

Andrés Bello, Educator and Scholar

by

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Introduction

Venezuela gave to Spanish America its greatest man of letters, Andrés Bello and its greatest man of arms, Simón Bolívar.¹ The literary figure of Bello is enough to honor all Spanish America of which he was the principal educator, directly by his teaching and indirectly by his writings. Bello studied everything that was to be studied and his accomplishments as philologist, educator, grammarian, philosopher, lawyer, publisher, literary critic and poet were great.

The characteristics of the thought of Bello in whatever branch of activity are serenity, critical analysis, practical sense, honor, precision, love for reality and dislike of the abstruse and obscure.

Andrés Bello was born in Caracas, Venezuela, November 29, 1781. He took advantage of the intellectual movement of his generation and devoted himself to the classical studies, particularly the Greek and Latin poets, whom he proposed to imitate, and whom he translated and commented with great skill. He also studied the Spanish language and the Spanish theatre, paying especial attention to Calderón de la Barca and Cervantes. At the age of eleven, when the comedies

1. Menéndez y Pelayo, M.: Historia de la poesía hispano-americana, 2 vols., Madrid 1911, vol.I, p.353.

of Calderón were becoming popular in Caracas, he spent his savings to buy a copy of them, which he not only read but parts of which he committed to memory and recited.¹

Bello had the fortune to receive instruction superior to that which the Spanish-American youths commonly received and he recognized the gratitude that he owed his teachers. He studied the Latin language and literature, first under Father Cristóbal de Quesada, and second under José Antonio Montenegro, both excellent Latin scholars. Bello distinguished himself in Latin and was considered one of the best if not the best Latin student in Caracas. He studied French under Luis Ustáriz, philosophy, arithmetic, algebra and geometry under the priest Rafael Escalova, and English without other guides than a grammar and dictionary. Nevertheless Bello was largely self-taught. He was a constant reader, and devoured the books in Latin, Spanish, French and English that came to his hands. He made the acquaintance of friends who were to assist him in getting a start in life, especially the sons of the wealthy and cultured Ustáriz family, in the library of whose home he read much and there found inspiration for his earliest verses.

Philosophical questions aroused Bello's interest and hardly had he acquired the most elementary principles of

1. Caro, M.A. in Introduction to Poesías de Andrés Bello, Madrid 1882, p. XIX.

the English language when he undertook with a dictionary the translation of some English works on philosophy.

Bello also studied law and medicine but for financial reasons he was compelled to give them up and in 1802 he was appointed to the first of his several diplomatic posts when he was named undersecretary of the government of Venezuela. As a recognition of the intelligence and laboriousness of Bello, he was given the secretaryship of the Junta Central in 1807. He had to discontinue his professional but not his literary studies, to which he devoted all his spare time and he soon won recognition as a writer of both prose and verse. His conversation was varied and instructive, and he read or recited with the greatest art his own compositions or those of other writers. The works which later made the name of Bello famous were a natural and progressive continuation of the education that he received in Caracas. Before 1810 he conceived the ingenious nomenclature of the verb that he developed in his Análisis ideológica de la conjugación castellana, not published until 1848 and he had started his Gramática (1847). Although his book on philosophy was not begun while he was in Caracas, it was partly based on the studies that he carried on there.

Because of his experience and ability, Bello was chosen as Secretary of the commission sent to London in 1810 to secure assistance for the revolutionists who had

revolted after the fall of Charles IV and the acclamation of Ferdinand VII. They received little encouragement and the negotiation did not produce the result expected, but they continued their efforts until they were stranded in London without funds, when Venezuela was reconquered and Spanish rule was set up. Rather than return to Venezuela and be involved in the revolution, Bello preferred to remain in London with an uncertain future. On account of the confused state of affairs in Venezuela he had not received the salary due him and only the generosity of a friend kept him from going to prison for debt. He started giving private lessons in Latin, French and Spanish and managed to make a living until in 1822 he was made Secretary to José de Irisani, minister from Chile. In 1824 he took charge of the secretaryship of the legation from Colombia which position he held until 1829, when he sailed to Chile.

While in England, in spite of the fact that he had to spend much of his time in his offices and with his pupils, Bello knew how to apportion his extra time to intellectual cultivation. He perfected and completed the education that he had received in Venezuela. In addition to the study of French, Latin and Spanish, he also began that of Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Provençal.

He was not satisfied with studying the rules of grammar of these languages, but read in the original many of the principal works that had been written in them. He made patient examinations of the origin and transformation of Spanish literature, studied closely its oldest monuments and published a modern Spanish rendering of the Poema del Cid with notes and a study of La crónica de Turpin after he went to Chile, based upon these studies made in England. The scholarship of the Poema del Cid is sound. The edition and comment that he left is remarkable when one considers that it was made in a corner of America without indispensable books from notes taken in England where he read texts of the Middle Ages, and some French manuscripts. It is more exact than the editions of others who had more necessary references available for examination.¹

Bello spent much of his time during his eighteen years in London in libraries. He wrote considerable prose and verse, most of which was published in magazines with which he was connected such as El Censor Americano (1820), La Biblioteca Americana (1823) and El Repertorio Americano (1826-27). He collaborated with several distinguished Spanish and Spanish-American emigrados who were in England at that time in the publication of these magazines.

1. Menéndez y Pelayo: Op. cit., p. 369

The articles, both literary and scientific, which he printed were numerous and varied. In these magazines appeared Bello's studies of old French and the Poema del Cid, some translations, articles on Spanish syntax and prosody, articles on the physical and natural sciences, literary criticisms and his best poems, the American Silvas.

Because of his research and association with distinguished Englishmen, Bello adopted the doctrines of the English philosophers, especially Mill, Bentham and Locke. Even after going to Chile he desired that the people modify their beliefs, inclinations and habits, adjusting them to principles which were observed in English society.

In 1829 Bello was invited to Chile and offered the post of chief secretary of foreign affairs. Bello was forty eight years old when he went to Chile but nevertheless he was just entering the happiest period of his life. He found in this country what he was looking for: security of material existence and a place where he could exercise his great faculties as a literary man, journalist and educator. From the day that he arrived at Santiago he was closely identified with the intellectual movement of his adopted country, so that his career really belongs with Chile rather than with Venezuela. Bello lived in Santiago until his death in 1865.

At the time when he went to Chile, there were violent political troubles, social disorganization and a general state

of anarchy over the entire country. He said in a letter dated October 8, 1829: "the situation of Chile at this time is far from pleasurable; factions full of animosity; an unstable constitution; a weak government; disorder in all the branches of administration. We do not know how long this state will continue but perhaps it may be prolonged for years." ¹ Although Bello was not very active in political affairs, he aligned himself with the conservatives, which party was later successful.

Besides working in the government office, Bello gave private lessons in his home until he was made rector of the Colegio de Santiago, which had been set up by the conservatives. This college was closed in 1831 and Bello again gave private lessons in Spanish grammar, law, philosophy and philology.

When Bello went to Chile the country was in a general state of ignorance. Few people could read; indifference to learning and education was the rule and Chile seemed to be isolated from the currents of world progress. Bello thought that the press was the most adequate agent to place questions of general interest before the people, and in 1839 he took charge of El Araucano, a weekly paper in which he was to broaden the horizon of the Chilean press and give it more

1. Caro, M.A. in Santos González, C: Poetas y críticas de América, Paris 1912, p. 54

life, importance and variety. It proved to be the courier of interesting news concerning Chile and other nations, the lecture room in which was propagated scientific and literary knowledge, the tribunal which promoted reforms in civil legislation and administration of justice. In fact, nearly everything was included in the many articles, which Bello thought might awaken the individual interests of the people in order to stimulate progress in the country.

Bello established his reputation as a statesman and literary man with the publication of his Principios de Derecho Internacional (1832) and his Ortología y Métrica Castellana (1835).

Concerning the first, Carlos Calvo, in Le Droit International Théorique et Pratique, says "One of the most notable men that Latin America has produced is Andrés Bello. In 1832, profiting by his experience in international affairs and his functions as secretary of different legations in Europe, and the high place which he occupied in the direction of foreign relations in Chile, he published the Principios de Derecho de Gentes, an elementary treatise, in which, although in a limited space, are found all the essential questions referring to this subject. The most distinguished authors are unanimous in commending this work of Bello¹ It has been used as a text in Spanish

1. Amunátegui, M.L.: Vida de Andrés Bello, Santiago de Chile 1882, p. 354.

America and continues to be used to some extent there and in Spain to the present day.

The second contributed much to encourage the Chileans to correct their defective pronunciation and to stimulate an interest in poetry. Years later the Spanish Academy proposed to compose a treatise on meter and J.J. Mora asked why lose time when it had already been done and a copy of this work was presented.

By 1840 a new generation began to appear on the social scene, more illustrious and more capable of appreciating men of talent and science than the preceding. The activity and enthusiasm of the youth seemed to rejuvenate Bello and he began to write more prose and verse than at the beginning of his career. Along with his position as Minister of Foreign Relations, his two terms as senator and other legislative work he carried on his studies in various subjects. He translated into Spanish the drama Thérèse by Alexander Dumas and arranged it for the Chilean theatre. Later the following works were published: Análisis ideológica de la conjugación castellana (1841), Gramática (1847), Cosmografía (1848), Historia de la literatura (1850). He also completed his studies on philosophy, which were not published

1. Amunátegui, M.L.: Ensayos biográficos, Santiago de Chile, 1893, Vol. II, p. 101.

until after his death, except in part through articles in El Crepúsculo, a daily paper in which many of his articles appeared. At the same time that he was at work on these other subjects, he was giving his plan, little by little, of the Código civil chileno which was finally published in 1855 and adopted by the government of Chile.

The Gramática of Bello has been extraordinarily successful and the edition with notes by José Rufino Cuervo is still the best text-book of Spanish grammar that we have.¹

In his grammar Bello sought to free Castilian from Latin terminology; but he desired, most of all, to correct the abuses so common to writers of the period, and to establish linguistic unity in Spanish America.

Soon after the first edition of the grammar was published Bello was chosen an honorary member of the Spanish Royal Academy and later a corresponding member.

