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978-0-521-79195-3 - Andrés Bello: Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America

Iván Jaksic

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## Andrés Bello

This is the first comprehensive intellectual biography of Andrés Bello to appear in English. Bello, the most important intellectual of nineteenth-century Latin America, made enduring contributions to the fields of international law, civil legislation, grammar, and philology. He was also a poet of note, a literary critic, and an influential statesman whose contributions to nation-building and Spanish American identity are widely recognized across the region. In this book, Jaksic provides an archival-based critical account that challenges the celebratory literature that has dominated Bello studies. He demonstrates how knowledge of Bello's contributions illuminate not only Latin American history, but also current issues of imperial fragmentation, nationalism, and language.

Iván Jaksic is Associate Professor of History and Faculty Fellow of the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *Academic Rebels in Chile* (1989), editor of *Selected Writings of Andrés Bello* (1997), and co-editor of *Sarmiento: Author of a Nation* (1994) and *The Struggle for Democracy in Chile* (1995).

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# Andrés Bello

## Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America

IVÁN JAKSIĆ

*University of Notre Dame*



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*To Carolina and Ilse*

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In his time two generations of mortal men had perished,  
those who had grown up with him and they who had been born to  
these in sacred Pylos, and he was king in the third age.

Homer, *The Iliad*, Book I, pages 250–252



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## Preface

Like almost everyone else raised in Spanish America, I have known about Andrés Bello since grammar school. Then I really learned about him when I attended the University of Chile, also known as *La Casa de Bello*, in the early 1970s. Later, in the 1980s, I wrote about him in the context of a study on Chilean philosophy and, with Sol Serrano, on the foundation of the University. But I felt that I could undertake a more involved study of Bello's life after I passed his nineteen-year mark for living in a different country and, like him, speaking a different tongue. I thought at that point that I could more fully appreciate some key aspects of his biography, but especially his preoccupation with language, his longing for his homeland, and his eagerness to move within and among cultures, past and present. Still, the prospect of presuming to challenge the undisputedly most important biography by Miguel Luis Amunátegui, *Vida de Don Andrés Bello* (1882), or Rafael Caldera's *Andrés Bello* (1935), filled me with trepidation. Thanks to the encouragement of Simon Collier, to whom I owe so much, I decided to undertake a research that lasted six years and that took me to four countries and numerous archives and libraries. Another critical encouragement came from the editorial committee headed by Jean Franco at Oxford University Press, which entrusted me with the preparation of a selection of Bello's key writings in English. That assignment made me go through the twenty-six volumes of Bello's complete works, parts of which I read several times. With that familiarity, I felt I could begin to seek answers for the many biographical questions raised by reading his published and unpublished works.

I have incurred numerous other debts during the preparation of this book. First and foremost, I want to thank the staff of the Archivo Central Andrés Bello at the Biblioteca Central de la Universidad de Chile in Santiago, who patiently accommodated my requests for materials and my frequent and short-notice visits to their facilities. I particularly thank Darío Osés, Director, and Gladys Sanhueza, Special Collections Librarian, for their generous investment of time and keen interest in my work. Señora Gladys made sure that I had access to all the information I needed and

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was enormously helpful when that nightmare of scholars occurred late in my research: a complete change in the classification system – actually badly needed – of the Archivo's manuscripts. Also in Chile, I was able to consult the Bello materials available at the Sala Medina of the Biblioteca Nacional, as well as other pertinent information at the Archivo Nacional. Rare-book dealers Erasmo Pizarro and Luis Rivano helped me locate printed materials I needed to have with me at all times rather than on short visits.

In Venezuela, I had the support of Pedro Grases, who provided me with help made even more valuable by his decades of work on, and exceptional knowledge of, the various facets of Andrés Bello's work and biography. Oscar Sambrano Urdaneta and Rafael Di Prisco, successive directors of La Casa de Bello, and Edgar Páez, Research Librarian, made manuscripts and rare printed sources available to me with generous and expert help. Dr. Rafael Caldera took an early interest in my research and has remained an inspiration and a source of support ever since. Dr. Gonzalo Palacios, in happier times the cultural attaché at the Venezuelan Embassy in Washington, D.C., introduced me to him in the late 1980s and helped me in every possible way, including a careful reading of the manuscript.

