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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by John F. Wilhite entitled "The Enlightenment and Education in New Granada, 1760-1830." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Spanish.

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We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

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THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND EDUCATION IN NEW GRANADA, 1760-1830

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
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John F. Wilhite

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this investigation has been to determine the effects of the ideologies of the European Enlightenment on educational reform, the intellectual climate and cultural life in the Spanish viceroyalty of New Granada, now the present Republic of Colombia, between 1760 and 1830. José Celestino Mutis proved to be the principal contributor to educational progress and cultural enrichment. A detailed examination of various educational reform plans, professors' treatises and students' theses has revealed the introduction of more relevant disciplines and modern textbooks into the schools of the viceroyalty, particularly from 1760 to 1790.

Modernized instruction provided a generation of enlightened creoles who fostered further cultural progress by collaborating with various institutions of research and learning established in the final decades of the eighteenth century, such as the Botanical Expedition, literary circles and economic societies. Members of these academies were those who benefitted from a revised curriculum of studies as they pursued disciplines characteristic of the Enlightenment--the natural and physical sciences, political and economic sciences, and

modern law--under innovative professors like José Celestino Mutis, José Félix de Restrepo and Eloy Valenzuela. A study of periodicals and scholarly journals published at the end of the eighteenth century indicates that the contributors, from the same generation of students, translated the new ideas they had learned into political and social activity. The fruits of such intellectual endeavor are paramount in the works of the Expeditions and the societies, and in the literature which was stimulated by an enriched intellectual and cultural climate.

The same generation of enlightened creoles which had been active in educational reform, the Expedition and the literary and economic societies proved to be those who were involved in revolutionary plots culminating in the independence movement of 1810. Various regional declarations of independence and other revolutionary documents, written by the group of creole scholar-revolutionaries, reflect the intellectual currents of the Enlightenment period and emphasized this interest in education.

Although many of the young revolutionaries were executed during the Spanish reconquest begun in 1816, a number of the enlightened generation survived to assist Bolívar and Santander in the formation of the new republic of Gran Colombia. The administration of the independent

nation was characterized by the same ideologies and activities derived from the Enlightenment which had predominated during the final decades of the colonial period. The currents of the Enlightenment, particularly concern for modernizing education, proved to be decisive in the cultural and political development of New Granada in its transition to independent Gran Colombia.

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PART I

EDUCATIONAL REFORM: PLANS AND PRACTICE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education up to the first half of the eighteenth century in Europe and Spanish America was based for the most part on the pedagogical theories of classical scholasticism. Education in the countries which merit our attention in this introduction--France, Spain and the Spanish colonies, and the United States for comparative purposes--was controlled by the clergy which dictated the philosophy, curriculum and methodology in accordance with their religious views toward man. Education in the hands of the clergy had limited purposes and thus a limited philosophy and curriculum. These objectives were based on the central aim of education at that time--the moral formation of Christians. The clergy and the pedagogical institutions they controlled were imbued with the idea of original sin and the corruption of man from birth. Since their purpose was moral rather than intellectual education, man with his evil leanings was to be protected from the temptations of the world. In educational circles the temptations consisted of modern eighteenth-century books and ideas.

The scholastic curriculum furthered the effort to separate the student from the world. The basis for study

was a thorough grounding in latinity. Most class time was spent studying Latin and writers in Latin. The principal exercise was the composition of speeches and verse in Latin. Courses such as philosophy according to Aristotle, theology according to St. Thomas and history according to the Bible were all conducted in Latin.

The study of science was considered a "divertissement" and often scorned:

> L'étude des sciences spéculatives comme de la geometrie, de l'astronomie, de la physique est un amusement assez vain. . . . Les hommes ne sont pas nés . . . pour s'occuper à de si petits objets.[1]

The study of science was thought of as not only useless but dangerous, putting the student in contact with the physical rather than the spiritual world. Mathematics was placed in the same category and Buffier, in his text for a science course written during the middle of the seventeenth century, left out both physics and mathematics, considering that metaphysics alone would form rigor and precision without the "abstractions" of mathematics.

The methodology used to impart this classical knowledge was one of selection and control to fulfill the goal of moral education. Rollin in his Traité des

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[1]Georges Snyders, La pédagogie en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), p. 100.

études for the University of Paris at the turn of the eighteenth century pointed out that the role of the classics was to train students in the maxims and examples of the "great men of antiquity."[2] Education was not intended to be a pleasure. Père Lamy, in spite of the fact that he was one of the early educational innovators in France, suggested that education was a series of miseries and a penitence by which the student was to honor God more than become knowledgeable.[3]

The scholastic philosophy, curriculum and methodology of the educational institutions came under fire during the century of criticism, bringing about fundamental changes and finally modifying traditional establishments in favor of the New Philosophy for the new man of the eighteenth century. A search for the early antecedents of educational reform leads us to the late seventeenth century for an examination of the innovations initiated by some institutions and individuals in France who unbolted the doors of the educational structures, thus allowing for the criticisms and reforms which came from a number of *philosophes* as the *siècle des lumières* got under way.

One of the early innovative institutions in France

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[2]Ibid., p. 75; the translation to English is ours.

[3]Ibid., p. 81.

was the Oratory, a group of secular priests founded in 1614. The Oratory was influenced by Descartes and began the teaching of his philosophy and modern science and history toward the end of the seventeenth century. The institution has been considered noteworthy for "the emphasis which its members laid on the teaching of history, mathematics, and science, their spirit of free enquiry, their freedom from political aims, the mildness and sanity of their discipline."[4] At the Oratory physics and natural science were taught successfully by Lamy and Malebranche.

Lamy, author of the Entretiens sur les sciences (1684-1694), justified a more modern education and attempted to change the old notion that science and letters were "a dangerous amusement."[5] His other texts designed for school use include the Eléments des mathématiques, the Art de parler, the Traité de mécanique and Eléments de géométrie. Lamy's works offer the first organized and well-conceived plan for modern education and the first severe attack against the scholastic method.

Malebranche assisted Lamy in introducing the ideas

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[4]S. J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boultwood, A Short History of Educational Ideas (London: University Tutorial Press, Ltd., 1961), p. 162.

[5]Gabriel Compayré, Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), p. 228; the translation to English is ours.

of Descartes into the school system. His Recherche de la verité (1674) expounds upon and defends the Cartesian philosophy, stressing the importance of the sciences, especially mathematics.[6]

Other innovations emanated from the Port-Royal school system of the Jansenists. One of the innovators here was Pierre Coustel who contributed to reform in methodology by establishing as a primary principle that the professor should study the individual psychology of the student and adapt his teaching methods accordingly.[7] The principal innovators at Port-Royal were Pierre Nicole and Antoine Arnauld whose works became known and studied throughout France, Spain and her overseas colonies. They wrote La logique, ou l'art de penser (1662) which was heavily influenced by Cartesian philosophy. Arnauld also wrote the Eléments de géométrie which broke away from the traditional adherence to Euclid in mathematics classes.

Fénelon introduced several innovations when he began teaching the Duc de Bourgogne in 1689 and in his Traité de l'éducation des filles (1687). The Traité was one of the most popular works in Spain and Latin

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[6]Ernst Cassirer, The Philosophy of the Enlightenment (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), p. 283.

[7]Curtis and Boultwood, pp. 166-167.

America during the educational reform movement in the Spanish world. Two of his more important contributions include the suggestion that education was a pleasure rather than a punishment and penitence to God, and the emphasis he placed on the "utility theme"--the idea that education should be useful and directed toward practical applications--which eventually inspired the ideas in the educational institutions throughout France, the rest of Europe and the Americas during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Fénelon favored the indirect method of instruction and learning by experience which so appealed to Rousseau.

The first step toward modernization of education was the influence of Descartes' writings on educational philosophy. The Discours as interpreted and used in the schools meant granting the equality of minds and the aptitude to understand and learn as well as the right to think for oneself. Influenced by Descartes' work, professors and students eventually began to search for truth rather than accepting the authority of the Ancients and of tradition blindly.

Nicole at Port-Royal wrote on the application of Cartesian philosophy to education and the method became widespread in the schools at the dawn of the Enlightenment. It was used as "the best guarantee against error,

and for discovering the truth in human sciences."[8] In 1686 Fleury wrote a Traité du choix et de la méthode des études which reflects the influence of Descartes and contributed to the diffusion of Cartesianism among educators and students. The text was used frequently in the Spanish world. Fleury was one of the first to deal with practical education as opposed to education for moral purposes: to the idea of education forming honnêtes hommes Fleury added that of shaping hommes habiles.[9] After half a century of painful effort by a handful of innovators Cartesianism fully entered the intellectual current at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was soon superseded by the philosophy of Bacon, Newton, Locke, Condillac and many others as the Enlightenment gathered momentum and broke through the barriers of scholastic education. But of Descartes there remained "his spirit; his method . . . his rules for guiding the operations of the mind."[10]

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[8]Félix Cadet, Port-Royal Education, trans. Adnah D. Jones (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1898), p. 30.

[9]Compayré, p. 407.

[10]Paul Hazard, The European Mind: 1680-1715 (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1963), p. 131; also see Paul Hazard, European Thought in the Eighteenth Century: From Montesquieu to Lessing (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 297-301.

The innovations achieved by the French precursors of educational reform--Fleury, Lamy, Nicole, Arnauld, Fénelon and others--provided the basis for more progressive reforms as various representatives of the Enlightenment focused their attention on education. Voltaire, Diderot, La Chalotais, Turgot, Rousseau and other philosophes criticized scholastic education; but many of them also made constructive contributions in plans for an alternative, more modern education.

La Chalotais wrote a compte rendu in December 1761 in which he commented unfavorably on the educational activity of the Jesuits and supported state-controlled education instead. His Essai d'éducation nationale was published in 1763, one year after the appearance of Rousseau's Emile. The compte rendu was a vehement criticism of ecclesiastical control of education; the Essai was a constructive plan for a national system of education to replace the one he had condemned.[11]

Diderot was also concerned about education and between 1775 and 1776 he devised a university plan for Catherine II of Russia. Although the plan was never used and did not become known until a century later, it reflects the current of educational reform prevailing

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[11]H. C. Barnard, Education and the French Revolution (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1969), pp. 30-36.

during the period and indicates that education was an interest shared by numerous philosophes. Indicative of that interest is the case of Turgot, the lawyer, statesman and physiocrat who served Louis XVI. In 1775 he presented the monarch with a proposal for a Council of National Education to direct academies, universities and secondary and primary schools.

Several basic ideological currents common to the educational writing of the reformers during the second half of the eighteenth century can be discerned in the works of La Chalotais, Diderot, Turgot and others. Those currents provided a unifying element in the movement toward educational reform. At least four basic themes were shared by the reformers and passed on to Spain and her colonies. Inspired by economic problems and theories of political economy, they urged greater emphasis on vocational and professional training. Encouraged by the progress of the scientific age they favored a broader dissemination of the new scientific knowledge and techniques. Awakening to the concerns of society, they hoped for increased social harmony and national solidarity through civic education. Interested in needs and efficiency, they indicated that only the most qualified should continue education beyond the primary level.[12]

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[12]Robert J. Vignery, The French Revolution and the Schools (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p. 18.

The re-organization of the educational system was viewed as one of the fundamental needs of an enlightened society. A notable shift occurred from the study of books and words--Latin and scholastic philosophy--to the study of the relevant and the useful. To the reformers, education should aim not at turning out "gentlemen," mere social ornaments, but useful citizens.[13] The scientific age kindled an awareness of the possibility of progress. The spirit of criticism of the philosophes was turned toward education and brought to light the shortcomings of the system. They offered constructive alternatives to scholastic education to enhance the ideals of progress--social harmony, economic well-being, productive efficiency and political stability.

In addition to the contributions to educational reform in the Spanish world made by French innovators, Spain herself boasted numerous philosophes who stimulated interest in a more relevant education. Many of the reforms in Spain took place within the schools themselves as progressive professors introduced their students to modern ideas.

The university of Zaragoza officially introduced Van Espen's text on canon law in 1775 and the university at Valencia followed suit a dozen years later. Some of the faculty at Valladolid favored more modern ideas, and

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[13]Ibid., pp. 10-13.

the students there were becoming imbued with new views on limiting the pope's authority. The works of Bossuet and Fleury had been read by students at the university of Valencia since the middle of the eighteenth century. The poet Juan Meléndez Valdés read Van Espen and Fleury at Salamanca in 1777 for the degree in canon law. Richard Herr affirms that by the time of Charles III's death in 1788 the progressive teachings of the Jansenists were firmly entrenched in the faculties of theology and canon law at the universities.[14]

There were more than twenty universities in Spain besides that at Salamanca, and many of them were quite receptive to reform. The university at Alcalá de Henares favored the use of the text on physics by Peter van Musschenbroek--the Dutch philosopher and exponent of Newton--whose works frequently appeared in the universities in the Spanish colonies. During the 1770's the universities of Santiago, Oviedo, Zaragoza and Granada reformed their courses of study to include more modern disciplines such as mathematics, experimental physics and natural law.

Modern treatises on education from England as well as France were studied in Spain. Juan Meléndez Valdés

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[14]Richard Herr, The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 26-27.

wrote to Jovellanos in 1779 indicating that he had studied Locke's Treatise on Education and the Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Rousseau's Emile, and Condillac's Cours d'études. In 1778 Mêlendez became professor of humanities at Salamanca and influenced his students as well as his colleagues to abandon scholasticism in favor of Locke and Montesquieu.[15]

Not all professors within the universities of Spain were favorable to modernization. A report prepared by the University of Salamanca in 1760 objected to the establishment of an academy of arts and sciences at Zaragoza and suggested that they did not dare to be the authors of new methods.[16] This reluctance to support new methods was inherent in the 1771 Plan general de estudios of the university at Salamanca.[17] While many professors were teaching modern disciplines, others attacked the systems of Newton, Gassendi and Descartes and defended the traditional study of Aristotle.[18]

Just as the expulsion of the Jesuits from France

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[15]Ibid., pp. 167-168.

[16]George M. Addy, The Enlightenment in the University of Salamanca (Durham: Duke University Press, 1966), p. 82.

[17]Ibid., p. 269.

[18]Ibid., pp. 103, 252.

had occasioned educational reform plans, in Spain many schools formerly belonging to that order were reorganized. The regular clergy was often barred from the faculty such as at the new college called the Reales Estudios de San Isidro which was opened at Madrid in September 1771. The atmosphere at the school presented a contrast to the scholastic education which had predominated previously. In the 1780's professors were teaching the Copernican system as fact rather than theory; in 1787 the professor of physics offered a course on "experimental philosophy" open to the public. During the second half of the eighteenth century in the Spanish world, courses were frequently open to the public in an attempt to spread las luces to a greater number of people.

Paralleling the comptes rendus in France, Olavide, the royal governor of Seville, delivered a report in 1769 on the disposition of buildings formerly occupied by the Jesuits. The introduction to his report praised Descartes for destroying scholasticism and reviving science in Europe. Olavide proposed to reform the teaching of philosophy and to introduce mathematics. The disputes of the theological parties were forbidden, and the regular clergy was barred from teaching or studying in the university. The proposal received royal approval in August 1769.[19]

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[19]Herr, pp. 163-165.

Official support for educational reform was provided by the administration of Charles III under the policies of enlightened despotism. In 1770 the Consejo de Castilla ordered all universities to revise their curricula of study in accordance with contemporary needs and to include moral philosophy, mathematics and experimental physics. The reply from the leading university in Spain, Salamanca, recommended the continued use of the out-dated text on philosophy by Antoine Goudin. In spite of that university's recommendation, the Consejo instituted reforms in 1771, and in 1778 ordered Salamanca to make changes in the philosophy courses to stimulate the study of science and mathematics. The Consejo de Castilla held a contest for the best philosophy text that would include the theories of Descartes, Malebranche and Leibniz. Francisco Villalpando won with a work that in 1779 the Consejo ordered to be adopted in all schools that had not yet introduced the philosophy of François Jacquier and the physics of Musschenbroek.[20]

A. Owen Aldridge feels confident that "the Enlightenment was a general movement of minds which had very little to do with educational establishments--in Spain even less than anywhere else."[21] He bases this

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[20]Ibid., p. 169.

[21]A. Owen Aldridge, "The Cloudy Spanish Enlightenment," The Modern Language Journal, LII (1968), 115.

judgment on the failure of Addy's The Enlightenment in the University of Salamanca to convince him of the existence of enlightenment in Spain much less than in that university. He further suggested that "even at Oxford, Aristotelianism seems to have been the prevailing philosophy taught."[22] The same evaluation applies to the University of Paris, the University of Santo Tomás in New Granada and other leading universities of any nation during the Enlightenment. Oxford, Salamanca and Paris were the leading universities and as such were the mainstays of authority and tradition. As long-established, traditional institutions they tended to be more conservative and inflexible about accepting reform in order not to upset conventional order. There are exceptions to this observation, of course, such as the University of Edinburgh in Scotland; in Latin America the University of San Carlos in Guatemala is a pertinent example of a major institution receptive to change.

As the principal university in Spain, Salamanca would be the least likely institution in which to find the acceptance of the modern thought of the Enlightenment. Addy chose to study that university, and his book led Aldridge to the erroneous conclusion that "there seems to be no reason to associate the Enlightenment with any

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[22]Ibid.

European university."[23] As indicated, institutions in France other than the University of Paris were active in the movement to provide modern disciplines and numerous philosophes contributed to the modernization of education; in Spain the universities at Santiago, Oviedo, Zaragoza and Granada reformed their curricula in the 1770's while the "leading university" of Salamanca was barely making reforms in 1807.[24] In Latin America, also, the so-called leading institutions of higher learning were the least receptive to progressive reforms, such as in New Granada where Rosario and San Bartolomé colleges were active in reforms while the older, more traditional University of Santo Tomás rejected change.

In the English colonies most of the signers of the Declaration of Independence could be considered representatives of the Enlightenment tradition. However, those most admired and frequently referred to in Latin America were Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Paine and Madison. Jefferson and Franklin were quite concerned about education and, along with their influence on patterns of political thought in Latin America, they contributed to the universal current of educational reform typical of the Enlightenment.

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[23]Ibid.

[24]See the reform plan of 1807 in Addy, pp. 367-393.

The interest of Jefferson, and that of many other philosophers of the Enlightenment, was the general diffusion of knowledge. As a product of the Enlightenment, Jefferson had faith in the progress of knowledge and believed that the sciences should thrive under a free society. His philosophy of education was a complement to his scientific enthusiasm and to the general scientific interest of the age.[25]

Jefferson promoted universal education as a defense against the "kings, priests and nobles who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance."[26] Thomas Jefferson was concerned throughout his life with education for everyone and his educational plan was part of his revolutionary political thinking. His educational proposal of 1779 shares concepts in common with the philosophes of France and the enlightened independence leaders of Gran Colombia. He proposed free elementary schools and selective secondary schools. A university education was to be provided at public expense for a selected few who would benefit from this education and be

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[25]Adrienne Koch, The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, 2nd ed. (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1957), pp. 167, 169.

[26]Adrienne, Koch, ed., The American Enlightenment (New York: George Braziller, 1965), p. 312.

ready to serve the state.[27] Jefferson presented proposals in 1776 to change the scholastic course of studies at William and Mary College which were rejected by the legislature but were incorporated to a considerable extent into the curriculum of the college by its board of visitors. Jefferson's provisions represent a notable parallel to educational changes in France, Spain and her overseas colonies. To modify the scholastic curriculum, Jefferson proposed schools of moral philosophy, the laws of nature and of nations; political economy, commerce and legal administration; civil and ecclesiastical history; mathematics; anatomy and medicine; natural philosophy and natural history; ancient languages; and modern languages.[28]

Benjamin Franklin was another philosopher of the American Enlightenment who wrote extensively on education and may have had some pedagogical influence in the Spanish colonies, although he was admired and frequently cited in the Spanish world, as well as in France, for his scientific and political activity. Franklin was one of the

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[27]James B. Conant, Thomas Jefferson and the Development of American Public Education (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 3.

[28]Herbert B. Adams, Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1887-1888), pp. 41-43.

first in the English colonies to concern himself with improving education and to that end the Junto, a club for philosophical discussions, was established in 1727 and the following year Franklin wrote the "Rules for a Club Established for Mutual Improvement."[29] In his educational writings Franklin espoused one of the universal themes of the Enlightenment in his emphasis on utility.[30] That concern is most evident in his "A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America,"[31] written in 1743, which formed the basis of the American Philosophical Society established the following year.

The above two essays deal with adult, self-education and research in the scientific sense; however, Franklin also wrote on the means of formal school education in which the influence of the European Enlightenment is paramount. For example, he wrote the "Idea of the English School" in an effort to establish English schools among the Germans in Pennsylvania. Like Jefferson's view, Franklin's educational concerns were motivated in part by political interests, and the essay made clear his

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[29]Thomas Woody, Educational Views of Benjamin Franklin (1931; rpt. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1971), pp. 47-51.

[30]Ibid., p. 55.

[31]Ibid., pp. 58-62.

conception of education as an agency of social control. A copy of the essay was sent to Samuel Johnson who suggested to Franklin that he include texts from Port-Royal, and the works by Milton, Shakespeare, Addison, Pope and Swift.[32] Franklin's outline for the English school included the study of Pluche's Le spectacle de la nature for natural history.[33] In addition, he encouraged useful courses and modern rather than ancient languages as did the reformers in France, Spain and Latin America. His most extensive work on education was the Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania, published in 1749, which led to the establishment of the University of Pennsylvania. The emphasis on practical studies is the keynote of the Proposals. Franklin's indebtedness to the European philosophers who wrote on education is apparent in his footnotes which provide detailed references to works on education including, in fact, the page numbers to specific studies. He cited works on education such as Milton's Tractate of Education, Hutchinson's (sic) Dialogues concerning Education, Turnbull's Observations on a Liberal Education, and Walker's Treatise of the Education of Young Gentlemen, as

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[32]Ibid., pp. 118-119.

[33]Ibid., p. 125. Pluche's work was extensively used in the schools in Latin America and was often cited in the essays by the New Granadine natural scientists.

well as works by Rollin and Locke.[34] The curriculum he called for and the works he suggested for each course were similar to those proposed by educational reformers universally during the Enlightenment.

Educational reform, one of the major aspects of the Enlightenment as it developed in Latin America, was derived from the educational interests and activities of Spain, along with the stimulus provided by France and England, and some influence was felt from the English colonies. The early stages of the Enlightenment in Latin America were characterized by the movement away from scholasticism and the introduction of the New Philosophy. New ideas were first introduced on a wide scale in the schools, unlike the case in France, for example, where the new ideas came from the philosophers and met with difficulty in entering the educational institutions. The introduction of new ideas into the Latin American schools brought about educational reforms which further allowed for the presentation of modern philosophical and scientific doctrines.

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[34]Benjamin Franklin, Proposals for the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania, 1749 (Ann Arbor: The William L. Clements Library, 1927); also see John Hardin Best, ed., Benjamin Franklin on Education (New York: Columbia University, 1962), particularly the introduction, "Franklin and the Enlightened Education in America," for an account of Franklin's philosophy of education derived from the European ideological current.

Only a few examples of educational modernization in Latin America need be given. In New Spain Rafael Landívar was a major figure in the dissemination of new ideas in the schools. Born in Guatemala in 1731, he went to Mexico at an early age. He taught philosophy at Tepotzotlán and later at Puebla. He returned to Guatemala and served as rector of the Seminary of San Borja until the Jesuits were expelled. Landívar, who died in 1793, is known for his bucolic poem Rusticatio Mexicana which was published in Italy in 1781. The work reveals the increasing scientific interest of the new generation in the natural surroundings. He ends the poem with a call for youth to adopt new ideas and uncover the mysteries of nature.

An associate of Landívar, Francisco Javier Clavijero, who was also at Tepotzotlán, introduced new ideas on a large scale in the educational institutions in which he taught. He was born at Veracruz in 1731, studied physical and natural science, and knew several languages. He contributed to educational reform by presenting his knowledge of the theories and systems of Descartes and Leibniz and by his attacks on Aristotelianism in the schools of Mexico City, Valladolid (now Morelia) and Guadalajara. He became a professor of the Colegio de San Gregorio in Mexico City where he published

pamphlets in which he encouraged modernization in studies. His course at Guadalajara, written in the text Cursus philosophicus, included discussions of Bacon, Newton and Franklin. One of his works written for school use was the Física particular, a discussion of modern physics. He is also noted for his Historia antigua de México which he wrote in exile in Bologna, like Landívar.

Several other professors broke with scholastic peripateticism in favor of modern philosophy. Rafael Campoy, José Abad y Queipo and Francisco Javier Alegre were among those who introduced and popularized enlightened ideas. They taught disciplines of modern science--usually included in the department of philosophy--such as physics, astronomy, biology and botany.[35] José Rafael Campoy (1723-1777) contributed to educational reform in his introduction of new pedagogical methods and concentration on modern science with methods similar to Descartes' Discours de la Méthode (1637).

José Abad (1727-1779), bishop of Michoacán, wrote a treatise, called simply Physica, for his philosophy course given from 1754 to 1756 in which he followed the doctrines of Descartes and Gassendi. He composed a text

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[35]More detailed information on the internal organization, administration and curriculum of schools in New Spain may be found in José Luis Becerra López, La organización de los estudios en la Nueva España (México: Editorial Cultura, 1963).

for beginning students of mathematics as well as a Compendio de álgebra and a Geografía hidrográfica. He wrote several works in Latin including the Disertación jocosa-seria sobre la latinidad de los extranjeros, El nudo más intricado de la matemática and a Tratado de teología along with the four volumes of the Physica. In addition to the above-mentioned Geografía, he wrote other texts with the emphasis on the useful, such as treatises in Spanish on mathematics, agriculture, commerce and industry.

Francisco Alegre extended the scope of new ideas beyond Descartes by introducing Malebranche, known for his Recherche de la verité (1674) and Traité de morale (1684) and Nollet, who taught experimental physics. Alegre's treatises include Elementos de geometría and Secciones cónicas. His contributions include a rejection of the "argumento de autoridad" in favor of the use of observation and experiment, which method he instilled in his students.

Juan Benito Díaz de Gamarra, who studied in Italy and traveled throughout Europe, was one of the prominent figures who provided stimulus to modernization. He introduced into the Colegio de San Miguel el Grande a new plan of studies. His text, Elementos recentoris philosophiae (1774), presented to his students the

modern ideas he had learned firsthand in Europe. This work was adopted by the Universidad Real and most of the colegios in New Spain. He is also noted for his Errores del entendimiento humano published in Spanish.[36]

Educational reform was a salient characteristic of the Enlightenment in the captaincy-general of Guatemala which witnessed numerous reforms and efforts to modernize instruction. Antonio Liendo de Goicoechea was a professor and educational reformer at the University of San Carlos. After fifteen years as professor of philosophy, he presented in 1782 a reform plan in which the emphasis was placed on the natural and physical sciences. His colleague, Jose Relipe Flores, professor of medicine and protomedico, also contributed a great deal to the modernization of studies.[37] Professor John Tate Lanning has provided a detailed study of the Enlightenment in that university,[38] the major institution in Guatemala, indicating that there are exceptions to

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[36]A number of works deal with education in New Spain during the eighteenth century such as Estudios de historia de la filosofía en México (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1963); Antonio Ibargüengoitia, Filosoffía mexicana en sus hombres y en sus textos (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1967); and Bernabé B. Navarro, Cultura mexicana moderna en el siglo XVIII (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1964).

[37]Carlos Martínez Durán, Las ciencias médicas en Guatemala: Origen y evolución (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1945), pp. 284-319.

[38]John Tate Lanning, The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956).

our earlier remark that the "leading schools" of an area are traditional by nature and adverse to change.

Educational reform was a characteristic of the Enlightenment common to Europe and the Americas. Interest in modernizing instruction was shared by most of the enlightened generation of philosophers throughout the Spanish colonies and need not be discussed here.[39] The educational innovators of New Spain are mentioned as a point of comparison and a point of departure for our study of educational reform and the introduction of the Enlightenment into New Granada.

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[39]For a survey of educational reform in Latin America, consult John Tate Lanning, Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 61-89. General information on all the colonial universities of Latin America is provided by Agueda María Rodríguez Cruz, Historia de las universidades hispanoamericanas, 2 vols. (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973); however, there are no thorough accounts of the Enlightenment in any Spanish colony other than Lanning's study of Guatemala. The topic has received some attention in Mexico, with the majority of the studies published in Spanish. The remaining areas merit research such as that done by Lanning in Guatemala and Addy in Spain.

CHAPTER II

MUTIS AND THE NEW PHILOSOPHY

José Celestino Mutis, physician, naturalist and educator, and a native of the port of Cadiz, arrived at the Spanish viceroyalty of New Granada in 1760 as personal physician to Viceroy Messía de la Zerda. His arrival coincided with the beginning of a period of change in the cultural history of that reino or "kingdom." Progressive reform in colonial universities, stimulus to scientific study, new directions in philosophic and political thought, and encouragement of an enlightened society were contributions Mutis made to the cultural patrimony of New Granada. His activities in the New World were manifestations of that period in European history which is termed the Enlightenment. The extent of Mutis' contributions to the Enlightenment, particularly in the aspect of educational reform, can best be appreciated by an awareness of the state of education in New Granada prior to his introduction of the New Philosophy into the viceroyalty.

A. Colonial Institutions and the Scholastic Method

The curriculum at the universities was limited to classical and theological studies, and the method

practiced was that of traditional scholasticism. The doctrine of the universities was based on the medieval Aristotelian system of peripatetic knowledge. Although formal education had been available for two hundred years, it had progressed little by the 1760's when the Enlightenment tradition was introduced into New Granada.

In Bogotá the Dominicans began to provide secondary education at their convent in the 1560's. During the following decade they founded chairs in Thomistic philosophy and theology. In 1593 Juan Mendoza was sent to the court of Spain to seek permission for the granting of university degrees. A charter issued in 1595 conceded that privilege to the University of Santo Tomás, which maintained it throughout the colonial period.

The Jesuits opened their first school in Bogotá on 27 September 1604 and José Dadey delivered the inaugural address. Dadey studied the Chibcha language and wrote a grammar and dictionary of it in the late sixteenth century; these works may have been the unsigned manuscripts entrusted to Mutis by the Jesuits before their expulsion in 1767. The school offered classes in Latin, Spanish, Aristotelian philosophy and theology. It was combined with another institution founded by the Jesuits, that of San Bartolomé, to form the Colegio y Seminario de San Bartolomé and the Universidad Javeriana. During the

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many schools were established throughout New Granada by the Jesuits: Cartagena in 1605, Tunja in 1611, Honda in 1622, Pamplona in 1625, Popayán in 1640, Mompós in 1643, Ciudad Antioquia in 1727 and Buga in 1743.

The third important institution of higher learning in Bogotá, the Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, was founded by Cristóbal de Torres. Rosario, which received a royal charter on 31 December 1651 patterned after the peninsular University of Salamanca, opened in December 1657. The constitution written by Torres provided that philosophy should always be taught according to Saint Thomas. The only curricular improvement Rosario offered beyond the subjects of the other two schools was a course in law; however, it was canon law taught from the first of the Siete Partidas compiled by Alfonso el Sabio in the thirteenth century. The school at times had a chair of medicine, but the study and practice of the discipline was far from "modern." Rosario eventually opened a chair in Artes which included studies that differed somewhat from the traditional philosophy based on theological doctrine. Hernández de Alba has pointed out that the arts or philosophy course at Rosario involved general cultural knowledge and that from the department of philosophy would come the modern experimental

sciences, physics, astronomy and mathematics.[1] Although Rosario was secularized in March 1665 and placed under Real Patronato, the new rector promised to continue following the doctrines of Saint Thomas.[2]

The curriculum of studies at Rosario, San Bartolomé and Santo Tomás, consistent with that of other schools throughout colonial Latin America, embraced the trivium and quadrivium as outlined in the thirteenth century in the second of Alfonso el Sabio's Siete Partidas. The seven "liberal arts" as indicated by Alfonso included grammar, dialectic and rhetoric in the trivium with music, geometry, arithmetic and astronomy in the quadrivium. This tradition was maintained in New Granada up until the eighteenth century. The first year of study dealt with logic according to the method of sophistry called the arte de pensar. Scholastic syllogisms formed the basis of this course as well as that of the second year which was the study of metaphysics in

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[1]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Bogotá: Editorial Centro, 1938), I, 117.

[2]For more detailed information on the schools and universities in New Granada during the colonial period prior to the Enlightenment, consult Agueda María Rodríguez Cruz, Historia de las universidades hispano-americanas, 2 vols. (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973) and Luis Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, La evolución educativa en Colombia (Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956).

syllogisms used in the schools of New Granada and his description conforms to the standard pattern of the method.[3] During the third year rudimentary physics was taught without the benefit of instruments or experiments. Canon law was studied from the first of the Siete Partidas while the limited preparation for civil law consisted of memorizing medieval fueros, viceregal orders and collections of laws from the Indies and Castille. Mathematics was taught according to the works of Euclid and Father Tosca's scholastic treatise on them.

The low educational level also prevailed in the provinces of New Granada. Learning in Popayán, as in other centers of the Cauca valley, suffered from the stress on medieval scholasticism. A description of education in that region offers a bleak picture:

> La vida intelectual era casi nula, y la ciencia patrimonio exclusivo de los hombres de toga o de tonsura. Pero los clérigos no estudiaban otra lengua que el latín ni otra ciencia que las metafísicas; y los abogados reducían sus estudios al Derecho Canónico y a las Siete Partidas del rey don Alfonso el Sabio. Los otros ramos de las ciencias carecían de cultivadores.[4]

The intellectual life of Popayán did not improve until

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[3]Gabriel Porras Troconis, Historia de la cultura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952), p. 419.

[4]Tulio Enrique Tascón, Biografía del General José María Cabal (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, 1930), p. 15.

the period of reforms introduced by José Félix de Restrepo, one of Mutis' many disciples and collaborators, who prepared such scholars as Francisco José de Caldas, Francisco Antonio Zea, José María Cabal, Camilo Torres and others.

Medicine was one of the areas which suffered most in New Granada, attempts at reform being complicated by the attitude against physicians as evidenced in Quevedo's and Caviedes' (in Peru) incessant satire and criticism of them. The colonials of New Granada resorted to the cures of another nature, those of witchcraft and superstition, as pointed out by Mutis:

> Los negros o mulatos, . . . son por lo común los que hacen estas curaciones . . . sin que sirva de descrédito los continuados ejemplares de la inutilidad de estos medios. Tan grosero y chabacano suele ser el modo de pensar de estas gentes.[5]

Methods taught in the schools were not much of an improvement over the local techniques described by Mutis. The following seems to be the procedure for treating a sprain or dislocation but was the method taught in the colonial schools for setting a broken arm:

> Echando al enfermo en el suelo, y tirando los Ministros con contrarias vendas, el Artífice le pone el talón del pie en la cabeza del hueso,

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[5]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar del sabio naturalista don José Celestino Mutis (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1968), I, 7.

poniéndose al contrario que el enfermo, y al tiempo que empuja con el Pié, tira del Brazo.[6]

Although medicine in Spain had been modernized during the reign of Charles III, especially by the work of the court physician, Martín Martínez, who wrote Examen nuevo de Cirujía Moderna, and Mutis' preparation in that area had been thorough, the discipline in New Granada had not progressed since the conquest.

An examination of students' theses, an approach used by Lanning in his study of the Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala,[7] gives a clear indication of the educational level of colonial New Granada. An equally valid method is the study of the tratados or lecture notes written by professors for dictation to students in the classroom. The themes of some of these dictados are made evident by an article written by Rivas Sacconi.[8] The primary problem was the time wasted in class dictating the mamotreto, a type of textbook considered to be the original work of the professor. Rivas Sacconi points out that most of the texts found in various archives in Colombia deal with theology and

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[6]Hernández de Alba, Crónica, II, 12.

[7]John Tate Lanning, The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala (New York: Cornell University Press, 1956).

[8]José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, "Tratados didácticos de las universidades novogranatenses," Thesaurus, II (1946), 460-484.

philosophy, showing that the professors taught Aristotle, Saint Thomas and Spanish scholastics of the sixteenth century such as Suárez, Vázquez and Melchor Cano. A few tratados on law and the humanities were found by Rivas Sacconi although they were very scarce. And there was a "casi total olvido de pensadores modernos."[9]

Jerónimo de Escobar, a professor of theology at Javeriana University wrote texts on Disputationes theologicae (1637) and Controversia de ineffabili divinae Incarnationis mysterio (1640). The philosophy class at Javeriana was in no better position as Moisés Bacon read his dreary text on Disputationes in libros Aristotelis de anima in 1637. The course content had not improved fifty years later as evidenced by the treatise of Martín de Eusa, De inscrutabili atque altissimo Trinitatis mysterio, written in 1681. At least one professor did delve into physics in 1693, although it was that of Aristotle rather than the modern physics introduced later by José Celestino Mutis; the text was Physices tractatus by Mateo Mimbela which included illustrations and a short section on astronomy.

The courses given by the professors at Rosario during the one hundred years prior to the dawn of the Enlightenment were similar to those at the Jesuit school.

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[9]Rivas Sacconi, p. 461

The first treatise written in 1654 by Juan de Montaña, was a commentary on Saint Thomas entitled De voluntario et involuntario. Those produced during the 1650's and 1660's continued with discussions on particular sections of the Summa Theologica. Toward the beginning of the Enlightenment period a professor at Rosario, Nicolás Antonio de Tobar, presented one of the first texts on law, Epitome De Iustiniani Institutionum, from 1761 to 1763.

The University of Santo Tomás did not produce or conserve any tratados during the seventeenth century, and those of the eighteenth reiterated the traditional works on theology and philosophy. It should be mentioned, however, that one unsigned manuscript, Metaphysica aristotelica, is considered the first treatment of the Copernican astronomical system in spite of its misleading title. However, it deals with the heliocentric system merely as a hypothesis. The work was apparently written by a Jesuit shortly before 1767. José Celestino Mutis was the true innovator by successfully introducing the ideas of Copernicus, Newton and others when he occupied the chair of mathematics at Rosario in 1762.

B. Mutis and Educational Reform

Before the arrival of Mutis only elementary mathematics had been taught at San Bartolomé and Rosario. The rector of Rosario, José Joaquín de León y Herrera, suggested that Mutis instruct the first classes in advanced mathematics to be offered at the school, and the scholar enthusiastically accepted the opportunity. Although Mutis had received his degree in medicine, his special interests were mathematics and natural science which he had studied in Spain. After his secondary education at Cádiz, Mutis attended the University of Seville which granted him the preliminary degree in 1753 and the doctorate in medicine in 1755. He traveled to Madrid where he taught anatomy and received license to practice from the medical board in 1757. He studied mathematics and natural science at the Botanical Garden of Madrid under Miguel Barnades, who instructed Mutis in the system developed by Linnaeus. Barnades later published the Principios de botánica (1767) which is given as the first work of its kind to appear in Spain.[10] The young scholar continued his studies under Barnades until his departure from Spain in 1760.

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[10]Concerning Mutis' studies under Barnades see Jean Sarrailh, L'Espagne eclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), p. 443.

On 13 March 1762 Mutis delivered his opening address for the newly instituted discipline in the amphitheater of Rosario. The presentation was attended by a large audience, including Viceroy de la Zerda. His lecture emphasized the importance of mathematics:

> Para tratar con el debido acierto la física, se instruyen generalmente los jóvenes antes, o al mismo tiempo, en los conocimientos matemáticos. Con unos principios tan sólidos hallan en su juventud materia dispuesta para cualquier Facultad que se propongan profesar en adelante.[11]

Mutis indicated in his opening address that the intellectual progress of Europe was perfected by those philosophers who possessed a thorough knowledge of mathematics and that these sabios outshown the rest.[12] He encouraged the students of Rosario, as well as other citizens of New Granada, to accept the doctrines of the New Philosophy in order to improve

> la carrera de las letras . . . en una ciencia, cuyo estudio nunca es inútil . . . para perfección de las Artes, para avivar el ingenio, instruir el entendimiento, formar el juicio y ejercitar la memoria; y, últimamente, siempre es necesario para inquirir la verdad en todo lo que se ofrece y es permitido a la curiosidad del hombre.[13]

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[11]Hernández de Alba, Crónica, II, 91.

[12]Diego Mendoza, Expedición Botánica de José Celestino Mutis al Nuevo Reino de Granada y memorias inéditas de Francisco José de Caldas (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1909), p. 40.

[13]Hernández de Alba, Crónica, II, 92.

Mutis emphasized the importance of the two methods of mathematics, the analytic and the synthetic, and their application to other fields of knowledge in order to arrive at logical conclusions. Following the lead of Descartes and the philosophes of the eighteenth century, Mutis encouraged the study of geometry as the best means to understand the process of learning. Regarding the geometric method he stated:

> Un rigoroso geómetro, que entra al examen de las verdades humanas, no está expuesto a caer en los errores de entendimiento en que frecuentemente incurren los demás hombres, poco o nada acostumbrados a seguir tenazmente la serie de todas las ideas que deben preceder para llegar al conocimiento de aquella última verdad que se busca.[14]

In his lecture Mutis expressed the relevance of mathematics to experimental physics with praises for the works of Newton, Peter van Musschenbroek, and Abbé Nollet, a professor of experimental physics. He pointed out that the discoveries of modern physics were based on mathematics and cited:

> el modo de computar las alturas de los montes, y de la elevación de los lugares sobre el nivel del mar, descubierto en Peru por los academicos franceses y por nuestros españoles Jorge Juan y [Antonio] Ulloa.[15]

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[14]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "El pensamiento filosófico de José Celestino Mutis," p. 7, in preparation. Gratitude is expressed to Professor Hernández de Alba for permission to cite portions of the typescript of this important work.

[15]Hernández de Alba, "El pensamiento filosófico," p. 9.

Professors as well as students attended the Mutis lecture. The vice-rector, the regent of studies and officials from the Real Audiencia were also counted among the pupils of the young professor. In order that everyone might attend, Mutis held his classes between the regular morning and afternoon sessions at Rosario. He divided the lessons into two sections; a general course for the curious and an advanced course for the serious students. Two intensive courses were given, each with three years of study. In his Método matemático, the treatise prepared for the lessons at Rosario, Mutis explained the subject, its uses and methods, and defined mathematical terms. In his outline of the history of mathematics he discussed Euclid and the medieval Spanish scholastics who had written about the Greek mathematician. He then dealt with the works of Leibniz and other contemporary philosophers.[16]

Mutis expanded the subjects of the chair he occupied to include more than mathematics. In September 1764 he wrote of his "nueva ocupación de dictar conferencias de filosofía natural,"[17] and introduced the physical doctrines of Newton into his classes. But Mutis soon began to suffer the attacks of the Dominicans, and in 1764

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[16]Ibid., p. 52.

[17]Hernández de Alba, Archivo, I, 46.

he prepared a speech "en defense de la filosofía newtoniana contra los peripatéticos, que debo pronunciar en las aulas ante el Virrey y un auditorio muy erudito."[18] For the courses under his chairmanship Mutis wrote, translated and adapted several texts for his lectures. He composed an introductory course on Elementos de Física which consisted of four chapters in fourteen pages. In spite of its brevity the text contributed to the introduction of educational reform and promoted the New Philosophy:

> para que la Física se adelante y los filósofos puedan aprovechar en sus descubrimientos, se ha de observar todo el merito de las Reglas Newtonianas, sin las cuales es imposible comprender los fenómenos que se manifiestan, ni descubrir sus causas, ni hacer el debido uso de las debidas observaciones y experiencias.[19]

Mutis blamed superstition and "ideas tontas" for hindering the complete freedom needed to study nature so that natural science might be useful to the most important ends. Citing Newton he stated that hypotheses should be proven through observation and experiments. He encouraged New Granadines to adopt Newtonian methods and frequently referred to Newton's contribution to philosophical methodology:

> advirtió sabiamente nuestro incomparable filósofo [Newton] que era preciso no solo abandonar, sino

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[18]Ibid., p. 109.

[19]Mendoza, pp. 41-42.

> renunciar del todo, las antiguas preocupaciones, para seguir exactamente el método natural de tratar la Física, como él lo hizo. Es bien cierto haviéndose atado Newton tan escrupulosamente a este método, debemos creer que la verdad y la naturaleza están de su parte, y que siguiendo los excelentes modelos que nos ha dejado podremos hacer progresos muy aventajados.[20]

Mutis terminated his comments on Newton with praise for the modern scientific method: "¡cuánto tendría que admirarse nuestro siglo, si en el dilatado espacio de dos mil años, empleados lastimosamente en asuntos inútiles, se hubiera cultivado la verdadera Filosofía!"[21]

Mutis wrote a text of sixty-three pages for his course in astronomy and composed an imcomplete mamotreto or file of lecture notes on the elements of trigonometry. Book III of his Tratado de Astronomía deals with the planetary system presenting the Copernican theories which had previously been neglected in the curriculum because it was contrary to Catholic dogma. Within a few years, by 1768, Mutis' public lectures in defense of the heliocentric theory stimulated support for the Moreno y Escandón plan for a public university. The controversy appeared again in 1774 influencing the reform plan drawn up in that year. In his treatise Mutis indicated that

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[20]Hernández de Alba, "El pensamiento filosófico," p. 30.

[21]Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), I, 322.

the disputes and controversies were the result of arguments presented by those who did not understand the Copernican system. He explained his purpose in writing the treatise which he presented to the students at Rosario:

> toda aquella doctrina compendiada la dispuse en proposiciones demostradas matematicamente, para que las leyeran solamente aquellos que hubiesen estudiado los principios establecidos.[22]

His principal work was the 200 page text Elementos de Aritmética in which some sections were translated and adapted from other works. He also wrote the Comentarios a la Geometría de Descartes in order to explain the subject to beginning students. Another Mutis text which contrasted with the earlier colonial products of the peripatetic school was the Elementos de Mecánica, a major work of 115 pages. Important works in the area of educational reform were those which introduced the ideas of the New Philosophy such as the Comentarios on Newton and Descartes and the Principios Matemáticos de Filosoffa Natural, written in 65 manuscript pages, based on Newton's important work Principia mathematica philosophiae naturalis (1687).

Although occupied with his duties as a physician and engrossed in scientific studies, Mutis indicated that these interests did not interfere with his teaching:

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[22]Mendoza, p. 45.

> procuraba destinar algunas horas para las lecciones públicas de matemáticas y filosofía newtoniana, que enseñé sin renta alguna y sin interrupción desde el año 62, . . . hasta fines del 66; siendo ésta la primera vez que se oyeron lecciones de tales ciencias en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, desde su conquista.[23]

Mutis was absent from Bogotá between 1766 and 1770 directing mineralogical and metallurgical investigations around the mines at Pamplona in the northeast of the colony.[24] Between 1770 and 1777 he was again in Bogotá and returned to his previous activities in medicine, natural science and teaching.[25]

In a letter written to José Antonio Flórez, Mutis mentioned the reforms and progress made at the University of Salamanca and referred to the successful introduction of the New Philosophy into New Granada:

> y acá Vmd. ya reformados los estudios: pues la juventud, á pesar de los viejos encapuchados, se inclinará primero por la novedad y despues por el deleite que hallará en estas Ciencias.[26]

Some of the students who attended Mutis' classes between

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[23]Enrique Pérez-Arbeláez, Flora de la Real Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1954), I, 55.

[24]Luís de Hoyos Saínz, José Celestino Mutis: Naturalista, médico y sacerdote (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1949), p. 179.

[25]A. Federico Gredilla, Biografía de José Celestino Mutis con la relación de su viaje y estudios practicados en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet, 1911), p. 146.

[26]Gredilla, p. 32.

1762 and 1766 and who later helped in the spread of educational reform include José Félix de Restrepo, Eloy Valenzuela, Pedro Fermín de Vargas and Diego García.[27]

The Moreno plans of 1768 and 1774 and the plan for a public university drawn up by Viceroy Antonio Caballero y Góngora in 1787 represent official attempts at reform; Mutis and his students applied specific reforms to educational and other cultural endeavors such as the Botanical Expedition, economic societies and literary circles. In the opinion of one historian, Pérez-Arbeláez, "Mutis se halla, pues, junto con Moreno y Escandón y con Caballero y Góngora, colocado en el vértice de los caminos que habían de conducir a la reforma educacionista de la Nueva Granada; él la inició."[28] Mutis began the educational reform movement in the viceroyalty by introducing the New Philosophy into his classes at Rosario and in his public lectures. His presentation of the forbidden fruits of modern science, philosophy and other disciplines, and the controversy his lectures aroused, demonstrated the need for educational reform.

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[27]Eloy Valenzuela, Primer diario de la Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bucaramanga: Imprenta del Departamento, 1952), p. 36.

[28]Pérez-Arbeláez, p. 99.

CHAPTER III

THE MORENO PLAN OF 1768

On several occasions Mutis' lectures at Rosario and his public presentations in defense of the ideologies of the New Philosophy motivated Spanish officials to initiate plans for educational reform. Only two years after inaugurating the courses the scholar suffered the attacks of the Dominicans, and in 1764 he prepared a speech "en defense de la filosofía newtoniana contra los peripatéticos."[1] Mutis again voiced his support for modern disciplines in 1767, speaking in the auditorium of the Jesuit colegio máximo, San Bartolomé. He showed that, as in Europe at this time, Descartes should be studied more for his method than his ideas:

> procuraremos inspirar el justo horror a esta fantasma [Cartesian philosophy] y el debido desprecio a sus declarados apasionados. . . . Parece muy oportuno a favor de la verdad que al paso que vayamos descubriendo el verdadero método de filosofar, vayamos también haciendo conocer las ilusiones Cartesianas.[2]

He reiterated his explanation of the modern concept of

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[1]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar del sabio naturalista don José Celestino Mutis (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1968), I, 109.

[2]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "El pensamiento filosófico de José Celestino Mutis," p. 31, in preparation.

the universe, citing as his authorities Copernicus, Galileo, Newton and others. After an extensive discussion of Newton's scientific method, theories and discoveries, Mutis exhorted his audience to follow the example of the true philosopher who relies on observation first before he formulates conclusions:

> deberá comenzar por la observación de las cosas sensibles, examinándolas nuevamente en diferentes ocasiones para cotejar los progresos que haya hecho. De este modo si se camina con lentitud, se camina ciertamente con seguridad; porque si no volviera sobre sí el filósofo, examinando de nuevo lo que ya deja observado, se expone a desviarse y confundirse perdiéndose facilmente en los laberintos de la naturaleza.[3]

Mutis, during his first years in the viceroyalty, recognized that Charles III's wish that modern concepts be taught in the schools was not being obeyed in New Granada. Mutis discussed the situation with his patron, Viceroy de la Zerda, who later wrote in his Relación de mando (1772):

> en la Junta Superior de Aplicaciones se ha tenido por objeto llenar las intenciones piadosas del soberano y promover la instrucción pública y verdadero bien de los vasallos, a que se ha dirigido la determinación de que se erija en esta capital una universidad pública y estudios generales que remedien el abuso y desorden que en la actualidad se experimentan.[4]

The disorders he referred to consisted of the Dominican

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[3]Ibid., p. 35.

[4]Enrique Pérez-Arbeláez, ed., Libro conmemorativo del segundo centenario de don José Celestino Mutis: 1732-1932 (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1932), p. 129.

attacks against reform which were aggravated by the vacuum in education in the viceroyalty after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767. The viceroy had in mind particularly the opposition of the University of Santo Tomás which insisted upon its privilege of being the only school to grant university degrees although none were issued before 1776.

The typical disorders agitated by Santo Tomás are exemplified by their dispute with the Jesuit schools shortly before the expulsion of the order. The dispute was based on rights to "primacía de conclusions." The Jesuits maintained that examinations given upon the completion of courses should begin at San Bartolomé and Javeriana University. In a complaint to the viceroy, the rector of the Jesuit institution criticized the "disorderly conduct" of the Dominicans:

> Se ha querido adelantarse la Sagrada Religion de Santo Domingo, convidando para sus primeras conclusiones para el dia quinse de abril de este presente año de sesenta y cinco, siendo assi que la costumbre ha sido comenzar las conclusiones en los primeros dias del mes de Mayo y solo puede haberse pretendido esta novedad aun en el tiempo para perturbar e inquietar nuestra pacifica e immemorial possession.[5]

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[5]Archivo de la Biblioteca Nacional, hereafter cited as ABN, "Colegios," Vol. I, folio 505. The orthography of the original has been maintained; abbreviations were written in full. The same procedure will be followed throughout when citing from archival sources. The entire dispute is found in folios 503-556.

Viceroy de la Zerda found an easy solution to the problem; he ordered that the two universities, Javeriana and Santo Tomás, alternate priority for presentations of public conclusions each year. The above case reflects the often petty matters which occupied the time of school rectors and government authorities, including the viceroy.

A. The Move to Secularize Education

The disorders perpetrated by the Dominican order along with the expulsion of the Jesuits combined to stress the need for educational reform. In 1768 Viceroy de la Zerda appointed the attorney general of the Real Audiencia, Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón,[6] to formulate a plan. Moreno, who attended Mutis' classes at Rosario while holding the chair of canon law at Javeriana, drew up a memorial in which he advocated, as a solution to the educational problem in New Granada, the establishment of a public university free from clerical domination. His memorandum of 1768 parallels the flood of comptes rendus in France following the expulsion of the Jesuits there; these reports on the state of education and their proposed reforms contributed

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[6]Biographical information on Moreno y Escandón is located in José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de M. Rivas, 1890), II, 97-98, and in Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, XXIII (1936), 529 ff.

a great deal to educational progress in that country.[7]

Following the expulsion of the Jesuits from New Granada, their students at San Bartolomé were promised that within a few days the school would be reorganized so that they might continue their studies. The cabildo, or city council, of Bogotá assumed patronato over San Bartolomé and proceeded to appoint professors from Rosario and Santo Tomás. This action derived from the directive issued by Charles III which indicated that secular clergy should be appointed at the seminaries and schools formerly operated by the banished order.[8] When the students at San Bartolomé complained about their new professors, further nominations were proposed. Moreno, who was designated as regente de estudios at the time he formulated the Memorial in 1768, requested that the "Cabildo eclesiástico . . . hiciera nueva nominación en todos los demás [colegios] procurando dar a los colegiales bartolos maestros que se concilíasen el respeto, atención y benevolencia."[9]

In 1768 a royal decree affecting the Spanish

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[7]On the comptes rendus consult Gabriel Compayré, Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le seizième siècle (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970) and H. C. Barnard, Education and the French Revolution (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1969).

[8]Groot, II, 85-86.

[9]Ibid., p. 100.

overseas colonies ordered the expulsion of any foreign clergy. In November of the same year another decree urged that "los clérigos y religiosos de Indias se abstuviesen de hablar y declamar contra los Reyes y príncipes."[10] The expulsion of the Jesuits was viewed by the historian José Manuel Groot as an attempt by Charles III, the Conde de Aranda and others who supported enlightened despotism to secularize education and to direct it towards the ideas of the New Philosophy.[11]

Moreno's plan of 1768 indicated that almost anyone could obtain a degree from the Dominican school by merely presenting evidence of having attended lectures in any school. He criticized this decadent situation of the colonial period in his report:

> sufre la literatura de todo el Reyno por no tener empleos ni cáthedras en que exercitarse, ni a que aspirar por defecto de estudios Generales y Universidad Publica. Hasta ahora apenas ha havido otros maestros y cathedráticos que los religiosos en sus respectivos conventos.[12]

Although laymen could obtain a degree from the schools controlled by the religious orders, the clergy monopolized positions as rectors, regents, examiners and authorities

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[10]Ibid., p. 117.

[11]Ibid., p. 126.

[12]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Proyecto del Fiscal Moreno y Escandón para la erección de Universidad Pública en el virreinato de la Nueva Granada," Thesaurus, XVI (1961), 478-479.

for conferring degrees. Thus, for the most part, the secular population remained inferior to the ecclesiastics who controlled education. Those who wished to pursue advanced studies had to content themselves with a parish "en que apartados del trato y comercio civil, abandonando el estudio, viven como ydiotas los que por el contrario, serían en la universidad digno objeto de la admiración de los literatos."[13] He referred to the royal decree of 27 September 1595 which authorized both the Dominican and Jesuit orders to grant degrees considered equal to those conferred by the major universities of Spain; however, this privilege in the hands of the religious orders had obviously led to abuses.

Following the prologue to his memorandum Moreno indicated that the method to alleviate educational and social evils would be the establishment of general studies in a public university under the same rules and with the same prerogatives as used by the universities of Lima and Mexico. He suggested financing such a university with the resources of the expulsed Jesuits, principally the income from three of their former haciendas.[14] As part of this plan, an inventory was compiled of their confiscated goods, including books.[15]

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[13]Ibid., p. 479.

[14]Ibid., p. 480.

[15]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folios 1025-1039.

It was suggested that these materials be used to benefit the public university. However, not all the books could be kept since a few months after Moreno's plan Charles III prohibited the study of works written by the Jesuits themselves:

> el 12 de agosto de 1768 se hizo firmar al miope monarca una cédula por la cual se prohibió, para todas las universidades, colegios, rectores, cancelarios, catedráticos y maestros de España, el uso de las obras de doctrina del padre Pedro Calatayud, las de moral del Busenbaum, el Enigma Teologicum, del padre Alvaro de Cienfuegos y en general todos los libros de autores de la Compañía. Por cedula de 18 de octubre del mismo año, esa prohibición se extendió a los dominios americanos de la corona.[16]

Moreno's proposal provided for twelve chairs, several still devoted to the traditional disciplines of ecclesiastical studies. However, additional chairs would be established for the teaching of law, medicine and the arts; the latter was expected to include philosophy, mathematics and science. In contrast, Javeriana University in 1711 had eight chairs, all devoted to theological subjects: the curriculum of studies comprised one department of artes, two of dogmática, one of moral, two of cánones and two of instituta; the course of artes merely concerned itself with scholastic philosophy in preparation for more advanced theological studies in

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[16]Gabriel Porras Troconis, Historia de la cultura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952), p. 233.

the other departments.[17] The twelve chairs Moreno considered necessary included:

> dos de theología especulativa de prima y vísperas, una de moral, otra de Escritura, dos de cánones de prima y la de vísperas, que podrá tratar algo sobre las decretales, una de prima de leyes, otra de ynstituta, una de prima de medicina, cuya falta causa compación en el Reyno, una de artes y dos de latinidad.[18]

The emphasis placed on the last discipline was derived from a royal decree issued in October 1767 by Charles III which required that elementary education be offered where practical and economically feasible. The decree insisted that the chairs for grammar and rhetoric be filled by seculars and by oposición, that is, by open competition.[19]

Moreno also suggested that the university be permitted to open new departments without the burden of seeking royal dispensation in each instance. Referring to the practice common in Spain, he suggested that the two schools in Bogotá, Rosario and the colegio of Santo Tomás, might wish to establish their own chairs in the public university, providing, of course, that they supplied

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[17]Luís Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, La evolución educativa en Colombia (Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956), p. 119.

[18]Hernández de Alba, "Proyecto del Fiscal," p. 481.

[19]Archivo del Rosario, Vol. 7, folios 331-332. See Appendix A for the complete document.

the necessary economic resources. On 9 May Moreno's proposal was approved by the Junta de Temporalidades--a board established to dispense with the goods of the Jesuits--and signed by the viceroy. It was then forwarded to the Conde de Aranda, Charles III's liberal-minded minister and president of the Council of the Indies.

A year later Moreno wrote a second Memorial in which he again stressed the need for a public university, pointing out that in the vast territory comprising the viceroyalty of New Granada "no se enquentra universidad ni estudio que pueda llamarse rigurosamente público."[20] Only in Santa Fe de Bogotá, Quito and recently Popayán could one obtain a degree. However, those degrees were often worthless as the convents and schools of the regular clergy handed out the title without the required examinations. The granting of degrees, according to Moreno, was reduced to a mere ceremony and almost anyone who asked could become a doctor or licenciado.

In his second report Moreno criticized the professors of the viceroyalty who were capable of teaching only "autores tribiales, que más facilmente contribuyen al estilo silogístico y modo peripatético."[21] Moreno

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[20]Hernández de Alba, "Proyecto del Fiscal," p. 486.

[21]Ibid., p. 487.

complained of unqualified professors obtaining chairs through favoritism rather than by competition; he felt that open competition "no solo contribuie a que se confieran a los más dignos y beneméritos, sino que sirve de incentibo a la emulazión y al estudio."[22]

Moreno emphasized that a public university should not be placed in the hands of the regular clergy and cautioned that the Dominicans were already preparing to control the anticipated institution. He cited three reasons for his position: "porque no les es propio ni decente y aun les está prohibido, porque no se lograrían los justos objetos de su establecimiento, y, finalmente, porque no resultaría beneficio sino perjuicio público."[23] Moreno continued his opposition to education as controlled by the clergy, pointing out the abuses and disorders suffered in the past. He terminated the Memorial of 1769 by indicating that the universities which flourished and proved most famous were those which had

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[22]Ibid. The practice of competition to fill professorial chairs had been established in the thirteenth century by Alfonso X, el Sabio; Law IX of Title XXXI in the second Partida provided that before obtaining a license to teach a candidate had to demonstrate knowledge of the material "et buena manera et desembagada lengua para mostralla" as shown by an oral examination. Furthermore, a candidate had to fulfill the requirement of "student teaching" (Alfonso X, el Sabio, Las Siete Partidas, Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807, II, 345).

[23]Hernández de Alba, "Proyecto del Fiscal," p. 488.

been governed free from the domination of the regular clergy.

As in the case of his previous report, this one was approved by the viceroy and forwarded to Charles III along with a note from de la Zerda encouraging the enlightened monarch to consider the plan in spite of the testimony leveled against it by Ignacio Buenaventura who had been sent to the Spanish court by the Dominicans. The fathers of Santo Tomás, motivated by the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 and the Moreno plan of 1768, made every effort to maintain their control over education.

The project was returned to New Granada by the Council of the Indies because it was not signed by all the members of the board at Bogotá that had approved it. In December 1771 the board again deliberated and approved the plan. Archbishop Agustín Manuel Camacho y Rojas and other leaders of the religious community opposed the plan as unjust toward the University of Santo Tomás.[24] Rosario, which would likewise be closed according to the Moreno plan, joined with its rival in objecting to the project.[25] While the idea of a public university

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[24]Agueda María Rodríguez Cruz, Historia de las universidades hispanoamericanas (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica de Caro y Cuervo, 1973), I, 384.

[25]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Bogotá: Editorial Centro, 1940), II, 122.

was acceptable to many in New Granada, the provision which called for closing the leading schools in Bogotá in order to provide secular education exclusively aroused sufficient opposition to defeat the plan. The opposition of the Dominicans, the limited funds available from Temporalidades and the failure to receive official approval from the crown hindered the implementation of the plan. Although Viceroy de la Zerda considered the plan "en la clase de útil y nezessaria al bien de este Reyno y causa pública,"[26] he left further deliberations on the matter to his successor, Manual Guirior.

B. Education in Practice

In the years prior to and during the period of the Moreno proposal for a public university, other events within the schools indicated that educational reform and modernization were gradually taking place. In addition to the innovations presented by Mutis, a brief survey of the chair of medicine at Rosario, one of the sorely neglected disciplines, reveals that while the Moreno plan was ineffective in this instance, in practice the mood within the educational institutions was ripe for change. At least efforts were made to offer more than ecclesiastical studies.

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[26]Hernández de Alba, "Proyecto del Fiscal," p. 473.

In 1733 the first attempt was made to provide a chair of medicine at Rosario during the rectorate of Camacho y Rojas. Rosario had held an exclusive privilege to teach the science ever since its founding by Torres although no classes had actually been given. Francisco Fontes was granted the chair and made an opening address but apparently no organized classes materialized.[27] Rosario was successful in other disciplines, however, if not in medicine. The quality of instruction may be discerned in the case of Romana y Herrera who received a law degree from Rosario and was appointed to the high position of Fiscal, or attorney general, of the Real Audiencia of Guatemala in September 1755.[28]

By mid-century Rosario was more successful in its effort to fill the chair of medicine. Vicente Román Cancino, who had graduated in philosophy in 1740, been tutored in medicine by Francisco Fontes and practiced "with license" in Bogotá for thirteen years, was granted the doctorate in medicine by the University of Santo Tomás in 1753. In October of that year he began to teach classes in medicine at Rosario. Cancino taught for six years and in 1758 was awarded the title of Protomédico, which according to municipal law went with

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[27]Hernández de Alba, Crónica, II, 14-15 and p. 21, Note 4.

[28]Ibid., p. 48.

the position; he died the following year.[29] According to Hernández de Alba, the historian of Rosario, Cancino had few students and his knowledge was not extraordinary; furthermore, his teaching "sin duda no estuvo libre de empirismo."[30]

The chair of medicine remained vacant until 1766 when Juan Bautista de Vargas Uribe, one of Cancino's students, applied for the position. In October Rosario issued invitations to public competition for the chair. A special invitation was extended to Dr. Juan Cortés, a graduate of Montpellier who practiced medicine in Bogotá, but Cortés did not appear, refusing to compete for the vacancy, "por tener olvidada la teórica de la profesión."[31] Vargas Uribe was the only candidate and his thesis, considered "trivial" by Hernández de Alba, was the only one presented: "Tres sunt partes principales quibus nostrum corpus guvernatur."[32]

Vargas Uribe was awarded the position of professor of medicine on 7 January 1767. When he solicited the title of Protomédico which normally accompanied the chair, his petition met with the opposition of his

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[29]Ibid., pp. 49-50.

[30]Ibid., p. 113.

[31]Ibid., p. 115.

[32]Ibid.

professor of mathematics, of José Celestino Mutis, and of Juan Cortés, another physician, on the grounds that Vargas Uribe lacked experience; the Protomedicato was left vacant. Vargas Uribe taught for only three years, leaving the chair to practice medicine in Popayán. He returned to Bogotá in 1773 to begin a new course but again his efforts were of little duration.

In 1774 the Moreno Plan of Studies brought an end to the course in medicine which was still taught only in theory--that of medieval scholasticism--without recourse to modern texts, equipment and scientific method. The decade of the 1770's proved to be more fruitful in the move to modernize education. The period witnessed an extensive plan of studies and significant progress within the schools. The efforts of Mutis and Moreno during the 1760's provided the foundation and stimulus for the innovations of the following decade.

CHAPTER IV

THE MORENO PLAN OF 1774

During the decade of 1760 Mutis introduced some of the ideas of the New Philosophy into his classes at Rosario. While Moreno's proposal for a public university in 1768 produced no official results, Mutis' lectures provided a number of ideas for educational reform and demonstrated the necessity of modernizing the scholastic curriculum. Mutis had been absent from Bogotá between 1766 and 1770 directing mineralogical and metallurgical investigations around the mines at Pamplona in the northeast section of the colony. Between 1770 and 1777 he was again in Bogotá "entregándose nuevamente a las mismas tareas de la medicina, cátedra y lecciones particulares de Historia Natural."[1] During those years Mutis' teaching of the ideas fostered by the modern school of thought in Europe brought about the controversy which motivated a more successful plan for educational reform.

A. Mutis and the Copernican Question

Mutis had been criticized for teaching the heliocentric theory and other doctrines contrary to current

[1]A. Federico Gredilla, Biografía de José Celestino Mutis con la relación de su viaje y estudios practicados en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipografico de Fortanet, 1911), p. 146.

Catholic dogma, especially as taught by the Dominicans who claimed "el sistema de Copérnico era intolerable porque no se compadecía con el respeto a la Sagrada Escritura."[2] The Dominicans were not against the basic ideas of the Enlightenment but their continuing opposition to reform and their arguments with Mutis were explained by Lanning as "mayor interés en proteger sus privilegios seculares, ante los ataques de los funcionarios de Carlos III y de sus secuaces liberales de Bogotá, que en la cultura."[3]

In December 1773 Mutis directed his students in a defense of the Copernican system in public conclusiones held at the end of his courses. The ceremony was dedicated to Viceroy Guirior--a partisan of liberalizing doctrines along with Charles III and Aranda--who applauded the presentation. Teaching the Copernican system involved more than the acceptance of the heliocentric theory; it implied the discussion of philosophic and scientific theories predominant during the Enlightenment. Although Copernicus' De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium, condemned in 1616, had been taken off the

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[2] Enrique Pérez-Arbeláez, Flora de la Real Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1954), I, 55.

[3] John Tate Lanning, "El sistema de Copérnico en Bogotá," Revista de Historia de América, 18 (1944), 287.

Index in 1758 by order of Benedict XIV,[4] Lanning points out that as late as 1788 and 1799 in Lima and 1795 in Mexico the ideas of Copernicus were discussed as a "mere hypothesis."[5] Mutis' speech in 1773 was a further attempt on his part to discredit tradition and to establish in its place the new scientific method. Following the

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...yclopedists and the Spanish phil-
...attacked the prevailing superstí-

...obscurecido la verdad con las
...s de la superstición, empleando
...de sus errados sistemas las
...as, y valiéndose de los medios
...os filósofos que excitaron ideas
...erjudiciales experimentaron bien
... efectos del desprecio que
...iculos sistemas.[6]

...uments against modern scientific
...bout by those who confused the
...ogy with the science of astronomy:

> ...namente versado en la historia
> ... conocerá desde luego, que una
> ...ería haberse fundado toda en
> ...se ha visto sujeta a las mismas
> ...ue los sistemas filosóficos.[7]

...ndez de Alba, Aspectos de la
... (Bogotá: Ministerio de Educación,

[5]Lanning, p. 284.

[6]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Bogotá: Editorial Centro, 1940), II, 143-144.

[7]Ibid., pp. 144-145.

He pointed out that astrologers attributed the good or evil which happens to man to the favorable or malign influence of the planets; astronomers collected and organized scientific observations and formed a system based on experience rather than conjecture.

While the confusion between astrology and astronomy is to be found in the works of Alfonso el Sabio, Mutis indicated that even in those early days the scholar king recognized the inconsistencies of the Ptolemaic system which was still being espoused by the scholastics. In his defense of Copernicus Mutis cited the case of the astronomer Ricioli who initially opposed the theory in all his works until he was forced to adopt the system in order to form the astronomical tables in his last book, Astronomía reformada.[8] He listed other European mathematicians and astronomers who adopted the Copernican theory, modern science and the experimental method such as Boscovitch, Ricati, Cerda, Jimeno, Wendinger, Bramieri, Zacagnini and the Spaniard Jorge Juan. As with his lectures and public presentations at Rosario between 1762 and 1766, Mutis ended this speech with a "call to arms":

> Si el amor de la verdad me ha detenido mas de lo que era justo manifestando mi inclinación al Sistema Copernicano, razón será ya concluir celebrando la feliz época, en que vemos renacer la Filosoffía natural en este Reino. . . . Podemos esperar que animada la juventud con tan

[8]Ibid., p. 148.

> lucido ejemplo se entregará desde hoy al estudio de las Ciencias Naturales, en que a imitación de sus compatriotas de Lima y México, competirán entre si los ingenios Americanos, dando motivos para recelar si las Musas europeas intentan alguna vez, para mejorar de fortuna, fijar su trono en el dilatado imperio de la América.[9]

Mutis' lectures were branded as impious and heretical by the Dominicans.

Such impiety and heresy could not be tolerated, at least not by the Dominican professors Juan José Rojas and José María Sandoval from Santo Tomás. Ignoring the fact that Charles III had ordered the study of Newton as well as Copernicus,[10] they prepared to offer their own conclusions in defense of scholasticism and hurled insults at Mutis. The invitation to end-of-course orals at Santo Tomás read:

> Copernicanum sistema, stante veritate sacrae paginae, est intolerabile catholicis et indefensabile per modum thesis, intolerabiliusque inspecta sacrae Ynquisitionis prohibitione quapropter alia via tenetur astronomi caelestia phenomena explanare.[11]

The above invitation delivered to Mutis was intended to censure his teaching of modern doctrines. The other invitations sent to everyone else also maligned Mutis and indicated that the topic to be defended was the Bible,

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[9]Ibid., p. 148.

[10]Hernández de Alba, Aspectos de la cultura en Colombia, p. 124.

[11]Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Rosario, II, 151.

Saint Thomas and Catholic dogma which could "easily" show the planet to be stationary and explain "celestial phenomena."[12] Mutis presented copies of both invitations to Viceroy Guirior and complained of the affront. Guirior promptly prohibited the conclusions and asked the officials of Santo Tomás to either explain their actions or apologize. Their letter of apology to Mutis was merely another insult:

> Vuestra merced sabe mejor que nosotros lo que son algazaras de escuela, y que últimamente, por más que vociferemos y llenemos papeles de voces de epiciclos, excéntricos, eclipsoides, centrífugos, centrípetos, etc., etc., la verdad del caso, Dios lo sabe.[13]

Mutis then delivered the letter from the Dominicans along with a defense of his teaching to Viceroy Guirior. That letter, written by Mutis in June 1774, was one of his more eloquent statements in favor of instructing the youth of New Granada in modern science.[14] The long letter requested that the viceroy seek to discover the reasons behind the actions of that order and suggested that:

> en mi juicio no es otro, sino infundir horror y tedio a la juventud, al vulgo y aún al público; para que absteniéndose de aplicarse al estudio de la util filosoffía y al método más proporcionado

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[12]Ibid., pp. 151-152.

[13]Hernández de Alba, Aspectos de la cultura, p. 125.

[14]Mutis' letter to Viceroy Guirior is included in Lanning, pp. 291-298.

> para los progresos literarios, subsista el envejecido desorden.[15]

The letter defended his presentation of modern doctrines on the grounds that the Tribunal of the Roman Inquisition maintained silence while Newtonian philosophy was being taught in Italian schools. Besides, public and private libraries in Spain abounded in works of the new school while the Supreme Inquisition of Spain permitted their introduction and study. Another point of his defense alluded to

> la buena memoria y fama de nuestros dos héroes españoles, el Ilustrísimo Feijoo, que llamó críticos de mollera cerrada a los ignorantes que profieren ser opinión propia de hereges el sistema Copernicano; y el Excelentísimo don Jorge Juan, cuya obra acabada de imprimirse en el año pasado de 1772 es la delicia de los sabios.[16]

His final and most convincing argument in favor of the legality of teaching the New Philosophy was Charles III's direct order that works by Newton, Wolff, Musschenbroek and authors who defended the Copernican system be studied in the universities. Mutis insisted that these facts be made public in view of the censures and criticisms of the

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[15]Lanning, p. 292.

[16]Ibid., p. 295. The book by Jorge Juan (and his associate Antonio Ulloa) Mutis referred to was Noticias americanas: entretenimientos phisicos-historicos, sobre la América Meridional, y la Septentrianal [sic] Oriental (Madrid: Francisco Manuel de Mena, 1772). It was translated in the same year by John Adams and published in London; French and German translations followed soon thereafter.

Dominicans. He pointed out that the object of those censures was to hinder the establishment of studies useful to the common good. He encouraged Viceroy Guirior to establish educational reforms and Censores Regios "para que desterrado el capricho y libertad de censurar y opinar, se logre el deseado fin del aprovechamiento de la Juventud."[17]

On 27 July the Mutis letter and other documents, along with a note from Viceroy Guirior which supported Mutis' insistence on educational reform, were submitted to the Junta de Temporalidades of the Real Audiencia. On 12 August 1774 the junta charged the attorney general, Francisco Antonio Moreno y Escandón, with the formulation of a "plan de estudios y método de enseñanzas." The documents relative to the teaching of the New Philosophy written by Mutis were sent to the Supreme Tribunal of Cartagena. The Augustinian on the tribunal, Domingo de Salazar, stated that the theory "podría tratarse solamente como hipótesis, pues, como tesis era opuesta a la doctrina católica."[18] The Franciscan, José de Escalante, refrained from offering any decision. On 6 March 1775 the case was brought before the Supreme Inquisition of

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[17]Lanning, p. 296.