When the University of Chile was established in 1843, he was its first rector, which position he held until his death. He died October 15, 1865, his work having been as long as his life. For seven or eight years before his death, he had lost the use of his legs but he remained seated at his table constantly reading, writing or dictating. Rarely has a man enjoy-

1. Hills, E.C.: Some Spanish-American Poets in Colorado College publication, No.80, Colorado Springs, March 1915, p.227.

Amunátegui: Vida de Andrés Bello, p. 539.

ed such profound and lasting influence as that which he exercised and still continues to exercise in countries of the Spanish tongue. Bello will never be forgotten as a grammarian or as a philologist and in Chile at least his fame as a legislator will always be remembered.¹

The purpose of the present study is to inquire into the scope and significance of Bello's prose work, particularly in the fields of education and scholarship. The artistic value of his poetical production, perhaps the most important aspect of his contribution to South American culture, has already been weighed by more competent hands.²

1. Piñeyro, Enrique: Hombres y glorias de América, Paris 1903, p. 273.

2. See pp. 81-85 below

Chapter I

One of the distinctive qualities of the educational system followed in Spain and especially in Spanish America, was the predominance of ecclesiastical methods in the "houses of education", which were similar to convents frequented by aspirants to the priesthood rather than by men destined to live in the world. The almost invariable custom was that the directors and teachers of these institutions should be men of the church. Prayers and devotional practices took up as much time as did study, perhaps more.

Although Bello always showed respect for religion, he did not hesitate to protest with great energy against such a regime. He says that one of the most efficient means of reforming vicious customs is by religious instruction, but by a religious instruction in which less importance be given to exterior practices to oral worship to purely formal expiations and to mysticism, and first place given to the great moral truths and the habitual practice of justice and beneficence.¹

1. Amunátegui, M.L.: Ensayos biográficos, Vol.II, p.68

When Bello arrived in Chile, this country was one of the most backward in all Spanish America in the matter of instruction. Mexico, Lima, Bogotá, Buenos Aires, Caracas were obviously more advanced in this matter than Santiago. In all these capitals there were poets, literary men and writers of note who flourished before the revolution (1810), and whose names were known over the entire continent and outside it. At that time Chile could not name a single man who had reached that height. It had, it is true, its writers and poets, but they were few and of secondary importance. This deficiency cannot be attributed to incapacity or to intellectual poverty on the part of the inhabitants of the country, for today Chile can show a number of its sons who have been distinguished in letters. Therefore this state must have been due to the excessive ignorance of the Chileans, proceeding from the neglected and backward state of learning among them. Very little attention had been given to intellectual cultivation until after the revolution, when the regime of liberty awakened the spirits of the people and they saw the need of improving their learning through the adoption of new bases, new systems and new texts. Nothing much had been done however, when Bello arrived, except that there was a desire to better and increase education. He saw the need of intellectual cultivation to correspond to the physical vigor of the people. He saw a wonderful field

in which, with his natural and acquired aptitudes, he could carry on an important work for his adopted country.

In an article which appeared in El Araucano Bello discussed education. "Education, which prepares men to carry out in the world the part that fortune has given them, teaches the duties we have as members of society ... To secure good and evade evils is the object proposed in forming the heart and spirit of a man; and consequently we can consider the promotion of human happiness to be the primary object of education.

The distinctive character of man is susceptibility to progressive improvement. Education, which enriches his spirit with ideas, and adorns his heart with virtues, is an effective means of promoting progress.

Under every government there is equal need of education, because whatever may be the political system of a nation, the individuals have duties to perform with respect to it, to their families and to themselves. It is even more important under a republican form of government for the representative democratic system enables all the members to have a more or less direct part in the government and therefore for efficient membership a knowledge of their duties is necessary.

But not all men need to have equal education, - al-

though it is necessary that all have some, - because each person has a distinct manner of contributing to common happiness. Education should be molded to fit the different conditions, needs and methods of living in order to obtain the desired results. Some writers have considered education only a precious gift reserved for the higher classes. This is unjust and absurd, for the human race is no longer divided into the oppressors and the oppressed. All people have an equal right to education and each one should have an education suitable to his particular situation.

Of the two branches to which education can be reduced, that is, the formation of the heart and the enlightenment of the spirit, the first is left to domestic education. The impressions of infancy exercise over all men a power which generally decides their habits, their inclinations and their character and as the children are under control of their parents during this period, this part of education must be left to them. It would be too late to leave it to public education. At the present time the parents themselves need to be educated, so successively by the aid of public education the generations will be educated and will progress. Public education must especially be placed in reach of all the youth, whatever may be their station in life, so that they may be stimulated to acquire it and

in turn to facilitate this acquisition by the multiplicity of establishments destined to a small part of the people is not to improve education, because it is not enough to form skilled men for the learned professions; it is necessary to form useful citizens; it is necessary to better society; and this cannot be done without opening the field of progress to the most numerous part of it."

One of the tasks to which Bello was devoted from that time was education. The one who teaches another teaches himself at the same time, because he is obliged to systematize his ideas, discuss them and think about them in order to amplify and perfect them. Such work was especially pleasing to Bello, for his aspiration was always to expand indefinitely the powers of his intelligence.

Bello was a practical man. He looked with great pleasure toward seeing realized the ideas which were the result of his studies and seeing the diffusion of those ideas by means of education, which made their realization more certain. He began to demonstrate theoretically and abstractly the need of introducing a radical reform in the plan of public instruction, but in addition, he began whenever the opportunity was offered to make practical indications for

1. Bello, A.: Obras completas, (1881-93) Santiago de Chile 1883, Vol. VIII, pp. 213-21

carrying this reform to an end.

As soon as Bello came to Chile (June 1829) he began to give private lessons in his home but soon he accepted the rectorship of the Colegio de Santiago. In this school he taught Spanish grammar, literature and law. This school closed in 1831 and he again began to teach in his own home. He taught Latin and Spanish grammar, international, and civil law, poetry and the humanities in general, and in 1840 included a course in philosophy.

The method adopted by Bello was a very good one to make the students understand the doctrines that he transmitted to them, and to train them to think and argue. In place of strict adherence to formulas, examination of the truth by means of argument and the most severe and detailed investigation was the fundamental basis of his teaching. He began by exposing with precision and in a concise manner the point with which he was dealing. In place of spending time with long and showy dissertations or discussions, which many times hinder rather than instruct, he entered into familiar conversation with his pupils; called their attention to the several points and difficulties of the subject in hand; insisted that they know the facts concerning it first, without imposing on them any theory; he worked with them but left them to reach the general conclusions independently. Each question was debated and its details and applications considered.

Bello hated vagueness and urged his pupils to form complete and clear ideas. As was natural, he insisted that his pupils follow this system of observation and experimentation. His method, in spite of its insistence upon accuracy, was informal. During conversations with his pupils, he usually had a Havana cigar in his mouth. This informal method was practiced by Socrates in the early ages and the greatest teachers of the nineteenth century recommended it. The life of Bello seems to parallel that of Alberto Lista.

1. Alberto Lista (1775-1848) was a Spanish poet and teacher.

He began teaching at the age of fifteen, and when little over twenty was made professor of elocution and poetry at Seville University. In 1817, after three years of teaching at Bilbao, he started a critical review at Madrid. Shortly afterwards he founded the celebrated college of San Mateo in that city. In 1823 the college was closed because the government did not favor the liberal character of the San Mateo educational system. Lista, after some time spent in Bayonne, Paris and London was recalled to Spain in 1833 to edit the Madrid Gazette. He was one of the founders of the Ateneo, the free university of Madrid, and up till 1840 was director of a college at Cádiz. All the leading spirits of the young generation of Spaniards, statesmen, writers, soldiers, diplomats came under his influence. Among his pupils were Espronceda, Ventura de la Vega, Ferrer del

Their method of teaching was the same, ample and expansive, pleasant and picturesque. Ochoa, a student of Lista says, "The teaching of Lista was a beautiful scene, in which was something of the patriarchal simplicity of other times, which he presented, followed by the intelligent and faithful pupils. Sometimes, in the clear nights of winter, he would take us to the mountains around Madrid and explain to us the laws of astronomy and the wonders of the creation; other times, absorbed in literary questions, his favorite theme, he unfolded in them all the freshness of an imagination of a youth twenty years old, and equal to his instruction in the precepts of the art of literature was his golden eloquence. As a characteristic feature of those learned lectures, he added many pleasant digressions and experiences."¹

Bello followed the ancient custom of writing his texts as he taught them. One of the greatest needs in Chile was that of textbooks and the patient studies of Bello satisfied this need in part. His treatise on the conjugation and the

Río, Patricio de la Escosura, Eugenio de Ochoa.

1. Caro, M.A. in Santos González, S.: op.cit. p.7

most interesting chapters of his Spanish grammar were discussed in long conferences with his pupils.

Bello had a good library (collected in England) where the select works of the most civilized nations, old and new, were found and consulted by the students. He never tired of advising them to read the great literary productions and he inspired them with his example.

Bello's teaching was not confined to the four walls of his library or classroom. His conversation was instructive and profitable. His favorite theme in any conversation was always one referring to literary matters. Even in his literary conversations, was observed with the greatest strictness his analytic and experimental procedure.

The government began to publish El Araucano (1830), a weekly paper, in which Bello had charge of the sections devoted to foreign affairs and to letters and sciences. He inserted many articles on subjects of national and public interest. He made the most laudable efforts to increase and improve primary instruction. In the columns of this paper he censured frequently the vices with which the current system of education was afflicted, opened new horizons in order to improve it, proposed the creation of courses in the physical and natural sciences, noted the defects to which the formerly adopted methods were subject, and made many other suggestions leading to the reform of rules and practices that governed this important branch of public administration. Literary criticism, the correction of the vices of the common language, bibliography, travels, geographic discoveries, scientific pro-

gress, the political movement of Europe and America all occupied the columns of the official periodical, with much profit and gratification to the readers.

Even though ignorance was almost general in Chile at that time, the movement for education had started. In 1813 the government decreed that a free school, supported by the public, should be opened in each district where there were fifty residents; and also that in each town a school for women should be established. The same year Juan Bogaña formed the plans for the Instituto Nacional, a normal school, which was started in Santiago immediately. In 1828 the Liceo de Chile was established under the leadership of J.J.Mora¹ and in the following year the Colegio de

1. José Joaquín de Mora (1783-1864), born in Cádiz, was connected with the liberal party and was forced to leave Spain in 1823. He went to London, where his sympathy with the Spanish-American republics against Spain and his articles pointing out the great need of education among them attracted attention, and in 1827 he was called to Buenos Aires. He led an adventurous life over South America, going to Chile (1828) where he was given important public charges including that of public instruction. He wrote several texts on geography, law, Latin grammar and many articles on literature, education, politics in El Mercurio Chileno, which he founded. His

Santiago was established, of which Bello was the director after his arrival in Chile. There were some private schools in which some of the more wealthy people were enrolled.