An unexpected and welcome development in my research was the good fortune I had to locate excellent manuscript materials and collections in several countries. I refer to the Central Archives of the British Museum, the Guildhall Library, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. Also, the Sidney Jones Library at the University of Liverpool and the library of Manchester College at Oxford University, both of which house significant collections of José María Blanco White manuscripts, one of the most important sources of Bello's life in England. In Spain, the Archivo Histórico Nacional turned up some critical information about the role of Bello during the South American independence period. In the United States, I was thrilled to find important Bello materials at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., the Lilly Library in Bloomington, Indiana, the Boston Public Library, and the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley. I found helpful and devoted staff members in each of these repositories. I am very grateful to all of them.

Most of the actual writing of this book took place during 1997 and 1998 at three institutions that generously extended me visiting appointments: the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University, where I enjoyed the kind hospitality of John Coatsworth, Steve Reifenberg, Dan Hazen, and Doris Sommer, as well as fellow scholars who helped me in various ways, not least with insights from their own fields: Juan Enríquez Cabot, Juan Carlos Moreno, and Francisco Valdés-Ugalde. I spent the Trinity Term (1998) at the Centre for Latin American Studies, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, where I enjoyed the congenial and helpful support of Alan Angell, Malcolm Deas,

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and Alan Knight. The Warden of St. Antony's, Sir Marrack Goulding, surprised me with his keen interest in my research, and I thank him in particular for putting me in touch with various scholars, especially James Hamilton, who provided me with important information about London in the 1820s. At the Kellogg Institute at the University of Notre Dame, I was able to enjoy a semester's leave to concentrate on writing. I thank Guillermo O'Donnell, then Academic Director of the Institute, for his timely and critical support in securing a Residential Faculty Fellowship for the spring of 1998. Also at Notre Dame, I thank the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts (ISLA) for grants that allowed me to travel to various international repositories. Jennifer Warlick and Christopher Fox, successive directors of ISLA between 1994 and 1999, provided decisive support at the most needed times.

Scholars who generously and patiently read all or parts of the manuscript, or otherwise helped me clarify central ideas in this work, include Simon Collier, Jaime Concha, Olivia Constable, Jorge Correa, Antonio Cussen, Frank Dawson, Malcolm Deas, Angel Delgado-Gómez, Judith Ewell, Pedro Grases, Charles A. Hale, Tulio Halperín-Donghi, Gary Hamburg, J. León Helguera, Cristián Gazmuri, Alejandro Guzmán Brito, Gwen Kirkpatrick, Alan Knight, Brian Loveman, Matthew C. Mirow, Wilson Miscamble, C. S. C., Gonzalo Palacios, Eduardo Posada-Carbó, Guillermo O'Donnell, Karen Racine (who also generously provided me with numerous records from her own research on independence-era intellectuals and politicians), David Rock, Norman P. Sacks, David Scott-Palmer, Sol Serrano, Daniel J. Sheerin (who helped me with the Latin translations), Rev. Robert Sullivan, Juan Carlos Torchia-Estrada, James C. Turner, J. Samuel Valenzuela, and Erika Maza Valenzuela.

Carolina and Ilse lived with my non-stop references to Andrés Bello for many years, and managed to both indulge me by listening to my progress reports as well as keep me focused on our family life. Ilse showed a refreshing lack of business sense when she urged me to write a book on Bello for children. Maybe I will, some day.

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## Introduction

Andrés Bello enjoys significant recognition as a scholar and statesman in Latin America and beyond. His greatest works have been repeatedly printed, and his name and image can be found across Latin America in the form of urban landmarks (avenues, statues, and parks), various institutions of higher learning and publishing houses, medals, prizes, and even his image on money. Scholars have continued his work in grammar, civil and international law, and in a variety of other fields ranging from philology to literature. The first centennial of Bello's birth was celebrated in 1881, at which time Chile launched the first edition of his complete works in fifteen volumes. As a result, the entire Spanish-speaking world became aware of Bello's enormous intellectual presence. By the end of the nineteenth century, Bello's name was as familiar as that of the greatest leaders of the Spanish American independence movement. Indeed, Bello was seen, along with Francisco Miranda and Simón Bolívar, as an architect of independent Spanish America, a humanist who accomplished with his pen more than warriors accomplished with their swords.