[18]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Copérnico, Mutis y los revolucionarios de 1810," El Tiempo (Bogotá), 1 April 1973, p. 4.

Castille. Pending the decision of that body, Moreno worked out the "Plan de estudios."

B. The Educational Reform Plan

While the attorney general of the Real Audiencia composed the study plan as ordered by Viceroy Guirior, he simultaneously wrote a letter on 30 August 1774 which discussed the disorders caused by the Dominican attempts to prevent Mutis from introducing the New Philosophy into the classrooms of New Granada. Moreno referred to the insult to Mutis and indicated even more serious implications of the attitude taken by the religious orders:

> Los asertos presentados [the Dominican invitations to conclusions] manifiestan con claridad, que más sirve el estudio de enconar las voluntades, e indisponer los ánimos que de ilustrar los entendimientos; y que trastornado el buen orden, se cosecha la cizaña, donde debieran esperarse los copiosos frutos, que para beneficio del Estado y provecho de las almas ofrece la útil y verdadera sabiduría.[19]

He implied that the problem could be avoided by adhering to the royal decree of 11 March 1769. This decree provided for a Director of Studies who would examine the topics of conclusions proposed by the schools, thus serving to prevent:

> unos asertos desnudos de competente autoridad y que lejos de servir para adelantamiento contribuyen no poco al atraso de las ciencias;

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[19]Lanning, p. 299.

> y a intimidar a la juventud, mezclando asuntos que deberían omitirse; como reducir a punto de dogma el movimiento de la Tierra apoyándose en la Sagrada Escritura.[20]

He accused the Dominicans of clouding philosophic (and in the case of Mutis' presentation of Copernicus, scientific) truths with empty syllogisms. Moreno referred to his proposal of 1768, again insisting that a public university was needed to advance education.

While awaiting the sovereign's decision on that matter, other steps had to be taken: "es necesario ocurrir entretanto a otros arbitrios, que si no destruyen el origen, a lo menos refrenen los abusos literarios, tan nocivos, . . . al público y su tierna juventud."[21] The steps included implementing the educational reform plan at Rosario and San Bartolomé as ordered by Viceroy Manuel Guirior.

Viceroy Guirior followed the doctrine of enlightened despotism although he relegated most matters to subordinates who made proposals but were not empowered to institute changes. However, educational reform would prove to be more effective under the enlightened despotism of Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora. Nonetheless, Guirior contributed to the atmosphere of

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[20]Ibid., p. 303.

[21]Ibid., p. 301.

reform by encouraging the creation of a public university since he believed that

> la instrucción de la juventud y el fomento de las ciencias y artes es uno de los fundamentos principales del buen gobierno, de que como fuente dimanan la felicidad del país y la propiedad del estado para las artes, industria, comercio, judicatura y demas ramos de la policia.[22]

He further commented on "el daño que ocasiona la falta de universidad pública, y las ventajas de su establecimiento."[23]

One of the irregularities which plagued education in New Granada was the dispensation of high school diplomas and licentiate and doctorate degrees to students who had skipped one or more years in their course of studies. In his report on the state of education in the viceroyalty between 1760 and 1780 José Antonio Ricuarte, a lawyer of the Real Audiencia, mentioned that on 8 October 1770 Moreno had prohibited the granting of licentiate and doctorate degrees to those who had not successfully completed the requirements for the degree.[24]

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[22]Gabriel Porras Troconis, Historia de la cultura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952), p. 268.

[23]Ibid., p. 425.

[24]Archivo de la Biblioteca Nacional, "Colegios," Vol. IV, folio 758. The report by Ricuarte (folios 755-775), "Compendio de lo actuado sobre estudios públicos," was published in Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, XXIV (1937), 343-371.

Ricuarte's report was drawn up in response to the king's request to forward information concerning the establishment of a public university and the Moreno plan in general. The document remained unfinished but includes the years when Moreno contributed to that aspect of the Enlightenment in New Granada which pertains to educational reform. The report provides information relative to the decisions of the Real Audiencia, the viceroys, the king, the Junta de Aplicaciones, and Moreno, as director of studies, throughout those years. It is a first-hand account of the activity following the expulsion of the Jesuits in order to put their confiscated properties to use. It includes information on the efforts of the Dominicans to control San Bartolomé and to thwart the Moreno plans of 1768 and 1774. The report allows us to attend meetings of various government agencies and witness the proceedings as the effort to improve education became more intense. The document provides evidence from an official source that the Enlightenment, encouraged to a large degree by José Celestino Mutis, and the movement toward educational reform, supported by Francisco Antonio Moreno, became integral parts of the history of ideas in Colombia.

The proposal of 1774 as elaborated by Moreno was an interim plan to be used in the schools in Bogotá until

a public university could be established. The Moreno plan of 1774 first directs itself to primary education, "a fin de que los maestros de primeras letras sean competentes y no embaucadores que, a trueque de dinero, perjudiquen la formación de niños."[25] For elementary as well as higher learning, the hours continued as before: one course was offered per year; the course lasted two or three hours each morning and afternoon. Classes were held on Saturday but Thursday afternoon was free.

One of the principal provisions of Moreno's plan of 1774 attempted to deal with the problems dividing Mutis and the Dominicans. The plan stipulated that duplicates of conclusions to be defended should be forwarded to the Director of Studies, who at that time was Moreno himself. This routing, he hoped, would serve to screen out public conclusions which "contribuyen no poco al atraso de las ciencias; y a intimidar a la juventud, mezclando asuntos que deberían omitirse."[26] Most of the reforms were against

> los perniciosos espíritus de partido y de peripato, o escolasticismo, que intenta desterrar como pestilente origen del atraso y desórdenes literarias; porque siempre que

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[25]Porras Troconis, p. 427. The entire Moreno plan of 1774 and a biography of Moreno by J. Manuel Marroquín were published in Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, XXIII (1936), 644-672 and 529-546, respectively.

[26]Lanning, p. 302.

> hubiese aligación a escuela, o a determinado autor, ha de haber parcialidad y empeños en sostener cada uno su partido, preocupándose los entendimientos no en descubrir la verdad, para conocerla y abrazarla, sino aun sostener contra la razón su capricho.[27]

The notion of "contrary doctrines" had previously been a part of the conclusions which students defended at the close of a course. However, it was permitted only as a mental exercise in scholasticism so that the doctrines supported by the text, the professor and school tradition remained the only orthodox ones in the end.

The section on reforms of the chair of philosophy, inspired by Mutis, called for the introduction of the experimental method. The influence of Mutis is noted in Moreno's introductory remarks on the plan for philosophy:

> Si en todo el orbe sabio, ha sido necesaria la introducción de la Filosoffa útil, purgando la lógica y Metafisica, de cuestiones inútiles, y reflejas y sustituyendo, a lo que se enseñaba con nombre de Phisica, los sólidos conocimientos de la naturaleza, apoyados en las observaciones, y experiencias: en ninguna parte del mundo, parece ser más necesaria, que en estos fertilísimos países.[28]

Mathematics and science were still included within the department of philosophy so that comments and instructions on teaching the modern science courses were given in the

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[27]Hernandez de Alba, Cronica del Rosario, II, 157.

[28]Francisco Antonio Moreno, "Método provisional que han de observar los colegios de Santa Fe," Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, XXIII (1936), 648.

section on philosophy.[29] The first year in philosophy included logic followed by arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry using the texts by Christian Wolff.[30] The second year in philosophy emphasized physics but stressing Newtonian method and experiment rather than theory. For the course in physics Moreno recommended the book by Fortunato de Brescia, perhaps because more modern works, while known in New Granada, were not in sufficient supply to be used in classes. But Moreno warned that modern doctrines were to be adhered to, and in his observations on the use of this text, he revealed that Mutis' influence on education had had its effect:

> habiéndose adelantado muchas observaciones y experiencias después que la escribio, que no se han generalizado por toda la Italia, como presentemente lo está el Método Newtoniano, es necesario leerlo con desconfianza en todos aquellos puntos que caracterizan el Método de Newton.[31]

The third year of the curriculum for philosophy was

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[29]Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), I, 326.

[30]Christian Wolff was one of the most important figures of the Enlightenment whose works--sixty-seven of them appeared between 1703 and 1753--were studied and cited in New Granada. References to him or his works appear no less frequently than those to Newton. Wolff was a mathematician and philosopher who began teaching at Halle university in 1706 and soon became the intellectual leader of Germany. Consult Paul Hazard, European Thought in the Eighteenth Century (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1963), pp. 37-41.

[31]Moreno, p. 652.

devoted to metaphysics. This subject was divided into studies dealing with ontology and pneumatology (doctrines on the Holy Spirit), the latter being subdivided into psychology and natural theology. This arrangement appears to have been taken from Christian Wolff's table on the "compartments" of philosophy.[32] In philosophy proper the emphasis was on replacing metaphysical sophistries with studies of more practical application. The eclectic method--that is, selecting from various schools or doctrines--was to be followed, using principles which had been proved by observation and experiment.[33]

Moreno's plan next deals with reforms in the theological disciplines. The introduction to this section states:

> Está ya muy desengañado el mundo de la inutilidad de las cuestiones reflejas, inútiles e interminables, que con el nombre de Teología se han enseñado en las Escuelas sobre los supuestos de la Filosoffa Peripatética.[34]

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[32]The table is given by Wolff's translator, Formery, and is found in Hazard, p. 39. As indicated by Hazard, p. 167, morality was becoming an "experimental science" or "natural psychology"; hence, in the Moreno plan morality as a discipline of study was included in the curriculum for philosophy, in the third year covering metaphysics.

[33]José María Vergara y Vergara, Historia de la literatura en Nueva Granada: Desde la conquista hasta la independencia (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, 1931), I, 423; also see Moreno, p. 652.

[34]Moreno, p. 654.

Moreno insisted that professors of theology should avoid using philosophical language and methods to defend theological doctrines. He pointed out that Melchor Cano and Luis Carvajal demonstrated "la inutilidad de recurrir a Aristóteles, y semejantes filosofós."[35] One historian, José Abel Salazar, considers it strange that the Archbishop of Bogotá, who is reputed to have read the plan, did not censure those points which dealt with ecclesiastical studies since the emphasis was changed from scholastic theology to positive, or natural, theology.[36]

The plan called for teaching Greek and Hebrew in the third year with the fifth year devoted to a course in critical ecclesiastical history. The first year of theology remained unchanged, and the old text by Melchor Cano was kept. However, Moreno warned that the professor should point out to the students "las doctrinas renovadas por la juiciosa crítica de nuestro siglo."[37] Finally, concerning the entire course of study in theology, he spoke out against fanatically conservative theologians:

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[35]Ibid., p. 655.

[36]José Abel Salazar, Los estudios eclesiásticos superiores en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, 1563-1810 (Madrid: Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1946), as cited by Bohórquez, p. 160.

[37]Moreno, p. 655.

"por ser justo descartar muchos principios vertidos por los Canonistas ultramontanos."[38]

Some progress was made in the planned curriculum for legal studies which added a final year of civil law to the then existing five years of canon law. Students of jurisprudence would begin a completely new study of political science concerning internal state government, using the work of the German, Jacob Frederick, Baron of Bielefeld, whose Institutions politiques was published in French at the Hague in 1760.[39] In the area of canon law the works of the French philosopher Fleury were recommended; Fleury had written a Traité du choix et de la méthode des études in 1686 which reflected Cartesian thought and was one of the first to emphasize education for professional and practical utility.

Moreno made a suggestion to alleviate the shortage of professors. Once the studies in theology and jurisprudence were completed, those students who wished to remain for advanced study should be permitted to serve the school as pasantes, or assistant instructors.[40] The emphasis was on a shift toward studies with practical

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[38]Ibid.

[39]Agueda María Rodríguez Cruz, Historia de las universidades hispanoamericanos (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973), I, 573.

[40]Moreno, p. 659.

application. In jurisprudence he advised "nociones del derecho patrio que facilitasen el camino a lo forense y práctico."[41] In his concern for the practical, he encouraged priests located in rural curates to learn useful practices in mining and agriculture in order to teach these trades to their parishoners.[42]

In the section on Latinity, which included the Latin language, rhetoric and poetics, Moreno lamented that it was studied "defectuosamente" in the viceroyalty due to a lack of preparation of professors at the college level. He believed that it could not be taught properly without first establishing a Magisterio de Retórica in a public university, and that a single chair of Latin at each school was insufficient. He suggested that two advanced students from each class be used as assistants, with the professor remaining in the classroom during the alloted time. The plan called for imparting the Latin language, poetry and rhetoric through the fables of Phaedrus and the works of Terence, Cornelius Nepos, Cicero and Ovid. Public conclusions in this area had not been practiced in Bogotá and were encouraged to be conducted regularly.[43] The plan did not deal with studies

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[41]Ibid., p. 661 and Porras Troconis, p. 432.

[42]Vergara y Vergara, I, 420.

[43]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folios 288-289. A copy of the portion on "Latinity" from the original document may be found in Appendix B.

in medicine since the chair in that area was held as an exclusive privilege of Rosario.

The plan also recognized the problem of wasted class time in the dictation of tratados or lectures and suggested that adequate texts be made available. The "Plan de estudios" was examined by Viceroy Guirior and the Junta Superior de Aplicaciones which approved it and put the provisions into effect at Rosario and San Bartolomé on 22 September 1774: "sacandole 2 copias legalisados del citado Plan, se remitan a los 2 Rectores de los colegios de esta ciudad, con orden de que en todo se arreglen a su contenido, sin permitir la menor contravención."[44] The rector of Rosario replied by letter to Viceroy Guirior acknowledging receipt of the order and affirming that the plan would be followed.[45]

The Moreno plan was not an abrupt revolutionary change from the previous system of education but rather a modification to permit the viceroyalty to follow the progressive direction taken by education in Europe. This concern can also be seen in the petitions for establishing a public university, such as Viceroy Guirior's petition to Charles III:

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[44]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folio 312.

[45]Archivo del Rosario, Vol. 11, folios 73-77.

> pudiendo a poca costa hacer el rey felices a estos tan amados vasallos, que, privados de la instrucción de las ciencias útiles, se mantienen ocupados en disputar las materias abstractas y fútiles contiendas del peripato, privados del acertado método y buen gusto que ha introducido la Europe en el estudio de las buenas letras.[46]

In his plan of 1774 more than in his earlier work, Moreno appears ideologically as sharing the Enlightenment's concern for education. In this regard Hernández de Alba has observed:

> Fio al sano eclecticismo el desterrar el espíritu de partido, la búsqueda imparcial de la verdad, el acercar la mente a la experimentación, a la filosoffa natural, recogiendo, el primero de todos, las lecciones de su época. . . .[47]

Moreno was the author of the plan, while Mutis was responsible for many of the ideas and provided the motivating force for its formulation. Although the idea of a public university was never approved by Spain, the reforms contained within the plan were instituted in the schools in Santa Fe and soon spread throughout New Granada. It served to stimulate reform and had an enduring effect on future innovators such as Jose Felix de Restrepo, one of Mutis' principal collaborators, who in 1819 formulated a plan for the schools in the province

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[46]Porras Troconis, p. 424.

[47]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Proyecto del Fiscal Moreno y Escandón para la erección de Universidad Pública en el virreinato de la Nueva Granada," Thesaurus, XVI (1961), 475-476.

of Antioquia which included the note: "Este artículo es sacado casi a la letra del que formaron los celosos patriotas don José Celestino Mutis y don Francisco Antonio Moreno."[48]

The Junta Superior de Aplicaciones declared invalid the courses taken at Santo Tomás and other institutions of the regular clergy. In addition, the rector and professors of Santo Tomás were deprived of their authority to examine and grant degrees. These actions were part of the Moreno plan and were confirmed on 21 January 1780. Santo Tomás retained its power to grant university degrees to the students of Rosario and San Bartolome, the only schools in Bogotá in which university education was imparted and in which Moreno's reform plan was put into effect.[49]

The University of Santo Tomás lost most of its autonomy and its Seminary College was eliminated as a result of the plan. To replace it Viceroy Guirior ordered the establishment of a Colegio de ordenandos with special statutes instituted by the government which would appoint its professors as well. This, in the opinion of José Manuel Groot, amounted to the secularization of the

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[48]Gómez Hoyos, I, 327.

[49]Rodríguez Cruz, I, 384.

Seminary.[50] In a report to his successor, Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flórez, Guirior indicated that the Colegio de ordenandos

> es uno de los objetos que han estimulado el mejoramiento de las enseñanzas y prescribir el método y libros por donde deben los maestros instruir a la juventud, . . . para que salgan robustos defensores de la verdad, nutriéndose los jóvenes con ellos, libres de inútil sofistería y de la preocupación que es inseparable del espíritu de escuela.[51]

Groot observes that Guirior's language sounded like a Jansenist, a philosophe and a protestant.[52] In his efforts to put the ideas of the Enlightenment into practice, Guirior followed the liberalizing proclivities of his superiors and predecessors, such as Charles III, the Conde de Aranda and Viceroy de la Zerda, and of his subordinates, such as Moreno. The site of the new college was to be San Bartolomé and the old Seminary was to become a public library. Moreno proposed that the books from the Jesuit schools at Tunja, Pamplona and Honda be collected and sent to Bogotá.[53] The school and library were approved on 12 September 1774 along with the rest of the Moreno plan. The library was finally opened on 9 January 1777 with 13,000 volumes.

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[50]José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de M. Rivas, 1890), II, 163.

[51]Ibid., p. 164.

[52]Ibid.

[53]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. IV, folios 1-38.

C. The Plan in Practice

Viceroy Guirior reported only a year after the plan had been incorporated into San Bartolomé and Rosario that progress in studies could be noted:

> se ha dado principio al método en los dos colegios que tiene esta ciudad . . . que en sólo un año se han reconocido por experiencia los progresos que hacen los jóvenes en la aritmética, álgebra y trigonometría, y en la jurisprudencia y teología.[54]

An instance of the effectiveness of the plan and the influence of the Director of Studies is shown by Moreno's treatment of a request from San Bartolomé. The rector of that school sought permission from Moreno, the Director of Studies, to appoint professors without the usual competition. Moreno firmly replied in the negative pointing out that the rules must be followed to allow the appointment of the best qualified candidate.[55] This move signals the successful overthrow of favoritism in selecting professors. San Bartolomé was made equal in privileges to Rosario by a royal decree of 14 January 1779.[56] In 1776 the University of Santo Tomás turned out 154 degrees, but probably, according to Lanning, they were degrees which had accumulated over the years.[57]

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[54]Porras Troconis, p. 425.

[55]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folios 319-322.

[56]Porras Troconis, p. 237.

[57]Lanning, p. 286.

At Rosario the reforms began to produce positive results. The topics of students' theses or conclusions gradually reflected the move toward modern ideas, especially in the natural and physical sciences. Eloy Valenzuela, one of Mutis' first students and his assistant at the Botanical Expedition, took the chair of philosophy at Rosario on 23 October 1777. Some of his students included the initial members of the Expedition. The theses he and his students defended present a sharp contrast to those offered earlier in the colonial period. Their conclusions display the progress made possible by the reforming efforts of Mutis and Moreno.

Pedro Fermín de Vargas, the first member of Mutis' Botanical Expedition to begin political revolutionary activity in New Granada, defended under Valenzuela's direction a conclusion on the "Preliminares de la Física." Another of Valenzuela's students, Fernando de Vergara y Caycedo, later chosen by Mutis to replace him in the chair of mathematics, presented a thesis on "La naturaleza y atributos del cuerpo en particular," while Juan de la Rocha defended the "Elementos de la Mecánica." The names as well as the ideas stemming from the New Philosophy began to appear in the thesis topics as in the "Sistema Newtoniano sobre los colores y la heterogeneidad de la luz" delivered by Tadeo Cabrera. In his defense of

the conclusion of another course in philosophy, Fermín de Vargas discussed "La impugnación de la inercia y el peso del aire." Valenzuela and two students, Fermín de Vargas and Juan de la Rocha, together made a public presentation of a year's study in the philosophy curriculum. Valenzuela's tratado or text for that class consisted of thirty-six chapters. His text of lectures was based on Musschenbroek's physics course and on Nollet's experimental physics lessons.[58] Valenzuela was one of the first professors to allow his students to present conclusions in Spanish, a fundamental step in the move toward educational reform. The topics of these theses clearly show the predominance of the exact sciences over the previous peripatetic scholasticism.

On 8 July 1778 Charles III requested a review of the progress achieved in the establishment of a public university and information on the state of education in the viceroyalty under the Moreno reform plan. On 12 December 1778 Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flórez called for a committee to make a report on the two points indicated by the monarch. At the same time the viceroy ordered that books from the Jesuit schools at Tunja, Pamplona

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[58]Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Rosario, II, 174. Peter van Musschenbroek's Elementa Physicae was published in 1729. Jean Antoine Nollet's Leçons de physique expérimentale came out in 1743 at Paris.

and Honda be deposited in the Public Library as had been suggested earlier by Moreno.[59]

In his report of 18 June 1779, in response to the king's order of the previous year, Moreno commented on the first of the two points considered by a special committee on education. Once again he emphasized the importance and need for a public university. He pointed out that sufficient funds had been provided for the establishment of a hospital and requested an equal amount, if not more, for the university. It would not require a great deal of additional expense since the property of the Jesuits could be used to this end.[60] He suggested that Popayán and Cartagena help finance the university since their students would be admitted for higher learning.[61] Moreno indicated that initially the classes could be the same as those held at the other schools in Bogotá. As in his proposal for a public university in 1768, Moreno was not satisfied with a public university; he wanted exclusively secular education, at the detriment of the schools already established. He suggested that existing schools could supply funds, "cuyas cantidades pueden servir igualmente al fondo

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[59]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. IV, folios 764-765.

[60]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folio 738.

[61]Ibid., folio 739.

de Universidad, como publicas, supuesto que es no solo util, sino necessario que abolidas las enseñanzas privadas, acudan todos, assi Maestros como Discipulos a enseñar y aprender a la Universidad."[62]

On 13 October 1779 the Junta de Estudios discussed the second of the two points mentioned by Charles III--the progress made in the Moreno plan of 1774--and suggested a number of significant changes. The meeting was attended by Archbishop Caballero y Góngora, the visitador Gutiérrez de Piñeres (Viceroy Flórez was in Cartagena at the time), the rectors of Santo Tomás, Rosario and San Bartolomé, and Moreno. Changes were made in the plan for the chairs of philosophy, principally in the order in which courses were to be studied. Certain modifications were necessary due to a lack of qualified professors, particularly in the science courses. One of the problems was that professors of theology and philosophy were unfamiliar with the new studies and methods and were accustomed to scholastic doctrines.

The modifications of the plan regarding theological courses made the Dominicans at Santo Tomás feel confident of the possibility of returning to the reading of the moralistic and dogmatic sections of the Summa Theologica. But the junta warned:

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[62]Ibid.

> no por esto los maestros han de infundir a los discípulos espíritu de facción y partido de Escuelas, sino los dejarán en libertad para discurrir y opinar pues lo contrario es muy perjudicial al adelantamiento de los estudios.[63]

Part of the plan of 1774 remained intact; the changes provided a more functional plan taking into account the limitations of facilities, professors and economic resources at the disposal of the schools.

Another change presented in 1779 provided that public law, which had not been previously taught in New Granada, be added to the fifth year of studies in the curriculum of jurisprudence. The suggested text was the work of Johann Gottlieb Heinecke, Elementa juris naturae et gentium. Paul Hazard, in his study of the Enlightenment in Europe, considers that this work, written in 1730, was part of the movement to divorce law from religion, "except in so far as religion was compatible with reason."[64] No change was made in the study of Latinity and rectors were encouraged to emphasize the importance of this area of study to their students: "pues de él dependen los progresos de los estudiantes, en las facultades mayores."[65]

The council called for a return to the old text for philosophy, that of Antonio Goudin, since it was more

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[63]Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Rosario, II, 189.

[64]Hazard, p. 145.

[65]Porras Troconis, p. 437.

readily available to professors and students and it was the text with which the older generation of professors was most familiar. However, the professors were admonished to apply their discretion and knowledge to "la crítica y expurgación de lo útil e inútil, aplicando su dirección y enseñanza a aquello y despreciando enteramente esto."[66] The last year of philosophy was to be devoted to the study of physics which was considered "indispensable para los que hayan de professar el estudio y arbitrio para los dedicados a otras ciencias expresadas."[67]

While the revisions represented a return to the previous scholastic methods, the rectors and professors were encouraged to incorporate into their teaching as far as possible the more modern tenets in theology, philosophy and natural science. The important point to consider is that the changes incorporated in 1779 did not result from antagonism to the plan or to new ideas. The reversal was a result of "external factors"--lack of funds and professors ill-prepared to teach "out of their specialties"--which indicates that by the end of the 1770's, reform was for the most part acceptable and accepted. Reform was generally condoned and some

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[66]Ibid., p. 438.

[67]Ibid.

degree of freedom of expression was allowed. At least those who were prepared to teach the New Philosophy--Mutis, Moreno, Valenzuela and others--could now do so without intimidation from keepers of the faith.

CHAPTER V

THE CABALLERO Y GÓNGORA PLAN OF 1787

The establishment of a public university in which the reforms proposed in Moreno's plan of 1774 could be implemented was never realized. Progress in educational reform was achieved nevertheless by the introduction of changes into the schools of New Granada. And insistence on the necessity for a secular university reappeared during the next period of the Enlightenment as characterized by the activity of Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora. The influence José Celestino Mutis exerted on the viceroy provided the stimulus for further educational reforms. Caballero y Góngora continually sought the opinions and advice of Mutis on important questions in the administration of the viceroyalty, evidence of which can be found in the large number of letters Mutis addressed to the viceroy on this subject.[1]

While many viceroys during the Enlightenment era were interested in cultural progress, most of them delegated questions of reform to subordinates rather than issuing direct viceregal orders. During the decade after

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[1]For letters written by Mutis to Caballero y Gongora, consult Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar del sabio naturalista don José Celestino Mutis (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1968), Volume I.

1780 Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora displayed the characteristics of enlightened despotism then prevailing in the Spain of Charles III. A study by Victor Frankl affirms that the social philosophy of Caballero y Góngora corresponded to typical eighteenth-century elements taken from the French Enlightenment.[2] Another writer indicates that the philosophy of the viceroy represented a position of equilibrium between Scholasticism and Enlightenment, tradition and revolution, and reform and progress. From an intermediate position Caballero y Góngora can be considered a progressive leader, imposing reforms from above, without tolerating any disobedience from below.[3]

The "social utility" aspect of the Enlightenment encouraged by Mutis, Moreno and Caballero y Góngora was introduced throughout New Granada during this period. The books in the Archbishop-Viceroy's library included Pascal's Pensées and works of a similar traditional nature. But there were also books such as Locke's Essays and Montesquieu's L'esprit des lois. Many of his books were on natural science (which points to the influence of

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[2]Victor Frankl, "La filosofía social tomista del arzobispo-virrey Caballero y Góngora y de los Comuneros colombianos," Bolívar, 14 (1952), 614.

[3]Enrique Sánchez Pedrate, "La idea del poder en dos virreyes neogranadinos," Estudios Americanos, 11 (1956), 408.

his friend Mutis) and most of the works were French editions. His voluminous reading greatly influenced his formation as a social reformer whose administration could be called "enlightened despotism." Thus, his ideas on the division of rural property toward a more balanced distribution of land among the people were influenced by Feijoo's essay on "Honra y provecho de la Agricultura" in the Teatro crítico universal. The foremost contribution made by Caballero y Góngora during this stage of the evolution of ideas in New Granada was the formation of the Botanical Expedition in 1783 and the designation of José Celestino Mutis as its director.

A. The Viceroy's Plan for a Public University

In addition to socioeconomic reforms and the organization of the Botanical Expedition, the enlightened despotism of Caballero y Góngora renewed the proposal for a public university. This plan, once again, failed to achieve its establishment although the proposed reforms were introduced into Rosario, San Bartolomé and Santo Tomás in Bogotá and into other schools throughout the viceroyalty. The proposal, formulated in July 1787, reflects the influence of Mutis in its heavy concentration on courses in the natural and physical sciences. Caballero y Góngora's plan likewise reveals the

predominance of the theme of economic and social utility. During the period of enlightened despotism, this meant the development of the useful, particularly in the peninsula and to a lesser extent in the colony. Later on, when reform took place from below or within, this theme shifted to benefitting the New Granadines.

Caballero y Góngora was interested in the separation of civil and ecclesiastical education: "deben ser muy distintas las ciencias y conocimientos que adquieran los que aspiran a la abogacía y cargos de la República, de los que deban poseer los que se dedican al servicio de la Iglesia."[4] He was concerned that students sometimes studied in the departments of theology and of law, receiving a degree in one or the other when in reality neither had been studied thoroughly.

His plan was divided into two parts: the first dealt with administration--the duties and responsibilities of the rector, the director of studies, professors, secretaries and the librarian--and the second covered curriculum. A modern aspect was the naming of Académicos Ausentes, or honorary members of the board. These individuals contributed to the knowledge of their profession or field, "procurando adelantarla con sus luces y

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[4]José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de M. Rivas, 1890), II, 243.

observaciones, de que formarán cada año disertaciones o memorias sobre asuntos importantes."[5] Resident professors were required to meet once a month with their colleagues and students to stimulate study and promote the advancement of knowledge. The professors and students of these "asociaciones literarias" discussed the previous month's classwork and read and discussed contributions sent in by the "académicos ausentes." Professors and department heads were to hold administrative meetings once a week and to have in addition

> un día fijo de cada mes . . . en que conferenciarán sobre la composición de un curso completo de la ciencia de su profesión cercenando todo lo superfluo o inútil, simplificando los principios, observando los progresos de los conocimientos humanos, prefiriendo el medio analítico al silogístico añadiendo los conocimientos importantes que se hayan adquirido nuevamente.[6]

This fundamental reform introduced by Caballero y Góngora's plan lent vitality to the spread of the New Philosophy, preventing those ideas from becoming lost among closed minds and dry books.

General remarks in the second section on "enseñanza general" emphasize the need to make education interesting, to arouse the curiosity of the student and to abstain

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[5]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "El Plan de Estudios del Arzobispo-Virrey," Thesaurus, II (1946), 297.

[6]Ibid., pp. 299-300.

from excessive punishment. Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flórez had issued a decree on 28 January 1779 prohibiting cruel and unusual physical punishment.[7] Both viceroys were imbued with the approach adopted by Fleury, Fénelon and other European educators. Other innovations include changing the subject every hour, as opposed to the old system of concentrating on one subject for several hours in the morning and afternoon throughout the entire term. Caballero y Góngora encouraged learning by practice and experiment rather than by the memorization of theories, especially in the sciences. As to useful or relevant studies, the plan called for teaching those things concerned with the customs, law and policies of New Granada, paralleling the concern for civic education expressed by Turgot and La Chalotais in France.

To benefit from the maximum amount of class time, he suggested that the custom of writing assignments at school be eliminated. Although there is no definite evidence of the availability of those works recommended in the various educational reform plans, there are some indications that sufficient texts by modern authors were at the disposal of New Granadine students. One indication that several copies of contemporary works from abroad were available is the number of professors in

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[7]Luis Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, La evolución educativa en Colombia (Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956), p. 198.

Bogotá, Popayán, Cartagena and other cities who wrote treatises on modern doctrines citing the publications of European philosophers and scientists. Several recent articles describe the personal libraries of individuals who represent the Enlightenment and reveal that those works called for by educational reform plans were in sufficient supply. One such article provides a list of books Mutis purchased from Juan Jiménez in 1786, including works by Buffon, Condillac, Fénelon, Bomaré, Savarien, Boerhave, Madame de Chatelet, and over a hundred other authors.[8] This collection was deposited in the library of the Botanical Expedition directed by Mutis and thus after 1786 numerous books in addition to those already in Mutis' library became readily available to professors and students as well as members of the Botanical Expedition. Antonio Nariño's library of several thousand volumes included Sigaud de Lafond, Descartes, the Encyclopédie, Raynal, Montesquieu,

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[8]Jaime Mejía Duque, "Libros comprados por Mutis," Bolívar, No. 48 (1957), pp. 521-524. Other books purchased include eight volumes of Historia de los Filósofos modernos, Arnauld's La logique, eight volumes of Mil y una noche, quentos Arabes (sic), Campomanes' Industria popular, Feijoo's works in fifteen volumes and four volumes of Dichos de los libros Gancenistas (sic). Other issues of Bolívar give additional lists of personal libraries: "La biblioteca de Camilo Torres," No. 46 (1957), pp. 109-114; and "La biblioteca de Juan José d'Elhuyar," No. 47 (1957), pp. 321-326.

Voltaire and treatises on the United States.[9] While many of these titles appeared on the prohibited list, others were required texts at the colleges. Further evidence of the availability of modern studies is supplied by the periodicals published in New Granada after 1790. The authors of articles appearing in the Papel Periódico, the Semanario and the Correo Curioso cite the works of numerous contemporary European and North American writers, often quoting the original French or English edition.

One of the fundamental changes in education included in Caballero y Góngora's plan, initiated to some extent by Valenzuela and his students and subsequently instituted officially, was the shift from Latin to Spanish for class lectures.[10] According to his plan those students interested in the arts and sciences would not be required to study Latin after the age of fifteen, or when they had finished the equivalent of high school.

Moreno's plan of 1774 had provided for twelve academic chairs, adding several new disciplines in the areas of mathematics and philosophy or arts. Caballero y Góngora's proposal for specialized or college study was

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[9]Rafael Gómez Goyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), I, 209-210.

[10]Gabriel Porras Troconis, Historia de la cultura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952), p. 445.

more extensive, calling for sixteen chairs. Two additional departments would be devoted to elementary and secondary education. The curriculum included a separate department for civil law rather than the one year of that discipline within the chair of canon law as in the Moreno plan. Studies within the area of philosophy were extended to two chairs. Additional courses in the natural and physical sciences enlarged the departments of botany and chemistry, as suggested by Mutis. Mutis had encouraged instituting two chairs of medicine, one for general medicine and the other for surgery. Caballero y Góngora's plan provided for a new chair in the humanities for disciplines not already included within the college of arts, such as Greek mythology, poetics, rhetoric and literature to perfect the student's knowledge of the Latin, Greek and Spanish languages. The first course was intended to teach the student to understand difficult passages in literature. For poetics the course would principally be concerned with Latin poets, although the plan did allow for the study of "good Spanish poets such as Garcilaso and Góngora."

The curriculum for philosophy comprised three years of study and was similar to the plan for philosophy drawn up by Moreno in 1774. The first year covered logic, ethics, and metaphysics. For the latter the text

recommended was the Elementa Metaphysica (1743) by Genovesi, a Cartesian educational reformer and disciple of John Locke. During the second year attention was given to mathematics, geometry, trigonometry, algebra and physics using works by Musschenbroek, Nollet and Sigaud de Lafond.[11] The third year consisted of experimental physics with texts based on the doctrines of Newtonian physics, astronomy, geography and chronology. On the study of geography Caballero y Góngora wrote:

> Fíjense mapas en los claustros del seminario. Hagaseles pasear o por mejor decirlo así viajar por los cuatro partes del mundo y los reinos que en ellas son comprendidos. Nótensele sus capitales, sus reyes, los varones y mujeres célebres que han producido . . . las revoluciones del imperio, su prosperidad o decadencia comparada con la del vecino, las batallas ganadas o perdidas, sus producciones naturales, su comercio, todo lo más notable y curioso en sus usos, costumbres y leyes.[12]

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[11]Jean-René Sigaud de Lafond (1730-1810) was a student of Nollet. He wrote Eléments de physique théorique et expérimentale (1783) and Leçons de physique expérimentale (1767). Musschenbroek was a student of s'Gravesande who became professor of mathematics and astronomy at the University of Leyden. His inaugural address in 1717 developed in detail the Newtonian theory. His work, Physices Elementa . . . sive Introductio ad philosophiam Newtoniam, was published at Leyden in 1720. One of his more important conclusions affecting scientific thought through his student Musschenbroek and thus to New Granada was that "scientific prediction does not involve the syllogistically necessary conclusions of formal logic; it is, nevertheless, a valid and indispensable conclusion by analogy" (Ernst Cassirer, The Philosophy of the Enlightenment, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, p. 61).

[12]Porras Troconis, p. 447.

Geography began to receive special attention in New Granada at this time, stimulated by the activities of the Botanical Expedition.

The curriculum of the chair of mathematics encompassed studies in industry, commerce, mechanics and statistics, and encouraged an "abundancia de instrumentos para las prácticas."[13] A text by Benito Bails was to be used for mathematics and although the professor should emphasize that discipline,

> deberá el Cathedrático poner mayor atención en aquellos que tengan más relación con la industria, y comercio, por exemplo la Mecánica, la Estática e Hidrostática, Arquitectura pública, civil e Hidráulica.[14]

The addition of these and similar disciplines reveals the attention given to studies of economic and social utility and represented a marked improvement over previous educational preparation. New approaches in these subjects offered the creoles an alternative to a purely ecclesiastical career and stimulated the cultural growth of New Granada.

The emphasis on utility is likewise observed in the goals of the science departments, which comprised two chairs--one for chemistry and one for botany. The courses in chemistry were based on both theory and

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[13]Ibid., p. 449.

[14]Hernández de Alba, "El Plan de Estudios," p. 312.

practical applications in the industrial arts. The chair of botany stressed courses in that discipline according to the principles of Linnaeus as well as studies in natural history using the texts of Buffon and Vallmont de Bomaré, author of the Dictionnaire raisonné universel d'histoire naturelle. The physicians who taught in the two areas of medicine also chaired the departments of botany and chemistry. Their duties included the direction of the anatomical theater for dissection and practice. The plan called for improved facilities for the study of science such as a botanical garden, a museum of natural history, a chemistry laboratory, and the instruments used in mathematics and industrial arts.[15]

To graduate in canon law the candidate had to have one year of philosophy and take the course for civil law. Civil law consisted of three years of study: six months in the history of civil law, one year in general history, nine months studying the laws of the Spanish kingdom and nine months in public law. Students of jurisprudence were required to complete four and a half years, including eighteen months in canon law and three years in civil law. Further, the licentiate or doctorate required eighteen additional months of attending weekly seminars.

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[15]Porras Troconis, p. 447.

In his Relación de mando to Gil y Lemus, who assumed the viceregal office in 1789, Caballero y Góngora indicated that the principal object of the plan was directed toward substituting

> las utiles ciencias exactas en lugar de las meramente especulativas, en que hasta ahora lastimosamente se ha perdido el tiempo; porque un reino lleno de preciosísimas producciones que utilizar, . . . ciertamente necesita más de sujetos que sepan conocer y observar la naturaleza y manejar el cálculo, el compás y la regla, que de quienes entiendan y discutan el ente de razón, la primera materia y la forma sustancial . . . convendría que no se excusasen las [cátedras] de botánica, química y metalurgia.[16]

On 14 July 1787 the Archbishop-Viceroy signed a document he had prepared to accompany the "Plan de universidad y estudios generales," both of which were sent to José de Gálvez, the Minister of the Indies. The memorial, which complemented and encouraged the implementation of the plan, summarized the attempts at educational reform beginning with Moreno's proposal for a university submitted in 1768, referring to the study plan of 1774 with its reversal of 1779, and concluding with comments supporting the need for secularized education. Reflecting the current of ideas which favored practical education, he emphasized the importance

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[16]Enrique Pérez-Arbeláez, Libro conmemorativo del segundo centenario de don José Celestino Bruno Mutis y Bosio, 1732-1932 (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1932), p. 130.

of industrial arts and mathematics which were needed so that the viceroyalty could make progress in industry, agriculture and commerce. He made it a point to refer to the beneficial discoveries and works of Mutis in mining and botany.[17]

Caballero y Góngora mentioned in the memorial that the necessary funds were available, that buildings vacated by the Franciscans could be used, and that a library had already been opened for the university and the public.[18] He suggested that Panama, Cartagena, Popayán and Antioquia help finance the university since their students would be permitted to attend the proposed institution at Bogotá. The preference accorded more modern disciplines is reflected in the salaries designated for each chair, which ranged from 400 pesos for grammar and humanities, 500 for philosophy, 700 for law, 800 for mathematics, 1000 for botany and medicine to 1,500 for chemistry.[19] In addition to his plan and accompanying letter, Caballero y Góngora wrote to the Minister of the Indies, José de Gálvez, indicating that the cultural contributions made by José Celestino Mutis to New Granada

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[17]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Representación del Arzobispo-Virrey para promover la erección de una Universidad Mayor en la ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá," Thesaurus, XVI (1961), 174-178.

[18]Ibid., p. 179.

[19]Ibid., p. 183.

would be greatly multiplied, to the benefit of the peninsula and the colony, by providing a secular, public university which would prepare scientists and other professionals of similar caliber. The failure of the plan regarding the establishment of a university was compensated in part by the fact that these reforms were introduced into Rosario and San Bartolomé in Bogotá and in other intellectual centers, especially Cartagena and Popayán.

Stimulated by Moreno's plan of studies in 1774, the Spanish monarch had requested information on the facilities and resources available for the establishment of a public university. That request was repeated more than a decade later, on 18 July 1789, and the Junta de Temporalidades at Bogotá was reprimanded for failure to comply with the earlier order.[20]

Two years after Caballero y Góngora's plan, the interest in a public university was still strong. In the last chapter of his brief but detailed Descripción del reyno de Santa Fe (1789), Francisco Silvestre, secretary of the Real Audiencia and later Governor of Antioquia, lists several "Remedios oportunos que necesita para sanar de sus males políticos." Among these he suggests a public

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[20]Agueda María Rodríquez Cruz, Historia de las universidades hispanoamericanas (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973), I, 387.

university which would serve to introduce "la emulacion y aplicacion al trabajo de Agricultura, Artes y Ciencias."[21]

Although Mutis had moved to Mariquita, the initial site of the Botanical Expedition, in 1783, he continued his concern for educational reform, contributing directly to Caballero y Góngora's plan with reports sent to Bogotá as requested by the viceroy. He remained active in the affairs of Rosario. The chair of mathematics there had been closed by a royal decree of 18 July 1778; but on 5 August 1784 the rector, Agustín Manuel de Alarcón, ordered the opening of competition for the position.[22] Mutis wrote to the viceroy on 18 October 1785 recommending one of his students, Fernando de Vergara, for the vacancy:

> Constando a vuestra Excelencia el amor con que me he dedicado a promover en este Reino los conocimientos de las ciencias útiles a beneficio de la Patria, especialmente los de las matemáticas en todos sus ramos, dando lecciones públicas en el . . . Rosario . . . desde el año de 62, o substituyendo mi lugar en mis forzosas ausencias los mismos catedráticos de filosofía escogidos a mi contemplación entre mis aventajados discípulos: Debo hacer presente a vuestra Excelencia la buena proporción de

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[21]Francisco Silvestre, Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá (Bogotá: Editorial Carbel, 1968), p. 116.

[22]Archivo del Rosario (Bogotá), hereafter cited as AR, Volume 9, folios 293-294.

> perpetuar esta enseñanza, . . . hallándose suficientemente instruído en estas ciencias el doctor don Fernando Vergara.[23]

He encouraged Caballero y Góngora to continue his role in promoting "las ciencias de que forma ya sus delicias la florida juventud americana."[24] The letter refers to the fact that the Archbishop-Viceroy had sent his nephew and other relatives to study in France. This information serves as another incidence of the flow of ideas from Europe to New Granada and indicates the extent of official support for practical learning. A month later Mutis wrote another letter of recommendation for Vergara in which he gives some indication of the progress made in education during the last twenty-five years. Referring to the New Granadines he write: "Vuestro talento es igual al de los hombres de la cultísima Europa: cuando hagáis vuestra obra perfecta, escribid en ella con vuestro nombre, vuestro título de americanos."[25]

Fernando de Vergara y Caycedo, born in Bogotá in

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[23]Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar de Mutis, II, 254. The original documents concerning the reinstating of the chair of mathematics and the appointment of Vergara are found in the Archivo de la Biblioteca Nacional, hereafter cited as ABN, "Colegios," Volume I, folios 1021-1042. See Appendix C for a copy of Mutis' recommendation of Vergara.

[24]Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar de Mutis, II, 254.

[25]Enrique Pérez-Arbeláez, Flora de la Real Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1954), I, 6.

1764, graduated from Rosario in law and was made a pasante, or assistant, in philosophy. A short time later he received the doctorate in canon and civil law. He proved to be well-versed in mathematics and the physical sciences as well. In addition to recommending Vergara for the chair of mathematics, Mutis called on him to be professor of experimental physics in the seminar on Mineralogy which he planned to establish as part of the activities of the Botanical Expedition.[26] The Director of Studies, Estanislao Andino, approved the recommendation.[27] The plan to renew studies in mathematics also received the approval of Manuel Ruiz, Rector and Regent of Santo Tomás, who defended the importance of mathematics for understanding philosophy, citing as support the cases of Wolff, Melchor Cano, Newton and Feijoo.[28] He mentioned that Mutis was the best candidate for the chair, but was preoccupied with the Botanical Expedition.[29] These favorable responses came from the rector of the institution that a decade earlier had been in opposition

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[26]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Bogotá: Editorial Centro, 1940), II, 223.

[27]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. I, folios 1037-1039.

[28]Ibid., folios 1027-1033.

[29]Ibid., folio 1033. A portion of Ruiz's statement is included as Appendix D.

to Mutis' lectures. The viceregal order for reopening the chair of mathematics, naming Mutis catedrático perpetuo and Vergara substitute professor, was issued on 6 October 1786.[30] The new professor, following in the footsteps of his mentors, Valenzuela and Mutis, wrote texts or lectures on the Elementos de análisis matemático, the Elementos de astronomía and a Discurso sobre la astronomía.

Another letter written by Mutis on 13 July 1789 and sent to the viceroy recommended that Vergara receive an increase in salary and described his accomplishments in education. Vergara's professor of philosophy had been Eloy Valenzuela--one of the students prepared by Mutis twenty-five years earlier--who directed his studies in mathematics and experimental physics.[31] Vergara held the chair of philosophy for only a year, then resigned to compete for the chair of mathematics. When a viceregal decree reopened the chair on 6 October 1786, Vergara's lectures were attended by current students and those who had already completed their studies. Mutis reveals that in addition to teaching mathematics, Vergara

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[30]AR, Vol. 10, folio 82.

[31]The Fiscal stated in his recommendation: "Debe tenerse ademas mui presente el merito y havilidad de D. Fernando Vergara para este asumpto como Dicipulo de D. Eloy Valenzuela cuyos luzes son bien notorias" (ABN, "Colegios," Vol. I, folio 1041).

performed other services. He practiced law and served on the secular City Council during 1788 and 1789 as Asesor General, or counsellor.[32] In 1810 Vergara became a member of the general assembly of the independent State of Cundinamarca and later acted as secretary of state and adviser to President Nariño.

When the chair of mathematics was reinstated, the same viceregal order called for Mutis to formulate a plan of studies for the discipline.[33] On 11 January 1787 Mutis completed a course outline[34] to be used at Rosario as requested by the Archbishop-Viceroy. Mutis' plan called for two separate courses, one of four years for "discípulos de asistencia necesaria" and one of three years for those of "asistencia voluntaria." However, he warned that the latter, taking mathematics as an elective or complement to other studies, would not be permitted to regard the study of mathematics as "puro pasatiempo." He indicated that the first time modern concepts in mathematics were taught in the viceroyalty (when he opened the chair at Rosario in 1762) Wolff's text was used because it was the most complete on the

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[32]Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Rosario, II, 226.

[33]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. I, folio 1042. See Appendix E for a copy of the document appointing Vergara to the chair of mathematics and requesting Mutis to write the plan for the course.

[34]AR, Vol. 10, folios 83-90.

subject. His works were now considered outdated and Mutis recommended those of Benito Bails, Director of Mathematics at the Royal Academy of San Fernando. The plan called for the serious students to study the ten-volume edition, Elementos de matemáticas (1772-1783), while the other students could use the abbreviated three-volume edition, Principios de matemática (1776). Mutis called for two daily lessons, as he had customarily given at Rosario since 1762. He insisted that the yearly examinations should be "rigorous" so that students might give "pruebas de su aplicación en una ciencia, no de palabra ni pura sofisteria,"[35] and to weed out students in the course who were not qualified. The overall object of the plan was to prepare capable students in mathematics who would be useful to the advancement of the viceroyalty. To certify this objective the professor would report the best students to the rector of the school, to the catedrático perpetuo (who at the time was Mutis) and to the viceroy so that they may be considered "para los objetos importantes que se premeditan."[36] This plan was approved by Rosario and put into effect on 21 January 1787.[37]

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[35]A. Federico Gredilla, Biografía de José Celestino Mutis con la relación de su viaje y estudios practicados en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet, 1911), p. 39.

[36]Ibid., p. 40.

[37]AR, Vol. 10, folios 91-93.

B. The State of Education in the Viceroyalty to 1790

In 1783 twenty schools existed in New Granada, including two universities and eighteen secondary schools. Seven were located in Bogotá, two in Popayán and one each in a number of cities and towns.[38] This does not include the institutions of higher learning in the presidency of Quito and the captaincy-general of Caracas. The humanistic bent of Charles III's enlightened despotism had prompted a royal decree on 24 January 1770 that the poor be allowed to study. Evidently the order had not been widely circulated in the viceroyalty and on 24 August 1788 a supplemental decree stated: "no ha de poder ninguna unibersidad negarse a dar uno de estos grados por cada diez de los que confiera con propina y Derechos."[39]

In 1781 Dr. Agustín Manuel de Alarcón y Castro was named rector of Rosario, a position which he maintained until 1789. Although Moreno's reform plan had received a reversal in the changes presented in 1779, Alarcón continued the trend toward modernization during his rectorate. Two decades earlier he had attended the

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[38]José A. Núñez Segura, Literature colombiana (Medellin: Editorial Bedout, 1962), p. 85.

[39]AR, Vol. 10, folio 95.

Mutis lectures on mathematics, Copernicus, Newton and the New Philosophy in general. He received the doctorate in law in 1762 and in that year became professor of philosophy and moral theology. Juan Eloy Valenzuela, another of Mutis' first students and later a professor of philosophy, was chosen as vice-rector. During this period Tomás Tenorio y Carvajal became catedrático perpetuo, or professor with tenure, in the department of law. Some of his students, such as Pedro Pradilla, Joaquín Camacho and Enrique Umaña would become the leaders of the movement for independence from Spain. Andrés Rosillo y Meruelo was a professor of philosophy at the time and with one of his students, Ignacio Sandino, defended several end-of-course conclusions in metaphysics and psychology. With another student, Mariano Verástegui, he expounded on several topics in ethics.[40] Most of the professors at Rosario were members of the younger generation who adhered to the new ideologies and decried the scholastic methods and curriculum favored by the older generation.

By 1782 Rosario boasted an enrollment of 100 students. In October Juan Nepomuceno Escobar became professor of Latin. His initial students included Jorge Tadeo Lozano, a leader of the independence movement in

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[40]Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Rosario, II, 197-203.

1810, and Francisco de Silvestre, Secretary of the Viceroyalty and author of Descripción del reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá (1789). Others prominent in the revolutionary activity of 1794 and 1810 appear as students or professors of Rosario at this time. Joaquín Darachea y Urrutia had been appointed professor of Artes in 1774 by Moreno. In 1778 the visitador-regente, Juan Francisco Gutiérrez de Piñeres, employed Darechea as his secretary. By 1780 he was granted the title of lawyer in the Real Audiencia. A short time later he traveled to Spain; he was among those involved in the revolutionary plans of Francisco de Miranda. During his trial in 1797, Antonio Nariño implicated Darechea in his subversive activities of 1794.[41]

During the last year of Alarcón y Castro's rectorate, several professors of the younger generation completed their courses. Dr. Joaquín Camacho, one of Mutis' previous students, was professor of philosophy. Rafael Laso de la Vega, the first professor of Rosario from Panama, was professor of grammar in the aula de mayores. And Professor Manuel Santiago de Vallecilla, who taught in the elementary school, soon led the older students in another attack on tradition and authority. Vallecilla had been a student of José Félix de Restrepo

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[41]Ibid., 212-213.

at Popayán. In 1790 Santiago Gregorio de Burgos was named rector of Rosario. Burgos was a member of the older generation and his adherence to tradition conflicted with Vallecilla's desire to present his students with the ideas of the New Philosophy. The significance of this clash of generations will be discussed later.

Rosario was not the only school in Bogotá which was experiencing dramatic changes. In 1785 Domingo Duarte, professor of moral philosophy at San Bartolomé, defended theses which provoked the consternation of the bishop and of the Archbishop-Viceroy; the latter suggested that Duarte refrain from such "insubordination." The audacious topics he discussed were the following:

> 1. Sólo se dan obras malas porque prohibidas, y no porque ab intrínseco sean malas.
> 2. No hay acciones intrínsecamente buenas, ni intrínsecamente malas, sino que la bondad y malicia nace de la conformidad o discordancia con la ley natural.
> 3. Dios puede en otro decreto haber dado otra Ley natural contraria a esta esculpida en los corazones de los hombres; de tal modo que con la blasfemia lo amásemos, y con los actos de caridad lo aborreciésemos.
> 4. Como Dios en este decreto mandó que la blasfemia fuese mala, y lo mismo la fornicación, etc., pudo en lugar de esta providencia mandar que lo blasfemasen, odiasen, etc., y que de este modo lo amásemos.
> 5. Dios en otra providencia pudo hacer que la idolatría, la blasfemia, el homicidio, y todo lo que es contrario al derecho natural que tenemos, fuese bueno.
> 6. La blasfemia, el odio contra Dios y lo demás no dañan a Dios, y por consiguiente, bien nos pudo mandar estas cosas; y lejos de dañar a

> Dios, antes bien, blasfemando le dábamos honor, porque hacíamos su voluntad.[42]

The rector of San Bartolomé, Eugenio Martínez Carpintero, and the vice-rector, José Joaquín del Pino, both defended Duarte's presentation. They pointed out that these doctrines were sustained by Grotius, Wolff and Pufendorf. The fact that school authorities defended a professor's discussion of modern ideas represents a distinct change in the course of intellectual history in New Granada. Those who adhered to contemporary doctrines or who dared to break with tradition no longer stood alone.

Education in other parts of the viceroyalty began to show advances during this period. The Colegio Real y Seminario de San Carlos in Cartagena, along with schools in Panama and Popayán, petitioned for university status and the right to grant advanced degrees. Viceroy Guirior refused because he wanted to centralize higher education in Bogotá; however, he encouraged the advancement of education and reform in studies at those cities. The Seminary College at Cartagena opened the year's courses in September 1776 and shortly thereafter the reformed course in philosophy was initiated for advanced students of the school. They were granted permission to

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[42]Juan Manual Pacheco, La ilustración en el Nuevo Reino (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1975), p. 99.

open new departments under the following conditions:

> mediante a haver algunos jobenes instruidos en la Filosofia que puedan entrar en las aulas de Theología, Canones, Leyes, y Medicina que se les admita presediendo el examen correspondiente que se deven a hacer en presencia de los Señores Rector, Director, Vice Rector y Catedraticos.[43]

They were further ordered to open the examinations to the general public.

Public elementary education made progress during the decade of the 1780's as evidenced by the extensive plans--comprising forty-four articles--drawn up in 1789 by Felipe de Salgar for the school at Girón in the northeast part of the viceroyalty near Bucaramanga.[44] The curriculum and methodology resemble the reformed education in the Spain and France of that period.[45] Besides Spanish grammar and peninsular history, the students studied the history of New Granada through the chronicles of Piedrahita and Pedro Simón in spite of the fact that "la falta de imprentas que sufrimos en este Reino hace costosísimos y muy raros los ejemplares."[46] For Spanish history Padre Isla's translation of

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[43]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. I, folios 87-88.

[44]Bohórquez Casallas, pp. 50-60.

[45]Educational reform in Spain and France was discussed above in Chapter I; consult the footnotes in that chapter for the works pertaining to education in those countries.

[46]Bohorquez Casallas, p. 56.

Duquesne's Compendio was used. Fleury's ecclesiastical history was read at the school as in the rest of the viceroyalty. In addition to Spanish language and modern history--disciplines which had only recently been introduced into the schools in Europe and the Americas--emphasis was placed on the study of mathematics.

Other provinces of the viceroyalty of New Granada received the benefits of Caballero y Góngora's enlightened despotism. Juan Antonio Mon y Velarde, an oídor-visitador, or judge, was sent to the province of Antioquia, in the northwest, to promote public education, commerce, agriculture and social institutions such as a hospital and facilities for the poor.[47] The Provincial Council of Antioquia requested that Mon y Velarde be allowed to remain there until the planned projects could be completed; on 27 January 1788 the Archbishop-Viceroy issued the judge an order to that effect. During the same year Mon y Velarde prepared a report on the establishment of secondary and college education.[48] Juan Jerónimo Enciso and other members of the council reported on using the books and other goods confiscated from the Jesuits for the school.[49]

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[47]Groot, II, 202.

[48]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. V, folios 551-598.

[49]Ibid., folios 599-603.

The University of San Fulgencio in Quito, which had been opened in 1602 by the Augustinians, was devoted primarily to theological studies and the classes and degrees granted were limited to members of the order. Beginning in 1708 a few degrees were granted in law. During the decade after 1770 when progress was being made in Bogotá, the visitador and reformador general, Joaquín Izerta, cited the university in Quito for its "state of decadence" and in October 1775 he ordered that they limit themselves to granting degrees in theology to members of the order. But a royal decree of 25 August 1786 from Charles III prohibited the school from granting degrees and the university closed its doors.[50] In Quito other universities were more successful in imparting knowledge, and as the wave of Enlightenment ideas filtered into this distant part of the viceroyalty of New Granada, education was gradually reformed. The preparation of a new, enlightened generation in the presidency of Quito contributed to the spread of the intellectual force emanating from Bogotá, Popayán and Cartagena.

The University of San Gregorio Magno in Quito, founded by the Jesuits in 1622, was one of the institutions of higher learning in that part of New Granada which is

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[50]Rodríguez Cruz, I, 416-417.

now Ecuador. Although it closed on 9 July 1769 following the expulsion of the Jesuits, it contributed a great deal to education up to that time. It granted the degrees of bachiller, licentiate and master in Artes and the doctorate in theology. Some of its more distinguished graduates include General Ignacio de Escandón and Eugenio Santa Cruz y Espejo.[51] The latter became a member of the literary societies of Bogotá and was one of the first revolutionaries in Ecuador.

While the Dominicans in Bogotá were less than successful in education and tended to inhibit reform at other local institutions, the order in Quito was more progressive and eventually instituted the reforms developed in the capital of the viceroyalty. Like that of Bogotá, their university in Quito was called Santo Tomás and was approved initially as a college under royal patronage for seculars. The statutes approved by the viceroy and the bishop were copied from the constitutions of the best schools in Spain and from the Colegio Mayor in Bogotá. The royal decree authorizing the school allowed for departments of theology, liberal arts and grammar. As early as the turn of the eighteenth century the school petitioned for chairs of civil law and canon

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[51]Ibid., 503-507.

law, medicine and Indian languages.[52] González Suárez, a historian of Ecuador, stated that the Dominicans were responsible for stimulating education by instituting chairs of canon law and civil jurisprudence and that they were the first to recognize the importance of chairs of medicine and mathematics in the schools of Quito.[53]

With the closing of the Jesuit Seminary of San Luís the Junta de Temporalidades proposed the establishment of a public university using the building and resources of the expelled order. They were more successful than the capital city of Bogotá had been in its efforts to do the same; on 23 August 1776 the council ordered the transfer of the University of Santo Tomás to the public university using the property of both the Dominicans and the Jesuits. It was declared the only official university in the audiencia of Quito. This move was approved by the king on 4 April 1786, and he further ordered that it be reorganized in accordance with the universities of Lima and Mexico. The rectorate was to alternate between the regular and secular clergy. The school continued to use the name of the University of

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[52]Ibid., 552.

[53]Federico González Suárez, Historia general de la República de Ecuador (Quito: Imprenta del Clero, 1896), VII, 28-29.

Santo Tomás. During the decade following its reorganization, the reformist spirit which had stimulated the Moreno plan of 1774 and the Caballero y Góngora plan of 1787 filtered into the University of Santo Tomás at Quito which produced its own reform plan in 1791.

The University of Popayán, which had been founded by the Jesuits in 1633 as the Colegio-Seminario de San Francisco, was es-established by order of Charles III in 1769 under the direction of the Dominicans. They remained in charge of the school for only a short time as Viceroy Manuel Guirior in his report on the state of the viceroyalty in 1776 suggested that the institution be reorganized as a Tridentine seminary, opposing the proposal to open a public university in that city.[54]

Andrés José Pérez de Arroyo was named procurador general of Popayán in 1774 and one of his principal concerns was the restoration of the seminary. A year after his appointment the procurador presented a plan to reform studies. He indicated that sufficient resources were available to maintain chairs of grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, medicine and surgery. The city council approved the plan and forwarded it to the council at Bogotá. The usual red tape held back final approval until 1778. The bishop

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[54]Rodríguez Cruz, II, 147-148.

appointed José María García de la Plaza as rector and on 9 October various professors were chosen: Francisco Javier Hernández and José María Escobar for theology, José Joaquín Escobar for ecclesiastical law, Joaquín Daraviña for advanced Latin and rhetoric, Juan Antonio de Ayerve for elementary Latin and Diego Vargas Delgado for elementary courses. The fact that the chair of philosophy was open to public competition, won by Manuel Antonio Rubiánez, indicates that in Popayán there was a nucleus of well-educated individuals. The chairs of jurisprudence and medicine were filled in succeeding years.

On 15 August 1783 Juan Mariano Grijalba was named rector, holding the post until his death in 1808. His rectorate has been called the "golden age" in the Seminary College of Popayán. Grijalba was from Ibarra in the presidency of Quito and completed his studies at the University of Lima. The period of his rectorate at Popayán was marked by stimulus to education and a spirit of reform. In October 1782 José Félix de Restrepo won the public examination for the chair of philosophy.[55] During the several years he served as professor there, Restrepo prepared a number of youth in the new ideologies filtering into Popayán.

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[55]Porras Troconis, pp. 282-285.

José Félix de Restrepo was born in Medellín in 1760. In October 1773 he entered San Bartolomé at Bogotá to study science, mathematics, philosophy and law. Most of his studies took place while Moreno's reforms were in effect. In 1776 he received the licentiate degree in law, was appointed assistant-instructor of philosophy at the age of eighteen, and in 1780 Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flórez selected him to fill that chair. During the same year he received the doctorate in civil law.[56]

The rector of the Seminary College, Juan Mariano de Grijalba, in a letter dated 1 March 1786 gives testimony of the success Restrepo had in the preparation of an enlightened generation, teaching philosophy, physics, mathematics and other relevant disciplines "con grande aprovechamiento y ventajas de la juventud, estableciendo un estudio tan útil y necesario, cuyos progresos han sido notorios en las funciones públicas y en los exámenes privados de sus discípulos."[57] In his letter to the bishop, Grijalba called for the continued appointment of Restrepo since no other professor could

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[56]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Vida y escritos del doctor José Félix de Restrepo (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1935), pp. 11-15.

[57]José Félix de Restrepo, Obras completas (Medellín: Editorial Bedout, 1961), p. 182.

equal his knowledge of the exact sciences and "modern experimental philosophy."[58]

During the decade after 1780 the Seminary College at Popayán witnessed educational reform and progress under the rectorate of Grijalba, especially in the philosophy department as chaired by José Félix de Restrepo. During the first two courses taught by that distinguished scholar between 1782 and 1789, his students defended forty-seven theses, twenty-nine of which dealt with modern physics. Many of the individuals who later figured prominently in the intellectual and political history of New Granada studied under Restrepo. Francisco Antonio Zea, later assistant director of the Botanical Expedition and a revolutionary leader, presented on 24 June 1784 a thesis on the causes of motion, inertia and stability in physical bodies. Francisco José de Caldas, the famous scientist and director of the Astronomical Observatory founded by Mutis, defended the ideas of Newton on 4 June 1785. A year later Caldas presented a thesis, directed by Restrepo, which recalls La Mattrie's materialism. It was entitled: "Las bestias son puros autómatas o máquinas destituidas de sensación y conocimiento, y ejecutan todas sus acciones por puro mecanismo. La opinión de que los brutos sienten

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[58]Ibid., p. 183.

confunde la naturaleza del espíritu y de la materia, y abre puerta al materialismo."[59] In 1801, several years after his studies with Restrepo, Caldas, in a letter written to his friend and mentor Mutis, described the classes taught by the professor at Popayán:

> Mi primera educación fue adocenada: a los 16 anos vi unas figuras de geometría y unos globos, y sentí una vehemente inclinación hacia estas cosas. Por fortuna me tocó un catedrático ilustrado que detestaba esa jerga escolástica que ha corrompido los más bellos entendimientos: me apliqué bajo su dirección al estudio de la aritmética, geométria, trigonometría, álgebra y física experimental, porque nuestro curso de Filosofía fue verdaderamente un curso de física y matemáticas.[60]

Camilo Torres, prominent lawyer and one of the authors of the Declaration of Independence in 1810, dealt with a topic from Aristotle: "Anima belluarum est substantia in partes integrales divissibilis. Belluarum anima non est substantia spiritualis. Cognoscere non possunt belluae nisi earum anima sit substantia spiritualis. Belluis nulla inest cognitio qua in suis agendis motibus dirigantur." As pointed out by Hazard, such arguments were used by philosophers and scientists in support of their theories concerning the question which enthralled

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[59]Pacheco, p. 98.

[60]Diego Mendoza, Expedición Botánica de José Celestino Mutis al Nuevo Reino de Granada y memorias inéditas de Francisco José de Caldas (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1909), p. 134.

them: whether or not animals had souls.[61] And Torres seems to be using Aristotle to defend materialism or mechanism. Joaquín Rodríguez, one of Restrepo's students who became professor of philosophy in 1789, directed a thesis which indicates that not all topics came from the modern school of thought. The subject was presented by José María Cabal, a prominent leader of the revolutionary movement, who discussed the following: "Natura angelica licet unum tantum habere possit individuum, attamen per rationem et ex modo quo a nobis concipitur, potest fieri universalis."[62]

These theses, along with many others, were defended in Spanish although the invitation to the ceremony frequently gave the title in Latin; beginning with this decade theses in Latin became more scarce.[63] Moreover, Restrepo delivered his lectures in Spanish. Of greater significance, the topics deal with more relevant disciplines contrasting sharply with those of just a few years before which were concerned primarily

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[61]Paul Hazard, European Thought in the Eighteenth Century (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1967), p. 121.

[62]Copies of the thesis topics presented by Restrepo and his students are located in a folder marked "J" in the archives of the Seminary at Popayán.

[63]José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, El latín en Colombia (Bogotá: Editorial Voluntad, 1949), p. 248.

with defending portions of the Bible and the works of the church fathers. Comments from Restrepo's opening address for the three-year course beginning in 1791, published in the Papel Periódico de Bogotá in December of that year, warrant our attention. The predominant note in his lecture is the emphasis upon the utility theme. He mentioned the topics he planned to deal with, including logic, arithmetic, geometry, geography and astronomy. The peripatetic method was ousted and eclecticism ushered in: "la filosofìa que emprendemos no es cartesiana, aristotèlica, ni newtoniana. . . . La razòn, y no la autoridad, tendrà derecho a decidir nuestras disputas. Tampoco nos detendremos en examinar cuestiones que no tengan verdadera relación con los intereses del hombre."[64] Restrepo cites passages from the works of Pluche, author of Le spectacle de la nature, Descartes, Leibniz, Newton, Feijoo and Juan Andrés, who wrote treatises on literature and music. Like his friend and mentor, Mutis, Restrepo ends his lectures with advice to the young: "procurad ser útiles a vuestras familias, a vuestra patria, y a todo el mundo."[65]

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[64]Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), I, 332-333. The italics are ours.

[65]Ibid., p. 333.

Following their studies with Restrepo and other professors of the modern disciplines at Popayán, many students then went to Bogotá where they studied and taught at Rosario and San Bartolomé, worked with Mutis at the Botanical Expedition and incited unrest as they adopted the more revolutionary ideas of the Enlightenment which began to filter into the viceroyalty toward the end of the century.

PART II

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE NEW PHILOSOPHY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Although educational reform was one of the principal characteristics of the Enlightenment in New Granada and institutions of higher learning were a major factor in the introduction and spread of the New Philosophy in the early stages of modernization, several other sources of new ideas played a part in the cultural and intellectual renaissance in the viceroyalty. The contributions of New Granadines, largely through intellectual, enlightened organizations and literature, were made possible by the modern education being imparted in the schools and universities. At the same time the organizations and literary publications contributed to the introduction and diffusion of the New Philosophy and they stimulated the educational reform movement. The other aspects of the Enlightenment, which may be considered sources as well as products of the New Philosophy, include the Botanical Expedition, the literary societies, the economic societies and literature.

Scientific knowledge was a major emphasis of the Enlightenment; while d'Alembert called the eighteenth the "philosophical" century, it was just as often referred to as the century of natural science. In addition, a

number of studies on the Enlightenment in Europe point out the connection, transition or application of natural science--or at least the methods of natural science--to ideas in philosophy, political and economic theory, and social doctrines. Scientific investigation was stimulated in the seventeenth century and a great deal of the impetus came from England with the publications of Newton and Locke and the formation of the Royal Society in 1660. The movement quickly reached France where Colbert founded the Académie des Sciences in 1666. In addition to the works of those who studied and wrote in scientific disciplines--such as Buffon, La Condamine, Condillac and others--many treatises by the philosophical, political and social thinkers of the French Enlightenment refer to or deal specifically with natural science. In his Eléments de Philosophie d'Alembert brought about the alliance between the natural and intellectual sciences; one of Voltaire's major works was a defense of Newton; Montesquieu's first writings deal with physical and physiological problems; Diderot wrote a work on the elements of physiology and Rousseau composed a treatise on the fundamental laws of chemistry.[1]

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[1]Ernst Cassirer, The Philosophy of the Enlightenment (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966) provides a discussion of this topic; see Chapter II on "Nature and Natural Science."

Natural science was a major part of the Enlightenment in such countries as Sweden and Germany. The emphasis on natural science provoked a deep interest in useful knowledge with the hope of improving man's condition on earth, hence the pursuit of happiness, a major theme of the Enlightenment. Germany played an important role in the promotion of useful knowledge in Europe and the Hispanic world[2] and, as we have noted in Part I of the present work, the principal concern in educational reform was with modern science and useful or relevant courses. The names referred to continually--Newton, Wolff and Musschenbroek--indicate that the major influence on new ideas in New Granada in the initial stages of the Enlightenment came from the countries in which science and the search for useful knowledge were most prominent. In fact, Arthur Whitaker thinks that "it was not so much from France or England as from Germany that Spain and Spanish America were enlightened in the latter part of the age."[3] We must take issue, however,

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[2]Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., Latin America and the Enlightenment, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), p. 6.

[3]Ibid., pp. 13-14. However, at variance with that remark, Whitaker also asserts that it is "safe to say that French influences were nearly everywhere greater than those of other foreign nations." The following chapters of the present work indicate that in New Granada we will find that between 1760 and 1780 English and German ideas predominated and continued to have

with two of his points. The Enlightenment in the Spanish world came from England as well as Germany--Newton and Locke were major figures and the influence of England should not be minimized. The scientific and useful knowledge filtering in from England and Germany did not start "in the latter part of the age" but rather in the initial stages of the Enlightenment in Latin America. Nor must we forget that the Enlightenment in Latin America received its major impetus in the last quarter of the century, as the movement in Europe was waning, and continued for the first quarter or more of the following century when the ideas from France and North America played a role.

A number of the founding fathers of the United States practiced or dabbled in scientific experiments. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson are the outstanding figures in this respect, and the works of the former were well received in New Granada. As pointed out above, a number of studies on the European Enlightenment show the alliance between scientific, philosophic and political thought; some studies on the American Enlightenment

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importance to the end of the century; between 1790 and 1810 the ideas from France and the United States gained momentum and stimulated activity; and from 1810 to 1830 France, England and the United States were the major areas of foreign influence. This is not to say that during any period the ideas from the countries mentioned were either completely "in" or completely "out."

indicate similar relations between the modern ideologies of those areas of thought.[4]

Natural science and the search for useful knowledge which underlay the educational reform movement in New Granada also influenced the other aspects of the Enlightenment to be examined in the following chapters. The Botanical Expedition was the most outstanding example of the several organizations founded in New Granada during the latter decades of the eighteenth century. Its duration continued even after the literary tertulias and the economic societies tended to fade. Its activities were more extensive and its members were more numerous than in the case of the other institutions.

Along with the Botanical Expedition, the literary societies that were formed during this period of the Enlightenment served as an incentive to cultural progress. Their contributions to the society of New Granada involved more than stimulating and enriching literature; they were actually centers of learning in various fields, almost to the point of being small universities or graduate schools. In addition to studying and discussing

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[4]Willoughby Gwen Jarrell presented a paper on "Some Observations on Newtonian Contributions to American Enlightenment Political Thought" at the 1975 meeting of the Southeastern Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies. See also A. O. Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the Philosophes," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, XXIV (1963), 43-65.

literature from the classics to the most recent arrivals from Europe, the members delved into contemporary science and philosophy using the new critical method they had learned under the more liberal educational curriculum and method of instruction which had been introduced into the seminary of Popayán, the schools of Rosario and San Bartolomé and the Botanical Expedition by José Félix de Restrepo, José Celestino Mutis and other supporters of the New Philosophy. The economic or patriotic societies and the tertulias served as additional centers for dispersing the benefits of the Enlightenment. They contributed to the diffusion of new ideas throughout New Granada and by their zeal to bring more light into the viceroyalty, the members of the societies worked to carry education away from colonial scholasticism and to eradicate the last traces of medieval, dogmatic, peripateticism from the schools. The members of the economic societies and literary associations--with the majority of the members consisting of Mutis' students and collaborators--campaigned for educational reform and the propagation of the New Philosophy by means of various publications. Some were published by the societies themselves while others were printed by individual members, but all of them were important voices of the Enlightenment.

Referring to the first generation of ilustrados

throughout Latin America (Mutis, Valenzuela and Restrepo in New Granada), Roland D. Hussey has asserted that

> from their class rooms came the famous generation that won their nation's independence; from their pens came short-lived but influential periodicals. Teachers, pupils, and periodicals were almost synonymous with the liberal Sociedades económicas de amigos de la patria that sprang up so widely in the last years of the colonial regime.[5]

The students and disciples of Mutis and Restrepo, as well as friends, admirers and collaborators, contributed a great many articles to the Papel Periódico, the Semanario and several other scholarly publications founded and edited by the enlightened creole youth of New Granada who had acquired a more liberal education at the reformed institutions. These intellectuals polished their talents and learned the scientific method of inquiry at the Botanical Expedition. They were scientists, scholars and educational reformers who discussed and spread enlightened doctrines in all areas of learning by means of the patriotic societies and literary tertulias. They were concerned citizens who campaigned for greater progress in the area of education and Enlightenment through the publications produced and stimulated by those societies.