Bello urged that free schools should be opened for the poor on Sundays. The success of such schools in England had induced him to recommend them in Chile. He even proposed that good books be distributed to the children who were unable to buy them. He says, "A little instruction produces very beneficial effects. In fact, the first rudiments of intellectual education have more moral strength proportionately than the accumulation of science by a learned man. This is seen more clearly in the adults who learn to read, than in the children who acquire the first letters, and grow without knowing the treasure which is in them. The pleasure of a man, who in two or three months (sic) finds himself capable of enjoying the contents of a book, which before was sealed to him, can only be imagined. The admirable art of writing is the first step of intellectual pleasure. The great object with which we should persist in communicating the art of reading to the poor classes, is to excite in them a stimulus which may take them from an entirely animal life and make them perceive the existence of other pleasures than those which do not leave the sphere of sensation.

political ideas forced him to leave Chile and after working for education in Peru and Bolivia, he returned to Spain and started a college at Cádiz.

It would not be difficult to supply the inferior classes with useful and amusing books. Some simple rudiments of Christian morality; some small collections of recipes or methods that might be useful in domestic duties; extracts of national history and similar things would have a favorable effect upon the happiness and morality of the people."¹

Bello advised every one to read as many good books as possible, and considered the acquisition of books an indispensable means of satisfying an imperious need, not only individual, but social. In his conception, reading was the most efficient means of spreading instruction. Since the revolution of 1810 no book could be brought into the country without the permission of the ecclesiastical authority, which censored unmercifully. A great number of books were prohibited because of the political opinions which they contained. All authors who opposed the divine right of kings, who defended the rights of the people, the very rights which the Chilean constitution had solemnly recognized and which they were sworn to sustain, were censored and condemned without any other motive. Another great class of books was prohibited, because in them was defended the royal rights of sovereigns against the usurpations of the Roman curia, usurpations which all the judicious Catholics confessed and deplored, but which already belonged

1. Bello, A.: Obras, Vol VIII 1885, pp:187-90

to history, and formed one of the most important lessons that it could give to governments and to the people. Bello asked that all books which were heretical or dangerous, immoral or irreligious be proscribed but that the interest of religion not be confused with that of despotic thrones. The clergy persecuted with fury all books in which were found any liberty of thought. Bello expressed his indignation at the barbarousness of the action of this group and wrote several articles denouncing their practices and the prohibition of certain books. The condition was improved somewhat in 1832 when the government commissioned Bello, Mariano Egaña and Ventura Marín to help the regular commission censure the books. But the system of censorship was still very poor and very slow as each book had to be read and reviewed. Many really very poor works of authors which had not been placed on the proscribed list were allowed to pass, in many cases, while really useful books were prohibited. Then Bello insisted upon the complete abolition of the censorship as under the existing conditions it only made the prices of the books that did enter the country much higher; it did not impede the circulation of the bad ones, and excited a contraband traffic in books which offered great gains to the infractors of the law. The complete abolition of the censorship was not realized, however, until 1878, several years after the death of Bello. Since this was not obtained

Bello and other persons persisted in increasing the circulation of the good books they did have. There was considerable progress in the commerce of books during the next few years. Those especially popular were the books on politics, law and sciences as well as elementary books on literature. Many of these were translations from the French. Of books in foreign languages, little except French was found in the libraries.

When Bello reached Chile in 1829, the majority of the Chileans belonging to the educated class spoke and wrote abominably the native language. The pronunciation was bad and the spelling worse. The conjugations, agreements, constructions of all kinds ran parallel to the pronunciation and spelling. It might be said without exaggeration that the language was a jargon. At once he began to write a series of articles directed to the parents, to the teachers in the schools, in which he pointed out many of the defects and improprieties in the use of the language.

The improprieties to which Bello objected extended to the form and pronunciation as well as to the meaning of words in common use.¹ Common linguistic peculiarities include the following: in the present subjunctive of haber, haiga, haigas for haya, hayas;² likewise vaiga, creiga and similar forms.

1. Bello: Obras Vol. V 1834, pp. 467-87.

2. In the sixteenth century by analogy with caiga, traiga the form haiga was used even by the classic writers; however they are only dialectical in the nineteenth century.

The weak form hayamos was made uniform with the strong forms haya, hayas (i.e. háyamos) in Chile (as also in Bogotá and Andalucía); similarly téngais, áyais, véamos, váyamos. The present indicative never changed the accent as did the present subjunctive. The first person singular form hey of haber is still used for he in Chile today.¹ The impersonal haber and hacer occurred in the plural when speaking of a number of persons or things; the resulting construction, e.g. hacían dos horas que dormía, was incorrect. The preposition a was redundantly used after the same verbs, e.g. há or hace muchos días a que no le veo. The preterite of venir was conjugated veniste, venimos, venisteis (for viniste, vinimos, vinisteis).² The preterite forms vide, vido (for vi, vió) were also used but these have always been used by the vulgar. In the second person singular of the preterite

1. By analogy with soy, doy, hey was used but now occurs only dialectically.

2. veniste would be etymologically correct except that the irregular perfects did not follow the rule for phonetic changes of the stem vowel in -ir verbs. Before accented i (in the Latin form) i should change to e. Although the etymological forms vin, venist, viníamos were found very early, the analagous forms viniste, vinó occurred also at the same time.

fuistes, amastes, temistes were used (for fuiste, amaste, temiste)¹.

The second conjugation ending éis was replaced by is in the present indicative, e.g., vis, comis, queris (for véis, coméis, queréis)².

Ponré, tenré, venré were commonly used (for pondré, tendré, vendré)³.

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1. Etymologically the form should be amaste but probably by analogy with other second persons the s was added by the common people. Examples of this vulgar practice were found in the eighteenth century.
 2. These forms which were used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Spain and today sporadically in Aragon and Chile, may have been assimilations to the ir conjugation.
 3. The future tense was formed by placing the infinitive before the present indicative forms of haber, resulting in poneré, teneré, etc. But the language of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries lost the pretonic e and the forms ponré, tenré, etc. resulted. This made a great number of contractions, but in the fourteenth century the tendency was to restore the whole infinitive form. The modern language conserves only a few such forms as pondré, vendré. The d has been added to facilitate the pronunciation of n and r.

By analogy with valer Chile had the form doldré, but the future of doler has always been regular.

Mirá, andá, levantáte, sentáte (with the subject tú) were used (for mira, levántate).¹ The people used vos when speaking to a single person but Bello contended that tú or usted, according to the degree of familiarity, must be used since vos is only permitted in poetic or oratorical style.² Vos eres was incorrectly used for vos sois, or tú eres. Also after the second person singular was designated by vos, a confusion with tú resulted, e.g. a vos, Dios mío, dirijo mis oraciones; yo invoco tu misericordia; dignate escucharme, pues en ti solo confío. Bello considered it proper to pass from tú to vos and from vos to tú, as in music when we pass from one key to another, but they should not be interchanged in the same sentence.

The error of changing the i to e of verbs ending in -iar was frequent, e.g. cambeo, vaceas, capeco. In Chile (as well as in Colombia and Argentina) the words golpiar,

1. During the classic period these forms were in good use with vos but never with tú, and by the nineteenth century were entirely obsolete except in dialect. In order to facilitate rhyme the forms andá, mirá, could be tolerated in verse.
2. In Spain the subject pronoun vos had been replaced by vosotros in the Middle Ages.

rastriar were found along with cambear.¹

The verb forzar which should be conjugated fuerzo, fuerzas was conjugated forzo, forzas while desolar was conjugated desolo, desclas in place of desuelo, desuelas. Coser and cocer were conjugated alike, and further confused since g² sounded as c.³ Vertir was used for verter and ver was changed to vir (perhaps by analogy with ir).

The accent was shifted from the weak vowel to the strong and the forms cáser, tráer, réir, cáia, léia, réi, páis, bául, réido were frequent.⁴

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1. The endings -ear and -iar were interchanged very early since camear was used for cambiar in the Cid. The common people continued using both endings but preferred the -iar ending.
 2. Coser changes o to ue when the stem is stressed, while cocer does not change.
 3. There is no verb vertir except with a prefix.
 4. The accent shift on the infinitive is a real barbarism since the rule is that all infinitives are pronounced with the stress on the final syllable.

In many cases letters were added interchanged or suppressed as crer for creer,¹ trer for traer,² quer for caer,³ dentrar for entrar, dentre for entre, mesmo for mismo,⁴ diferencia for diferencia, naide for nadie, cárculo for cálculo, güevo for huevo, arbolera for arboleda, grao for grado

1. The conservation of two identical vowels in hiatus as in creer is rare since the general rule is that the two equal vowels be reduced to one. Until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the forms veer, seer, and similar ones were in general usage. The fact that we still say proveer and not prover indicates that the words of less common use conserved their hiatus. Since creer was less common than ser and ver, it retained the old form. By analogy it could logically be crer, which would necessitate a change in the other verb forms, e.g. cre for cree, etc.
2. These interesting vulgar forms trer for traer and quer for caer may possibly be explained by the shift of the accent from e to a in the infinitive. The words were then pronounced as one syllable and by assimilation the forms quer and trer could have resulted.
3. The d in dentrar and dentre must have been added because of analogy with the adverbs and adverbial phrases dentro, por dentro, adentro.
4. Bello contended that only poets had the right to use mesmo when they needed it for rhyme.

vidro for vidrio. Since c and z were both pronounced as s, casa was pronounced the same as caza; cima the same as sima.

Many expressions were given meanings that would not have been understood outside Chile, one of which was the use of pararse for ponerse en pie.¹ Bello did not consider admissible such provincialisms as fui a lo de Pedro for fui a la casa de Pedro and fui donde Pedro for fui a donde estaba Pedro. Some gave the verb poder a direct object, saying tú no me puedes, yo no te puedo.²

The rule for the position of the object pronouns was not followed as the people said no me se ocurre, no te se da cuidado, transposing the pronouns me, te, se.³

These forms and many others of the same kind show that at the time when Bello went to Chile, the inhabitants used a language which was rapidly growing into a dialect and soon the country would have been separated from the other Spanish speaking people.

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1. Pararse means to stop when one is moving and not to rise or stand when one is seated.
 2. These expressions meant that one person was less strong than another. This is a solecism since the verb poder can have no other object than an infinitive.
 3. The rule is that the pronoun se precede any other object pronoun with which it is used.

The cause of this corruption of the language can easily be explained because many people regarded the work spent in acquiring a knowledge of Spanish grammar useless, since they maintained that the rules would be learned sufficiently through the daily use of the language. Others alleged that for those who learn Latin, it is not necessary to learn Spanish, because in knowing Latin grammar, Spanish grammar is also known. But this error was due to the fact that they did not know what constitutes a knowledge of their language. A knowledge of Latin would undoubtedly help one to learn Spanish grammar, for the person would have a general idea of the structure of the language, but each language has its own particular rules and character.

