ser nombrado individuo correspondiente de la Academia Española.

El señor don Miguel Antonio Caro, que es una de las glorias literarias de América, honor de su patria, la Nueva Granada, ha publicada últimamente en Bogotá un precioso opúsculo de poesías, cuya lectura recomendamos a todos los amantes de la literatura clásica y amena, como a todos los españoles que simpatizan con la América, y a todos los americanos que no reniegan de la España. El astro poético del señor Caro brilla por la fluidez, la facilidad y la elegancia de la versificación, por un estilo severamente correcto y atildado, y sobre todo, por la noble delicadeza del sentimiento, la profundidad de los conceptos y la belleza de las imágenes. Por eso no vacilamos en calificar al ilustre bardo colombiano entre los poetas clásicos, lo mismo de América que de Europa; pues los poetas como el señor Caro son verdaderamente cosmopolitas.
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY, MIGUEL ANTONIO CARO

HIS WORKS


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Caro and Rufino José Cuervo. **Gramática de la lengua latina para el uso de los que hablan castellano**. Bogotá: 1867.

Second edition; Bogotá: 1869.
Third edition; Bogotá: 1876. viii, 347 pp. Aumentada y adicionada con dos cursos de ejercicios adoptado para la enseñanza en el Seminario Conciliar de Bogotá.
Sixth edition; Bogotá: 1895.
Reprinted; Bogotá: Librería Americana, 1929.
Caro's contribution to the work: The part devoted to Syntax.

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A philosophic refutation of the theories of Bentham, wherein Caro exposes with all his rigor, the consequences of this pernicious system.

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Inspired by the memorable debate which took place in the Spanish Cortes of 1869 on "la base constitucional religiosa." Reprinted, October 1, 1878 in La Ilustración Católica de México, organ of the Bibliographical Society.

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Caro. **Tratado del Participio**. Bogotá: Los Anales de la Universidad, June, 1870.

Revised, corrected, added to, by M. A. Caro, 1881. 85 pp.
Reprinted; Bogotá, 1910.
This is a scholarly and intensive philological study; one of Caro's finest contributions to the field of philology.

Written under the inspiration of, and dedicated to Ana Narváez, his wife.


Conference delivered February 5, 1878, in the Academia Mercantil del señor S. B. O'Leary, as an introduction to a course in philology and literature. Stresses the need for unity in the Spanish language.


Del uso en sus relaciones con el lenguaje; discurso leído ante la academia colombiana en la junta inaugural de 6 de agosto de 1881. Bogotá: Imprenta de Echeverría hermanos, 1881. 60 pp.


A masterful study in philology in the form of letters refuting the criticisms appearing in La Opinion Nacional de Caracas by señor Juan Ignacio de Armas who attacks the philological works of los señores Cuerto and Marroquin, and also the Grammar of Bello. In this scholarly defense, logical and scientific, Caro shows an unusual mastery of the Castilian language.


This volume can be found in the Library of Pan American Union, Washington, D.C.


Articles on credit, public debt, and paper money published under the pseudonym, "Aurelio."


This is a compilation of Apuntes sobre crédito y Deuda Pública y Papel Moneda, and of presidential messages of Caro, 1892–1894, regarding the regulation of the monetary system, made by the Bank of the Republic as a homage to Caro on the centenary of his birth, November, 1943.


_____. Del verso endecasílabo, sus variedades, su origen. Bogotá: 1892.

A philological study centering around disputed points in Bello's Grammar.
Arboleda, Julio. **Poesías.** Con preliminares biográficos y críticos por M. A. Caro. Bogotá; Librería Americana y Española, 1883.

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**Principios de la ortografía y métrica de la lengua castellana.**

Suárez, Marco Fidel. **Estudios gramaticales.** Introducción a las obras filológicas de D. Andrés Bello . . . con una advertencia y noticia bibliográfica por D. Miguel Antonio Caro. Madrid: Imprenta de A. Pérez Dubrull, 1885.

Vergilius, Maro Publius. **Obras de Virgilio.** Traducidas en versos castellanos con un introducción y notas por Miguel Antonio Caro. Bogotá: Imprenta de Echeverría Hnos., 1875-76. 3 Volumes.
Paris: Jouby y Roger, 1875. 3 Volumes.