The societies and publications had their greatest

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[5]Roland D. Hussey, "Traces of French Enlightenment in Colonial Hispanic America," in Whitaker, p. 38.

influence between 1790 and 1810 and represent a fundamental contribution to the cultural history of New Granada during the Enlightenment. They represent the final stage in the transition of education from the scholastic and peripatetic to the modern spirit. The societies, in some instances, were centers of revolutionary ideas and activity; here the enlightened creole leaders planned the movement that would eventually lead to independence. The literary production stimulated by the Botanical Expedition, the literary groups, and the economic societies represents a major change in the literature of New Granada.

CHAPTER II

THE BOTANICAL EXPEDITION

The formation of the Botanical Expedition in New Granada was not an unusual occurrence which sprang up spontaneously during the Enlightenment and exclusively in that particular geographic area. It was rather the outgrowth of Spain's interest in science which dates from the time of the Arabs, who enriched the world by their research in the field of natural history. Prominent among the Western Muslims who influenced studies in the natural sciences, particularly in botany, was the physician from Cordova, al-Ghafiqi, who wrote precise descriptions--in Arabic, Latin and Berber--of plants he collected in Spain and North Africa. Towards the end of the twelfth century there flourished at Seville the scholar abū-Zakariyyā' who wrote a treatise on agriculture which has been considered the outstanding medieval work on the subject. The best-known botanist and pharmacist of the Islamic world came from Malaga, Spain. He was 'Abdullāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Baytār who worked in the thirteenth century.[1] During that same

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[1]Philip K. Hitti, History of the Arabs (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1949), pp. 574-576.

century the works of Alfonso X carried on the tradition of scientific interest and initiated another tradition--that of royal support for intellectual activities. Both traditions subsided somewhat until the eighteenth century.[2]

During the administration of Ferdinand VI and under the enlightened despotism of Charles III[3] a number of schools, academies and institutes of research and learning were established. The School of Engineering was directed by the mathematician and engineer, Agustín de Bethancourt y Molina (1758-1824) who later worked in Russia; that of Hydraulic Architecture with its Museum of Mechanics was directed by the French astronomer, Pierre Méchain (1744-1804). The French chemist Luis Joseph Proust (1754-1826) was head of the Royal Laboratory

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[2]Paul A. Weiss, "The Emergence of Scientific Thought in the Eighteenth Century," in Robert Mollenauer, ed., Introduction to Modernity: A Symposium on Eighteenth-Century Thought (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965), pp. 13-40, provides an interesting presentation of the fluctuations in scientific interest leading up to the eighteenth century as well as general remarks on the emergence of science during the Enlightenment in Europe. In the introduction to his article, Weiss makes important comments on the relationships between scientific interest, culture, history, ideas, and literature.

[3]See Sir Charles Petrie, King Charles III of Spain: An Enlightened Despot (London: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1971). While primarily devoted to political history rather than ideas, the author comments in the "Foreword" on the "way the benevolent despotism passed on the legacy of the Renaissance almost down to modern times" (p. xx).

of Chemistry. The Museum of Natural History, the astronomical observatories at Madrid and Cádiz, the Academy of Science at Barcelona and the schools of surgery at Cádiz, Barcelona and Madrid were among the other centers of learning--products of the Enlightenment in Spain which found counterparts in her overseas colonies. In 1755 the Jardín Botánico del Soto de "Migas Calientes" was established near Madrid. This was where numerous natural scientists, including Mutis, were schooled under the botanist Barnades, who had studied at Montpellier and who later taught his students Linnaeus' system.[4]

Spain's interest in science during the eighteenth century includes several scientific expeditions to the New World. In 1735 two Spaniards, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, accompanied La Condamine on his famous trip to South America to measure a degree of the earth's circumference at the equator.[5] Although Voltaire dismissed this event with the comment: "le conseil d'Espagne a nommé quelques petits philosophes espagnols

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[4]Jean Sarrailh, L'Espagne éclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), pp. 448-449; also see Part III, Chapters I and II on the rise and spread of modern science.

[4]Carlos E. Chardon, Los naturalistas en la América Latina (Ciudad Trujillo: Editora del Caribe, 1949), pp. 59-63.

pour apprendre leur métier sous les nôtres,"[6] their discoveries during eleven years of travel inspired a number of South Americans to study physics, mathematics and natural science. The publications of the Spaniards,[7] translated into French, English and German, stimulated European interest in the New World.[8]

Ferdinand VI attempted to interest Linnaeus in an expedition, an invitation which the Swedish botanist declined; however, his student Peter Loeffling was sent in his place. Loeffling arrived at Madrid in 1751 and departed for the Americas in 1754. He carried out studies of a botanical nature for only two years, the project being cut short by his death at Cumaná in Venezuela. The manuscripts of his work, including sketches, are kept in the Botanical Garden at Madrid.

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[6]Theodore Besterman, ed., Voltaire's Correspondence, Letter No. 839 as cited by A. Owen Aldridge, ed., The Ibero-American Enlightenment (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 11.

[7]The works by Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa include Dissertacion historica y geographica (Madrid: Imprenta de A. Marin, 1749), Observaciones astronómicas, y physicas (Madrid: J. de Zúñiga, 1748), and Noticias americanas (Madrid: Francisco Manuel de Mena, 1772), which was translated into English during the same year and to French and German soon thereafter. Their best-known work, Noticias secretas de América, because of its criticism of Spanish colonial administration, was not published until 1826 in London by David Barry.

[8]Francisco Cervera y Jiménez Alfaro, Jorge Juan y la colonización española en América (Madrid: Editorial Voluntad, 1927); also see Alberto Gil Novales, Las pequeñas Atlántidas: Decadencia y regeneración intelectual de España en los siglos XVIII y XIX (Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, 1959), pp. 25-51.

His letters to Linnaeus in which he describes his discoveries were published in Anales de Historia Natural in 1801 and 1802.[9]

Another expedition was organized in 1777 for the purpose of studying the flora of Peru and Chile. It was directed by the botanist Hipólito Ruiz along with José Pavón and the French botanist Joseph Dombey. In April 1778 they arrived in Peru and during the next eleven years made numerous discoveries in botany. They returned to Spain in 1788 and soon afterwards began the publication of their texts and plates of the Florae Peruviaene et Chilene. Three of the ten or twelve volumes planned were published by 1802; the remainder were never completed.[10]

An expedition to New Spain was organized in 1787 with the physician and botanist Martín Sessé as director. A year later the Botanical Garden of Mexico was inaugurated, and a class in botany was taught by Vicente Cervantes, a former pupil at the Botanical Garden in Madrid. One of his more outstanding students was José Mariano Mociño who was appointed a member of the expedition in 1792. The Mexican Mociño studied the geography,

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[9]Luis de Hoyos Saínz, José Celestino Mutis: Naturalista, médico y sacerdote (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1949), pp. 25-26; also see Sarrailh, p. 443.

[10]Hoyos Saínz, pp. 26-27.

customs, flora and fauna of the area between Nicaragua and the Gulf of California, and carried out studies on Cuba, Puerto Rico and other Caribbean islands until 1804.[11]

In Guatemala Antonio Liendo de Goicoechea supported scientific pursuits as a professor and educational reformer, as did Mutis in New Granada. After fifteen years as professor of philosophy at the University of San Carlos, Goicoechea presented a reform plan in 1782 which emphasized the natural and physical sciences.[12] His colleague, José Felipe Flores, professor of medicine and protomédico, also contributed to cultural enrichment in Guatemala.[13] These men, Mociño and the members of the Sociedad Económica de Guatemala, encouraged the formation of a Museum of Natural History and a Botanical Garden which were opened there on 9 December 1796.[14]

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[11]Juan Carlos Arias Divito, Las expediciones científicas españolas durante el siglo XVIII: Expedición botánica de Nueva España (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, 1968) is the major work on the botanical expedition to Mexico.

[12]Carlos Martínez Durán, Las ciencias médicas en Guatemala: Origen y evolución (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1945), pp. 256-265.

[13]Ibid., pp. 284-319.

[14]Carlos Meléndez Chaverri, La ilustración en el antiguo reino de Guatemala (San José: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1970), pp. 135-138.

José Celestino Mutis, early in his residence in New Granada, had envisioned an expedition for the viceroyalty and authored a proposal to Charles III in a letter of May 1763 from Cartagena.[15] As Mutis had not received a reply to his proposal, a fresh copy of that letter containing an outline of the commission, its purposes and benefits was sent to Spain on 26 June 1764 from Santa Fe de Bogotá. The proposed project was to include botany, astronomy, physics and geography. In addition to a complete natural history of New Granada, Mutis hoped to produce "una historia completa en lo geográfico, civil y político, acompañada de todas las observaciones físicas."[16] His proposal was again disregarded, or possibly overlooked due to the avalanche of correspondence received from the Indes. The Expedition was not formally instituted until two decades later.

A. The Scientific Pursuits of Mutis

Informally, Mutis, at his own expense and on his own time, carried out scientific research from the moment of his arrival at Cartagena along with Viceroy Messía de la Zerda. From that port city the viceroy and his party

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[15]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar del sabio naturalista don José Celestino Mutis (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1968), I, 31.

[16]Ibid., pp. 113-114.

traveled up the Magdalena River on the journey to Bogotá. The travelers stopped at several villages along the way and in Mompós Mutis discovered several new genera of plants which he dedicated to his friend Alstroemer, who had introduced him to Linnaeus. They arrived at Honda in January 1761 where the party left the river, as was customary, and continued the journey to Bogotá by land. Due to excessive baggage and the primitive road, Mutis lamented the loss of "costales de medicina y el globo de la máquina eléctrica."[17] He began cataloguing the diseases he found and one of the first studies he prepared upon arriving at Bogotá was the Estado de la Medicina en Santa Fe de Bogotá. In one of his letters written about this time Mutis referred to a study he was making on the cure of alferecías, or infant epilepsy, by means of a vegetable.[18] On 3 July Mutis received his first letter from Charles Linnaeus which was the beginning of years of correspondence with the Swedish naturalist. In 1763 Linnaeus nominated Mutis for membership in the Academy of Upsala and don José reciprocated by writing that he would send the Academy a study on the "Nature, mores, aeconomia, formicarum Americae."[19] In March 1762

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[17]Ibid., p. 15.

[18]Ibid., p. 29.

[19]Ibid., p. 18.

Mutis began teaching mathematics at Rosario but by September he had returned with Viceroy de la Zerda to Cartagena. The purpose of the viceroy's trip was to supervise the reinforcement of the city against English attack and piracy, while Mutis took advantage of the opportunity to learn English. The newly acquired skill served him well as later he requested books in English from Europe on science and philosophy.[20]

After several months in Cartagena, Mutis returned to Bogotá where he remained until 1767. Early in that year he traveled to Pamplona in the northeast to study the silver mines of the region in hopes of increasing their productivity in order to develop the stagnant economy of New Granada. He remained there for three years conducting experiments in metallurgy while continuing his work in natural history. Mutis returned to Bogotá in 1770 and resumed the practice of medicine, teaching and scientific investigations.

In 1772 Mutis was ordained a priest without ceasing any of his prior activities.[21] He maintained

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[20]Ibid., p. 134.

[21]Several historians have conjectured various explanations for Mutis' joining the secular clergy. One article, German Pinilla Monroy, "Los conflictos interiores de Mutis," El Tiempo (Bogotá), 26 August 1973, p. 2, cols. 1-4, indicates that Mutis may have attempted to free himself from financial dependence upon Viceroy de la Zerda in order to remain in New Granada. The viceroy left the same year Mutis was ordained.

his interest in the welfare and economy of the colony. Indicative of this concern, at his own expense Mutis sent Clemente Ruiz to Sweden to learn modern methods in mining and mineralogy. Ruiz carried a letter of introduction and botanical specimens to be delivered to Linnaeus. After four years of study at various schools and mining sites in Europe, Ruiz returned to New Granada and accompanied Mutis to Ibagué where don José taught mathematics and physics while directing the establishment of mines.[22] After a period of thirteen years and thousands of experiments, in 1778 Mutis improved the quicksilver process which previously had taken weeks to extract precious metals from ore. He stated that the process was reduced to one day and was useful for processing several different metals.[23] This contribution to the economy would later prove to be invaluable for Colombian independence as Francisco Antonio Zea, a disciple of Mutis, used the mines as collateral for English loans when he served as Bolívar's foreign minister in London.[24]

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[22]Diego Mendoza, Expedición Botánica de José Celestino Mutis (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1909), pp. 88-89.

[23]Hernández de Alba, I, 70.

[24]Roberto Botero Saldarriaga, Francisco Antonio Zea (Bogotá: Ediciones del Concejo, 1945), p. 228.

Mutis' work in mining technology continued even after formation of the Botanical Expedition. In May 1784 he wrote to Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora encouraging him to support instruction in mining and mineralogy at Mariquita by two commissioned metallurgists "quienes podrán dar las luces necesarias sobre estos y otros instrumentos a imitación de los que se emplean en las minas extranjeras, para ir introduciendo la misma perfección en los trabajadores de América."[25] Shortly after Mutis' recommendation to Caballero y Góngora, Juan José D'Elhuyar arrived as Director of Mines in New Granada. He had been sent to Germany in 1783 to learn mineralogy,[26] and accompanied by his brother, Fausto, who later directed mining operations and promoted natural sciences in Mexico, studied at the famous school of mines at Freiberg, Saxony. The brothers studied pure and applied science with the support of the Sociedad Vascongada de Amigos del País, the first "economic society" founded in Spain.[27] Juan José D'Elhuyar, the discoverer of tungsten, became associated with Mutis and Clemente Ruiz in improving mining technology.

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[25]Hernández de Alba, I, 201.

[26]José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de M. Rivas, 1890), II, 251.

[27]Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., Latin America and the Enlightenment (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), pp. 14-15.

One of Mutis' more noteworthy accomplishments was the work done with cinchona, a medicinal plant also called Peruvian or Jesuits' bark, discovered in Peru and described by La Condamine. In 1747 La Condamine published in London A Voyage through the Inner Parts of South America in which he describes cinchona "desde el punto de vista de lo maravilloso,"[28] this being the typical style of describing America, its inhabitants and its products until men the caliber of Mutis, Goicoechea, Mociño, Juan and Ulloa and others introduced the scientific method during the Enlightenment. In 1764 Mutis obtained a sample of the bark from Peru and sent it to Linnaeus who wrote the scientific description and classification published in 1767 in the System of Nature.

Mutis located cinchona in New Granada in 1772 and thereafter dedicated his life to the study of the valuable product. The bark was collected haphazardly, destroying the trees in the process. The collections were gathered so indiscriminately that good and bad cinchona and even poisonous plants were mixed in. This lack of quality control caused a decline in its use in Europe, depressing the market for the product. Mutis wrote numerous letters and reports to Viceroy Flórez encouraging him to establish

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[28]Enrique Pérez-Arbeláez, Flora de la Real Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1954), I, 33.

an estanco or government monopoly of cinchona to improve the economy of New Granada. To insure the preservation of the tree for future generations, Mutis encouraged government supervision of the correct method of extraction, establishing himself as a precursor of ecology.

Mutis' principal concern was with the medicinal qualities of the bark and one of his more valuable contributions to medicine was the "Arcano de la Quina" published in the Papel Periódico de Bogotá in 1793 and 1794. In a letter to Viceroy Mendinueta in October 1801 Mutis wrote of the "efectos que va produciendo la publicación de la Quinología en Santafé solicitada y apreciada tanto en los dominios de América como en toda Europa." In the same letter Mutis refers to the

> rápidos progresos que van haciendo entre los sabios profesores las nuevas ideas de aquel escrito. En efecto guiado por ellas el Dr. Clarke, médico de Filadelfia, ha empleado la quina blanca de Santafé en la terrible epidemia de la fiebre amarilla con tan feliz suceso, que augura en el tratado publicado sobre este descubrimiento haber sido éste el único remedio con que ha curado dicha enfermedad en los Estados Unidos.[29]

Francisco Antonio Zea, one of Mutis' more distinguished disciples, published an extract of the Mutis work in the Semanario de Agricultura y Artes in Madrid in 1798.

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[29]A. Federico Gredilla, Biografía de José Celestino Mutis con la relación de su viaje y estudios practicados en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet, 1911), p. 87.

An anonymous article appeared in the Diario de Madrid in September 1800 reiterating Mutis' work and encouraging the proper use of the medicine. The article may have been written by one of Mutis' students, many of whom were in Europe at the time.

José López Ruiz, placed in charge of the cinchona monopoly, attempted to give himself credit for the discovery of the bark in New Granada. However, Alexander von Humboldt helped settle the dispute in a letter to Antonio José Cavanilles, Director of the Botanical Garden at Madrid. In the letter, written in April 1803, Humboldt refers to having seen the report composed by López which, although it attempted to discredit Mutis, actually proved that he was the first to discover cinchona in New Granada. Humboldt was disturbed by the López scandal spreading throughout scientific circles in Europe as well as the Americas and wrote: "me ha afectado vivamente la manera como ha sido tratado un hombre tan venerable como Mutis."[30] Mutis received full credit for locating the bark and describing several varieties, but of more importance were his contributions to ecology, economy and medicine with his exhaustive studies of cinchona.

Mutis' medical research was not limited to the medicinal properties of cinchona. In 1783 after the

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[30]González Suárez, p. 32.

establishment of the Botanical Expedition, he was called back to Bogotá by Caballero y Góngora to combat a smallpox epidemic and while there wrote studies on the disease and the principle of vaccination discovered by Jenner. Mutis is credited with being the second doctor in Latin America to use the newly discovered vaccine.[31] According to his report, more than a thousand people were inoculated with very satisfactory results.

Although the use of sarsaparilla in the cure of venereal disease was not new--Quevedo frequently mentioned it in his satirical poems--Mutis developed successful methods of application with which "casi ninguna enfermedad venérea se resiste a mi método de suministrar una bebida de esa medicina."[32] He also used the medicine for relief of stomach cramps and constipation. Mutis discovered and did research on zarcillejo, by which he suspended menstruation and facilitated labor and delivery. Cusparia is another medicine he discovered which was administered as a cure for dysentery. His study of this medicine was published by Francisco José de Caldas in the Semanario in 1810. In addition, Mutis could well be called the father of the relatively modern field of hygiene and sanitation because of his report,

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[31]Hernández de Alba, I, 96.

[32]Ibid., p. 85.

Informe sobre el Estado Médico y Sanitario del Nuevo Reino, which was delivered to the oídor of the Real Audiencia, Hernández de Alba, in 1802. The report covers the poor sanitation of Bogotá and its effect on the health of the inhabitants, and offers solutions for the problems.

Mutis contributed a great deal to the advancement of the humanities as well as the sciences; he is responsible for the preservation of Indian grammars and dictionaries. Catherine II of Russia sought the assistance of the Spanish monarch, Charles III, to obtain books and documents on American Indian languages. On 13 November 1787 a royal decree was sent to the governors and viceroys of the Indies requesting that Indian grammars and dictionaries be collected and forwarded to the court of Spain. In New Granada Mutis was assigned the task and was assisted by Diego de Ugalde and Anselmo Alvarez upon his request. They succeeded in collecting grammars of the Chibcha and Saliba languages as well as a dictionary of the Achagua language. Prior to the royal order Mutis had been interested in native languages and the preservation of knowledge of them; he possessed two grammars in manuscript of the Chibcha language which had belonged to the Jesuit school at Tunja and were given to him in 1764. He had copies of them made which he sent to Europe, keeping the originals. He also found a dictionary

of the Andaquí language in 1787 which he forwarded to Madrid.[33] Endowed with a vision of the future and with an appreciation for the value of all knowledge, Mutis wrote about his collection of Indian grammars and dictionaries:

> Mi fin se dirigía a depositar estos tesoros en alguna Academia de Bellas Letras, recelando cuán precipitadamente caminaban estos idiomas á la región del olvido . . . viendo al mismo tiempo desde lejos que debía renacer el gusto por estas preciosas antigüedades. . . . Sería historia larga contar mis afanes, mis visitas y mis correspondencias con los misioneros á este fin.[34]

One of the more important works on American Indian civilization was a study of the calendar of the Chibchas. The conquistadores called the Indians of the Chibcha civilization "Muyscas"; however, "Muysca" was actually the Chibcha term for "man." José Domingo Duquesne, a priest in the village of Gachancipá, wrote Disertación sobre el calendario de los Muyscas and dedicated it to José Celestino Mutis. The Duquesne manuscript, which deciphered some astronomical stones and explained the system by which their intercalation made the lunar year periodically conform to the solar year, was shown by Mutis to Humboldt who published an account of the work in his Vues des Cordillères, et monuments des

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[33]Bernard Moses, South America on the Eve of Emancipation (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), p. 231.

[34]González Suárez, p. 53.

peuples indigènes de l'Amérique.[35] It is fortunate that the Duquesne study was preserved by Mutis for its historical value since there is some indication in it of the link between Incan and Chibcha civilizations. The similarities in the astronomical observations of the two Indian cultures lend some truth to the Chibcha legend that in the distant past strangers, Bochica and Garachacha, arrived to instruct them. This led one writer, Clements R. Markham, to believe that "their most probable origin was the ancient megalithic empire of Peru, which flourished previous to that of the Incas."[36] Much of the knowledge of the Chibcha, Saliba, Achagua and Andaquí languages presently extant would have been lost without the humanitarian forethought of Mutis.

Mutis' accomplishments in the areas of science, medicine and the humanities in New Granada represent a noteworthy contribution to the culture of that colony. These activities were intensified with the formation of the Botanical Expedition. The institution represented a more concentrated effort in scientific endeavor,

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[35]This work by Humboldt was translated in 1814 by Helen Maria Williams as Researches concerning the Institutions and Monuments of the Ancient Inhabitants of America and published in London.

[36]Clements R. Markham, The Conquest of New Granada (London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1912), p. 38.

especially as Mutis was provided with additional time, equipment and assistance.

B. Activities and Associates of the Botanical Expedition

Archbishop-Viceroy Antonio Caballero y Góngora was motivated by various reasons in providing for the formation of the expedition. He was aware that Empress Maria Theresa of Austria was arranging for scientific expeditions to the New World with the approval of Charles III. The viceroy was embarrassed by the fact that scientists from other nations were studying the wealth of scientific information and resources in the midst of the New Granadines. On 31 March 1783 Caballero y Góngora wrote to Charles III informing him that he had instituted the Real Expedición Botánica de la América Septentrional, meaning the northern part of South America which made up the viceroyalty of New Granada, at that time consisting of Colombia, Venezuela, Panama and Ecuador. The expedition was formally organized on 1 April 1783 with José Celestino Mutis as its director. In his letter to the king, Caballero y Góngora indicated that Mutis would be worthy of the task for

> los aciertos de su profesión médica; . . . su inteligencia en los principales idiomas de Europa y en el griego; su extensión de conocimientos en las ciencias naturales; su empeño de introducir

> en este Reino los conocimientos útiles; su desinterés en propagarlos y en formar discípulos.[37]

Following royal approval of the expedition on 6 September 1783, Charles III ordered that books and instruments be purchased in England and sent to Mutis.[38] The Botanical Expedition was initially situated at Mesa de Juan Díaz on the route to Ibagué but moved to Mariquita in the Magdalena Valley on 9 July 1783. Mutis was called to Bogota at that time to control a smallpox epidemic and the expedition was left in the hands of his assistant, Eloy Valenzuela.[39] Mutis rejoined the group in April 1784. Although don José had carried on the work of the expedition at his own expense and initiative following his arrival in 1760, the official establishment of the Botanical Expedition had the distinct advantage of providing Mutis with economic support, which enabled him to surround himself with more instruments, books, and assistants to train in the new practical sciences.

The Botanical Expedition of New Granada differed considerably in its organization from that of Peru. The Peruvian commission had been organized from Spain, its members were appointed in the mother country, and they returned there upon completion of their duties. The one

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[37]Hernández de Alba, I, 118.

[38]González Suárez, p. 72 and Mendoza, p. 94.

[39]Eloy Valenzuela, Primer diario de la Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bucaramanga: Imprenta del Departamento, 1952), pp. 12-13.

in New Granada was formulated within the colony and was directed and staffed by New Granadines. Although originally from Spain, Mutis considered himself a neogranadino after twenty years' residence in the viceroyalty. The most important difference between the two expeditions is that the one in New Granada had "a much more powerful influence than that of Peru in educating youth and in promoting intellectual activity, particularly among the creoles."[40]

The expedition was not limited to the study of botany; it eventually encompassed many areas of scientific study through which Mutis and his assistants contributed to the cultural progress of the viceroyalty. Within a year the expedition had amassed a large collection of birds and animals and had begun instruction in zoology and dissection. Mutis opened a school of art for the expedition with Salvador Rizo, his principal artist, as its director. Classes were given without charge to the poor who would be paid for their drawings upon perfecting their talent. Rizo's art school had thirty-two students at one time[41] and Humboldt mentions that thirty

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[40]Bernard Moses, Spain's Declining Power in South America: 1730-1806 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919), p. 281.

[41]Lorenzo Uribe Uribe, "Personajes de la Expedición Botánica," Revista Colombiana de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, XI, No. 42 (1960), 24.

artists worked for Mutis.[42]

Francisco Javier Matiz joined the expedition at its headquarters in Mariquita in December 1783 and soon became an outstanding artist of natural history. He became well-versed in botany and survived the turmoil of the revolutionary period to pass on the knowledge he acquired while working with Mutis.[43] Five artists were called in from Quito; they arrived at Mariquita in June 1787 accompanied by Juan Pío Montúfar, the Marquis of Selva Alegre,[44] who later (1802) provided Alexander von Humboldt, the German naturalist, with lodging in his home. Humboldt found Montúfar's home to be a center for the distribution of revolutionary tracts.

In addition to Valenzuela, Matiz and Rizo, other members of the expedition at its outset included Bruno Landete and José Camblor. By 1785 the economist, Pedro Fermín de Vargas, had been appointed. One of his first contributions was a "Plan de Constituciones para el Hospital Real de Zipaquirá," which was submitted to the viceroy. He wrote a report on guaco, a remedy for

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[42]"Centenario de Humboldt," Revista Colombiana de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales, X, No. 41 (1959), 52.

[43]Joaquín Piñeros Corpas, Patria naturaleza: Documentos y mensajes de la Expedición Botánica (Bogotá: Editorial Andes, 1973), p. 205.

[44]González Suárez, p. 78.

snake-bite poisoning, discovered by members of the expedition.[45] He is most noted for his Pensamientos políticos, which was written, according to one historian, "con estilo muy Mutis y muy Caballero y Góngora."[46]

Mutis' efforts to foster instruction in areas that would stimulate economic growth were not limited to the mining operations he had undertaken before the establishment of the expedition. In 1785 Mutis informed the Archbishop-Viceroy of his studies on the uses and value of petroleum. He discovered natural sources of the mineral and proposed a project for extracting and exporting it, a plan which was not realized until a century after his death.[47]

Mutis carried out research on bees which produce white wax and urged Caballero y Góngora to foster a new industry in wax. His interest in economic development was not limited to an isolated industry for the benefit of a minority. He encouraged the viceroy to begin operations as soon as possible in order to open additional avenues of economic opportunities to the people.[48]

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[45]Ibid., pp. 86-87. Mutis' letter to Caballero y Góngora requesting the appointment of Vargas, 3 September 1785, is in Hernández de Alba, I, 250.

[46]Piñeros Corpas, p. 210.

[47]Hernández de Alba, I, 219.

[48]Ibid., pp. 219-220.

Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Góngora established a commission to promote the industry which functioned from 1784 to 1791.[49] Mutis cultivated, studied, and stimulated a market for other natural products, especially cinnamon, Bogotá tea, and coffee, which he carefully cultivated from Arabian coffee beans sent from Venezuela.

The new viceroy, José de Ezpeleta, who arrived at Bogotá in July 1789, was instrumental in arranging the transfer of the Botanical Expedition headquarters to Bogotá in 1791. This move was important since it concentrated in the capital of New Granada a group of enlightened creole leaders associated with the Botanical Expedition who were involved with Mutis in spreading knowledge of the New Philosophy, useful sciences and educational reform. When the expedition was moved to Bogotá, the farm at Mariquita was turned over to Juan José D'Elhuyar for safe-keeping of the botanical garden planted there.[50] Mutis, who was a partner in a silver mine, sold his rights to his friend and associate D'Elhuyar in 1793.[51]

Many of Restrepo's students from Popayán, including Francisco Antonio Zea, Francisco José de Caldas,

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[49]Piñeros Corpas, p. 231.

[50]Ibid., p. 215.

[51]Mendoza, p. 90.

Camilo Torres, José María Cabal, José María Carbonell and others, studied at Rosario or San Bartolomé in Bogotá and then served the Botanical Expedition as members, students or voluntary collaborators. By 1791 when the commission headquarters shifted to Bogotá, most of them were involved in the scientific, cultural and educational activity of the expedition. During this decade the movement for educational reform and the propagation of new ideas advanced in earnest.

The extent of the research conducted by the Botanical Expedition was not restricted to the environs of Bogotá. In 1791 Mutis sent Francisco Antonio Zea to Fusagasugá to study the flora, fauna, geography, and inhabitants and to collect other scientific data from that region. Sinforoso Mutis, don José's nephew, traveled to Socorro and then to Cuba for the same purposes.

Since the studies of the expedition involved more than botany, each of the members had a particular specialty and had been selected and trained by Mutis to perform specific duties. Jorge Tadeo Lozano, who joined the group in 1798, was one of the first practitioners of zoology in Latin America and wrote Fauna cundinamarquesa on the animal life of Cundinamarca, the province around Bogotá. The work was presented to the government at Bogotá.[52] Lozano studied chemistry, mineralogy and

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[52]Piñeros Corpas, p. 252.

botany in Madrid, and then later back in Bogotá he studied anatomy under Miguel de Isla, one of Mutis' students who became the first professor of modern medical practice in New Granada. While working for the Botanical Expedition Lozano taught mathematics at Rosario.[53] Like many of Mutis' students and assistants, Lozano venerated his mentor and in a letter to him wrote: "con más sublimes conocimientos la práctica de la más pura y cristiana moral instruyes, ilustras, y enriqueces la Patria que has adoptado."[54] And it was about this time, the decade of 1790, that the word patria began to be used with more frequency and deeper meaning.

Corresponding members of the expedition were at work throughout the viceroyalty. Eloy Valenzuela, Mutis' first assistant director who retired because of illness in 1786, continued to send in reports of his research from Bucaramanga.[55] Manual María Arboleda, Antonio Arboleda and Jerónimo Torres were contributors from Popayán. The correspondent from Quito was Juan de Larrea.

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[53]González Suárez, p. 110.

[54]Pérez-Arbeláez, I, 84.

[55]The monographs Valenzuela published in Caldas' Semanario and in journals in Cartagena are listed in Juan Manuel Pacheco, La ilustración en el Nuevo Reino (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1975), p. 42.

José Ignacio de Pombo, who had studied at Popayán and later at Rosario, was active in Cartagena. In 1806 he informed Mutis that his plan for schools of art and mathematics and a botanical garden had been accepted by the council of Cartagena.[56] Diego García was another associate from the same area of the viceroyalty. He worked with the expedition for seven years, carrying out botanical studies around the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta, at Maracaibo and along the coast of Caracas.[57] García was responsible for the discovery of palo de ariza, used as a coagulant.[58] José Manuel Restrepo, the future historian of the revolutionary period, studied science with Caldas and returned to Antioquia with books and instruments to carry out scientific research in that province.[59] Joaquín Camacho, who graduated from Rosario in jurisprudence and canon law in 1787, became a professor of philosophy and in 1791 was appointed professor of the new course in public law until

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[56]Pombo's numerous letters to Mutis were published in 1912 by Diego Mendoza in Lecturas Populares, the literary supplement to El Tiempo (Bogotá).

[57]Piñeros Corpas, p. 263.

[58]Luis Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, La evolución educativa en Colombia (Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956), p. 177.

[59]Pacheco, pp. 64-65.

it was prohibited in 1794 by Viceroy Ezpeleta. His studies in science at the Botanical Expedition with Mutis and Zea were interrupted in 1794 when he became involved in the revolutionary activity of Nariño.[60] The course in public law was probably held responsible for fostering such activity, as would recur years later when Bolívar and Santander blamed the turmoil of their administration on the ideas of Jeremy Bentham's text and suspended its use in the law curriculum.

Antonio Nariño, although not a member of the Botanical Expedition, studied science along with his friends Fermín de Vargas, Zea and other associates of the commission. The Casino, the literary society Nariño formed in 1789, was devoted to science, with portraits of Newton and Benjamin Franklin decorating the salón at his home.[61] A member of his group was the assistant director of the Botanical Expedition, Francisco Antonio Zea. Zea had finished his studies at Popayán in 1785 and entered San Bartolomé where he obtained the licentiate in law. He tutored Viceroy Ezpeleta's children until named to the Botanical Expedition in November 1791. Following a year and a half in natural science under

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[60]Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), II, 45-46.

[61]Ibid., I, 218.

Mutis, he went to Fusagasugá.[62] Like many of those who were arrested with Nariño in 1794 because of revolutionary activity and sent to prison in Spain, Zea took advantage of his presence in Europe to further his scientific knowledge. Following his release from prison at Cádiz, he was appointed professor of natural science and assistant director of the Botanical Expedition at Madrid; upon the death of Antonio José Cavanilles, Zea assumed the position of director.[63] During the same year, 1805, he became editor of two periodicals, the Gaceta and the Mercurio. At that time Zea published his well-received article "Acerca del mérito y utilidad de la Botánica."[64] He also became director of the Semanario de Agricultura y Artes published at Madrid,[65] and maintained these positions until the invasion of Napoleon's troops. As an afrancesado he accepted a post in the government of Joseph Bonaparte, but with the expulsion of the French from Spain, Zea took refuge in Paris and then in London.[66] Another

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[62]Humberto Bronx, Francisco A. Zea y selección de sus escritos (Medellín: Talleres Imprenta Municipal, 1967), p. 146.

[63]Pacheco, p. 45.

[64]Bronx, pp. 80-83.

[65]Pacheco, p. 45.

[66]Botero Saldarriaga, pp. 118-121. In addition to correspondence with Linnaeus and many others, Mutis' students abroad provided him with further contacts. Schonsboe and Labilladiere, natural scientists in

conspirator in Nariño's revolutionary literary group sent to prison at Cádiz was José María Cabal. Cabal was a young friend of Caldas and Zea and was tutored in natural science by the latter. In a letter to his parents, Cabal refers to Zea as friend and tutor: "La franqueza que usa conmigo no la disfruta otro, pues sólo a mi confía sus buenos libros, y manifiesta el deseo que tiene de mi ilustración."[67] Like Zea he studied natural history, especially botany, when released from prison. In 1802 he traveled to Paris to confer with Zea, Humboldt and others. Francisco José de Caldas wrote in the Semanario, a journal devoted to natural science, that Cabal had gone to Paris:

> con el fin de que al lado de Vauquelin, de Biot y de otros químicos de primer orden, profundízase los secretos de la química y de la mineralogía y viniese a sembrar después esos conocimientos a su Patria. El realizó este proyecto digno de un Sabio y él tendrá siempre la gloria de haber traído al seno de la Nueva Granada la ciencia de Lavoisier y de Chaptal.[68]

Europe, began correspondence with Mutis through meeting Zea (Gredilla, p. 265). Mutis likewise corresponded with M. de Luis Née, the French botanist who accompanied Malaspina on the scientific research trip around the world (Gredilla, p. 303).

[67]Tulio Enrique Tascón, Nueva biografía del General José María Cabal (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, 1930), p. 53.

[68]Alberto Andrade A., José María Cabal: Prócer de la Independencia (Bogotá: Imprenta de las Fuerzas Militares, 1973), p. 62.

Cabal stayed in the French capital until 1809 when he returned to New Granada to pursue the political and military activity which earned him the title of prócer of independence.[69]

However, not all of those who found themselves in Europe as a result of their involvement with Nariño put their studies to good use. For example, Enrique Umaña studied mineralogy until 1809, the year he returned to New Granada, but failed to make any worthwhile contributions in that area in spite of the insistence of his wife and friends.[70] And others, such as Antonio José Escallón y Flórez, have been given as collaborators of Mutis. Escallón was one of Mutis' first students of mathematics and a botanist.[71] Mutis mentioned him in a letter to Humboldt as one of their mutual friends,[72] although no evidence of his work with the expedition can be found.

The expedition stimulated scientific inquiry among individuals not directly associated with the organization in Bogotá. Mutis received correspondence, information and

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[69]Ibid., p. 41. Also consult Tascón's biography written predominantly from letters to and from Cabal.

[70]Pacheco, p. 69.

[71]"Centenario de Humboldt," p. 55.

[72]Hernández de Alba, II, 159.

samples not only from within the viceroyalty of New Granada but from the rest of South America, as well as carrying on correspondence with the most distinguished scholars of Europe. In one letter don José indicated that friendships previously established opened the way for further contacts: "conocí muy bien a Swedenburg [the Swedish mystic, philosopher and scientist] a cuya amistad debo mi correspondencia con los sabios de Suecia."[73] Mutis was held in high esteem by the viceroys and he influenced them to intercede in the mission of spreading scientific investigations. He suggested to Caballero y Góngora that it would be necessary:

> que Vuestra Excelencia se sirva dar orden en Mompós al comisionado, y en Cartagena al señor Gobernador para que los que allí practican la medicina y cirugía formen cada uno por separado una relación circunstanciada de las virtudes del "Cativo de Mangle."[74]

This substance is a resin which supposedly cured leprosy sores and other wounds. Another letter to the Archbishop-Viceroy indicates that the enlightening influence of the expedition was beginning to have a favorable effect on the youth; Mutis sought his assistance this time "para que se digne promover . . . las ciencias de que forma ya sus delicias la florida juventud americana. . . ."[75]

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[73]Ibid., I, 233.

[74]Ibid., 211.

[75]Ibid., 255.

The period was one of mutual interest in science and cooperative interchange; Mutis received materials from various parts of the world and in return sent samples and studies to various centers of learning in Europe, especially to Linnaeus and the Academy of Upsala in Sweden. Mutis corresponded with Goicoechea and other scientists in Guatemala and contributed to the Gazeta de Guatemala. It was perhaps due to this correspondence with individuals in Guatemala that one of Mutis' associates, Antonio García Redondo, went to that southern area of New Spain shortly after the turn of the century. In Guatemala he became a champion of the Indian and advocated the establishment of an astronomical observatory,[76] such as the one Mutis had founded in Bogotá in 1802. In 1787 and 1788 Mutis received letters from Sessé, director of the Botanical Expedition to New Spain, and from Vicente Cervantes, his assistant, requesting that the sister organization in New Granada send seeds and plants of Mutis' discoveries--Bogotá tea, cinchona and cinnamon--for the botanical garden in Mexico.[77]

While Mutis worked diligently at teaching and preparing assistants, he did not neglect his duties at

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[76]John Tate Lanning, The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), p. 118.

[77]Arias Divito, pp. 90-91.

the Botanical Expedition. When the commission was moved to Bogotá in 1791, the facilities were expanded to allow for the herbarium, the art school, and the addition of a chemical laboratory and a school of botany. The collection of the natural science section was so extensive that it was converted into a museum of cultural history, the first in New Granada. The library of the Botanical Expedition contained 6,000 volumes[78] which Humboldt affirmed was the best he had seen in the New World and was second only to that of Banks in London.[79] On 18 October 1801 Bernardo Anillo, an engineer sent by Charles IV to Bogotá as Director of Public Works, opened the first school of art and architecture, which was separate from the school of art maintained by the Botanical Expedition. However, the two centers communicated and collaborated in their labors.[80]

José Celestino Mutis was widely known in Europe by this time, due to the samples and studies he had sent to the Botanical Garden in Madrid as well as to other cities. Accounts of Mutis and his discoveries were included in Linnaeus' classification system. Alexander

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[78]Daniel Samper Ortega, Homenaje del Municipio de Bogotá a la ciudad en su IV centenario (Bogotá: La Litografía Colombia, 1938), p. 68.

[79]"Centenario de Humboldt," p. 52.

[80]Bohórquez Casallas, p. 172.

von Humboldt was familiar with the contributions of don José and had seen his collection in Madrid while seeking permission to travel to the Spanish possessions in the New World. He left Madrid with the required passport in May 1799 and the following month set sail from Cádiz. Humboldt, accompanied by Aimé Bonpland, explored the regions around Caracas and up the Orinoco, and later sailed to Cuba. Humboldt and Bonpland were met in Havana by Dr. Luis de Rieux who accompanied them to Cartagena. Dr. de Rieux was a member of the Botanical Expedition who had been involved, along with several other associates of Mutis, in the revolutionary plots of Antonio Nariño in 1794. The scientists reached Cartagena in April 1801, although one historian contends that their arrival occurred during the previous year.[81] They stayed with Mutis' associate and correspondent of the Botanical Expedition, José Ignacio de Pombo, at his home in Turbaco from where they departed on 29 April 1801.[82]

Mutis alerted his friends at Guaduas and Honda, requesting that they meet the travelers at those stop-over towns in order to make their journey more pleasant.

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[81]Armando Dugand, "El primer arribo de Humboldt a la Nueva Granada," Revista Colombiana de Ciencias Exactas, IX, No. 35 (1954), 210-213.

[82]"Centenario de Humboldt," p. 49.

At Guaduas Humboldt, Bonpland and de Rieux boarded with José Acosta, whose son, Joaquín Acosta, later became the famous general, geographer and historian.[83] Dr. de Rieux escorted the travelers up the Magdalena River to the transfer town of Honda, the location of de Rieux's home where he had amassed, like Nariño, an extensive library, including works from the European Enlightenment.

In Bogotá during July and August 1801, the explorers talked with Mutis, the man they had gone there to meet. They also became acquainted with his assistants and Humboldt "was amazed at the critical acumen and the philosophical audacity of the Creoles. These men were intellectuals as the result of long educational discipline."[84] During their two-month stay the explorers visited the salt mines of Zipaquirá, Tequendama Falls and Guatavita. Hernández de Alba, in one of his articles, considers Humboldt to be the founder of Manuela Sanz de Santa María de Manrique's tertulia called the Buen Gusto, where the German explorer met Camilo Torres and other members of the literary circle.[85]

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[83]Ibid., p. 52. General Joaquín Acosta published the second edition of Caldas' Semanario, along with some of Caldas' unpublished works, in Paris in 1849.

[84]Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, South America Called Them (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), p. 134.

[85]"Centenario de Humboldt," p. 54.

Mutis presented his best color plates of natural history to Humboldt who in turn left some of his scientific studies with Mutis. The one hundred plates, along with a study of cinchona, were forwarded to the National Academy of France. The last part of Humboldt's letter reads:

> C'est le célèbre Mutis que nous a fait ce cadeau aussi intéressant pour la nouveauté des végétaux que pour la grande beauté des planches coloriées. Nous avons cru, citoyens, que ces collections seraient plus utiles aux progrès de la botanique en les offrant à l'Institut national. . . .[86]

In subsequent writings Humboldt commented on Mutis' role as educator at the Botanical Expedition:

> Mutis acogía con bondad a los jóvenes que mostraban disposiciones para el estudio, y les suministraba libros e instrumentos; a sus expensas hizo viajar a muchos de ellos.[87]

Concerning the effectiveness of educational reform and the accomplishments of the Botanical Expedition, Humboldt remarked: "por todas partes se observa un gran movimiento intelectual, una juventud dotada de excepcional facilidad para comprender los principios de la ciencia." He further stated that cultural progress was extremely noticeable in Mexico, Havana, Lima, Santa Fe (Bogotá), Quito, Popayán and Caracas.[88] A letter from

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[86]Ibid., p. 53.

[87]Ibid.

[88]José Enrique Arboleda V., "Discurso," Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Colombia, XXVI, No. 99 (1968), 170-171.

Humboldt to Mutis reveals that in the years following Mutis' arrival much intellectual progress had been made, as the German naturalist encountered "una efervescencia intelectual que no era conocida en 1760, deseo de poseer libros y de conocer los nombres de los hombres célebres, una conversación que rueda sobre objetos mas interesantes que el nacimiento de calidad."[89]

Humboldt and Bonpland left Bogotá on 9 September and arrived at Popayán two months later.[90] They were met by Francisco José de Caldas, another member of the Botanical Expedition. Caldas, following his studies with Restrepo at Popayán, had gone to Bogotá in October 1788. With the transfer of the expedition headquarters to Bogotá two years later, the young Caldas continued to cultivate his interest in science, returning to Popayán in 1793 to begin studies in geography, physics and botany. He had traveled to Quito for further scientific research. His correspondence with Mutis began on 5 August 1801,[91] through which he became aware of the arrival of Humboldt and Bonpland. Caldas met them at Ibarra and accompanied

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[89]Pacheco, p. 32.

[90]Jorge Arias de Greiff, "Itinerario de Humboldt y Bonpland," Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Colombia, XXVI, No. 100 (1968), 254-255.

[91]Alfredo D. Bateman, "Cronología de Caldas," Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Colombia, XXVI, No. 99 (1968), 149.

them to Quito where they stayed with Juan Pío Montúfar, the Marquis of Selva Alegre. Caldas was a specialist in astronomy and upon his return to Bogotá in 1805 he was appointed to direct the Astronomical Observatory which had been founded by Mutis three years earlier.[92]

Young scholars and potential scientists, educated under an enlightened and reformed university system at San Bartolomé as well as at Rosario, continued to form a group around Mutis and his other disciples. Miguel de Pombo and Joaquín Camacho became associated with the expedition as botanists. Benedicto Domínguez served as astronomer. By 1806 the commission included eleven scientists, five organizational officials, ten artists and fourteen students.[93] In addition, correspondents and unofficial collaborators enlarged the intellectual circle. As the director of a formal institution, Mutis was in a position to request funds for additional members and money for teaching his disciples, and often "una de

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[92]Details of Caldas' scientific research may be found in monographs such as Lino de Pombo, Luis María Murillo and Alfredo D. Bateman, Francisco José de Caldas (Bogotá: Librería Voluntad, Ltda., 1958) and Alfredo D. Bateman, Francisco José de Caldas (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1969). Although Caldas was one of the major figures of the period, there has been no definitive study made nor are there any works in English.

[93]Luis Duque Gómez, El descubrimiento de la tumba del sabio Mutis (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1960), p. 13.

las escasas recompensas materiales consistia en bautizar con nombres propios a las nuevas plantas."[94] Thus, Indian corn or maize was named zea in honor of Francisco Antonio Zea, an assistant director of the expedition. And Mutis gave the name valenzuelaea to another of his discoveries in honor of his student and first assistant, Eloy Valenzuela.

Sinforoso Mutis, Caldas and Rizo were at the bedside of don José when he died on 11 September 1808. Afterwards, Caldas shared with Sinforoso the direction of the Botanical Expedition. Sinforoso supervised the botanical section and Caldas was charged with the rest while maintaining his position as director of the Astronomical Observatory. In 1814 Juan Jurado was named director of the Botanical Expedition. During the reconquest in 1816 the Spanish general Morillo had orders to send all the items of the expedition to Madrid. Sinforoso Mutis, at the time a prisoner of Morillo, was obliged to pack most of the plates and collections. The work of Mutis and the expedition was transferred to the Botanical GArden of Madrid in 104 boxes which contained over 6,000 drawings and color plates, 2,000 species of plants, and forty volumes of documents and letters pertaining to

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[94]Elisa Mújica, "Mutis y sus 6,690 láminas," El Tiempo (Bogotá), 29 April 1973, pp. 1 and 7.

Mutis and the Real Expedición Botánica de la América Septentrional.[95] The library belonging to the Botanical Expedition was placed in the public library at San Bartolomé by order of Vice-president Santander in 1822.[96]

The cultural and intellectual progress contributed by the Botanical Expedition did not cease with the death of don José since, as his pupil Lozano wrote, Mutis

> ha instruido un número competente de discípulos que le ayudan en tan importantes tareas, y a imitación del Astro del día ha desterrado las tinieblas de la ignorancia del hemisferio en que brillan sus virtudes y talento.[97]

Mutis introduced into New Granada the "new ideas" of modern philosophy and science, educational reform, scientific inquiry and the scientific method, especially at the Botanical Expedition, and stimulated intellectual curiosity, all manifestations of the Enlightenment. More important perhaps was his preparation of assistants who would aid him with these endeavors and continue them after his death. The importance of the Botanical Expedition as an institution of higher learning has been certified by several historians, including Bohórquez

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[95]A list of Mutis' numerous scientific studies, both published and unpublished, is given in Suárez, pp. 102-104; see also Mendoza, p. 98. Unfortunately, the majority of these works--like his treatises on natural science, mathematics, and geometry and his comments on Newton--remain unpublished.

[96]Bohórquez Casallas, pp. 171-172.

[97]Pérez-Arbeláez, I, 84.

Casallas in La evolución educativa en Colombia. In his opinion the expedition was the only genuine university which as a research institution filled the purpose of scientific investigation and education. Begun as a commission of botanists, the Botanical Expedition of New Granada soon acquired a genuine "university spirit."[98]

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[98]Bohórquez Casallas, pp. 171-172.

CHAPTER III

THE LITERARY SOCIETIES

The presence of literary societies during the final decade of the eighteenth century represents a major aspect of the Enlightenment in New Granada--second only to the Botanical Expedition in their widespread activity and influence--and an intellectual characteristic common to most of Latin America. Following the traditions of the literary and philosophical salons in France and the tertulias of Spain, the societies in the Americas complemented and in many cases furthered the spread of new ideas at some schools, colleges and universities. The appearance of the literary societies was a natural development of the intellectual undercurrent manifest during the Enlightenment. Their appearance was conducive to cultural progress in general and educational reform in particular because they sustained interest in the search for knowledge and allowed the participants to discuss vital issues in an atmosphere favorable to the formulation of ideas.

In the opinion of Juan Manuel Pacheco, author of a recent monograph on the Enlightenment in New Granada, the literary societies of Spain and Latin America by the middle of the eighteenth century were no longer mere

intellectual gatherings but centers of study for the purpose of influencing the public life of the nation.[1] Sanín Cano, a literary historian, asserts that the literary societies stimulated aspirations for emancipation, thus serving as an impetus to political and social ideas. In the case of New Granada this impetus was more influential when literary ideas were combined with the scientific thought of the Botanical Expedition and the political and economic theories fostered by the economic societies. Sanín Cano points out that the literary societies firmly established the philosophical and sentimental attitude which resulted in an "American spirit."[2]

Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez in Bogotá wrote a report on the "State of New Granada" and forwarded it to Pedro de Acuña y Malbar, a representative of Charles IV, on 19 April 1793. Socorro Rodríguez delineated the revolutionary nature of the tertulias:

> la materia común de las tertulias eruditas es discurrir y aun formar proyectos acerca de la facilidad que hay de gozar la misma independencia que aquellos [en los Estados Unidos] gozan. La gente más infeliz y popular ha aprendido ya el mismo lenguaje de esos filósofos libertinos

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[1]Juan Manual Pacheco, La ilustración en el Nuevo Reino (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1975), p. 148.

[2]B. Sanín Cano, Letras colombianas (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944), p. 40.

> . . . los actuales sucesos de la Francia han dado un nuevo vigor a estos perniciosos raciocinios.[3]

His comments were not limited to the literary societies in New Granada as he later referred to the one in Lima "y otras de igual naturaleza," warning the Spanish authorities that "con mayor recelo me parece se deben mirar las sociedades o academias literarias . . . los hombres (principalmente los americanos) en estas asambleas se dejan transportar demasiado del entusiasmo patriótico. . . ."[4]

Another writer of the period, Miguel Luis Amunátegui, in a different part of Latin America, indicates that the meetings with revolutionary overtones were quite widespread. In his Precursors of the Independence of Chile and the Chronicle of 1810, Amunátegui made a detailed study of the intellectual genesis of the separatist movement in his own country. He described the secret gatherings in Santiago, Chile around 1780 led by José Antonio de Rojas from which the early revolutionary effort in that country emerged under the leadership of Antonio Berney, Antonio Gramusset and Antonio Rojas.[5] In documents reminiscent of Rousseau's, they

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[3]Antonio Cacua Prada, Don Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1966), p. 79.

[4]Ibid., p. 86.

[5]Mariano Picón-Salas, A Cultural History of Spanish America: From Conquest to Independence, trans. Irving

proclaimed the necessity of creating states in America that would remove all differences of race or creed.

A. Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez and the Tertulia Eutropélica

One of the more prominent groups in New Granada remained loyal to the Spanish crown. The Tertulia Eutorpélica, or "Good Times Society," which represented tradition, conservatism and adherence to royal authority in opposition to the liberal or revolutionary nature of other societies, was formed by Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez who was brought to New Granada from Cuba in 1790 by the recently-installed viceroy, José de Ezpeleta. Socorro Rodríguez, born in Cuba in 1758, was self-taught and earned such a reputation for his aptitude that he was examined by the University of San Carlos at Havana in October 1788 and within fifteen days had completed the test essays in prose, rhetoric and poetry. The rector of the university delivered a report on Socorro Rodríguez' successful completion of the examinations to the governor of Cuba, José de Ezpeleta, adding that the candidate was well-versed in Latin, philosophy, theology, jurisprudence, agriculture and arts.[6] When Ezpeleta was

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A. Leonard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 129-130.

[6]Cacua Prada, pp. 25-27. Socorro Rodríguez' first essay for the exams was an "Elogio de Carlos III,"

appointed viceroy of New Granada, Socorro Rodríguez accompanied him to his new post.

Viceroy Ezpeleta named Socorro Rodríguez head of Bogotá's Royal Library on 20 October 1790. The viceroy wrote a report on the young scholar's ability for the position: "conoce el mérito de muchos de ellos [libros], y sabe proporcionar a los jóvenes los que pueden serles mas útiles."[7] In July 1792 don Manuel formed a free school in a vacant room at the library and gave classes in moral education, or "decorum," ecclesiastical history, Greek, Roman and national mythology, Spanish language and orthography, elementary Hebrew and Greek, French, Italian, Portuguese and, in his own words:

> la lengua mozca [corruption of Muisca, referring to the Chibcha, the major Indian group in New Granada during its conquest and colonization], absolutamente olvidada en este Pais, la qual he aprendido con sumo trabajo, valido de la Gramatica de dicho idioma, que encontré en esta Biblioteca, con el objeto de metodisar y dar á luz unos manuscritos trabajados por dos Misioneros de la extinguida Compañia, que también existen en esta Biblioteca.[8]

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consisting of seventy-seven pages, and the second was "Las delicias de España," a poem of twenty-three pages. Both compositions were printed in 1829 in El Mensajero Semanal published in New York by J. A. Saco and Félix Varela. Another essay written by Socorro Rodríguez during the examinations, which lasted several months, was a 135-page criticism of some of Juan de Iriarte's works.

[7]José Torre Revello, "Ensayo de una biografía del bibliotecario y periodista don Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez," Thesaurus, III (1947), 12.

[8]Ibid., p. 13.

He also offered classes in poetry, geography, chronology, natural history, physics and "antiquaria." Classes were held and the library was open every day of the week including holidays. After several years, don Manuel's free classes were terminated due to lack of financial support but the professor continued teaching, accepting a chair at San Bartolomé.

Director of the public library, founder of a literary society and professor of numerous disciplines, Socorro Rodríguez also managed to find time to publish the first major periodical in New Granada, the Papel Periódico, in one issue of which he described the meetings of the Eutrópelica which he called:

> una junta de varios sujetos instruidos, de ambos sexos, bajo el amistoso pacto de concurrir todas las noches a pasar tres horas de honesto entretenimiento, discurriendo sobre todo género de materias útiles y agradables.[9]

Meeting every night for three hours indicates that the society was an intellectual seminar rather than a mere pastime. Entertainment and enjoyment were factors, as the very name of the society suggests; however, the utility theme was very much in evidence at these organized gatherings.

Socorro Rodríguez was the most prolific but not the

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[9]Archivo de la Biblioteca Nacional. Fondo Quijano Otero, 57. "Periódicos de la Colonia." Papel Periódico, No. 84, 21 September 1792.

best writer of the group which included poets such as José María Gruesso, José María Valdés and Francisco Antonio Rodríguez. José María Vergara y Vergara, a major historian and critic of Colombian literature, writing at the end of the nineteenth century, referred to Socorro Rodriguez' poetry: "en ninguna de ellas se ve un galicismo, ni en su estilo un gongorismo, pero son tan maravillosamente frías y prosaicos. . . ." Menéndez y Pelayo has asserted that he wrote "como de quién se proponía como único modelo a Iriarte."[10] Socorro Rodríguez himself referred to his stylistic preferences: "Siempre me ha gustado sobremanera el estudio de escritores antiguos, y se lo he recomendado a los jóvenes como el más a proposito para enoblecer su estilo." One of Socorro Rodríguez' planned projects was to write the "Historia gubernativa del Reyno," to which end he requested from the viceroy the necessary documents, decrees and other materials.[11] It appears that this work was never completed.

José María Gruesso, the most "literary" member of the circle, had studied at the Seminary of Popayán and

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[10]José María Vergara y Vergara, Historia de la literatura en Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Banco Popular, 1974), I, 197, and Jorge Pacheco Quintero, Antología de la poesía en Colombia (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973), II, 68.

[11]Archivo de la Biblioteca Nacional, "Colegios," Vol. III, folio 88.

then at San Bartolomé in Bogotá from which he received a law degree. Socorro Rodríguez gave him lessons in literature, stimulating his interest in poetry. His most noted work, "Las noches de Geussor" (anagram of Gruesso), recalls Young's "Night Thoughts" and one writer suggests that Gruesso imitates the style of Grey's "Elegy."[12] The same writer, Jorge Pacheco Quintero, indicates that Angel de Saavedra, the Duque de Rivas, father of Spanish Romanticism, was influenced by Gruesso's tragedy, which he came to know through a friend of Gruesso in Spain. The Duque de Rivas' ballad, "La vuelta deseada," published in the first edition of El moro expósito (1834), deals with his return to Spain following his exile by Ferdinand VII. However, the romantic element in Rivas' poem--the death of the beloved Jacinta upon the hero's arrival--was taken from Gruesso's autobiographical poem. Rivas even used the name of Gruesso's betrothed. "Las noches de Guessor" was inspired by a tragic event in the poet's life. Gruesso planned to wed Jacinta Ugarte in 1804 and establish residence in Popayán. Before the marriage he accompanied some friends on an outing to Tequendama Falls near Bogotá. Upon his return the following day, he found that Jacinta had died. Of the thirty nights or cantos

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[12]Pacheco Quintero, II, 155.

originally composed, only the first three, along with a prose introduction, are extant. Since the poem was an imitation of Young's "Night Thoughts" as well as a sincere expression of the Romantic tendency and does not reflect the Enlightenment or reaction to it, we shall reserve further comment for the final chapter of the present work which discusses the transition from Enlightenment to Romanticism.

José María Valdés, from Popayán, was one of the members of the Eutropélica group. He wrote epigrams, quintillas and redondillas. Few of his compositions are preserved today, and his connection to the tertulia and reputation as a poet are derived from comments by his contemporaries. Although the only work by Valdés which has come to us today is a collection of redondillas against women, his writing in a serious vein was considered "muy tierno y melancólico."[13]

Francisco Antonio Rodríguez (1750-1817), who graduated from the Seminary College at Popayán in 1767 and received the doctorate in jurisprudence in Bogotá, was a friend of Valdés and a member of Eutropélica. Like the majority of those attending the meetings, Rodríguez was a Neoclassical poet and his few compositions have been considered or little merit by several

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[13]Vergara y Vergara, II, 48.

critics.[14] His poems consist of a décima, which has been criticized for its "términos rebuscados y altisonantes,"[15] and a work called "Felicitación." The latter is a eulogy of one of the poet's ancestors, the oidor Nicolás Prieto y Dávila, in which a few lines are notable for their simplicity and directness as well as references to the influence of Suárez and subsequently science:

> cae la toga mejor . . .
> . . . a quien la misma Astrea pide auxilio;
> sobre ese noble corazón piadoso,
> magnánimo, bizarro, generoso;
> sobre ese fondo grande de prudencia;
> sobre esa pública y notoria ciencia,
> (ciencia tal, que aun usía sin ser suarista
> es más, sin duda, que ciencia-medista
> porque la ciencia media no tolera,
> por llevarse la ciencia toda entera).[16]

One of his works, scarcely thirty-two pages long, was published in 1806 by the Imprenta Real. It is a typical example of one of the common types of literature written during the period, the aristocratic eulogy, a holdover of the Baroque, extensively discussed by Picón-Salas.[17] The Eutropélica society primarily represented the traditional in literature, although many of the

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[14]Pacheco Quintero, II, 51.

[15]Vergara y Vergara, II, 48.

[16]Ibid., p. 50.

[17]Picón-Salas, especially Chapters VI and VII.

members were innovators and moderns in other areas.

B. The Buen Gusto Literary Society

The Buen Gusto literary circle was constituted under the auspices of San Bartolomé College[18] early in the final decade of the century. It imitated the society of the same name in Madrid formed by Josefa de Zúñiga y Castro, the Countess of Lemos.[19] The group in Bogotá met at the home of Manuela Santamaría de Manrique who was a naturalist in addition to her literary talents. Like many others influenced by the multifarious activities of Mutis, she formed and classified her own collection of natural history.[20] Alexander von Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland attended the meetings of Manuela's club and found that in addition to an adequate collection of materials on natural history--a subject which she discussed knowledgeably with the foreign travelers--she possessed an extensive library of literary and scientific works. She was fluent in Latin, Italian and French and

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[18]Pacheco Quintero, II, 155.

[19]José Joaquín Ortega T., Historia de la literatura colombiana (Bogotá: Editorial Cromos, 1935), p. 40.

[20]Vergara y Vergara, II, 54.

made translations into Spanish from literature in those languages.[21]

The most active members of the Buen Gusto group were José María Salazar, José María Gruesso, Francisco Antonio Ulloa and the Gutiérrez brothers. José María Salazar (1785-1828) depicted the activities of the circle: "Allí se estudiaba la historia y otras ramas de la literatura; se componían discursos y poemas, estimulados por premios de honor propuestos por los protectores de esta virtuosa sociedad."[22] Salazar was born in the province of Antioquia and studied law at San Bartolomé. Works from his early years include "El soliloquio de Eneas" and "El sacrificio de Idomeneo" which were recited at the theater in Bogotá. In 1804 he published "El placer público de Santafé," dedicated to Viceroy Amar y Borbón. After receiving the doctorate in law he went to Mompós to become vice-rector of the secondary school which Pedro Pinillos had just inaugurated there. He was still there at the outbreak of the revolution in 1810. In Mompós he translated Boileau's Art

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[21]José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de M. Rivas, 1890), II, 357; see also Luis Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, La evolución educative en Colombia (Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956), p. 263.

[22]Pacheco, La ilustración, p. 149. Pacheco cites Salazar's Memorias biográficas de la Nueva Granada, VII, published by José María Gutiérrez in the Correo del Orinoco (Angostura), No. 50, 29 January 1820.

poétique (he knew seven languages) which he published in 1828 with a dedication to José Ignacio de Pombo, a scholar at Cartagena. Salazar also wrote an heroic poem to Columbus called "La Colombiada" in seven cantos and 435 octavas reales. His poetry was principally an evocation of ancient history, especially Greek. However, he did write "A la muerte de Lord Byron," indicating that those who held to Neoclassical tradition in literature were not deaf or insensitive to the new mood and mode of Romanticism. That sensitivity can be attributed to the interest in natural science fostered by the Botanical Expedition. Salazar was both sensitive to and scientifically familiar with the natural surroundings of Cundinamarca and published an article on that province of New Granada in Francisco José de Caldas' scientific and literary weekly, El Semanario de Nueva Granada.[23] In addition to literature and science, history interested Salazar who was an honorary and corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society.[24]

José María Gruesso (1779-1835) was a member of both the Eutropélica and the Buen Gusto societies. While the first group was more or less traditional in

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[23]Ortega T., p. 42.

[24]José de Onís, The United States as Seen by Spanish American Writers, 1776-1890 (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1952), p. 32.

its literary tastes, the second was not without its subversive political overtones among some of the members. The position of Gruesso lies somewhere in between and beyond. Politically he could be counted among the traditionalists, a royalist born in Popayan. But this position changed when he met Bolívar in 1822, dedicated a poem to him and considered himself a citizen of the new republic. In literature Gruesso goes beyond most of his contemporaries. His poems, such as "Las noches de Geussor," "Lamentaciones de Puben" (in which the word románticos is said to be used for the first time in American poetry) and "La destrucción de Honda,"[25] link him to Romanticism, not as an imitator but as a precursor.

José Miguel Montalvo, born in 1783, was another member of the Buen Gusto circle and perhaps became interested in literature through a relative, the Spanish fabulista Iriarte. Montalvo was a student at Rosario. His early literary composition consists of a tragic soliloquy called "El Zagal de Bogotá," presented at the theater in Bogotá in February 1806. Although he wrote a political satire during the early republican period,

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[25]These poems or selections from them are found in Pacheco Quintero, Antología, II, 155-179. Pacheco Quintero asserts that Gruesso was the first American poet to use the word románticos; it appears in the poem, "Lamentaciones de Puben." Although the date of composition is not clear, it was probably written around 1810.

"Los ratones federados" (1811), published in the Constitucional de Cundinamarca on 27 July 1834, he is most noted for his editorship of the Gazeta Ministerial, along with José María Gómez de Salazar, which first came out on 6 October 1811.[26]

José Fernández Madrid (1789-1830) is perhaps the best-known poet of the Buen Gusto tertulia. He was originally from Cartagena and studied at Rosario in Bogotá, graduating with a doctorate in law. He studied medicine and received a degree in that discipline as well. Since he was no more than a child when he attended the meetings at Manuela's home, which stimulated his artistic interest, his major literary works were composed during and after the independence period and will be discussed in a later chapter.

Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez (1770-1816) was a student at San Bartolomé and became a lawyer and professor of public law at the same college where he lectured on the modern theories of jurisprudence developed during the Enlightenment. He attended the meetings of Buen Gusto and wrote political poetry. Beginning in 1809 he advocated independence in his classes and in the "Cartas de Suba," which were published in February and March 1809. His "Cartas" have been called "el primer grito

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[26]Vergara y Vergara, II, 57.

que se lanzó en favor de (la) libertad, reclamando los derechos de las Américas."[27] With the declaration of independence from a Spain controlled by Napoleon, Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez and Camilo Torres composed a manifesto called "Motivos que han obligado al Nuevo Reyno de Granada a reasumir los derechos de la soberanía," encompassing 135 pages, 4,000 copies of which were published. One of Gutiérrez's speeches on the organization of a republican government was printed in October 1810.

José María Gutiérrez, brother of Frutos Joaquín, was active in education. During the public oral examinations for course conclusions at San Bartolomé, José María made a brilliant survey of the theories of mathematics and even presented a simpler method for determining square roots, to the great satisfaction of Mutis.[28] He was appointed vice-rector of the Real Universidad de San Apóstol founded on 29 August 1809 by Pedro Martínez de Pinillos at Mompós and recognized as equal to that of Bogotá. On 6 August 1810 Mompós declared its independence from Spain or any other foreign domination and José María signed the document. A literary contest at the Buen Gusto, in which Madrid, Salazar and Ulloa participated,

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[27]Ibid., p. 59.

[28]Ibid., pp. 60-61

was won by José María Gutiérrez with a translation of "L'Avorton," which was at first thought to be the work of Mademoiselle Guerchy, in the court of Louis XIV, causing a great scandal in France. It has since been shown to come from the French poet Hénault (died in Paris, 1682).[29]

One of the younger members of Buen Gusto was José Angel Manrique (1777-1822), son of the founder and director of the group. He was a student at Rosario, became involved in the revolutionary plots of Antonio Nariño in 1794 and participated in secret discussions at Rosario on the French revolution, as documents recently discovered indicate.[30] His literary contribution consists of two poems, both burlesque satires of regions of New Granada--"La Tocaimada" and "La Tunjanada." Critics have perceived signs of talent in his work, however, the two poems mentioned represent his only literary production. It is significant that the burlesque satire is regarded by at least one critic as Neoclassicism in decadence.[31]

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[29]Vergara y Vergara, II, 157-158. The final tercet of Gutiérrez's translation of "L'Avorton" is as follows:

> Dos tiranos juzgaron de tu suerte:
> Amor contra el Honor, te dio la vida
> Honor, contra el Amor, te da la muerte.

[30]The fact that tertulias were held at Rosario, as indicated by documents at the Academia Colombiana de Historia, will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

[31]Germán Bleiberg as cited by Pacheco Quintero, II, 137.

Other members of the Buen Gusto circle include Francisco Antonio Ulloa who studied mathematics and the New Philosophy in Popayán with José Félix de Restrepo. Ulloa left Popayán for Bogotá where he studied civil law with Camilo Torres, a member of Buen Gusto, and through his personal relations with Mutis and Caldas became well-versed in natural science. Manuel Rodríguez Torices had studied at Rosario and learned humanities and natural science from the group at Buen Gusto. José Manuel Restrepo, later to become the first major historian of the revolution in New Granada, attended the meetings of the circle.[32] Francisco Javier Caro was a member of Buen Gusto who composed humorous burlesque poetry such as "Para dar días o noches," consisting of numerous décimas. The following provides an example of his style as well as an indication of the lighter side of the meetings:

> Dióle gana de cantar
> al borrico de un gitano,
> que se llama en castellano
> propiamente rebuznar.
> Un portugués a escuchar
> se puso, no sin temor,
> los gorjeos del cantor,
> y el gitano le decía:
> --vaya, no se azuste uzía,
> que el que canta es ruizeñor.

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[32]Pacheco, La ilustración, p. 65.

El portugués se finchó,
y dijo al engaña-bobos:
eu quero comer os ovos
daquel ave que cantó.
Mas luego que los comío
freitiños y caentiños,
os pestiños cadrodiños,
dijo con admiración:
Eles ovos, ovos son
ainda ten muitos comiños.[33]

José Domingo Duquesne, who wrote a study of the Chibcha calendar, was supposed to have written a burlesque criticism of peripatetic philosophy called "Paparrucho" although the work has never been found.[34] Many of the members of this society also participated in the activities of the Eutropélica while some belonged to the more renowned circle of Nariño.

C. Antonio Nariño's Revolutionary Circle

In 1789 Antonio Nariño formed the Casino, also called the Arcano de la Filantropía, which presented the innocent intent of promoting educational reform,[35] composing original pieces while reading and discussing contemporary literature from Europe. Within this tertulia a secret circle met in a room called the Santuario where

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[33]Vergara y Vergara, II, 72.

[34]Ibid., p. 80.

[35]Roberto María Tisnés J., Movimientos pre-independientes grancolombianos (Bogotá: Editorial e Imprenta Salesiana, 1962), p. 139.

the members actually planned reform, revolution and independence. Its members included Dr. Luis de Rieux, Pedro Fermín de Vargas, José María Cabal, Francisco Antonio Zea, Enrique Umaña, Joaquín Camacho, José María Lozano, José Antonio Ricuarte, José Luis Azuola, Juan Estebán Ricuarte, Francisco Tovar and Sinforoso Mutis, nephew of José Celestino Mutis.[36] The elder Mutis, along with Camilo Torres, donated books to the literary circle,[37] and Nariño's revolutionary associate, Pedro Fermín de Vargas, deposited his extensive collection of French and North American works when he began his adventurous peregrinations abroad in search of support for a revolution in New Granada. We will hear more of the elusive don Pedro in later chapters. In the meantime, the Casino held regular meetings between 1789 and 1794.

Part of the constitution of Nariño's Casino indicated that the tertulia, as the center of:

> cortesanía y espiritualidad de Santafé de Bogotá, ha de recibir en su seno a cuanto extranjero de nota que pise la capital. . . . Ha de irradiar tambien la tertulia la luz de la verdadera ciencia e infundir por que se modifiquen los estudios que

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[36]Thomas Blossom, Nariño: Hero of Colombian Independence (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1967), pp. 11-21.

[37]Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), I, 213.

se cursan en los colegios mayores. . . .[38]

The literary societies and the liberal discussions held at the meetings of Nariño's group were made possible by the atmosphere created by new ideas in the educational institutions in New Granada. The societies in turn contributed to the movement to modernize and liberalize education in the viceroyalty.

We can get an impression of Nariño's intellectual inclinations by looking at the description he wrote of the portraits and the maxims he planned to use for decorating the meeting room. One wall, dedicated to "Liberty," was adorned with figures of Socrates and Rousseau with the legend: "La verdad, la soledad, el desinterés los distinguieron en Atenas y en Ginebra. El estudio del corazón del hombre en todas las naciones." He placed Pliny and Buffon on the same wall with the phrase: "La naturaleza les abrió sus tesoros." To summarize the idea of liberty, Nariño used a statement by Rousseau which he translated: "Aquel es verdaderamente libre que no necesita poner los brazos de otro al fin de los suyos para hacer su voluntad." Another wall was dedicated to "Minerva" with portraits and maxims by Tacitus, Plato, Raynal, Newton and Franklin. Of the

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[38]Gabriel Porras Troconis, Historia de la cultura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952), p. 390.

latter Nariño stated: "Quitó al cielo el rayo de las manos y el cetro a los tiranos."[39] As Harry Bernstein has pointed out, Benjamin Franklin exerted a great deal of influence on the Spanish American Enlightenment, second only to Newton in widespread popularity and influence. According to Professor Bernstein, "he warmed the 'climate of opinion' far more than did Thomas Jefferson, and appeared to Spanish Americans as the symbol of North American science and democracy."[40] Much of Franklin's work was translated and published in 1790 by José Alzate y Ramírez in the Gazeta de literatura de México which was received in New Granada.

Franklin, whose life and works reveal the link between science and revolution in North America, based his philosophy on the maxim: "True philosophy could be founded only on patient and accurate observation, which must always take precedence over conjectures and suppositions."[41] Caldas, Nariño, Fermín de Vargas and many others--scientists turned revolutionaries--likewise began with precepts of the New Philosophy based on Newton and

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[39]Gómez Hoyos, I, 214.

[40]Harry Bernstein, "Some Inter-American Aspects of the Enlightenment," in Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., Latin America and the Enlightenment, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), p. 56.

[41]A. O. Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the Philosophes," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, XXIV (1963), 52.

the analytic method as opposed to scholasticism and superstition. Here we have an example of parallel patterns of thought and activity produced by similar, if not equal, intellectual currents. However, Franklin was not the only North American nor Rousseau the only European venerated by Nariño: another section of the meeting place was devoted to "Reason" with figures of Xenophon, Washington, Solomon and Montesquieu. The fourth wall was dedicated to "Philosophy" with portraits or figures of Cicero, Demosthenes, William Pitt and--if we may overlook the egotism--Nariño himself.[42]

In 1794 Nariño and his associates were arrested for the translation and publication of the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" and other activities declared seditious, ending the discussions held at the Casino and the Santuario.[43] Intellectual, literary and revolutionary activity carried out at the tertulias was not limited to Bogotá. Mariano Lemos formed a literary society at Popayán in 1800 which was attended by José Felix de Restrepo.[44] José Ignacio de Pombo was active in the

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[42]Gómez Hoyos, I, 214-215.

[43]The revolutionary activities of Nariño's circle will be surveyed in the first chapter of Part III.

[44]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Vida y escritos del doctor José Félix de Restrepo (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1935), p. 20.

tertulia at Cartagena and another port city, Santa Marta, had its own gathering.