Bello was a real revolutionist in the matter of grammar. In an article Bello gives the original doctrines which later were used as the basis of his grammar. He says: "Perhaps the imperfection of the national grammars has contributed to the error that the knowledge of Latin grammar makes that of Spanish unnecessary. Those who have written grammars, either have reduced themselves to too narrow limits, believing, groundlessly as we think, that, to place themselves within the reach of the youth, it was necessary to give only a slight idea of the composition of the language; or they have adhered excessively to vague principles, insubstantial terminology and classifications that are now

proscribed. The national grammar is the first thing that is presented to the intelligence of a child, the first exercise of his mental faculties, his first practical course in reasoning. It is necessary, then, that all in it give a proper direction to his habits; that nothing be vague, nor obscure; that a mysterious value not be given to words that he does not understand; and that the philosophy be as simple as possible. A radical vice of the grammar of the Royal Academy is having applied to the Spanish language, without the least modification, the theory and the classification of the Latin language, conceived for the exposition of a system of symbols that, although it has a certain air of similarity with ours, differs from it in many essential points."

The cultivation and perfection of the mother tongue constitute the base of all intellectual progress. It was estimated that five persons in a hundred spoke the Spanish language in America grammatically and one who wrote it correctly. Therefore in connection with his grammatical studies, Bello urged that several reforms be made to facilitate and simplify spelling. He did not think that the reforms indicated and suggested would be adopted

1. Bello, Obras, Vol.V 1884, pp. 457-65

at once but nothing could be lost by pointing them out and submitting them to the people for discussion, in order that they might be modified, if necessary, to expedite their introduction. Bello's study was finished and published in 1835 and his first articles appeared in England (1820-26). The object of his Ortología was the correct pronunciation of the words. The changes were based on the fundamental rules that each sound be represented only by one letter, that each letter represent or contribute to the representation of a simple sound, that each letter or combination of letters be not given a value different from the one that was commonly given it in writing. The plan of reforms which Bello presented, in the order which he thought would be convenient to adopt, is: substitute j for x and g in all cases in which the latter two have the Arabic guttural sound (e.g. Méjico, jente for México, gente); substitute i for y whenever it is not a consonant (e.g. mui for muy); suppress the h (e.g. ombre for hombre); write rr for the strong sound (e.g. rrazón for razón) and reserve r for the simple sound; change fricative c to z (e.g. zinc for cinco); omit the silent u after q (e.g. qema for quema); and then later substitute q for the stop c (e.g. qasa for casa); and omit the silent u after g (e.g. sige for sigue). Under this system c and h would be eliminated

from the alphabet; s because it has two pronunciations and h because it has none.

Bello in his own writings adopted the changes of j for the palatal g (before i or e), z for c in words whose stem is written with the first of these two letters and i for the vowel y but he did not dare to introduce too many changes at once.

The faculty of humanities of the University of Chile adopted several changes in spelling soon after it was organized. In the American republics y had been i in diphthongs and this practice was extended to the conjunction y. Thus the i, under this system, would always be a vowel and the y always a consonant. The u was suppressed

1. If the rules for spelling are examined it will be seen that there was hardly one of those proposed by Bello that had not been in use in Spain at some previous period, e.g. in the first edition of Terence translated by Pedro Simón de Abril (Alcalá de Henares, 1583) haber, hacer were written without h and decir, traducir, veces and similar forms were written with z; in the Sabio instruido de la gracia by Padre Francisco Garan (Barcelona, 1711) the above changes were found and in addition i for y when used as a conjunction or in the diphthong ei, voi. Antonio de Nebrija and Mateo Alemán had promulgated reforms similar to those proposed by Bello. (See Obras, Vol.V, p.397)

except in the interjections, where it was believed to have a real value. The g before e and i was replaced by j. Several objections to the adoption of these rules were made. The first was that it would be necessary to teach both the old and new spelling methods in order that one could understand what was written, but this was somewhat exaggerated. The second consisted in the difficulty of finding the words in the dictionary, but this even existed under the current system of spelling because of incorrect pronunciation, the use of useless letters and the double value of letters, and this was precisely what Bello was trying to remedy. Another objection was that if the h were suppressed, we could not find the etymology of the words, but this does not seem to be a logical objection since only advanced students would know or need to know anything about the etymology of a word. Moreover the Academy itself put aside the etymology of a word in many cases to simplify the writing. Bello's proposed reforms have never been adopted, except as mentioned above, but his reasoning and arguments are logical.

Bello made the most laudable efforts to increase and improve education in general and worked for an efficient plan of instruction. The first essential of a system of popular instruction is that it be intelligible; that the children understand what they learn. The native language

is the fundamental basis of all science; it is the instrument of thought. Three years of incessant preaching and efforts were necessary to succeed in getting the classes of Latin grammar and Spanish grammar separated in the Instituto Nacional in order that Spanish grammar be given the importance belonging to it. Unless Latin was thoroughly learned Bello considered it valueless and as few people really needed Latin, he considered it necessary to divide the two subjects and allow more time for the study of their own language. The study of the language extends over one's whole life, it never ends. In the elementary schools it is only begun; the child is given certain rudiments proportional to his understanding. Bello advocated that the teaching of the language in the elementary schools should be entirely practical, limited so that the child might recognize and evade the vices of the vulgar speech. His pronunciation should be corrected first, he must note the bad agreements and be taught the correct verb forms. And especially nothing should be said that was not within his reach and whose meaning did not apply to him. The study of the mechanism and spirit of the language must be learned later by those who cultivate the literary professions or those who wish a finished education.

1. Cited by Amunátegui, Vida de Bello, pp. 413-15

Finally, thanks to an irrevocable constancy and to the prestige of his authority, Bello succeeded in directing due attention to the study of the national language. The result was that little by little, many of the vices which disfigured so much the speech and writing of the Chileans, disappeared. The insistence of Bello upon the highly finished study of the language was such that a few men called him an exaggerated purist. Among them was Sarmiento ¹ who even said that Bello should be sent from the country

1. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1811-88) was an Argentine educator, author and statesman. He began his career as a teacher at San Luis but in 1830 he was compelled to flee because of his opposition to Rosas. He went to Chile, returned to San Juan in 1836 where he established a school for girls and edited a literary paper. He was imprisoned on a political charge and forced once more to go to Chile. There he devoted himself to the question of public instruction and in 1845 he was sent by the Chilean government to visit the educational institutions of Europe and the United States, where he was influenced by Horace Mann. In 1851 he returned to Argentina and fought against the dictator Rosas. To him was due the establishment of a Department of Public Instruction, of which he became Minister in 1860. In 1868 he was chosen President of the Argentine Republic.

because of his ideas on education. J.V.Lastarria accused Bello of being a retrograde rather than a help to education.¹ This is, of course, absurd. The means proposed by him to better the system of public education were none other than those that the more civilized countries have used before and since, and those that Chile herself finally adopted.

Bello said that besides Spanish grammar the children in the elementary schools should be taught reading, writing, arithmetic and the catechism. Besides these more essential subjects he contended that a more or less general knowledge of history, geography and astronomy was desirable. Arithmetic, geography, history, as they were ordinarily taught,

1. Lastarria, J.V.: Recuerdos literarios, Santiago de Chile 1885, p.18. Lastarria (1817-88), a Chilean writer and lawyer, was devoted principally to education and journalism. He wrote many articles and published several works of merit, including some elementary texts that were used in the schools in which he taught. He founded several magazines and several literary societies. In 1838 he was professor of law and literature in the Instituto Nacional and when the University of Chile was established, he was dean of the school of Humanities and also taught in the school of Law and Political Science.

lacked attractiveness. The method of teaching was tiresome, uninteresting and naturally the children had no interest in what was being taught. Bello said that a collection of abstract facts without relation to their fundamentals, motives or causes, without relation to nature or to human life, without any appearance of practical utility or personal benefit is impossible. Isolated facts without any relation to every day life are not usually interesting. Dugold Stewart has observed that the extent of our knowledge does not depend upon the number of ideas that we acquire but upon the number of relations¹ that we perceive among them.

Further ideas were given by Bello in an article on secondary education. "The first instruction of man must be very fundamental in order that it may produce seasoned fruit, and very slow and well distributed in order that it be permanent. Common education is not to form learned men, because not all men have the necessary abilities, but it is to place them in such a position that they may develop their abilities, recognize their rights and obligations and fulfill their duties intelligently. Instruction can be divided into three classes. The principal essential of the first class is that the attention of the youth be con-

1. Cited by Bello, Obras, Vol.VIII, 1885, p.298.

centrated on the study of the native language until he acquires a complete knowledge of the art of speaking. He must be taught to express his thoughts and recognize the relation of his native tongue to the sciences. Then the youth possessing a general ideological outline will be lead, in the second class, to the region of thought where he is taught to form his ideas, combine and connect them. In this class reason, and not knowledge, is the dominant factor if it is permitted to make a distinction between one and the other. Instruction does nothing more than develop the intellectual potentialities of the youth and gives him rules by which these may function, communicating to him the necessary notions with which to establish his criterion of truth and non-truth. Through this kind of instruction the student is made master over the resources with which conviction and persuasion work, and over the means of benefiting from outside knowledge. There is nothing vague in this class because speaking with propriety and thinking with exactness repel the idea of uncertainty. As soon as one can discuss and ascertain the true and the false, education gives him positive rules to determine the good and evil of his actions. Here begins the education of the citizen, while that before has been only that of man. From the small circle where he was taught to express and combine his thoughts and to recognize truth, he is carried to the vast field of ideas which

his relations with other human beings offer him, and the obligations which duty and justice impose upon him. The dryness of study begins to disappear since the youth realizes the pleasures of his heart and recognizes that he does not live for himself only. But it is not enough for man to have merely a knowledge of himself and of his relation with his fellow men; it is necessary that he know something of the phenomena of nature and their causes. Therefore a course in science would be indispensable to complete the preparatory education.

Professional and scientific education constitute the third class. The lawyers, doctors and canons had had to limit their studies to what had been written in other countries and then apply them to the existing circumstances. This part of education needed a great reform. The principal professions of Chile are agriculture, mining, commerce and law and it was necessary that each receive particular attention.¹

Growth of the study of the physical sciences was very noticeable since the majority of the people were interested in agriculture and mining. Special courses for these two professions had been advocated by Bello and partly carried out.

In order to have public instruction teachers were needed.

1. Idem, Vol.XV 1893, pp.93-106

To meet this Bello recommended the establishment of normal schools in order to generalize and make the instruction uniform. Finally in 1842 the government ordered the establishment of a normal school in Santiago. The success of such schools in various parts of Europe, especially in North Germany, had been noted and they served as an example to Chile.