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**Églogas y Geórgicas.** Traducidas en versos castellanos por F. M. Hidalgo y Miguel Antonio Caro. Bogotá: Imprenta de Echeverría Hnos., 1879.
OBRAS COMPLETAS DE MIGUEL ANTONIO CARO


Contains translations from: Catullus, Lucretius, Tibullus, Proper­tius, Ovid, Horace, Virgil, Lucan; introduction by Gómez Restrepo.


Introduction by el señor don Marco Fidel Suárez. Contains critical studies on el Quijote, Virgil, José E. Caro, José M. Groot, Núñez de Arce, Byron, and the essay, "La Crítica Literaria."


Essays as learned and as profound as those in Volume II. Contains studies on Menéndez y Pelayo, Virgil, y la ciencia española, Joan de Castellanos, Don Andrés Bello, Olmedo, Noticia biográfica de Julio Arboleda, Oración de estudios, and other criticisms. Introduction by Rafael María Merchán, the Cuban critic.


Contains the Latin Grammar Syntax; the essay, "Virgilio en España, with its prologue and annotated bibliography; the series of five open letters occasioned by the Traducciones Poéticas de Caro; an annotated bibliography of Bolívar, 1889; and "San Cirilo de Alejandría," a re­futation to Professor Draper, who tried to prove Cyril as instigator in the killing of the Greek girl, Hipatia, by reiterating the thesis of Gibbon in an article published by Draper in New York, August, 1882. Caro ably refutes the Englishman, Gibbon, by documentary proof and factual evidence given with great historical exactness, and definite­ly clears Cyril. This essay is a masterpiece.
Two of Caro's best known poems, *La Vuelta a la Patria* and *Las Aves*, can be found in this volume.

Contains masterpieces on philology. *Tratado del participio, Americanismo en el lenguaje, Contradíalogos de las letras, Del uso en sus relaciones con el lenguaje, Del verso endecasílabo, Sobre el hiato, Gramática parda, B y V, Las Notas a la Ortografía y Métrica de Andrés Bello.*

Contains allocations, messages, and letters of Caro as vice-president of the Republic of Colombia.
Miguel Antonio Caro, Publisher and editor, Obras escogidas en prosa y en verso por José Eusebio Caro. Bogotá: Imprenta de El Tradicionista, 1873. Introduction by Miguel A. Caro.

, Publisher, La Historia Eclesiastica y Civil de don José María Groot. Bogotá: Imprenta de El Tradicionist, 1871. 3 volumes.

CRITICAL WORKS ON CARO


Author was professor en the Real Colegio del Escorial. One half of the book is devoted to a study of Catalán literature with emphasis on the Renacimiento. A section is devoted to regional literature of Galicia and 125 pages to literature Hispano-Americana; a chapter being devoted to each of the leading countries. Some very valuable data on Miguel A. Caro.


An interesting sketch of the youth of Caro written by his son.


Intimate details of the literary and political life of Caro told by his friend and Father confessor who prepared him for death.


Rather general approach; good for a re-check of chronological data on the literary history of Caro's time.


Good for a survey of the terrain; gives a short summary of Cara's vice-presidency.


Comprehensive scholarly criticism of Cara's theory and contributions to philology; an analysis of Cara's manner of applying his theory.


Editor, teacher at University of Washington. Biographical data and selections of Cara. (Volume II, no data on Cara)


A thesis (published) for the doctorate in philosophy and letters from the Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario. A study of Miguel Cara made directly from his works, giving us the absolutely independent opinion of the thesis' author. Comprehensive, enlightening, interesting. A copy can be found in the Pan American Library, Washington, D. C.


Accurate, well-written, detailed history giving the political vicissitudes leading up to Cara's presidency. Enlightening on the influence of Cara in his public life. A number-one history.

Good bibliographical guide.


Anthology with critical commentaries; rather brief.


Genealogical and historical and critical information about the literary family of Caros. Many documents, diaries, and letters copied herein.


Contains a concise literary and political biography of Caro.


A good general history giving few details, but useful for rechecking data.


Publicada por la Real Academia Española. Vols. I, II, in 1927; Vols. III, IV, in 1928. Menéndez y Pelayo wrote the long introductions of each volume; these are the invaluable parts of the work.

Gómez Restrepo ascribes 1886 as date of this essay and gives it high commendation in one of his studies on Caro. Merchán, the Cuban, gives us, besides bibliographical data regarding Caro, a comparative analysis of Caro as critic, pitted against Sainte-Beuve in their respective studies on Virgil.