The recognition continued well into the twentieth century. In 1917, the Venezuelan writer Rufino Blanco Fombona commented that "it is only rarely that a writer and thinker exercises such influence over so many countries as Andrés Bello did and still does over the Spanish-speaking nations."<sup>1</sup> Blanco Fombona's was the first of a long series of twentieth-century voices that celebrated the role and the contributions of Bello to the formation of the new nations of Spanish America. In 1928, the Dominican Republic literary scholar Pedro Henríquez Ureña declared Bello "a creator of civilizations," and "the father of our literary independence."<sup>2</sup> Rafael Caldera, the future President of Venezuela, stated in 1935 that Bello was "the brain

1 Rufino Blanco Fombona, *Grandes Escritores de América (Siglo XIX)* (Madrid: Renacimiento, 1917), p. 11.

2 Pedro Henríquez Ureña, "El Descontento y la Promesa" [1928] in *Obra Crítica*, edited by Emma Speratti, with a prologue by Jorge Luis Borges (Mexico and Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1960), pp. 241, 249.

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and the heart of America.”<sup>3</sup> In 1953, the Chilean poet Pablo Neruda (later to win the Nobel Prize in Literature), asserted that Bello “showed me the way to simplicity in the use of language, and the vision of continental unity,” adding that “he started to write the *Canto General* [1950] well before I did,” clearly a reference to two of Bello’s most important poems, the “Allocution to Poetry” (1823), and “Ode to Tropical Agriculture” (1826).<sup>4</sup> In 1955, another Nobel Laureate, Miguel Angel Asturias of Guatemala, credited Bello with “having initiated the dialogue between American and world literature.”<sup>5</sup> Across the Atlantic, in 1954, the noted literary scholar Ramón Menéndez Pidal praised Bello’s work and stated that, while it was true that Bello belonged to all of Spanish America, “he also belongs to Spain” on account of his contributions to Spanish medieval literature.<sup>6</sup> The term “*Bellista*,” coined to refer to the rising number of scholars of Bello, officially entered the lexicon of the Spanish language when the Spanish Royal Academy adopted it in 1956, becoming an entry in the *Diccionario de la Lengua Española* since the eighteenth edition.

Such obvious esteem has contributed to a better knowledge of the corpus of Bello’s work. Two new editions of his complete works appeared in Venezuela, one in the 1950s, and the latest on the occasion of the bicentenary of Bello’s birth in 1981. Worldwide celebrations of Bello’s anniversary took place, with an understandable emphasis in those countries where Bello lived: Venezuela, England, and Chile.<sup>7</sup> Voluminous sets of scholarly works – and others not so scholarly – appeared on the occasion, and various institutions recognized the importance of Bello by naming fellowships, prizes, and academic chairs after Bello.<sup>8</sup> In 1981, the Secretary-General of the United Nations declared him “one of the founders of Inter-American

3 Rafael Caldera, *Andrés Bello*, 7th ed. (Caracas: Editorial Dimensiones, 1981), p. 190. Also in English translation, *Andrés Bello: Philosopher, Poet, Philologist, Educator, Legislator, Statesman*, trans. by John Street (Caracas: La Casa de Bello, 1994).

4 Pablo Neruda, “A la Paz por la Poesía,” *El Siglo*, May 31, 1953. I thank professor Manuel Gutiérrez for the article, which will be included in his *Pablo Neruda Habla de Poesía, Arte y Cultura* (forthcoming). See also Pablo Neruda, *Canto General*, ed. by Fernando Alegría (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1976).

5 Miguel Angel Asturias, in Manuel Gayol Mecías, ed., *Andrés Bello: Valoración Múltiple* (La Habana: Ediciones Casa de las Américas, 1989), p. 761.

6 Ramón Menéndez Pidal, “La Nueva Edición de las Obras de Bello,” in Pedro Grases, ed., *España Honra a Don Andrés Bello* (Caracas: Presidencia de la República de Venezuela, 1972), p. 251. The essay was originally published in the *Revista Nacional de Cultura* (Caracas) in 1954.