Bello always worked also to destroy the legal and social barriers of the institutions and habits of colonial rule that opposed the cultivation of the intelligence. He was one of the most decided and constant supporters of theatrical representations, which he considered an excellent means of civilization and of moralization. Unfortunately, the clergy and the devout made war on the theatre and insisted with all their might that it should be closed. The anti-liberal reaction of 1830 had inspired vigor in the enemies of the theatre, who redoubled their attacks against an institution, in their opinion, extremely harmful. Bello and other men of influence began to work for the development of this institution which should progress equally with the intelligence and culture of the people. Bello said concerning the theatre: "The most austere critic would find nothing to censure in the selection of the plays, the greater part of which abound in excellent examples and

lessons, and are perhaps more fit to inspire sentiments of domestic virtues, or generosity, humanity and honor than almost all the agencies of moral instruction which are found within reach of the people. The ones which lack this merit have at least that of affording an agreeable pastime, without alarming modesty nor offending decency. Those who do not frequent the theatre for pleasure should do it because of public spirit. To patronize it is to patronize two interesting arts: a school of correct and elegant language, of familiar conversation, of good pronounciation and of the honorable, charitable and generous sentiments." ¹ The leaders of the Spanish American revolution had conceived the theatre, not as a simple diversion destined to make literary beauties admired, and to awaken in the soul affecting or agreeable sentiments, but as a social institution, whose object was to propagate patriotic ideas and to form civic customs. Such was the idea that prevailed in Chile after its independence. Mora and Bello combatted these ideas and desired that the dramatic representations be a means of purely intellectual entertainment rather than a spreading of political ideas.

Bello founded dramatic criticism in Chile. It may be said that he presented in El Araucano a practical course

1. Cited by Amunátegui, Vida de Andrés Bello, pp. 437-8

in dramatic literature through his discussions and criticisms of the theatre.

By 1840 the youth with whom Bello had been working were beginning their philanthropic work. Bello was much gratified by their enthusiasm and activity. The real independent intellectual movement began in 1842 under the administration of General Bulnes. Montt, the Minister of public instruction, commissioned Bello to form the plans for a corporation that would have charge of directing and promoting education and the cultivation of letters and the sciences. The plan submitted by him was accepted with a few modifications and on November 19, 1842, the University of Chile was created by law. This body consisted of five schools: the school of philosophy and humanities, the school of mathematics and physical sciences, the school of medicine, the school of law and political science and the school of theology. July 28, 1843 Bello, because of his great experience and competence, was appointed by the government to be the first rector of the University of Chile and also was a member of the faculty of philosophy and humanities, and that of law and political science. He held the position of rector until his death in 1865. Principally because of his teaching and administration he started the university on the enlightened career which has made it the foremost institution of learning in South America.

The plan of work that Bello pointed out to the new University was the application of European science to the peculiarities of Chilean society. It must study the history of the Chileans and prepare their future material and moral progress; it must become acquainted with the geology and physical characteristics of the country; it must cooperate in the development of its industry and commerce; it must attend to practical utility, to positive results, to social improvements.

In 1859, in a report to the University, he compared the status of intellectual cultivation to that of 1830. He says: "In order to judge now the point to which college and secondary instruction has reached, it is necessary to turn to the productions of the Chilean press. A notable progress has been clearly seen, in the last few years, in the number, substance and form of the literary works. The native language is known and spoken better and more generally. The impure mixture of vulgarisms and gallicisms which confused everything is disappearing even in familiar conversation. In history and biography the pens have given splendor and interest to the annals of the country. There is an increasing number of young writers who are distinguished by a style, in general, correct, fluent, elegant, rich with ideas and at times eloquent and a phalanx of young orators has enlightened

the parliamentary arena and bar."¹

Chile's intellectual and political emancipation was a work too vast and complicated to be realized by a single individual. Nevertheless, Bello's part in that work was one of the most important, and it might be said that he was the principal leader on the intellectual side. Instruction had undoubtedly been one of the greatest contributors to the great transformation in the people. Bello not only prepared the ground and was himself an example to animate the youth.

At the first centenary of his birth, Francisco V. Fontecilla, Dean of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Chile, in a talk on Bello said; "When Bello reached the age of eight four he was a majestic tree which had produced rich and abundant fruits and which must perish, as all creations of nature perish. He died leaving an immense posterity, leaving an entire people whose intelligence he formed and directed for many years. No descendant of his by this noble lineage can live without remembering him; no children can speak his language correctly without having received and meditated upon the lessons of the master; no poet can give form to the creations of his fantasy without recognizing the rules that he left established; no magistrate, nor lawyer can exercise his

1. Bello, Obras. Vol.VIII, pp.457-58

noble functions without thinking of the learned Bello, without reading and meditating upon the word that he left written in the principal body of our laws; no statesman can fail to remember the tradition of prudence, care and justice that he left printed in the politics of our government."¹

1. Introduction to Bello, Obras, Vol.IV 1883, pp.XL-XLI

Chapter II

The literary curiosity of Bello was insatiable and his steadiness in work was extraordinary. He aspired to know everything regardless of the difficulties and obstacles involved and never wanted to remain in darkness or doubt concerning any point that came to his attention. In Caracas he acquired a solid preparation for the work which was later carried out in England and in Chile. In 1810, after studying the treatise of Condillac on the verb and finding that the French author did not satisfy him, Bello conceived a new theory. The Análisis ideológica de los tiempos de la conjugación castellana was not published, however, until 1841. He remained content with the theory established by him but he did not dare to publish it until thirty years had passed, when frequent reconsideration of the thesis had convinced him that it was true. In this work Bello has applied his analysis to an obscure and intricate point; and after having patiently investigated the meaning of the tenses and inflections of the verb, he has substituted for the old disorder a system of general laws, which are not subject to exceptions, and which can

even be expressed by algebraic formulae. The unity and harmony of the proposed theory are the strongest arguments in favor of the work. The relations of coexistence, anteriority and posteriority in their different degrees form the natural base of this exposition. The conjugation consists of three simple and original relations: present, preterite and future, from which the imperfect (co-pretérito), conditional (pos-pretérito), present perfect (ante-presente) and the other perfect tenses originate. Besides the original values of the tenses they have secondary values, i.e. the present becomes coexistent with the future, the imperfect with the conditional, the present perfect with the future perfect and the pluperfect with the conditional perfect. The conjugation consists, not only of the simple forms, but also of the forms composed by the use of the auxiliaries (he amado, he de amar, estoy amado). The verb forms may take certain metaphorical values, changing anteriority and posteriority to coexistence. Some of Bello's definitions were new, i.e. he regards the infinitive as a noun since it exercises all the duties of a noun and does not express some definite relation of time with the instant to which we refer, as does a verb. Before this time the modes had not been divided into indicative, common subjunctive, hypothetical and optative subjunctive. Bello gives numerous examples from Cervantes, Lope de Vega,

Calderón, Moratín and others and explains in detail all the different uses and relations of the tenses. Some of his ideas were new and not accepted by all but he at least went farther than Condillac, Beauzée and other eminent thinkers, and the defects in his analysis can also be found in their studies.

In the Gramática de la lengua castellana (1847) Bello used practically the same method that he used in the Análisis ideológica de los tiempos, although he was dealing with a larger subject. He does not deal with philosophical speculations, nor has he limited himself to compiling facts, without considering the explanation to which they are subject. He studied in detail the best Spanish writers, old and modern; he chose the sentences that seemed to him to illustrate the idioms and peculiarities of Spanish; he studied them and from his examination deduced the precepts which determine their proper use. His method was not theoretical but experimental; he considered the language as it was used by the scholars and learned people in that period. The grammars which had been composed up to that time had been bound to classic traditions and having freed his Spanish grammar from this is one of his principal merits. Bello illustrates

1. Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit. p.368

his explanations with numerous examples of the most accredited speakers and writers; he points out the most common defects of the language, particularly those of the Americans, and shows what the language has come to be, without omitting the language used by the great writers of the preceding centuries.

Bello always kept a copy of his grammar on his desk, in which he added corrections and amendments as reflection and practical use made them evident. He made five editions of the book, in each of which he introduced numerous and important innovations. He always lamented the many errors which marred each one of the editions. Although the grammar is not perfect, it has been extraordinarily successful and the edition with notes by José Rufino Cuervo is still generally conceded to be the best text-book of Spanish grammar we have.

Bello also wrote a brief grammar for use in the elementary schools. He did not make a complete exposition of the rules of grammar but merely pointed out the elementary principles and indicated some of the vices which elementary students should avoid.

Bello collaborated with his son Francisco in the publication of the Gramática de la lengua latina (1838) which was adopted as a text in the Instituto Nacional and

in other colleges. In 1847, after the death of his son, Bello published a second edition of this grammar, corrected and enlarged. This book, written with the object of reforming and encouraging the study of Latin, follows the plan of the Gramática castellana in its philosophical scope and its method. Its merit is in the large number of select examples, illustrating the rules, which would familiarize the students with the names and with the language of the Latin writers.

Bello's studies in Spanish prosody remain of great value to the scholar. In 1835 he published his Principios de la ortología y métrica de la lengua castellana in which he exposed the real fundamentals of Spanish prosody and the laws by which Spanish verse is governed. He established new theories, refuting some of those which Spanish prosodists had endeavoured to set up.

The object of the treatise was to give rules for the correct pronunciation of the language, noting some of the common vices in the manner of pronunciation of the letters, in the position of the accents and in the quantity or duration given to the vowels. Consequently, this part of the work embraces, besides the doctrine relative to the use of the vowels and consonants, that which refers to the accents and quantities, which is ordinarily known as prosody. The matter of the quantities has been reduced to a short series

of precise rules for versification, presenting in a brief space a complete exposition of the art, and reducing all the different kinds of verse which have been used or can be used in Spanish to five general classes: trochaic, iambic, dactylic, amphibrach and anapaest, the same denominations as those given by the Greeks and Latins.

He published a second edition of this work in 1850 and a third in 1859, in both of which he only confirmed his original opinions. He refuted the theories of José Gómez de Hermosilla in his Arte de hablar (1826) and those of Francisco Martínez de la Rosa in his Poética, who endeavoured to prove that Spanish words have long and short syllables, as have the Latin words. In Spanish all the syllables are more or less of the same duration.

The excellence of this production of Bello was proclaimed when it was adopted by the Royal Spanish Academy in 1852. It is especially recognized today by the best prosodists because of the exhaustive study of synalepha and hiatus.

Although the merits of Bello as a philologist are eminent, those as an investigator and critic are equally significant. Concerning questions relative to the literary origins of the Middle Ages and to the first documents of the Spanish language, Bello not only appears very superior

to the criticism of his time, but it may be said that he was one of the first to give a scientific foundation to this part of literary archaeology. After 1827 he began to re-¹ fute errors which persisted in the prologues of Durán² and in the histories of Ticknor and Amador de los Ríos³ and in other works: errors which have continually been appearing and yet have not been definitely eradicated.