The literary societies were an important aspect of the Enlightenment in New Granada. Like the Botanical Expedition, they served as additional sources for receiving, discussing and spreading new ideas. The circles may be considered liberal "graduate schools" in their own right. More important, they provided a transition in the patterns of thought from modern philosophy and science to modern political theories. The transition is clearly seen in the nature of the three circles in Bogotá: the conservative Eutropélica promoted modernization but principally in philosophy and science; the Buen Gusto was also conservative but not entirely adverse to discussing and writing about the liberal ideas filtering in from France and the United States; and Nariño's group, interested in the modern philosophy and science of Newton and Franklin, likewise promoted activity based on the social and political theories of Franklin, Rousseau and Montesquieu.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMIC SOCIETIES

Of the three types of institutions which evolved along with the colleges and universities--the botanical expeditions, the tertulias and the economic or patriotic societies--the economic societies represent an equally important aspect of the Enlightenment and in many ways a combination of the first two institutions previously discussed. The botanical expeditions--an inappropriate term since they involved more than casual excursions in the jungle to collect flowers for Charles III's palace--were organized academies of research and learning. They had a common philosophy and a unified purpose: scientific research for intellectual as well as material progress. The expeditions were few but long-lived; most were active for a decade and the one in New Granada carried out its activities for a third of a century. The botanical expeditions were officially approved and subsidized by the Spanish crown.

The tertulias made additional contributions to the cultural growth of the areas where they functioned. While each exhibited a particular purpose--entertainment, discussions of literature, philosophy, and science, the composition or translation of literary works and so forth--

there was no unifying philosophy, no purposeful activity to achieve any common goal. They contributed to the intellectual current as did the botanical expeditions but their concrete contributions were limited to a few literary works or translations. The tertulias were smaller nuclei of the New Philosophy than the expeditions but much more numerous. These informal academies of learning were tolerated by Spanish authorities but not officially recognized.

The economic societies were well-organized institutions with philosophies and goals common to all of them. Like the botanical expeditions their philosophies and aims were translated into activity. While they were not as encompassing nor as enduring as the expeditions, they were scattered throughout much of the western world.[1] The economic societies were more readily accepted

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[1]There are varying estimates of the number of economic societies: Roger Hahn, in "The Application of Science to Society: The Societies of Arts," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, XXV (1963), 832, has located "almost fifty such institutions in all parts of the civilized world of the 18th century"; Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., in Latin America and the Enlightenment, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), p. 14, asserts that there were forty in Spain alone; Fernando Díaz-Plaja, in La vida española en el siglo XVIII (Barcelona: Editorial Alberto Martín, 1946), p. 99, lists fifty-four as the number of societies in Spain; and Robert J. Shafer, in The Economic Societies in the Spanish World, 1763-1821 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1958), p. 48, found seventy formed in Spain between 1770 and 1820.

than the tertulias; with the participation of ecclesiastical and governmental officers they became official or semi-official organizations. The economic societies in New Granada were related to the Botanical Expedition in another sense: the studies of the expedition--not limited to botany, or even natural science--contributed to areas of knowledge necessary for the activities of the economic societies. Treatises on the promotion of secular schools, agricultural development, industry, commerce and so forth, which were the concerns of the economic societies, were made possible by the research carried out by the various departments of the Botanical Expedition. The relationship between the scientific studies of the Botanical Expedition, the economic and patriotic works of the economic societies, and revolutionary currents is manifested in the ideas and activities of the New Granadines Fermín de Vargas, José Ignacio de Pombo and Eugenio Espejo--correspondents of the Botanical Expedition, economists and revolutionaries.

Stimulation from abroad for the formation of the economic societies in Spain was provided by similar societies established in England (1757), in Paris and the provinces of France (1761), as well as other groups in Zurich, Geneva and Dublin.[2] The general philosophy of

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[2]Roger Hahn, in the article cited above, quotes a passage from the Mémoires de la Société établie à Genève

these societies was to promote prosperity through improvements in agriculture, industry and commerce. The basic principle of utility was incorporated into the economic societies formed in Spain and Latin America.[3] Roger Hahn, in a recent article on the societies of arts--a broad term which includes the economic or patriotic societies--has indicated that they all "shared a commitment to better man's material well-being, often to the exclusion of any concern with metaphysical or philosophical questions."[4]

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pour l'encouragement des arts et de l'agriculture (1779) which indicates the universality of the utility theme:

> L'établissement des Compagnies lettrées a été favorable aux Arts par le rapport nécessaire qu'ils ont avec les Sciences. Mais il étoit réservé à nos jours de voir naître des Institutions qui eussent uniquement les Arts [practical arts and crafts, not fine arts] pour objet. Le siècle dernier semble s'être proposé la gloire de l'esprit humain; celui-ci travaille pour le bien des hommes (p. 829).

[3]The utility theme of the economic societies was prominent in the North American Enlightenment as well, especially in the thought of Benjamin Franklin, a figure admired by many New Granadines, who proposed a scientific society in Philadelphia (1727) to promote "all philosophical experiments that . . . tend to increase the power of man over matter, and multiply the conveniences or pleasures of life" (A. O. Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the Philosophes," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, XXIV, 1963, p. 59). Also see Franklin's "Rules for a Club Established for Mutual Improvement" and his proposal for promoting useful knowledge written in 1743 which led to the establishment of the American Philosophical Society (1744) in Adrienne Koch, ed., The American Enlightenment (New York: George Graziller, 1965), pp. 110 and 118.

[4]Hahn, p. 832.

The principles of political and legal philosophy developed by the French physiocrat Quesnay also had their influence on the economic societies. Quesnay's thesis that the laws governing social and moral questions should be considered "natural laws" like the natural laws of physics contributed to ideas on the attainment of security, property and economic rights that influenced the thought of the economic societies.[5] Benjamin Franklin in France supported the aims of the physiocrats and published articles in the Ephémérides du citoyen, one of which sets forth twelve economic "Positions to be Examined" in a system equivalent to that of the physiocrats.[6] A book on the cultural history of Spain stresses that the concerns of the societies for agricultural improvement stems mainly from the influence of the physiocrats.[7]

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[5]Las reales sociedades económicas de amigos del país y su obra (San Sebastian: G. Izarra, 1972), p. 422.

[6]Aldridge, pp. 55-56. On 28 July 1768 Franklin wrote a letter from London to Dupont de Nemours, who had sent him a copy of Physiocratie. Franklin praised "the wisdom which sees the welfare of the parts in the prosperity of the whole. . . ." He further wrote: "It is from your philosophy only that the maxims of a . . . more happy conduct are to be drawn, which I therefore sincerely wish may grow and increase till it becomes the governing philosophy of the human species . . ." (Koch, p. 88).

[7]Juan Reglá and Santiago Alcolea, Historia de la cultura española: El siglo XVIII (Barcelona: Editorial Seix Barral, 1957), p. 99.

Adams Smith's Wealth of Nations (1776), which was anticolonist and stated that it was the duty of the enlightened to promote the freedom of the colonies, was translated by Condorcet into French and in 1792 into Spanish by Carlos Martínez de Irujo.[8] Smith's theories and criticism were disseminated by Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes (1723-1803) in essays on "La educación popular de los artesanos" and "El desenvolvimiento de la industria popular," written for the economic society at Madrid in 1774. Another member of that society, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744-1811), wrote essays which spread the ideas of Smith as well as those of the French physiocrats Quesnay and Turgot: "El libre ejercicio de las artes" and "La ley agraria" were composed in 1790. For the Sociedad Patriótica de Mallorca Jovellanos wrote in 1802 his famous "Memoria sobre educación"; education after all was a major interest of the economic societies.

A. The Economic Societies in Spain

Toward 1748 the small groups in Spain which met for social and intellectual discourse became more organized with a definite purpose. A group which met in Azcoitia, in the Basque country, scheduled topics for

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[8]Raul Cardiel Reyes, Los filósofos modernos en la independencia latinoamericana (México: Universidad Autónome de México, 1964), pp. 241-247.

each meeting: mathematics on Monday, physics on Tuesday, history and the reading of translations on Wednesday, concerts on Thursday and Sunday, geography on Friday and "current events" on Saturday.[9] From this group would come the Sociedad Vascongada de Amigos del País, the major economic society in Spain. On 8 April 1765 the Sociedad Vascongada was formed for the purpose of studying mathematics, physics, history, geography and contemporary economic problems. One of its central aims was to teach relevant courses while avoiding peripateticism. Like all of the other societies, it promoted the exportation of national products and discouraged importation.

The Count of Peñaflorida was the founder of the Sociedad Vascongada, approved in 1765 by Charles III. The organization was composed of four commissions: one for agriculture, one for science and "useful arts" (architecture, engineering), one for industry and commerce and one for politics and letters. The first Extractos de las Juntas generales appeared in 1772, presenting the yearly activities, list of members, books and equipment donated, and other items. The yearly extracts were published until 1793. According to Jean Sarrailh in

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[9]Jean Sarrailh, L'Espagne eclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), p. 224.

L'Espagne eclairée, not a year passed in which the Sociedad Vascongada did not make some contribution to education.[10]

When the Jesuits were expelled, the Sociedad Vascongada obtained one of their colleges and established the Seminario de Vergara, the first secular school established in Spain and a center for "materialistic" studies.[11] Some of the professors of that institution were not only imbued with the spirit of Rousseau but contributed to the spread of his works in Spain. One professor, Vicente M. Santibáñez, translated the Contrat Social, Valentín Foronda issued a Spanish version of that work, and José Marchena translated La nouvelle Héloïse and Emile.[12] In his Rousseau in the Spanish World, Jefferson R. Spell points out that Félix Samaniego, one of the directors of the school, wrote some fables for the students of the Seminary in which he refers to Rousseau's comments on La Fontaine in Emile as his guide to writing fables in the fashion recommended by the Genevan--that is,

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[10]Ibid., p. 232.

[11]Whitaker, p. 14. The school was designated as the "Royal Séminaire patriotique basque" by Sarrailh (p. 204) and as the "Royal Seminary" by Jefferson R. Spell, Rousseau in the Spanish World before 1833: A Study in Franco-Spanish Literary Relations (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1938), p. 46. Whitaker's use of "Semanario" for "Seminario" is apparently an error or misprint.

[12]Spell, p. 46.

intelligible as well as instructive to youth.[13]

Sarrailh has shown that the Extractos reveal the society's interest in "things foreign"; a great deal of useful knowledge was expected from France.[14] In addition to Rousseau's works, numerous French books were sent to the society--books on science and agriculture as well as works such as La Chalotais' Traité de l'éducation and Télémaque by Fénelon. In 1772 the Encyclopédie was placed in the library of the Sociedad Vascongada. Some years later the 166 volumes of Panckouke's Encyclopédie méthodique formed part of that library. Since the society and its Royal Seminary at Vergara were in the Basque country, they maintained close cultural contact with France and more copies of the Encyclopédie were sold there than in any other part of Spain.[15]

The establishment of economic societies throughout Spain was encouraged by Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, who was president of the Spanish Academy of History from 1764 to 1791. To promote the formation of economic societies he wrote a circular to accompany his two essays on "La industria popular" and "La educación popular." The

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[13]Ibid.

[14]Sarrailh, p. 232.

[15]Whitaker, p. 13. For example, in Vergara, at that time a small town of 200 houses, there were eleven subscribers to the Encyclopédie (Sarrailh, p. 242).

circular and the essays prompted the municipal council of Zaragoza to offer a room in the town hall for meetings; this led to the formation of the economic society at Zaragoza which was approved by the king on 24 November 1776 and became one of the most active groups. The society at Seville was not instituted until some time later; officers were designated in 1775 but the first general meeting was not held until November 1778.

In 1775 the economic society at Madrid received its royal approval. Charles III's decree included an order to the Treasury to supply an annual sum for two awards to be given to the individuals who best solved a problem or translated a foreign work on the useful arts and sciences. He added a request that his sons Antonio and Gabriel be accepted as members.[16] The society was organized under the stimulus of Campomanes, then serving as attorney general of the Council of Castille. Its interests and activities were similar to those of the other economic societies. The concern of the societies for education is apparent in a statute from the Madrid group:

> Como la enseñanza métodica es la que más contribuye a favorecer la industria y los oficios, la Sociedad se propone examinar

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[16]Las reales sociedades económicas, p. 436.

> los medios de erigir Escuelas Patrióticas que la propaguen an ambas clases.[17]

The various economic societies founded schools of mechanics, art, mathematics, sewing, weaving and agriculture; they also established factories, hospitals and other benevolent institutions.[18]

The democratic nature of the societies is evidenced in that they drew members from all walks of life--the nobility, who were generally patrons and organizers, the clergy, professors, businessmen, artesans and farmers. But unlike some of the more liberal tertulias, the economic societies were not revolutionary in nature--their activity was predominantly scientific and artistic and they did not attack the established political order.[19] Such was the case in Spain; however, in the Americas, in their very name and nature as "patriotic

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[17]Ibid. As indicated by this information and as emphasized by Shafer (pp. 114-115), the societies were interested in education, but not all kinds. They were primarily devoted to education which improved agriculture, industry and commerce.

[18]Las reales sociedades económicas, p. 438. This volume provides a series of articles on the various economic societies in Spain. Seven of the articles are devoted to various aspects of the Sociedad Vascongada, a major institution in Spain, covering such topics as the society's members, its educational activity, industrial pursuits and promotion of natural science. The remaining seventeen articles are devoted to various other economic societies throughout Spain. Also see Shafer on the Basque society (pp. 24-47) and on the other organizations in Spain (pp. 48-110).

[19]Las reales sociedades económicas, p. 414.

societies," they contributed fuel to the fires of an "American spirit" which was kindled in the Spanish overseas colonies around the turn of the century. The success of the societies in Spain and their non-revolutionary nature may be explained in part by the fact that the government did not fear their power; in addition, the conservative element of society--the nobility and the clergy--supported, directed or became influential members of the societies. There was a balance of power, in a manner of speaking, and both powers were mutually and genuinely interested in the conservative reforms of enlightened despotism,[20] but not at the risk of their own positions. The economic societies continued their activities throughout most of the nineteenth century, but toward the end of that century they began to decline.[21]

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[20]Díaz-Plaja, p. 99, supports this view.

[21]As early as 1826 the Chancery of Valladolid forecast the fall of the economic societies:

> cuanto más procuren avanzar en sus proyectos, mayores obstáculos encontrarán en el choque de los intereses particulares y de los cuerpos políticos de quienes están separados sin guardar correspondencia ni armonía y, acaso, en dirección contraria, lo cual jamás dejará de influir en el desfallecimiento de las Sociedades y de los Socios.

(Las reales sociedades económicas, p. 444, which cites Gonzalo Anes Alvarez, Economía e Ilustración en la España del siglo XVIII, Barcelona: Ediciones Ariel, 1969, p. 41).

B. The Economic Societies in Latin America

According to a detailed study by Robert J. Shafer,[22] the economic societies in America magnified the differences between the interests of the colony and the mother country. He further asserts that science and rationalism, a secular spirit, and an interest in economics greatly influenced the activities of the societies.[23] The societies criticized Aristotle and scholasticism. They were interested in the pay and training of teachers and in methods of mutual instruction, a method which was to be perfected with the Lancastrian educational system and would spread throughout Gran Colombia after independence. They favored new rather than traditional ideas, and were dedicated to rationalism and critical analysis of contemporary problems.[24] One study indicates that the economic societies in the Spanish colonies were influential in the ideological and political preparation for independence.[25]

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[22]Robert J. Shafer, The Economic Societies in the Spanish World, 1763-1821 (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1958).

[23]Robert J. Shafer, "Ideas and Works of the Colonial Economic Societies, 1781-1820," Revista de Historia de America, XLIV (1957), 331.

[24]Ibid., p. 366.

[25]Emilio Novoa's Las sociedades económicas de amigos del país: Su influencia en la emancipación

Juan Reglá and Santiago Alcolea indicate in their book on Spanish culture that the most outstanding economic societies in the Spanish colonies were those of Guatemala and Havana--they appear to have been the most active and to have lasted longer than the others in Latin America.[26] The Sociedad Económica de Amigos de la Patria in Guatemala was established in 1796 under the patronage of Jacobo de Villaurrutia. Since he was the appeal judge for that region, the organization, like those in Spain, was an official or semi-official institution. It contributed to the overall activity of its sister organizations throughout the Spanish overseas colonies.[27]

In some instances the economic societies continued to play a role in Latin America even during the independence period. The Cabildo at Caracas, which declared independence from Napoleonic Spain, established the Patriotic Society for Agriculture and Economy in August 1810 and by December of that year it had been transformed into more of a political club. Bolívar and Miranda joined

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colonial americana (Madrid, 1955), as cited by Juan Reglá and Santiago Alcolea, p. 100.

[26]Juan Reglá and Santiago Alcolea, p. 100.

[27]T. B. Irving, "On the Enlightenment in Central America," in A. Owen Aldridge, ed., The Ibero-American Enlightenment (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 291. For additional information on the Guatemala society, see Shafer (pp. 199-294).

when they returned from London; other members were young revolutionaries from the creole nobility and other classes. Their views were quite liberal--while Congress was concerned with problems of Government (a government "in the name of Ferdinand VII"), the Society actively supported the idea of absolute independence. They published a newspaper called El patriota venezolano which printed articles favoring the cause of liberty. They were eventually successful--Congress approved the Act of Independence on 7 July 1811.[28] The society in Guatemala made a final contribution as late as seventy years after its establishment in 1796 when the Economic Society and its library became in 1871 the initial foundation of the new Ministry of Development under President Justo Rufino Barrios.[29]

C. The Economic Societies in New Granada

The economic societies in Spain and some of those in Latin America were more influential and significant in their contributions to cultural and intellectual modernization than many of the tertulias. A humorous account of the banality of some tertulias in Spain is

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[28]Guillermo Morón, A History of Venezuela, trans. John Street (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 101-105.

[29]Irving, p. 291.

provided by Clavijo, editor of the periodical, El pensador.[30] In New Granada the economic societies represented an important aspect of the Enlightenment. They were recommended, encouraged, discussed and established, at least for a while. Although economic societies in New Granada were not quite as successful as those elsewhere in Latin America or Spain, the gap was more than remedied by the literary, philosophical and revolutionary tertulias, which, unlike those in Spain, were active and influential. At any rate, the economic societies and plans for their establishment in the viceroyalty contributed to the general intellectual current in New Granada.

The societies introduced into New Granada were modeled after those in Spain. Following the concept of developing a national economy, the groups in New Granada were induced to think in terms of economic progress to benefit their own developing patria rather than that of Spain. In the opinion of one writer, these societies "constituyeron centros que prepararon los nuevos cambios

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[30]Díaz-Plaja (pp. 132-142) quotes Clavijo's descriptions of various tertulias which he visited one night: the leader of one spoke much and said little, the topics at another were "trivial," and a tertulia of would-be politicians was "cosa de entremés"; but Clavijo admitted that a few tertulias existed in which there could be heard intelligent discussions of literature, science, philosophy, law and similar subjects.

sociales y politicos,"[31] and represent another factor in the cultural reforms which culminated in the Revolution of 1810.

The Sociedad Vascongada of Spain had a representative in Cartagena,[32] which probably accounts for the fact that the first economic society in New Granada was formed at Mompós, in the province of Cartagena where the economist José Ignacio de Pombo was active. It was established in 1784 with Gonzalo de Hoyos as director. In 1784 the Imprenta Real at Bogotá published the Extractos of the meeting of the Sociedad Económica de los Amigos del País held at Mompós (at that time often written Mompox) between 12 September and 19 December.[33] Mutis wrote a letter (18 January 1785) to Gonzalo de Hoyos in which he refers to the establishment of the Vascongada society in Spain and the pleasure he experienced upon reading about the progress of those subsequently formed. Following an expression of appreciation for being named an honorary member of the society, Mutis

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[31]A. Federico Gredilla, Biografía de José Celestino Mutis con la relación de su viaje y estudios practicados en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Fortanet, 1911), p. 219.

[32]Shafer, p. 46.

[33]J. T. Medina, La imprenta en Bogotá, 1739-1821 (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1904), p. 32. The fifty-page Extractos is now in the Archivo de las Indias.

expressed his hope that the Enlightenment would flourish under the impetus of an enlightened government or (not and) patriotic establishments.[34]

Mutis also corresponded with an Indian at Quito who was interested in science, education, economic societies and revolution. The Indian's knowledge of science is revealed in Mutis' letter. On 26 December 1788 Mutis directed a letter from Mariquita, the original headquarters of the Botanical Expedition, to Francisco Javier Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo, a correspondent of the expedition from Quito. The letter gave Espejo directions on the collection of quina, or cinchona.[35] In 1792 Espejo wrote Memoria sobre el corte de quina.[36] Espejo's interest in education is revealed in his El nuevo Luciano, o Despertador de ingenios (1779) which, he stated, had as its purpose "la reforma de los estudios, el establecimiento de éstos, . . . el bien de la patria."[37]

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[34]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar del sabio naturalista don José Celestino Mutis (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1968), I, 217-218.

[35]Ibid., pp. 432-435.

[36]Santa Cruz y Espejo, with degrees in canon and civil law and medicine, wrote modern treatises on medicine as well as the Nuevo Luciano, o Despertador de ingenios (1779), which promoted the New Philosophy. He was familiar with Montesquieu's Esprit des lois which influenced his literature (Cardiel Reyes, p. 140).

[37]As cited by Philip Louis Astuto, Eugenio Espejo: Reformador ecuatoriano de la ilustración (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1969), p. 55.

Espejo journeyed to Bogotá in 1788 where he came into contact with Antonio Nariño and other members of the Casino tertulia. In Bogotá he also met Juan Pío Montúfar, his countryman from the Presidency of Quito, who had accompanied the Ecuatorian artists to the Botanical Expedition headquarters at Mariquita the previous year. Montúfar encouraged Espejo to write his Discurso on the establishment of a patriotic society in Quito; the Discurso was published at Bogotá in 1789. A copy was found among Nariño's confiscated books and papers. Espejo's essay was later serialized in four issues of his periodical, Las primicias de la cultura de Quito (1792).[38]

Espejo returned to Quito in 1790 where he became director of the first public library in that city in November of the following year. The economic society envisioned by Espejo was formed in November 1791. One of the supporters of the society was Luis Muñoz de Guzmán, president of the Audiencia and another collaborator was Juan Pío Montúfar.[39] One of his biographers elaborates Espejo's economic and political ideas, asserting that they came from "the men of the Enlightenment." Espejo's ideas were incorporated into those of the economic society which

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[38]Ibid., pp. 63-64.

[39]Víctor Andrés Belaúnde, Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), pp. 44-45.

spread them to other sectors of the population of Quito.[40] Both the Primicias de cultura and the economic society were suppressed--in 1792 and 1793, respectively; under the radical influence of Espejo, they were too revolutionary for the Spanish authorities.

The influence of the economic society at Quito on education--another indication of the concern displayed by those organizations for educational reform--is apparent in the study plan formulated in 1791 by José Pérez de Calama, the bishop of Quito, who became director of the society. In the section devoted to the department of governmental and economic politics, the bishop recommended François Callières' (1645-1717) De la science du monde (1717), the Institutiones politiques (1760), first published in French and later in German, by Jacob Frederick, baron of Bielefeld (1716-1770), and Antonio Genovesi's Lezioni di commercio (1766-1767).[41] Pérez de Calama insisted that every citizen be permitted to attend those classes in order to contribute to the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País.

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[40]Astuto, pp. 102-122.

[41]Agueda María Rodríguez Cruz, Historia de las universidades hispanoamericanas (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973), I, 566. Genovesi filled the first chair of modern economics established by Charles III in Spain. His Lezioni derived from his lectures and Rodríguez Cruz (p. 573) believes that the text was the first modern, scientific exposition of the subject.

While Espejo was working for the economic society at Quito, another economist in Bogotá was composing essays on political and economic questions. Vargas' works, Pensamientos políticos and Memoria sobre la población (both 1790), influenced the formation of the economic society at Bogotá a decade later. One section in the Pensamientos entitled "Medios de perfeccionar la agricultura en el reino" suggested that the first, if not the only, means for promoting agriculture would be the establishment of economic or patriotic societies. Vargas urged a chain of organizations, first at Bogotá, then at Popayán, Quito, Cartagena, Panama and Caracas. He recommended that the rules be similar to those used by the economic societies of Madrid and Vizcaya, which in turn, he points out, were taken from those in Berne and Dublin. Other recommendations included the suggestion of sending to Europe for plans and models of machinery. He further remarked that the groups could send young students to study useful arts and sciences in England, France and the United States.[42] Vargas' ideas for improved commerce, derived from the physiocrats, were adopted later by the economic society--that is, the limitation of imports and

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[42]Pedro Fermín de Vargas, Pensamientos políticos y Memoria sobre la población del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1944), pp. 16-17.

promotion of exports.[43] Throughout the work Vargas refers to the scientific discoveries of Mutis which represented potentially marketable products. A year after Vargas wrote his essays, an article appeared in the Papel Periódico which encouraged the establishment of an economic society in Bogotá, emphasizing the benefits to be gained from the development of agriculture, commerce and industry.[44]

The exhortations of that article apparently fell on deaf ears at the time but a decade later José Celestino Mutis made a more successful attempt. He urged Viceroy Mendinueta to approve an economic society in Bogotá; Mutis' petition was accepted by the viceroy on 25 November 1801. Mutis and Jorge Tadeo Lozano, a natural scientist who served as economist during the absence of Fermín de Vargas, organized the Sociedad Patriótica de Nueva Granda. Although he was not listed as a member of the society,[45] Camilo Torres, the lawyer, apparently collaborated; one of the books in his library was the

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[43]Ibid., pp. 20-38.

[44]"Reflexiones sobre la Sociedad Económica," Papel Periódico (Nos. 19-20, 1791). Archivo de la Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Quijano Otero, 57, "Periódicos de la Colonia."

[45]The list of members is found in Gabriel Porras Troconis, Historia de la cultura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952), p. 346.

Memorias of the economic society at Madrid.[46]

Several meetings were held and a lengthy constitution was drawn up. This important document is included in Gredilla's biography of Mutis.[47] The Sociedad Patriótica consisted of three sections: agriculture; industry, commerce and politics; and sciences and liberal arts. The purposes of the society were "puramente educativos, procurando servir a la Patria a través de un mejor conocimiento de sus problemas."[48] The members contributed to education for those outside the schools in order to inform the masses. Since their goals were to improve the economy by expanding industry and commerce, they sought further educational reform in the schools, campaigning for the addition of studies in these areas. Mutis' plan was to:

> organizar con el grupo de hombres que formó intelectualmente, ya con sus enseñanzas orales, ya con sus escritos, ya con su autorizada influencia, una Junta que . . . contribuyera a la defensa, protección y propaganda de los intereses de la colonia neogranadina.[49]

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[46]The document which gives the books in Camilo Torres' library is located in the "Archivo Camilo Torres" at the Academia Colombiana de Historia. The work cited, the Memorias, is not in "La biblioteca de Camilo Torres," Bolívar, 47 (1957), 109-114.

[47]Gredilla, p. 225.

[48]Carlos E. Chardon, Los naturalistas en la América Latina (Ciudad Trujillo: Editora del Caribe, 1949), p. 90.

[49]Gredilla, p. 225.

The members of the societies in New Granada applied the scientific method of observation in their studies of natural resources and the economy. The statutes of the society provided for the education of student members:

> Como es imposible fomentar la Agricultura e industria sin el auxilio de las Ciencias útiles, y Artes liberales y sin los conocimientos que éstas dan, procedería la Sociedad a ciegas en sus deliberaciones: para evitar este incoveniente destinará de los mismos Socios aquellos que estime al proposito para la enseñanza de las ciencias y artes que considere necesarias para el fomento de los objetos de su instituto.[50]

Those members appointed as Académicos were obliged to write papers in their field as well as to teach. The Sociedad hoped eventually to establish formal schools to teach the theory and practice of the courses given by the Académicos. Due to limited facilities and funds at its outset "la Sociedad se contenta por aora con que sus Alumnos se instruyan teoricamente en sus respectivas facultades."[51] To stimulate intellectual activity in New Granada, the Sociedad planned to award prizes for papers or inventions contributing to one of the three fields or sections outlined in the constitution and to publish periodically the best works written by contributors or members. In addition to its educational efforts and stimulus to cultural progress, Porras Troconis affirmed

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[50]Ibid., p. 234.

[51]Ibid., p. 235.

that Mutis' Sociedad Patriótica was the "cuna ella, sin duda, de las primeras ideas que germinaron en los cerebros del Nuevo Reino de adquisición de una mayor autonomía y luego de la independencia absoluta."[52] The nature of the economic societies justifies such an observation. Their concern with the economy of the viceroyalty together with the ideas of the democratic phase of the Enlightenment coming in from abroad served to intensify the differences between the interests of the colony and those of the mother country. The societies contributed to the democratic current by insisting on the equality of members, negating the idea of creole inferiority.

In addition to economic questions, the society at Bogotá followed the pattern of the various societies outlined by Shafer, being interested "in philanthropy, and in learning in general, tending to favor 'modern ideas.'"[53] The societies promoted "useful" knowledge and "believed in the utility of ideas, and in the value of cooperative effort by the enlightened."[54] Their direct contribution to educational reform consisted of:

> criticism of learning by rote and ferule, a demand that students be taught to think, an oft-repeated call for more science and mathematics in the

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[52]Porras Troconis, p. 346.

[53]Shafer, "Ideas and Works of the Colonial Economic Societies," p. 342.

[54]Ibid., p. 342.

> curriculum, a belief that education should be more related to economic and civil life.[55]

Civil education proved to be a significant intellectual current during the Enlightenment and was promoted by various sectors of society. The economic society promoted and organized by Mutis and others was short-lived: but the "patriotic schools" for civic education, which stemmed from the economic societies, were established successfully. An article in Caldas' scholarly journal, the Semanario, lamented that the projects for economic societies in the viceroyalty had not been carried out while another praised the establishment of a patriotic school at Popayán.[56]

Using the shorter term "economic society" does not convey the broader significance of the organizations. They were generally called in Spanish "sociedad económica de amigos del país" and often the word patriótica replaced the second term. Both amigos del país and patriótica refer to a spirit that took on great meaning in the case of New Granada, especially during the decades of 1790 and following, when that patriotic or nationalistic spirit contributed to revolutionary ideals. Werner Kraus pointed out in a recent article that the words "patriot,"

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[55]Ibid., p. 351.

[56]Francisco José de Caldas, Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1942), II, 220-221 and III, 1-3.

"patriotic" and "patriotism" became significant terms in the European Enlightenment around 1750, and in 1757 "patriote" was accepted by the Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française.[57] Under the philosophes the terms took on the connotation of reform of all sectors of society in the interest of national progress. The concept of patriotism passed into Germany and Spain[58] and also into Latin America. The terms as well as the spirit predominate in the works of many enlightened New Granadines, particularly in the unpublished but secretly circulated revolutionary tracts of Pedro Fermín de Vargas and Antonio Nariño, and in numerous articles in Francisco José de Caldas' Semanario published on the dawn of the independence movement.

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[57]Werner Kraus, "'Patriote,' 'patriotique,' 'patriotismo,' à la fin de l'Ancien Régime," in W. H. Barber, ed., The Age of the Enlightenment: Studies Presented to Theodore Besterman (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1967), p. 388.

[58]Ibid., pp. 390 and 394.

CHAPTER V

LITERATURE AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Literary production represents one of the major aspects of the Enlightenment in New Granada as well as an important vehicle for the promotion of educational reform and acceptance of the New Philosophy. Using the term "literature" in its more limited application, a survey of the literature of the eighteenth century would reveal that the traditional literary genres of the seventeenth century prevailed. The themes include those outlined by Professor Picón-Salas in A Cultural History of Spanish America.[1] Historical works in prose and poetry predominated; the chronicles of conquest and colonization were abundant. Theological works in all three traditional genres were equally abundant. Legal and institutional literature along with aristocratic literature--that is, eulogies of kings, viceroys and so forth--was a frequent preoccupation of the writers. The writers, for the most part, throughout the seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries were clerics.

The modern thought of the Enlightenment which we

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[1]Mariano Picón-Salas, A Cultural History of Spanish America: From Conquest to Independence, trans. Irving A. Leonard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 114-128.

have observed filtering into New Granada by way of its educational institutions, the Botanical Expedition, the literary circles and the economic societies found its way into written form. However, the ideas were expressed in forms other than the traditional genres. The mamotreto, or textbook lecture notes, treatises, essays and articles--important forms of literature in the broader application of the term--became the literary tool of the philosophers and scientists. These tools became increasingly important with the introduction of printing presses and the publication of periodicals. These literary forms must be examined in search of written expressions of the intellectual current.

The New Philosophy was first introduced in the classroom; the treatises written by professors of modern ideas such as Mutis, Restrepo and others represent the first major area of literary work. Modern science, especially under the stimulus provided by the Botanical Expedition, proved to be a principal concern of the Enlightenment in its early stages. Thus, the journal of science and philosophy, El Semanario published by Francisco José de Caldas, was one of the more noteworthy literary voices of the age. Interest in traditional literature and philosophy and eventually modern political and economic theories, which was fostered by the literary

circles and economic societies, found expression in periodicals such as the Papel Periódico and the Correo Curioso. When the political ideas became too liberal, too revolutionary, their publication produced the reaction to be expected from the Spanish authorities.

A. Traditional Literature and the New Philosophy

Our approach to the study of the literature of the period includes a survey of both traditional and atypical forms for purposes of comparison and contrast. This approach helps to pinpoint the transition from colonial, scholastic literary production to works reflecting Enlightenment thought. A look at seventeenth and eighteenth-century literature reveals that those who did not represent the Enlightenment wrote largely chronicles, histories of religious orders, mystic prose and poetry, and the like. In what might be considered a transitional stage, evidences of the Enlightenment are to be found in traditional forms of literature. However, they are largely passing references or limited treatments of modern ideas. Literature written by representatives of the New Philosophy falls into two categories. Modern philosophical and scientific ideas were expressed in non-traditional forms while some of the moderns dabbled in belles

lettres, producing Neoclassical poetry and other standard genres. To the philosophers and scientists belles lettres were more of a pleasing entertainment than real literature. Literature (with a capital "L") was a matter of natural and moral philosophy.[2] Major treatments of the ideas predominant during the Enlightenment which appeared initially in texts and treatises written by school professors were stimulated and became more widespread in the final decades of the century by the introduction of printing presses.

The literature produced by "literary figures" reflects no characteristics of the Enlightenment, and only a few noteworthy examples of traditional works or genres need be mentioned. The personnel of the religious orders in New Granada represent most of the men who produced literature during the colonial period. The writers during this period were principally historians and since they had been prepared intellectually by the medieval, theologically-oriented universities, their works consisted of histories of religious orders. Some histories of the New Granada area were written, but even these concentrated primarily on the religious conquest of the "pagan"

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[2]For a discussion of this view see A. O. Aldridge, ed., The Ibero-American Enlightenment (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 226-227.

Indians. One of the earliest colonial histories was the Noticias historiales de la conquista de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales written by Pedro Simón in 1623. Early in the seventeenth century Juan Rodríguez Freile wrote El Carnero: Conquista y descubrimiento del Nuevo Reino de Granada y fundación del Santafé. The work is given as an historical chronicle free of the classical style typical of the period and perhaps the only worthwhile piece of literature produced at that time. El Carnero approaches the style of a picaresque novel and, with its concentration on customs and characters in New Granada, is an early antecedent of Batres, Palma and others of the costumbrista school. A later work was the Historia General de las conquistas del Nuevo Reino de Granada by Lucas Fernández de Piedrahita who was named bishop to Panama in 1676, captured by pirates off the coast of Cartagena but released by the buccaneer Morgan. At least one scientific work was produced during the seventeenth century: Antonio Sánchez Cozar Guanienta wrote the Tratado de astronomía in 1696, although his conclusions did not portray the ideas of the modern school. Literary production just prior to the Enlightenment reflects the theological preparation of the authors. Most of the writers continued to be concerned with the history of their particular religious orders such as José

Cassani and his work on the Glorias del segundo siglo de la Compañía de Jesús published in 1734 followed in 1741 by his Historia de la Provincia de Santafé, de la Compañía de Jesús. Not all the literature written at this time deals with history, although the majority of it is representative of the preoccupations of the educated element in colonial society, the clergy. Martín de Velasco wrote the Arte de hacer sermones which was a reaction against gongorismo in sermons similar to the reaction against that style in Spain with the decline of the culteranista school.

Francisca Josefa del Castillo (1671-1742), or Madre Francisca de la Concepción, was the major representative of traditional colonial literature in the area of mystic prose and poetry. During the first half of the eighteenth century she wrote Vida and Sentimientos espirituales which were published later by her nephew.[3] Although the works of Madre Francisca, of which the best is her prose in Sentimientos espirituales, have been highly praised by national and international literary critics,[4] her work has received little recent attention

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[3]Her nephew published the Vida in Philadelphia in 1817 and her Sentimientos in Bogotá in 1843.

[4]Madre Francisca received favorable comments in Diccionario de la literatura: Colombia (Washington, D. C.: Unión Panamericana, 1959), p. 31. Jose María Vergara y Vergara, Historia de la literature en Nueva

and unfortunately remains in relative obscurity. A major critic of Colombian literature, Antonio Gómez Restrepo, considers that she should be included along with Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega and Sor Juana as the most important writers of colonial Latin America.[5] In the opinion of Picón-Salas, she was not as intellectual as Sor Juana but "far ahead of the latter in mystical intuition." He states that "something in the refinement of her introspection and in the gently poetic tone inherent in her style . . . brings her close to the great masters of mystical prose. . . ." Along with Gómez Restrepo, he considers Madre Francisca to be one of the foremost woman prose writers of Latin American colonial literature.[6] Her spiritual influence came from the Bible and Santa Teresa while her poetic and stylistic influence stems from the works of Sor Juana. Several of Sor Juana's poems, copied by Madre Francisca, were found among her papers.[7] In spite of Sor Juana's influence, the Colombian

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Granada (Bogotá: Banco Popular, 1974), II, 167-170 likewise treats the writer and both cite the remarks made by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Historia de la poesía hispano-americana (Madrid, 1913), II, 26-30.

[5]See Antonio Gómez Restrepo, Historia de la literatura colombiana (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1945), II, 33-85, for a major discussion of the Colombian mystic, and pp. 86-162 for selections from her poetry and prose.

[6]Picón-Salas, p. 118.

[7]Javier Arango Ferrer, Raíz y desarrollo de la literatura colombiana; Poesía desde las culturas

mystic's style reflects Golden Age conceptismo more than Neoclassicism; however, Neoclassical elements in the works of Sor Juana's poetry are also minimal.[8]

Like the chronicles, religious histories and mystic works, drama was also void of any Enlightenment currents of thought. In fact, activity in the area of theater was limited until the end of the eighteenth century. No plays were given in Bogotá until 1794,

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precolombinas hasta la "Gruta Simbólica" in Historia Extensa de Colombia (Bogotá: El Gráfico Editores Ltda., 1965), XIX, 140.

[8]José Joaquín Ortega T., Historia de la literatura colombiana (Bogotá: Editorial Cromos, 1935), p. 33 gives Madre Francisca's "Deliquios del Divino Amor" from Sentimientos espirituales which we include for literary interest:

El habla delicada
del Amante que estimo,
miel y leche destila
entre rosas y lirios.
Su melíflua palabra
corta como rocío,
y con ella florece
el corazón marchito.
Tan suave se introduce
su delicado silbo,
que duda el corazón,
si es el corazón mismo.
Tan eficaz persuade,
que cual fuego encendido
derrite como cera
los montes y los riscos.
Tan fuerte y tan sonoro
es su aliento divino,
que resucita muertos
y despierta dormidos.
Tan dulce y tan suave
se percibe al oído,
que alegra de los huesos
aun lo más escondido.

although a theater had been constructed there two years earlier. Plays were apparently staged between 1794 and 1809; however, it is not known which works were performed and thus it cannot be said with certainty that the ilustrados of New Granada produced or failed to produce dramatic pieces. A few presentations during that period have been identified: the arrival of Viceroy Amar y Borbón was celebrated with the staging of Molière's Le misanthrope and Guillén de Castro's El Cid. New Grandines contributed at least with tonadillas, or popular songs, which were sung between acts, although none of them have been preserved. The plays generally ended with the presentation of a sainete by Ramón de la Cruz. The enlightened generation of creoles was connected to the theater only in a small degree: while Jorge Tadeo Lozano, brother of the marquess of San Jorge, was making zoological observations for the Botanical Expedition, his wife, Rafaela Isaza, was practicing plays with the troupe at the theater.[9] She was quite popular on the boards and was affectionately called "La Jerezana," apparently because she came originally from Jerez and not because of over-indulging in the beverage from that city.

The early part of the eighteenth century witnessed a gradual transition in the approach and method of

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[9]Vergara y Vergara, Historia de la literatura, II, 33-35.

traditional literature; even standard works, such as history and epic poetry, were influenced by more modern thought and eventually by the intellectual current of the Enlightenment. An example of the first case is the modern history written by José Gumilla. From 1720 until his death in 1750 this Jesuit priest traveled extensively around the Orinoco River region and founded several towns. His work, El Orinoco Ilustrado, in addition to the history of the missions he founded, contains descriptions of the Indians and their government, customs and beliefs as well as studies of the geography and the flora and fauna of the region.

Another instance of literary production which remained in the traditional vein is found in the "Poema épico-dramático soñado en las costas del Darién" by a priest called Felipe de Jesús. The 600 pages of this dramatized poem remain unpublished; it was written in 1789. The work is replete with historical figures ranging from the Cid to Alonso de Ercilla and even includes the Indian chief of the province of Chocó. Figures symbolic of New Spain, Lima, Santafé (Bogotá) and so forth appear with music and dancing. While the theme as well as style of the work links Felipe de Jesús to traditional literature, a lengthy introduction on his reasons for the composition reveals the influence of the intellectual

current of the Enlightenment. He explained that the poem was inspired by a dream as indicated in the title; there follows a semi-scientific description and explanation of different stages and types of dreams. Although he referred to the fifth-century Latin writer Macrobio, he approached more modern concepts in a discussion of the significance of symbols in "sueños figurativos."[10] The work is important and interesting as well as humorous and deserves to be published.

What then of the literature composed by the enlightened generation itself? There was a great variety of work written by those whom we have witnessed in preceding chapters receiving las luces from the reformed school curriculum and method, the Botanical Expedition, the literary societies and the economic societies. Their compositions range from Neoclassical poetry, to scientific treatises, to political essays and finally to Romantic literature. In the traditional literary genres we find merely a few works produced by los ilustrados. Neoclassicism in New Granada was in fact initiated by el padre de las luces, José Celestino Mutis. This man of letters, physician, scientist, educational reformer and author of numerous treatises on the New Philosophy and scientific studies, composed an ode in Latin in the

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[10]Arango Ferrer, pp. 140-142.

traditional manner dedicated to José Domingo Duquesne, who had sent Mutis his study of the Chibcha calendar.[11] After the usual invocation to the muses, Mutis refers to Pegasus, Clio, Phaebus and polishes it off with a repetition of Horace's "Salve, poeta."[12]

Many of the other philosophers and scientists tried their hand at belles lettres, especially during the meetings of the literary circles, and some of their works were published in the new periodicals. However, the principal literary endeavors of the enlightened generation consist of treatises and essays dealing with modern philosophy and science.

The first written efforts derived from the Enlightenment came from the schools. José Celestino Mutis was among the first to write texts based on the New Philosophy for his classes at Rosario. His treatises on mathematics, natural science, astronomy, and on the doctrines of Descartes and Newton were discussed in the first chapter of Part I. Eloy Valenzuela, Fernando Vergara y Caycedo and other of Mutis' students who later became professors likewise composed numerous texts to explain various theories

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[11]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "José Celestino Mutis, Poeta latino," Thesaurus, V (1940), 386-391.

[12]A Spanish translation is found in Jorge Pacheco Quintero, Antología de la poesia en Colombia (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973), II, 11-12.

of the New Philosophy. However, the majority of these studies remained unpublished due to the lack of printing presses; this lack was not remedied until the end of the century.

The Enlightenment was a period of ideas and discoveries which depended upon the written word for their expression and dissemination; traditional prose, poetry and drama were not the appropriate vehicles; a new mode of expression was required and a different literary tool came into prominence. The mamotreto, or class-lecture text, the treatise and the essay could be diffused more readily with the introduction of the printing press and the publication of scientific journals and periodicals. This method emphasized the essay which in Latin America as a whole has since maintained an important position in its world of letters. With the introduction of printing presses into the kingdom, publications became a major interest of the literary circles. Although several sources indicate that the earliest printing in New Granada consists of documents produced early in the eighteenth century by presses in possession of the Jesuit order, Juan Friede[13] presents evidence that rudimentary printing was introduced during the second half of the sixteenth century.

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[13]Juan Friede, "Sobre los origenes de la imprenta en el Nuevo Reino de Granada," Interamerican Review of Bibliography, VII, No. 3 (1957), 255-258.

Nevertheless, there were no more than one or two antiquated presses which printed little of value. Even as late as the period from 1740 to 1767 "la imprenta santafereña no producía aún sino catecismos y novenas que eran en general reimpresiones."[14] Viceroy Flórez found a press in Cartagena and in 1776 had it transported to Bogotá to be used in combination with the ones confiscated from the Jesuits. In addition, he ordered the construction of another in Bogotá. Dissatisfied with the quality of these presses, he petitioned Gálvez, the Minister to the Indies, to send him a more efficient model. On 30 January 1779 a royal order was issued to have a press sent to Bogotá. The press began to function in 1782 as the Imprenta Real and continued until 1811. In 1782 the Imprenta Real published documents on the Comunero revolt, including the edicts of Visitador Gutiérrez de Piñeres. The first scientific documents published on that press were those written by Mutis on the Método general para curar las viruelas and a more extensive article giving Instrucciones sobre . . . la inoculación de las viruelas. Antonio Nariño personally ordered a press from Spain which arrived in 1793. Nariño printed works under the emblem Imprenta Patriótica. The

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[14]José María Vergara y Vergara, Historia de la literatura en Nueva Granada: Desde la conquista hasta la independencia (Bogotá: Banco Popular, 1974), I, 196.

presses were capable of printing more than broadsides as is evidenced in the case of the publication in 1787 of a two-volume translation of Guillermo Stanibussto's Historia de Cristo paciente by the Imprenta Real. The translation, by José Luis de Azuola y Lozano, came to over 500 pages.[15] Other examples of full-length printing include the Guía de forasteros by Joaquín Durán y Díaz which ran to 164 pages; it was printed in 1793 and the following year a second edition was expanded to 464 pages. In addition to indicating the capabilities of the presses for major printing operations, the work has been considered an important volume which clarifies several historical points.[16] The Imprenta Real and the Imprenta Patriótica printed the various periodicals published at Bogotá toward the end of the century.

Presses eventually became available in other parts of the viceroyalty. Although a port city, Cartagena lacked printing equipment until the turn of the century. The Real Consulado, imbued with the same purposes as the economic or patriotic societies, commissioned the treasurer, Manuel de Pombo, José Ignacio de Pombo's nephew, to order a press from Spain. The press and other equipment for major printing operations arrived in July

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[15]J. T. Medina, La imprenta en Bogotá, 1739-1821 (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1904), pp. 35-36.

[16]J. T. Medina, pp. 55-56.

1800. The Consulado informed the provincial governor of its intentions with the statement that "por medio de la prensa se difunden en todas las clases los conocimientos necesarios a la mayor ilustración, al adelantamiento de las ciencias, perfección de las artes."[17] The governor and other officials pointed out that the project required a special license; thus, the hopes of the Consulado were dimmed by paperwork and legal technicalities. The authorities who supported and sanctioned the Botanical Expedition, the economic societies and the Real Consulado of Cartagena, failed to lend the necessary support to the press at Cartagena. Almost a decade passed before the first issue of Noticias públicas was printed. Several issues appeared, each numbering eight pages, giving local, national and foreign news as well as extracts from periodicals from abroad. The following year, in 1809, the press published a poem "España salvada" by José Luis Fernández Madrid who praised the action of the Junta Central of Spain following the French invasion.

Camilo Torres and Frutos Joaquín Gutíerrez in their Motivos de la Revolución de 1810, published in Bogotá, refer to Manual de Pombo having purchased a printing press in Philadelphia which was presented to the Real Consulado

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[17]J. T. Medina, La imprenta en Cartagena de las Indias (Santiago: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1904), p. xl.

of Cartagena.[18] This was probably not the same press which Medina indicates arrived from Spain. There were apparently two presses in Cartagena since some publications from the same period bear the mark "En la Imprenta del C. Diego Espinosa" while others were done in "La imprenta del Gobierno."[19] The printing presses made possible the publication of noteworthy periodicals which became important voices of the Enlightenment.

B. Science and Literature

In his presentations of the New Philosophy in the classrooms at Rosario on various occasions between 1760 and 1780, José Celestino Mutis stressed the modern natural and physical sciences. Many of his students who later became professors followed his example, José Félix de Restrepo taught modern science in Popayán beginning in 1782 and stimulated a large number of students to become interested in the various branches of that discipline. Clearly, the major characteristic of the Enlightenment in New Granada between 1760 and 1810, primarily during the period of the Botanical Expedition, was the attention given to science.

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[18]Javier Ocampo López, El proceso ideológico de la emancipación (Tunja: Imprenta de la Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, 1974), p. 151.

[19]Medina, La imprenta en Cartagena, pp. xv-xvi.

Interest in science appeared late in the literature of New Granada; in fact, the principal treatises on scientific disciplines did not appear until the nineteenth century when Francisco José de Caldas began the publication of the Semanario. However, when essays on science finally appeared they represented a major portion of the literature written in New Granada during the Enlightenment period. Many of the works were more than brief occasional pieces as in the case of José Ignacio de Pombo's lengthy Noticias sobre las quinas, published in Cartagena in 1814. In his work Pombo cites previous studies done on cinchona such as those by Mutis, Caldas, Zea, Humboldt and La Condamine. The study provides further evidence of the extent of new ideas filtering in from the rest of Latin America as well as North America. Pombo cites various periodicals including La Aurora from Havana, La Gazeta from Madrid, El Mercurio from Lima and the Gazette from Philadelphia. In addition, he discusses modern concepts of economy, agrarian law, commerce and so forth, citing the works of Jovellanos, Adam Smith and Thomas Jefferson.[20]

A number of the treatises on science were never published. One example is the account of the discovery of guaco which was used against snake-bite poisoning.

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[20]Gómez Hoyos, II, 264.

It was written by Francisco Javier Matiz, the leading artist of the Botanical Expedition, who became a distinguished naturalist under the guidance of Mutis and lived into the second quarter of the nineteenth century to carry on interest in natural science following the independence period. Matiz was not a skilled writer and in 1788 when the discovery was made, he had only begun the study of natural science. His brief account of the discovery reads more like a work of fiction than a scientific treatise. Much of it is in dialogue form, giving his conversations with the campesinos concerning their use of the guaco plant. There are further conversations with Mutis and Fermín de Vargas who collaborated with Matiz on studies of the plant. Thus, in this semi-scientific account, we have an interesting costumbrista sketch of the speech and customs of the eighteenth-century campesino as well as a picture of the daily activity of the members of the Botanical Expedition.[21]

In some cases the scientific literary production in New Granada was not original. Several members contributed to the advancement of letters with translations of works from abroad. Francisco Martínez, born in 1736 in Spain, was a priest assigned to a parish near Cuzco.

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[21]Vergara y Vergara, II, 131-140.

He later returned to Spain where he wrote Introducción al conocimiento de las Bellas Artes published in 1788. He traveled to Bogotá in 1790 and the following year began the publication of his translation of Saverien's Histoire des sciences naturels which included a lengthy prologue written by Martínez as well as a laudatory note by Mutis. Only a portion of the translation was published. Martínez also translated Luis Antonio Muratori's De la fuerza de la fantasía humana from Italian. The 290 pages of this translation were published in 1793.[22]

Still other important works were published late in New Granada's Enlightenment period. Francisco Antonio Zea edited Colombia: Una relación geográfica, topográfica, agricultural, comercial, política which was published in Spanish and English by Baldwin, Craddock and Joy in London in 1822 and also appeared in a simultaneous edition at Edinburgh. Zea was more the editor than the writer of this two-volume work of over 1500 pages. He was assisted by the English writer Alexander Walker and by Leandro Miranda, son of the Venezuelan prócer Francisco de Miranda.[23]

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[22]Ibid., pp. 234-235 and Gabriel Porras Troconis, Historia de la cultura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952), p. 260.

[23]Vergara y Vergara, II, 42-43. Notice of Zea's work is given in a few other histories of Colombian

As mentioned in the chapter on the Botanical Expedition, Francisco José de Caldas remained in the presidency of Quito (now Ecuador) for several years carrying out scientific research. During that time his expeditions, such as the trip made in 1804 along the same route as La Condamine to compare his observations with those made by the French naturalist, his consultation of books in private libraries,[24] and the amount of data collected during the Ecuador trip alone,[25] in addition to the studies carried out in 1805 and after when he arrived at Bogotá and became Director of the Astronomical

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literature. However, the present writer has been unable to locate a copy of Zea's volume which appears to be an important work from the period.

[24]Caldas asserted that the libraries in Quito were excellent and added that several individuals possessed extensive personal libraries. He mentioned using recent issues of the Mémoires of the French Academy of Sciences and the works of Buffon, Maupertuis, Cassini and Reaumur (Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., Latin America and the Enlightenment, 2nd ed., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961, p. 41).

[25]Vergara y Vergara, II, 109 cites Caldas' own list of materials from the Quito trip: five or six thousand skeletons, two volumes of descriptions, numerous drawings of plants, minerals and documents necessary to prepare the geographical, botanical and zoographical maps of the viceroyalty, 1500 records of the altitudes of different towns and mountains, a volume of meteorlogical observations, a volume of astronomical observations and two volumes describing the customs, industries, agriculture and literature of the region he studied. This amount of research alone, carried out in less than five years, is sufficient to classify Caldas as a modern scientist.

Observatory, all qualify Caldas as an authority on numerous scientific disciplines. His studies under Restrepo in Popayán and under Mutis at the Botanical Expedition in Bogotá along with his later research provided him with the preparation needed to write scholarly treatises and publish a journal of science and philosophy.

One author feels that the works of Caldas are literary achievements as well as scientific treatises:

> Aquellos escritos no sólo poseen indudable valor científico sino que guardan además calidades literarias eximias. Profundo conocedor de la lengua castellana la emplea con propiedad y desembarazo, con elegancia, severo estilo y nítida claridad del lenguaje. Acostumbrado a la investigación paciente, sus trabajos literarios son primorosamente elaborados, sin caer en el amaneramiento, ni perder la sencillez que deleita en los grandes escritores.[26]

Another literary historian, Vergara y Vergara, has stated: "Caldas es uno de los más atildados escritores de la lengua española . . . la literatura colombiana lo admira como uno de sus fundadores."[27] Menéndez y Pelayo has asserted: "como prosista didáctico vigoroso, grandilocuente a veces, rico de savia y de imaginación pintoresca, dejó admirables fragmentos. . . ."[28] Núñez

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[26]José Enrique Arboleda V., "Discurso, " Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Colombia, XXVI (1968), 174.

[27]Vergara y Vergara, II, 117.

[28]Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Antología de poetas Hispano-Americanos (Madrid: Tipografía de la "Revista de Archivos," 1928), III, xxv.

Segura, author of a school text on Colombian literature, considers Caldas a great literary figure because he gave "atractivo en el fondo y en la forma de sus ideas científicas vinculando así la ciencia con la belleza."[29]

Francisco José de Caldas, director of the Semanario, wrote numerous scientific papers in addition to those included in his journal. Following research in Popayán he wrote a "Discurso sobre el calendario rural" which was published in the Correo Curioso in 1801 (Nos. 33-38). The article is a study of atmospheric variations, seasons and the order and type of agricultural activity for improved production and economy.[30] The same periodical published several other studies by Caldas, including his barometric observations. His research trip to Quito resulted in various essays including "Memoria sobre la nivelación de las plantas que se cultivan en la vecindad del Ecuador" which he sent to Mutis in 1802. During this time he confirmed the important discovery he had made in Popayán of the method of measuring altitude (by determining the boiling point of water) which was more accurate than the barometer. A few years later, on 16 October 1808, Caldas sent a report of this discovery to the

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[29]Jose A. Núñez Segura, Literature colombiana (Medellín: Editorial Bedout, 1962), p. 113.

[30]Francisco José de Caldas, Obras completas (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1966), pp. 121-138.

secretary of the viceroyalty; however, it was not printed until 1819 when a friend of Caldas published it in France at Bordeaux.[31] The article was reprinted in Bogotá in El Día (No. 204, 14 January 1844).[32]

Following the last issue of the Semanario, the young scientist continued to publish his studies. During the early independence period Caldas elaborated the "Almanaque de las Provincias Unidas de Nueva Granada" for the year 1812. The almanaque includes a preface in which Caldas exhorted the enlightened citizens of New Granada to contribute to the intellectual progress of the young federation by making various scientific observations. To this end he included in the almanaque a guide for making simple astronomical and geographical calculations. He further called for New Granada to become scientifically independent of Europe as well as politically independent: "Fundemos escuelas de matemáticas, cultivemos la Astronomía y los ramos que dependen de ella."[33] The almanaque also includes a list of important dates in ecclesiastical history, political history and the history of science. In the second category the independence of

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[31]Ibid., pp. 143-173.

[32]Vergara y Vergara, II, 102.

[33]Caldas, p. 13.

the United States and of the Provincias Unidas is noted. The third list is more extensive and of course was the one which most interested Caldas; it refers to the various contributions of Kepler, Galileo, Newton, Leibniz and Franklin and the establishment of such institutions as the Academy of Science at Paris and the Astronomical Observatory at Bogotá.

The New Humanism which was a characteristic of the Enlightenment in New Granada as elsewhere can be discerned in Caldas' works. The man of science was not insensitive to the suffering of the Indian. In his treatise on his research in Ecuador he referred to the plight of the Indian:

> Los indios de este pueblo [Delec] me han parecido más advertidos y racionales que los demás que hemos visto hasta aquí. Oprimidos con las multas y con otras muchas imposiciones, comienzan a quejarse. Tendremos ocasión de hablar en lo sucesivo de estas injusticias y de los excesos de los curas y jefes en nuestra relación de Cuenca.[34]

His comments on the town of Cuenca include the remark: "Los indios, más esclavos que los de Quito, llevan sobre sí cargas terribles que les impone la dureza de

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[34]Francisco José de Caldas, Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1942), III, 90. This article and other previously unpublished manuscripts by Caldas were included in the reprint of the Semanario edited by José de Acosta at Paris in 1849. The 1942 reimpression of Acosta's edition from which we cite does not follow the original volume numbers of the Semanario.

los jefes y de los curas."[35]

The Semanario de Nueva Granada,[36] which began publication in 1808, was in existence for only three years, a much shorter run than the Papel Periódico. The Semanario was issued as a weekly during the first two years; in 1810 the format was changed to the publication of a monthly memoria.[37] Caldas published the works of scholars from abroad as well as those written by New Granadines. Several of Humboldt's studies appeared in the Semanario with prologues and annotations by Caldas. Caldas himself contributed several occasional pieces and major articles. One of the latter was the "Estado de la geografía del virreinato con relación a la economía y al comercio" (Vol. I, Nos. 1-7). In this work Caldas compiles information on the geography of the viceroyalty, its borders, coasts, mountain ranges, valleys, plains and rivers as well as computing its total territorial area. He presents detailed data such as elevation, temperature,

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[35]Ibid., p. 115.

[36]Since there are several editions of the Semanario and the articles written by Caldas also appear in his Obras completas, major references are given in the text; additional sources for references or quotations are located in the notes.

[37]The first issue appeared on 3 January 1808. The first year there were weekly issues totaling 449 pages. The second volume also included fifty-two issues and totaled 386 pages. The number of pages varied from four to sixteen; several included supplements. The memorias of 1810 were generally about thirty pages.

atmospheric conditions, vegetable and mineral products and other resources and the means available for their commercialization. The emphasis on the utility theme--the study of natural science to promote industry and commerce--was a product of the movement to provide "useful" disciplines in the schools as fostered by the educational reformers and the economic societies. The theme appeared in the works of other writers in New Granada during the final stages of the Enlightenment. Some of them, such as Pedro Fermín de Vargas and José Ignacio de Pombo, would find that the stagnant economy of New Granada was due not only to the lack of relevant courses of study but also to Spanish mercantilist laws which benefitted the peninsula to the detriment of the colony.

Caldas included in "Estado de la geografía" descriptions of Indian races, volcanoes, storms, earthquakes and natural resources. He contrasted natural beauties and resources with the poverty and misery of the people. Caldas was one of the first to describe the ancient San Agustín Indian culture of southern Colombia which only recently has come under the scrutiny of archaeologists. Many of his comments contained characteristics of Romanticism which will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

An important theme in the article is the spirit of pride in the native country and <u>patriotismo</u>.

Following his descriptions of geography, natural resources, mountains, rivers and races, he emphasized the potential of New Granada as a world power with coasts on two oceans, endowed with abundant natural resources and navigable rivers, concluding that for these reasons New Granadines should be proud of their country. In this regard he mentioned studies sent to him by various researchers in the viceroyalty--José Ignacio de Pombo from Cartagena, Gregorio Angulo from Popayán, José Manuel Restrepo from Antioquia and Manuel Caicedo y Tenorio from Cali[38]--concerning the natural resources, agricultural products, navigable rivers and roads of those regions. This activity is indicative of the widespread effort to put into practice the ideals of the New Philosophy--scientific studies to achieve progress and material well-being for the happiness of man--which filtered in through the reformed educational institutions, the Botanical Expedition and the economic and literary societies.

Diego Martín Tanco, using the pseudonymn of "El amigo de los niños," contributed an article entitled "Discurso sobre la educación" to the Semanario (Vol. I,

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[38]Pombo's economic Informe had been delivered to the Consulado at Cartagena on 14 May 1807. José Manuel Restrepo later wrote his famous history of the revolution and Manuel Caicedo y Tenorio was the last Alférez Real, subject of the historical novel, El alférez real by Eustaquio Palacios.

Nos. 9-15) in which he outlined a plan for a "patriotic school," reflecting the concern for elementary civic education which was expressed in France by La Chalotais, Diderot and Turgot.[39] Tanco's plan is similar to that employed by Felipe Salgar in the school he founded at Girón in 1789. Tanco recommended weekly "field trips" followed by the reading of entertaining works such as Iriarte's Nuevo Robinson or El hombre feliz, independiente del mundo y de la fortuna by the Portuguese Oratorian, Teodoro Almeida (1722-1803). He proposed dividing the school into four classes. In the first, the students would read fables by Iriarte and Samaniego; in the second, writing should be undertaken. The history of Spain, using Miguel de Isla's translation of Duchesne's Compendio de la historia de España, and Christian doctrines, using the works by Fleury, would be covered in the third year. The students would also begin mathematics which was to be concluded in the fourth year. The article reflects the contemporary movement for separation of

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[39]La Chalotais' Essai d'éducation nationale was published in 1763, one year after Rousseau's Emile. Diderot, Turgot, La Chalotais and others promoted civic education in France as a means of achieving happiness, well-being and the organized function of the state. Consult especially F. de la Fontainerie, ed., French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century: The Writings of La Chalotais, Turgot, Diderot and Condorcet on National Education (New York: Burt Franklin, 1932.

Church and education. Tanco urged that directors of the schools not be permitted to promote a particular devotion nor use the names of saints for the schools. They should be called simply "Escuela de la Patria" and be devoid of altars or images denoting a particular religious preference.[40]

In reply to a comment Caldas made in his article "Estado de la geografía," Diego Martín Tanco wrote a rebuttal to Caldas' ideas on the influence of climate on the virtues and vices of man. Tanco's article (Vol. I, Nos. 8-9) held that education and the influence of others determined the moral constitution of man. Caldas' reply to Tanco, entitled "Influjo del clima sobre los seres organizados" (Vol. I, Nos. 22-23), shows a thorough knowledge of the major works written in Europe on the topic. Early in the essay he cites Saint-Pierre's Etudes de la Nature, indicating that he was aware that this writer and other philosophers "no quieren reconocer el influjo del clima sobre el hombre."[41] Caldas pointed out that he did not adhere to either of the extremes--that climate does not influence man in any way or that climate alone is responsible for man's make-up--but

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[40]Juan Manuel Pacheco, La ilustración en el Nuevo Reino (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1975), pp. 124-125.

[41]Caldas, Obras completas, p. 80.

rather followed what he considered most reasonable in both positions. He took arguments from Montesquieu's Esprit des lois as well as from the works of Saint-Pierre and Buffon. He defined "climate" in a broader sense than that previously used by the European philosophers:

> Por clima entiendo, no solamente el grado de calor o frío de cada región, sino también la carga eléctrica, la cantidad de oxígeno, la presión atmosférica, la abundancia de ríos y lagos, la disposición de las montañas, las selvas y los pastos, el grado de población o los desiertos, los vientos, las lluvias, el trueno, las nieblas, la humedad, etc. La fuerza de todos estos agentes poderosos sobre los seres vivientes, combinados de todos modos y en proporciones diferentes, es lo que llamo influjo del clima.[42]

With this definition Caldas approaches the concept of environment according to Darwin's theories.[43] Caldas also referred to the influence of heredity on man pointing out that aptitudes for learning can be passed on. He cited the examples of the astronomers in the Cassini family, the botanists in the Jussieu family, and the jurists in the Covarrubias family.

The remainder of the introduction is devoted to further definitions of his terms such as "influjo de los alimentos" and "constitución física del hombre."

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[42]Ibid., p. 81.

[43]This view was treated in an unsigned article, "Caldas y Darwin," Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, XX (1922), 517-524.

In a lengthy explicative note Caldas singles out the various errors in the conclusions drawn by Tanco, the author of the rebuttal. In the note he cites the French edition of Lavoisier's Eléments de Chimie. In a reference to Montesquieu's work we find an example of the transition from purely scientific concerns to ideas of a political nature. Caldas alluded to Montesquieu's application of his theories on climate to the formation of republics and monarchies and the nature of their laws.[44] After this general introduction several additional sections cover heat and cold, atmospheric pressure, electrical currents, mountains, wind, rivers, jungles and rain. From the headings of each section, it is apparent that Caldas dealt with more than "climate," making one of the most extensive studies of the effects of environment on man.

In the section on heat and cold he cites various scientists' studies of variations in temperature according to geography, season, and so forth. In an interesting note he discusses anatomical characteristics and degrees of intelligence, citing Cuvier's Leçons d'Anatomie comparée.[45] Caldas followed Buffon in the concept that animals in cold regions are just as ferocious as those of hot climates: he politely rejected the extravagant

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[44]Caldas, Obras completas, p. 83.

[45]Ibid., p. 86.

theories of Saint-Pierre who had stated just the opposite. He at least gave the latter credit as "el sensible y virtuoso autor de Virginia."[46] In so many words he warned: "science for the scientists and literature for the poets!" His comment is significant, considering that it came from the man in whose works the Romantic tendency is quite discernible: "D'Alembert quiso geometrizar en el Parnaso, y ahora Saint-Pierre quiere hacer poemas, hallar armonías, crear sistemas y trastornar los principios de las severas ciencias."[47] Other citations in this section include Humboldt, Buffon and his successor Stephen de Lacepède (1756-1825), especially the Spanish edition of the latter's Discurso sobre las diferentes razas. The section on the influence of electrical charges on man includes references to Benjamin Franklin and the natural scientists mentioned above.

Caldas indicates in his conclusion that the various aspects of environment effect changes in the nature of man, animals and plants and become inherited traits. He concluded that all these aspects of environment:

> se acumulen sobre los individuos en diferentes proporciones, y combinados de todos los modos posibles; en fin, que su imperio se perpetúe y pase de generación en generación. Los productos varian como las causas: el hombre adquirirá el color negro, blanco, aceitunado y todas las tintas;

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[46]Ibid., p. 90.

[47]Ibid.

> su estatura irá desde la gigantesca hasta la pigmea; sus facciones desde la deformidad hasta la belleza; . . . y en una palabra, el hombre se modificará en todas sus partes, y cederá a la potencialidad efectiva y enérgica del clima.[48]

Caldas discussed the effect of environment on animals and plants, indicating its role in the world distribution of the species:

> Los animales, con menos recursos que el hombre, no lo podrán seguir a todas las latitudes: el clima los repartirá sobre la superficie del globo, y les señalará limites que no podrán alterar. Las plantas, más expuestas a sus rigores que los animales, tendrán barreras más fijas, y los espacios asignados a cada especie se conocerán mejor. La superficie de la tierra se hallará variada maravillosamente: en todas partes reinarán el contraste, la belleza y la alegría. Las necesidades de las naciones, sus riquezas, sus sobrantes, su lujo, sus miserias, sus vicios, sus virtudes variarán con la latitud y con el clima. De aquí la armonía, el comercio, la industria, la rivalidad, las guerras, las artes y cuanto existe en la sociedad.[49]

These ideas antedate Darwin's theories and may have had some influence on his work. Darwin explored the continent two decades later, entries in his diary in 1833 indicating that he traveled 300 miles up the Río de la Plata.[50] He continued explorations along the west

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[48]Ibid., p. 119.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen, South America Called Them: Explorations of the Great Naturalists (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), pp. 193 ff.

coast of South America where he may have come in contact with Caldas' works.

Following the appearance of Caldas' comments on the influence of environment on man in "Estado de la geografía," Francisco Antonio Ulloa contributed an article called "Ensayo sobre el influjo del clima en la educación física y moral del hombre del Nuevo Reino de Granada." Although he wrote more extensively on what Caldas had merely outlined, Ulloa's work does not surpass the former's in style or profundity. His work nevertheless reveals familiarity with contemporary studies from abroad produced by the philosophers of the Enlightenment. For example, Rousseau's concepts of l'homme naturel and l'homme artificiel and his thoughts on man and nature had been circulating in Latin America[51] and knowledge of them is revealed in Ulloa's article:

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[51]Rousseau's Discourse on Inequality (1755) was translated into Spanish and printed at Charleston, South Carolina in 1803. The same year it circulated in Mexico and the rest of Spanish America. The translator's "Preliminar" refers to "nuestra América," and praises the philosophers who laid the foundations for United States independence (Jefferson R. Spell, Rousseau in the Spanish World before 1833: A Study in Franco-Spanish Literary Relations, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1938, pp. 233 and 276). Ernst Cassirer, in The Philosophy of the Enlightenment (Boston: Beacon Press, 1966), pp. 156 ff., discusses the significance of Rousseau's distinction between l'homme naturel and l'homme artificiel.

> Los siglos se han amontonado: las generaciones se han sucedido con la rapidez de las aguas; y en medio de los tiempos han existido siempre multitud de filósofos que con el pincel en la mano han intentado retratar al hombre. Unos, olvidando las épocas y las circunstancias, han ascendido hasta el origen de las sociedades para averiguar lo que hay de natural o adquirido en el género humano.[52]

He further referred to the fact that philosophers--he was thinking primarily of Montesquieu--had interested themselves in the passions of man from different parts of the world such as "el patagón errante, el lapón sedentario, el turco voluptuoso, el hombre de los bosques y el de las cultas poblaciones. . . ."[53]

Jorse Tadeo Lozano published three articles in the Semanario. The "Memoria sobre las serpientes" includes a study of the remedies for snake-bite poisoning. It was taken from his unpublished work, Fauna cundinamarquesa, as was another article he contributed to the journal called "El hombre." Lozano also translated an extract of Humboldt's Geographie des plantes (Vol. II, Nos. 12, 19, 22) which was annotated extensively by Caldas. A portion of his work on "El hombre" indicates the influence of the New Philosophy on literature as well as demonstrating a vibrant style in the writing of the new genre--the scientific essay or treatise as literature:

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[52]Cited by Vergara y Vergara, II, 129.

[53]Ibid.

> La naturaleza dejó al hombre entregado a sola su industria y a los ardides que le sugiere su razón . . . gobernado por aquella sublime facultad, ha sabido imitar y apropiarse las industrias y defensas de todos los animales; se ha abierto camino por los anchurosos mares; ha hallado arbitrio para elevarse a las regiones del aire, y ha tenido el atrevimiento de usurpar al cielo sus rayos, imitándolos en las armas de fuego. Ojalá no abusara de todas estas ventajas, empleándolas en destruir su propia especie, y en consumar los más atroces delitos cuando parece fueron inventadas para el fin contrario.[54]

Although his specialty was zoology, Lozano demonstrated knowledge in other areas as well as familiarity with Benjamin Franklin's works. The last sentence from the above citation reveals that Lozano, like Caldas and the other scientists, was a sensitive scholar. Further reflections on nature, man and the distribution of the species parallel Caldas' work and similarly approach the line of thought which led to Darwin's studies:

> La flexibilidad de la constitución física y de los órganos del hombre le ha dado la facilidad de esparcirse por toda la superficie del globo terráqueo sin temer los extremados fríos en las regiones polares ni los abrasadores rayos del sol en la zona tórrida. Pero esta flexibilidad . . . no ha podido salvarlo del influjo que necesariamente había de tener sobre sus órganos la diferencia de temperaturas . . . así se ve que aunque el hombre es la única especie de su género, está sujeto a variar, como todos los demás animales, según las regiones que habita, el género de vida que sigue y los alimentos con que se sustenta. Estas causas con las grandes catástrofes de la naturaleza han influído poderosamente sobre la especia humana, y . . . la han repartido en muchas razas bien caracterizadas y distintas . . . Además de esto, se

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[54]Ibid., p. 124.

> observa que cuando las mismas influencias obran con menos intensidad, dan a cada raza mil colores, matices diversos, que constituyen sus variedades sin elevarse a la clase de nuevas razas. . . .[55]

The study of man in general quite easily led to the study of American man and New Granadine man. This analysis eventually contributed to the concept of nationalism.

One of the themes common to the Enlightenment literature of both North and South America was a reaction to the European attitude toward the Americas, the concept of "biological degeneration" in the New World which was accepted by many of the French philosophes.[56] Buffon, in his Histoire naturelle, indicated that America was a continent unsuited for the habitation of man, and De Pauw wrote in Les recherches that it was an impotent continent where men and animals degenerate.[57] The rebuttals came from several parts of the New World. Benjamin Franklin combatted the idea during nearly every period of his life and Thomas Jefferson made an effort to refute it in his

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[55]Ibid.

[56]A. O. Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin and the Philosophes," Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, XXIV (1963), 62.

[57]José de Onís, The United States as Seen by Spanish American Writers, 1776-1890 (New York: Hispanic Institute, 1952), p. 16.

Notes on Virginia (1785).[58] Francisco Clavijero's History of Ancient Mexico was written as a defense of Mexico's grandeur. The Chilean priest and botanist Juan Ignacio Molina wrote his History of Chile for the same purpose. The theme is found in Peru in the works of José Hipólito Unanue, physician and independence leader. The result of the various reactions to the European notion was the development of a sense of "Americanism." The authors of the defenses contributed to the spread of an "American spirit."[59]

In the second volume of the Semanario an interesting article appeared by José María Salazar which is similar to Caldas' work, "El estado de la geografía." Salazar's article is also a defense of New Granada and parallels the works written by Franklin, Jefferson, Clavijero and others attacking the opinion of some European writers who considered the Americas a place of physical and mental degeneracy unfit for plants, animals and humans. Salazar's "Memoria descriptiva del país de Santa Fé de Bogotá" was intended to refute the

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[58]Aldridge, "Benjamin Franklin," pp. 62 ff.