Delightful reminiscences of the influence of Caro on these younger literati who, inspired by his profound knowledge, would invite him, Caro, to their literary "tertulias."


Selections from one hundred eighty authors with fine critical estimates and annotated bibliography for each. Unusually well-chosen material on Miguel A. Caro.


Publication of the Colombian Academy of History. Succinct biographical pictures of leading literary men arranged chronologically. Contains biographical data on José Eusebio Caro and Miguel Tobar. Volume I, 18th Century and early 19th; Volume II, extends to middle of, and late 19th century.


A good book to use in tracing the educational foundations of the Jesuits and the Dominicans in Colombia. The author, ex-president of the Colombian Academy of History, has made literary history most attractive by this well-organized, synthesized and human study. It contains a complete and accurate critical analysis of Miguel Antonio Caro.

Volume I, anthological only; Volume II, the above annotation, contains very copious biographical, historical, and critical notes; very fine ones on Caro.


This 100 volume series is a literary monument representing a work of many years; presented in 1937 to Biblioteca Aldeana de Colombia. Object of high commendation from the Colombian Academy and from José J. Castro Martínez, minister of National Education.

In the introduction to this work of Caro's, Samper Ortega presents a graphic literary silhouette of Caro, with greater emphasis on the formative period of his career and the influences brought to bear on it.


An extensive rather than intensive approach. Gives a fine general picture of the various literary schools, developing the story of their progress on through *El Modernismo* to the post-war literary tendencies in Latin-American letters. Exceptionally fine book. Author holds chair of American Letters and of Peruvian literature in the University of San Marco in Lima.


A cultural survey; fine for bibliography.


A well-arranged concise literary history of Argentina with the last sixty pages devoted to a resumé of the literary history of Spanish America. A succinct account of Caro.

A tribute, sublime and beautiful.


Exceptionally fine literary history for the general background leading up to Caro's epoch.


PERIODICALS


A study of Caro as a poet, after the author traces Caro's poetic inheritance through his illustrious forebears.


Un revista religiosa, científica, literaria. Concerning inedited poems of Caro.


Read before the Academy of History, October 12, 1909, by one of the wisest philologists and Christian apologists of Colombia, author, and former president of Colombia, Fidel Suárez. A study of the philosophy of Caro as seen in his literary work and his politics. This essay is of great interest and value in connection with this thesis.

Author claims the great work of the Colombian Academy of Letters has been the publication of the *Epistolario de don Miguel Antonio Caro: Correspondencia con don Rufino José Cuervo y don Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo*, edited under the direction of el doctor Víctor E. Caro, aided by don Rufino José, and author of the *Introducción y Notas* which accompany the work; Bogotá: Editorial Centro S. A. 1941. The article is an appraisement of Caro and Cuervo.


This discourse was delivered in the name of the National Government and the Colombian Academy in November of 1917 at the erection of the statue of Caro on the site of his old home. The erection was decreed by law number 12, September 30, 1911, by the Congress of Colombia, at the same time that the Republic decreed the publication of his works at national expense.


This eminent Spanish scholar was invited by Caro in 1887 to collaborate in the columns of *La Nación* of Bogotá, the official organ of the party which defended the social and political regeneration of Colombia. Through correspondence, a friendship ensued which ended only in the death of Caro. This essay is a scholarly appraisement of Caro, the humanist, the philosopher, the writer. Valuable. Comprehensive, detailed; developed as an annotated chronological survey.


The impressions of a political opponent who was obliged to visit Caro after the latter retired from public office. The writer is completely abashed at the hospitable reception given him, and at the happy home atmosphere there.

NOTE: As an evaluation of the periodical, *Revista de las Indias*, in the listings cited here, this data is offered: This review is published by the Minister of Education of Colombia and is the organ for the Association of American and Spanish writers.

**PUBLICATIONS OF LEARNED ORGANIZATIONS**


Includes funeral oration, discourses and poems by different authors on Caro.


(Both these bulletins can be found in the Pan American Library, Washington, D.C.)

**ENCYCLOPEDIA ARTICLES**


**NEWSPAPERS**

*El Tiempo* (Bogotá) November 7, 1943.
APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Sister Mary Viator (Sugrue) has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Spanish.

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.

5-19-45  Graciano Salvador
Date  Signature of Adviser