Bello proved before anyone else that assonance is not a peculiar character of Spanish versification, a theory generally held until that time. Although today assonance is used only in Spanish versification, his studies revealed the fact that rhyme originated in the oratorical and poetical compositions of the Romans, the first written evidence then known, being in the Instrucciones (about 238) of Commodianus, a vulgar Latin poet of the third century. As-⁴ sonance, however, was not used in these earliest monorhymes; the first definite proof of its use is in the Ritmo of

1. Romancero general 1877-1882, Biblioteca de autores españoles Madrid, 1864-1880, Vols. X and XVI
2. Historia de la literatura española, 3 vols., New York 1849 and Madrid 1851.
3. Historia de la literatura española, 7 vols., Madrid 1861-65
4. Bello, Obras, Vol. 6 1883, p. 229

Columbanus, a Latin poet of the sixth century, which Bello found in the Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, collected and published in Dublin, 1632, by Jacob Usher, Archbishop of Armagh. Numerous other examples are found, particularly the Vita Mathildis (about 1100) by Donizan, a Benedictine monk of Canosa, who flourished in the twelfth century. Then passing to the troveres, the French poets of the langue d'oui, assonance is found in the gestas or epic narrations of wars and chivalry. Evidences are found in the monorhymes of the Chanson de Roland (1080) probably the oldest poetic production known in the romance tongues, except possibly in the Provençal, and in many French Chansons de geste, the rhythmic plan being the same as that in the old Poema del Cid (1140). He sustained that assonance passed to Spanish from the French and not from the Latin, even though it was used there long before.

In connection with this study Bello carried on a more general and important investigation: that of the influence of the French troveres on the first period of Spanish poetry and the influence of the French epic on that in Spain. The influence of the French troveres on Spanish can be understood easily when one takes into account the relations which existed between the two people. Even omitting the great number of French ecclesiastics who filled the churches and monas-

teries of the peninsula in the twelfth century, especially after the reform of the ritual of the church in France and the immediate introduction of the same changes in Spain, principally by the french monks, who brought with them their epics, legends and other compositions, a great number of military men entered north Spain, as either friends or enemies of the Spanish kings and nobles, bringing with them their juglares, who entertained them with songs of war, adventure, love. Bello thought that assonance probably originated in the dialects of the people or in the songs of the juglares and was then copied by the versifiers. It was only natural that the rhymes of these minstrels and others should be imitated in Spain. Bello says that in the old poema del Cid it is easily seen that the author knew the poetry of the troveres and was in part inspired by it. Without failing to recognize the national spirit which is so deeply stamped in this work, he found in its external form, in its style, even in its phrases and sentences, an evident resemblance to the Cantares de gesta, to the chivalrous forms which were so much in vogue in France after the eleventh century.

Bello determined before Gaston Paris and Dozy the period of the composition, the purpose and even the probable author of the Crónica de Turpin.¹ Bello proved that the Crónica

1. Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit. p.370

was composed in Galicia about 1095, probably by Dalmacio, a French Benedictine monk and bishop of Iria, to promote the views and ambitions of the prelate of Santiago. This account does not occupy a high place among the compositions of this century but the conclusions show that Bello made a careful and detailed investigation of the work, partly in order to prove that it was influenced by the French. It is a compilation of popular traditions and romantic tales, mixed with monastic legends. It clearly shows the French influence as it is full of fabulous accounts of the bravery of Charlemagne and other personages of French history which at that time were received as authentic.

Bello produced the first penetrating examination of the old Spanish literary monument, the Poema del Cid; and he first broached the theory, since supported by Milá y Fontanals and Menéndez Pidal, according to which the Spanish ballad resulted from a disintegration of old Spanish epic poems.¹ The very earliest of the extant ballads do not antedate the fifteenth century when they, few in number, are found in certain cancioneros or collections of lyrics.

1. This theory has been attacked by Foulché-Delbosc in his Essai sur les origines du romancero, prélude, Paris 1914; by Cejador in Revue Hispanique, Vol. 44 pp.1-310 and by others.

however examples of the kind existed in the fourteenth century because references in works by writers of that time imply their existence. According to Bello the epics in Spanish enjoyed favor for two or three centuries, but by the fourteenth century the people began to tire of hearing the juglar chant or recite the long epic accounts of some hero's exploits and when the juglar appeared they began to demand of him the recitation or singing of only the more exciting and interesting portions of his lengthy poems. Short episodic snatches of the epics were the parts that struck the popular fancy; for them the people clamored; and consequently, by constant and separate recitation, these episodic portions gained an entity of their own and were the original Spanish ballads. Menéndez Pidal assumes two periods of ballad evolution: first, a bardic period of active creation when all was plastic and change was frequent; second, a rhapsodic period, when the ballad stock was rich and mechanical repetition became the rule. This answers one of the questions raised concerning the fragmentation theory, which is, how reconcile the accuracy with which ballads have been orally transmitted during the last four centuries with the earlier sweeping changes?

The Poema del Cid concerning which Bello made an extended study is the oldest Spanish production and one of

the oldest written in the romance tongues. This epic in general is similar to the fabulous traditions common in France, both in subject matter and in the meter used. The identity of the three Spanish meters, the alexandrine of fourteen syllables, the hendecasyllable and the enneasyllable with the respective French meters shows definitely a manifest sign of the relation between the Poema del Cid and the French compositions of the same type. Another proof no less strong is the assonant monorhymes.

Several critics maintained that the Arabian influence on the Cid was very strong but Bello was convinced that it was not influenced at all by the Arabs and his contention was soon confirmed by Dozy and Ticknor, much to his satisfaction. Refuting the theory of Sismondi that there was an Arabic influence in Spain, Bello said that Spanish poetry was never so simple, so natural, so bare of the brilliance which characterizes the oriental poetry, as in the time in which the communications of the Spaniards with the Arabians were most intimate. Orientalism did not enter into Spanish works until after all communications with the Arabs had ceased, and it was in reality a spontaneous production of the West. Since Spain was in the hands of the Arabs more or less, for eight centuries and only half of this time was needed for the Romans to naturalize in Spain their language, their

laws, their customs and their civilization, it would be logical to suppose that the Mohammedans should have produced a similar change and that we should find in Spain the Arabian customs, language etc. in place of the Latin-Germanic social forms, scarcely modified by a light oriental tint. The Spanish language was made somewhat more sonorous and guttural, and took a certain number of expressions from the dominators but the great majority of words and phrases remained Latin. The Iberian and Arabian elements were mixed but they were never united one with another.

Bello divided Spanish poetry into four periods; first that of popular narrative poems, to which class belongs the *Cid*, influenced by the French troveres; second, that of the lyric songs, fables, bucolic poems and other light compositions, as those of the Archpriest of Hita, influenced also by the troveres and later by the Provenzal troubadours; third, that of the classic poetry of Boscán, Garcilaso, Hurtado de Mendoza, Luis de Leon, Ercilla, Rioja and others, formed on old Roman and modern Latin models; fourth, the period of the reign of Charles III, dominated principally by the modern French school. In none of these periods did Bello perceive the least trace of Arabic influences and he is as certain that the author of the Poema del Cid imitated the troveres as that Moratin, Quintana, Cienfuegos and

Martínez de la Rosa adopted in their dramatic compositions the rules, taste and style of the modern French theatre. He did not deny that the ideas and preoccupations of the Arabs may have been contained in the works of the first Spanish poets, but he denied the presence of their poetic conceptions, taste, expression and manner of writing. There are passages, which he thinks were taken from authentic Arabian works but without doubt they were made with a purely historical intention.¹

According to Professor Northup, few scholars now believe in a Moorish source of the Spanish epic; the poetry of the Moors was almost exclusively lyric. Julián Ribera has recently endeavoured to show that there existed an Andalusian epic, cultivated by a group of Spanish-speaking Christians, and that this poetry may have influenced Moorish and northern poets alike. Scholars demand more evidence on these points than the learned Arabist of Madrid has yet been able to assemble.²

Bello, with his critical sagacity applied to the imperfect edition of the Cid by Sánchez (1779), undertook from America the restoration of the Poema, and carried it

1. Bello, Obras, Vol.6, pp. 258-60; 274-80

2. Northup, G.T.: An Introduction to Spanish Literature, Chicago 1925, p.26.

on, regularizing the versification, explaining its irregularities, raising, so to speak, the cloak of the fourteenth century, with which the copyist of the manuscript had altered the lines of the original. In some places he guessed instinctively the correct reading of the manuscript itself, badly understood by Sánchez at times. Menéndez y Pelayo says that the edition and commentary which Bello left prepared of the Poema del Cid, infinitely superior to that of Damas-Hinard (1858), seems a wonder when it is noticed that it was worked out in a corner of America, lacking the most indispensable books, and the author having to rely almost constantly on notes taken during his residence in London, where he read the principal collections of the Middle Ages and some manuscripts of French poems.¹

Besides the edition of Sánchez, Bello only had the Crónica of Rui Diaz published in 1512 by Juan de Velorado. He did not see any special work on the Poema del Cid, nor did he see the original Ms. of the archives of Vivar and the manuscripts in which appear the origins of the Spanish language, nor did he have a copy of the Crónica General. The work was principally carried on before 1834 in Chile and he did not have the Récherches of Dozy (1849) until 1854, the Cid by Huber (1844) until 1857, the imperfect

1. Menéndez y Pelayo: op.cit., p.370

reproduction of Janer (1858). The work is mainly a project of corrections of the Ms. of Vivar, represented by the edition of Sánchez. The Crónica of Rui Diaz is a compilation of old works, among them the present Poema which it follows in meaning, at times copying a sentence or even series of verses. Other parts, says Bello, are either lost pages, or are taken from old compositions in honor of the hero and it furnished material to supply what was lacking to the Poema itself. Convinced that the Poema, in its primitive complete form, embraced the whole life of the hero, he gave at the outset a brief relation of the principal deeds of Rui Diaz, taken word for word from the Crónica.