[59]This concept is supported by Leopoldo Zea in his "Introducción" to Abelardo Villegas, Antología del pensamiento social y político de América Latina (Washington, D. C.: Unión Panamericana, 1964), p. 11 and by Harold Eugene Davis, in Latin American Thought (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), p. 40, who also cites Zea.

misconceptions brought about by Leblond's essay on New Granada read before the Royal Academy of Science at Paris. The introductory pages describe the state of civilization attained by the Chibcha Indians prior to the Spanish conquest which he admits was not as advanced as those of the Aztec, Maya or Inca cultures. However, Salazar showed that the Indians of New Granada (specifically, Cundinamerca Province) were not as barbaric as Leblond had indicated; he supported his point of view adequately with information on the laws, political organization, religious beliefs and artistic achievements of the Chibcha.

Since Salazar's description of the geography, natural resources and transportation facilities in New Granada during his own time parallels that of Caldas in his article mentioned above, we will focus our attention on the last part of Salazar's essay which refers to the general theme of the present work. In this section the writer discusses the intellectual advances accomplished in previous years and points out further progress to be achieved. He mentioned the term felicidad several times, echoing the emphasis placed on happiness which the Enlightenment philosophers believed could be attained through intellectual development and material well-being. The writer asked if the happiness experienced by New

Granadines in their "age of enlightenment" was real or imaginary: "¿De buena fe nos creemos sabios, o nos tenemos en esta concepto porque somos menos ignorantes, brillando solo ahora en fuerza de la pasada obscuridad?"[60] The question prompted him to point out the intellectual progress of the last several decades indicating that theology, medicine, mathematics and other disciplines were taught "dignamente." He further referred to the role played by the Spanish authorities:

> También la vigilancia del gobierno ha dictado algunas providencias capaces de propagar las luces--ha protegido dos papeles públicos, ha dotado decentemente el Observatorio astronómico, la Expedición botánica y le es deudor el Reino de otros beneficios--y él no adopta el bárbaro sistema de una política insensata que quiere la ignorancia del súbdito para la seguridad del señor.[61]

Salazar gave several indications of needed improvements, among them the generalization and spread of relevant disciplines which were taught to advantage in the vice-royalty but only by a few professors, largely the disciples of Mutis and Restrepo, and in a limited number of intellectual centers such as Bogotá, Popayán and Cartagena. He expressed his view on which direction education should take, reflecting the emphasis of the Botanical Expedition and the economic societies on the

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[60]Caldas, Semanario, II, 224.

[61]Ibid., p. 225.

practical sciences, economic development and the pursuit of happiness:

> El primer estudio de un pueblo naciente es el de conocerse a sí mismo, comprender la naturaleza del suelo en donde va a multiplicarse, perfeccionar sus minas, su industria, su comercio y su agricultura, abrir los caminos para aproximar los lugares, adelantar las artes de primera necesidad con preferencia a las de lujo. Dediquémonos a tan importantes objetos, y sin perder el tiempo en disputas inútiles . . . cuya inteligencia es poco necesaria para la felicidad de la vida, procuremos adquirir esta por los medios posibles, y sustituir el estudio de la bella naturaleza a lo que nada influye en nuestro destino."[62]

Salazar encouraged government and school officials to bring professors from Europe or to send New Granadine youth there in order to advance the study and application of disciplines neglected in the viceroyalty such as chemistry, mineralogy and so forth. Salazar was undoubtedly aware of the students sent by Mutis and of those transported as prisoners in 1794 who became professors and students in Europe, returning later to contribute their knowledge to New Granada. One last point made in Salazar's article is quite important. Referring to the various needed improvements which he had outlined, he stated: "pero todo llega a ser remediable cuando empieza la época del patriotismo."[63] The spirit of patriotism emerged as

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[62]Ibid., p. 227. The italics are ours.

[63]Ibid., p. 229. The italics are ours.

a predominant factor of the Enlightenment in its final stages in New Granada.

In the second volume of the Semanario Caldas inserted an interesting "Noticia patriótica" which indicates that elementary education was receiving attention during the period of educational reform in the institutions of higher learning. The note reports on the Escuela Patriótica established at Popayán in 1808 by Antonio Arboleda and the public examination held at the end of the first year by the young students under Francisco Antonio Urrutia. Caldas considered the methods adopted and the authors selected as representative of modern thinkers, and emphasized the importance of elementary education with qualified teachers, relevant disciplines and modern methods.[64]

Another brief article in Volume II of the Semanario called "Mis horas" was contributed by an anonymous writer who sent no further selections. The essay on the economy of time is reminiscent of Franklin's maxims in Poor Richard's Almanack (beginning 1734). The author of "Mis horas" warned against time spent with trifles, frequently using the term bagatelas. The term was popular during the Enlightenment and was used to refer to weighty matters discussed in artistic compositions of an airy or

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[64]Ibid., III, 1-3.

light-hearted nature. Benjamin Franklin used the word in his broadsides printed at Paris, The Bagatelles from Passy. Antonio Nariño employed it for his political newspaper of the revolutionary period, La Bagatela.

Joaquín Camacho, a graduate of Rosario in jurisprudence and collaborator of the Botanical Expedition, contributed to the Semanario. He became an eager exponent of the New Philosophy through contact with the students of José Félix de Restrepo who were in Bogotá for further study. Along with Camilo Torres he was considered one of the best lawyers in New Granada. The Spanish authorities granted him the position of magistrate at Socorro where he wrote the study "Descripción de la Provincia de Pamplona" published by Caldas. The article is well-written with a simple and direct style and language. However, his prose descriptions do not achieve the poetic quality of the works by Caldas.[65]

José Manuel Restrepo, prominent during the independence period as a literary figure and author of the history of the revolution, was representative of the generation of scientists and Mutis' correspondent in Antioquia. He submitted to the Semanario a work entitled "Ensayo sobre la geografía, producciones, industria y población de la provincia de Antioquia," the title of

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[65]Ibid., II, 1-18.

which gives us an idea of its contents. The editor of the journal considered the article "juicioso y sustancial."[66]

A number of clergymen contributed to the spread of scientific studies and submitted reports on their work from various parts of the viceroyalty. José Manuel Campos y Cote, a priets at Prado in Tolima Province, sent a study of the Prado River and a map of his parish. Francisco Mosquera, from Popayán, submitted demographic statistics on population migration. Mariano del Campo Larraondo, also from Popayán, forwarded for publication the results of his meteorological observations. Del Campo, who had studied under José Félix de Restrepo, was noted for his literary talents. He wrote an allegory in verse on the "Transformación política del Estado en 1810" published in 1825 at Bogotá. In prose he published at Popayán his "Breve discurso sobre la libertad de cultos" in 1830, and subsequently, "Entretenimiento político." He wrote two unpublished volumes entitled "Rasgos morales, filosóficos, históricos y políticos, en verso y prosa" from which one of his letters was taken and published in the Correo Curioso. The letter is an analysis of a poor translation of Horace which appeared in that periodical. The letter was praised as a good

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[66]Vergara y Vergara, II, 126.

example of literary criticism by Menéndez y Pelayo.[67] Eloy Valenzuela, Mutis' first assistant director of the Botanical Expedition, later became a priest who continued scientific research in the region around Bucaramanga. He submitted articles on cinchona, on a new type of potato that he had developed and a curious article entitled "Sobre el uso de miel para conservar los cuerpos corruptibles."[68]

In the third year the Semanario adopted a new format, publishing monthly Memorias. A number of them reflect the interests of the time and deserve comment. The first Memoria published in 1810 was on the importance of cultivating various "cash-crops" which had been studied by Mutis and other members of the Botanical Expedition.[69] A note written by Caldas to this essay reveals the level of scientific studies in New Granada. He points out that in certain observations in the area of physics the viceroyalty:

> hace ventajas en este punto, no sólo a todos los pueblos de la América, sino también a las naciones más ilustradas de Europa. . . . Reunidas las [observaciones] de Godin, Bouguer, la Condamine, Juan, Ulloa, Mutis, Humboldt, [Jose Manuel] Restrepo, Weisner,

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[67]As cited by Vergara y Vergara, II, 132.

[68]Eloy Valenzuela, Primer diario de la Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bucaramanga: Imprenta del Departamento, 1952), pp. 50-55.

[69]Caldas, Obras completas, pp. 261-291.

> d'Eluyar, y las que yo he verificado, forman un cuerpo inmenso, y unas riquezas preciosas para los físicos.[70]

He asserted that by way of contrast various important observations in New Spain had not been made "a pesar de haber estado allí Alzate, Doz, Medina y Chappe."[71]

The second Memoria consisted of a study of cotos, or goitre, by Joaquín Camacho, followed by the first part of an article by Caldas entitled simply "Botánica." It also contains an article by Sinforoso Mutis on the Botanical Expedition. After this there are descriptions of three plants discovered in New Granada: amaria, caldasia and pombea. The first was discovered and described by Sinforoso Mutis and dedicated to Viceroy Amar y Borbón, the second by José Celestino Mutis and named for Caldas and the third by Caldas named in honor of José Ignacio de Pombo who had supplied him with money, books and supplies for his trip to Quito. The publication of the descriptions of plants was Caldas' attempt to begin the tremendous task of organizing the materials and studies of the Botanical Expedition in natural and physical science with a view of their eventual publication.[72]

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[70]Ibid., pp. 267-278.

[71]Ibid.

[72]In the third Memoria the series of studies called "Botánica" was continued and other new genera, named in

The fourth Memoria was written by Jorge Tadeo Lozano on an instrument he had invented, called the Chromapiscilo, for measuring color variations. His discovery paralleled that made by Lamarck in Paris. The fifth Memoria was "La importancia de connaturalizar en el Reino la vicuña del Perú y Chile," written by Caldas. Memorias eight and nine of the Semanario in its third year were made up of an extract of Alexander von Humboldt's Cuadro físico de las regiones ecuatoriales which was originally published by Peltier in Ambigú (No. 262) at London. Caldas reprinted Peltier's extract of Humboldt's work and added an extensive prologue, notes and corrections.[73] The extent of Caldas' erudition is evident here as in his other works. He shows familiarity with countless works on the sciences by distinguished writers in Europe and North America as well as by scientists in New Granada and New Spain. Memoria ten of the Semanario reproduced an extract of Humboldt's work which appeared in El Español of London; it too includes a prologue and notes by Caldas. A list of subscribers in

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honor of the members of the Botanical Expedition, were described and discussed: lozania and valenzuelia, both the work of Sinforoso Mutis and named for Jorge Tadeo Lozano and Eloy Valenzuela, and consuegria, discovered near Quito and described by Caldas, honoring Sinforoso Mutis (y Consuegra) (Ibid., p. 31).

[73]The Obras completas includes only Caldas' prologue and notes.

one issue reveals that copies of the journal were sent to various parts of Latin America including two copies to Santo Domingo and two copies to the Real Consulado at Veracruz. Four copies were sent to the Real Consulado at Cartagena for distribution outside the viceroyalty.

The Semanario was one of the major literary works of the Enlightenment in New Granada. The number of contributors and the profundity of their treatises provide first-hand indications of the extent of intellectual activity. The modern scholarly quality of scientific investigation displayed in the articles is a significant manifestation of modernization brought about by educational reform and the various other aspects of the Enlightenment--the Botanical Expedition, the literary circles and the economic societies.

C. The Enlightenment and Periodical Literature

Like the other aspects or phenomena of the Enlightenment which we have examined--education, scientific expeditions, literary circles and economic societies--the publication of periodicals was not an exclusive characteristic of New Granada. Throughout Latin America periodicals appeared and by the last quarter of the eighteenth century reflected the currents of thought typical of the

Enlightenment. One of the earliest periodicals was the Gazeta de Lima which published its first number in December 1743. Professor Luis Monguió has pointed out that the periodicals were conscious of their function as complements to the schools' instruction in the new knowledge. He cites the example of José Ignacio Bartolache's Mercurio volante which was first published in Mexico in 1772 for the purposes of assisting educational reform and printing news on matters of physics and medicine.[74] Alzate's Gazeta de Literatura de México appeared at the end of the next decade. Elsewhere in the viceroyalty of New Spain, other periodicals were published; La Gazeta de Guatemala (1729-1731) actually appeared before La Gazeta de Lima. However, it was not until its second phase in the last quarter of the century that it represented modern thought and served as a vehicle for new ideas.[75]

In 1791 a modern periodical called the Mercurio Peruano appeared in the viceroyalty of Peru. It represented an improvement over the earlier Gazeta de Lima

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[74]Luis Monguió, "'Las Luces' and the Enlightenment in Spanish America," in A. Owen Aldridge, ed., The Ibero-American Enlightenment (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 217.

[75]T. B. Irving, "On the Enlightenment in Central America," in Aldridge, ed., The Ibero-American Enlightenment, pp. 282-297, especially pp. 282 and 290.

because it was published by the economic or patriotic society of Lima. The interest in education displayed by the periodicals is found in Primicias de la Cultura de Quito published in 1792 by Francisco Javier Eugenio de Santa Cruz y Espejo, the major representative of the Enlightenment in the presidency of Quito (Ecuador). These publications along with many others are treated in works on the Enlightenment in Latin America such as Aldridge's collection of essays, The Ibero-American Enlightenment, and the articles edited by Whitaker in Latin America and the Enlightenment. However, they neglect the various periodicals in New Granada other than occasional references to Caldas' Semanario. A few studies published in Colombia or Spain provide some information, although several of the works are outdated and difficult to obtain.

While the major emphasis of the Enlightenment in New Granada was interest in the natural and physical sciences as exemplified by the Botanical Expedition, other areas of importance such as modern philosophy, political science and economics received their stimulus from the literary circles and economic societies. Scientific studies found a vehicle of expression in Caldas' Semanario, the major scholarly journal in New Granada, while the literary groups and economic societies

developed periodicals for the diffusion of their works in literature and philosophy as well as science. The Papel Periódico, devoted primarily to philosophy and literature, and the Correo Curioso, concerned principally with political and economic questions, actually preceded the Semanario chronologically. However, the latter surpassed the others in scholarly as well as literary quality.

The first periodical of significance and the major journal of philosophy and literature to appear in New Granada was the Papel Periódico de la Ciudad de Santafé de Bogotá[76] which was published by Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez. The first issue, consisting of eight pages, appeared on 9 February 1791; the last issue, Number 265, was published on 6 January 1797 and ended on page 1620. José Manuel Restrepo, a correspondent of the Botanical Expedition from the province of Antioquia, later wrote the history of the revolution in Colombia in which he referred to the importance of the Papel Periódico:

> Sirvió mucho para inspirar a la juventud granadina el gusto por la literatura y buenos estudios, a lo que también contribuyó su redactor Socorro, que se complacía en dar lecciones y en formar a los jóvenes. . . .

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[76]Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Fondo Quijano Otero, 57, "Periódicos de la Colonia," and Fondo Pineda, 740, Miscelánea de cuadernos de Colombia y Nueva Granada, "Periódicos."

> En aquel periodico se publicaron algunos descubrimientos del doctor Mutis. . . .[77]

The periodical circulated as far as Lima and was mentioned in El Mercurio Peruano (28 April 1791):

> la empresa es apreciable, y puede mejorarse y perfeccionarse con el discurso del tiempo . . . tiene a su favor el empeño con que la mira aquel Excmo. señor Virrey [Ezpeleta], declarado protector de las letras y de los literatos, la buena acogida que ha tenido entre aquellos regnícolas, y, finalmente, el mucho pundonor de aquel público, que ya se halla comprometido en la continuación del periódico. . . .[78]

A contemporary literary critic, Carlos Arturo Caparroso, made the following remarks:

> Soplos de progreso, ideas avanzadas en más de un aspecto, anhelos de renovación, cruzaban por aquellas páginas. En ellas se exponían muchas cuestiones con la mayor libertad.[79]

Other evidence that the enterprise was successful is found in data provided by Sanín Cano: the Papel Periódico had a circulation of 400 while by comparison a major newspaper in Bogotá a century later had 600 subscribers.[80]

The Papel Periódico was sanctioned and supported by

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[77]As cited by Medina, La imprenta en Bogotá, p. 39.

[78]Ibid., p. 38.

[79]Carlos Arturo Caparroso, Tema y glosas (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1962), p. 31.

[80]B. Sanín Cano, Letras colombianas (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944), p. 36.

Viceroy Ezpeleta; in spite of his support, however, the viceroy did not permit the publication of articles praising his administration.[81] According to Socorro Rodríguez, the purpose of the paper was "hacer literatura y . . . escribir lo más útil y conveniente."[82] Francisco Antonio Zea, using the pseudonymn of Hebéphilo, published articles in the Papel Periódico (Nos. 8-9) in which he called for further educational reforms. He also expressed the need for a spirit of patriotism:

> es preciso que dexeis primero prender en vuestros corazones esa llama divina, que se dice patriotismo, y es la base de la felicidad comun, la virtud de los Heroes, Madre de las virtudes civiles, y por desgracia la menos conocida. Consiste en llegar el hombre a persuadirse que no puede conseguir una situación acomodad, ni disfrutar una solida fortuna si no dirige todos sus pensamientos al bien universal y mira los intereses de la Republica con preferencia a los propios.[83]

The reforms accomplished by Mutis at Rosario and those contributed by Restrepo, Mutis' disciple, at the Seminary of Popayán had awakened sufficient enthusiasm in the creole youth of this period to encourage them to continue the campaign of reforming educational institutions in New Granada. Zea was one of Mutis' more distinguished

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[81]Papel Periódico, No. 8 (1 April 1791).

[82]Gustavo Otero Muñoz, Historia del periodismo en Colombia (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, 1936), p. 16.

[83]Papel Periódico, No. 9 (8 April 1791), p. 66.

disciples and one of the most active contributors to reform. In his criticism of the peripatetic system, which had not yet been banished entirely from various universities, Zea called for a change in methods, pedagogical orientation and selection of professors. In order for education to be more meaningful to the student and useful to the patria, he proposed the study of "los principios y progresos de los artes, el de la Economía y la Industria, el de la Agricultura, el de la Política . . . el de la verdadera filosofía."[84] His ideas expressed in these articles indicate the influence of Mutis and of the doctrines espoused by the economic societies. The influence of Restrepo, his professor at Popayán, is shown in his enthusiasm for the New Philosophy. His articles in the Papel Periódico in 1792 frequently used the words patria, ciudadano, and libertad.

Socorro Rodríguez included other works by Zea in the Papel Periódico, such as an extract from the introduction to the young scholar's work in preparation entitled "Memorias para servir a la Historia del Nuevo Reyno de Granada."[85] Socorro Rodríguez prefaced the

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[84]Papel Periódico, No. 8 (1 April 1791), p. 61. The article is included as Appendix F.

[85]Zea's work in preparation in 1792 led to his Colombia: Una relación geográfica, topográfica, agricultural, comercial, política published in London in 1822.

brief article with the comment: "Su Autor es un Joven, que por estos ensayos da esperanzas de ser algun dia, no solo un Varon ilustre en la Literatura, sino tambien un generoso Patriota. . . ."[86] In the article Zea proves himself to be one of the defenders of American potential in counter to the European attitude of "biological degeneration" which was later continued by Caldas, Salazar and others writing for the Semanario. He pointed out that De Pauw had overlooked some of the illustrious figures of the New World: "no quiere encontrar entre nosotros quien pueda componer un libro," and stated that "tenemos demasiadas pruebas de que podemos ser sabios. No, no ha degenerado en este suelo la especie humana; antes ha producido individuos que la honran." Among those individuals Zea singled out one man that future generations should honor:

> Agradecidos al Padre de nuestra literatura, al primer Filosofo (El Dr. D. José Celestino Mutis) que puso sus plantas en este suelo, y derramo en el los tesoros de su sabiduría, le erigirán estatuas y monumentos, y regando con lagrimas el laurel de su sepulcro, lamentarán la desgracia de los grandes hombres que solo son conocidos quando ya no existen. . . .[87]

Francisco Antonio Zea would be chagrined to know that even today el padre de las luces in New Granada is little

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[86]Papel Periódico, Supplement to No. 48, p. 378A.

[87]Ibid., p. 378C. See Appendix G for the entire extract published by Socorro Rodríguez of Zea's introduction to his projected "Memorias."

known outside Colombia, and to Colombians he is scarcely familiar except as the Director of the Botanical Expedition.

Zea's first article on education prompted at least one student from San Bartolomé, Pablo Plata, to rebel against tradition. In July 1791 he invited the public to attend his conclusions to be defended in jurisprudence, using only Spanish; the invitation was printed in the Papel Periódico. The presentation was tolerated by Viceroy Ezpeleta, and Socorro Rodríguez praised and supported this important change in an editorial in the Papel Periódico.[88]

One of the articles in the Papel Periódico (No. 24, 22 July 1791) compared the earlier colonial period with the era of Enlightenment. The article refers to Christian religion having come to New Granada but not "la verdadera filosofía." The writer pointed out that while there were priests to care for spiritual life, civic life in society was neglected because "faltaban hombres que honrasen la sociedad y diesen a la especie humana aquel espiritu de energía filosófica sin el cual no puede gustarse la vida civil ni reinar la

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[88]José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, El latín en Colombia (Bogotá: Editorial Voluntad, 1949), pp. 238-239 and 243.

felicidad. . . ."[89] The article implies that knowledge of the New Philosophy which began to be imparted in the schools was not sufficient. The true work of the Enlightenment was to spread "las luces en lo común del pueblo." Articles published later in the Papel Periódico would present the opposite point of view.

José Félix de Restrepo began another course in philosophy at the Seminary of Popayán in 1791. His opening speech, which encouraged the study of ideas sustained by the New Philosophy, was published in the Papel Periódico in December 1791. The Papel Periódico contributed to cultural enrichment and progress in areas other than its stimulus to modern education, serving as a source of news from abroad as well as from within the viceroyalty and circulating in New Granada, the rest of the Americas, and Europe.

In addition to news articles and editorials, the paper published essays in various fields of learning, translations of treatises from abroad, and original compositions of members of the literary societies. Articles published by members of the Botanical Expedition included Fermín de Vargas' study of the plant used against snake venom, "Memorias sobre el guaco," which appeared in

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[89]As cited by José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de M. Rivas, 1890), p. 268.

September 1791. During 1793 and 1794 the Papel Periódico printed Mutis' work on the Arcano de la quina revelado a beneficio de la humanidad which was serialized in twenty-six consecutive editions.

One of the poems published, "La flora de Bogotá," was an idyll dedicated to Mutis by Socorro Rodríguez. The poem praises Mutis for the knowledge he introduced into New Granada. The idyll, although not the best example of literature produced during the period, illustrates the broad range of topics covered in the Papel Periódico; it reveals that Mutis and the knowledge he introduced into New Granada were the topics of poetry as well as discussion. Another of Rodríguez' works published in his paper was dedicated to Marie Antoinette; it was called "El imperio de la virtud, Poema en prosa a la muerte de la Reina de Francia." Beginning in February 1794 many of the articles were dedicated to the French Revolution and its ramifications in Bogotá.[90] The Papel Periódico published some of the occasional pieces composed by other members of the literary societies. One issue included an anonymous sonnet written in memory of the Spanish fabulista Tomás de Iriarte after his death. A note appended to the composition indicated that two

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[90]Juan Manuel Pacheco, La ilustración en el Nuevo Reino (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1975), p. 142.

female members of the literary clubs were writing an elegy of Iriarte to be included in the next issue.[91]

Women in New Granada were not completely idle during the eighteenth century, as we have seen in the case of Manuela Santamaría de Manrique who led the Buen Gusto circle. Just as there were philosophers of the fair sex in France and often the mistresses of the philosophes dabbled in the arts of their lovers--that is, science and philosophy--New Granada could boast of its own female philosopher who for reasons unknown preferred to remain anonymous. She contributed an article to the Papel Periódico entitled "Reflexiones de una Dama Filósofa sobre un punto importante de educación pública" (No. 238). The essay represents a conservative reaction to the liberal currents of the Enlightenment. Her basic theme is a defense of Christian education, although the article contributes to the movement toward civic education. While she speaks against the excesses of liberal sabios, she promotes philosophical questions which "sirven de utilidad." This woman writer in her conclusion states: "La Sabiduria que ha de hacer feliz al Universo no puede consistir sino en los estudios Clásicos, unicos elementos de la conducta prudente y virtuosa."[92] We

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[91]See Appendix H.

[92]Papel Periódico, No. 238 (1 April 1796), p. 1394. The article is included as Appendix I.

should point out that Rousseau's Emile, already known in New Granada at this time,[93] also called for the study of the classics following the "state of nature" period and foresaw the necessity of civic education--a point often misunderstood or overlooked in the French philosopher.

Studying the reactions to a movement or intellectual current--in this case the conservative reaction to the New Philosophy of the Enlightenment--is one method of ascertaining the strength of the movement. In the last section of this chapter we will discuss this topic in detail. For the present we wish to point out that conservative reaction appeared in the Papel Periódico in 1796. An article entitled "Las extravagancias del siglo ilustrado," indicates that anti-Christian currents of thought were indeed to be found in Christian Latin America, contrary to what many historians of the Latin American Enlightenment have held to be the case. This current was evidently strong enough to warrant publication of an article attacking it and condemning plans for independence and equality. The writer, Nicolás Moya de Valenzuela, gives the purpose of his essay:

> se combaten a aquellos que suponen al Christianismo como opuesto a la razon, a los que afectan fundar la felicidad, la filantropia, y derechos del hombre destruyendo a la Religion que es la

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[93]Emile was known in New Granada a decade before; Nariño paraphrased parts of it in 1789 in his manuscript, "Sobre la educación."

> base del bien publico. De aqui se pasa á refutar el plan de independencia é igualdad que ha intentado la Filosofia de ese Siglo persuadir à todas las Naciones.[94]

The rights of man, equality and independence were discussed several years before the appearance of this article; however, those discussions took place in the secrecy of Antonio Nariño's "inner sanctum" called the Santuario. This excerpt is an instance of those ideas coming under public scrutiny.

The publication of even a small paper in those days was not without its problems. Socorro Rodríguez endeavored to write replies to the various comments and criticisms sent to him which were generally published in the paper. On one occasion a reader from Cuba informed him that the order of some stanzas in the "Idyll" which he had printed were truncated resulting in a misunderstanding of the poem. The editor wrote an apology for the error indicating that he had reread the poem and, referring to the effect it caused on him: "I almost split my sides with laughter upon seeing the incoherence and deformity of the transitions with which the printer designed himself worthy to adorn the work, giving it a truly singular aspect." He exclaimed, "My God, how much has the printer's carelessness cost us!"[95] This reply was to

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[94]Papel Periódico, No. 239 (8 April 1796), p. 1395.

[95]Antonio Cacua Prada, Don Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1966), pp. 61-62. This and subsequent translations from Spanish are ours.

have been included in the next edition of the paper but when the printer, Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, received and read it he wrote a note to don Manuel stating: "Please rewrite this and use softer tones . . . no one can order me to print something that darkens my reputation."[96] Socorro replied that the printer was free to rewrite the note as he saw fit. However, the viceroy heard of the problem and ordered Espinosa to print anything the editor sent him. The printer wrote an explanation to Viceroy Ezpeleta: "I merely wanted him to use other terms so that the error would not seem so serious. The mistake was really trivial. Besides, that's not the only reason; he receives all the money from subscribers but claims he cannot afford to pay me and I do not have any means to support myself except by the sweat of my brow."[97] The outcome of the polemics which took place in December 1792 was that Espinosa never printed Socorro's reply. But beginning the next year (volume three) the paper was printed at Antonio Nariño's printing shop, the "Imprenta Patriótica." The publication of Volume III began on 19 April 1793; Nariño's press was directed by Diego Espinosa de los Monteros, a

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[96]Ibid., p. 62.

[97]Ibid., p. 63.

relative of the unfortunate Antonio Espinosa.[98]

Jorge Tadeo Lozano, a member of the Botanical Expedition, and José Luis Azuola y Lozano, a participant in Nariño's Casino, were the editors of another major periodical published during a brief time in New Granada. The Correo curioso, erudito, económico, y mercantil, de la ciudad de Santafé de Bogotá, a lengthy title which nevertheless indicates the scope of the enterprise, was first published 17 February 1801. Each edition consisted of four pages; the final issue came out 29 December 1801. The first issue outlined the reasons for the journalistic undertaking which stemmed from the activity of the Economic Society. The editors asserted that

> la dulzura de los modales de sus habitantes, la docilidad de sus genios, la viveza de sus talentos y su deseo insaciable de la sabiduría, son, a la verdad, las disposiciones favorables sobre que reposa nuestra empresa. Es bien conocido la utilidad de los medios, que facilitan la mutua communicación de las ideas para la consecución de la ilustración de los hombres y del engrandecimiento de un estado.[99]

The first issue of the Correo Curioso presented a prospectus of the publication based on its title: Curioso, because it would include historical sketches, anecdotes, selected philosophical sayings, and news of ingenious inventions; Erudito, since it would publish treatises on

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[98]Ibid., p. 76.

[99]Medina, La imprenta en Bogotá, p. 59.

the arts and sciences, poetry and so forth; Económico, because it was interested in "public utility," and would publish articles relating to agriculture and industry; and Mercantil, because news of commerce, imports and exports would be included.[100] The prospectus concludes with a statement which links the utility theme to the pursuit of happiness: the editors hoped that their publication would encourage "sanas costumbres, ciencias y sabiduría" for the attainment of "mayor utilidad y común felicidad."[101]

The Correo Curioso received little support from the public--although it should be pointed out that it was a private enterprise, sanctioned by the Spanish authorities but not supported economically by them--and in fact was attacked and criticized to such an extent that an article in Number 26, "Reflexiones del Hermitaño," complained of the censorship the paper had received:

> Nuestra decantada Ilustración sólo se manifiesta por la impresión de una novena cada dos o tres años, y si se establece un papel periódico . . . en lugar de protegerlo y coadyuvar a su adelantamiento se le ataca, se le combate y se procure destruirlo; siendo lo mas gracioso que toma por pretexto el honor del Reino.[102]

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[100]Pacheco, pp. 143-144.

[101]Ibid., p. 144.

[102]Ibid.

The Correo Curioso contributed to the spread of the New Philosophy in spite of these attacks.

The paper contained less poetry and fewer literary articles than the Papel Periódico. The editors, who later became próceres of Colombian independence, limited the articles to those dealing with subjects mentioned in the title of the paper. Lozano, influenced by the republicanism of the French revolution while living in Paris, published a "Plan de una compañía patriótica de comercio." The article insisted on "lo útil que sería en este Reyno el establecimiento de una sociedad de amigos del país."[103] Other articles in the Correo Curioso sought the establishment of chairs of political economy and social statistics at the universities in New Granada.

The paper included news items concerning Bogotá and other sections of the viceroyalty as well as extracts from periodicals which arrived from abroad. One of the early articles dealt with "Historia natural, duración y tabla de las probabilidades de la vida humana." Another essay, by Juan Chiquero, discussed the art of writing. One letter addressed to the editors was a criticism of "El estado de la ilustración de la capital." An article by Caldas in the Correo Curioso entitled "Observaciones sobre la verdadera altura del cerro de Guadalupe"

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[103]Otero Muñoz, p. 20.

(Nos. 23-25, July and August 1801) is an important scientific study in spite of its unpretentious title.[104]

The Correo Curioso, like the other periodicals published during the Enlightenment in Latin America, considered education to be of prime importance and a proper concern of the citizenry. While La Dama Filósofa published her article on education in the Papel Periódico, Severo Cortés published his "Lo que falta y sobra en el Reino de Granada" in the Correo Curioso (No. 18, 16 June 1801, pp. 69-72). He echoed the sentiments of his female counterpart:

> me admira que falten en tantos colegios las catedras de poetica y rethorica, habiendo otras, o menos necesarias o del todo inutiles. A estas artes las llamaron humanidades, sin duda para denotar lo mucho que suavizan las costumbres de un pueblo; y quanto fomentan el amor mutuo de los hombres, que se conoce con el nombre de humanidad.[105]

Criticisms, lack of economic support and the limited number of subscribers contributed to the termination of the Correo Curioso. The last edition, Number 46, appeared on 29 December 1801.

Along with the Semanario, the Papel Periódico and the Correo Curioso represented an important aspect of the Enlightenment in New Granada. For their time they contributed a great deal to the spread of the New Philosophy--

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[104]Caldas, Obras completas, pp. 365-374.

[105]As cited by Rivas Sacconi, p. 241.

as much as could be expected considering that they appeared "bajo licencia del Real gobierno." Licensed publications could present new ideas but only those of a less revolutionary nature. Modern thought in philosophy and science was acceptable to the crown; ideas which might upset political order were not acceptable. The latter filtered into the viceroyalty toward the end of the century and--secretly discussed and published--brought forth a battle of ideas.

D. Tradition, Enlightenment and Revolution

Socorro Rodríguez, prominent in diffusing the New Philosophy through the Eutropélica society and his periodical publication, did not hesitate to criticize and ridicule the new ideas when they became too dangerous, too revolutionary. Socorro Rodríguez was a supporter of the Enlightenment, but within the bounds of Spanish authority. Following the flight of Pedro Fermín de Vargas to Cuba, the United States and Europe where he would assume various aliases and seek support for a revolution in New Granada, the conversations in the streets, cafes and tertulias of Bogotá revolved around Pedro Fermín's audacity, the audacity of his plan and even the possibility of its eventual success. Socorro Rodríguez ridiculed "tan extravagantes ideas" in the Papel Periódico (Nos. 21 and following), adding that his

precautions meant little in view of literature arriving from abroad containing "proposiciones demasiado favorables al patriotismo de los entusiastas y contrarias a la moderación con que se debe hablar sobre tales puntos."[106] Socorro Rodríguez was a promoter of the New Philosophy but in moderation; he favored reform to the point of, but not beyond, revolution.

Socorro Rodríguez was responsible for other literature representing a reaction to the more liberal aspects of the Enlightenment. One such piece did not appear in periodical or even published form; however, it serves to demonstrate to what extent modern ideas were introduced, discussed, written about and acted upon. In his report on the "State of New Granada," cited in an earlier chapter for the comments on the revolutionary nature of certain tertulias, Socorro Rodríguez affirmed that he had printed articles in his Papel Periódico which attacked revolutionary ideas. He asserted that articles on "patriotism" in the Mercurio Peruano, especially Numbers 209 and 210, were read in Bogotá in spite of the articles published in his own periodical defending "la pureza de la religión."[107]

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[106]As cited by Roberto María Tisnes, Movimientos pre-independientes grancolombianos (Bogotá: Editorial e Imprenta Salesiana, 1963), p. 117.

[107]Cacua Prada, pp. 79-80. Socorro Rodríguez' report, written on 19 April 1793, was sent to Pedro de Acuña y Malbar, a representative of the crown.

In the report he warned that "pernicious books" were brought in through the English and French possessions in the Caribbean. An entire section of the report is devoted to Pedro Fermín de Vargas, whose revolutionary literature will be discussed presently. Socorro Rodríguez feared that don Pedro's flight from New Granada would produce "fatal consequences" since his philosophy was based on "los depravados principios de libertinaje."[108] The journalist's conservative reaction was in fact expressed personally to Fermín de Vargas:

> Este infeliz literato [Vargas] . . . se tomó la libertad de quererme interesar en sus miserables proyectos, y habiéndoselos ridiculizado cuanto me fue posible, pensó después desvanecer el mal concepto que temió podría yo haberme formado de él, fingiendo que cuanto me había dicho era una chanza sin otro fin que el de pasar el tiempo.[109]

It is important to notice that Vargas pretended to merely pass the time with revolutionary projects; the revolutionaries used this type of ploy to cover their subversive activities. This fact has been overlooked by some historians causing them to brand certain próceres of independence as hypocrites or even traitors because some of them preached revolution on the one hand and appeared to adhere to Spanish authority on the other. This is particularly true in the case of Antonio Nariño;

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[108]Ibid., p. 83.

[109]Ibid. The italics are ours.

however, Thomas Blossom's recent Nariño: Hero of Colombian Independence[110] should dispel misconceptions regarding Nariño's political sincerity.

The last section of Socorro Rodríguez' report reveals the extent of revolutionary ideas. He hoped the authorities could restrain "los fatales progresos que va haciendo por todas partes el espíritu de seducción y de independencia."[111] The next year (1794) the Spanish authorities restrained "los fatales progresos" made by Nariño and his revolutionary group. However, that was merely the first indication that the revolutionary ideas and revolutionary literature of the Enlightenment were stimulating activity.

After the Papel Periódico ceased publication, the less liberal ideas of the Enlightenment found expression in another periodical which represented conservatism in new ideas--since it was the work of Socorro Rodríguez--while at the same time it contributed to "Americanism," perhaps without realizing the full consequences of that spirit. The first issue of the Redactor Americano published by Socorro Rodríguez appeared on 6 December 1806. Unlike the Papel Periódico and the Correo Curioso which

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[110]Thomas Blossom, Nariño: Hero of Colombian Independence (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1967).

[111]Cacua Prada, p. 87.

were more or less scholarly journals rather than newspapers, the Redactor was intended to be informative rather than illuminative. It indicated in the prospectus that only news relevant to the Americas would be printed; news from Europe would be included in a separate supplement or appendix.[112] News items dealt with Buenos Aires, Lima, New York, Jamaica, and various parts of the viceroyalty of New Granada. As if to prove that the newspaper was intended only for "Americana," the editor published the lengthy article "Disertación sobre las naciones americanas" (No. 35), which was continued for thirteen more issues.

One issue of the Redactor Americano included a note to potential contributors. The requirements for the submission of articles reflect the conservative element's acceptance of the Enlightenment but attenuated by adherence to Spanish authority and Catholic tradition. The editor expressed the matter succinctly:

> solo se imprimirá lo que fuere digno de presentarse a un público ilustrado, católico, y de buena educación. Jamás se dará a luz disertación alguna . . . si es difusa, si no se contrae directamente a objeto americano, o si contiene alguna expresión ofensiva de las sagradas leyes de la urbanidad, y buena armonía civil.[113]

The ideas of the New Philosophy were accepted by many.

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[112]Ibid., pp. 159-161.

[113]Ibid., p. 159. The italics are ours.

However, ideas which purported to upset traditional political and religious order were rejected, even by some representatives of the Enlightenment such as Socorro Rodríguez.

Scholarly works stemming from the Enlightenment were not deprived of an outlet, even though the Papel Periódico was no longer published. The more conservative products of the New Philosophy, such as those which had appeared in the Papel Periódico and the Correo Curioso, found expression in El Alternativo del Redactor Americano which was also published by Socorro Rodríguez and first appeared on 27 January 1807. Each monthly issue contained a philosophical article and news from Europe. A supplement to Number 13 offered a proposal which, like many well-intentioned plans in various areas, was unfortunately never realized. The journalist promoted the publication of a series of works by American authors to be called "Miscelánea Selecta de Literatura Americana." In a subsequent issue of the Alternativo (No. 40) he insisted on the idea, suggesting that the Royal Academy of Spain publish a "Biblioteca Americana." Socorro Rodríguez recommended the establishment of chairs of American history in all schools as a means of facilitating the formation of an American authors' library. His recommendation provides further indications that educational

reform was one of the major concerns of the Enlightenment in New Granada and was related to the many other aspects of the intellectual movement.

In the few years prior to the outbreak of the independence movement in 1810, New Granada boasted of three periodicals in Bogotá which served to establish the distinction between newspapers and scholarly journals. More importantly, they represented literary aspects of the intellectual currents stimulated by the Enlightenment. Caldas' Semanario reflected the ideas of the New Philosophy which stemmed from the schools and the Botanical Expedition. The Alternativo del Redactor served as a sequel to the Papel Periódico, publishing news from abroad along with articles on philosophy and literature. The Redactor Americano represented a conservative intellectual current and was more a newspaper than a scholarly journal. However, the purpose of the last periodical--to publish only "Americana"--contributed to the rising "American spirit" and sense of patriotism.

The feeling of Americanism infused with revolutionary undertones, appeared in New Granada several years before the three periodicals published in Bogotá during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Pedro Fermín de Vargas and Antonio Nariño were the individuals most involved in revolutionary literature and activity. They had collaborated on a plan to overthrow Spanish control, Nariño

working from within the viceroyalty while the former departed for Caracas, Cuba, the United States and finally England where he established contact with Miranda. Before his departure in 1791 he left Nariño his library which contained several volumes in French; there is some evidence that he was involved with his associate in the translation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man[114] which Nariño published in 1794. Nariño's translation is often cited as one of the factors contributing to the revolutionary movement; however, it probably contributed less than some of his original works and certainly less than his secret revolutionary circle,[115] especially in view of the fact that few of the several hundred printed copies of the translation were actually distributed.[116]

Nariño's first literary piece, a manuscript found among his notebooks, was not published; however, it was circulated among the members of his secret circle. The work serves as a link between the concern for education and the revolutionary movement. The essay is entitled

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[114]Roberto María Tisnes, Un precursor: Don Pedro Fermin de Vargas (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1969), p. 30.

[115]Roland D. Hussey, "Traces of French Enlightenment in Colonial Hispanic America," in Whitaker, ed., p. 33: "The private press of Nariño has received more than its due; its value was insignificant compared to the spread of ideas through the Spanish American periodicals, or through discussions in cafés and literary associations, or through borrowed books."

[116]Blossom, p. 13.

"Sobre la educación." The first part echoes Rousseau in its defense of the natural state, calling man's change from the man of nature to the man of society "degeneracy":

> Las pasiones en el estado natural están en calma. . . . En esta misma razón deben ser sus conocimientos, ellos son el fruto de las necesidades, o de las pasiones. El hombre natural satisface sus necesidades sin esfuerzo del espíritu . . . mas si algún accidente viene a turbar esta bienaventuranza temporal, las pasiones comienzan a despertarse, las necesidades se aumentan, y el hombre se ve precisado a ocurrir al espíritu para satisfacer estas nuevas necesidades; así va degenerando del estado natural al de sociedad.[117]

He tried to bring the various points of view into perspective, seeking a balance between those who saw natural man as degenerate and those who saw him as good, between those who saw modern society as a provider of progress and comfort and those who saw it as the cause of luxury and corruption. In his opinion the philosopher is considered to be the one who represents the best of both: "se aplaude al filósofo virtuoso, porque acercándose a su primitivo estado, se contenta con el necesario posible y desprecia las riquezas, el lujo, la disipación, la gula, esas necesidades tan decantadas de la vida social."[118] He concludes that man must approach the state of nature as much as possible in the midst of society: "lo que en

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[117]Gómez Hoyos, I, 216.

[118]Ibid.

este estado sólo se podrá conseguir con la educación.[119] The remainder of his treatise praises the benefits of education and enlightenment.

Pedro Fermín de Vargas, a member of the Botanical Expedition specializing in economics, wrote two important monographs in 1790, Pensamientos políticos sobre la agricultura, comercio y minas del Virreynato de Santafé de Bogotá and Memorias sobre la población del Nuevo Reino de Granada. Similar to Nariño's works, those written by Vargas--especially in their combination of scientific and economic study--link the New Philosophy to the independence movement. In the Pensamientos a section on commerce reveals the relation between economic studies and the revolutionary tendency. Vargas indicated that Spain's port restrictions--at that time commerce was allowed only through the port at Cartagena--presented an obstacle to the economic development of the vice-royalty.[120]

Vargas' budding revolutionary spirit prompted him to criticize Spanish colonial administration. He complained that Indians and farmers were made to open roads and thus neglected their farming. Further, since the

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[119]Ibid.

[120]Pedro Fermín de Vargas, Pensamientos políticos y Memoria sobre la población del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1944), p. 31.

roads benefitted the wealthy merchants, they should be made to finance the road work, which should be done by Spanish soldiers who, he said, were lazy and did nothing.[121] In another attack against Spanish economic policies, specifically referring to marketing cinchona and mining emeralds, Vargas stated: "El Gobierno hace mal comerciante (sic). . . ."[122]

At one point Vargas referred to having read in 1787 an article on petroleum in a newspaper from the United States.[123] Although the article and Vargas' comments on it are of little relevance to our examination of the revolutionary intellectual current, the reference indicates the presence of North American periodicals in New Granada and at a relatively early date.

In another section of his work Vargas asked the important question: "¿Qué recurso les quedaría a los pobres vasallos si el Rey tomase por su cuenta todos los renglones útiles, y el cultivo de las minas de oro, plata, etc.?"[124] He justified his comments and criticisms with a statement in which the words society, rights and patria are of primary importance: "Todo hombre como

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[121]Ibid., pp. 36-37.

[122]Ibid., p. 44.

[123]Ibid., pp. 53-54.

[124]Ibid., p. 68.

miembro de la sociedad tiene derecho para decir lo que le parezca útil y ventajoso a su patria."[125] Further criticisms of Spanish authority include an attack on the viceroys whom he considered to be more interested in making a good showing before the king than in the advancement of their viceroyalty. In his opinion, "si se les presenta una idea gloriosa y útil al público, o la desprecian del todo, o la promueven con tanta frialdad, que nunca se consiguen sus buenos efectos."[126] He remarked that the ignorance of the viceroys in political and economic affairs contributed to the problem.

Vargas' essay, Memoria sobre la población del reino appears to have been composed as an entry in a literary contest, quite likely held by Nariño and his tertulia, the Casino.[127] In the essay he cites Franklin, a patron of Nariño's society.[128] The work is similar to the Pensamientos in its criticisms of Spanish authority.

Other works of an openly revolutionary nature written by Vargas were not as well known. While the two essays discussed above were results of his work as a

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[125]Ibid., p. 69.

[126]Ibid., p. 78.

[127]Vargas stated: "me atrevo a concurrir al premio ofrecido" (Ibid., p. 86).

[128]Ibid., p. 98.

member of the Botanical Expedition, the following pieces can be attributed to his association with Nariño's revolutionary tertulia. A "Diálogo entre Lord North y un filósofo" (1790) was found among Nariño's papers. His "Notas al escrito de Juan Bautista Picornell" has been called "netamente político y revolucionario, una exhortación a la revolución, a la independencia, a la separación de España"[129] by José María Tisnes, author of a brief biography of the revolutionary.

Following his flight from New Granada as a participant in a plot for a revolutionary movement, Vargas wrote the "Plan de la expedición para sublevar el Reino" (1796) which refers to the world-wide plan envisioned by Vargas, Nariño and other members of the circle.[130] Some evidence that Vargas translated or assisted Nariño in the translation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which the latter printed in 1794,

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[129]Tisnes, Un precursor, p. 64.

[130]Manuel Prieto was apparently involved in the plan. His activity represents another example of the application of the new ideologies to attack Spanish authority through literature. Prieto, from Popayán, appears to have had some contact with Fermín de Vargas in Usaquén and Zipaquirá near Bogotá. Vargas had been magistrate at Zipaquirá prior to his departure in 1791. Prieto was active in Tunja in 1794 writing diatribes against Spanish authority in prose and verse (Tisnes, Movimientos pre-independientes, pp. 175-177).

is supplied by the fact that in Madrid in 1797 Vargas published a similar translation along with his own original composition, "varias máximas republicanas y un discurso preliminar dirigido a los Americanos."[131]

In England the revolutionary from Bogotá became associated with the Venezuelan precursor of independence, Francisco de Miranda, and later submitted a "Memorial al Ministro Pitt" (1799). One of the Vargas' last works was the "Memorial sobre la América Hispana" (1805); after that, his activities became as mysterious as he was and his later whereabouts are uncertain. He apparently remained in London until 1808; an advertisement in a Caracas newspaper of 1810 appears to have been directed to Vargas; he was perhaps assassinated in New York in 1811--the name Fermín Sarmiento, one of his many aliases, cropped up in Spanish correspondence of that year. Other names on passports he used--Pedro de Oribe, Pablo de Olavide, Peter Smith--further complicate the search for his final activities and location.[132]

Vargas' works, like many of those written by his colleagues, were not published until several years later. With the exception of the treatises and articles appearing

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[131]Vargas, p. x; also see Porras Troconis, p. 335.

[132]Tisnes, Un precursor, cites throughout the last chapter the various conjectures on the andanzas of the elusive don Pedro after 1805.

in the periodical publications, numerous works by this enlightened generation remained unpublished but were not unknown. Much of their literature was read at the literary tertulias and passed around in manuscript form. In the case of Vargas' works, Caldas intended to include them in the third volume of the Semanario but relinquished the manuscripts to Vargas' family guardian, José Azevedo, who planned to publish them. In addition to the Memoria sobre la población and Los pensamientos Vargas wrote "Reflexiones sobre los principales frutos del Reyno" and "Discurso sobre el Río Magdalena." Caldas mentioned his intention to publish these four works by Vargas. However, in December 1810 a notice in the periodical Aviso al público (No. 13, p. 116) indicated that José Azevedo was seeking the last two articles so that they might be included in the planned edition; unfortunately, his project did not materialize and the last two works have since been lost.[133]

José Ignacio de Pombo, correspondent of the Botanical Expedition, submitted his Informe to the Real Consulado at Cartagena in April 1807. This is another instance of an economist's studies which resulted from the Enlightenment atmosphere contributing to the revolutionary current. His report on agriculture and commerce

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[133]Gómez Hoyos, I, 278.

echoes the sentiment expressed in Vargas' works. Pombo called for an end to monopolies and promoted free trade. The Informe indicates that Pombo had knowledge of the economy of the United States, pointing out that in that country there were no monopolies, no taxes on agriculture, and no restrictions on exportation. He further gave statistics on the benefits of such a system. Pombo cited his data from a report to Congress delivered on 5 December 1805 by Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin.[134]

Pombo's references in the Informe indicate that a number of reports and information were arriving from the United States and from French possessions in the Americas. News of such economic freedom and well-being circulated throughout the viceroyalty and contributed to the revolutionary ideas that had filtered in during the past years. Revolutionary ideas came in along with those of the New Philosophy--somewhat incidentally and inconspicuously--but gradually took precedence over the latter. As those ideas became increasingly pronounced and widespread, they stimulated activity rather than literature.

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[134]Sergio Elías Ortiz, ed., Escritos de dos economistas coloniales: Antonio de Narváez y La Torre y José Ignacio de Pombo (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1965), pp. 121-134.

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THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND EDUCATION IN NEW GRANADA, 1760-1830

VOLUME II

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VOLUME II

PART III

ENLIGHTENMENT AND EDUCATION IN NEW GRANADA: FROM VICEROYALTY TO GRAN COLOMBIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Along with the interest in science displayed in New Granada between 1790 and 1810, ideas of a political nature were introduced into the viceroyalty and affected patterns of thought and activity. Economic and political theories gradually took precedence over the ideas of the New Philosophy and eventually contributed to the ideologies behind the independence movements of 1809 and 1810. Between 1810 and 1830 ideas from abroad continued to filter into New Granada but from somewhat different sources. The United States superseded Germany as a source of ideas while France and England continued to make ideological contributions to Latin America. The transitional period of 1790 to 1810 witnessed a balance between interest in science and political and economic ideas, although scientific pursuits--notably the Botanical Expedition and the Semanario--overshadowed political revolutionary activity. However, between 1810 and 1830 political ideas predominated and the liberal ideology from abroad spurred activity which led to the formation of Gran Colombia.

Sarrailh, in his exhaustive study of the Enlightenment in Spain, draws attention to direct relationships

between the philosophes and numerous influential personages in Spain, especially between Voltaire and the Conde de Aranda, Rousseau and the Duque de Alba, d'Alembert and the Duque de Villahermosa.[1] Sarrailh studies the introduction into Spain of foreign ideas and books, particularly French and English, and asserts that public libraries as well as the collections of the economic societies, convents and individuals abounded in works ranging from inoffensive treatises on mathematics and agriculture to the Encyclopédie and the works of Voltaire and Rousseau.[2]

The last decade of the eighteenth century witnessed the efforts of Manuel Godoy, president of the Consejo, to win support among the followers of the Enlightenment,[3] thus accounting for an increased circulation of foreign liberal ideas in Spain which were then carried to the colonies. Herr concludes in The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain that between 1792 and 1801 Spain underwent a loss of faith in enlightened despotism and in the

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[1]Jean Sarrailh, L'Espagne eclairée de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954), pp. 214 ff. One chapter of this work, pp. 337-372, is devoted to Spaniards who traveled outside their country and brought back modern books and ideas. Also see Richard Herr, The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), pp. 154-200 for his discussion of "The Channels of Enlightenment."

[2]Sarrailh, pp. 287-336, especially p. 309.

[3]Herr, p. 398.

ideal of a benevolent absolute monarch. He considers the conflicts of ideas and nations brought on by the French Revolution, rather than the reign of Charles III, to be the primary cause of that loss of faith.[4]

With the shift of thought in the mother country toward ideas of republicanism and constitutionality, it can be understood more clearly why the independence leaders in Latin America, initially proclaiming independence "in the name of Ferdinand VII," eventually lost faith not only in monarchy but in any foreign rule, including that of Spain. With their recently ingrained empiricism the Latin Americans, rather than adhering to tradition, formulated rational proofs for the validity of independence and sought new forms of government. Ideas and examples from abroad, particularly from France, England and the United States, contributed to both processes.

The ideas and works of modern political and economic theories filtered into Latin America through various channels. They passed into the overseas colonies from Spain itself; Sarrailh and Herr adequately portray the prevalence of an Enlightenment tradition in Spain. However, official approval of the works of the philosophes came quite late in Spain: Montesquieu's De l'esprit des

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[4]Ibid., p. 444.

lois was translated into Spanish by Juan López de Penalver and published in four volumes by the Imprenta Nacional at Madrid in 1822. However, it was known much earlier in Spain and New Granada. A Spanish mercantilist, Antonio Muñóz, referred to it in 1769, and during the following decade it appeared in the works of José Cadalso. It appears in the works of Vargas and Nariño in 1790 and articles in the Semanario (1808-1810) refer to the Esprit des Lois. It was also known to Espejo in Quito earlier than 1795 when he died in prison.[5]

French thought also came directly into the Spanish overseas colonies. Of the many translations of French works in Latin America, only brief illustrations need be given. One work was translated twice at two different cities just prior to the independence movement: José María Vargas translated Rousseau's Contrat social at Caracas in 1809, and it was also translated and published "para instrucción de los jóvenes americanos" at Buenos Aires in 1810.[6]

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[5]Ibid., p. 58 and Raul Cardiel Reyes, Los filósofos modernos en la independencia latinoamericana (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1964), p. 141. On foreign ideas in Spain also see Paul Merimée, L'influence française en Espagne au dix-huitième siècle (Ligugé: Imprimerie E. Aubin et Fils, n.d.).

[6]Jefferson R. Spell, Rousseau in the Spanish World before 1833: A Study in Franco-Spanish Literary Relations (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1938), pp. 234 and 283.

Modern political theories from Europe filtered into Latin America through the United States, particularly after 1810. The contribution of France can be seen in the thought of Paine, Jefferson and Madison, according to A. Owen Aldridge,[7] and these men were known and admired in Latin America. Moreover, Franklin, Jefferson, Paine and Adams lived in Paris during the 1780's where they came into direct contact with French thought. In his Informes of 1807 and 1810 José Ignacio de Pombo frequently cites the works of Thomas Jefferson. José Miguel Pey, Torres' vice-president of the Provincias Unidas de Nueva Granada, one of several independent governments established after 1810, communicated with President James Madison. The brief work entitled Thomas Paine, Disertación sobre los primeros principios del Gobierno appeared at London in 1819; it was translated by "a citizen of New Granada."

Another instance of French thought entering Latin America through the United States is the translation into Spanish of Rousseau's Discourse on Inequality (1755). It was printed at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1803 for distribution to Latin America. The translator's "Preliminar" refers to "nuestra América," and praises the

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[7]A. Owen Aldridge, ed., The Ibero-American Enlightenment (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), p. 15.

philosophers who laid the foundation for the independence of the United States.[8]

A number of Americans contributed to the spread of ideas by promoting knowledge of and interest in Latin America. This was particularly true between 1810 and 1830 when numerous Latin American agents resided in England, France and the United States. The American scientist, Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill of Columbia College in New York, was the first North American to reconcile scientific enlightenment and democracy by endorsing the Latin American struggle for independence. His address to the New York Historical Society in 1813 informed his listeners of the scientific achievements of scientists in Mexico, Colombia and Peru.[9] He was familiar with the work of Humboldt, Sessé, Mociño and Mutis. William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia Aurora, worked to popularize Latin American independence by publishing propaganda furnished by him by his friend Manuel Torres, Colombian agent in Philadelphia.[10] Dr. William Thornton, head of the Patent Office at Washington, maintained contact with

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[8]Spell, pp. 233 and 276.

[9]Arthur P. Whitaker, ed., Latin America and the Enlightenment, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), p. 59.

[10]Charles Carroll Griffin, The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822 (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1968), pp. 124 ff.

Latin American rebels in the United States. He followed the ideas of Paine and Rousseau, and favored Latin American independence from the outset. He even drafted model constitutions which were submitted to Venezuela and Colombia. He communicated with two new Granadines, Manuel Torres from Colombia and Pedro Gual from Venezuela, in 1815 and 1816.[11]

Hamilton, Jefferson and Madison took special interest in the Latin American independence movement and maintained relations--through both correspondence and personal contact--with numerous revolutionary agents from Latin America. Rufus King, of New York, was a friend of Miranda while Hamilton corresponded with the Venezuelan prócer and favored his plan for independence.[12] As early as 1785 the effect of United States independence on Latin America was apparent. In that year an article on South America in the Political Herald and Review of London stated: "The flame which was kindled in North America, as was foreseen, has made its way into the American dominions of Spain. The example of North America is the

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[11]Ibid., pp. 126-127. Thornton, a friend of Fulton, was interested in steamboat navigation and obtained a concession to operate steamboats on the Magdalena River in Colombia.

[12]Harry Bernstein, Origins of Inter-American Interest, 1700-1812 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), p. 77.

great subject of discourse and the grand object of emulation."[13] American interest in Latin American independence appeared at about the same time. U.S. Minister to England, John Adams, wrote to John Jay, Secretary of the Confederation of the United States:

> An agent from South America was not long since arrested at Rouen in France, and has not since been heard of. Another agent, who was his associate . . . is here and has applied to Government for aid. . . . It is a fixed opinion in many minds here, that a revolution in South America would be agreeable to the United States, and it is depended on that we shall do nothing to prevent it, if we do not exert ourselves to promote it.[14]

In addition to the interest in Latin America stimulated by numerous individuals in the United States, publishing companies and periodicals lent themselves as vehicles for the dissemination of modern political thought and revolutionary propaganda. One early example is the inflammatory "Letter to Spanish Americans by One of Their Compatriots in Philadelphia," written originally in French by Juan Pablo Vizcardo y Guzmán, a former Jesuit. Miranda translated it into Spanish and distributed it in 1801, and in 1806 many copies were scattered throughout New Granada when Miranda reached the

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[13]Charles Lyon Chandler, Inter-American Acquaintances (Sewanee: University Press, 1918), pp. 8-9.

[14]Ibid.

mainland to commence his revolutionary designs. Spell considers Vizcardo's work reminiscent of Rousseau and refers to him as a disciple of Raynal. In 1809 the letter appeared in the Edinburgh Review.[15]

Philadelphia was an active center for the publication of works for both American and Latin American distribution. Santiago Felipe Puglia wrote Desengaño del hombre, printed at Philadelphia in 1794, which violently attacked the Spanish government, church, and nobility. The teachings of the Social Contract were openly advocated. Although efforts were made to prevent the work from entering the Spanish possessions through New Orleans and Vera Cruz, it became widely known and new editions appeared frequently--the latest was issued at Bogotá in 1822.[16] Also published at Philadelphia was the Historia concisa de los Estados Unidos desde el descubrimiento de la América hasta el año de 1807 (1812) by Manuel García de Sena, a native of Venezuela.[17] The book was translated to English and offered for sale in 1816. García de Sena also wrote La independencia de la Costa Firma justificada por Thomas Paine 30 años ha (1811),

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[15]Spell, pp. 222-224 and 305.

[16]Ibid., pp. 220-221. On the work's appearance in Bogotá Spell cites the Catálogo de las obras existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional (1897).

[17]Chandler, p. 89.

which spread United States political theory and knowledge of the constitution to Latin America.[18]

Carey and Lea, publishers of Philadelphia, contributed to the diffusion of knowledge of Latin America in the United States and to the spread of liberal ideas in Latin America. For example, they published the Espíritu del despotismo (1822), a Spanish version of Rousseau's Contrat social, specifically intended for export to Latin America.[19] William Stavely, also of Philadelphia, published a great many works in Spanish, such as José María Salazar's Observaciones sobre las reformas políticas en Colombia (1826) which, as Bernstein states, gave a few North Americans, and many more Latin Americans, a chance to read the important work.[20]

An aid to the exchange of ideas between the Americas was the widespread commercial trade which took place at the turn of the century between the thirteen states of America on the Atlantic seaboard with port cities in South America, including Cartagena.[21] While

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[18]Harold Eugene Davis, Latin American Thought (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), p. 36.

[19]Harry Bernstein, Making an Inter-American Mind (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1961), p. 39.

[20]Ibid., p. 42.

[21]Chandler, p. 29.

commercial trade was devoted to agricultural products, books, pamphlets and broadsides made up part of the clandestine cargo of American ships. A Chilean priest by the name of Martínez revealed that North American merchants helped foment South American independence by "praising their own country and condemning the colonial government subject to Spain."[22]

Foreign ideas from so many sources--arriving directly or passing through Spain and the United States--prompted many foreign travelers during the independence period to observe that the common people of Latin America were more enlightened and in possession of more sources of information than those of Spain. Spell indicates that remarks to this effect were made by an Englishman, William Walton, in his Present State of the Spanish Colonies.[23]

With numerous channels of thought open to Latin America, the ideological pattern between 1790 and 1830 witnessed a broad range of ideas affecting the independence movement. Harold Eugene Davis states in Latin American Thought that the intellectual leaders of independence saw the natural world through the eyes of Isaac

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[22]Bernstein, Origins of Inter-American Interest, pp. 82-83.

[23]Spell, p. 235 citing Walton, Vol. III, 137.

Newton and the other scientists who followed in his footsteps. Davis affirms that they looked for reason in religion, law and politics, rather than superstition or authority, and that most of the intellectual leaders of independence believed that their actions were based on reason.[24]

Intellectual revolution in the universities in Latin America stemmed from faith in reason, from questioning accepted beliefs, and from learning to solve problems by rational and empirical methods. The generation whose world view was changed by the study of modern philosophy and science, in the words of Charles C. Griffin, "did not have to read Rousseau or Voltaire in order to be able to cope with the political crisis of its time."[25]

The concern for the acquisition and dissemination of useful knowledge was a characteristic of the Enlightenment which became manifested in the efforts of the enlightened, creole revolutionary leaders to provide for public primary and secondary education. The efforts in New Granada to reorganize old schools and initiate new ones was a general occurrence throughout Latin America in the midst of the struggle for independence. Griffin

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[24]Davis, p. 31.

[25]Whitaker, p. 127.

points out the importance of the philanthropic sentiment, representative of the Enlightenment tradition, which brought about recognition of the rights of Indians by the revolutionary leaders. That same philanthropy encouraged by the Enlightenment manifested itself in concern for the emancipation of Negro slaves.[26]

The currents of thought coming to America after 1800 increasingly leaned toward the dawning romantic liberalism and utilitarianism of Europe. While these concepts contributed to the aspirations of a rising urban middle class in Europe, there was no equivalent economic group in Latin America.[27] However, incipient currents of liberalism and utilitarianism were quite in evidence. For example, in New Granada Santander was noted for his liberalism, anticlericalism, and Masonic leanings. Both Santander and Bolívar encouraged utilitarianism by ordering the use of Jeremy Bentham's Principles of Morals and Legislation (1789) in the schools of Gran Colombia. There was no middle class in Latin America; the leaders of the independence movements were intellectual elites, but they were also class-conscious creoles. Many historians, viewing them in this light, have portrayed the independence leaders as liberating

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[26]Ibid., p. 129.

[27]Davis, p. 38.

themselves from the "tyranny" of a decadent Spain. Moreover, the leaders of the movement "found the rationale for this power revolution in natural law theories of politics, economics, and social morality as expressed in the writings of Condorcet, Locke, Montesquieu, the Physiocrats, and Adam Smith."[28]

The trend toward independence thought, which vied with scientific interest between 1790 and 1810, became the predominant current between 1810 and 1830. These ideas, as analyzed by Davis, "found a common denominator in the generally rationalistic pattern of the Enlightenment."[29] Davis finds that, while a republican current was derived from the French and North American revolutions, constitutional monarchism as exemplified by the Spanish Constitution of 1812 tended to predominate, at least until it became clear that monarchy was not a realistic solution to the political problems. For example, the constitutional monarchy formed by Jorge Tadeo Lozano when Cundinamarca Province proclaimed independence lasted less than a year.

Bolívar was skeptical about the capacity of the illiterate masses to share in government, but believed in the ability of aristocratic independence leaders to

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[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid., p. 60.

create a stable and prosperous republic. To insure the merit and virtue of the aristocratic element in a government of the people Bolîvar proposed a fourth, "moral," branch of government, as we shall see. Davis asserts that Bolîvar's thought in this regard suggests that of Montesquieu, Burke and Hobbes more than Rousseau, Paine, or Jefferson.[30]

In the years following 1815 there was a general retreat from radical democracy throughout Latin America. Juan Martîn de Pueyrredon in Buenos Aires, O'Higgins in Chile, San Martin in Peru, and Bolîvar in Venezuela and Colombia "did not deny the principle of popular sovereignty, but they did not operate under it."[31] Their governments were authoritarian governments that stemmed more from the earlier enlightened despotism than from

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[30]Ibid., p. 43.

[31]Whitaker, p. 138. Information concerning the ideological currents which came into Latin America during the independence period from France, England and the United States can be gleaned from works which deal largely with military and diplomatic relations, such as William S. Robertson, France and Latin-American Independence (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939); C. K. Webster, ed., Britain and the Independence of Latin America, 1812-1830, 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1938); William R. Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations, 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1925); and Arthur Preston Whitaker, The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830 (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962).

revolutionary ideology. However, as learned from experience (the Spanish reconquest of New Granada under Morillo), a strong authority was needed during a time of revolution to avoid disorder and anarchy.

Bolívar was liberal but less than democratic in his Angostura address of 1819. By the time he made proposals to the Congress of Cúcuta (1821) he was less liberal--as shown by his proposal for a moral branch of government, for example--but he was still devoted to traditions inherited from the Enlightenment such as public education and material prosperity, science and progress, and modern political and economic theory. The final years of Gran Colombia witnessed a conservative Bolívar who suppressed liberal education in 1828 which he blamed for political unrest and the assassination attempt against him.

Literature in New Granada after 1810 portrayed the historical events of the period. The various ideological currents were also reflected in the literary production in the final stage of the Enlightenment. Patriotism is one of the principal themes encountered in the literature written in defense of "American greatness." The theme of patriotism, combined with the study of nature carried out by the natural scientists, contributed important characteristics to Romanticism in New Granada.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY AND INDEPENDENCE

The initial period of educational reform in New Granada between 1760 and 1790 witnessed the introduction of the New Philosophy into the colleges by innovators such as José Celestino Mutis and Eloy Valenzuela in Bogotá and José Félix de Restrepo in Popayán. Modernization of education during that time could not have been extensive since few professors were familiar with the new ideas and methods; more numerous were those who adhered to the centuries of scholastic tradition. The intellectual atmosphere, which was stimulated initially by the innovators at some schools, was enhanced by other academies or institutes which flourished during the second period of modernization between 1790 and 1810. While it had been established during the previous decade, the Botanical Expedition became more active as a center of learning when it was moved to Bogotá in 1791. Literary circles were prominent after 1790 and interest in the economic societies was displayed at the turn of the century. Literary production, especially of periodicals and scholarly journals, played an important role in the diffusion of foreign ideas during this transitional stage. However, education was not entirely neglected at the time.

In fact, various academies and periodicals contributed to the educational reform movement. A good deal of progress was made in the struggle to eliminate peripateticism from the colleges and universities. The struggle resulted in an inevitable clash of two generations. The young moderns rebelled against institutional authority and in many ways collaborated in the rebellion against Spanish authority.

A. Education and the New Philosophy, 1790-1810

Carrying on the tradition of their predecessors, the incumbent viceroys were receptive to the need for educational reform. José de Ezpeleta, who served as viceroy between 1789 and 1796, was concerned with education. In a letter (7 February 1792) to the rectors of San Bartolomé and Rosario he requested their collaboration on the improvement of studies.[1] Ezpeleta favored the establishment of a secular university but the attorney general of the Audiencia reported that Rosario and San Bartolome had insufficient funds to contribute to the erection of a public university.[2] However, Rosario was interested in opening a "Colegio de Nobles Americanos"

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[1]Archivo del Rosario, hereafter cited as AR, Volume 11, folio 130.

[2]Ibid., folios 131-134.

and the rector proposed such a school which was approved by a royal decree issued on 15 January 1792. Rosario College offered one of its buildings for the project which was to be directed by José Antonio Cortés.[3] The proposal met with little success; however, a year later Spain planned a similar school for the mother country to be established in Granada and offered a scholarship to Antonio Cortés de Ron, a student at Rosario. He was not able to undertake the journey but in July 1794 another student at Rosario, Camilo González Manrique, traveled to Spain to enter the school only to find that it did not exist.[4]

Although the movement to secularize education made little headway toward the establishment of a public university, subtle attempts to secularize existing colleges were initiated from Spain. A royal decree, issued on 19 September 1800, indicated that the vacancy in the rectorate of San Bartolomé could be filled by "un seglar, a falta de eclesiásticos idóneos."[5]

Additional attempts on the part of Spanish

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[3]Ibid., folio 226. It was stated that the school official "se cuide de averiguar limpieza y nobleza de sangre" (folio 227).

[4]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario (Bogotá: Editorial Centro, 1940), II, 275.

[5]Archivo de la Biblioteca Nacional, hereafter cited as ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folios 703-709.

authorities to improve education were evident at this time. Francisco Javier Vergara, director of studies at Bogotá, following royal dispensation, issued an order on 21 October 1802 to the colleges at Popayán, Cartagena and other cities of the viceroyalty requesting an evaluation of their programs and changes necessary to make their studies coincide with those at Bogotá so that the students of those colleges would be qualified to receive degrees issued by the university at Bogotá.[6]

Viceroy Pedro de Mendinueta, who governed from 1797 to 1803, revealed concern for education in his Relación de mando, or report rendered to his successor, Amar y Borbón, on 18 December 1803. Mendinueta favored a secular university, similar to that proposed earlier by Caballero y Góngora, which would offer courses more relevant to the needs of the viceroyalty. Such a university would fill the educational gap:

> dando a los estudios toda la extensión que necesita un país en donde la falta de conocimientos útiles no ha permitido aprovechar los recursos de la naturaleza vigorosa y fecunda en una inmensidad de producciones. Sin las ciencias no pueden prosperar las artes, y, sin éstas, falta la ocupación necesaria a una grande parte de los ciudadanos en todo país culto.[7]

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[6]Ibid., Vol. IV, folios 170-199.

[7]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Representación del Arzobispo-Virrey para promover la erección de una universidad mayor en la ciudad de Santa Fe de Bogotá,"

He emphasized the reason why studies in useful disciplines were needed, following arguments used previously in articles in the Papel Periódico and those which would soon follow in the Semanario:

> Las noticias que V. E. ha adquirido ya del estado del Reino, de sus producciones, minas, agricultura, limitida industria, caminos y otros ramos, . . . le harán ver la necesidad de propagar las ciencias útiles. . . .[8]

However, he remained devoted to the interests of the peninsula, while similar remarks made by the creoles favored the interests of New Granada:

> yo encuentro combinados los intereses del Estado en general con los del Reino en particular, y cualesquiera mejoras y adelantamientos que aquí se consigan cederán en utilidad de la metropoli, de su comercio y fábricas.[9]

The Spanish authorities--particularly the viceroys, attorneys general of the Audiencia and directors of studies--were generally more receptive to modernization of education than some of the rectors of the colleges and universities.

Within the schools themselves modernization under a few progressive rectors was achieved in several

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Thesaurus, XVI (1961), 172-173. In this and subsequent references Hernández de Alba cites Posada and Ibáñez, Relaciones de mando (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1910), pp. 489-497.

[8]Ibid., p. 173.

[9]Ibid., p. 174.

disciplines between 1790 and 1810. The study of medicine received attention; Mutis had written earlier (June 1784) to Viceroy Caballero y Góngora requesting that his student Miguel de Isla be examined for the position of Protomédico and professor of medicine at Rosario. No action was taken on his petition at that time. In 1792 Miguel de Isla was called to Bogotá from Cali by Viceroy Ezpeleta to take charge of the hospital and to attend to the troops in the Spanish garrison.

Several years later, Mutis' letters to the young rector of Rosario, Fernando Caycedo y Flórez, who had previously studied under Mutis, produced favorable results. Caycedo wrote to Viceroy Mendinueta on 2 April 1799 proposing that the chair of medicine be occupied by Isla, "de cuya habilidad, suficiencia y genio tan a proposito para enseñar hace tan honrosas excepciones el D. D. José Celestino Mutis (voto, a mi parecer, desisivo en la materia)."[10] A viceregal decree of 7 June 1799 requested that Mutis formulate a plan or method for medicine as suggested by Caycedo. Mutis' "Plan para los Estudios de Medicina en el Colegio del Rosario" was completed in 1801. The plan included the outlines for a chemistry laboratory and an anatomical theater and indicated the course of

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[10]Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Rosario, II, 324.

study for general practice as well as surgery. Studies in secondary school for pre-medicine, according to the plan, should include mathematics, experimental physics, natural history and chemistry. On 2 October 1801 the Tribunal of the Protomedicato was re-opened, "que será presidido, así lo dispone el Monarca, por el insigne Mutis y por el profesor Isla."[11]

Upon his death Isla was replaced by his assistant professor, Vicente Gil de Tejada. José Fernández Madrid and Pedro Laso de la Vega were Tejada's outstanding students. Marcelino Hurtado was another student who specialized in anatomy and physiology. A marginal note to Pedro Fermín de Vargas' monograph, Memoria sobre la población, probably written by Caldas who hoped to include it in the Semanario, indicates that the department of medicine at Rosario under Vicente Gil de Tejada had eight students in 1809. The note mentions that Tejada was known as el Divino and el Sabio.[12]

Other disciplines at the colleges were added to

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[11]Ibid., p. 328.

[12]Pedro Fermín de Vargas, Pensamientos políticos y Memoria sobre la población del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1944), p. 111. More detailed information on the study of medicine at this time is provided by Andrés Soriano Lleras, La medicina en el Nuevo Reino de Granada durante la conquista y la colonia (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1972), especially pp. 153 ff.

the curriculum and existing courses were improved. The quality of education in general came under consideration. One indication of attempts to improve the quality of education can be found at San Bartolomé in the case of Emigdio Benítez, a temporary substitute teacher in the civil law course, who was not permitted to sit on the examination board for the granting of a licentiate degree to a student in 1793.[13] Although Benítez complained to the viceroy, the rector's decision to bar Benítez from the examination was upheld on the grounds that he lacked the necessary qualifications and rank. Benítez entered into competition for a chair in canon law along with Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez. The candidate attempted to disqualify Frutos Joaquín for questionable "asuntos conyugales"; however, the rector and the fiscal de estudios gave preference to the latter who took the chair at San Bartolomé on 31 May 1794.[14]

In 1793 Pedro Antonio Pradilla obtained the chair of civil law for which he competed in oposiciones with Joaquín Camacho, Joaquín de Caycedo y Cuero and Manuel Santiago Vallecilla. The philosophy course which began at that time was under the newly-appointed Miguel Valenzuela. The following year Pradilla was involved

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[13]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. V, folios 139-187.