7 A thorough account of the bicentennial celebrations worldwide is by Oscar Sambrano Urdaneta, *El Andrés Bello Universal: Crónica del Bicentenario de su Nacimiento* (Caracas: La Casa de Bello, 1991). See also *Crónica del Bicentenario de Andrés Bello* in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, Quinta Serie, No. 2 (August 1983).

8 The latest inauguration was the Andrés Bello Chair at the King Juan Carlos I Center, New York University, in September 1998. The Andrés Bello Fellowship at St. Antony’s College, Oxford University, has been in place since 1974.



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International law,” and praised his contributions to the rules for diplomatic and consular relations.<sup>9</sup>

Such fame has had a paradoxical effect. On the one hand, it has led to a crystallization of Bello’s name that tends to inhibit further probing of his life and works. On the other hand, the complex character of Bello’s writings has led to a type of specialization that, while valuable for understanding the richness of his individual works, has lost sight of the overall unity of his political and intellectual activities. Even the valuable exceptions that have tried to do justice to the entirety of Bello’s work, have often listed his contributions without explaining whether they constitute a coherent whole. As a result, Bello remains both familiar and unknown, a recognizable presence of which one is reminded, but which one fails to grasp. The periodic celebrations that remind us of his many contributions, tell us of a model of scholarship and statesmanship. He is, in addition, celebrated for his commitment to the rule of law, and for his hemispheric outlook. And yet, despite the abundance of studies on almost every aspect of Bello’s work, and despite the obligatory pronouncements at national and international events, a scholarly understanding of his significance and overall intellectual production is still far from accomplished.

There have been two classic biographies of Bello, Miguel Luis Amunátegui’s *Vida de Don Andrés Bello* (1882) and Rafael Caldera’s *Andrés Bello* (1935, and numerous revised editions), but many of the subsequent biographies have advanced knowledge of Bello very little beyond what these two authors had established.<sup>10</sup> Amunátegui, in particular, had the distinct advantage of studying under Bello, interviewing him on numerous occasions, and eventually having privileged access to his manuscripts. But he had no access to archival materials, especially in Venezuela and in England, and thus he relied heavily on the recollections of Bello himself. Caldera, for his part, did not set out to write a comprehensive biography, and thus the value of his work lies more in his interpretation of Bello’s multifaceted work. Caldera’s account still retains much of its freshness, and it merits its current status as the principal monograph on Bello in the twentieth century. This is not to say that there are no other outstanding works on Bello, especially the two-volume set *Estudios sobre Andrés Bello*

9 Fundación La Casa de Bello, *Homage to Andrés Bello in the United Nations Organization* (Caracas: La Casa de Bello, 1981), pp. 23–24.

10 Other biographies of Bello include Eugenio Orrego Vicuña, *Don Andrés Bello*, 3rd ed. (Santiago: Imprenta y Litografía Leblanc, 1940); Pedro Lira Urquieta, *Andrés Bello* (Mexico and Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1948); and Fernando Murillo Rubiera, *Andrés Bello: Historia de una Vida y una Obra* (Caracas: La Casa de Bello, 1986). Raúl Silva Castro’s *Don Andrés Bello, 1781–1865* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1965) is a collection of essays rather than a biography. Emir Rodríguez Monegal’s excellent *El Otro Andrés Bello* (Caracas: Monte-Avila Editores, 1969) comes close to a biography, but it concentrates primarily on Bello’s literary works.

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(1981) by Pedro Grases.<sup>11</sup> But a single, comprehensive monograph on Bello's life and works has yet to be added to the scholarship on the nineteenth-century intellectual and statesman.

In this book, I have set out to accomplish three main goals. First, I try to identify new information about, and manuscripts by and on Bello in repositories in Venezuela, Chile, England, Spain, and the United States which previous biographers missed or had no opportunity to consult. I have also attempted to provide an interpretation of Bello's work that emphasizes linkages between fields and areas of interest to him, rather than the customary compartmentalization of Bello's work in discrete disciplines. My argument is that Bello's significance can be better understood when his works and actions are placed in historical context. And the context, in this case, was the momentous early nineteenth-century Spanish American transition from colony to nationhood which Bello experienced, and to whose direction he contributed. Of course, many other actors in the postindependence period experienced a similar transition, but few pursued an agenda of nation-building with the tenacity, knowledge, and originality of Bello. As I will argue in the book, Bello identified order, both domestic and international, as the fundamental challenge for nineteenth-century Spanish America. This view allowed him to give focus and coherence to both his scholarly works and his public actions.