Menéndez Pidal says that the edition of Bello, prepared almost entirely between 1823 and 1834 and retouched in 1862, is today (1911) very creditable, because Bello understood the system of assonance of the Poema better than those who later worked on it, and because of the corrections which he introduced in the text of Sánchez. Its radical defects, i.e. considering the language of the Poema as of the beginning of the thirteenth century and in making use of the Crónicas very inopportunately, are explainable when one bears in mind its date and the fact that it is unfinished and does not represent the mature thought nor the final ideas of the author,¹

1. Menéndez Pidal: Cantar de Mio Cid, 3 vols., Madrid 1911,
Vol. 3, p.1017

Comparing Bello's edition with that of Menéndez Pidal who made the most complete and finished study of the poem that we have, it is seen that many of Bello's interpretations are incorrect. Examining the first 200 lines of each author, I have noted the following corrections made by Pidal, omitting slight differences in spelling:

¹
Line 3:

B. Vio puertas abiertas e uzos sin estrados

P. Vio puertas abiertas e uzos sin cañados

Lines 11-12:

B. A la exida de Bivar ovieron corneja diestra

E a la entrada de Burgos ovieronla siniestra

P. A la exida de Bivar ovieron la corneja diestra

E entrando a Burgos ovieronla siniestra

Pidal adds - mas a grand ondra tornaremos a Castilla-
between lines 15 and 16 to complete the meaning.

Line 16:

B. En sus campaña sesenta pendones levaba

P. En sue campaña sessaenta pendones

Pidal adds e to verses 17 to 20 for rhyme.

Line 24:

B. Antes de la noche en Burgos delibró su carta

P. Antes de la noche en Burgos del entró su carta.

1. The numbering of the lines is that of Bello, which differs from that of Pidal after line 15.

Lines 28-29:

B. Que perderie los averes e los ojos de la cara

E aun de mas los cuerpos e las almas

P. Que perderie los averes e mas los ojos de la cara

E aun demás los cuerpos e las almas

Lines 34-35:

B. Por miedo del rey Alfonso que así lo avie parado

Que si non la quebrantase, que non gela abriese

omne nado.

P. Por miedo del rey Alfons, que así lo pararan

Que si non la quebrantás, que non gela abriessen

por nada.

Lines 41-43:

B. Una niña de sesenta años a ojo se paraba

Hia campeador! en buen ora cinxiestes espada

El rey lo ha vedado, a noch delibró su carta

P. Una niña de nuev años a ojo se parava

Ya campeador en buena cinxiestes espada

El rey lo ha vedado anoch del entró su carta.

Line 47:

B. E de mas los ojos de las caras

P. E aun demas los ojos de las caras

Line 50:

B. Esto la niña dixo, e tornós para su casa

P. Esto la niña dixo, e tornós pora su casa

Line 53:

B. Llegó a Sancta María, luego descavalgaba

P. Llego a Santa María, luego descavalga

Line 57:

B. Cabo esa villa, en la glera posaba

P. Cabo Burgos essa villa, en la glera posava.

Line 59:

B. Mio Cid Rui Diaz, el que en buen hora cinxo espada

P. Mio Cid Rcy Diaz, el que en buena cinxo espada

Lines 63-64

B. Vedado l'han comprar dentro en Burgos la casa

De todas cosas, quantas son de viandas

P., Vedada l'an compra dentro en Burgos la casa

De todas cosas quantas son de vianda

Line 67:

B. A mio Cid e a los suyos abastóles de pan e de vino

P. A mio Cid e a los sos abástaes de pan e de vino

Line 75:

B. Ca acusado seré por lo que vos he servido

P. Ca acusado seré de lo que vos he servido

Line 77:

B. Mas si conusco escapo sano e vivo

P. Si con vusco escapo sano o bivo

Line 85:

B. E huevos me serie para toda mi compañã

P. Huebos me serié pora toda mi compañã

Line 92:

B. En Burgos me vedaron comprar e el rey me ha ayrado

P. Quando en Burgos me vedaron compra y el rey me a
ayrado

Line 117:

B. Aquellos non puede levar; si non, serie ventado

P. Aquellos non las puede levar; sinon, serie ventado

Lines 125-26:

B. Bien lo sabemos que grand aver sacó
Quando a tierra de moros entró

P. Bien lo sabemos que él algo a gañado
Quando a tierra de moros entró, que grant aver a
sacado

Lines 128-29:

B. Estas arcas prendámoslas amos
En logar las metamos que non sean ventadas

P. Estas arcas prendámoslas amos
En logar las metamos que non sea ventado

Line 143:

B. Vayamos todos tres al campeador contado

P. Amos tred al campeador contado

Line 152:

B. Que ge lo non ventase de Burgos omne nado

P. Que gelo non ventassen de Burgos omne nado

Line 154:

B. Así como entraron, al Cid besan las manos

P. Así como entraron, al Cid besáronle las manos

Line 160:

B. Don Rachel e Vidas a mio Cid besan las manos

P. Raquel e Vidas a mio Cid besáronle las manos

Line 176:

B. Hia campeador! en buen ora cinxiestes espada

P. Ya campeador, en buena cinxiestes espada

Line 182

B. Si vos l'aduxier d'allá; si non sobre las arcas

P. Si vos la aduxier dalla; si non contalda sobre
las arcas.

Pidal adds three lines between 182 and 183.

Line 188:

B. Cinco escuderos tiene a todos los cargaba

P. Cinco escuderos tiene don Martino a todos los
cargava

Line 196:

B. De que fagades cabras e rica piel, e buen manto

P. De que fagades calças e rica piel, e buen manto.

Several of the corrections made by Pidal were for rhythm and rhyme. Some of Bello's errors are due to the fact that he copied passages from the Crónica which is incorrect in many places; but some times he is entirely wrong

and his constructions have no meaning or connection.

Bello believed that the Poema del Cid was composed shortly after 1200, and could easily have been written some few years before, judging from the legends which are introduced in it and which are between the historical truth and the fictions of the Crónica general and the Crónica del Cid. He did not find the name of the author but he was satisfied that the Poema was the work of a series of generations of poets, each one of which has formed its peculiar text, rearranging those before, and adding new exaggerations, which development ended only in the Crónica general and in that of the Cid. As for the poetic merit Bello says that we miss some of the characteristics that are generally considered essential to the epic and even to all poetry. There are not those marvellous adventures, those supernatural elements that are the soul of the old Romance or narrative poetry in its best eras; there are no love affairs, no similes, nor picturesque descriptions and under these respects it is not comparable to the old celebrated gestas of the troveres. But the propriety of the dialogue, the animated picture of the customs and characters, the pleasing candour of the expressions, the energy, the sublimity of some passages and the tone of seriousness and decorum which reigns in almost all of it, give it one of the first places among

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the productions of the modern languages.

The glossary and the brief and fundamental observations on the grammar of the epic has many advantages over that of Sánchez. This work, begun in 1823 and ended in 1865 at the death of Bello, published in 1881, even though somewhat antiquated at the present time, in the midst of the rapid course which these studies have been following, shows the mark of a genius. Even though this work is not generally recognized in Spain, possibly through ignorance, Bello's name must be considered, jointly with those of Fernando Wolf, Milá y Fontanals and Ramón Menéndez Pidal, later scholars,² one of the classic names in this matter.

Bello carried on many other investigations and studies, one of which was Compendio de la historia de la literatura (1850), in which he gives a brief discussion of the old literature of the Orient, describing that in India, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, Arabia and China, a discussion of Latin literature from the foundation of Rome to his own period. In connection with the Latin and Greek literatures he made a study of the rhythm and meter used and the influence on Spanish verse. His observations on the Historia de la literatura española by Ticknor (1849) and

1. Prologue to Obras, Vol.2 1881, p.22.

2. Menéndez y Pelayo: op.cit., p.371.

Literatura del mediodía de Europa by Sismondi (1819) give a review, especially of early Spanish literature and its origins.

Bello was also a dramatic critic and may be said to have founded dramatic criticism in Chile. In his criticisms he shows himself to be opposed to extravagant innovations as well as opposed to routinary following of set rules. He is frank and points out both the defects and excellencies of all the works that he criticized.

When a youth, Bello read and reread Cervantes, Lope de Vega, Calderón and other Spanish classic writers; and not only read the works of Horace and Virgil, but also translated and imitated them in verse.¹ It would be logical to suppose that Bello would have been a classicist; and he did recommend the study of the Spanish classic writers. But he was in fact a romanticist, without exaggerations, and the first person in Chile to profess the theories of the romantic school.² Since he used the Arte de hablar of Hermosilla as a text-book some have said that he was a classicist but they have not distinguished between preaching a reasonable purity of style, as Bello did, and being excessively severe and arbitrary on this point, as was Hermosilla; and between recognizing the rights of the

1. Bello, Introduction to Obras, Vol.3 1883, p.XV.

2. Amunátegui, M.L.: Vida de Bello, p.501.

imagination and of the intelligence and imprisoning them in a set of arbitrary rules. Bello was a man of progress and did not hold obstinately to opinions that he had admitted or formed. He always distinguished quickly what must be accepted in new doctrines and what must be abandoned in the old. In 1833 when he criticized "Los treinta años"¹ a play that had been presented in Santiago, he said that the classicists would reject the plan as irregular and shocking since the unities were not observed; rules, he said, are not the end of art, but the means used to obtain it and if the author can produce the effect without following the rules he should be allowed to do so. The unities are no longer regarded as inviolable precepts; and in the code of the fundamental laws of the theatre, only remain those, whose need is indisputable, and all can be reduced to one only: the faithful representation of human passions and of natural consequences, made so that we sympathize with them, and arranged to correct the vices and destroy the absurdities which fill and disturb society. He found² the regularity of French comedy and tragedy monotonous.

He explained his ideas further by saying: "The dramatic world is now divided into two groups: classic and romantic. Both in fact have existed for centuries; but in the

1. Translation from the French play, Les trente ans, ou la vie d'un fumeur (1827) by Victor Ducange.

2. Cited by Amunátegui: Vida de Bello, pp.440-41

last few years the poets and critics have grouped themselves together under these two names, professing openly opposite principles. As both propose a same model, which is nature, and a same end, which is the pleasure of the spectators, it is necessary that in both there be identical many of the rules of the drama. In one and the other, the language must be simple and expressive; the characters well sustained; the incidents, credible. In both, the poet must give to each age, sex and class, to each country and to each century, the color that is due it. The human soul is always the mine from which the poet must take his material; and to the natural inclinations and movements of the heart, it is necessary that he adapt his works, in order that they make a profound and pleasant impression. There are rules which those of the classic school regard as obligatory, as the three unities, principally those of time and place, and which those of the romantic school regard as useless. In order to have art, there must be rules and since poetry is an art, all rules cannot be cast aside without exception."¹

In 1841 he presented a progressive literary program in El Araucano and his theory on the epic is as liberal as his theory on the drama in 1833. He criticized the lack of naturalness, artificiality of the older poetry and he saw a new era for Spanish letters. He always defended indepen-

1. Id. pp.443-44

dence of thought and in this article he again expressed his opinion that writers in prose or verse could not be subject to inflexible rules and follow definite models. The existence of new models is always possible, whose examination will necessitate changes and adaptations to meet the new demands.