[14]Ibid., folios 188-203.

in the revolutionary plans of Nariño and, along with Miguel Valenzuela, met in the dormitory rooms of students at Rosario to further those plots for independence from Spain.

Joaquín Camacho, who graduated from Rosario in 1787 with degrees in canon law and jurisprudence, became professor of philosophy in the same year. In 1791 he began teaching courses in public law but by 1794 liberal educational views had contributed to a radical intellectual trend which culminated in the turmoil fostered by Nariño and his revolutionary circle. That same year Viceroy Ezpeleta prohibited the teaching of public law and substituted royal law in its place.[15] Joaquín Camacho had studied at the Botanical Expedition with Mutis, Zea and Caldas, and was involved in Nariño's plans for independence.[16] The rector of Rosario, Fernando Caycedo, announced open competition to fill the chair of royal law left vacant by the promotion of Joaquín Camacho to lieutenant-governor of Tocaima Province on 3 December

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[15]The action taken by the Spanish authorities in this case is similar to the procedure adopted by Bolívar when the liberal educational policies of the Santander regime were blamed for "scandalous events"--that is, students were involved in the attempt to assassinate Bolívar.

[16]Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), II, 45-46.

1795.[17] Manuel Vallecilla was appointed to replace Camacho in the chair of royal law in 1796, the appointment being approved by the viceroy.[18]

In 1796 Juan Francisco Vásquez Gallo, professor of philosophy at Rosario,[19] requested permission to allow one of his students to defend conclusions drawn from the Copernican system.[20] Antonio Nicolás Martínez Caso, the rector of Rosario at the time, wrote a letter to Viceroy Ezpeleta voicing his disapproval.[21] The viceroy passed the letter on to the fiscal, Blaya, who reminded the rector that Goudin's old text had been reinstated for the benefit of the traditional professors not familiar with modern ideas; however, he insisted, the conclusions on education reached by the Junta de Temporalidades in 1779 and reaffirmed in 1791 indicated that professors were to deviate from that text when it conflicted with modern doctrines.[22] The fiscal reminded the rector that

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[17]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. III, folio 1007.

[18]Ibid., folios 1001-1011.

[19]Joaquín Camacho, professor of philosophy, certified that Vásquez Gallo had attended his class for three years, from 1787 to 1790. Vásquez Gallo presented himself to be examined for the chair of philosophy on 10 July 1793 (ABN, "Colegios," Vol. I, folios 644-645).

[20]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folios 473-474.

[21]Ibid., folios 630-631. See Appendix J.

[22]Ibid., folio 639.

professors should send their end-of-course topics for public presentation to the director of studies for his approval.[23] The viceroy requested the rector to allow Vásquez to finish the rest of the year as professor of philosophy; Vásquez, unwilling to contend with the authorities, resigned the chair.[24]

Fernando de Vergara, who had studied under Valenzuela and Mutis, vacated the chair of mathematics at Rosario on 5 November 1802 after having introduced the New Philosophy to numerous students for more than ten years. The position was filled by Jorge Tadeo Lozano, the zoologist assigned to the Botanical Expedition who had been sent to Europe to study mineralogy as well. Lozano taught under the regency of Mutis who had previously been named catedrático perpetuo of mathematics in 1786 when Vergara was appointed as professor of the discipline upon Mutis' recommendation. In his study plan for medicine (1801) Mutis emphasized the need for a chair in chemistry and the establishment of a chemistry laboratory. In the plan he referred to Jorge Tadeo Lozano, "de cuya aplicación a las ciencias naturales y su notoria instrucción en la química dimana el celo por el bien de

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[23]Some of these documents were published in 1881 by Facundo Mutis Durán and reprinted in "La astronomía en Santa Fe," Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades, I (1903), 303-307.

[24]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folio 632.

su patria, que igualmente redunda en beneficio del estado."[25] With this qualification he recommended Lozano for the chair of chemistry, to remedy the loss occasioned by the death of Juan José D'Elhuyar. Under the liberalizing doctrines of rector Fernando Caycedo y Flórez the department of chemistry and mineralogy was inaugurated and Lozano immediately began to form a group of students in those disciplines as well as in physics.

In 1808 a subsequent rector of Rosario, José María del Castillo y Rada, wrote a document on the need to open chairs of Greek and Hebrew. The paper was found in the Mutis archives in the Botanical Garden of Madrid; the document had been in his possession for his perusal, portions of it reflecting his influence and ideas. Once again the utility theme proves to be a pervasive current of thought as Castillo y Rada suggested that:

> pudieron formarse otros planes de enseñanza, o establecerse distintas cátedras, que tuviesen una más directa e inmediata relación con el bien público y general de todas las clases del Reino.[26]

He held the opinion that to study ancient history as well as theology it was necessary to know "la lengua hebrea y demás orientales que tienen relación con ella,

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[25]Gabriel Porras Troconis, Historia de la cultura en el Nuevo Reino de Granada (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952), p. 323.

[26]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, "Por la enseñanza del griego en Santa Fe," Thesaurus, XIII (1958), 135.

como la caldea, sirfaca, arábiga. . . ."[27] Greek was useful, he insisted, not only for theology but for poetry, history, physics, natural history and medicine. The council at Bogotá approved his proposal on 14 March 1808 and requested that Spain send two professors to fill the anticipated chairs.

The newly-appointed rector of Rosario who came to replace Castillo y Rada, Antonio Ignacio Gallardo, called on Francisco José de Caldas to be professor of mathematics on 7 February 1809. Viceroy Amar y Borbón approved the appointment naming Caldas as catedrático perpetuo to succeed Mutis, who had died the year before (16 November 1808).[28]

A survey of a few theses or course conclusions presented during the transitional period from 1790 to 1810 indicates that some attempts to treat modern ideas were successful. In Bogotá San Bartolomé witnessed one change of significance; however, future presentations did not follow the example: in July 1791 Pablo Plata, a student at San Bartolomé, invited the public to conclusions in jurisprudence to be defended in Spanish rather

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[27]Ibid., p. 137.

[28]AR, Vol. 16, folios 261-263. The viceroy in his decree provided justification for appointing Caldas directly without the proper oposiciones, or open competition for the vacancy.

than in Latin. The Papel Periódico (No. 22) praised the presentation and defended the change to Spanish for public conclusions. Many of the creole youth who had studied under Mutis at Rosario or had been under his tutelage and guidance at the Expedition became professors of the modern disciplines introduced at Rosario. Joaquín Camacho, a member of the Botanical Expedition, was a professor of public law in New Granada. In July 1794 his student, Juan José Hurtado, presented a thesis on "Los tratados de Paz y Guerra," the first to be presented in that discipline. Such progress was interrupted since, as we have seen, the course was cancelled the same year and replaced with the more conservative study of royal law. However, later in the decade Camacho's student, Hurtado, became professor of public law and permitted his student, Vicente Gutiérrez de Piñeres, to defend a conclusion entitled "De los Estados Monárquico, Democrático, Artistocrático y sociedades civiles."

The topics treated in the conclusions from several departments of the schools were quite varied. In 1796 Camilo Torres informed the rector, Antonio Nicolás Martínez Caso, that one of his students, Miguel Angulo, would present a discourse on "obligations derived from

the 'natural state' become civil obligations."[29] Angulo could speak on the subject of civil obligations from experience since two years earlier he had been involved in revolutionary conspiracies at Rosario with other students, many of whom were defended by the famous lawyer and Angulo's professor, Camilo Torres.

In the philosophy department, Jacobo Pérez de Valencia on 7 September 1796 defended "Existentia Dei naturaliter demostrari potest" ("The existence of God can be demonstrated naturally"--that is, by reason) from Antonio Goudin's Philosophia iuxta inconcussa tutissimaque Divi Thomae dogmata. During the same month Agustín Velasco and José María Castillo y Rada presented theses taken from Goudin's Physices.[30] Francisco P. Cardona defended fifty-two conclusions in logic deduced from Goudin's Logica menor under his professor Juan Francisco Vásquez Gallo.

The following year theses defended in theology were derived from Saint Thomas. In the department of law Juan Sotomayor presented explanations of Institutionum Justiniani under Camilo Torres.[31] Miguel de Pombo defended conclusions from the same work under Torres two years later.

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[29]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. II, folio 469.

[30]AR, Vol. 12, folios 384-387.

[31]Ibid., Vol. 13, folio 51.

In 1802 Francisco Antonio Ulloa also defended conclusions from the Institutionum. The three scholars--Torres, Pombo and Ulloa--became leaders of the independence movement. In 1806 some theses topics were indicated in Spanish,[32] but as late as 1807 we still find topics of theses given in Latin, the defense of scholastic questions, and the support of ancient authors.[33]

Joaquín Cagio, student of Miguel de Isla, wrote a modern medical thesis dealing with pathology which was printed in July 1805.[34] While it consisted of only eight pages, the thesis was the first to be printed in Bogotá and the first to be presented at Rosario after the oral presentation of Juan Bautista de Vargas Uribe on 4 October 1766 although the latter was not modern in content.[35] Another printed thesis in Latin on anatomy was prepared by Miguel Domínguez y Flórez, also under the direction of Miguel de Isla.[36] In 1808 topics in medicine

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[32]Ibid., Vol. 16, folio 66. An example of topics in medicine given in Spanish is included as Appendix K.

[33]Ibid., folios 227-236.

[34]Ibid., Vol. 15, folios 236-240.

[35]On the latter consult Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Rosario, II, 114, and José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, El latín en Colombia (Bogotá: Editorial Voluntad, 1949), p. 248.

[36]AR, Vol. 16, folios 1-6. The title page of this thesis in Latin is included as Appendix L.

dealt with inflammations.[37]

A thesis was presented in 1808 by Joaquín Uricochea on modern astronomy under Luis José García. The topics included discussions of the effects of the sun and moon on wind and tides and the presence of electrical material in constellations and the Aurora Borealis. José Antonio Uribe presented under the same professor other topics inherent in modern astronomy: explanations of the length of days, nights and seasons; the measurement of the equator; the distance to the stars and the diameter of the sun. His conclusion number twenty stated: "Se sostendrá el sistema de Copérnico y se explicarán de el los siguientes pensamientos: [there follow numerous modern theories of astronomy based on Copernicus]."[38] Uribe's presentation was made in Spanish.

Elsewhere in Bogotá chairs of mathematics and sciences were established, such as those instituted by the Augustinians who attempted to teach from the works of Copernicus. On 20 June 1801 Mutis completed a report on the Augustinians' request to present conclusions defending the Copernican theory, apparently requested by Viceroy Mendinueta to whom the letter is addressed. Like his many previous oral and written defenses of the

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[37]Ibid., folio 243.

[38]Ibid., folios 244 ff.

New Philosophy, this report cites all the available evidence showing that the Copernican system was universally accepted, even by the church at Rome. He repeated that this was the conclusion drawn from his defense of Copernicus in 1774 and since that time "se abrió un nuevo comercio literario por la introducción de las mejores obras recientes. . . ."[39] Mutis pointed out that the Augustinians who wished to defend modern doctrines in their conclusions:

> se conforman . . . con los deseos de nuestros soberanos, que fomentan la cultura de las ciencias en todos sus dominios, con el mejoramiento de las enseñanzas por los nuevos planes formados en todas las universidades y religiones, a pesar de la resistencia de algunos doctores y maestros envejecidos en sus antiguas preocupaciones.[40]

His final remark stated: "concluímos . . . asegurando que la citada proposición de las conclusiones que intentan defender los . . . Agustinos en nada se opone a la fe, buenas costumbres, ni regalías de S[u] M[agestad]."[41] Among the Augustinians who presented reforms were Antonio Noriega and Diego Padilla. Padilla presented public lectures before viceroys Mendinueta and Amar y Borbón explaining geometry and geography; he had included

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[39]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar del sabio naturalista don José Celestino Mutis (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1968), II, 146.

[40]Ibid., pp. 146-147.

[41]Ibid., p. 155.

these lectures in his mathematics classes.[42] He too later became involved in the revolutionary movement.

In Popayán the conclusions presented between 1790 and 1810 also showed some signs of modernization. At the end of the philosophy course taught by José Félix de Restrepo in 1792 his student, Pedro Valencia, presented and explained several mathematical and geometrical problems.[43] José María Céspedes explained conclusions on 1 February 1800 drawn from experiments in physics concerning gravity and the speed of moving bodies. His professor was Toribio Miguel Rodríguez, one of Restrepo's students who taught philosophy between 1795 and 1808. A few months later another student under Rodríguez, José María Córdova, defended propositions in philosophy; he expounded on the deductive method and on "Logic is practical knowledge."[44] Córdova later became a priest at Cali where he favored independence.

The examination of propositions of theses defended in the various departments at the schools is suggested frequently and emphatically by John Tate Lanning[45] as a

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[42]Juan Manuel Pacheco, La ilustración en el Nuevo Reino (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, 1975), p. 33.

[43]Rivas Sacconi, p. 246.

[44]Ibid., pp. 246-247.

[45]This recommendation is emphasized in the "Bibliographical Note" to his article, "The Reception of the

valuable approach for analyzing intellectual currents. However, it should be kept in mind that the ceremonies were carried out in the presence of school officials, governmental authorities, and ecclesiastical representatives and therefore were attenuated in content and tone for their benefit. The theses examined above represent a fraction of the total intellectual current--that which predominated in conservative sectors.[46]

The transitional period also witnessed a movement to establish public elementary education throughout the viceroyalty and to found colleges in towns where they were lacking. Pedro Fermín de Vargas, the magistrate at Zipaquirá, petitioned the viceroy to establish a public school at Ubaté, a town within his jurisdiction. The petition was accompanied by an extensive report on the burdensome amount of Indian tribute taxes paid while

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Enlightenment in Latin America," in Arthur P. Whitaker, ed. Latin America and the Enlightenment, 2nd ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1961), in which he states: "These documents, covering logic, metaphysics, and physics, are the outstanding source of information on the philosophical and scientific tenets in conservative quarters, and they have virtually never been used" (p. 91). The approach is also stressed in his The Eighteenth-Century Enlightenment in the University of San Carlos de Guatemala (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956).

[46]Lanning does not imply that other approaches and sources should be neglected, as he also suggested that cédulas, tracts, pamphlets and periodical literature "are exceedingly indicative of intellectual tone" (Whitaker, pp. 91-92).

no benefits, such as education, were received.[47]

Joaquín José Uribe y Gómez and other individuals from Socorro petitioned the viceroy on 15 October 1790 for the establishment of a public school. The fiscal replied that they should include the proposed study plan and means for the school's support. The council of Socorro reiterated the petition on 11 February 1793, emphasizing the necessity and usefulness of education. The petition was accompanied by a study plan, and the documents were signed by José Lorenzo Plata. His proposal was approved and he was appointed professor.[48] In 1809 Plata became the mayor of Socorro, the first town to proclaim independence from Spain the following year.

There was also a petition from the town of Antioquia in the northwest for the establishment of a school which was approved on 16 February 1802.[49] The petition was written by Estanislao Vuelta Lorenzana. A royal decree of 19 January 1804 established a college in the province of Antioquia at Medellín with degree-granting privileges.

Pedro Martínez de Pinillos, who in 1796 had been

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[47]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. V, folios 226-459.

[48]Ibid., Vol. IV, folios 573-611.

[49]Ibid., folios 200-206.

named the delegate from Mompós to the Consulado (established 1794) at Cartagena, provided funds for the construction of two elementary schools and a secondary school for latinity, philosophy and theology on 28 May 1801. Pinillos, who had made his fortune in commerce, and his wife donated a hospital to the village of Mompós, adding a sufficient amount to pay professors of law and medicine; the professors of medicine were obliged to attend to patients at the hospital. Pinillos considered it inconvenient for the students to transfer to Bogotá for university work as the trip required a difficult journey of almost two months. The Pinillos requested from the king permission to establish at Mompós a university with degree-granting privileges; it was approved by Viceroy Mendinueta in the name of Charles IV in 1803. The monarch's royal decree of approval arrived on 10 November the following year.[50] The royal decree instructed the newly-erected university to use the same study plan and statutes as were in effect at Bogotá. It further ordered that professorial vacancies be filled by oposición, or open competition, except that of physical science and mathematics which would be filled by a person

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[50]José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de M. Rivas, 1890), II, 380-385.

from Spain "at the expense of the founders."[51] Caldas published a notice in the Semanario of the schools and university at Mompós, lamenting that they had been erected at Mompós and not Ocaña since the former, in his opinion--and we should recall his studies of the effects of environment on man--was not physically and temperamentally the appropriate place for developing intellectual ability.[52]

Eloy Valenzuela from Bucaramanga was named rector of the university at Mompós; he accepted the appointment but requested a period of eighteen months before commencing his duties. The vice-rector and professor of philosophy, José María Gutiérrez, officiated at the opening of the university on 29 August 1809. José María Salazar, who was Gutiérrez's companion at meetings of the Buen Gusto literary circle in Bogotá, took charge of the department of jurisprudence and acted as rector of the secondary school. According to Bohórquez Casallas, the University of Mompós was a center of activity for ideas of independence, adding that school to those we have noted as focal points of liberal ideas.[53] One year after the

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[51]Ibid., p. 386.

[52]As cited by Groot, II, 389-390.

[53]Luis Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, La evolución educativa en Colombia (Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956), p. 191.

university opened, the town of Mompós declared independence from Spain.

B. Tradition, Enlightenment and the Independence Movement

The relationship of the independence movement to the liberal ideas circulating at the newly-established schools referred to above was somewhat indirect and inconspicuous. Individuals or institutions concerned with education were also related to the independence movement--but not necessarily as an overt consequence. Fermín de Vargas, who promoted the school at Ubaté, was an active revolutionary. José Lorenzo Plata, professor of the new school at Socorro, became mayor of the first town to proclaim independence. Those involved with the new university at Mompós, José María Salazar and José María Gutiérrez, were participants in the Buen Gusto society at Bogotá; that university became a focal point for the independence movement. The connection between education and rebellion against authority can be delineated more clearly than the above cases by examining significant events taking shape at Rosario. Information on the first development--a professor of philosophy rebelling against school authorities--is provided by

Hernández de Alba's Crónica on the school.[54] Information regarding further developments--essays of questionable content and secret revolutionary meetings at Rosario--is derived from documents deposited at various archives.

The first clash of two generations molded by different educational approaches is discernible at the beginning of the decade of the 1790's. The tensions represented the same "conflict of interests" which we have witnessed filtering into the intellectual current in New Granada and expressed in the writings of two groups of enlightened creoles: the conservative group accepted the New Philosophy but condemned the more progressive aspects of modern ideas from abroad while the liberal group favored and defended radical thought. The first group was led by Socorro Rodríguez, "La Dama Filósofa," and Nicolás Moya de Valenzuela; the second was represented by Nariño, Fermín de Vargas and many others. The same atmosphere of tension existed in the schools.

On 3 February 1790 Viceroy Ezpeleta appointed Santiago Gregorio de Burgos rector of Rosario. He exemplified the old school of thought and, in the words of Hernández de Alba, "no se acomodará a la impetuosidad juvenil de la república, inquieta e inquietante, que en

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[54]Hernández de Alba, Crónica del Rosario, II.

adelante ha de gobernar."[55] During his rectorate peripatetic scholasticism clashed with scientific innovations, new textbooks and new methods in philosophy. Manuel Santiago Vallecilla, who had studied under Restrepo at Popayán, was the professor of philosophy who became a thorn in Burgos' side. Vallecilla's students, whom the young professor tried to protect from the antiquated system imposed by Burgos, were the students he had taught years before as professor of Latin. Burgos attempted to disregard the reforms of the study plan instituted in 1774; he requested that Vallecilla's students prepare public presentations of their course work in philosophy after only a week of class. Vallecilla refused and reminded the rector that the study plan called for such public presentations of work at the end of the term. The first hint of conflict had made its appearance. The rector proposed that Vallecilla adopt Goudin's out-dated text; Vallecilla refused to use it and lectured instead from François Jacquier (1711-1788, mathematician, author of Institutionum philosophica). He announced in public, to both students and colleagues, that he would never teach, much less adhere to, the ideas of Goudin. The rector awaited with apprehension the

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[55]Ibid., p. 237.

"Oración de Estudios" to be read by Vallecilla. His discourse consisted of a diatribe against "los encapuchados," and demonstrated a strong desire for students to look to the future rather than the past so that, armed with mathematics, they could substitute exactitude for vain speculation. His opening address was not approved by the rector. Burgos justified his stance by stating that "nuestros mayores así lo acostumbraron, nosotros lo hemos de seguir." Vallecilla attacked that statement, of course, in his own defense of the texts and methods he chose, deriding Burgos' idea which, in his opinion, "vale tanto como decir que nosotros debemos ir por donde ellos [los mayores] han ido, y no por donde se debe ir." He further stated:

> Si este pensamiento permaneciera grabado en la mente de todos los filósofos, no admiraríamos hoy los rápidos progresos que con asombro de todas las naciones ha hecho la Física Experimental por toda la Europa. Todos habrían seguido los delirios de los antiguos, y todos andarían a tientas cercados de las densas tinieblas que tenían ofuscados a aquellos.[56]

In another report (6 November 1790) he indicated that his plans to present true philosophy useful to humanity were not succeeding:

> No lo he conseguido por los continuos choques y contradicciones que con el actual Rector experimento, el que dejado llevar del amor al Peripato, juzga por errado lo que no sea

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[56]Ibid., p. 242.

> conforme a aquel envejecido método (mejor diría desorden) de enseñar la filosofía, pernicioso a las ciencias y a la juventud.[57]

Vallecilla prepared his students for the course conclusions; the director of studies, José Antonio Berrío, approved the topics; invitations were issued and rector Burgos proclaimed: "las conclusiones hieren la doctrina sagrada de Santo Tomás."[58] The student appointed to defend the topics in philosophy was José Angel Manrique who would participate in an essay contest and revolutionary meetings at Rosario a few years later. The rector balked and assigned a topic he had chosen for Vallecilla's assistant professor to present via another student. Burgos alluded to the viceroy that the day Vallecilla was appointed professor of philosophy "ha sido puntualmente la época fatal de las discordias y turbaciones del Colegio."[59] After a year and a half in the classroom Vallecilla resigned; but he returned within a short time to assume the chair of royal law and later became vice-rector of the same school.

On 15 December 1791 Viceroy Ezpeleta approved the appointment of Pantaleón Ayala to fill the vacancy left by Manuel Santiago Vallecilla. The philosophy

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[57]Ibid., pp. 242-243.

[58]Ibid., p. 243.

[59]Ibid., p. 245.

class initiated by Vallecilla and completed by Ayala consisted of sixty-seven students; among them were Sinforoso Mutis, José Angel Manrique, Juan José Hurtado, and Enrique Umaña--all future revolutionaries. Many of those mentioned became involved in secret revolutionary meetings at Rosario itself.

In December 1792 Fernando Caycedo y Flórez, one of Mutis' students, was appointed rector to replace Burgos. Camilo Torres was offered the position of vice-rector. He declined the offer with the following explanation: "Mi genio naturalmente opuesto a cuanto suena superioridad . . . no es ciertamente el mandar y en breve lo acreditaría sobradamente la experiencia."[60] Within a few years he would prove himself a competent leader of the independence movement. In the meantime he served Rosario in another way: as a lawyer, he defended the students of that college who were charged with seditious and subversive activity.

The first signs of rebellion appeared in the events surrounding an otherwise innocent essay contest. The contest provides evidence of intellectual pursuits sponsored by the schools similar to those sponsored by European learned societies. One contest dealt with a topic which reflects another instance of the predominance

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[60]Ibid., p. 249.

of the interest in that which was useful: "Si sea o no útil trabajar en la averiguación de una verdad de cuyo conocimiento no resulta otra utilidad que el convencimiento propio."[61] Apparently there had been made an accusation that the essays contained subversive remarks. Viceroy Ezpeleta reviewed an essay written by José Angel Manrique; he returned it with a note that he had not found "especie alguna que desdiga de los buenos sentimientos que son propios de los Alumnos de ese Colegio y del Superior que lo gobierna, como se me había informado."[62] The judges in the contest included Joaquín Camacho professor of public law, and Camilo Torres, assistant professor of canon law. Seven essays were submitted and three prizes awarded: first to Ignacio Mantilla; second to Domingo María Camacho; and third to José Angel Manrique, son of Manuela, the founder of the Buen Gusto tertulia. The first two conceded the prize which was then awarded to Sinforoso Mutis who used as the heading of his essay a statement from Seneca: "Curiosium nobis ingenium natura dedit" ("An inquisitive mental ability has been given to us by nature"). The contest took place between July and September 1794.

In September 1794 the secretary to the viceroy

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[61]AR, Vol. 11, folio 281.

[62]Ibid., folio 282.

ordered the rector of Rosario to have the students Juan José Hurtado, José Angel Manrique and Miguel Angulo appear before the judge, Juan Hernández de Alba.[63] The rector was concerned about his students and the viceroy placated his apprehensions in a letter stating that they were not in prison but in "quartos altos de los sargentos."[64] On 24 September Viceroy Ezpeleta advised the rector that he had arrested Pedro Pradilla, professor of civil law, and suggested that he get a replacement. Miguel Valenzuela, professor of philosophy, was imprisoned at the same time as Pradilla.[65] The professors and students were arrested on charges of sedition and conspiracy in plots to overthrow the government, the plots being formulated in secret meetings at Rosario.

The secret meetings at Rosario were part of the overall plan for independence elaborated by Nariño and his collaborators at the Santuario. The latter conspiracy has been extensively treated by numerous historians while the former has come to light in documents only recently made available. Camilo Torres defended Juan José and

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[63]Ibid., folios 285-287. The rector was hesitant to release his students to Judge Hernández de Alba and in fact refused to do so unless a direct order came from the viceroy himself. That order was issued on 5 December 1794.

[64]Ibid., folio 288.

[65]ABN, "Colegios," Vol. I, folios 629-636.

Nicolás Hurtado,[66] two of the students charged with complicity in the conspiracy. This case implies a close connection between the schools and the approaching revolution as Torres investigated the accusation that the dormitory room of the Hurtados was a meeting place to discuss the French Revolution and "the possibility of adopting in the viceroyalty the maxims of that nation."[67] Many intellectuals who attended Nariño's meetings were also involved in the secret tertulia at Rosario.

The Hurtados were charged with having stated at their secret meetings that "El Frances vencerá; el nos pondrá en libertad con lo que se acabara la nobleza, y con ella tantos pleitos. . . ." Another charge against the students was that they had planned to take up arms when the Spanish soldiers were away from the barracks. José Arellano, accused of writing lampoons, declared:

> que en casa de D. Antonio Nariño y en el Colegio del Rosario habia Juntas de veinte personas, segun se lo habia comunicado Don Luis Gomez (su compañero en la formacion de los pasquines); en las que se trataban aquellos proyectos.

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[66]Caldas was an acquaintance of the Hurtados. One of the friends who accompanied him on a research trip to the Puracé volcano near Popayán was Juan José Hurtado (Francisco José de Caldas, Obras completas, Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1966, p. 153).

[67]This and subsequent quotes are taken from Camilo Torres' notes for his defense of the Hurtados. The notes, included as Appendix M, are located in the "Archivo Camilo Torres" at the Academia Colombiana de Historia. In our typescript the orthography of the original is maintained; abbreviations are written in full.

Pablo Uribe, one of the defendants who confessed and then implicated others, revealed that he, the two Hurtados, José Angel Manrique, Miguel Valenzuela, professor of philosophy, José María Cabal, later to become a prominent scientist and prócer of independence, and other professors and students had met in the Hurtados' room to discuss:

> la libertad francesa con relación a los modos de establecerse en éste Reyno . . . conseguido lo qual, los ricos y acaudalados gastarian su dinero para que tomase partido el Pueblo y entrase en la revolucion.

All of the accused, except for Uribe, the conspirator turned informer, denied the charges declaring that they "looked with horror upon such projects," and professed devotion to the crown. At one point in the declaration reference was made to the case of Nariño, on trial for the "impresion de cierto papel."

José Angel Manrique and Miguel Angulo apparently were not prosecuted. The Hurtado brothers, Antonio Cortés, Miguel Gómez and professor Miguel Valenzuela were released along with the four authors of the lampoons--Duran, Uribe, Arellano and Luis Gómez. Other students and professors, such as Pedro Pradilla and Sinforoso Mutis, were not as fortunate; they were sent to Spain with Nariño and his associates for imprisonment at Cádiz. Rather than quelling the liberal, even radical,

intellectual current infiltrating the viceroyalty, the enlightened creoles came in direct contact with European thought when they were transported to Spain.

C. Foreign Ideas and Revolutionary Activity

Several students and faculty members involved in the revolutionary meetings at Rosario attended Antonio Nariño's gatherings at his Santuario which was a focal point for plotting the independence movement between 1789 and 1794.[68] The more prominent members, in addition to Nariño himself, included Mutis' nephew Sinforoso, Dr. Luis de Rieux, Pedro Fermín de Vargas, José María Cabal and Francisco Antonio Zea; all of them were associates of the Botanical Expedition. The group was receptive to modern ideas from abroad, particularly those of freedom, equality, justice and independence which filtered in from France and the United States. The atmosphere at the meetings was liberal and the activities of the members were radical.

The thought and activity of Pedro Fermín de Vargas stemmed from revolutionary plans made at the Santuario. In a manuscript entitled simply "Notas" written by him

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[68]Ideas of a revolutionary nature were manifest in Latin America before Nariño formed his literary society. As pointed out earlier, North American independence had affected Latin American thought as early as 1785; an article to that effect appeared that year in the Political Herald and Review of London.

sometime before 1791 and probably read to the members of Nariño's circle, Vargas speaks out against despotism, poor education and the general ignorance in which Spain maintained the viceroyalty. The "Notas" makes a fervent plea for liberty.[69] In October 1791 Vargas obtained a passport in the name of Fermín Sarmiento which he used until 1797. He then proceeded on his romantic odyssey accompanied by a married woman, Barbara Forero, who traveled with him to Caracas, Jamaica and Cuba. She returned to New Granada in 1797 while Vargas continued his journey to Boston, New York, Paris and eventually London where in 1799 he came in contact with Miranda, the Venezuelan precursor of independence.[70] His flight was part of the plan for independence.[71]

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[69]Gómez Hoyos, I, 289-299, includes the complete "Notas." Also consult Javier Ocampo López, El proceso ideológico de la emancipación (Tunja: Imprenta de la Universidad Pedagógica y Tecnológica de Colombia, 1974), p. 152.

[70]Roberto María Tisnes, Un precursor: Don Pedro Fermín de Vargas (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1969), pp. 44-50.

[71]Concerning the flight of Vargas, Socorro Rodríguez wrote: "me parece producir fatales consecuencias la voluntaria fuga que ha hecho de esta ciudad a los privincias angloamericanas el Dr. Don Pedro de Vargas. . . . Este sujeto, cuyo ilustración y filosoffía están fundadas sobre depravados principios del libertinaje, la independencia y un gran deseo de hacer figura sobresaliente, quizá algún día pueda ser adalid de alguna subversión, tanto más digna de temerse cuanto es capaz de conducirla con la mayor habilidad, así porque su talento es superior a todos los de su

Vargas' departure stirred up a great deal of talk and activity in Bogotá and by 1794 Nariño's group of young intellectuals had translated their revolutionary plans into action. Many of the viceroys unknowingly contributed to the evolution of political thought: Viceroy Ezpeleta authorized the publications of the literary societies and it was he who gave Nariño a copy of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which Nariño and his group translated and published at the Santuario. Of the copies printed only a few were actually distributed and these Nariño quickly recovered and destroyed along with all the others.[72] In a letter dated 21 April 1794, Mutis wrote to his sister-in-law showing knowledge that Spanish spies had infiltrated the Santuario. Nariño became aware of the danger in distributing such revolutionary material through the tertulia attended by Sinforoso Mutis and Francisco Antonio Zea, the assistant director of the Botanical Expedition. Mutis also

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patria, como porque ninguno sabe mejor que él . . . cuanto se necesita para conducir solidamente tales proyectos; a que se agrega un genio intrépido y sagaz, unido a una insinuación muy artificiosa y persuasiva" (Tisnes, pp. 26-27).

[72]He published his translation of the Declaration of the Rights of Man once again in Bogotá in 1811; it was also included in his constitution for the Republic of Cundinamarca (1813) (Germán Arciniegas, Colombia: Itinerario y espíritu de la independencia, Bogotá: Color Osprey Impresores, Ltda., 1972, pp. 34-39 for the translation and p. 157).

expressed the urgency of sending Sinforoso and Zea outside Bogotá "para libertarlos de esta quema."[73]

The translation of the French document and the posting of lampoons[74] against Spanish authority brought about the arrest of the conspirators. Charges of sedition were based on the declaration of ecclesiastics who, through the confessional, "had located some 'highly seditious' works, such as those of Rousseau and Voltaire."[75] In the testimony of Enrique Umaña and Bernardo Cifuentes against Nariño on 25 July 1794 it came to light that the prócer was "working in accordance with the constitution of Philadelphia."[76]

During his imprisonment Nariño wrote his own Defensa in which he cites modern works circulating in Spain that support his arguments in favor of freedom of

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[73]Hernández de Alba, Archivo epistolar, II, 100.

[74]On 19 and 20 August 1794 the lampoons appeared on the walls of churches and public buildings. One of them read: "Si no quitan los estancos, / Si no cesa la opresión, / Se perderá lo ganado / Tendrá fin la usurpación" (Gómez Hoyos, I, 222).

[75]Jefferson R. Spell, Rousseau in the Spanish World before 1833: A Study in Franco-Spanish Literary Relations (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1938), p. 225.

[76]Thomas Blossom, Nariño: Hero of Colombian Independence (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1967), pp. 11-21. In addition to Professor Blossom's excellent work, there are a number of biographies of Nariño, including Jorge Ricardo Vejarano, Nariño (Bogotá: Editorial Andes, 1972), a recent edition of an earlier standard work.

speech and of the press. The Defensa of 1794 has been regarded as more revolutionary than his publication of the Rights of Man.[77] He exclaimed in his defense, "Fatherland of the Franklins, of the Washingtons, of the Hancocks, and of the Adamses, who is not glad that they lived both for themselves and for us!"[78]

Over a decade after the arrests, information came to light on the participation of Dr. Luis de Rieux, a transmitter of foreign ideas. On 19 April 1807 Judge Hernández de Alba rendered a report on de Rieux in which he revealed that the Frenchman had a doctorate in law, although he claimed to be a medical doctor, "para sembrar con mas facilidad sus proyectos [independence]."[79] In addition to being caught with a copy of Nariño's translation in his hand, de Rieux was charged with having said, "que era tiempo de sacudir el yugo del despotismo y formar una república independiente a ejemplo de la de Filadelfia. . . ."[80]

The liberal works and ideas of the Enlightenment

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[77]Arciniegas, pp. 40-43.

[78]Charles Lyon Chandler, Inter-American Acquaintances (Sewanee: University Press, 1918), pp. 15-16.

[79]Sergio Elias Ortiz, Franceses en la independencia de la Gran Colombia (Bogotá: Editorial ABC, 1971), p. 85.

[80]Ibid., p. 90.

during this important transitional period in New Granada were also common to the rest of Latin America. Aranda, Minister of the Indies, early in 1793 warned Charles IV of the radical intellectual current in Latin America:

> No se piense que nuestra América está tan inocente como en los siglos pasados, . . . ni se crea que faltan gentes instruídas . . . tienen libros que los instruyan de las nuevas máximas de libertad; y no faltarán propagandistas que irán a persuadirles. . . .[81]

The results of that intellectual current in the particular case of Bogotá in 1794 is referred to in Viceroy Mendinueta's Relación de mando. Bernard Moses in his Spain's Declining Power in South America: 1730-1806 translated a pertinent observation made by Mendinueta:

> Communication with foreigners by means of contraband; the introduction of books and public papers prohibited as prejudicial to religion and the state; . . . a philosophical fanaticism, and more than all a spirit demanding always something new, succeeded in turning some few heads and making them adopt various notions which they announce as their own ideas. In these circumstances is found the origin of the changes and the radical doctrines manifest in the capital in 1794.[82]

The radical doctrines became increasingly manifest in New Granada in later years when Nariño and the other prisoners who had been sent to Spain returned from their travels in

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[81]Spell, p. 217, citing Amunátegui, Los precursores, III, 273-274.

[82]Relaciones de mando, III, 584 as cited by Bernard Moses, Spain's Declining Power in South America: 1730-1806 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1919), pp. 287-288.

Europe after experiencing direct contact with the Enlightenment tradition.

The conspirators who were transported to Cádiz for imprisonment included Antonio Nariño, José María Cabal, Enrique Umaña, Pedro Pradilla, Sinforoso Mutis, Manuel Froes, Ignacio Sandino, José Ayala, Francisco Antonio Zea and Bernardo Cifuentes. This event was important to the outcome of the Revolution of 1810 since these enlightened creole leaders did not cease to think and talk about the dream of independence for their homeland. Even the trip to Spain proved to be an enlightening experience for José María Cabal, who wrote home:

> Todo hombre debía viajar aunque la necesidad no lo obligara, sólo por abrir los ojos a tántas cosas nuevas que hay en el mundo. Es increible lo que instruye el trato con distintas gentes, se ven sus usos, sus costumbres, las ideas de éste, la virtud de aquél, el lenguaje, su vida. Del modo que me es posible yo no dejo de aprovecharme de estas ventajas que es lo único que puede formar el hombre.[83]

Rather than a punishment, their imprisonment proved to be a learning experience. This fact is revealed in another letter from Cabal to his cousin Miguel written on 20 November 1796:

> Aquí hemos sido bien recibidos. No sé por que providencia, a pesar de nuestra situación, hemos encontrado amigos y protectores. El gobernador del castillo en que estamos hace

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[83]Julio Enrique Tascón, Nueva biografía del General José María Cabal (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, 1930), p. 80.

> entera confianza de nosotros, y cuando queremos nos permite salir a pasear por la ciudad; con este motivo hacemos conexiones y amistades, y todo el mundo habla a nuestro favor que ve nuestro asunto como una tropelia producida por la calumnia.[84]

Indeed, they were not common prisoners and were respected by the Spanish authorities.

Once freed in June 1799, many of them traveled throughout Europe in search of support for a revolution in the Spanish overseas colonies. When Zea went to Madrid seeking permission to return to New Granada, Godoy sent him to Paris on a scientific mission, where he met and established close relations with Georges Cuvier, Alexander von Humboldt and Francisco de Miranda.[85] In 1803 Zea became the assistant director, and upon the death of Cavanilles, the director of the Botanical Garden of Madrid. Following the French invasion he was named by Joseph Bonaparte as General Director of the Ministry of the Interior. Later, Zea was condemned as a traitor by the Spaniards and was forced to flee to Paris and then to London, finally returning to America in the spring of 1815. The accounts of the revolutionary activities of the other creole leaders of the independence

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[84]Ibid., p. 116. In other correspondence Cabal indicated that while free to leave the prison during the day he studied art, botany and anatomy (p. 138).

[85]Roberto Botero Saldarriaga, Francisco Antonio Zea (Bogotá: Ediciones del Concejo, 1945), p. 66.

movement would be similar to that of Zea[86] as they traveled throughout Europe and North America seeking support for the revolution which they had planned and organized at the societies in New Granada.[87]

The extent of the revolutionary movement, indicative of the mentality fostered by modernized education and similar aspects of the Enlightenment, is revealed in the world-wide plots organized by the enlightened creole leaders. After Nariño had been arrested and sent to Spain in 1794, he traveled throughout Europe following his escape from the ship carrying the prisoners when it docked at Cádiz. He met in Paris with Miranda, Fermín de Vargas and others. When Nariño returned to Bogotá in April 1797 he activated a plan developed by

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[86]For example, Cabal was freed in 1800 and traveled to Madrid where he studied natural history under Cavanilles, director of the Botanical Garden. In 1802 he went to Paris where he met Bolívar and other leaders of independence. He returned to his homeland in 1809 and was executed by Morillo in 1816. In his poem "América," Andrés Bello wrote, "Yace Cabal de Popayán llorando, / Llorando de las ciencias" (Tascón, pp. 160-189).

[87]Nariño's circle at Bogotá was not the only center for revolutionary activity in New Granada. Eugenio Espejo in Quito also held tertulias. His brother, Juan Pablo, indiscreetly revealed to his mistress, Francisca Navarrete, the revolutionary plans of Eugenio in contact with "certain individuals in Bogotá." The indiscretion caused the arrest of Eugenio early in 1795 and although Viceroy Ezpeleta notified President Muñoz de Guzmán to release the prisoner, Eugenio Espejo died in December 1795 of diseases contracted in prison (Philip Louis Astuto, Eugenio Espejo: Reformador ecuatoriano de la ilustración, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1969, pp. 67-68).

revolutionaries in Paris, Vansittart and Dundas in London, Fermín de Vargas in Jamaica, and Picton in Trinidad. This plot was possibly connected to the "Blount conspiracy" of December 1796 "which provided for the cooperation of American frontiersmen, assisted by Indians, and an English force, in the seizure on behalf of Great Britain of the Floridas and Louisiana, then owned by Spain. . . ."[88] For his involvement, Blount of Tennessee was impeached by the House of Representatives on 7 July 1797, the first case of an impeachment trial before the United States Senate. Concerning the implication of Nariño and Vargas in the plot the oídor Mosquera y Figueros wrote a report from Mexico in September 1797 in which he considered that "Nariño y Vargas pueden haberse encontrado y puesto de acuerdo para una posterior acción por el Orinoco, aprovechando la toma de Trinidad por los ingleses. . . ." He referred to the source of their ideas and to Vargas' popularity:

> es fácil inferir, que esta amistad de Vargas con Nariño y la lección de sus libros han sido la causa de su perversión. Desde que primero emprendió su fuga, comenzó a propagarse un sordo pero continuado rumor en Santafé que Vargas se había dirigido por Curazao a Filadelfia a establecer una Confederación. A este paso se esparcían las noticias, sin saber el origen de donde nacían, asegurando que había correspondencia

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88"Blount, William," Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh ed. (1910), IV, 88.

> y ocultas inteligencias con Vargas. Este era en Santafé elogiado de muchos.[89]

This extensively organized plan was "to occur simultaneously with the movement of creole[s] . . . to overthrow Spanish rule and declare for independence."[90] In July 1797 Nariño surrendered to Viceroy Mendinueta in Bogotá while his friend and fellow conspirator, Vargas, remained at large.[91]

Nariño languished in jail for more than two years largely because Mendinueta had hopes of luring Vargas into captivity. The viceroy issued orders on how to proceed after the expected apprehension of the elusive revolutionary: "All possible precautions were to be taken to capture their papers and books and to make an exact record of these. . . ."[92] Viceroy Mendinueta obtained information about the plotters by intercepting letters. Those from Caro in Paris to Nariño, those from

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[89]Tisnes, pp. 29-30.

[90]Blossom, p. 39.

[91]Just prior to the Nariño and Vargas world-wide plot for independence, Socorro Rodríguez wrote a report on 19 September 1796 to Godoy, similar to the one he had directed three years earlier to the Spanish minister, Pedro de Acuña y Malbar. In the second report he indicated that the spirit of independence was becoming firmly entrenched in the viceroyalty, not only in the capitals and larger cities but also in villages (Antonio Cacua Prada, Don Manuel del Socorro Rodríguez, Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1966, p. 114).

[92]Blossom, p. 49.

Vargas in New York to Barbara Forero and those containing Vargas' plan for invasion from Jamaica with British help, were all intercepted and sent to Spain. This invasion of privacy was responsible for aborting the 1797 attempt at independence.[93]

The revolutionaries in the literary societies in New Granada sought the assistance of North America and England[94] for they were well aware that England especially had made several attempts to promote revolution. They were familiar with previous English plots, such as that pointed out by Francisco Silvestre, the secretary of the Real Audiencia, who reported the information given by an Englishman captured in Panama:

> que la comunicación que los ingleses tenían con estos Yndios rebeldes, con los Mosquitos en el Rio de Sn. Juan de Nicaragua . . . y la posesión de la Florida, eran tres espinas que aquella Nación iba introduciendo en el corazón de la España, con las quales potendía en su tiempo hacerse dueña del seno Mexicano. . . .[95]

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[93]Nariño became ill during his confinement in April 1803 and Mutis was called in as special consultant and stated that it was necessary to remove the patient from prison to the country if he were to live even a few days longer. Nariño was freed on 5 May (Blossom, p. 62).

[94]In his report on Vargas, Socorro Rodríguez indicated that the revolutionary's plan was to make contacts in the United States and England. He also stated that Vargas knew English fluently and maintained secret contact with English agents (Tisnes, p. 27).

[95]Francisco Silvestre, Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fe de Bogotá (Bogotá: Editorial Carbel, 1968), p. 39.

The increased awareness of the creole youth of New Granada, provided by a more liberalized education, news and information obtained from their own publications, and ideas discussed at the literary societies, proved to be the basis for their communication of enlightened doctrines.

The various societies throughout South America which discussed freedom, liberty and independence were not isolated. The members of each group traveled extensively and their interrelations developed a sense of mutual cooperation to attain similar goals. Other world travelers contributed to the line of communication between the revolutionaries of South America. For example, Baron Alexander von Humboldt and his companion, Aimé Bonpland, were met at Cartagena by Dr. Luis de Rieux, a member of the Botanical Expedition and a participant in Nariño's revolutionary society.

Although the travelers were in Bogotá only two months visiting Mutis, Humboldt had sufficient time to communicate with the young revolutionaries and reciprocally informed them of the political situation in the areas he had visited. Humboldt and Bonpland departed for Quito in September 1801, accompanied by the famous scientist who replaced Zea as assistant director of the Botanical Expedition, Francisco José de Caldas. Humboldt learned more about the political situation as he discovered that even in the home in Quito where he was a

guest, belonging to the Marquis of Selva Alegre, there were tertulias and the distribution of revolutionary material. The Marquis, Juan Pío Montúfar, had visited Mutis at Mariquita in 1787 and the latter in all probability recommended to Humboldt the home of Montúfar for his lodging in Quito. The son of the Marquis, Carlos, accompanied the pair of scientists to Lima, Paris and London. In London Montúfar formed with O'Higgins, Nariño and José de San Martín the Gran Unión Americana. It may be assumed that he traveled for more than scientific interest. Carlos Montúfar was shot in Quito three months after the outbreak of the Revolution.

Of the two months that Humboldt spent in North America, he stayed three weeks at Monticello in Virginia. Humboldt learned of Jefferson's plan for the future division of the American continent into three republics, to include the Spanish possessions of Mexico and South America. Later, Humboldt met Bolívar in Paris and they discussed the political future of the Spanish colonies. And still later Bolívar wrote from Jamaica the prophetic essay, "Letter to an English Gentleman," in which he describes his project for a triple republic. The Jefferson-Humboldt-Bolívar cycle may or may not explain the origin of Bolívar's letter which includes many of his political ideas; however, it does serve to demonstrate the development of mutual concern among the creole youth.

Nearly a decade passed after Humboldt's visit at the turn of the century before the enlightened creole revolutionaries translated into action the more liberal ideas which had filtered into the viceroyalty from France and the United States during the transitional period from 1690 to 1810. On the dawn of independence Nariño, Sinforoso Mutis and other assocaites were again making revolutionary plans. One of the conspirators of 1809 was Carlos Salgar who informed his uncle that "Dr. Sinforoso Mutis had promised four hundred dollars (pesos fuertes) to anyone who would kill oídor Hernández de Alba."[96] The latter had been largely responsible for the imprisonment of Nariño, Mutis and others in 1794. One historian has asserted that Sinforoso was the member of the Botanical Expedition who most decidedly and with little vacillation took up the struggle for independence.[97]

The year 1809 also witnessed written expressions of the Enlightenment tradition which had contributed earlier to the French and American revolutions. Two treatises which criticized the mother country were penned by college professors, another indication of the link between education, foreign ideas and the revolutionary movement.

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[96]Blossom, p. 68.

[97]Enrique Pérez-Arbeláez, Flora de la Real Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1954), I, 101.

The first was written on 1 September 1809 by Ignacio de Herrera. Herrera, born at Cali in 1764, distinguished himself as professor of political economics and international law at Rosario. Before Camilo Torres wrote his famous Memorial de agravios, Herrera composed the Reflexiones que hace un Americano imparcial. The last word in the title is ironic considering that Herrera's indictment of Spain's mismanagement of the colonies and mistreatment of Americans is among the most scorching compositions of the revolutionary era. One of his striking remarks appears to come from the pen of an ardent French philosophe:

> La razón y la ciencia no están concedidas exclusivamente a los cristianos, y entre los paganos y herejes se encuentran muchísimos descubrimientos que hacen honor a la humanidad.[98]

He admired the laws and art of the Incas and on several occasions in the essay singled them out as superior to those of Spain. He attacked the Spanish economic system which he blamed for the lack of industrial development in America. He further condemned the poor education provided for the Americans. Herrera criticized the Inquisition for tearing from the hands of readers works which were useful to humanity. He censured the clergy even more vehemently than Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa had done in their

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[98]Arciniegas, p. 54.

Noticias secretas de América.[99] In his Reflexiones is discerned the transition from the "defense of America" essays published in Caldas' Semanario--which paralleled the works of Franklin, Jefferson, Clavijero and others who wrote rebuttals to the European concept of "American degeneracy"--to literature of a revolutionary nature. It was but one easy step from "defend America" to "glorify America, attack the mother country."

Herrera was among the signers of the Independence Act of 20 July 1810. In 1816 Pablo Morillo sent him to the prison at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela where he was held for one year. He managed to escape and returned to Bogotá in 1818. He was appointed to the tribunal of Justice of the provisional government established by the Congress of Angostura in 1819. Bolívar confirmed that appointment when the High Court of Justice was established and Herrera eventually became president of that branch of the government. One of his students confirmed that Herrera was an eloquent defender of liberty, independence and republicanism.[100] A friend indicated that Herrera knew several languages, natural science, politics, geography and theology but was always "más compacto y sólido en

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[99]The complete text of Herrera's Reflexiones is included in Arciniegas, pp. 48-75.

[100]Arciniegas, p. 46.

sus creencias y esperanzas republicanas."[101]

Two months after Herrera's Reflexiones another professor of law, Camilo Torres, composed the Memorial de agravios (20 November 1809) which is an appropriate sequel to Herrera's mordant criticism of Spanish colonial policy. The Memorial defended the cause of liberty and established the basis of continental unity for the independence movement.[102]

In one section of the Memorial Torres compared the geography, population and economic resources of New Granada and Spain to support his arguments in favor of more equal representation of the colony on the Council in Spain. His observations were made possible by the work of the Botanical Expedition and his discussions with its members including Caldas, Vargas, Zea, Lozano and others. Torres pointed out that in the area of education and enlightenment America was not superior or even equal to Spain. He complained that the courses in natural and civil law were suppressed (in 1794 by Charles IV). Torres blamed this educational lag on "un gobierno despótico y arbitrario que funda su existencia y su poder en la

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[101]Ibid.

[102]The entire text of the Memorial is given in Arciniegas, pp. 81-112. The work is sometimes referred to as Motivos de la Revolución de 1810, with Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez as co-author.

opresión y en la ignorancia."[103] In May 1810 Camilo addressed his uncle, Ignacio Tenorio, concerning the rights assigned by Nature, reason and justice to the New Granadines; he likewise revealed the eventuality and importance of the ensuing tide of events: "conozco que ha llegado el momento feliz de la libertad de mi patria, y que si se malogra ahora esta ocasión, nuestra esclavitud queda sellada para siempre."[104]

During the transitional period of reform in New Granada, education had progressed from peripatetic to modern. The ideas of the New Philosophy gradually became a part of the curriculum offered in schools throughout New Granada. Reforms instituted by the young professors eventually liberalized and modernized the courses studied by the creole youth of the viceroyalty. A new awareness formed by courses in science, international and public law, philosophy and economy, viewed with the critical and scientific method taught by the Botanical Expedition, resulted in a society distinct from that of the earlier colonial period. The new generation of professors and students was no longer content with established order and tradition in education. The current of thought introduced by the tertulias, the economic societies, and

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[103]Arciniegas, p. 95.

[104]Manuel José Forero, Camilo Torres (Bogotá: Editorial Iris, 1960), p. 44.

literature--works written in New Granada as well as those from abroad--and other sources of foreign ideas added a broader dimension to the Enlightenment in New Granada, extending it beyond the scientific and philosophic bounds of the New Philosophy. Armed with political ideas and ideals which filtered in from England, France and the United States, the enlightened creole generation questioned the dominance of the mother country over their patria. Camilo was correct in the letter to his uncle--the happy moment of liberty had come.

CHAPTER III

THE CONGRESSES OF ANGOSTURA AND CÚCUTA

The enlightened creoles--those who were professors or students of modern disciplines in the schools, participants in the Expedition, the literary circles and economic societies, and promoters of new ideas in periodical literature--were actively involved in the independence movement. They were anxious to apply the new concepts and these ideas are reflected in the declarations of independence, and the laws, addresses, and constitutions which emerged between 1810 and 1821, when the Congress of Cúcuta established Gran Colombia. The Enlightenment tradition was enhanced by other foreign ideas coming in between 1810 and 1830 which contributed to the ideological pattern of Gran Colombia.

A. The Enlightenment in the Declarations of Independence

Professors Johnson and Ladd have pointed out that at the end of the eighteenth century the colonial cabildos were generally weak and primarily ceremonial institutions;[1]

[1]John J. Johnson and Doris M. Ladd, Simón Bolívar and Spanish American Independence, 1783-1830 (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1968), p. 25.

however, the cabildos, under the leadership of more liberal, enlightened creoles, took the first steps in the direction of independence. Johnson concludes that reform and Enlightenment, more than Napoleon's invasion of Spain, stimulated the revolutionary movements.[2] Specifically, ideological progress in New Granada included the introduction of the New Philosophy and educational reform plans between 1760 and 1790, the Botanical Expedition during the 1780's, the literary societies predominant in the decade of the 1790's and the economic or patriotic societies prior to the revolutionary movements beginning in 1809.

The economic difficulties experienced by the presidency of Quito may explain why it became the scene of the first movement toward independence in New Granada, but peninsular discrimination against creoles was one of the reasons behind the revolutionary movement there as elsewhere.[3] The first meeting to make definite plans for the movement was held at the hacienda of Juan Pío Montúfar, the Marquis of Selva Alegre, in December 1808. Montúfar had been involved in anti-Spanish activity somewhat earlier: the German explorer Humboldt had been a

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[2]Ibid., p. 28.

[3]David Bushnell, The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1970), p. 5.

guest of the Marquis in 1801 and learned that the Marquis' home was a center for tertulias and the distribution of revolutionary material.

Although the plot of 1808 was discovered and the conspirators were imprisoned, they were soon released and on 9 August 1809 proceeded to organize the Junta Suprema to govern Quito. Montúfar was elected as president and a constitution was drawn up. A cabildo abierto was held on 16 August and the constitution was approved "para la conservación de la verdadera religión, la defensa de nuestro legítimo monarca y la propiedad de la patria."[4] Adherence to Ferdinand VII was the pattern that subsequent declarations were to follow at the outset throughout New Granada. However, there is some evidence that in many cases this subterfuge was a subtle part of the plan for complete independence. In December 1809 the Spanish authority at Quito, President Molina, informed Viceroy Abascal of Lima about the conspirators: "El verdadero término a que aspiran es su soñada independencia . . . fruto de las semillas que dejó sembradas un vecino nombrado Espejo, que se ha cultivado después por la vitanda familia de los Montúfares."[5] The rebellion was quelled by the

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[4]Roberto María Tisnes, Movimientos pre-independientes grancolombianos (Bogotá: Editorial e Imprenta Salesiana, 1962), p. 327.

[5]Ibid.

governor of Popayán, Miguel Tacón, who had been appointed to that post in 1807.

The rebellious professor of the New Philosophy and civil law at Rosario in Bogotá, Vallecilla, arrived at Popayán in 1807 as lieutenant governor. His revolutionary spirit was focused in new directions as he, Francisco Antonio Ulloa, a prominent member of the Botanical Expedition and literary societies in Bogotá, José Félix de Restrepo and others formed the nucleus of opposition in Popayán to Tacón and the authority of the Spanish Regency Council.[6] Vallecilla expressed his sentiments against Spanish despotism in letters to his cousin, Ignacio de Herrera, as early as 1808. He also corresponded with the revolutionaries of Quito and forwarded news of their rebellion to Bogotá.[7]

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[6]José Hilario López, a student of José Félix de Restrepo at Popayán, related that tertulias were held to discuss a proclamation of independence. Restrepo was one of the principal spokesmen of the group and López indicated the significance of the meetings: "allí oí yo de la boca del padre de la Universidad las doctrinas políticas y las demostraciones sobre la santidad de la causa hispanoamericana; allí vi yo sembrar por primera vez las semillas de los principios políticos que promto germinararon, crecieron y fructificaron bajo la dirección de tan hábiles operarios; allí presencié la abnegación heroica del Dr. Restrepo, su patriotismo elevado y su grandeza de alma, de que poco despues dió prueba" (Carlos Restrepo Canal, José Félix de Restrepo: jurisconsulta, humanista y hombre de estado, 1760-1832, Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1970, p. 37).

[7]Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), II, 200-203.

In the viceregal capital the cabildo supported the action of Quito, although Amar y Borbón as viceroy ordered suppression of the rebellion. At the meeting of the Bogotá council a proposal from the Regency Council in Spain was discussed and it was decided to protest the limited representation accorded to the colonies. This response was the origin of the famous Memorial de agravios presented by Camilo Torres on 20 November 1809.

An open council meeting was held in Cartagena on 12 May 1810 and it refused to recognize the Regency Council of Spain. A month later the Provincial Council which had been formed deposed the Spanish governor, Montes, and began measures to preserve social tranquility, publishing edicts "en los cuales se transparenta la perfecta identidad de intereses entre el cuerpo político y el pueblo por él representado,"[8] in the words of Gómez Hoyos.

José Ignacio de Pombo, Mutis' associate and collaborator in the diffusion of new ideas, had been elected to the city council of Cartagena in 1809. The following year he presented to the recently-installed provincial government an economic and fiscal Informe which was based on his revolutionary report of 1807 but was more extensive. It was published by the Real Consulado under orders from the

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[8]Ibid., p. 397.

Provincial Council.[9] The document reveals the ideologies of the Enlightenment which influenced the governing body of Cartagena and its Acta de Independencia.

The purpose of the report was to indicate the means of developing natural resources, commerce, industry and new agricultural products. As in his previous study, Pombo emphasized the economic progress of the United States which in agricultural production was favored by freedom from duties on marketing and exportation, citing a message delivered to Congress by Thomas Jefferson as his source of information.[10] The section on industry was influenced by the interests diffused by the economic societies: Pombo proposed the establishment of elementary schools in every town of the province; schools of drafting and mathematics in three major cities, pointing out that such schools, according to "el profundo Dalembert, forman y producen a los verdaderos filósofos"; schools of natural science; medical schools along with an anatomical amphitheater; an astronomical observatory; and finally, colleges of public law and political economy.[11] He suggested that

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[9]Sergio Elias Ortiz, ed., Escritos de dos economistas coloniales: Antonio de Narváez y La Torre y José Ignacio de Pombo (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1965), pp. 135-271.

[10]Ibid., p. 153.

[11]Ibid., pp. 168-169.

sufficient funds and vacant buildings were available to implement these proposals. He advocated the establishment of a patriotic society and a periodical devoted to economics as additional methods to stimulate the economy; he did not include details on their operation but cited the works of Campomanes and Jovellanos as guidelines.

Each section of Pombo's report recommended ways by which the numerous proposals could feasibly be put into effect; for example, funds to pay professors of the useful disciplines in the school curriculum could be provided by the income earned from vacant public buildings if they were renovated and rented.[12] Much of the report is devoted to detailed analyses of various agricultural products, suggesting modern scientific methods of improving production, marketing and exportation.

Cartagena declared complete independence from Spain or any other foreign power on 11 November 1811 and issued the Constitution of 1812 written by José Fernández Madrid, the famous poet in the Buen Gusto society at Bogotá. One month after Cartagena ousted its Spanish governor (June 1810), the council of Pamplona deposed Governor Juan Bastús y Falla and on 4 July 1810 the governmental authority was vested in a Junta Provincial, composed of the same members as the council, which wrote the Acta de

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[12]Ibid., p. 179.

Independencia issued on 31 July. Cali followed the pattern but with less drastic measures; without deposing the governor, they proposed the formation of a Supreme Council at Bogotá.

Another provincial council was formed on 11 July 1810 at Socorro, the focal point of the Comunero revolt thirty years earlier. A declaration of independence was issued and this Acta, signed by the mayor, José Lorenzo Plata, affirmed loyalty to the Spanish monarch: "ya sabemos que podemos conservar nuestra sagrada religión y esta Provincia a su legítimo soberano el señor Don Fernando VII, sin peligro de que los favoritos de Godoy y los emisarios de Bonaparte, nos esclavicen dividiéndonos."[13] A week later a document was submitted to Viceroy Amar y Borbón justifying their actions. The "Representación" was written by Plata and signed by the members of the council. The "Representación que la primera junta revolucionaria de la provincia del Socorro de la Nueva Granada elevó a la real audiencia de Santa Fe de Bogotá"[14] on 16 July 1810 compared the behavior of the New Granadines with that of the citizens of the United States at the time of its independence. The

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[13]Gómez Hoyos, II, 403.

[14]Germán Arciniegas, Colombia: Itinerario y espíritu de la independencia (Bogotá: Color Osprey Impresores, Ltda., 1972), pp. 121-127.

document indicated that the magistrate and other Spanish officials who had been imprisoned would be transported to port cities "para que pasen a Filadelfia a tomar lecciones de humanidad."[15]

The Acta de la Independencia drawn up on 20 July 1810 at Bogotá vowed allegiance to the Regency Council and to Ferdinand VII, provided that the king come to New Granada to rule. Camilo Torres spoke out against a government in the name of Ferdinand VII and the idea of his coming to America. He favored complete independence from the outset and promoted the United States form of government.[16] When Antonio Villavicencio, the envoy of the Regency Council, arrived at Bogotá, the local council balked at Villavicencio's authority.[17]

The council of Bogotá deposited the government in the hands of the Suprema Junta which was composed of prominent members of the Botanical Expedition and the literary societies, including Camilo Torres, Manuel de Pombo, Miguel Pombo, Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez, Joaquín Camacho, Sinforoso Mutis and others.[18] On 26 July 1810

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[15]Ibid., p. 124.

[16]Gómez Hoyos, II, 29, 32, 42.

[17]Jesús María Henao and Gerardo Arrubla, History of Colombia, trans. J. Fred Rippy (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938), p. 211.

[18]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Cómo nació la República de Colombia (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1965), pp. 42-43.

this body issued the Acta de la Suprema Junta.

The intellectual current stimulated by the Enlightenment continued to be revealed during this critical period. Miguel de Pombo, who had studied at Popayán and later at Rosario in Bogotá, was a member of the Botanical Expedition and attended the meetings of the literary societies. On 2 October 1810 he read before the Junta Suprema a discourse on economic and agrarian reform, revealing the influence of the physiocrats of the economic societies. He urged the Junta to work for the benefit of the people and encouraged aid for the Indian population.[19] In 1811 Pombo translated and published the United States Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with a 120-page prologue and study in which he refers to renowned figures of the French Enlightenment.[20]

An open council meeting was held on 30 July 1810 at Girón to discuss revolutionary plans. Eloy Valenzuela, from nearby Bucaramanga, was instrumental in persuading the council to maintain loyalty to Ferdinand VII should he return to power in Spain. Allegiance would be rendered provided the monarch ruled by a constitution "con las mitigaciones, cautelas y reformas que se anunciaron desde los principios y cuya necesidad se ha hecho cada

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[19]Gómez Hoyos, II, 178-182.

[20]Biblioteca Nacional, Fondo Pineda, 22.

día más patente."[21] With this tactic Valenzuela succeeded in satisfying the royalists of Girón with adherence to the king and pacified the separatists with a declaration of the province's liberty.

On 30 March 1811 the constitutional monarchy of Cundinamarca, with Jorge Tadeo Lozano at its head, issued its declaration of independence. In was short-lived because Nariño assumed the reins of government in September, forming a centralist government in April 1812. The Republic of Cundinamarca then issued its declaration of independence on 5 July 1813. In the preamble to the constitution Nariño included the Declaration of the Rights of Man which he had translated two decades earlier. The text was changed to apply to Cundinamarca, referring, for example, to the status of Indians as citizens with the right to vote.[22]

The partisans of federalism under Camilo Torres formed the confederation called Provincias Unidas de la Nueva Granada with a constitution signed in November 1811 by Torres, José Manuel Restrepo, Joaquín Camacho and others who also declared independence from Spain. Several articles of this constitution reveal the concerns of the

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[21]Eloy Valenzuela, Primer diario de la Expedición Botánica del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bucaramanga: Imprenta del Departamento, 1952), p. 13.

[22]Arciniegas, pp. 157-163.

Enlightenment period. The majority of the first articles deals with common defense. However, Article 24 reflects the new humanism which was part of the intellectual current; it provided that Indians were to be considered owners of the land they inhabited and free from mistreatment and injury. Educational concerns and the interests of the economic societies are inherent in Article 30 which deals with internal affairs, calling for the importation of arts and sciences to promote agriculture, commerce and the general well-being of the people. In the area of education, Article 42 assigns patronato to Congress, which essentially signified secular control of education as Congress took charge of appointing members to certain ecclesiastical bodies, including university rectors.[23] Foreign ideas during the independence period did not merely filter in but in some cases were actively sought. One example is José Miguel Pey, Torres' vice-president, who wrote to President James Madison requesting guidance on the road to independence and the "precipices to be avoided."[24]

The role of the enlightened leaders has been examined

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[23]William Marion Gibson, The Constitutions of Colombia (Durham: Duke University Press, 1948), pp. 20-23.

[24]William R. Manning, Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations (New York: Oxford University Press, 1925), II, 1165-1166.

from another point of view by Fals Borda who sees the events of 1810 and immediately after as "democracy for the ruling and educated minorities."[25] He considers the social impact of the revolution:

> The excesses committed by "the people of the nation" . . . led the new ruling group to promptly decree the withdrawal of the masses, declaring anyone who called the people together again "guilty of treason." The people became "equal" but separate. The new equality was achieved only among the members of the ruling caste.[26]

Power thus went to caudillos, and José Manuel Restrepo, historian of the revolutionary generation, points out that independent and sovereign juntas appeared wherever there was an "ambitious demagogue or aristocrat."[27]

One month after Cundinamarca under the leadership of Lozano had issued its constitution, an open council meeting was held at Popayán to form the government of the Province of Valle. On 6 April 1811 Joaquín de Caycedo was named president and Francisco Antonio Ulloa; vice-president. The Acta of this government followed the pattern of those in other provincial centers, proclaiming

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[25]Orlando Fals Borda, Subversion and Social Change in Colombia, trans. Jacqueline D. Skiles (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 74.

[26]Ibid., p. 72.

[27]José Manuel Restrepo, Historia de la revolución de la República de Colombia (1858), I, 81 as cited by Fals Borda, p. 73.

independence in the name of Ferdinand VII.[28] The document was signed by Jerónimo Torres, brother of Camilo, and others. Among the signers were José Valencia and José Antonio Pérez de Valencia, one of whom could be the "conde de Valencia" referred to in the work by Richard Vawell, an English officer serving the cause of South American independence. According to Vawell, this person had lived in France during 1789 and professed liberal ideas. In Popayán Valencia influenced the cause of the patriots; later he was denounced by Viceroy Sámano and executed in Bogotá.[29]

José Félix de Restrepo turned his intellectual leadership at the tertulias into more active involvement as José Hilario López, one of his students, relates that upon the attack of royalists, Restrepo led his students at the Seminary College in firing on them.[30] The provincial government of Valle was moved from Popayán to Cali with Vallecilla, the rebellious professor at Bogotá, as governor and José María Cabal as commander of the army. Cabal had studied under Restrepo and later became associated

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[28]See Appendix N for a transcript of the document from the "Archivo Camilo Torres" of the Academia Colombiana de Historia.

[29]Richard Vawell, Campañas y cruceros (Caracas: Ministerio de la Defensa, 1973), p. 116.

[30]Abel Cruz Santos, José Hilario López (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1970), pp. 4-6 and Gómez Hoyos, I, 376.

with the Botanical Expedition. He was arrested in 1794 and sent to Cádiz with Nariño and his revolutionary conspirators. Vallecilla and Cabal were executed by Morillo in 1816.

With Popayán and Cali in royalist hands under Sámano, José Félix de Restrepo, José Manuel Restrepo, Francisco Antonio Ulloa and Francisco José de Caldas fled to Antioquia where they contributed to the spread of the Enlightenment, even during this period of turmoil. President-Dictator Corral of that province declared independence from Spain on 11 August 1813.[31] Early the next year José Félix de Restrepo, assisted by his nephew José Manuel, formulated a plan for freeing the slaves. The decree was signed on 20 February 1814 by Corral and Ulloa, who had become secretary of war, treasury and foreign relations.[32]

The School of Military Engineers, the first school of engineering in the country, was established in Antioquia by Francisco José de Caldas in 1815. Caldas, who had enlisted in the patriot cause as a colonel, delivered his "Discurso preliminar"[33] which was published by the national

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[31]Antioquia's declaration of independence is included in Arciniegas, pp. 165-175.

[32]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Vida y escritos del doctor José Félix de Restrepo (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1935), pp. 69-73.

[33]Francisco José de Caldas, Obras completas (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1966), pp. 55-78.

press of the Republic of Antioquia. The first part of the address promoted patriotism, civil virtue and military honor. In respect to what he called "false honor" he condemned Rousseau for having devoted "la vehemencia de su elocuencia en hacer la apología del suicidio."[34] Citing Fénelon's Télémaque, Caldas warned the young cadets to avoid "false glory" and to follow the advice of Fénelon who rendered similar counsel to his student, the Duke of Bourgogne.[35] The remainder of the discourse is similar in tone and content and cites the works of Fénelon, Bossuet and Pluche.

Several years earlier Caldas had written a plan for a school of mineralogical engineers which served as the basis for the academy established in Antioquia. A statement from that proposal, written before 1808, reflects the predominance of faith in education which was carried into the independence period; Caldas' remarks also echo the ideology of the economic societies:

> El Cuerpo que propongo reúne las dos ventajas de dar al público escuelas en que aprendan las ciencias útiles, y de animar a su estudio . . . veremos infaliblemente propagarse con rapidez las luces de la Filosofía natural y con ellas la inteligencia en el laboreo de las minas, . . . la perfección en la agricultura, . . . la actividad en el comercio, . . . la dulzura en las costumbres, . . . y la perfección en

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[34]Ibid., p. 59.

[35]Ibid., p. 62.

> todos los ramos que se requieren para el sólido fomento de este Reino.[36]

The proposal was accompanied by an extensive "Reglamento" to guide the school's operation. While the proposal and regulations accomplished little during the colonial period, they were implemented during the independence period in Antioquia.

The executions in 1816 ordered by the Spanish Pacificador Morillo extinguished the lives of most of the enlightened creoles who led revolutionary activity and who had disseminated modern ideas between 1810 and 1816. Camilo Torres, Caldas, José María Cabal, Frutos Joaquín Gutiérrez, Joaquín Camacho, Ulloa and many others did not live to see the fruition of their activities and ideologies in the formation of Gran Colombia. Ironically, however, some revolutionaries who had been involved in the aborted movement of 1794, such as Nariño, Zea, and Sinforoso Mutis, returned to South America to assist in the realization of the Bolivarian project.

B. Foreign Ideas and Education in the Congresses of Angostura and Cúcuta

While the Enlightenment tradition, particularly the more liberal currents, continued to infiltrate New

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[36]Ibid., p. 379.

Granada affecting the independence movement and the regional declarations of independence, the contributions to the intellectual atmosphere made by education were limited since physical and mental energies were focused in the direction of forming a new nation. Other than the college of engineering established by Caldas and sporadic attention to primary and secondary education in some towns,[37] no outstanding activity in education occurred between 1810 and 1819. However, Simon Bolívar, the Liberator, whose intellectual and political influence as well as military prowess predominated at this time, issued documents and made addresses which reflect the Enlightenment tradition and the faith in education that characterized the era, and which influenced both the congresses of Angostura and Cúcuta and educational activity during the formative years of independent Gran Colombia.

Bolívar's "Jamaica Letter" was written on 6 September 1815 to arouse British interest in the independence movement. He suggested that only when freed from Spain

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[37]While embroiled in revolutionary turmoil the village of Pie de la Cuesta devoted its attention to the need for education. Elementary and secondary schools were established in 1812 and Rafael Navarro was selected by the city council from among three candidates for the teaching position. He taught thirty-six students the first year and seventy-three the following term. The village also erected a girls' school attended by fifteen students under Bernadina Ruiz as professor (Luis Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, La evolución educativa en Colombia, Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956, pp. 207-208.

and under the guidance of a liberal nation "will those sciences and arts which, born in the East, have enlightened Europe, wing their way to a free Colombia, which will cordially bid them welcome."[38] His thoughts on education were elaborated in greater detail in his Angostura address.

In his address to the congress at Angostura on 15 February 1819 Bolívar referred to the areas from which modern political thought had come--England and France. As we pointed out earlier, the period after 1790 witnessed a change in the source of ideas--from Germany, England and France to England, France and the United States--and a shift in the focus of ideas--from the scientific and philosophic concerns of the New Philosophy to the political and economic interests of the Enlightenment in its final stages. Bolívar stated the effects of the later ideological current:

> The evolution (revolución) of these two great peoples [England and France] . . . has flooded the world with such a profusion of political enlightenment that today every thinking person is aware of the rights and duties of man and the nature of the virtues and vices of governments. All can now appreciate the intrinsic merit of the speculative theories of modern philosophers and legislators.[39]

Bolívar also suggested that in the area of law the

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[38]Johnson and Ladd, p. 171.

[39]Ibid., p. 184.

congressmen should consult the "monuments of legislation" from Great Britain, France and the United States for "admirable models."[40]

One of the functions of education, in his view,[41] was to develop civic virtue, a concept similar to that developed by La Chalotais, Turgot and Condorcet in France. Moral education would be in the hands of his fourth branch of government, the "sacred tribunal." Bolívar suggested that, "Popular education should be the primary concern of the paternal love of Congress. Morality and enlightenment are the foundations of a republic; morality and enlightenment constitute our primary needs."[42]

Bolívar's Chamber of Censors would impose moral penalties for actions which violated either the Constitution or the sense of public decency. Another purpose of this legislative chamber "would be to train professional political leaders and to assure the development of good citizens."[43] This move has been criticized as a type of

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[40]Ibid., p. 193.

[41]As is well-known, much of Bolívar's views on education came through his tutor, Simón Rodríguez, who imbibed Rousseau's Emile and practiced its concepts on his young charge. Rodríguez recommended to Bolívar the works of Helvétius, d'Holbach, Hume and similar philosophers.

[42]Johnson and Ladd, p. 193.