Second, I try to emphasize the personal dimensions of Bello's biography. The collapse of the colonial order, the severance of ties to friends and family in Venezuela, the experience of exile, and the uncertainties of the early postindependence period, all contributed to a personal profile that is far more ambivalent and complex than the more celebratory writings on Bello would allow. Bello's family losses, including his first wife and nine children, were also more significant than has generally been acknowledged for understanding his personality and some of his creative activities. Bello

11 Pedro Grases was born in Spain in 1909, and moved to Venezuela in the aftermath of the Spanish Civil War. His work on Bello began in the 1940s and has been collected as part of his complete works. See *Estudios Sobre Andrés Bello*, 2 vols. (Caracas, Barcelona, Mexico: Editorial Seix-Barral, 1981). There are other multiauthored scholarly collections on Andrés Bello, but they are often uneven in quality. Among the best are the volumes edited by the University of Chile, *Andrés Bello, 1865–1965. Homenaje de la Facultad de Filosofía y Educación de la Universidad de Chile* (Santiago: Facultad de Filosofía y Educación, Universidad de Chile, 1966) and *Estudios Sobre la Vida y Obra de Andrés Bello* (Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1973). Also, Instituto de Chile, *Homenaje a Don Andrés Bello* (Santiago: Editorial Jurídica de Chile and Editorial Andrés Bello, 1982), and the publications of the Fundación La Casa de Bello in Caracas, Venezuela: *Bello y Caracas* (1979); *Bello y Londres*, 2 vols. (1980–81); *Bello y Chile*, 2 vols. (1981); and *Bello y América Latina* (1982). A less scholarly but still useful collection of essays is by Guillermo Feliú Cruz, ed., *Estudios Sobre Andrés Bello*, vol. 1 (Santiago: Fondo Andrés Bello, 1966), and vol. 2 (1971). For a collection of essays in English, see John Lynch, ed., *Andrés Bello: The London Years* (Richmond, Surrey: The Richmond Publishing Co., 1982).

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experienced intense disappointments that had an impact on his ideas and his politics. Again, the specific events and reactions discussed in this book tell us of a complex person. And without understanding that complexity, there is little hope of understanding the meaning of his work.

Third, I set out to establish the centrality of Andrés Bello's contributions for the postindependence process of nation-building in Spanish America. I do so in an attempt to remedy a significant omission in our historiography. Most scholars in the field of Latin American history have not been very keen on studying intellectual and political history in the past few decades. This is in part the result of an understandable reaction against the old *historia patria*, which was characterized by an uncritical celebration of the leaders who wrested Spanish America from imperial control. That literature was probably too superficial, but I am not convinced that what was done badly in the past cannot be done properly today, especially when there is more evidence and a better grasp of context. Still, anyone who thumbs through the indices of the ten or so major textbooks on Latin American history published in English in the last twenty-five years will find scant coverage, if mention is made at all, of such figures as Andrés Bello. A heartening exception can be found in David Bushnell and Neill Macaulay's *The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century* (1988; 2nd ed., 1994), which pays necessarily brief but welcome attention to Bello in the section on Chile. Clearly, more needs to be done, and my aim is to show how a focus on Bello can contribute to a fuller understanding of Latin American history since independence. Andrés Bello, Juan Bautista Alberdi, Lucas Alamán, and many others who are central to this history deserve modern biographical treatments.

Specifically, this book attempts to demonstrate that knowledge of the history of postcolonial Spanish America can be enriched by a closer look at the interplay between ideas and the political and institutional construction of nations. First, while there was undeniable chaos resulting from armed conflict, key leaders engaged in sophisticated discussions concerning political models. Was traditional monarchy, constitutional monarchy, or republicanism going to dominate the new political arrangements? If the liberated regions were to become republics, were they to be of a federalist or a centralist character? These questions led to much intellectual effort, often made in the heat of battle, in order to identify viable political models. An examination of the writings, speeches and actions of actors during the period shows just how elaborate such efforts could be.<sup>12</sup>