Chapter III

Bello was much interested in politics and law and he studied carefully legislation and the judicial institutions of England, France, the United States and other countries. He thought that political education was the base of the political situation and without this, it was not possible to recognize the individual and social rights which constitute liberty. Nor was it possible to have precise ideas on political organization, and on its forms and practices, in order to be able to distinguish those which are opposed, and those which are favorable to a democratic republic. He urged the study of Roman law since it is the basis of all law. The organization and correct functioning of the judiciary and everything connected with it were favorite subjects with him. He showed the defects in the administration of justice and proposed means to remedy them.

Bello said that the colonial rule of Spain had left nothing to Chile from which they could form popular and free constitutions; there was no trace of national representation and everything had been directed contrary to the interests of Chile. He said that there must be legislative organization, but it will have no real value unless the interests

1. Bello, Obras, Vol.9 1885, p.3

of the laws conform to the common interests and are impartially and efficiently administered. Therefore a vital point to which attention should be directed in any new government is the establishment of an administration of justice, republican and liberal, in which the laws are scrupulously observed.

One of the principal defects which was noted in the courts and which seemed to Bello incompatible with the nature of representative governments, in which justice is administered in the name of the people, is the secrecy of the decisions, actions and sentences of the courts. Publicity would be a means of instructing the people in the laws that govern them, and in their application, besides being a check on crime. Chile should attempt to equal the publicity given in England, France, the United States and other countries, since publicity of the penalties and judgements produces beneficial results.

For a good administration of justice the following elements should be observed: rectitude in decisions, celerity and economy; elements so essential, that the lack of one nullifies the other two. In order to obtain these, is required a knowledge of the law, a knowledge of the point to which it is applied and integrity and impartiality on the part of the magistrate. The fundamental principle of a republican form of government is equality before the law.

Bello was very far from being one of those vigorous political orators who always take pleasure in denouncing the government and its practices but he was essentially a liberal who desired the most extensive discussion of any matter and who, because of an honest and just character, always demanded that justice be given. The sad effects produced by anarchy in Spanish America had grieved Bello and made him fear a dark future for the new Spanish American nations.

Bello was not a practicing lawyer, but, serving as an adviser to the government on many occasions, and also as senator he was the author of several important laws and he also took a considerable part in the discussion and publication of many others.

Since there was no satisfactory text on international law, Bello decided to compose one, and the Principios de derecho de gentes (1832) resulted. In order to carry on this work he consulted both old and modern works concerning the matter, and also voluminous files of cases in Europe and in the United States. The work of Vattel¹ served as the base but it was not thorough enough for Bello. As a far-seeing jurist, aware of the difficulties that the new countries would have to face in their relations with one another, Bello set forth international problems and their

1. Bello, Prologue to Obras, Vol.10 1886, pp.1-8

2. Le droit des gens, London 1758

solutions in his treatise. Professor Ford says (1919) that a study of this work would be helpful to Chile and Peru in their present dissension and it might give useful hints to us all in our endeavour to establish a league of nations to maintain peace.¹

A second and enlarged edition was published in 1844 and a third in 1846 with the title of Principios de derecho internacional. Many other editions of this work were printed in America and Europe and it was also translated into French and German.

From the time Bello went to Chile he worked incessantly for the codification of the laws. The Spanish legislation in America was a confused and entangled mass of intricate and heterogeneous elements; there were laws which had been abolished by custom; there were general laws for all the colonies; there were very old laws, even of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and contradictory laws whose order of precedence was merely a matter of opinion; there were arbitrary and absurd laws which conflicted with the republican institutions and with modern civilization.² It was this chaos that Bello wanted to put in order.

Finally in 1840 the Senate appointed a commission to

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1. Ford, J.M.D.: Main Currents of Spanish Literature, New York 1919, p.263
 2. Bello, Introduction to Obras, Vol.IX, p.CXIII

codify the laws, Bello being a member. This commission worked for a short time then Bello was left alone, but he continued the great task and in 1852 he presented to the government the Código civil chileno, and after being reviewed it was adopted in 1855. This code antedates all the codes of laws in America except that of Louisiana and alone is enough to immortalize Bello's name.¹

Bello served several times as arbitrator of international questions. In 1832 he adjusted a treaty of peace, friendship, commerce and navigation between the United States and Chile. In 1864 he was named to decide an international contention between the United States and Chile and in 1865 he adjusted a similar one between Colombia and Peru.²

Bello published several articles of a philosophical nature in El Araucano beginning in 1843. His work, Filosofía del entendimiento, which is the result of long study and reflexion, was not published until long after his death (not until the publication of the Obras in 1881 ?). It is divided into two parts, psychology and logic. Its principal importance consists in revealing to us the doctrines that Bello taught his pupils; outside of that it has grown old.³

1. Menéndez y Pelayo: op.cit. p.367

2. Blanco-Fombona, R.: Grandes escritores de América, Madrid 1917, pp.18, 74.

3. Piñeyro, Enrique: op.cit., p.267

His long residence and study in England impelled him to accept the theories of English philosophy and he was influenced by Locke, Bentham, Reid, Stewart Mill and others.

In 1848 Bello published his Cosmografía (a volume of 164 pages) in which he described the nature, magnitude, distances and movements of the earth, sun, moon, stars, planets and comets. Although this was written to be used as a text it had interest also for the general reader.

Bello wrote many articles on science and natural history some of which were on the following subjects: magnetism, the use of the barometer, astronomy, American orography, earthquakes, meteors, comets, descriptions of mountain ranges and of the Orinoco River, American palms, products of the American countries, the cultivation of hemp, vaccination, cholera, the ostrich in America, travels, etc.

It is interesting that Bello, the foremost of Spanish American scholars, should have been a poet also. All critics, except possibly some of the modernistas, place his Silvas americanas among the best poetic compositions of Spanish America. ¹ The three eminent classic poets of Spanish America are Bello, Olmedo and Heredia. Of these, Bello is the most complete master of poetic diction, though he lacked

1. Hills and Morley: Modern Spanish Lyrics, New York 1913

the brilliancy of Olmedo and the spontaneity of Heredia.¹

Caro, criticizing the poetry of Bello, says that there is in it a certain aspect of serene majesty, solemn and soft melancholy, and he shows, more than anyone, pureness and correctness without aridity, decorum without affectation, decoration without excess, elegance and propriety together, clearness of expression, exquisite rhythm: the highest and most excellent gifts of elocution and style.² This applies only to his best poetry since some, especially in the first period, is of minor importance.

His poesías may be divided into three groups which correspond to the three periods of his life: that in Caracas until 1810, that in England until 1829 and that in Chile until 1865. His first poem, and ode El Anauco, was composed when he was eighteen and was soon followed by another romance A un Saman. The romance A la nave, the sonnet Mis deseos, both imitations of Horace, and the eclogue Tírsis in octavas reales, an imitation of Virgil show his familiarity with the Latin classics, and the last two show the skill he was acquiring in versification. Several sonnets were composed, A la victoria de Bailén, being one of

1. Hills, E.C.: op.cit., p.225

2. Caro, M.A.: Introduction to Poesías de Andrés Bello, Madrid 1882, p.XIII

his favorite productions. All the work of this period shows the influence of Horace, Virgil and the Italian classic school of the sixteenth century.

In the second period he published his Silvas americanas: alocución a la poesía (1823), one part of which treats of America in general and the second of Colombia especially, and La agricultura de la zona tórrida (1826). He had originally planned a long poem América, but it was never completed and only these fragments were composed. These Silvas, the best of his poems, put Bello in the first rank of American poets and admits him even, in the opinion of Menéndez y Pelayo, to the category of those who have most artistically manipulated the Spanish language. Caro characterizes these poems as Poesía científica in the manner of Virgil. The second especially is unique in that he successfully gives expression in Virgilian terms to the exotic life of the tropics. It is both didactic and descriptive and gives an account of the beauty and wealth of nature in the tropics, and an exhortation that those who live there should devote themselves to agricultural pursuits instead of wasting their energy in political and domestic dissensions.

1. Coester: Literary History of Spanish America, New York 1916, p.72
2. Caro in Poesías de Bello, p.XLII.

While in England, Bello also composed two patriotic poems, El himno de Colombia (1825) and A la disolución de Colombia (1828). All of the poems written there appeared in La biblioteca americana and in El repertorio americano.

The poetry of the third period is divided naturally into two groups: original verses and translations and imitations. His original verses consist of some patriotic odes, the best of which is Diez y ocho de Septiembre (1841); an elegiac and semi-romantic poem, El incendio de la compañía; some satires, light compositions, fables, verses for albums, etc. The best works of this period are his translations and adaptations or imitations of the Rudens of Plautus; the Marino Faliero and the Sardanapalus of Byron; the Orlando Innamorato of Boyardo; Les orientales, La prière pour tous and others of Hugo. Those of Hugo are not translations, but imitations, in which he takes the original thought and develops it according to Spanish thought and versification. La oración por todos is considered by many the best and most human poem of Bello, even better than the original. Menéndez y Pelayo considers the translation of Orlando Innamorato, which is incomplete, the best translation of any Italian poem that we have in Spanish literature. ¹

1. Menéndez y Pelayo: op.cit., p.392

Bello also began an original legend El proscrito in which he proposed to describe the types and customs of the colonial period, but he only finished the fifth canto.

Conclusion

From this discussion of the work of Bello one readily recognizes why he was one of the most important literary figures of the nineteenth century in Spanish America. It is unusual that a man should be a psychologist, philosopher, philologist, grammarian, poet, diplomat, legislator, literary critic and educator and that one could codify laws, dictate principles for the guidance of society, direct foreign relations and preside over a university at the same time.

Although the first forty-nine years of Bello's life were spent in Venezuela and England, his important work was accomplished in Chile. He was not a genius perhaps, but he was a man of talent whose intellectual curiosity, critical sagacity and hard work gained for him the respect of scholars and literati. He wrote on all the questions of the day and under his influence literary taste in Chile was moulded. In his polemical articles he did not stir up dissensions, but presented a solid and convincing argument with the view of arousing interest and stimulating a taste for reading. In his criticisms he is observing and correct, and his advice is useful; his appreciations are encouraging rather than severe or harsh.

Bello used the analytical and experimental method in his studies; all data relative to the matter was gathered and his decision announced only after the material was carefully weighed and examined. The rich learning, profound analysis and mature thought of Bello give his works permanent value. In all his writing there is clarity of exposition, sound judgement, sincerity, correctness and solidity. Even though his prose is not brilliant nor very finished, it is a model of wisdom; he wrote with clarity and didactic order, as one who has a useful idea in mind and wishes to teach and not to exhibit his knowledge. The keynote of his whole production is usefulness to the society in which he lived.

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