[43]Ibid., p. 87.

lay inquisition; however, as stated by Johnson and Ladd, "in theory it was the product of French Enlightenment, the 'civil religion' advocated by Rousseau, the Athenian Aeropagus recalled by Montesquieu."[44] It was likewise a reflection of the ideas of other philosophes such as La Chalotais, Diderot and Helvétius who espoused the development of moral and civic virtue by means of a reformed educational system free from clerical control.[45]

Another statement in the address echoed the interests of the economic societies and reflected the devotion to enlightenment displayed by the philosophers of the era: "I have endeavored to promote the national prosperity by means of the two greatest levers of industry: work and knowledge."[46] He suggested that stress on these attributes could accomplish the difficult feat of making men "honest and happy."

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[44]Ibid., p. 91. Bolívar's proposal for a fourth power of government, or moral branch, according to Davis, was based on reasoning similar to that of Montesquieu. Davis, citing Pérez Vilá, also noted that the works of Montesquieu had the greatest intellectual influence on Bolívar while Rousseau influenced the Liberator's sensibilité (Harold Eugene Davis, Latin American Thought, Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972, pp. 46-48).

[45]See Jean-Marie Dolle, Politique et pédagogie: Diderot et les problemes de l'éducation (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1973), and F. de la Fontainerie, ed., French Liberalism and Education in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Burt Franklin, 1932).

[46]Johnson and Ladd, p. 194.

After his address at Angostura Bolívar turned his attention to the physical consolidation of Gran Colombia but did not entirely neglect educational needs. He signed a decree on 17 September 1819 which ordered that an abandoned convent at Bogotá be used as a school for the poor and orphans. The school was supported by the treasury and the education imparted was to be "conforme a los principios liberales de la República."[47]

For assistance Bolívar relied upon a few of the older generation of humanists and philosophers in Congress and throughout the nascent nation. As a result of Bolívar's victory at Boyacá on 7 August 1819, José María Córdoba became governor of Antioquia where José Félix de Restrepo was still teaching philosophy. On 22 October 1819 Córdoba named him to the post of Director of the Imprenta Oficial. Restrepo was soon called upon to formulate a study plan for the schools in Antioquia which he submitted on 6 December 1819; it was published at Medellín. The plan is complete and thorough, showing the influence of his mentor, José Celestino Mutis, who had died in 1808, in that it encouraged the study of mathematics and medicine.[48] In addition, Restrepo used

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[47]Article 3 of the decree, cited by Bohórquez Casallas, p. 226.

[48]Hernández de Alba, Vida y escritos de Restrepo, pp. 178-179. The complete plan is included on pp. 155-179.

portions of the Moreno plan of 1774.

A few months after this plan was inaugurated, Bolívar issued a decree from Cúcuta in March 1820 which contained three essential parts: he encouraged the protection of Indians, the organization of juntas to stimulate agriculture and trade--similar to the economic societies of the colonial period--and the establishment of educational facilities, especially primary schools in towns and villages.[49] The humanistic concern for the Indians, one aspect of the Enlightenment, was equally expressed in favor of slaves by Restrepo, who was named to the constituent Congress of Cúcuta in 1821. He was chosen president of that body but was replaced by Alejandro Osorio in order to have time to prepare another version of the emancipation proposal which had been decreed in Antioquia in 1814. The proposal[50] was read before Congress on 28 May 1821 and approved.[51]

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[49]Henao and Arrubla, p. 341.

[50]Hernández de Alba, Vida y escritos de Restrepo, pp. 76-131.

[51]Fals Borda finds the beginnings of this humanistic concern in certain manifestations of the Enlightenment which we examined earlier. "Out of that stimulating environment [the Botanical Expedition] for the study of American natural and social realities (which in part challenged the colonial norms of acritical morality) there emerged a group of young men who . . . in gatherings like those of the Eutropélica and the Buen Gusto . . . began acquiring the esprit de corps of a political group. This spirit was, simultaneously and significantly, an American conscience. It was from . . . these men that the message of the new humanism was to be spoken" (p. 70).

The Congress of Cúcuta formulated, between 28 July and 2 August 1821, five laws dealing with education. Law 12 suppressed religious communities with fewer than eight members. Article 2 of that law stated: "Los edificios de los conventos suprimidos se destinarán con preferencia por el Gobierno para colegios o casas de educación, y los restantes para otros objetos de beneficencia pública."[52] Law 13 established girls' schools throughout the country. Law 14 provided for a college in each province and indicated the departments of study which would be endowed with degree-granting privileges. This law was an attempt to make education uniform in the republic and ordered the publication of regulations, study plans and textbooks. Law 15 authorized the executive to order the establishment in provincial capitals of normal schools which would adopt the Lancastrian method of mutual instruction.[53] Law 16 called for elementary schools in every town and village. A director of studies was appointed for each province and education was to be free, obligatory and open to all classes of society and people of all races. Educational control and supervision were deposited in the hands of the government, representing

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[52]Sergio Elías Ortiz, "La educación popular en el Congreso de Cúcuta," El congreso grancolombiano de historia (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1972), p. 285.

[53]Ibid., pp. 286-289.

the long-awaited secularization of education. While the colonial government had maintained patronato, or control, over some schools, its supervisory powers were balanced by the rights and privileges exerted by the religious orders. These laws, reformed and revised from time to time, established the educational structure of Gran Colombia.

The Constitution formulated by the Congress of Cúcuta was signed on 30 August 1821; it was the most extensive produced up to that time. Of particular interest is Article 55 which outlined the special powers of Congress. One of these stated: "To provide by law for public education, the advancement of science and art, institutions of public utility, and to grant for a limited time exclusive privileges for their support and encouragement."[54] One of the general provisions, Article 56, granted citizens the freedom to write and publish their thoughts and opinions.[55] An item worthy of mention is that Nariño, who was convicted in 1794 by means of books and papers confiscated from his home, would have benefitted from Articles 169 and 170 which protected the homes and papers of Colombian citizens. Among the names of men who signed the Constitution are some who represented the

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[54]Gibson, p. 49.

[55]Ibid., p. 61.

Enlightenment at the outset, including Sinforoso Mutis, José Manuel Restrepo and José Félix de Restrepo.

The elections of September 1821 installed Bolívar as president and Santander as vice-president. Bolívar appointed José María Castillo y Rada secretary of the treasury[56] and José Manuel Restrepo was designated secretary of the interior. As Bolívar, following his victory at Carabobo in June, marched toward Pasto and Quito to join Sucre in the southern campaign, Congress and the vice-president settled into Bogotá to initiate the Santander regime of Gran Colombia.

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[56]José María Castillo y Rada, who had been rector of Rosario and embraced the patriot cause in 1810, was designated as the representative from the province of Cartagena to the Congress at Cúcuta. He was elected vice-president on 5 July 1821 but was replaced in October of that year when Bolívar and Santander assumed office. He was then appointed secretary of the treasury by Bolívar and retained the position until 1828 (El congreso grancolombiano, pp. 192-193).

CHAPTER IV

FOREIGN IDEAS AND EDUCATION DURING THE SANTANDER REGIME

During the early stage of the Enlightenment in New Granada the emphasis had been on science. Interest in the natural and physical sciences was significant in the educational reform plans of the colonial period. The Santander regime of Gran Colombia was characterized by the acceptance of the liberal ideas which arose in the final stage of the European Enlightenment. Under Vice-President Santander reforms in education stressed studies in political science, economics, law and liberal arts and the adoption of unorthodox authors such as Jeremy Bentham and Jean Baptiste Say. Interest in providing universal education--from primary through university levels--was a salient aspect of the administration of Gran Colombia.

One of Santander's principal concerns was the effort to expand education in order to incorporate the population of Gran Colombia into a genuine nation-state of citizens aware of their civic rights and duties. While he was largely concerned with modern political and economic theories, Santander also emphasized engineering, science and other technical studies. His leadership was committed

to the liberal ideals which intellectuals and constitution-makers were expounding. The attention given to education is indicative of Santander's concerns and commitments.

Santander wrote to Colonel Pedro A. García, the governor of the province of Socorro, stressing his interest in education:

> No olvide usted mis encargos por la educación pública y por el más fiel cumplimiento de las leyes. El colegio de San Gil favorézcalo mucho sin que por esto se descuiden las casas de educación de Vélez y Socorro.[1]

The school Santander had ordered to be established at Zipaquirá evidently proved beneficial: in a letter to the judge of that town Santander showed satisfaction with the progress made at the school, stating that if others followed its example "la ilustración hará progresos rápidos en Cundinamarca."[2] One of Santander's educational programs was communicated to the minister of war on 2 May 1821. The vice-president ordered the establishment of schools in unoccupied convents or other vacant buildings in Pamplona, Cali, Popayán, Mariquita, Santa Marta, San Gil, Socorro, Antioquia and Casanare. He referred to schools already established, such as those at Mompós and Tunja, ordering that all schools, both old

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[1]Alirio Gómez Picón, "Santander, paladín de la educación pública en Colombia," in El congreso grancolombiano de historia (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1972), p. 322.

[2]Ibid., p. 297.

and new, were to follow the study plans of the schools in Bogotá. Santander was also concerned with female education and in order to provide girls with primary and secondary education, he ordered the governors of the provinces of Popayán, Cali and Medellín to institute public schools for girls.[3]

One of the outstanding changes in education in Gran Colombia was the decline of clerical influence which resulted from the government's assuming patronato over the schools. The vice-president restored San Bartolomé to public control after twenty years of religious direction. Bolívar endorsed Santander's action and further ordered governmental supervision of all schools. While the government controlled education, the clergy were not completely alienated from the institutions. Many professors were clergymen and the first rector of the Universidad Central was Fernando Caicedo, archbishop-designate of Bogotá. No attempt was made to exclude religious education from the curriculum; religion became a subordinate rather than central element.[4]

In April 1823 the first Congress of the new Republic

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[3]Ibid., p. 306.

[4]David Bushnell, The Santander Regime in Gran Colombia (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1970), pp. 190-191. Throughout this chapter we draw freely from Bushnell's chapter on education, pp. 183-194.

of Gran Colombia met at Bogotá. Santander in his inaugural address asked that utmost attention be given to public education, trade, agriculture and mining.[5] José Manuel Restrepo presented a Memoria on the act of the congress at Cúcuta which had called for schools in towns of one hundred or more families with compulsory attendance between the ages of six and twelve. His report indicated that scarcely two years had passed yet many already had been founded. Restrepo also stated that progress had been made in the establishment of secondary schools in each province, including Boyacá, Ibagué, Antioquia, Cali, San Gil and Loja where Bolívar founded the school.[6] As an example of increasing foreign contact, Restrepo took part in intellectual communication with the United States as a correspondent of Jared Sparks, editor of the North American Review.[7]

There was a lag in the intellectual current, however, as a result of the number of enlightened individuals who were executed during the Spanish reconquest. In

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[5]Jesús María Henao and Gerardo Arrubla, History of Colombia, trans. and ed. J. Fred Rippy (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938), p. 396.

[6]Juan García del Río, Meditaciones colombianas (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1945), p. 403.

[7]Arthur Preston Whitaker, The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830 (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962), p. 568.

addition, the general turmoil between 1810 and 1820 left a ten-year gap in educational progress. The lack of qualified, educated men for public service was one of the problems which besieged Santander and the Congress in the organization of his administration. To remedy the problem Santander ordered Vergara Lozano and Hurtado, two Gran Colombian commissioners in Europe, to forward the newest texts on law and economic science. The works of Juan Baptiste Say, Jeremy Bentham, Destut de Tracy, Constant and Lepage began to arrive.[8] In January 1826 Santander submitted a message to Congress indicating that during the last three years he had purchased a number of books on political economy and legislation. He forwarded that collection to Congress for their own consultative library.[9]

The limited number of lawyers hampered the establishment of the Supreme Court at Bogotá, although a bench was filled to advantage by José Félix de Restrepo.[10] The effects of the Enlightenment are shown, however, in the difference between the Supreme Court and the colonial Real Audiencia which answered only to God and the Crown for its operations while the republican magistrates were bound

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[8]Gómez Picón, p. 315.

[9]Ibid., pp. 325-326.

[10]Bushnell, p. 48.

to protect the laws and the rights of citizens.[11]

While the Congress of Cúcuta received criticism as a body of men cognizant of only theories and Rousseau's Social Contract,[12] the Congress at Bogotá was lauded by foreign observers.[13] Praise was also accorded Jerónimo Torres, the spokesman in Bogotá for the Popayán aristocracy, who wrote praises of centralism and the Santander regime in La Gaceta to counter the attack leveled by the federalist Nariño. The latter had learned the art of newspaper polemics during the early period of the Patria Boba when he launched La Bagatela to espouse centralism. Twenty years later he attacked it, and the Santander regime in general, through his publications Los Toros de Fucha, Corridas and El Insurgente.[14] Nariño accused Santander and the liberals of being youths without education and knowledge.[15]

During Santander's administration the Lancastrian method of mutual instruction, which had been introduced by a Franciscan, Sebastián Mora, received official support.

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[11]Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[12]García del Río, p. 31.

[13]Charles Stuart Cochrane, Journal of a Residence and Travels in Colombia during the Years 1823 and 1824 (New York: AMS Press, 1971), II, 75-84.

[14]Ibid., p. 63 and Bushnell, pp. 59-64.

[15]Bushnell, p. 60.

Sebastían Mora had learned the Lancastrian method in Spain and practiced it in a school he founded near Cúcuta in order to teach the method. When Santander learned of Mora and his school, he invited the professor to Bogotá. Mora's school in Bogotá was the first of three central normal schools for the Lancastrian system--two others were located at Quito and Caracas--which enrolled one student from the surrounding provinces who would carry the method back to the provinces. A notice was given in the Gazeta de Bogotá on 7 October 1821 of the school established by Mora with government aid. The article expressed the hope that the school, located in vacant rooms at San Bartolomé, would produce teachers capable of forming similar schools in every province. In a later edition the periodical recorded that in the province of Antioquia fifty elementary schools were functioning successfully.[16]

A Venezuelan, Rafael Revenga, upon his return from Europe was accompanied by Pierre Commetant who prepared numerous instructors in the new method at Bogotá. While Mora later traveled throughout southern Gran Colombia establishing Lancastrian schools, Commetant did likewise in the departments of Magdalena and Zulia. Commetant also set up schools in the department of Istmo (Panama),

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[16]Gómez Picón, pp. 367-368.

and the Gaceta del Istmo asserted that in his schools one could learn in a year what normally took five or six.[17] Commetant was succeeded by José María Triana as director of the normal school at Bogotá. From the description of the Lancaster schools supplied by Bohórquez,[18] the predominant characteristics appear to have been discipline and the memorization of lessons. In the opinion of Bohórquez the method represented a change but not necessarily progress.[19] Ricardo Carrasquilla describes such schools in the 1840's in his sketch, "Lo que va de ayer a hoy."[20] His humorous article supports Bohórquez' evaluation of the schools.

Bolívar, who in September 1810 had heard Joseph Lancaster explain his system in the home of Miranda at London,[21] also favored the Lancastrian method and approved Santander's efforts to spread the system of mutual instruction throughout Gran Colombia. In 1824 Bolívar was instrumental in bringing Lancaster himself to Caracas

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[17]As cited by Bushnell, p. 185.

[18]Luis Antonio Bohórquez Casallas, La evolución educativa en Colombia (Bogotá: Publicaciones Cultural Colombiana, 1956), pp. 268-271.

[19]Ibid., p. 271.

[20]Ricardo Carrasquilla, "Lo que va de ayer a hoy," Museo de cuadros de costumbres (Bogotá: Banco Popular, 1973), I, 115-126.

[21]Gómez Picón, p. 313.

from the United States where he had been since 1818 teaching his system in various schools there and in Canada. Lancaster's works include Education of the Working Classes and the English System of Education. The Congress of Peru planned to award Bolívar one million pesos which the Liberator intended to forward to Caracas for the benefit of the Lancastrian schools.[22] The Peruvian award did not come through; however, Bolívar included in his letter to Lancaster an order for the municipality of Caracas to pay the Englishman 20,000 pesos. The officials at Caracas were unwilling to cooperate with Lancaster who returned to the United States where he died in 1830.

Bushnell provides figures on the success of education, particularly the Lancastrian schools, during the Santander regime. The province of Bogotá (today the department of Cundinamarca) supported fifteen Lancastrian primary schools in 1823. Restrepo, secretary of the interior, reported that the entire country had fifty-two Lancastrian and over 400 old-style primary schools. Cochrane, an English traveler, noted that well-organized Lancastrian schools were functioning at Bogotá, Popayán and even small villages.[23] The province of Pamplona expanded from one public primary school in 1810 to thirty

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[22]Ibid., p. 315.

[23]Cochrane, II, 15-17 and 389.

in 1822.[24] Only five secondary schools existed in 1821 but the number had grown to twenty-two by 1827, nearly reaching the goal of one in each of the thirty-six provinces. Not as much progress, however, was made in the number of universities.[25] Of the twelve departments comprising Gran Colombia only the colonial universities in Bogotá, Caracas and Quito were still functioning. However, by 1826 Santander had established the University of Cauca at Popayán with José María Gruesso as rector and a university for the department of Boyacá was planned for Tunja, the capital of the department.

The teaching of science and other disciplines of the New Philosophy which characterized the educational interests of the innovators during the late colonial period was maintained during the Santander regime,

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[24]Bushnell, p. 186.

[25]Some of the schools established include: Tunja, 17 May 1822; Medellín (later the University of Antioquia), 9 October 1822; Ibagué, 21 December 1822; Cali, 29 January 1823; San Gil, 22 May 1824; Angostura, 18 September 1824; Cúmana, 26 October 1824; Guanare, 16 May 1824. The school at Tunja was elevated to a university on 30 May 1827; the college at Pasto was established on 2 June 1827 and later renamed the University of Nariño. The curriculum at the University of Caracas was reorganized on 15 January 1824 and the University of Cartagena was re-established on 18 November 1824. The Seminary College at Popayán was reopened as a university on 24 April 1827 (Bohórquez Casallas, pp. 242-243, 291-293, 302-303, and 307-380). Also see Agueda María Rodríguez Cruz, Historia de las universidades hispanoamericanas (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973), II, 149-150.

particularly by José Félix de Restrepo, who wrote in 1822 his Lecciones de lógica, published at Bogotá the following year. Throughout the work Restrepo emphasized the same current that predominated during the earlier stages of the Enlightenment in New Granada: "conocer lo útil, omitiendo lo que es simplemente curioso."[26] According to Gómez Hoyos the work follows the methodologies of Descartes, Arnauld and Malebranche.[27] A sizable portion of the Lecciones cites Arnauld's La logique, ou l'art de penser. Restrepo also followed the works of Bacon and the Recreación filosófica by the Portuguese philosopher, Teodoro Almeida.[28]

Restrepo wrote a text on metaphysics which was not published. The work was divided into three parts: ontology, natural theology and psychology. As in his other works, Restrepo presents the ideas of the European Enlightenment tradition, with particular emphasis on Malebranche, Bossuet, Fénelon, Locke, Genovesi and

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[26]As cited by Rafael Gómez Hoyos, La revolución granadina de 1810: Ideario de una generación y de una época, 1781-1821 (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1962), I, 335.

[27]Ibid., p. 336.

[28]The entire text of the Lógica is included in José Félix de Restrepo, Obras completas (Medellín: Editorial Bedout, 1961), pp. 348-407. His opening address for the philosophy course begun in 1822, in which he laments the cruel death of Caldas, appears on pp. 423-430.

Wolff.[29] While Restrepo was generally eclectic in his teaching and writing--that is, he presented ideas of the modern philosophers and explained them without adhering to or refuting any particular system--in the Metafísica he refuted Leibniz' pre-established harmony.

Restrepo's most thorough and modern work is his Lecciones de física, published in 1825, also written for his students at San Bartolomé. The work comprises thirty-six chapters and makes reference to 202 diagrams, which were not included in the publication. The work cites the most outstanding figures of the Enlightenment in the physical and mathematical sciences: Newton, Leibniz, Galileo, Bacon, Gasendi, Wolff, Nollet, Gravesande, Lavoisier, Kepler, Boyle and Musschenbroek.[30] His closing address for the course that ended in 1825 was published in the Gaceta de Colombia (No. 201) and subsequently printed in pamphlet form.[31] It was delivered at the course conclusiones in philosophy presented by the forty-five students under Restrepo.

Other professors contributed to the introduction of foreign ideas into Gran Colombia. Rufino Cuervo, father of

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[29]Gómez Hoyos, I, 340-360, provides a detailed discussion of Restrepo's brief text of seventy pages, with abundant quotes from the work itself.

[30]Restrepo, pp. 145-171, includes selections from the Física.

[31]Restrepo, pp. 430-434.

the famous philologist, was professor of economic and civil geography at Rosario in 1824. Cuervo was responsible for improving the study of medicine which suffered from a lack of qualified professors. He was instrumental in inviting two French physicians for additional chairs of medical studies at Bogotá. One of the doctors brought from France in 1824 was Pierre Paul Broc, a specialist in anatomy. Santander appointed Cuervo governor of the province of Bogotá and in November 1827 he became secretary and honorary professor of the new University of Cauca established at Popayán by Santander. Francisco Soto was another innovative professor who began a new course in political economy at San Bartolomé using the work of Jean Baptiste Say, the French liberal economist.[32]

Interest in modern science was also maintained by a national museum and a mining school which were opened with the arrival of European scientists who had been contracted in 1823 by Francisco Antonio Zea while acting as Bolívar's loan agent in England. The proposed offerings of instruction at the mining school ranged from entomology to astronomy; however, only a few of the courses were given by Boussingault, who taught chemistry

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[32]Bushnell, p. 191. An invitation to a public examination in medicine is included as Appendix O.

and mineralogy, and Roulin, a physician who taught physiology and anatomy. A Peruvian, Mariano Rivero, who had assembled a collection of minerals, astronomical instruments and laboratory equipment, was appointed director of the museum and helped to organize the school of mines. In addition to teaching, Boussingault and his associates carried out research, such as that done by the Botanical Expedition, but on a minor scale. Most of their planned projects were not implemented.[33] The museum and school were part of a general movement to improve the quality and increase the quantity of foreign ideas and enlightened activity, "of which one aspect was a post-war revival of the scientific movement fostered by Mutis and Caldas."[34]

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[33]Homenaje a los próceres (Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia, 1961), pp. 194-195.

[34]Bushnell, p. 189. Colonel J. P. Hamilton in Bogotá addressed a letter to Joseph Planta in England on 8 March 1825 in which, following news of the climactic victory at Ayacucho and the Colombians' elated reception of British recognition of their independence, he makes the following noteworthy remark: "I sincerely wish the Trustees of the British Museum may decide on sending some naturalists to this country." Colonel Campbell, in a later dispatch to Joseph Planta (5 September 1825), made an interesting observation concerning feelings of independence being more strongly rooted in Colombia because "there were fewer titles of nobility here, and that scarcely a European Spaniard remains in the country" (C. K. Webster, ed., Britain and the Independence of Latin America, 1812-1830, London: Oxford University Press, 1938, I, 386 and 398).

The liberal atmosphere promoted by Santander and several members of Congress resulted in tensions and open conflict between the conservative element, generally the clergy, and liberal-minded proponents of "las luces." The periodicals participated in the battle by publishing numerous editorials and letters to the editors. For example, La Gaceta de Colombia (6 January 1822) reprinted an article which had appeared in a Spanish periodical criticizing "El fanatismo y la intolerancia." Using the pseudonymn of "Teófilo," one writer condemned some clergy as intolerant fanatics and enemies of enlightenment and branded them as godos. A reply to "Teófilo" by Father Padilla asserted that "estos nuevos filósofos que hoy infestan la República" were preparing Gran Colombia for the same disruption of public order that France had experienced earlier.[35] The reply also indicated the source of the "heresies" proclaimed by the liberal philosophers: "La inundación de millares de obras impías y escandalosas de que se halla infectada esta ciudad [Bogotá] . . . es el fuerte de estos insensatos novadores y el medio de que se valen para engañar a los inocentes."[36]

An article in another periodical, El noticiosote

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[35]José Manuel Groot, Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Casa Editorial de M. Rivas, 1893), IV, 217-218.

[36]Ibid., p. 219.

(No. 14), indicated that a number of books, the majority from France, were introduced daily. The writer of the article lamented that among the works in circulation few were to be found on mathematics, literature, history, geography, philosophy, agriculture or medicine while there was a quantity of books "que corrompen las costumbres, destruyen la sana moral y toda religión,"[37] such as the Examen crítico del cristianismo, the Buen sentido, the Arte de amar, the Filosofía de Venus and Los tres impostores. These works were sold at low prices or even given gratuitously to youth who read them at school. Copies of them were found at the University of Santo Tomás.

La Gaceta (8 August 1824) recounted the public presentations of school classes in which a number of students attacked fanaticism and ignorance, drawing on such studies as Dumarsais' Ensayo sobre las preocupaciones, Voltaire's Dictionnaire philosophique and Llorente's Retrato político de los papas. José Manuel Groot points out that the students defended Volney's maxim, "El principio de la sabiduría es saber dudar," and attacked the doctrine, "El principio de la sabiduría es el temor de Dios."[38]

The conflict between liberals and conservatives over

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[37]Ibid., p. 372.

[38]Ibid., p. 404.

educational matters was intensified by a liberal political administration. On 8 November 1825 Congress decreed that Jeremy Bentham's Principles of Morals and Legislation to be used in the law curriculum. According to one scholar over 40,000 copies (in French translation) were sold in Latin America before the conservative reaction of 1828.[39] A historian of the period, José Manuel Restrepo, mentioned that the work was favored for its principle of "utility"--a predominant theme and concern of the earlier reformers--and further stated that the "resultados funestos" of the book and of the intellectual current were not foreseen.[40] The congressional order also called for the use of works by Henri Benjamin Constant (1767-1830), French writer and politician, for courses in political and constitutional law, and the works of Wattel for international law.[41]

The criticism by the clergy and conservative laymen

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[39]Víctor Andrés Belaunde, Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938), p. 34. The work by Bentham used in New Granada was translated into Spanish by Ramón Salas, a professor at Salamanca, and first published in Spain in 1821 (Bohórquez Casallas, p. 249). However, it was known earlier; for example, Nariño reprinted in La Bagatela (1811) a study of Bentham translated by the Spaniard named Uribe White.

[40]José Manuel Restrepo, Historia de la revolución de la República de Colombia (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1945), VI, 352.

[41]Bohórquez Casallas, p. 249.

of the use of Bentham's text prompted Santander to turn the problem over to the Dirección de Estudios which had been established by Congress in 1826. The decisions of that body present an interesting parallel to those of the juntas of the colonial period which discussed the various educational reform plans. The directors of the Board of Education were José Félix de Restrepo, Vicente Azuero and Estanislao Vergara. During the colonial period the clergy had demanded the use of traditional texts such as Goudin; innovative professors such as Restrepo, while forced to content themselves with outdated texts, could depart from the works which failed to deal with Copernicus, Newton and modern theories. During the Santander regime these positions were reversed: Restrepo, who had often promoted reform before, now opposed the use of Bentham altogether while the second generation of moderns, Azuero and Vergara, stated that his work could be used by teachers who might simply point out the "mistaken" passages so that their students would not be "misled." Vicente Azuero was a professor of legislation who favored Bentham's philosophy.

Although the decree authorizing the use of Jeremy Bentham's work was issued on 8 November 1825, it was known and studied somewhat earlier in New Granada; Nariño had published an extract of the work in December 1811 in his

political periodical, La Bagatela (Nos. 23-24).[42] The interest in Bentham, as indicated by Jaramillo Uribe, stemmed from a growing English influence on the continent.[43] An interest in Bentham also stemmed from the tendency of the modern spirit in New Granada toward scientific investigation, observation, empiricism and concrete application of ideas after centuries of scholastic speculation. The study of society was a logical transition from the study of nature; the methods of measurement and analysis were transferred from the natural sciences and applied to social phenomena with the same kind of exactness.[44] Jaramillo Uribe asserts that the empirical spirit became manifest under the stimulus of Mutis and the Botanical Expedition.[45] The author also states that New Granadines admired in Bentham "el racionalismo jurídico y su ética típicamente burguesa," and not his liberal, democratic thought.

On 15 March 1826 Bolívar and Santander were reelected. During that year several contributions were made

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[42]Jaime Jaramillo Uribe, El pensamiento colombiano en el siglo XIX (Bogotá: Editorial Temis, 1964), p. 149.

[43]Ibid., p. 150.

[44]This view is supported by Mariano Picón-Salas, A Cultural History of Spanish America: From Conquest to Independence, trans. Irving A. Leonard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 162.

[45]Jaramillo Uribe, p. 150.

to educational reform and intellectual progress. Congress established a board to supervise national education with José Félix de Restrepo as one of three directors. Although he represented a moderate trend in his teaching at San Bartolomé, more liberal professors included Soto, Azuero, Rufino Cuervo, and future president José Ignacio de Márquez. Santander appointed such liberals to positions under the system of patronato in order to sway the church to the Enlightenment.[46]

On 18 March 1826 Santander ordered the Dirección General de Instrucción Pública to establish a National Academy of Literature. The list of honorary members of the academy included José Félix de Restrepo, José Manuel Restrepo, José María del Castillo y Rada, José María Salazar, Jerónimo Torres, José Fernández Madrid and Andrés Bello. The first meeting was held on 25 December 1826 following the ceremonies to inaugurate the new Central University of Bogotá which replaced the Dominican University of Santo Tomás and absorbed most of the advanced courses given at Rosario and San Bartolomé. In December Restrepo, as Director of Public Education, issued invitations to its opening.[47]

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[46]Bushnell, p. 238.

[47]Guillermo Hernández de Alba, Vida y escritos del doctor José Félix de Restrepo (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1935), p. 64.

The year also witnessed a Plan of Studies issued by Santander which had been elaborated by a commission directed by José Manuel Restrepo. It called for a primary school in each ward or parish, basic grammar at the center of each canton, a colegio in each province and a university in every department. The emphasis was placed on science, political science and liberal arts. A doctor's degree, which could be obtained at the Central University, was now required for the practice of medicine.

Article 157 of the Plan of Studies recommended the works by Destut de Tracy and Condillac. The plan listed the courses to be offered in high school and college; these included art, Latin and Spanish grammar, French and English languages, geography, history, constitutional law, literature, agriculture, commerce, philosophy and natural science.[48] Education was provided for mulattoes, and Indian languages were included in the curriculum although they were not actually taught. Bushnell points out that a school at Popayán admitted Indian students and the government provided them with scholarships for secondary education.[49] The final blow to the study and use of Latin was dealt by the Congress of 1826 which ordered that only certain legal studies, theology and Scripture

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[48]Groot, V, 134-135.

[49]Bushnell, pp. 173-174, 178.

might be taught from Latin texts.[50] In his Memoria for 1826 José Manuel Restrepo wrote: "It is painful to have to forget the major part of what we learned in colonial education . . . and to study anew; but it is necessary in order to place us on a par with the enlightenment of the century."[51]

During the earlier reform movement of the colonial period the conservative element viewed educational progress and enlightenment as fostering social and political unrest. The liberal educational current of the Santander regime suffered the same criticism. García del Río in his Meditaciones colombianas referred to the state of education at that time:

> Se observa en la juventud afición al estudio, buena disposición, cierta efervescencia intelectual. Por desgracia no ha sido feliz o saludable la dirección que ha tomado. En su ansia de instruírse se apoderó de . . . obras obscenas y producciones de autores exaltados, . . . pero . . . su ardiente imaginación dió la preferencia a cuanto había de más violento y exagerado en materias sociales y religosas. . . .[52]

The "unhealthy direction" taken by studies was seen by many as one of the factors leading to the conspiracy to assassinate Bolívar.

On 20 October 1828 a circular was issued under

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[50]Ibid., p. 192.

[51]Quoted by Bushnell, p. 183.

[52]García del Río, pp. 99-100.

orders from Bolívar by José Manuel Restrepo, secretary of the interior, "blaming recent 'scandalous events' [the attempt on Bolívar's life] at least in part on the excessively liberal character of Colombian higher education and seeking to revive more traditional methods and content."[53] The circular was a conservative reaction to the liberal educational policy under Santander, which Restrepo had assisted Santander in putting into practice. The part played by university students--Vargas Tejada, Uricoechea, González and Ospina Rodríguez--in the conspiracy of 25 September and the corruption of youth made it necessary to revise the general plan of studies. The circular indicated that Bolívar had found the origin of political disturbance in the political science courses taught in the schools.

Bolívar's circular suspended many of the modern courses in the curriculum and ordered a return to the educational content of the colonial period--principally theology, philosophy, and Roman and canon law. Bolívar singled out Bentham's book as responsible for disrupting public tranquility. The circular included reforms in the study plan. Students would not be admitted to college without a knowledge of Latin. The reform stated that the

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[53]David Bushnell, ed., The Liberator, Simón Bolívar: Man and Image (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. xxxii. The circular begins on p. 83; it is found in Spanish in Bohórquez Casallas, pp. 253-255.

second year's study of philosophy would be devoted to morals and natural law. The reform also suppressed the department of universal legislation, political law, administrative sciences and constitutional law. The study of law was reduced to a four-year course in Roman and national jurisprudence plus canon law. Students were required to attend for one or two years a class in ecclesiastical history and Roman Catholic "religious apologetics." Only in the fifth and sixth years of jurisprudence would students be allowed to study political economy and international law. Santander's educational plan of 1826, although suppressed in 1828 by Bolívar, was re-established by law on 30 May 1835.[54]

This decree, according to Bushnell, is explained by Bolívar's declining years and a frustrating political situation, but is not representative of his educational philosophy. He reminds us that Bolívar was an admirer of Bentham and a strong supporter of popular education and the Lancastrian system.[55] Concerning his educational background Bolívar himself states in one letter that he was not learned in Aristotle or the criminal code but had studied Locke, Condillac, Buffon, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Montesquieu, Mably, Filangieri, Lalande, Rousseau,

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[54]Bohórquez Casallas, p. 251.

[55]Bushnell, The Liberator, p. 82.

Voltaire, Rollin and Berthot.[56] Bushnell asserts that "Bolívar was very definitely a product of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment in intellectual formation and political outlook."[57] While several works have dealt with Bolívar's ideological debt to Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire and other philosophes, and the Liberator himself referred to his study of representatives of the liberal Enlightenment tradition, Bushnell feels that he "was instinctively closer to that current of the Enlightenment which was represented by Enlightened Despotism than to the more democratic and radical currents which found expression in the French Revolution."[58] The author clarifies the last point by stating that Bolívar, unlike the enlightened despots, was a republican who believed in the representative principle, but within narrowly defined limits.

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[56]Belaunde, pp. 125-126, citing Vicente Lecuna's Cartas del Libertador, IV, 337.

[57]Bushnell, The Liberator, p. xv. Bushnell further points out that the revisionist school that seeks to play down the Enlightenment as a source of inspiration for Latin American independence and to find the ideological roots in Hispanic medieval juridicial and philosophical traditions as exemplified by Suárez has not found such a connection to the thought of Bolívar. Further discussion of the revisionist school is presented by Arthur P. Whitaker, "Changing and Unchanging Interpretations of the Enlightenment in Spanish America," in A. O. Aldridge, ed., The Ibero-American Enlightenment (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1971), pp. 21-57; also see R. A. Humphreys and John Lynch, eds., The Origins of the Latin American Revolutions, 1808-1826 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956).

[58]Bushnell, The Liberator, p. xv.

On 20 January 1830 an assembly, called el congreso admirable, began the preparation of a new constitution. Bolívar resigned the presidency to General Domingo Caicedo on 1 March of that year and the new constitution for Gran Colombia, still comprising Colombia, Venezuela, Panama and Ecuador, was signed the following month. The only signature of a figure representing the intellectual current we have observed during this period is that of José Félix de Restrepo. In August Ecuador, under Juan José Flores, and Venezuela, under José Antonio Páez, refused to recognize the constitution, signaling the end of Gran Colombia. That nation died officially with the signing of the constitution of the State of New Granada on 29 February 1832. It was the last document Restrepo, who died in September, would sign.

One historian indicates that "the patterns of society and economy were far different in 1830 than in 1808. The result was partly due to the influence of ideas." He goes on to suggest part of the meaning of independence: "independence advanced processes begun in the eighteenth century"[59] with the move to Europeanization and modernization. Viewing the several revolutionary movements as a chain of events, the Comunero revolt of 1783, which was a

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[59]Richard Graham, Independence in Latin America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), pp. 67 and 114.

plea for justice in taxation more than an attempt at independence, appears as a reaction of the masses to physical abuses, with an absence of enlightened leadership. With the intellectual ferment brought about by educational reform, the Botanical Expedition, the literary groups and the economic societies, the revolutionary movements of 1809 and 1810--characterized by active leadership of the enlightened creole youth but lacking in popular support--would seem to be a direct result of those aspects of the Enlightenment. However, this revolutionary movement did not result in independence. The adhesion of the masses, such as in the case of the Comunero revolt, and the leadership of an enlightened generation were combined beginning in 1819 to culminate eventually in independence and the formation, on both the physical and ideological planes, of Gran Colombia.

CHAPTER V

LITERATURE IN THE FINAL STAGES OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Literature in the final stages of the Enlightenment in New Granada was derived largely from the activities and ideologies of the revolutionary and independence periods. Periodical literature--previously devoted to news articles and treatises on philosophy, science and economics--became a vehicle for the expression of political propaganda. Periodicals continued to serve as a battleground for conservatives favoring tradition and liberals espousing reform of all sectors of society. To that fray was added other groups--royalists and patriots, federalists and centralists. The body of literature written earlier in defense of American greatness and potential which contributed to a spirit of Americanism evolved during the independence period into patriotic literature which is inexorably linked to the Romantic spirit. The scientific treatises on the various aspects of nature in New Granada, when expressed with poetic intuition, contributed another major characteristic to Romanticism in New Granada.

A. Political and Historical Literature

Figures who were prominent in literary activity during the colonial period--Caldas, Nariño and Lozano--were responsible for the rise of political journalism during the early independence period. Immediately after the declaration of independence at Bogotá and under Lozano's brief administration, Francisco José de Caldas and Joaquín Camacho published the Diario Político. The purpose of the journal was to print the resolutions of the Junta Suprema and to spread the ideals of the independence movement. With this newspaper the enlightened creole revolutionary leaders intended to "difundir las luces, instruir a los pueblos, señalar los peligros que nos amenazan y el camino para evitarlos, fijar la opinión, reunir las voluntades y afianzar la libertad y la independencia."[1] The contrast between the "tono grave de Caldas al lado del tono airado de Camacho" informed and entertained readers from 27 August 1810 to 1 February 1811. Caldas' Diario Político was published for five months. In 1812 he received a new press he had ordered from the United States to improve his publications.[2]

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[1]Gustavo Otero Muñoz, Historia del periodismo en Colombia (Bogotá: Editorial Minerva, 1936), p. 33.

[2]Diccionario de la literatura latinoamericana: Colombia (Washington: Unión Panamericana, 1959), p. 11.

However, the press arrived too late to benefit Caldas' journalistic career since the periodical, supported by the Lozano administration, terminated when Antonio Nariño took the reins of government from Lozano.

Nariño founded his famous periodical La Bagatela, published between 1812 and 1814, in which he attacked federalism in satirical editorials, provoking the division of the patriots into two groups--the federalists and the centralists. The centralist state of Cundinamarca was formed with Nariño as president in opposition to the federalist Provincias Unidas under Camilo Torres at Tunja. This represented partisan division in a precariously independent New Granada that has been called the period of the Patria Boba. La Gaceta de Cundinamarca was another official publication of Nariño's administration. Jorge Tadeo Lozano shifted from politics to journalism with the short-lived periodical El Anteojo de Larga Vista (1814).

The official periodical sponsored by Santander was El Patriota, published in 1823 by Nicomedes Lora, which printed forty-one issues before it became defunct. Other periodicals followed, such as La Miscelánea which appeared in 1825 and 1826. El Conductor issued seventy-nine editions in 1827 and El Constitucional appeared in Popayán in 1828, although La Aurora had been published in

that city earlier. Rufino Cuervo was one of the editors of La Miscelánea and, along with José María Salazar and Luis Vargas Tejada, he contributed to El Conductor, edited by Florentino González. Cuervo was also the editor of El Constitucional in which he defended centralism, and in 1829 he published at Bogotá El Eco del Tequendama in which he analyzed the political situation of the declining Bolívar administration.

Several volumes of political and historical literature were written during the independence epoch. The most extensive work of the period was José Manuel Restrepo's Historia de la revolución de la República de Colombia, published in ten volumes at Paris in 1827. The author added the events taking place in Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru to the revised second edition which appeared in 1858.

Another politically oriented literary product of the Gran Colombia era was Juan García del Rio's Meditaciones colombianas published in 1829. The work is comprised of moral, social and political observations on the state of the nation. At a time when Bolívar was falling out of popularity García del Rio insisted on the need for a constitutional monarchy with Bolívar as the sovereign. Juan García del Rio (1794-1856) was born in Cartagena and died in Mexico City. He studied in Cádiz until 1810 where he read French and English authors and

attended the meetings of the Cortes. When he returned to Cartagena he became editor of El Argos Americano, founded and directed by José Fernández Madrid.[3]

Francisco Antonio Zea (1766-1822) composed various patriotic pieces besides the periodicals he published in Madrid as director of the Botanical Garden. Although he allied himself with the afrancesados during the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the massacre of 2 May 1808 inspired him to write the vehement poem "El dos de mayo," apparently the first political poetry by a New Granadine. Another of his compositions in free verse, "Colombia constituida," written during the period of Gran Colombia, was published in Paris in 1822 and in the Gaceta de Colombia. When he returned to Latin America in 1816 in association with Bolívar, he edited the periodical of

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[3]Much of García del Río's literary activity took place outside New Granada. During Morillo's reconquest, he took refuge in Santiago, Chile where he founded El Sol de Chile and El Telégrafo, both of which are noteworthy for their literary sections in which García del Río reviewed the best European works, especially those of a revolutionary nature. Sent to London as minister by San Martín, García del Río became associated with Andrés Bello with whom he published two journals, the Biblioteca Americana, and the Repertorio Americano. He returned to Chile to found and direct several periodical publications including El Argos de Chile, El Museo de Ambas Américas and El Mercurio. In Valparaíso he published his Consideraciones sobre la política y el carácter del dictador de la República Argentina in 1842. His other works include Sitio de Cartagena de 1815 in 1843, Pizarro: traducción de la tragedia de Mr. Sheridan in 1844, Biografía del General San Martín in 1844 and posthumously, Página de oro en la historia de Colombia in 1897 (Ibid., pp. 45-47).

the patriot cause, El Correo del Orinoco. He returned to Europe in 1820 on a diplomatic mission.

Although Zea has been classified as a Neoclassical poet, some literary historians have perceived in his verse characteristics similar to the works of El Duque de Rivas and Martínez de la Rosa. One anthologist has stated: "En la poesía de Zea se presienten ya los estremecimientos y las exaltaciones líricas del romanticismo."[4] The lyrical intensity, inspired by a patriotic sentiment, is most notable in the poem "Colombia constituída," in which he praises his homeland for breaking free of Spain:

> Colombia, sí, Colombia es quien la inflama,
> la cuna de Bolívar, el gran pueblo
> que ayer rompió sus hierros, y hoy se muestra
> seguro, ya feliz, constituído.[5]

Remnants of the influence of studies of natural resources as a basis for economic development, as inspired by the Botanical Expedition and the economic societies, appears in another verse:

> Puéblense esos jardines que la mano
> del despotismo convirtió en desiertos;
> caiga en los Andes el robusto pino
> y surque presto los salobres mares,
> llevando por doquiera de Colombia
> el nombre y los riquísimos productos.[6]

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[4]Jorge Pacheco Quintero, Antología de la poesía en Colombia (Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1973), II, 84.

[5]Ibid., p. 88.

[6]Ibid.

The lines are similar to the theme of Bello's Neoclassical poem, "Silva a la agricultura de la zona tórrida," which also depicts nature in the vein of Enlightenment science and usefulness.

The royalist viewpoint was presented by numerous defenders of the Spanish cause. Prominent among them was José Antonio de Torres y Peña (1767-1819) who wrote Memorias sobre la revolución (1814) which came into the hands of Santander, at that time a general in the patriot forces, who ordered Torres exiled to the Guianas because of the work and other anti-patriotic activities. The year before the appearance of the Memorias Torres had written "Santa Fe cautiva" which has been considered of little literary worth although the poem represents the royalist point of view in its attack on Bolívar and other próceres of independence.[7] The opening is a lengthy "Invocación a Nuestra Señora de Chiquinquirá" in which he calls upon the Virgin, Jesus and God to inspire him to write "the truth." The entire poem follows the same tone.

José Luis de Azuola y Lozano (1754-1826) had been one of the members of Nariño's society, the Casino. However, his activity in the revolutionary movement of 1810 was very limited. By contrast, the movement in 1823 and 1824 for the tolerance of groups such as the Freemasons

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[7]Ibid., p. 91.

inspired Azuola to write and publish satirical diatribes in prose and verse against masonic lodges.[8]

José Miguel Montalvo (1782-1816), a graduate of Rosario and a participant in the Buen Gusto literary society, wrote a poem of a political nature entitled "Los ratones federados." This satirical fable was composed in 1811 to attack the political factionalism which beleaguered New Granada after 1810. The concluding verse offers a censorship of political rhetoric:

> Políticos de estos días;
> explicad bien las palabras
> y no arruinéis la nación
> con vuestras fanfarronadas.[9]

This represents another indication that political concerns took precedence over scientific interest at the turn of the nineteenth century. A greater influx of ideas during the independence period intensified political factionalism and made it more difficult to translate the increasing number and complexity of ideas into action. The trend toward endorsing a variety of theories but not implementing them and the gradual disappearance of the Enlightenment tradition which favored the practical and the useful were factors in the failure of Gran Colombia and other Latin

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[8]To the periodicals Azuola contributed "Carta a Teófilo," "Guerras fanáticas contra masones," "El verdadero censor de Colombia" and "El doctor Azuola a Colombia."

[9]Pacheco Quintero, II, 185.

American nations to maintain political and economic stability after 1830.

José María Salazar published his heroic poem "La campaña de Bogotá" in 1820 and the "Himno patriótico" in 1827 which added to the currents of Americanism and patriotism that characterized Latin American Romanticism. The second composition appeared in the periodical El Conductor in 1827 when Salazar was seated on the Supreme Court.[10] According to one critic the influence of Greek and Latin classics is noted in his works[11] and he knew seven languages, including Greek, which he learned in the United States while minister of Colombia. His most important prose composition is the Observaciones sobre las reformas políticas published in Philadelphia in 1828. Salazar, remembered as a translator of Boileau's Art poétique, is an outstanding example of the poet turned political writer.

Mariano del Campo Larraondo y Valencia (1772-1860), who had been a student at Popayán along with Caldas as well as a contributor to the Semanario, wrote numerous works in which can be discerned the themes of nature and of patriotism that characterized the American Romantic

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[10]Isidoro Laverde Amaya, Ojeada histórico-crítica sobre los orígenes de la literatura colombiana (Bogotá: Banco de la República, 1963), p. 50.

[11]José Manuel Rivas Sacconi, El latín en Colombia (Bogotá: Editorial Voluntad, 1949), pp. 265-267.

movement. One poem in this vein is his "Seis noches y un día" written in Popayán in 1841 concerning the war for independence in the Cauca Valley. Although the work has been regarded "falto de inspiración y abundante en retórica,"[12] the vocabulary reflects a romantic sentiment, indicating how the generation formed during the Enlightenment and the turmoil of revolution contributed to the Romantic literary movement. The darkness of night is sought by the poet to escape from the chaotic circumstances of independence:

> ¡Oh noche tenebrosa! ¡Oh fiel trasunto
> del sempiterno caos! En vuestro seno yo
> me arrojo infeliz, en ti buscando a mi
> dolor siquiera algún consuelo.[13]

The silence, solitude and majesty of night creates the appropriate atmosphere for the author's lugubrious cries. He pleads with night to accompany him in his "cruel despecho." The sad catastrophes of war have dealt him "mil heridas y cien mil tormentos," and given him a "triste corazón."

Luis Vargas Tejada (1802-1829), poet and dramatist, was a prominent revolutionary and literary figure during the independence and Gran Colombia periods. His formative years coincided with a time of turmoil so that much of his

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[12]Pacheco Quintero, II, 98.

[13]Ibid., p. 100. The successive quotations are from the same poem.

education was received from friends and relatives. In 1814 a Frenchman by the name of Joliort instructed the youth in basic disciplines. Vargas Tejada wrote essays in French and German, possessed a knowledge of Arabic and Hebrew, and was fluent in Italian. One of his relatives, Diego Fernández Gómez, inspired him to read Voltaire, Rousseau, Raynal and other philosophes. Vargas Tejada later became Santander's secretary and in 1824 secretary of the Senate. In 1828 he was a member of the Convención de Ocaña at which he supported the democracy of Santander in opposition to the dictatorship of Bolívar. The conspirators in the plot to assassinate Bolivar met in the home of Vargas Tejada at Bogotá. He fled from Bogotá when the conspiracy was discovered and the events surrounding his death remain a mystery.[14]

In addition to his political verse such as "Catón de Utica," an attack on Bolívar, Vargas Tejada composed brief dramatic pieces on native themes. Doraminta, Aquimín, Sugamuxi and Witikindo were written in the cave in which he hid following his flight from Bogotá. Unlike José María Heredia and José Fernández Madrid who, inspired by Chateaubriand's Atala, wrote indigenista themes from the exotic point of view, Vargas Tejada was inspired by native history. In the opinion of one writer: "La

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[14]Diccionario, pp. 126-127.

obra es reflejo de las encontradas pasiones del fugitivo político, en cuyas carnes tomaba cuerpo un drama romántico."[15] His humorous costumbrista comedy, Las convulsiones, has remained the most popular work of Vargas Tejada and is still presented in Colombia.[16] The patriotic aspect of political and historical literature, along with characteristics such as native themes, costumbrismo and melancholy tone, were derived from the later stage of the Enlightenment during the revolutionary and independence periods.

B. The Enlightenment and Romanticism

Numerous aspects of the Enlightenment tradition and Neoclassical literature evolved into major characteristics of Romanticism. Along with the patriotic tendency which appeared in the periodicals and other literature of the revolutionary and independence periods, the study of nature added an essential ingredient to the complex tendency of Romanticism. Much of Russell P. Sebold's study of "Enlightenment Philosophy and the Emergence of

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[15]Ibid., p. 127.

[16]Vargas Tejada's sainete, Las convulsiones, was presented for the first time in the theater at Bogotá on 7 June 1828. The composition intended to censure the practice of young ladies who, to free themselves from paternal vigilance, pretended to have convulsions which were "curable" not by medicine but by parties, outings and marriage. Vargas Tejada's work put a quick end to that practice.

Spanish Romanticism"[17] applies to the literary currents in New Granada. Sebold's comments are devoted largely to only one aspect of Enlightenment philosophy--sensationalism--which he considers most typical, leading directly to the Romantic sine qua non, the metaphysic that distinguishes the literary trend of Romanticism from those movements that preceded it.[18]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Romantic poet stood in a semi-spiritual, semi-materialistic relationship to the world because, according to Américo Castro, "what essentially is called Romanticism is a sentimental metaphysic, a pantheistic concept of the universe, whose center is the ego . . . a special value was attributed to all those works . . . in which it could be seen that man was acting upon his milieu, or was determined by it."[19] Sebold shows that the egocentric pantheism Professor Castro regards as the essence of Romanticism emerged from a philosophical and scientific curiosity about nature. The earliest Romantic literature

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[17]Russell P. Sebold, "Enlightenment Philosophy and the Emergence of Spanish Romanticism," in A. O. Aldridge, ed., The Ibero-American Enlightenment (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), pp. 111-140.

[18]Ibid., p. 111.

[19]Ibid., p. 112, quoting Américo Castro, Les grands romantiques espagnols (Paris, 1922), p. 13.

in New Granada also emerged from a scientific interest in nature.

The German naturalist, Alexander von Humboldt, who lived through both the Enlightenment and the Romantic eras, in his vast work Kosmos (1845-1862) referred to the affinity between the scientific study of nature and poetic inspiration:

> If we proceed to a period nearer our own time, we observe that, since the latter half of the eighteenth century, delineative prose especially has developed itself with peculiar vigor. Although the general mass of knowledge has been so excessively enlarged from the universally-extended study of nature it does not appear that, in those susceptible of a higher degree of poetic inspiration, intellectual comtemplation has sunk under the weight of accumulated knowledge, but rather that as a result of poetic spontaneity, it has gained in comprehensiveness and elevation; and, learning how to penetrate deeper into the structure of the earth's crust, has explored in the mountain masses of our planet the stratified sepulchers of extinct organisms, and traced the geographical distribution of animals and plants and the mutual connection of races.[20]

Several contributors to the Semanario--particularly Caldas, Ulloa and Lozano--are pertinent examples of natural scientists who "traced the geographical distribution of animals and plants and the mutual connection of the races" and at the same time possessed a poetic intuition.

Humboldt also mentioned some of those in France who represented the affinity between science and Romanticism:

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[20]Alexander von Humboldt, Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe, trans. E. C. Otte (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1859), II, 74.

> Thus, among those who were the first, by an exciting appeal to the imaginative faculties, powerfully to animate the sentiment of enjoyment derived from communion with nature, and consequently, also, to give impetus to its inseparable accompaniment, the love of distant travels, we may mention in France Jean Jacques Rousseau, Buffon, and Bernardin de St. Pierre, and, exceptionally to include a still living author, I would name my old friend Auguste de Chateaubriand.[21]

By the same token the outstanding philosophers and scientists of New Granada during the Enlightenment were the originators in that country of the Romantic spirit. And the outstanding Latin American Romantic, Jorge Isaacs, was a member of a later Botanical Commission.

Not all of the natural scientists were inherently romantic in their scholastic treatises. Again we quote Humboldt who referred to treatises lacking in sensitive expression:

> But that which we most especially miss in the writings of the great naturalist [Buffon] is a harmonious mode of connecting the representation of nature with the expression of awakened feelings; he is, in fact, deficient in almost all that flows from the mysterious analogy existing between the mental emotions of the mind and the phenomena of the perceptive world.[22]

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[21]Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[22]Ibid., p. 75. In spite of Humboldt's statement, a recent writer finds Buffon handled some themes that became prominent with the Romantics. Citing a passage on the process of continuous and progressive movement in the universe from Buffon's Les époques de la nature (1774), Hazard asserts that Buffon's remarks anticipate one of the themes that became a favorite with the Romantic poets (Paul Hazard, European Thought in the Eighteenth Century, Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1967, p. 355).

The relation of the observation of nature, the senses, mental emotions and imagination to Romanticism is apparent in Russel P. Sebold's recent article.

Before leaving Humboldt we should cite another remark he made concerning scientific studies and their literary expression:

> It was only when the study of the earth's surface acquired profoundness and diversity of character, and the natural sciences were no longer limited to a tabular enumeration of marvelous productions, but were elevated to a higher and more comprehensive view of comparative geography, that this finished development of language could be employed for the purpose of giving animated pictures of distant regions.[23]

Tabular enumeration, the appropriate language and animated pictures initially were blended by the philosophers; when the technical aspects of such writing were de-emphasized and eventually deleted, "pure" Romantic literature resulted.

Another characteristic of the Enlightenment in its evolution to Romanticism can be found in Shaftesbury's doctrine of enthusiasm for natural religion--the enthusiasm for the true and the beautiful, for elevating the soul to more universal values--which intensified the sense of admiration and emotion before the beauty and the harmony of nature and the universe.[24] Windelband points out that

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[23]Humboldt, II, 77-78.

[24]Wilhelm Windelband, A History of Philosophy, trans. James H. Tufts (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901), pp. 488-489.

Shaftesbury's thought influenced the Germans Herder and Schiller who made notable contributions to Romanticism. The enthusiasm for natural religion in combination with an enthusiasm for natural science added explicit features to the general Romantic tendency evolving universally at the turn of the eighteenth century. Although Shaftesbury's aesthetic teleology was in opposition to the doctrine of utility, the two approaches were meaningfully merged in the thought and writings of the natural scientists and others in New Granada whose treatises on nature showed them to be aesthetics as well.

The sensitivity toward nature and the sensitivity of the soul--factors in the egocentric pantheism of the Romantics--emerged from Enlightenment interests in the study of nature and in the nature of man. Sebold asserts that the observation and imitation of nature had been lost until Bacon's inductive, observational philosophy, Newton's empirical physics, and Locke's and Condillac's sensationalist epistemology encouraged the literarian's individuation and confidence in expressing his own observations and sentiments rather than adhering to the preference for another's, such as the seventeenth-century imitation of Homer. The poets soon learned that they could discover rules of poetry by studying nature.[25] Humboldt suggests

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[25]Sebold, pp. 116-117.

that the scientist with imagination may also share in the work of the poet:

> Descriptions of nature, I would again observe, may be defined with sufficient sharpness and scientific accuracy, without on that account being deprived of the vivifying breath of imagination. The poetic element must emanate from the intuitive perception of the connection between the sensuous and the intellectual, and of the universality and reciprocal limitation and unity of all the vital forces of nature.[26]

Sebold points out that the traditional pastoral forms, which continued to be cultivated in the eighteenth century, are often confused with the descriptive or nature poetry of the Enlightenment; however, poetic descriptions of nature during the Enlightenment are considerably more realistic. Quoting from Saint-Lambert's Les Saisons (1769) he shows that the "descriptive poetry" of the Enlightenment was an innovation which appeared at mid-century: "Bucolic poetry has been enriched in this century with a genre that was unknown to the ancients. . . . The language of philosophy, having been received in good society, has now also been received in poetry; it has become possible to undertake poems that require a broad knowledge of nature."[27] Additional lines written by Saint-Lambert show the difference between pastoral nature and Enlightenment nature; bucolic poetry in the eighteenth

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[26]Humboldt, II, 81.

[27]Sebold, pp. 118-119.

century "no longer has the false ring to it that it had in earlier centuries." The French poet further indicates the link between sensationalism and Romantic tradition: "it was a pleasure to me to paint those objects that made an impression on my senses."[28]

Sebold affirms that José Cadalso composed several Lockean descriptive poems between 1768 and 1770, the same period in which Saint-Lambert's Les Saisons appeared, so that the new poetic mode reached France and Spain simultaneously.[29] Further differences between the nature poetry of the earlier period and that of the Enlightenment era are stated by Sebold: "The nature that is in poetry before the eighteenth century the reader can comprehend with his mind; but he cannot read the new nature poetry without being conscious of his body and of the continuous imprint . . . upon his physical being through his senses.[30] The natural scientist of New Granada described nature with photographic accuracy, but those possessed of a poetic sentiment captured the sensations experienced in contact with the various objects and

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[28]As quoted by Sebold, pp. 118-119. Sebold dwells upon the importance of Locke and Condillac in the evolution of Enlightenment tradition, particularly in the philosophy of sensationalism, to Romanticism. Locke and Condillac were frequently studied and cited by the New Granadine philosophers.

[29]Sebold, p. 120.

[30]Ibid., pp. 121-122.

moods of the nature they described.

In 1805 Jovellanos referred to the philosophers, writers and poets who followed Locke as naturalistas, to distinguish them from Cartesian idealistas. Due to the work of the naturalists, "poetry and the art of eloquence have also become graphic. The poems, novels, histories, and even philosophical works of modern times are full of descriptions of objects and natural, moral acts which enchant the reader with their truth, their grace, and above all, with their power to awaken the sentiments of the heart."[31] The ideal of Enlightenment literature in its evolution into Romanticism was the truthful description of objects and acts which awaken the sentiments of the heart.

In similar fashion José María Gruesso in New Granada described an event--the death of his betrothed--in a way that awakens the sentiments of the heart. Gruesso, discussed earlier as a member of the literary societies in Bogotá, wrote several poems, particularly his patriotic compositions, in which the characteristics of Romanticism are noted. One of the poems from his youth, "Las noches de Geussor," inspired by the death of Jacinta, his sweetheart, is frequently considered an early antecedent of the Romantic spirit. The first canto is

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[31]As quoted by Sebold, pp. 123-124.

called "La soledad" and was dedicated to Socorro Rodríguez; the second, "La noche," was dedicated to the poet Francisco Antonio Rodríguez and the third canto is called "El remordimiento." He composed the work in ballad meter, a popular form revived by the Romantics. The poem was an imitation of Young's Night Thoughts; José Cadalso, who represents the transition from Enlightenment to Romanticism in Spain, wrote his Noches lúgubres under similar influence. As an imitation, the poetry of Gruesso's composition is considered of little value; however, the prose introduction is of considerable literary worth as a sincere expression of the emotions which appeared in the works of the Romantics. Some of the lines from the introduction deserve our attention:

> Mis pasiones se sublevan, y aquel recuerdo . . . aquel recuerdo vencedor . . . ¡Como hiciera yo para que no viniera a perturbarme! . . . Yo la miro . . . la miro que se levanta de su sepulcro . . . . . que me rinde y que me vence . . . ¡Un esqueleto pálido y frío! ¡Un sepulcro que encierra la juventud, las gracias seductoras con tantas lisonjeras esperanzas! ¡He aquí mi desengaño, he aquí la causa de mi arrepentimiento, he aquí la vanidad de las cosas de este mundo inconstante y engañador! ¡Oh mundo engañador! Quien no se aleja de ti.[32]

While some of the above lines are reminiscent of the earlier Spanish renaissance themes of escarmiento and desengaño, the fact that the poem was composed from the emotions

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[32]José María Vergara y Vergara, Historia de la literatura en Nueva Granada (Bogotá: Banco Popular, 1974), II, 54.

experienced by the "recuerdo vencedor," more than from the experience of his sweetheart's death itself, reflects the procedure followed by the Spanish Romantic Bécquer. Professor Sebold suggests that Bécquer--who indicated in his Cartas literarias a una mujer that he composed after inspiration had passed, working from the memory of former sensations--followed an essentially Lockean procedure.[33]

Other poetic compositions by Gruesso include the patriotic pieces "La patria," in honor of Mosquera, and "Al Libertador." Gruesso was also the author of a long poem on the revolutionary period entitled "La destrucción de Honda."[34] His "Lamentaciones de Pubén," written in the same vein, refers to "el sabio Caldas, con pensar profundo, en pos de Urania se subió a los cielos!" In this poem, composed in 1820, is also reportedly found the first reference in Colombia to the word romántico in the lines: "¡Oh bosquecillos de frondosos mayos, / románticos doquiera y hechiceros!"[35]

Arango Ferrer has indicated in what way Gruesso and Vargas Tejada were representatives of the Romantic tendency: "Gruesso fue la romántica elegiaca de sentimiento por el amor perdido; Vargas Tejada, la romántica de

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[33]Sebold, p. 123.

[34]Pacheco Quintero, II, 163-178.

[35]Ibid., p. 162.

pensamiento por la libertad contra la dictadura del Libertador."[36] In addition to his political verse and dramatic compositions, Vargas Tejada wrote poetry in which the melancholy aspect of Romanticism is paramount. The melancholy sentiments experienced in the cave in which he hid after the conspiracy against Bolívar are best expressed in "A mi lira," composed in 1828:

> Y tu, mi lira amada,
> de mis mejores tiempos compañía,
> entre el polvo olvidada
> con la desgracia mía
> has perdido también la melodía?

In the last lira he laments the fate that led him to take refuge in a cave:

> . . . la ordena
> el bárbaro destino
> que a llorar me condena
> y en este oscuro asilo me encadena.[37]

Vargas Tejada was not completely free of the Neoclassical influence which is quite prominent in his "A los poetas castellanos" with praises for the New Granadine poets Madrid, Salazar, Bello and Olmedo.

José María Salazar, like Vargas Tejada, was also an author of the patriotic literature which characterized Latin American Romanticism. The cases of Salazar and Vargas

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[36]Javier Arango Ferrer, Raíz y desarrollo de la literatura colombiana, in Historia Extensa de Colombia (Bogotá: El Gráfico Editores Ltda., 1965), XIX, 199.

[37]Ibid., p. 203.

Tejada, authors of both patriotic and nature poetry, indicate the relation between those two aspects of Romanticism derived from the Enlightenment era. One of Salazar's poems, "La colombiada," presents the nature aspect, if not the form, of Romanticism. The opening lines glorify youth, love and beauty--the gifts of Nature:

> Era ya la estación en que parece
> hermosa, original Naturaleza,
> y ricos dones a la tierra ofrece
> de juventud, de amor y de belleza.[38]

The poem continues with exaltations of flowers, fruits, the jungle and singing birds. This idyllic setting of calm and serenity in which "todo inspiraba al pecho la alegría, / al vital soplo del abril ameno," could be confused with Renaissance pastoral poetry but, as Sebold has delineated, the difference lies in that nature in the pastoral conforms with and is secondary to the mood of the poet while in the Enlightenment-Romantic view nature creates, produces or inspires the mood in the poet through the senses which leads to the egocentric pantheism of the Romantic.[39] Salazar's poem identifies the native setting in the lines "El padre de los indios y del día / dejóse ver de luz y gloria lleno."[40]

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[38]Pacheco Quintero, II, 208.

[39]Sebold, p. 130.

[40]Pacheco Quintero, II, 208.

José María Salazar's "Memoria descriptiva del país de Santa Fe de Bogotá," published in Caldas' Semanario, includes a description of Tequendama Falls and the surrounding natural beauty in a passage depicting the evolution of the Enlightenment view of nature to the Romantic view. The description of the path leading to the falls is derived from sensory impressions made on the writer which are transferred to the reader: "La senda por donde se camina es bastante agradable por la diversidad de objetos que se ofrecen a cada paso a la vista del pasajero, la frescura del aire que se respira, la frondosidad de los arboles y la mucha volatería que se encuentra en aquellos bosques."[41] Salazar, a member of the enlightened generation, was familiar with Bacon, Locke, Condillac and other contributors to the ideological current which evolved into Romanticism; nature affected the sentiment as well as the intellect of the natural scientist and the poet.

The effect of nature on the sentiments is expressed by Salazar in another passage: "El canto de las aves, el ruido o susurro de las hojas anima este risueño aspecto, que a cada paso mueve la atención del viajero excitando

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[41]Francisco José de Caldas, Semanario del Nuevo Reino de Granada (Bogotá: Editorial Kelly, 1942), II, 213.

su curiosidad."[42] The important vocabulary in the above quotation includes the concepts of "attention" and "stimulating" (excitando); both actions depend on the senses for the poetic appreciation of "este risueño aspecto." The spectacle inspires ideas in the imagination, but the mental operation of imagining is stimulated by the senses, in this case, sight: "Aquí en los días serenos se observa el más bello espectáculo que puede presentarse a la vista, y la imaginación se siente exaltada, o llena de aquellas ideas que nos inspiran siempre las grandes obras de la naturaleza."[43]

Other aspects of Romanticism are apparent in a subsequent poetic prose remark by the natural scientist: "Se agolpan majestuosamente las aguas en el borde del precipicio; de allí se descubre un abismo, una profundidad prodigiosa que inspira a quien la observa un secreto asombroso, y si podemos hablar de esta manera, cierto horror deleitable."[44] In the above passage "observation" stands out as an element derived from the Enlightenment but necessary to Romantic poetic expression. The paradox of "horror deleitable" is a characteristic of many literary tendencies and especially dear to the Romantics.

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[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid., p. 214.

[44]Ibid.

Salazar also states that the contemplation of the falls "excita en el alma ideas de horror o de grandeza." But the variety of nature inspires a variety of moods and the mist rising from the falls "inspira al corazón ideas de tristeza." The most salient feature of nature, from the point of view of both the natural scientist and the Romantic, is contrast: "por todas partes, el contraste, el encanto de la novedad, lo horroroso al lado de lo bello."[45] Perhaps the naturalist is capable of a scientific description but the sentiments inspired by nature to the poetically sensitive are beyond expression: "Aquí se humilla el arte en presencia de la naturaleza." The observational ability of the philosopher and the active imagination are incapable of imitating nature: "El filósofo observador la contempla atónito, la imaginación más activa se considera incapaz de imitarla, y el hombre sensible a sus maravillas se llena de un sublime enajenamiento de sí mismo, y adora en el silencio de su alma la magnificencia del Creador."[46] The sensitivity of nature, the sensitivity of man and the sensitivity of the soul--all factors in the egocentric pantheism of the Romantics derived from the enthusiasm for natural religion in combination with natural science--are expressed clearly

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[45]Ibid., p. 215.

[46]Ibid.

in the above passage. The reference to "sublime alienation"--at once mystic and Romantic--intensifies the egocentric pantheist's adoration of nature's Creator.[47]

Francisco José de Caldas is considered by most historians of Colombian literature to be the foremost essayist of that country.[48] Caldas published and annotated an extract of Humboldt's travels to the equatorial regions. The article includes Caldas' original composition which is a poetic and scientific description of Tequendama Falls:

> El Bogotá, después de haber recorrido con paso lento y perezoso, la espaciosa llanura de su nombre, vuelve de repente su curso. . . . Aquí, dejando esa lentitud melancólica, acelera su paso, forma alas, murmullos, espumas; . . . Corrientes impetuosas, golpes contra las rocas, saltos, ruido majestuoso, suceden al silencio y a la tranquilidad. En la orilla del precipicio todo el Bogotá se lanza en masa sobre un banco de piedra; aquí se estrella, allí da golpes horrorosos, aquí forma hervores, borbollones, y se arroja, en forma de plumas divergentes, más blancas que la nieve, en el abismo que lo espera. . . . Estas plumas vistosas que formaban las aguas en el aire, se convierten de repente

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[47]Richard Herr, in The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 362, points out that a professor of modern philosophy in Spain used in his classes terms such as "Ser Supremo" and "Autor de nuestra existencia" which Herr considers a change from the use of the more Christian "Dios." Salazar's use of "Creador" follows the same trend and the various terms fit the eighteenth-century pattern of variation on the purely Christian view of God, in this case particularly reflecting Shaftesbury's teleological concept.

[48]For example, Javier Arango Ferrer, La literatura de Colombia (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y Casa Editora Coni, 1940).

> en lluvias y en columnas de nubes que se levantan a los cielos. Parece que el Bogotá, acostumbrado a recorrer las regiones elevadas de los Andes, ha descendido, a pesar suyo, a esta profundidad, y quiere orgulloso elevarse otra vez en forma de vapores.[49]

Years later Andrés Bello wrote on the same topic, but scientifically and still adhering to Neoclassical tradition: "Los valles va a buscar del Magdalena / con salto audaz el Bogotá espumoso."[50] Caldas' poetic prose is followed by scientific data on the falls and the surrounding vegetation. His was a mixture of the scientific description made by Leblond and others and a point of view of the falls similar to that expressed by poets of the Romantic school.

Caldas' description of "Tolima en los Andes del Quindío," which was included in the Semanario, reflects the same spirit of Romanticism in depicting nature, even as observed by a natural scientist:

> Cuando en los días serenos de diciembre y de agosto amanece la bóveda celeste desnuda enteramente de nubes, cuando se descubre todo el horizonte, y se deja ver el sol con todo su esplendor, entonces presenta Tolima toda su majestad. Aquí un cono, allí agujas caprichosas, más allá llanuras dilatades de plata con una ligera tinta rosada, todo proyectado sobre un fondo de azul subido, fija la atención del

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[49]Francisco José de Caldas, Obras completas (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1966), p. 433.

[50]As quoted by Antonio Gómez Restrepo, Historia de la literatura colombiana (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1945), III, 98.

> filósofo y la del pueblo mismo. Los grandes espectáculos que de cuando en cuando presenta la naturaleza sobre los Andes, no pueden verse sin admiración aun por los hombres más ignorantes y estúpidos.[51]

This passage, like those discussed above, depicts the various elements in the Enlightenment-Romanticism evolution, particularly in the emphasis on the role of the senses. However, unlike the authors mentioned previously, Caldas considers that the spectacles of nature impressed on the senses do not require an intellect, a philosopher, to receive and admire those impressions in the mind.

Nature was not the only object of scrutiny with the natural scientists. Caldas made studies of the Negro, the mulato and the Indian which he expressed with poetic intuition. The following is an example of his description of the Indians of the Andean cordillera:

> Las mujeres tienen belleza, y se vuelven a ver los rasgos y los perfiles delicados de este sexo. El pudor, el recato, el vestido, las ocupaciones domésticas recobran todos sus derechos. . . . Un culto reglado, unos principios de moral y de justicia, una sociedad bien formada y cuyo yugo no se puede sacudir impunemente, un cielo despejado y sereno, un aire suave, una temperatura benigna han producido costumbres moderadas y ocupaciones tranquilas . . . aquí las perfidias se lloran, se cantan, y toman el idioma sublime y patético de la poesía. . . . Los celos, tan terribles en otra parte . . . aquí han producido odas, canciones, lágrimas y desengaños.[52]

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[51]Caldas, Semanario, II, 151.

[52]Vergara y Vergara, II, 119-120.

While literature such as this contributed to the Romantic theme of the "noble savage," it also established the humanitarian point of view of the Indian as adopted by the indianista novel of the early twentieth century.

José Fernández Madrid was one of the major literary figures of the final stages of the Enlightenment in New Granada and many of his works, stemming from an active and varied life, reflect numerous characteristics of Romanticism. Madrid was born in Cartagena on 19 February 1789 and died near London on 28 June 1830. Like several of those we have studied, his life ended at the time we singled out as the end of the Enlightenment era in New Granada. He studied at Rosario from which he received a medical degree. He practiced medicine in Cartagena where he founded El Argos Americano in 1810. It was a weekly devoted to science as well as politics, in the latter regard defending democratic ideals and the independence movement. He was one of the signers of the Cartagena Declaration of Independence; he was elected to the National Congress and resided in Bogotá until 1816.[53]

Fernández Madrid escaped execution by Morillo during the reconquest, was exiled to Spain, but disembarked in Cuba, residing in Havana for nine years. In association with the Argentine writer, José Antonio Miralla, he again

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[53]Diccionario, p. 41.

published his paper, El Argos, contributing numerous poems and several treatises on the diseases particular to the island. He returned to Bogotá in 1824 where two of his dramatic works--an adaptation of Atala and his own Guatimoc--were presented in the theater El Coliseo.[54] In 1825 he became Bolívar's personal agent to Paris and in 1826 was named minister plenipotentiary to England where his secretary and adviser was Andrés Bello, and José Joaquín Olmedo was a close associate.[55]

Fernández Madrid's literary production is vast though not brilliant. His two dramatic pieces include an adaptation of Chateaubriand's Atala and the first drama with an indianista theme written in Colombia called Guatimoc (or, Guatimocin) based on the exploits of Cuauhtémoc, the last Aztec emperor of Mexico. Both were written in Spanish ballad verse. He also translated French poets such as Delille, Delavigne and Béranger and tried to emulate Bello, Heredia and Olmedo in his original

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[54]El Coliseo was located at the same site as the present Teatro Colón which bears commemorative plaques to Fernández Madrid and Vargas Tejada as founders of the national theater of Colombia.

[55]Bello and Olmedo, included in most anthologies and histories of literature as precursors of Romanticism in Latin America, were born and spent their formative years in New Granada--Venezuela and Ecuador, respectively--and to a great extent were products of the Enlightenment in that viceroyalty and later Gran Colombia. The other part of New Granada, Colombia, is represented by Fernández Madrid as a third precursor of Romanticism, although he is not included in the histories and anthologies.

compositions but could not equal any of the styles of those poets.[56] Sanín Cano asserts that in Guatimoc is noted the influence of the new currents of Romanticism. The works of Fernández Madrid are described most frequently with the word "sensitive," an essential quality of the Romantic poet.[57]

While several critics have seen in the works of Fernández Madrid attempts to break from tradition and an evolution toward Romanticism, one anthologist of Colombian poetry disagrees; Pacheco Quintero suggests that treatments of love and sentimental poetry--the characteristics upon which other critics based their judgment of the poet as a Romantic--are to be found in any literary school.[58] While Pacheco Quintero's comment is valid it does not consider the way in which Fernández Madrid expressed love--free from restraint and with open sensuality. In addition, other elements in Fernández Madrid's poetry characterize the Romantic tendency. While he generally adhered to the metric strictures of Neoclassicism he often attempted to experiment with freer

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[56]Diccionario, pp. 41-43.