12 Good examples of a literature along these lines include David A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots and the Liberal State, 1492–1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), Anthony Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism and the Political Imagination: Studies in European and Spanish-American Social and Political Theory, 1513–1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), François-Xavier Guerra, *Modernidad e Independencias: Ensayos sobre las*

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Precisely because political ideas have often been neglected in the historiography, there is a tendency to identify liberalism as the first triumphant ideology of nation-building in nineteenth-century Spanish America. The new generation of liberals who espoused reforms, for example, in such countries as Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina, are often seen as *laissez-faire* members of the elite who discovered in European models the perfect match for their desire to link up with the international economy and inform their emerging political systems. Again, the case of Andrés Bello shows how simplistic such accounts can be. Liberals did not emerge out of a vacuum created by the passing of the aging *caudillos*, nor were liberals the only political actors engaged in nation-building efforts. Political and ideological discussions led to some liberal experiments, but the scope and depth of such discussions remain to be examined. Bello, who does not fit the label of either liberal or conservative, is nevertheless a key figure in the postindependence effort to define viable political models.

Change was not taken lightly in Spanish America during the nineteenth century. The Spanish American revolutions, precisely because they came after the French revolution, were characterized by a deliberate avoidance, indeed a horror, of Jacobin methods. Spanish American independence leaders sought to destroy the *ancien régime*, but in order to introduce order and predictability to political life in their countries, after it became clear that the moribund Spanish empire could not do the job. Some of the more visionary leaders understood that republics required the expansion of representation and the strengthening of governmental institutions, but they did not seek to introduce radical egalitarianism, religious diversity, or to profoundly alter (except for the abolition of slavery in some areas) the structure of the economy or society. Those who did advocate change did so in often gradualist ways. It was the fear of disorder that made them act slowly, and to find political arrangements that allowed for controlled change.

The issue within Chile, where Bello made his final home from 1829 to 1865, was not different from the general Spanish American pattern. But unlike many sister republics Chile was unencumbered by strong regional,

*Revoluciones Hispánicas* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), Michael P. Costeloe, *Response to Revolution: Imperial Spain and the Spanish American Revolutions, 1810–1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), Eduardo Posada-Carbó, ed., *In Search of a New Order: Essays on the Politics and Society of Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1998), Jaime E. Rodríguez O., *The Independence of Spanish America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Simon Collier, "Nationality, Nationalism, and Supranationalism in the Writings of Simón Bolívar," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, No. 1 (February 1983), 37–64, and Brian R. Hamnett, "Process and Pattern: A Re-Examination of the Ibero-American Independence Movements, 1808–1826," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29, No. 2 (May 1997), 279–328.

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ethnic, and economic cleavages. It was a small country in terms of both population and geography. After a short period of political experimentation in the 1820s, Chile achieved the sort of order that eluded other countries in the region: a constitutional political model that allowed for the distribution of powers but which was predicated on strong executive safeguards and – as was common at the time – a narrow yet expanding electorate.<sup>13</sup> Therefore, in such a country it was possible both to liberalize, however gradually, and at the same time to strengthen government institutions. Bello understood this issue with singular clarity, and oriented his work to the advancement of such an agenda.

It is important not to exaggerate the success of Bello, nor that of Chile. There were periods in which the fate of the country hung precariously in the balance, and when unrest, civil war, and even international conflict challenged the stability of the fledgling nation-state. Bello cast his lot in Chile not with the propounders of rapid liberalization, but with conservative elements who understood the need for change yet were quick to dismiss and repress any demands for radical change from either above or below. During his time in Chile, Bello was certainly aware of liberal discontent with the arrogant and repressive policies of Diego Portales, the crackdown against freedom of the press under Manuel Bulnes, and the swiftness with which Manuel Montt moved to suppress two bloody rebellions against him. But he stood fast by all three leaders for reasons that will become apparent in this book. He viewed himself as a defender of order, accepted its costs, and above all he was willing to subordinate his political opinions to the policies of the governments that he served. This was a difficult choice, certainly not a popular one, but it did appear to yield good results, at least in comparative terms.<sup>14</sup> Chile emerged relatively unscathed from the political difficulties it faced during the postindependence period, and was certainly ahead of its neighbors, who began to turn their attention to the institutions established by Chile, and specifically to the contributions of Bello.

Bello himself is an extraordinary example of the personal and intellectual complexities faced by an individual who had been nurtured by the

13 See the insightful book by Julio Samuel Valenzuela, *Democratización vía Reforma: La Expansión del Sufragio en Chile* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del IDES, 1985), and his “Building Aspects of Democracy: Electoral Practices in Nineteenth-Century Chile,” in Eduardo Posada-Carbó, ed., *Elections Before Democracy: The History of Elections in Europe and Latin America* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1996), pp. 223–257.

14 Brian Loveman has been in the forefront of scholars who see the political and constitutional fabric of Spanish American nations as undemocratic and repressive. See his *The Constitution of Tyranny: Regimes of Exception in Spanish America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993) and, for the specific case of Chile (with Elizabeth Lira), *Las Suaves Cenizas del Olvido: Vía Chilena de Reconstrucción Política, 1814–1932* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1999).

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colonial regime, was loyal to it, but who ultimately became one of the architects of its demise. While some members of the independence generation became infatuated with the writings of Rousseau and the *philosophes*, Bello remained close to his classical and religious education. He regretted the collapse of the Spanish empire, attempted to return to it at a critical stage, but ultimately embraced the Spanish American revolutions. While a new generation of leaders tried to accelerate and radicalize the break with the past, Bello viewed independence as a transition to the reestablishment of legitimate order. His most significant accomplishment, the introduction of new civil legislation, shows how he accepted the realities of independence, became a firm believer in the virtues of republicanism, and yet retained much from the colonial past. The Spanish American postcolonial mind, to gloss Biancamaria Fontana's title of her biography of Benjamin Constant, eventually absorbed and accepted its own history.<sup>15</sup>

In sum, this book seeks to establish the significance of Andrés Bello for the modern history of Latin America. This effort requires some distancing from the hagiographic literature that has developed since his death. It also requires a reassessment of the importance of intellectual and political history in a field that has neglected it for far too long. While it is true that immersion in the world of nineteenth-century intellectuals and nation-builders challenges us to follow their sometimes meandering paths and study their varied and often idiosyncratic sources and themes, it is also true that these individuals give us significant clues to enable us to better understand the historical events they confronted and sometimes shaped. Andrés Bello is, in this respect, as rich a source, and as rich a companion, as a historian could hope for.

15 Biancamaria Fontana, *Benjamin Constant and the Post-Revolutionary Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

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## Note on Andrés Bello's Complete Works

For the citation of Bello's published writings, in this book I use the latest edition of Bello's complete works (*Obras Completas*, 26 vols. Caracas: La Casa de Bello, 1981–1984). There are four previous editions of collected works: Chile (15 vols., 1881–1893); Spain (7 vols., 1882–1905); Chile (9 vols., 1930–1935); and Venezuela (24 vols., 1951–1981). The latest edition closely follows the first Venezuelan edition, except for the arrangement of the contents and the addition of new material. The contents, and the authors of the introductions, are listed below:

Citations from these various volumes will be noted in the text in parentheses. The volume will be cited in Roman numerals, and the pages in Arabic numbers. Specific titles and original dates of publication will be indicated in the text or in the notes. Likewise, when it is important to differentiate between editions of the same title, proper citation will be provided in the notes. Translations, unless otherwise indicated, are by the author or by Frances M. López-Morillas. As a rule, I cite the original Spanish, but when a translation exists, I cite both. Because many of the translations come from the volume *Selected Writings of Andrés Bello*, trans. by Frances M. López-Morillas (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), I will acknowledge them by using the acronym SW, followed by page numbers.

- I *Poetry*. Introduction by Fernando Paz Castillo
- II *Drafts of Poetry*. Introduction by Pedro Pablo Barnola, S. J.
- III *Philosophy of the Understanding and Other Philosophical Writings*. Introduction by Juan David García Bacca
- IV *Grammar of the Spanish Language for the Use of {Spanish} Americans*. Introduction by Amado Alonso
- V *Grammatical Studies*. Introduction by Angel Rosenblat
- VI *Philological Studies (1): Principles of Spanish Versification and Other Writings*. Introduction by Samuel Gili Gaya
- VII *Philological Studies (2): Poem of the Cid and Other Writings*. Introduction by Pedro Grases

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