[57]B. Sanín Cano, Letras colombianas (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1944), p. 64. Other works by Fernández Madrid include "Canción nacional," Bogotá, 1814; "El diez de mayo," Havana, 1820; Poesías, Havana, 1822 and London 1828; "Canción al padre de Colombia y libertador del Perú," Cartagena, 1825; and "Elegías nacionales peruanas," Cartagena, 1824.

forms. One of his poems, "A las banderas de Pizarro," resembles Olmedo's "La Victoria de Junín: Canto a Bolívar," both of which are heroic poems dedicated to Bolívar, glorify liberty, and are Romantic in feeling while still adhering to Neoclassical rules. Fernández Madrid's sonnet is less concerned with the unities and also shows less patriotic zeal than Olmedo's epic, stating simply in the first tercet:

> Monumento de un déspota insolente,
> banderas de Pizarro ensangrentadas
> que rindió ante Bolívar la victoria.[59]

The poem contributed to the current of anti-españolismo and Americanism.

Although it is true that love--even sensual love--is to be found in the poetry of any age, the theme in Fernández Madrid's "La inocencia" is treated without restraint and deals with the memory of a past experience, not with an unfulfilled desire or an imaginary experience:

> El temblor de tus miembros palpitantes,
> la palidez de tu pudor divino,
> tu amable confusión y tus sollozos,
> todo, todo aumentaba mi delirio.[60]

The indication that he is writing about the recollection of a previous occurrence is apparent in the last verse:

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[58]Pacheco Quintero, II, 224.

[59]Ibid., p. 225.

[60]Ibid., p. 227.

Oh, venturoso día! En mi memoria,
mientras yo viva, vivirás conmigo,
y ojalá que a mis versos dado sea
librarte de la noche del olvido.[61]

We should remember both Gruesso and Bécquer employed the Lockean procedure of composing from the memory of former experience and sensations.

The rose is also a theme common to any literary period; however, in Fernández Madrid's "La rosa de la montaña," with its free-verse form, the flower serves as a symbol for the recollection of a past impression, similar to the role of Proust's madeleines. Local color, a characteristic of Romanticism's costumbrista school, is given in the opening lines:

¡Bosques de Barragán y de Quindío!
¡Montañas majestuosas!
¡Cuántas, cuántas memorias dolorosas
vuestra imagen presenta al pecho mío!
Eternas soledades silenciosas,
solamente habitadas
de sierpes venenosas
y fieras contra el hombre conjuradas;
vosotras me abrigabáis algún día
del furor de una horrible tiranía.[62]

The rose, mentioned in subsequent verses, reminds him of time spent with his "tierna compañera" during the turmoil of the independence movement.

Another poem on love, "El deleite," composed by Fernández Madrid is reminiscent of the Archpriest of Hita's arguments in El libro de buen amor which supported sexual

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[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid., p. 228.

love on the grounds that the desire for it was common to all animals. In reference to birds Fernández Madrid argues:

> Es el placer su guía;
> . . . . . .
> Gozan en libertad de sus amores.
> Entre ellos no hay ley dura
> que se oponga a la ley del sentimiento.[63]

Also to be noted in the above lines is the Romantic rebellion against societal laws in favor of natural laws which stemmed from the Enlightenment. Several verses of the poem recall the sensuous love and exoticism of the later modernist school:

> La diosa del deleite, reclinada
> sobre un lecho de rosas,
> y de mil cupidillos rodeada,
> nos arroja miradas amorosas.
> En sus ojos hermosos
> a un mismo tiempo veo
> el pudor y el deseo,
> ya dulce languidez, ya fuego ardiente.
> . . . . . .
> ¡cuanto perfume delicioso exhala!
> ¡Qué suaves olores!
> Todo el Asia en aromas no le iguala.[64]

A favorite theme of the modernists appears in the lines in which one of the Cupids approaches the goddess:

> y al descuido
> levantando la seda
> de su rico vestido
> el alabastro queda
> descubierto en su gran parte.[65]

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[63]Ibid., p. 232.

[64]Ibid., p. 230.

[65]Ibid., pp. 230-231.

Paneroticism, predominant in the poetry of Rubén Darío, is included in several instances, particularly in reference to Jove's transformations to a bull and to golden rain in order to achieve his sensual designs. Birds, tigers, lions, all men and even the gods, the poem concludes, succumb to "El deleite."[66]

The literary societies of Bogota rescued literature from the dark age of the prevailing culteranista school. The New Philosophy entering the schools of New Granada introduced a fresher, more vibrant style. Mutis at the Botanical Expedition stimulated an interest in nature. This style and this concern mingled with the atmosphere of freedom, independence and patriotism prevalent during the revolutionary and Gran Colombia periods so that half a century later they resulted in the Romantic spirit characterized by feelings of an affinity with nature plus a nostalgia for the homeland. At the beginning of the twentieth century with the appearance of the indianista novel, the Enlightenment contributed to that genre a scientific and aesthetic observation of man and nature, free of exoticism and mystification. Caldas and others who wrote for the Semanario began anthropological studies--

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[66]Two of Fernández Madrid's most popular poems are "Oda a la noche," published in Caldas, Semanario, III, 28-29, and the touching family scene called "Mi bañadera" in Pacheco Quintero, II, 236-240.

such as Caldas' study of the mulatto, the Negro and the Indian in "Influjo del clima sobre los seres organizados"--which established the humanitarian point of view found in more recent works on that theme.

The Enlightenment is associated with the "classical" tendency toward reason and order, and Neoclassicism was the literary mode of the same era. However, a great deal of the characteristics of Romanticism took shape as the Enlightenment tradition crept into Neoclassical literature and evolved into the Romantic tendency. The Romantics rebelled against Neoclassical forms, against reason and order, but they were indebted to the Enlightenment.[67]

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[67]Ernst Cassirer's comments on the Enlightenment and Romanticism, although made in reference to "historical views," are equally applicable to literary perspectives: "Without the aid of the philosophy of the Enlightenment and without its intellectual heritage, Romanticism could not have achieved and maintained its own position" (Ernst Cassirer, The Philosophy of the Enlightenment, Boston: Beacon Press, 1966, p. 197).

CONCLUSION

Education during the pre-Enlightenment colonial period of New Granada had been based on medieval scholastic doctrine while the curriculum was primarily devoted to theological subjects. The peripatetic methodology and curriculum becomes apparent if one studies the lecture notes written by professors and the students' conclusions in defense of their theses.

The ideological current which characterized the Enlightenment in Europe and North America filtered into New Granada and shaped various aspects of culture there. The intellectual climate derived from the Enlightenment proved to be decisive in the development of events in New Granada between 1760 and 1830, from the period of the vice-royalty to the republic of Gran Colombia.

Educational reform was the major characteristic of the Enlightenment as it arose in New Granada. José Celestino Mutis initially introduced modernization in studies through his lectures on the New Philosophy; he included the scientific and philosophical ideas of the European Enlightenment expressed by Newton, Wolff, Musschenbroek, the encyclopedists, Jovellanos, Feijoo and many others. His presentations on modern doctrines

motivated the Moreno proposal for a public university prepared in 1768. Moreno's plan for educational reform composed in 1774 produced more favorable results and paved the way for the appearance of a more enlightened generation of creoles. Archbishop-Viceroy Caballero y Gongora also presented a proposal for a public university and although it was not implemented, interest in the project contributed to an atmosphere of progress.

More relevant studies provided by the schools at Bogota, Popayan and other cities encouraged the development of an intellectual layer of society which became active in the endeavors of other institutions of learning and research such as the Botanical Expedition, literary circles and economic societies. Between 1780 and 1810 those institutions, which supplemented the work of the schools, stimulated the intellectual atmosphere of the viceroyalty and influenced educational reforms. The Botanical Expedition, which Mutis directed, was a mainspring of scientific activity and proved to be a center for the preparation of students who reflected the benefits of a more relevant education and furthered attempts at additional reforms in the curriculum of studies at Rosario, San Bartolomé, Santo Tomás and other colleges in the viceroyalty. The economic societies introduced and diffused ideas of modern philosophical, economic and political theories while also encouraging the addition of

courses in those disciplines to the curriculum in the schools. Literary circles served as centers for the discussion and spread of new ideas. The literary groups and the economic societies encouraged the publication of periodicals and scholarly journals which contributed to the spread of the Enlightenment tradition and stimulated literary activity in the viceroyalty.

Between 1760 and 1810 education progressed from scholastic to modern as is evidenced by the new ideas expressed in the professors' tratados and by the change in topics presented in the students' theses. The effectiveness of educational reform during the colonial period is reflected in the intellectual activity of the new generation at the Botanical Expedition, the economic societies and the literary circles. This effectiveness is also revealed in an improved literary production between 1790 and 1810.

Intellectual ferment came to a head with the revolutionary movements which served to usurp peninsular Spanish authority. Leaders of the independence movement were those who had previously studied under professors such as Mutis and Restrepo, worked with the Botanical Expedition and attended the meetings of the literary circles. The course of events during the colonial period was repeated during the formation and administration of Gran Colombia. The first parallel is found in the

Congress of Angostura in 1819 which stimulated some interest in intellectual progress, just as Mutis and Moreno had at least sparked concern in 1768. The Congress of Cúcuta in 1821 had similar results to those provided by the Moreno plan of studies in 1774; it built on the groundwork at Angostura and more decisively introduced reforms and promoted universal education. A liberal educational policy and the general political administration under Santander parallels the intellectual ferment predominant during the colonial period between 1780 and 1810. Those decades of the colonial era were characterized by enlightened despotism; Bolívar's political theories were derived from similar tenets. The results of both the Spanish colonial and the Bolivarian-style enlightened despotism were also similar in producing a reaction to authority. Republican authorities, led by Bolívar, were forced to use conservative, even repressive, measures to contain the turmoil and unrest which were blamed on liberal educational policies--a repetition of the tack taken during the colonial period by the Spanish authorities who belatedly attempted to stem the tide of radical thought filtering into the viceroyalty.

Two distinct periods are evident in the Enlightenment in New Granada. The first was characterized by an interest in educational reform, modern science, the useful and the practical, and a genuine desire for material

progress in order to benefit the masses. The second period was distinguished by a wave of ideas of a theoretical nature--largely political and economic theories. The first period might be termed the "scientific" Enlightenment and the second, the "romantic" Enlightenment. The generation formed during the Newtonian age--the students and disciples of Mutis and Restrepo--were, like the fathers of North American independence, motivated by ideals of liberty, opportunity and prosperity which were based on reason in their efforts to achieve independence. The endeavors of the generation represented by Caldas, Cabal, Lozano, Vallecilla and many others were halted by the executions ordered by Morillo in 1816. Few of that generation--only Bolívar, Santander and the two Restrepos--survived the massacre so they could safeguard those ideals.

Bolívar and Santander were, in a sense, authors of their own demise by tolerating and even promoting the development of the age of Bentham. While the interests of the first period of the Enlightenment were carried over into the Gran Colombia epoch as evidenced by Santander's support of educational reform, emphasis on the theoretical superseded interest in the practical. The mining school and botanical commission initiated by Santander's administration failed; the interest in scientific research with its applications to the well-being of society displayed

by the thirty-year activity of Mutis' Botanical Expedition had subsided. Political science rather than the physical and natural sciences took precedence during the revolutionary period and fostered unrest. Just as the Spanish authorities were unable to curb revolutionary turmoil in 1810, Bolívar's circular of 1828 failed to halt the march of a fresh generation. Only two years after Bolívar's circular ordering a return to a more conservative education, the last representatives of the Enlightenment--Bolívar, Santander, the two Restrepo's and a few others--were no longer influential in cultural development and political ideologies. The year 1830 signalled the end of a generation, an era and a nation.

The Enlightenment as it penetrated both Americas was parallel. The philosophers of North American independence who framed the Constitution of the United States were representatives of the first period of the Enlightenment. The foundations of government were laid and became firmly established before the waning of the "scientific" Enlightenment tradition which occurred in the Americas at the turn of the nineteenth century. Independence was achieved in Latin America after the turn of the century during the "romantic" Enlightenment, and the political foundations of the independent nations were precariously laid by a new generation. The gradual disappearance of

the eighteenth-century ideals of practicality and utility was a factor in the failure of Gran Colombia to achieve and maintain political stability after 1830.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

ROYAL ORDER ON EDUCATION, 1767

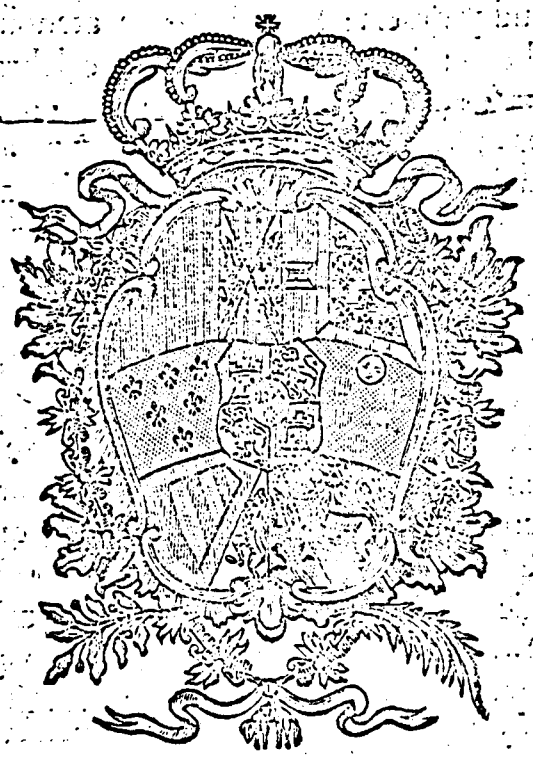
REAL PROVISION

DE LOS SEÑORES DEL CONSEJO,

EN EL EXTRAORDINARIO,

A CONSULTA CON S. M.

Para reintegrar á los Maestros y Preceptores seculares en la enseñanza de las primeras Letras, Gramática y Retórica, proveyendose estos Magisterios y Catedras á Oposicion, y estableciendo viviendas y casas de pupilage, para los Maestros y Discipulos, en los Colegios donde sea conveniente, informando por menor al Consejo.



EN MADRID:

En la Imprenta Real de la GAZETA, año de 1767.

DON CARLOS

POR LA GRACIA DE DIOS REY DE Castilla, de Leon, de Aragon, de las dos Sicilias, de Jerusalen, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba, de Córcega, de Murcia, de Jaen, de los Algarbes, de Algecira, de Gibraltar, de las Islas de Canarias, de las Indias Orientales y Occidentales, Islas, y Tierrafirme del Mar Oceano; Archiduque de Austria, Duque de Borgoña, de Brabante y de Milan; Conde de Abspurg, de Flandes, Tirol, y Barcelona; Señor de Vizcaya, y de Molina, &c. = A vos los Jueces Subdelegados, que entendeis en estos nuestros Reynos, los de Indias, é Islas adjacentes en la ocupacion de Temporalidades de los bienes y efectos que correspondieron á los Colegios, Casas, y Residencias, que tenian los Regulares de la Compañia del nombre de Jesus, y demas á quienes lo contenido en esta nuestra Carta toque, ó tocar pueda en qualquier manera, salud y gracia: SABED, que atendiendo nuestro Consejo Real, en el Extraordinario que se celebra con motivo de las ocurrencias pasadas, á las Representaciones que por algunos de Vos, por los Pueblos mismos, y por varios Prelados se nos han hecho en razon de fomentar la enseñanza de la Juventud, particularmente en lo tocante á las primeras Letras, Latinidad, y Retórica, que tubieron en sí como estancada los citados Regulares de la Compañía, de que nació la decadencia de las Letras humanas; porque deteniendose poco en la enseñanza, aspiraban á otros estudios, empleos y manejos en su Orden, de manera que su exercicio en la latinidad mas bien se encaminaba á perfeccionarse en ella el Maestro, que miraba como transitoria esta ocupacion, que no á la pública utilidad: lo que produxo la minoracion del progreso en los Estudios de la Compañía, y sucederá lo mismo á qualquiera otra Orden religiosa, pues jamás pueden competir con los Maestros y Preceptores seglares, que por oficio é instituto se dedican á la enseñanza, y procuran acreditarse para atraher los discipulos, y mantener con el producto de su trabajo á su familia; considerando tambien, que mientras en España es-

tu-

tubieron las primeras Letras, Gramática y Retórica al cargo de estos Preceptores, que se proveían á oposicion en las Cabezas de Partido, floreció la enseñanza, como lo acreditan las obras impresas, que testifican su talento y sabiduria, que adquirieron con la aplicacion de toda la vida; y por esa razon los que entraban en las facultades mayores, como bien instruídos en la latinidad y retórica, hacian admirables progresos en las Ciencias: pero habiendo cesado este estímulo de los Maestros y Preceptores seculares, la latinidad ha decaído al actual abatimiento con los perjudiciales efectos, que se tocan del poco adelantamiento en los Estudios-mayores, y la dureza del latin de nuestras aulas, poco diferente del que se lee en los Autores del siglo trece: Que de nada serviria el haber libertado estos primeros estudios del yugo y mal estado, en que los tenia la Compañía, si la vigilancia del nuestro Consejo no procurase reintegrarles en su primitivo esplendor; restituyendoles á los Maestros y Preceptores seglares, proveyendose á oposicion estos Magisterios y Cátedras, concurriendo las Ciudades y Villas con aquellos mismos situados, que daban á los Regulares de la Compañía, y aplicandose de sus Temporalidades ocupadas lo que pareciese conveniente, para dotar à los Maestros de tan importantes enseñanzas, como que la perfeccion de ellas es el cimiento, y basa principal de los demás Estudios, que nunca son sobresalientes en los que carecen de estas sólidas nociones: Y oído en el asunto nuestro Fiscal D. Pedro Rodriguez Campománes, expuso el Consejo en consulta de veinte y nueve de Setiembre de este año, lo que estimó correspondiente, para promover el público beneficio de los primeros estudios de la Nacion: Y habiendose conformado N.R. Persona con su parecer por resolucion á la citada Consulta, publicada y visto fue acordado su cumplimiento; y que á este fin se expidiese esta nuestra Carta para vos: Por la qual os mandamos procedais sin la menor dilacion à subrogar la enseñanza de primeras Letras, Latinidad y Retórica, que en los respectivos Colegios y Casas, que han sido de la Compañía, en cuya ocupacion de Temporalidades estais entendiendo, se hallaba al cargo de los expresados Regulares, en Maestros y Preceptores seculares á oposicion; informando en el asunto por mano de nuestros Fiscales, lo que os

pa-

parezca oportuno, oyendo á los Ayuntamientos, Diputados, y Personero del Comun, y otras personas zelosas é inteligentes, sobre el modo práctico que haya en cada parage, para formalizar con acierto el juicio comparativo en las Oposiciones, proponiendo el numero de Maestros, Pasantes, y Repetidores, que les deben ayudar, sus salarios, y emolumentos: en inteligencia de que se les deberá contribuir con el que antes de ahora daba el respectivo Pueblo, sin novedad, y completar lo que faltase de las Temporalidades ocupadas: informando tambien donde se contemple preciso el establecimiento de una especie de Casa de educacion, Seminario, ó Pupilage para los Jóvenes, que asistan al Estudio, lo que con total separacion de la Iglesia deberá situarse en parte del Colegio ó Casa de los Regulares, y aun á ser posible la habitacion de los Maestros seculares, sin perjuicio de dár destino á lo restante, exponiendo todo lo demás que os parezca digno de la noticia de nuestro Consejo, á fin de que recaygan con el debido conocimiento las providencias oportunas, para promover sólidamente la enseñanza pública en esta parte: Todo lo qual executareis, y hareis se practique bien y cumplidamente, sin interpretacion, contemplacion, ni omision alguna, por ser así nuestra voluntad, y que al traslado impreso de esta nuestra Carta, firmado de D. Joseph Payo Sanz, nuestro Escribano de Cámara honorario del Consejo, con destino al Extraordinario, se le dé la misma fé y credito que al original. Dada en Madrid á cinco de Octubre de mil setecientos sesenta y siete. El Conde de Aranda. = D. Pedro Colon. = D. Andres Maraver. = D. Pedro de Leon y Escandon. = D. Bernardo Cavallero. = Yo D. Joseph Payo Sanz, Escribano de Cámara honorario del Consejo, la hice escribir por su mandado en el Extraordinario. *Registrada.* = D. Nicolas Verdugo. = *Teniente de Canciller mayor.* = D. Nicolas Verdugo.

Es copia de la Real Provision original de que certifico y firmo en Madrid à cinco de Octubre de mil setecientos sesenta y siete.

APPENDIX B

PORTIONS OF THE MORENO PLAN OF 1774

Letodo provisional, é interino de los estudios, que han
observar los Colegios de Santa fé. por ahora, y hasta tanto, que se
é Universidad Publica, ó S.M. dispone otra cosa.

Exmo Señor.

Solo la fuerza del Superior precepto de V.E. pudiera con violenc
suave reducirme á emprehender una Obra ardua por su Naturaleza y
difícil por su atencion; pero por las circunstancias de Personas, lugares
y tiempo, casi impracticable; si animado de su Zelo no aplicara V.E. toda
sus facultades, y vive dedica con teson, á perfeccionar, lo que ahora iniciam.
podrá ser feliz principio de la ilustracion del Reyno; con que hara
glorioso su Govierno, un estimable servicio al Soberano, y un beneficio
á esta Republica, que sea anuncio, y fundam.to de su prosperidad.

Si es tan difícil proscribir un acertado metodo de enseñar, como
manifiestan los sudores, que gloriosamente han impedido los Sabios
en España: En esta Capital llega casi al estremo de imposible; ya por
que faltando Universidad Publica, y Catedras comunes, es necesario adqui
sin solido criterio; ya porque asi el escolastisismo, como el espiritu de Es
cuelas, es tan tenaz, y autorizado, que puede inducir desconfianza de la
Victoria. Si las Universidades de España teniendo á la mano la Co
copia de Libros escritos en la Nacion de todas facultades, y tam
bien los que han dado á luz las Naciones Estrangeras; todavia
no han encontrado obra adequada, y proporcionadas á satisfa
cer sus deseos, para dictar por pauta de la enseñanza: como
podra verificarse en este Reyno donde es conocida la escasez de
Libros, particularmente de esta especie, y apenas ha llegado las
Noticia de los Autores mas oportunos al intento? donde el buen

que puedan Recivir por el trabajo de su Ocupacion, dandoles Regla de lo que deben observar, para que los Muchachos logren con la instruccion, la enseñanza en Doctrina Christiana, y educacion politica; de que podrá encargarse el mismo Director; con prohibicion, de que persona alguno sea admitido al estudio de la Gramatica, sin que conste estar examinado, y aprovado, de q. sabe leer, y escrivir; pues abergüenza oir á los pocos, que no pronuncian, sino marcan las palabras, por defecto de este principio; y es notoria la falta de buenas plumas para el Servicio de las Oficinas publicas.

Latinidad.

La Latinidad tan conducente al Lasnato, se estudia defectuosamente en este Reyno tomandose con imperfeccion lo mui preciso para entender aquellos Libros, que Regularmente se manejan; y son pocos los que alcanzan caval Conocimiento de ella, y los que se instruien en la Poecia latina, y preceptos de la Retorica. No ay asistencia para dotar dos, ó tres Catedras, en que se dividiera la enseñanza; y por aora es preciso sufrir, que con un solo Maestro aprendan los Minoristas hasta concluir la Gramatica; pero combendrá, se establescan uno, ó dos Pasantes, q. podrán serlo de los mas aprovechados; y Supuesto que la dotacion del Maestro es competente, sera de su Cargo sin otra eleccion, como la continua asistencia desde las Siete, y media, hasta las diez por la mañana; y desde las dos, y media, hasta las cinco por la tarde, con el Repaso de los Sabados, Reglas de Ortografia, y leccion de Doctrina Christiana; observando el

estilo de tomar las lecciones por Decuriones, ejercitarlos proporcionalmente segun su estado, y capacidad; Recorriendo de unos á otros; construyendo los Libros mas oportunos, y apropiados á su discernimiento como las Tablas de Toro, Nuncio, Cornelio Nepote, Epistolas de Ciceron, y Ovidio en que es facil Pasar desde las Declinaciones de los Nombres, hasta la Cantidad de las Silabas; siguiendo la Division hasta oy observada, que sustancialmente es la misma que propuso á S.M. el Claustro de la Universidad de Alcalá; añadiendose los actos de Conclusiones los Domingos, que no se han practicado en esta Ciudad, y serán de conocida utilidad; auxiliandose armoniosamente los dos Colegios para excitar una laudable emulacion; como tambien en los examenes, que deben hacerse con Rigurosa exactitud; y no poniendose otro Arbitrio que los dias de precepto, y Fiestas en la tarde no habiendo en la semana dia festivo: quedando el sentimiento de no poder por ora facilitar devidamente esta enseñanza, ni establecer Magisterio de Rethorica, hasta que la Real piedad se digne acceder á la fundacion de Universidad publica, en cuio caso se dará la idea de fomentar un estudio que es el adorno que hermosea, y solida á los demas, pues como esplora la Respuesta Fiscal del Plan de Salamanca, fortifica la Razon, perfecciona el Juicio, forma el buen gusto, y sazona los ingenios.

Plan de Filosofia.

Si en todo el orbe sabio ha sido necesaria la introduccion de la Filosofia util, juzgando la Logica, y Metafisica de questiones, inutiles, y Nugatorias; y substituiendo á lo que se enseñaba con nombre de Fisica, los Solidos conocimientos de la Naturaleza, apoyados

APPENDIX C

MUTIS' RECOMMENDATION OF VERGARA

El Director de la R.l Exped.n Bot.
En calidad de Catedratico perpetuo de Matematica representa á V. Exa. la proporcion q. encuentra en un Digno Subjeto en la Persona del Sr. D.n Fern.do Vergara, á la q.l concurren suficientem.te instruido en esta Ciencia, y capaz de llenar las benefica intenciones de V. Exa. á beneficio de la Patria y del Estado.

Tucuman 4. de Mayo de 1786.

Pase al Sr. Fiscal. Dice el Señor de Cordova, q. aunque con atencion á las utilidades que no pueden resultar al Publico de la Instruccion de la Juventud en las ciencias Mathemat.cas, Propone, si no obstante parece algun

Exmo Señor

Constandole á V. Exa. el amor con que me he dedicado á promover en este Reyno los Conocim.tos mas utiles á beneficio de la Patria, especialm.te los de las Matematicas en todos sus Ramos, dando lecciones publicas en el R.l Colegio de N. S.ra del Rosario de la Capital de Santafe donde el año de 81. á substituyendo mi Lugar en mi jurisdiccion aventajados los mismos Catedraticos de Filosofia encargados á mi consideracion entre mis aventajados Discipulos á ello hace presente á V. Exa. la buena proporcion de perpetuar esta enseñanza. Porque hallandose suficientissim.te instruido en estas Ciencias el D.n Fernando Vergara, q. acaba de ser Catedratico de Filosofia en aquel Colegio con el diestreno que manifestaron sus lucidissimos actos Publicos: y animado como me lo expone este Sugeto por un celo verdad.m.te Patriotico á continuar las enseñanzas tan utiles á la Patria y al Estado, especialm.te en el ilustrado Gov.no de V. Exa. en q. recibirán toda su Proteccion los Establecim.tos Patrioticos q. V. Exa. promueve y á q.e me comunican sus exploradores la Geometria, Dibujo, y Calculo para saber obrar y continuar

Inconveniencias de-
Mayor consideracion
que lo probib. su
Establecimiento

era mui propio de mi Obligacion interesarme
ante V. Ex. para que se digne promover con
su grande autoridad y Patrocinio las Ciencias, de
que forma ya vue Elitido la florida Juventud
Americana, mucho mas inflamado desde q.e
advirtio la Elevada Proteccion que han merecido
à V. Ex. las Matematicas por el hecho mui
de mandar à instruirse en ellas à costa de
crecidos gastos à sus amados Sobrinos y familiares
en un Colegio de Francia, y continuando en
este Reyno las mismas Enseñanzas en su Palacio

Siendo pues en cierto modo el unico
premio de mis tareas el honor q.e me resulta de
aver sido el primero en este Reyno desde su Conquis-
ta q.e ha propagado estas Ciencias; y el q.e positivamen-
te tengo, aun despues de ser nombrado Astronomo de S. M.
por la interposicion y alto respecto de V. Ex.
en gloriarme con el titulo de Catedratico
de Matematicas de aquel Colegio
me veria mui sensible en el caso
de interrumpirse su Enseñanza por mi dila-
tada ausencia, y los nuevos empeños del
Servicio. Por lo qual suplico à V. Ex. que
dignandose acceder à mi instancia se sirva
despachar el titulo de Catedratico de
Matematicas al referido en calidad de mi Sustituto
manteniendome en la posesion de Catedratico
propietario, y con la obligacion que me

4

compete D dirigir aquellas Cartillas con la
aSuperior aprobacion D V. Q.
Dios S.t g.e la importante Vida D V. Q.
M.r a.r Mariquita 18 D Octubre D 1785.

Exmo Señor

Jose Celestino Mutis

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Exmo S.or Arzobisp.o Virrey D.n Ant.o Caballero y Gongora.

APPENDIX D

RUIZ' STATEMENT ON MATHEMATICS

Ahora Il sugeto que pueda leer las Matemáticas en este mi Colegio-Universidad donde hay, y ha avido siempre concurrencia con pluralidad de Cátedras la enseñanza sin sueldo alguno, no solo de los primeros rudimentos de los niños, y Doctrina christiana, de Aritmetica menor, de Logica, de Gramatica, de la Fisica, y demas Artes liberales segun son necesarias p.a la inteligencia, y profesion de las facultades Mayores; sino también de las Segradas Teologias Moral, Catequetica, Dogmatica, Escolastica, y Expositiva: solo puedo decir que yo no conozco quienes las ayan oydo en este Reyno en Cátedras de diarios exercicios expuesto: y en la realidad, si uno de los motivos, que tuvo la Junta de estudios de 13 de Octubre expresada para demoler el Plan de estudios del año de 74, dize, fue porque se mandaba en el á los Lectores, ó Catedraticos enseñar por un metodo, que no avian aprendido: esta consideracion misma, se ofrece desde luego en este punto. Yo no se, que ayan intervenido por aca otros matematicos de profesion de los que puedan leer; que el Doctor D. Josef Alvis, que creo no esta en situacion de esta tarea, y el Teniente Coronel, y Comandante del Real cuerpo de Artilleria D. Domingo Esquiaqui; Quien sin embargo de sus innumerables, y respetables ocupaciones, presentado por el Illmo. y Excelmo. S. Arzpo. y Capitan General de este Reyno, si estaba en disposicion de leer en esta Universidad las Matematicas segun mi Arancel, y luego, que lo avia echo? le respondio á su Excl.a Que la leeria en este mi Colegio-Universidad con mucho gusto. En este pensamiento del Septiembre de 1784, y principalm.te desde aquel Octubre. Y reconvenido despues por mi de principiara: me insinuo; que debia esperar las Ordenes de su Excl.a Illma. A la sazon, le he recordado esto, y me respondio: que estaba en lo mismo q.e antes; y que si yo gustaba podia Vd. luego informarlo asi.

Dios q.e

pondria ya todo en planta; verificado un competente salario asig
el Catedratico, como para los Pasantes, y demas costos segun el Plan
la Academia de Matematicas que dicho Caballero Superi
mò para la Ciudad de Cartagena, y aprobò su Excel. illma. y
sin esto, no podia plantearse una Obra tan vtil. Mas el D. Jos
alguna de tales costos; proyectos verificables para ello, y e
como, ya practico; yo no lo puedo alcanzar si V. S. no se ins
como lo suplico, mandar bajo el concepto de Comisionado
su Excel. illma. en estos puntos; que se me pasen los Autos
de Vniversidad, y las Bulas de Temporalidades el año de 1777
para ver si como espero, puedo encontrar algun fondo para esto
ó algun proyecto practico de vtilidad.

Dios guarde à V. S. felizes
y dilatados años. Del mio Colegio=Vniversidad de Angelico
Doctor S. Tomas de Cantuarie, Junio 10. de 1786.

B. L. M. de V. S.

Fray Manuel Diez

Rector y Regente de la Vniv.

Comisionado el Doctor D. Vicente Azuero, Fiscal de Rl. Hacienda y Diocesano Dn Estanislao Andino

APPENDIX E

ORDER APPOINTING VERGARA TO THE CHAIR OF MATHEMATICS AND REQUESTING MUTIS TO WRITE THE COURSE OUTLINE

TITULO, MODO DE NOMBRAR
CIENTOS OCHENTA Y SIETE
Y OCHENTA Y SIETE.

para su Aprobacion y cumplimiento sobre todo de que
provenga conforme a Instruccion. Palacio, y Agosto
31 de 1786.

6 de Octubre de 1786.

Autos y Vistos: Mediante a estimarse por conve-
niente el Restablecimiento de el estudio de las Mathema-
ticas en la Capital de Santafe para q. los Jovenes que
voluntariamente, quisieren aplicarse a ellas logren
utiles y curiosas lecciones, se accede desde luego a que
en el Colegio de Nuestra Señora del Rosario de dicha
Capital se Restablezca, sin entrar en el Cuerpo de Uni-
versidad, y sin perjuicio de las demas Cathedras y Fa-
cultades, la de dichas Mathematicas, que propone el
Señor el D. D. Fernando Vasquez, a quien se nom-
bra por tal Cathedratico Substituto el q. lo sirve, y en
propiedad D. D. Josef Celestino Mutis, con la
calidad de le expedira el correspondiente titulo, pa-
que quando este ultimo haya formado las Institu-
ciones necesarias para el arreglo de dicho estud
que deben regir baxo la Direccion, eleccion y

libro, y Repartimiento de horas q̃ana
Director Pedro Real de aquella Real Armen
D.n Estanislao Jaquin de Andino para su apre
-cion, de principio á se enseñanza con la aplica
-cion q̃e promete su celo por la Instruccion de la
diligencia q̃e la Inteligencia de no haver paraben
proporcion alguna para la asignacion correspo
correspondiente á su Empleo, y de darle cuen
á S. M. como se executara por la vía Reservad
con testimonio á lo conducente por si su Mag
magnanimidad y amor á las letras tuviere
-bien destinar alguna cantidad del Ramo de Temp
-ralidades ó de otro de su Real Hazienda, que com
-pre dhas tareas, como assi se le ynstara al cit
-do Virgen para su Satisfacion, dando se ygua
-diente noticia de esta determinacion con Copia
authorizada de ella y Oficio p.r Secretaria á el
expresado S.r Director Pedro para su Inteligenci
y govierno, y al mismo D.n D.n Josef Celestino
Mutis para el mismo fin, y que proceda á la
formacion de las insinuadas Instrucciones

Dios guarde

Pedro de Silva se sirvan las copias q̃e
expresa el S.r Marqs, y Oficio q̃e
con el se acompaña al S.r Director
Mutis y cumplan p.r lo tocante

En 6 de Octubre de dho se dio cuen
á la Corte

APPENDIX F

ZEA'S ARTICLE ON EDUCATION

aquellos que unicamente se contraxéren al bien público, que son los que se deben entender *análogos á la materia*. Las *observaciones críticas* que ofrecemos imprimir no serán otras, que las escritas con la moderacion y juicio que corresponde. Ello es cierto que cada uno se hará el favor de creér muy digno de publicarse quanto nos dirige; pero quien solo se interesa en el bien universal, tiene demasiado motivo para preferir lo que fuere conveniente.

Con esta mira le hemos dado lugar en este Número á un discurso, que por la antelacion de su fecha, el mérito de su asunto, y la hermosura de su estilo, se ha considerado muy digno de presentarlo à las personas juiciosas. Omitese la carta conque fué remitido por las razones expresadas, y solo insertamos el contenido de él, que es de este tenor.

Avisos de Hebephilo (*) á los Jovenes de los dos Colegios sobre la inutilidad de sus estudios presentes, necesidad de reformarlos, eleccion y buen gusto en los que deben abrazar.

Discurso previo á la Juventud.

Ego autem neminem nomino: quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Cic. pro leg. man. num. 38.

EMpiezo, Señores, elevando mis suplicas al Todo-poderoso para que prepare vuestros espiritus, y vuestros corazones al conocimiento, y amor de la Verdad, y para que en un negocio de tanta importancia en que yo no busco mi gloria, ni mi fortuna, dé á mis razones la fuerza necesaria para convenceros, y presente á mi imaginacion aquellas ideas vivas y naturales, que retratando la verdadera imagen de la Sabiduría sean mas á propósito para in-

fla-

(*) *Aunque el Autor no explica la inteligencia de este supuesto nombre, lo advertimos para mas gusto de los curiosos. Es compuesto de las voces grieras* Philos, *lo mismo que amor, y* Hébe *en que se entiende Juventud. Con que suena el* amante de la Juventud.

ſiamar vuestros Almas generosas, y excitar en ellas no solo el deseo de poseérla, sino tambien el valor è intrepidez necesaria para abrazarla, y sostenerla. Ninguna gloria hay en concebir grandes empresas, sino se llevan al cabo, ó se perece en ellas: y el falso lustre, que un proyecto ingenioso adquiere à los talentos de su Autór, no recompensa la mancha, que la timidez en egecutar, dexa en su corazon.

Estoy muy lejos de pensar que una cobardía ignominiosa contenga el ardor de vuestros Espiritus fogosos. Sé que para una alma de orden superior emprender y egecutar es una misma cosa: veo en vosotros las mejores señales de un corazon docil á las impresiones de la Verdad, y no pudiendo resistir al estímulo de tratar un asunto en que todo promete un feliz suceso, voy á sacrificar la reputacion de Literáto al título de Ciudadano, y á exponerme por vosotros á los tiros de la maledicencia, y á los ódios de los opresores del buen-gusto. El placer, que tendría en ver florecientes en mi Patria los estudios utiles, de que no se tiene ni aun idéa, (a) me haría recordar con mas satisfaccion que Cesar sus vitorias, los trabajos y persecuciones con que habría comprado vuestra ilustracion: y si la vida de un despreciable Ciudadano fuese bastante precio, yo correría al patíbulo, pidiendo solamente, por merced, y de gracia, un momento para inundarme en la alegria de ver á mi amada Juventud respirando humanidad, y patriótismo, ilustrada, y feliz.

No lleveis á mal, mis queridos jovenes, que el infimo de los que aspiran á la Sabiduría, lleno de ardor por vuestra gloria se atreva quando callan los Sabios á levantar su voz, y quiera de repente erigirse en Maestro el que aun no ha salido de la clase de Discipulo. Si los Sabios callan no es porque aprueben vuestros estudios, que solo son á proposito para formar orgullosos ignoran-

tes,

(a) Se entiende en las Escuelas públicas. Seria temeridad, y aun insolencia negar que en Santafé hay muchas personas de exquisito gusto, y vasta erudicion. Pero es cierto que estos grandes hombres solo sacaron de las Aulas el triste desengaño de no haber aprendido en ellas cosa buena. Se han formado por si mismos en su retiro, y en sus libros. Y esto, que á ellos les hace tanto honor, es lo que mas desacredita la enseñanza pública. Esta se debe reformar: porque solo está reservado á los genios sublimes mudar de doctrina, y formarse en los Autores. El resto de los hombres sigue constantemente el camino, que le enseñaron.

tes; sino porque faltandoles el conocimiento de vuestro corazon, desesperan llegar alguna vez á romper esos muros de bronce, que opuso la ignorancia á la entrada del buen gusto: y si yo olvidado de la debilidad de mis talentos me atrevo á una empresa, al parecer tan temeraria, como intentar que unidos todos, como buenos Patriótas, hagamos frente al fanatismo, rompamos las cadenas, que esos infames despótas de la literatúra pusieron á nuestros entendimientos, y sacudamos el yugo de la servidumbre filosofica: es porque conociendo vuestro generoso ardimiento; y la vasta estension de vuestros ingenios, estoy seguro de la victoria, si os llegais á empeñar en el combate. ¿Y dudaréis un instante abandonar unos estudios que deshonran la humanidad, que despreciados de las Naciones cultas, solo entre nosotros, y entre los barbaros habitadores de la Mauritánia han hallado aceptacion: unos estudios que tienen la Patria en una vergonzosa languidéz, que conservan como en depósito la grosería, y la barbarie para derramarla de tiempo en tiempo sobre nuestros infelices conciudadanos, y que manteniendo los entendimientos en la mas ignominiosa esclavitud, no les dexan siquiera la libertad de recorrer las campiñas, para ver la grosera agricultura, la miséria, la indolencia, tantas cosas dignas de su atencion, y que debieran ser el objeto de sus taréas? Aun si parára aquí el daño, sería de algun modo tolerable: pero las vanas sutilezas; y ridículos conceptos han subido á la catedra christiana, y en aquel lugar tan réspetable, en donde solo se debe oir la voz de Jesu-Christo, es en donde hemos visto campear á Fr. Gerundio, ostentando à la multitud extática su caudal de erudicion, y todos los primores de su divino ingenio. ¿Y què no pensaréis vosotros algun dia hacer vuestro nombre celebre en la historia sostituyendo á esta xerga filosofica, y sabiduría de ergotismo, las Bellas-letras, y Ciencias exáctas, que hacen la felicidad del Genero humano, que derraman por todas partes la alegría, y la abundancia, que son tan conformes al corazon del hombre, y las unicas, que satisfacen su entendimiento? Yo por lo menos siento los ardores de una llama que me incita à exponer à vuestros ojos el quadro filosofico de nuestra ignorancia, y de nuestras miserias, originadas por la mayor parte de esos estudios abstractos, y cientificas boberas, que solo sir-

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ven para formar Ciudadanos inutiles que la Sociedad mantiene à su pesar, y para conservar como un depósito precioso la barbarie, y la rusticidad.

Nadie ignora, que los Sabios son en las Repúblicas lo que el alma en el hombre. Ellos son los que animan, y ponen en movimiento este vasto cuerpo de mil brazos, que egecuta quanto le sugieren; pero que no sabe obrar por sí mismo, ni salir un punto de los planes que le trazan. En efecto el artista, el labrador, el artesano jamás saldrán de lo que vieron hacer à su Padre, ó á su Maestro, si los depositarios de los conocimientos humanos, y de los progresos del entendimiento, ó no quieren llevar sus luces filosoficas al taller, al campo, á la oficina: ó divertidos en pueriles sutilezas, y ocupados solamente del cuidado de arrebatarse los votos de los insensatos con el ruidoso; pero esteril aparato de tanto silogismo, que la edad de la razon ha condenado, se desdeñan de aplicar su entendimiento á los objetos utiles, á que Dios lo destinó, y miran como ocupacion de un hombre ocioso, y sin talentos el estudio de los principios, y progresos de las Artes, el de la Economía, y de la Industria, el de la Agricultura, el de la Política, y por desahogar de una vez mi corazón, el de la verdadera filosofia, que es la Madre de quanto bueno hay sobre la tierra.

¿Y qué luces han derramado sobre nosotros las Escuelas pùblicas, que hace tantos años fundaron la generosidad de nuestros Padres, y el noble zelo de nuestros Soberanos, para que se formasen en ellas Sabios, que engrandeciesen, é ilustrasen su Patria, Ministros que sostuviesen dignamente el honor y magestad del Santuário, Magistrados que no dexasen inclinar con masas de oro, y plata la balanza de Temis, Abogados que protegiesen la desvalída inocencia, en una palabra, para que se formasen allí los bien-hechores de la Humanidad? Mi espiritu se turba al recorrer los fastos de nuestra miserable literatúra, y mi corazon se aflige y enternece al ver tantos grandes genios capaces de inmorralizar su siglo, y su nacion ir á perderse en el caos de un sin número de questiones insulsas, inutiles, y ridículas, que evaporan la razon, y cortan el vuelo del mas valiente ingenio, que iba á ser la gloria, y las delicias de su Patria.

Por

6a

Porque, Señores, ¿qué cosa util se enseña entre nosotros? ¿Qual es el joven, que limitandose a los conocimientos de la Escuela, no salga un ridículo pedante, incapaz, no digo de tratar un asunto ó politico, ó literario con órden, con finura, y delicadéz; pero ni aun de sustentár una conversacion entre personas de mediana lectura, y de escribir una carta pasadera sin hinchazon, ergotismo, ni pedantería? ¿No se sabe que los estudiantes son los principales corruptores del idioma, inventando á cada paso frases ridículas, espresiones caprichosas, y voces que no conocieron Cervantes, ni Saavedra? Por fortuna el número de estos es bien corto; pero sería muy crecido el de los Sabios, si los conocimientos de las Aulas no fueran tan esteriles y limitados, y si nuestra educacion literária no fuese mas á proposito para formar insoportables ergotistas, que verdaderos literatos. ¡Augustas sombras de nuestros Soberanos, Manes de aquellos ilustres muertos, que con tanto afan trabajaron por nuestra ilustracion! Que mi debil voz penetre hasta los horrores del sepulcro, y sea capaz de animar vuestras cenizas para introduciros en estas melancólicas Escuelas, en donde se ha pertrechado la barbarie contra todos los ataques del buen-gusto, (a) y de donde en lugar de los grandes hombres, que vosotros os prometiais, ha salido un torrente de ergotistas, cuya confusa gritería no dexa escuchar la voz de la razon, y cuya avenida desolante ha sufocado las semillas de la felicidad, que vosotros nos preparabais. ¡Gran Dios! En estos lugáres destinados á la habitacion de la sabiduría, es precisamente en donde la ignorancia erigida en Divinidad.... pero no nos dexemos arrastrar del entusiasmo, apartemos de nuestra vista el quadro lastimoso del rancio fanatismo, y apresuremonos á fixar los ojos sobre la triste imagen de la Patria, que ya no ofrece sino una sombra confusa de lo que pudo ser, un árido esqueleto sin color, sin movimiento, y casi sin respiracion. Quizá una sola mirada bastará para conmover vuestros corazónes, y haceros pen-

(a) *El erudito Sempere dice, que las Escuelas públicas son los Valuartes de la ignorancia* (*Ens. Bib. esp. v.* Cano.) *Asi habla un Ministro del Rey.*

ensar en la reforma (*b*) de esos estudios de imaginacion y de guete, que la han reducido á tan deplorable, y vergonzoso es do.

Se continuará en el número siguiente.

) *Como este discurso se dirige á los jovenes, quizá pensará alguno, por* ta, *y otras espresiones que intentamnos fomentar una sedicion litera-* s. *Nuestro pensamiento solo es darles periódicamente algunos avisos* ra *que reformem sus conocimientos, y piensen en hacerse utiles á la* ciedad. *Se verá por la serie de nuestras reflexiones como acordamos un* evo *plan de ideas con la ciencia del Colegio, y con la obediencia y res-* o *de los jovenes á sus Maestros y Superiores, que ó por timidéz, ó* amor *de la buena armonía se ven quizá precisados á adoptar siste-* s *muy distantes de sus verdaderos sentimientos. Esta propension, tal* z *demasiado escrupulosa, por la paz ha entorpecido los generosos cona-* con *que uno de ellos ha procurado inspirar á la dócil juventud el* sto *de la ciencia perseguida, que él aprendia por si mismo en el* legio, *que ha levantado de sus ruinas. No ha sido mas feliz el* ble *ardor, con que el erudito Ministro, á cuyo cargo está la di-* cion *de estudios, ha trabajado en fomentar la ciencia de Newton.* l *vez ha visto su autoridad en problema; pero el aplauso del público* sato *y la dulce satisfaccion de servir á la Patria recompensa qual-* ier *trabajo, y aun hace abrazar con gusto la muerte, y la cadena.* mbien *este juicioso y amable literato es una buena prueba de mi* samiento. *Salió del Colegio tan ignorante, y ciego como todos; pero el* vino *Malebranche le hizo abrir los ojos, y llenó de luces su en-* dimiento. *Sé esto de su propia boca.*

Este es tambien el lenguage de los Flores, y de los San-Migueles, los *Restrépos, y de los Valenzuelas, de tantos buenos literatos,* aestros *de si mismos, de quienes, trataremos individualmente á* tiempo. *Ahora bastará advertir de paso á mi amada juventud, que* mos *en una época, en que todo conspira á su ilustracion. Un Virey* erior *á las preocupaciones escolasticas, lleno de las luces del inmor-* Buffon, *amante, y cultivador de las Bellas-letras; un Pastor* plete *en todas lineas, cuyos proyectos solo van dirigidos á con-*

ser-

Afecciones astronómicas del dia de hoy.

El 21 de Luna meng. Sale á las 5, y 16 mtos. de la mañana. Se pone à las 5, y 20 mtos. de la tarde. Su latitud es de 2 gs. 41 mtos. boreal. Declina al Norte 5 gs, 55 mtos. Dista del Zenit de Santafé 1 gr. 50 mtos. y está en 31 gs. 18 mtos. de Piscis. Sale el Sol à las 5 horas, 59 mtos, de la mañana. Se pone à las 6 y 1 mto. de la tarde. Tiene el dia 12 horas y 2 mtos. La noche 11 horas, 58 mtos. El Sol declina al Norte 4 grados, 25 mtos. Dista del Zenit de Santafé ningun grado, 10 mtos. Y está en 11 grados 59 mtos. de Aries.

NOTICIAS PARTICULARES.

El Exmo. Señor Virrey por Decreto de 17 del mes proximo pasado ha concedido la Tenéncia de Yaguache en la Provincia de Guayaquil á D. Gregorio Platzaert y Alcedo.

Para facilitar á los habitantes de la Provincia de los Llanos una correspondencia mas pronta con la Capital y demás partes del Reyno, ha tenido á bien S. E. establecer un Correo mensual, á que se dará principio el dia 6 del corriente.

servar á la República de las letras lo que el furor del Peripato ha perdonado: y finalmente un gran número de eruditos Patriótas empeñados en llevar sus luces á las tenebrosas Escuelas, en donde habita la ignorancia. Yo espero que el noble y Lusido cuerpo Militar quiera tambien concurrir por su parte á desterrar el fanatismo de las Aulas. Solo se le exîge que con el desembarazo, que hace su caracter, se aplique á abatir, y ridiculizar los encaprichados ergotistas, esos gritones sempiternos, en cuyas bocas solo se oyen adverbios, distinciones, y silogismos. El bello sexô, fecunda fuente de nuestros bienes, y de nuestros males ¿porqué no ha de concurrir con sus desdenes, y cariños á la causa de la Patria, y emplear alguna vez útilmente sus poderosas armas? El ergotismo es un enemigo formidable, que los Matis, y los Morenos á la cabeza de sus Alumnos no pudieron derrotar. Quizá estará reservada á ellas esta gloria.

Con licencia del Superior Gobierno.

N.° 9°.

Papel periódico de la Ciudad de Santafé de Bogotá.

Viernes 8. de Abril de 1791.

Ego autem neminem nomino &c. (*continuacion del N. 8.*)

ES preciso, mis queridos jovenes, volver alguna vez sobre nosotros mismos, apartarnos de la tumultuosa gritería para escuchar las quejas de la Razon ultrajada, fixar la atencion sobre una Patria, en que somos forasteros, exâminar sus bellas proporciones, dar una mirada á los pueblos industriosos, hacer un paralelo juicioso, é imparcial entre ellos y nosotros, su Pais y el nuestrro, para formar de este modo una exâcta idea de la barbarie, y miseria, en que vivimos, quando parece que debiamos ser los depositarios de las Ciencias, y los felices hombres del Universo.

Los estrechos margenes, en que debo contenerme, y el interés de otras cosas, que tienen con mi asunto una connexion mas inmediata, no me permiten entrar en un exâmen tan individual y prolixo. Un Joven que aspira à una solida ilusttacion, y para quien tiene la Patria algunos atractivos, no debe mirar con la indiferencia, que el orgulloso Ergotista, unas reflexîones dirigidas al bien de la Humanidad, y en que consiste tal véz la fortuna de sus conciudadanos Aora que comenzais à recobrar los derechos de vuestro entendimiento, que la barbara Filosofía de la Escuela tenia oprimido y en servidumbre, este es el primer ensayo de vuestro espiritu, libre yà de *Camestres, y Baralipton* con las otras boberas de la insulsa Logica, que debeis olvidar. Pero yo me iba metiendo en la materia de los Avisos amistosos, que os he de dirigir, sin acordarme que aún no ha llegado à vosotros aquel rayo de luz viva, y penetrânte, que os ha de despertar de ese letargo, y que aun suena en mis oidos la destemplada, y ronca musica de vuestros silogismos.

Yo me acuerdo haberos convidado à mirar la imagen de la Patria sentida y pesarosa, por que ya le parecía que iba tambien à perder vuestros talentos. El amor que la tengo no me permite expo-

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL BOGOTÁ

66.

ne[r]a al desayre de ver despreciados sus clamores. Unos entendimientos llenos de *terminos y signos* no pueden concebir la sublime Idea de un personage tan ilustre, que su cuerpo sean todos los individuos de nuestra Sociedad, y su alma el mismo Soberano. Con todo eso no os faltaré à la palabra dada; pero es preciso que deseis primero prender en vuestros corazones esa llama divina, que se dice patriótismo, y es la base de la felicidad comun, la virtud de los Heroes, Madre de las virtudes civiles, y por desgracia la menos conocida. Consiste en llegar el hombre à persuadirse que no puede conseguir una situacion acomodada, ni disfrutar una solida fortuna si no dirige todos sus pensamientos al bien universal, y mira los intereses de la Republica con preferencia à los propios. Quando se apodera este fuego de muchos corazones, quando no es solo el misero Filosofo el que gusta la dulzura de sus ardores, llegó entonces el feliz momento de la Patria, se vé todo florecer. A la eloqüencia de Fr. Gerundio sucede la del Chrysostomo, ocupa Newton la pl:za de el Goudin, y de el mal entendido Fortunato, los Colegios comienzan à vivir, vé por ulti mo Santafé la suspirada Universidad, el Comercio..... pero yo me olvidaba que hablo solamente con los jovenes, y sin advertirlo iba dirigiendo mi palabra á todos los habitadores de este Reyno, que ya es tiempo piensen siquiera sobre sus hijos mal educados, y peor instruidos por falta de una Universidad à cuya ereccion es preciso concurrir, ó renunciar el título de Ciudadanos.

Os decía, pues, que el patriótismo es una virtud tan sabrosa, que el placèr de exercitarla es su recompensa: que la sublime moral del Evangélio la abraza en todas sus partes. y hasta la predica y persuade: que el que llega á estar animado de el espiritu público adquiere una cierta grandeza de corazon, y una sublimidad de pensamientos que lo eleva sobre el resto de los hombres á una altura desmedida, desde la qual mira sus locuras con dolor, y llora su letárgo. La fecundidad del campo me provóca; pero como ya siento en vuestros corazones los primeros estímulos de la virtud de los Fabios, y aseguro el suceso de mi discurso solo con que penseis en ser Patriótas, me apresuro à llegar à donde me llama mi asunto. Despues correrémos la cortina del rico lecho de oro, en que yace olvidada entre harápos, y miseria la moribunda Patria.

67

Sentemos por principio, que el hombre en el precioso tiempo de su juventud solo debe solicitar aquellos conocimientos, de que puede hacer uso en la ocasion. No basta: es preciso que se aplique tambien à adquirir cierta finura, ó digamos cierto ayre cortesano, que se manifiesta en frases, y modales; pero mui distantes de toda afectacion. Seria necesario haber perdido el juicio, haberse abandonado à todos los delirios de una imaginacion desvaratada, para dejar de convenir en estos dos principios, que son el fundamento de la educacion literaria, y de la politica, ó civil. Si la rapidéz indispensable para comprender en un pequeño discurso tanta multitud de ideas diferentes, no me llevara volando por mi asunto, recorreria de buena gana con vosotros todos los estados, dignidades, y profesiones del hombre, y no encontrariamos desde la Choza pajiza hasta el Palacio Real objeto, ni asunto á que poder aplicar el *Este de Razon*, *el Universal á parte rei*, tantas qüestiones de *términos y categorías*, *de signis*, *y signados*, concebidas por la mayor parte en un latin, que no conoció la edad de Cicerón, y que yo me avergüenzo de nombràr; pero que tenemos valor de defender en el siglo de las luces, para diversion, y risa de la Europa, confusion de los verdaderos Literatos y eterna infamia nuestra. Ya que se nos presenta la Filosofía de la Escuéla, detengamonos un poco à llorar la ruina de la elòquencia sagrada, que segun el pensámiento de Gangàneli, y el dictàmen de la razòn perece entre las manos de ese monstruoso ènemigo de las Ciencias y del buen gusto. Para dar una idea de sus estragos, digamos de una vez, que el Ergotismo, ese idolo infame, que vais á derrivar, fué invencion suya, y la obra maestra de su desordenada fantasía. ¡Tímidas Musas, á quienes este Monstruo de mil cabezas tenía fugitivas y aterradas! respirad al cabo de casi dos síglos de proscripcion, venid ya sin temor: veréis vuestra adorada Eneyda en las manos de mis Jovenes, que ya saben preferir el oro acrisolado de Horacio al inutil oropel del silogismo.

¿Pero para que adèlanto estas propósiciónes, si aún veó en vuestras manos el Código de la Ignorancia, si aun flòréce la manía de argüir, si todas las señales que ofreceis, son de unos furiosos rematados, sin juicio ni dicernimiento? Si no conociera vuestro corazon, sino os hubiera estudiado mucho tiempo, desesperaria de mi empresa, y me confesaría rendido á la dificultad de mi proyécto; pero

os
le ído, vísto, y admirado en vuestros Colegios un crecido número de grandes genios, à quienes entresaca la Naturaleza de la inutil escoria, que dexarémos divertida en su delírio, mientras damos una rápida ojeada al gran libro, en que tantos encontaron la immortalidad, y en que nosotros veremos el diseño de la felicidad del suelo en que nacimos, y que vamos à honrar con nuestras luces.

Este Reyno, que veis sumergído en la ultima barbarie, y à pesar de su vasta estension habitado solamente de millon, y medio de hombres miseràbles sin Ciencias ni Artes, Agricultura, ni Comercio en medio de su miseria es el favorito de la Naturaleza. Aquí es en donde ella se muestra en toda su magnificéncia: aquí puso su jardin, y su gavinete: aquí ha expuesto à los ojos mas indiferéntes y menos reflexivos el brillànte espectaculo de sus marabillas. ¡Que no tenga yo tiempo de recorrer con vosotros nuestras fértiles Provincias para iros mostrando por todas partes las mas bellas producciones de la Tierra, las mas abundantes riquezas, tantos primores, que à lo menos merecen una mirada reflexiva! Los bosques estan llenos de plantas aromaticas, y medicinales, à cada paso se encuentran balsamos, gomas, y aceytes exquisitos, tenemos las mejores resinas, y tal vèz mientras el soberbio Filosofo se abandona à los delirios de su extravagante fantasia, una mano inculta abre camino à la dormida Industria con el examen grosero y superficial de la Naturaleza, que aquel sabio se desdeña mirar.

Solo el Reyno Animal puede ocupar por muchos años nuestros futuros Naturalistas, y ser una fecunda fuente de riquezas, quando comenzemos à abrir los ojos sobre nuestros intereses. En el Reyno minéral tenemos algunos debiles conocimientos; pero no salieron de vuestras Escuelas; son la obra de unas manos sin tino, ni finura filosofica; y es cierto que nuestro mas habil Miuèro, no acertaría à hablar una palabra concertada en Suecia y Alemania. ¡Y que vasto campo se ofrece aquí al estudio del Filosofo Patriota, del Filosofo Amigo de la Humanidad! Poseemos desde el Marmol hasta el Diamante, desde el Plomo hasta el primero de los Metales, desde la menuda arena.... Pèro ¿que me canso, si aun la indomita Platina, ese don precioso del Chocó, con que prometía Mr. de Saint Laurent hacer feliz à toda la Nacion, ha querido mas bien vivir despreciada entre nosotros, que ser en otra parte el Idolo de los Chimicos, y aun quizá el Arbi-

tro

tro de la fortuna de los Pueblos?

¡Que distinta sería la suerte de la Patria, si este hubiera sido el estudio de nuestros Padres! Tendríamos una Agricultura floreciente, no estarían las Artes en la cuna, habría Comercio, no viviéramos en la miseria, que nos debora, y nuestra racionalidad ya no sería un problema para esos Escritores, que nos equivocan con las bestias, y nos juzgan incapaces de concebir un pensamiento.

No tengo tiempo para referiros los dichos y satyras, que á cada paso vierten en sus escritos contra nuestra infeliz Literatura y el picante gracejo, con que algunos nos insultan. Confesémos de buena fé la grosera y torpe ignorancia, en que vivimos, y apliquemonos seriamente á volver por el crédito de la Patria justamente criticada de los extrangeros, sentida y quejosa de vosotros. Vá para dos siglos que atada al carro del triunfante ergotismo, en medio de sus desgracias, y en su mayor abatimiento, solo se consolaba con la esperanza de este dia, en que vosótros mas ilustrados, ó menos caprichosos volvieseis á mirarla. Como conoce los fuertes atractivos de su belleza, y el imperio de su voz en los grandes corazones se persuadió desde entonces, que bastaba una mirada para inflamaros en su amor, y para inspiraros el noble atrevimiento de libertarla de la infame cadena, con que la tiene atada el Despóta vencedor, que va es tiempo de acometer y derrotar, inundando en su sangre su victoria, y convirtiendo su triunfo en lágrimas, y luto. ¿Y serémos tan insensibles que no nos enterneca tan lastimoso espetáculo? Ella se presenta hoy á nosotros bañada en lágrimas, se queja de nuestra indoléncia, nos reconviene de nuestra ingratitud, levanta una mano, y nos señala á la bella Naturaleza, convidandonos al exámen de sus maravillas, y con la otra nos muestra en la Peninsula derribados los Templos del Fanatismo, y erigido sobre sus ruinas el Trono de la Filosofía, esa poderosa señora, en cuyas manos está depositado el buen-gusto de las Ciencias y de las Artes, la gloria y felicidad de las Naciones.

El corazon del hombre tiene mil resortes diferentes, muchas vecesopuestos y contrarios, que producen esta mutacion, y continua variedad de sentimientos, que suele sorprehendernos. Todos como de acuerdo conspiran á borrar de nuestra memoria las aridas ideas, que adoptó la edad de nuestros Padres, y hacernos abrazar las Ciencias deliciosas, que el Mundo entero se empeña en proteger. El ningun

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uso

uso que se puede hacer de nuestros estudios, el oprobrio que nos ha conciliado aun en la misma Capital, el general desprecio que se hace de ellos, la utilidad unida con el deleite en las Ciencias, que vamos á adoptar, la gloria de ser los primeros, y los aplausos con que escuchará la Sabia Europa tan noble pensamiento, todo anima al trabajo que es indispensable para no faltar à las tareas de las Aulas, y seguir al mismo tiempo el plan de mis Avisos. Mirad que la Patria finca en vosotros la esperanza de su felicidad, vuestros padres su honor, y su fortuna, la Fama prepara su clarín para derramar vuestro nombre sobre la Tierra, y el Nuevo Reyno espera el suceso de una accion cuyo premio es la inmortalidad.

ANECDOTA.

Philosophia rationibus progredi debet: duo hæc sunt maxima in philosophia, judicium veri, et finis bonorum. Cicer. in Hortencio.

Sobre estas palabras del incomparable Tulio discurría un amante de la Humanidad poseído de la mayor tristeza El consideraba que mientras no reyne la verdadera Filosofia no puede reynar la Razon, y por consiguiente la felicidad del Universo. Este deséo de ver dichosos á los hombres encendió de tal modo su corazon y su Espiritu, que arrebatado por la vehemencia de un entusiasmo, produjo el siguiente

SONETO.

¿Quando, Madre Minerva, será el dia
Que lograrán los miseros mortales
Ver de una vez las luces celestiales
De la pura y veráz Filosofia?
¿Quando, dime, tu gran Sabiduría,
Libre de sombras y de iniquos males,
Gozarémos los pobres racionales
Cautivos al rigor de una manía?
Así exclamaba yo triste y lloroso
Una noche metido en el abismo
Del peripato á la razon odioso;
Mas de repente oí sobre mi mismo
Esta voz, que aun repito aquí miedoso:
¡El dia que muera el barbaro Ergotismo!

Afecciones astronómicas del dia de hoy.

El 5 de Luna crec. Sale á las 9, y 44 mtos. de la mañana. Se pone

á

APPENDIX G

THE INTRODUCTION TO ZEA'S "MEMORIAS PARA LA HISTORIA DEL NUEVO REYNO DE GRANADA"

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SUPLEMENTO.

A causa de no haber cabido en el numero anterior se quedò en la Imprenta el juicioso rasgo de eloqüencia que incluimos en este lugar considerando que en donde quiera será apreciable, y servirá de prueba à quanto hemos expuesto en nuestra Apologia. Su Autor (*) es un Joven, que por estos ensayos da esperanzas de ser algun dia, no solo un Varon ilustre en la Literatura, sino tambien un generoso Patriota de aquellos que se complacen en sacrificar en honor de su pais los bellos talentos que han recibido del Padre de las luces. Hemos extrahido dicha muestra de un Opusculo que actualmente trabaja con el titulo = *Memorias para servir á la Historia del Nuevo Reyno de Granada*; y por este pedazo de la introduccion se debe colegir el merito de lo demás.

..... » Las Naciones mas cultas han tenido sus dias de barbarie. Ninguna se puede lisongear de no haber pagado su tributo à la preocupacion, y al error. Yo abro la Historia y las veo ir saliendo de una profunda noche, pasar por entre sombras cada dia menos densas, y acercarse por grados insensibles á una perfecta ilustracion. Atenas no produce de un solo exfuerzo los Socrates, y los Demóstenes. Roma no vè de repente en su seno à los Virgilios, y à los Ciceriones. Si quisieramos subir hasta el origen de un Pueblo Sabio, si observaramos en la cuna à la Patria de Newton, quiza hallariamos los mismos defectos, y las mismas preocupaciones que en la nuestra. Una agricultura grosera, un comercio paralitico, las Artes todavia torpes, una sombra de industria, aquello preciso para aliviar las primeras necesidades del hombre en Sociedad: he aquí el primer estado de todas las Naciones. Crece la Poblacion, y

(*) *El Dr. D. Francisco Zéa, Alumno del Colegio de San Bartolomé de esta Ciudad, y empleado en la parte científica de la Real Expedicion Botánica.*

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y con ella las relaciones reciprocas, las necesidades reales ó faclicias, y el numero de los delitos. Ya se comienza à sentir la opresion del poderoso, la violencia del usurpador, la falta de medios de subsistir. El hombre sale como de un sueño, y conoce que necesita de una industria activa para sostenerse. Las lagrimas del pobre fecundan el ingenio del Ciudadano virtuoso, el corazon sensible, y el talento original unen sus fuerzas para aliviarlo: se arbitra, se inventa, se discurre, se van rectificando las ideas, y el Pueblo se hace industrioso y activo. Pero aun le falta mucho para llamarse ilustrado. ¡Qué preocupaciones obstinadas, qué errores, que extravagancias no hay que apurar para llegar à este estado, que es el ultimo punto, y como quien dice, la madurez de una Nacion! Pero sin embargo, tòdos los Pueblos irán succesivamente llegando à este termino de perfeccion. Solo que alguno pereciese en la cuna, y lo segaran en flor, podria dexar de producir los frutos de su especie. Pero ¿no se podrà decir que los hombres, como los arboles, degeneran y se hacen esteriles en otro suelo, y baxo de un clima ingrato? Esta es la paradoxa de Paw. El quiere que la especie humana haya degenerado en la America. Hollando atrebidamente las ilustres sombras de Peralta, y de Figueroa, olvidandose de Maldonado, y Piedrahita, cerrando los ojos para no ver à los Molinas, los Abades, y los Alegres, no quiere encontrar entre nosotros quien pueda componer un libro. Pero dexemos este maldiciente Filosofo. Diga lo que quisiere, tenemos demasiadas pruebas de que podemos ser sabios. No, no ha degenerado en este suelo la especie humana; antes ha producido individuos que la honran. Llegará un dia en que las Ciencias fixen aquí su habitacion: un dia en que las Naciones Sabias volviendo á entrar como la Grecia, en las tinieblas de donde salieron, vean brillar en este Continente la luz de la Filosofia. Ella se acercó hace treinta años á nosotros: Santafé hubiera sido la primera Ciudad de America, que hubie

biera desfrutado de la abundancia y felicidad, que siempre andan asidas de su sombra. Pero la despreciamos, y las lagrimas que ahora vertémos no la podrán hacer volver. Cerrados los ojos à la luz, y ahora tendremos no poco trabajo en recoger los pocos rayos que quedaron. A pesar de todo esto, yo no considero muy distantes los bellos dias de nuestra literatúra. Las necesidades que nos rodean nos hàn de hacer industriosos, y despues Sabios.

» Precisado, pues, por la historia literaria y por mis propias reflexiones, sobre las proporciones, genio, y estado del País, à que llegará este tiempo, y que quizà no dista un siglo, hé querido dexar á la posteridad estas memorias. Nuestros nietos, mas curiosos que nosotros, nada querrán ignorar de lo que hà pasado en nuestro tiempo. Nuestras opiniones, nuestras ideas, nuestros mismos errores, contribuirán à hacerlos Sabios. ¡Que admirados no quedarán al saber que en estos tiempos hubo hombres que puedan figurar en un siglo! Agradecidos al Padre de nuestra literatúra, al primer Filosofo (*) que puso sus plantas en este suelo, y derramó en él los tesoros de su sabiduría, le erigirán estatuas y monumentos, y regando con làgrimas el laurel de su sepulcro, lamentarán la desgracia de los grandes hombres que solo son conocidos quando yá no existen..... &c.

(*)

En fin, Señor Expectador, concluyamos de una vez nuestra Apologia. A mí me parece sobra con lo referido para convencer á Vd, y que de hoy en adelante se forme una idea mas digna y decorosa de los naturales de este fecundisimo País; á quien podiamos aplicar sin violencia aquella expresion de Latino Pacáto, quando en el Panegirico de Theodosio el Grande aseguraba (contra lo que en nuestros dias hán publicado los Franceses) que la hermosa España produce facundisimos Oradores y claros Poëtas: *Hæc facundissimos Oratores, hæc clarissimos Vates parit.* Si, Señor mio, esto mismo está can-

(*) *El Dr. D. Josèf Celestino Mutis.*

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tando la Justicia en elogio del Nuevo Reyno de Granada. Y entre tanto ¿que deberá hacer Vd? ¡Ah que empeño tan formidable! Cantar la palidónia al son de la ronca bocina, y destemplados timbáles: embainar la bayonéta: cambiar armas á la funerala, y marcharse por la misma parte donde vino, repitiendo en eco arrepentido y desengañado:

¡O MAGNA VIS VERITATIS!

(*)

Al tiempo de Imprimir este numero se ha conocido su extension, en cuya virtud ha sido preciso añadirle dos hojas mas: y quedando, por ultimo, este blanco, hemos querido llenarlo con el rasgo poëtico que sigue. Su Autor D. Miguel Silvestre de Luna, natural de esta Ciudad, en elogio del Poëma dedicado al Patriarca San Bruno, con el titulo = *La Feniz Cartuxana*; dado à luz el año de *1651*. por el Bachiller D. Pedro de Solis y Valenzuela hijo tambien de esta Ilustre Capital.

SONETO.

Canta, Cisne galan, que el Sacro Coro
De Fucha * escucha tu divino acento,
Y Bogotá * tambien responde atento
Al apluso que debe à tu decóro:
Ya de tu gravedad el eco adoro,
Y el alma y voz del lirico portento,
Pues tu solo pusiste al instrumento
Sobre trastes de plata cuerdas de oro.
Huya con pies de plata Galatèa,
Gigante del Parnaso, que en tu llama
Santa Diosa inmortal arder desea:
Que si tambien la Envidia te desama,
En ondas de cristal la lira Orfèa
En circulos del Sol irà à tu fama.

** Rios que corren por el Valle donde està situada la Ciudad de Santafé.

APPENDIX H

EXAMPLE OF POETRY PUBLISHED IN THE PAPEL PERIÓDICO

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de Santafé para consagrará la buena memoria de Don Tomás Yriarte el siguiente.

SONETO.

Muere el Cisne cantando suavemente,
Y tú, dulce CANARIO (*) así moriste;
Pero ¡ay dolor! que en solfa la mas triste
Por ti cantamos misero frangente!
No solo Apólo su sagrada frente
Del funebre Cipres, tragico viste,
No solo España en deplorar insiste
La falta de tu Numen refulgente;
Sino tambien la America, llorosa
Abre tus libros, y en qualquiera parte
Halla una mina de tu ciencia hermosa.
Vuelve á cerrarlos, vuelve á contemplarte,
Y al fin concluye triste y pesarosa:
¡Enmudeció la voz del dulce YRIARTE!

(*) *Alude al paxaro conocido por este nombre, cuyo canto es muy armonioso; y tambien á que el difunto era natural de la Isla de Tenerife, una de las Cánarias.*

NOTA.

En el numero siguiente saldrá una composicion métrica mas digna del merito de D. Tomás Yriarte, formada por dos Ilustres Señoras á quienes ha sido muy sensible su fallecimiento.

Con licencia del Superior Gobierno.

APPENDIX I

ARTICLE ON PUBLIC EDUCATION BY "UNA DAMA FILÓSOFA"

Núm. 238.

PAPEL PERIODICO

DE SANTAFE DE BOGOTA.

Viernes 1 *de Abril de* 1796.

REFLEXIONES DE UNA DAMA FILÓSOFA SOBRE UN PUNTO IMPORTANTE DE EDUCACION PUBLICA.

TODOS los Sabios convienen en que la època mas ilustre de la literatura ha sido incontextablemente la del Reynado de Augusto. Ya se ha hecho muy de moda hablar sobre esta materia con el mayor entusiasmo, y tenemos mas de un millon de resmas de papèl escritas en elogio de tan celebrado Siglo. Pero entre tanto que se llena otro igual numero, quisiera yo que se me sacase de esta duda que me atormenta demasiado. — ¿Què la Poësia, la Eloqüencia, y la Historia [unicas facultades en que sobresaliò aquella època] tienen algun privilegio divino para que ellas solas valgan por todo el complexo de nociones cientificas é ingeniosas á quien damos el general nombre de literatùra? — ¡Oh! ¡oh! ¡quanto nos gusta hablar con entusiasmo! Pero pasemos á otra cosa.

Està bien que los Griegos y los Romanos hiciesen tantos esfuerzos por llevar á la cumbre de la perfec-

feccion, y aun el mayor auge de la idolatria, si se me permite hablar asì, la finura del buen gusto en [illegible] Facultades: mas ahora entra nuestra grande quest[illegible] ¿La recta prudencia, nivelada por los principios mo[illegible] rales y politicos de la buena educacion, podrà per[illegible] tir que las Naciones Catolicas funden el objeto prin[illegible] pal de su ilustracion y cultura en adquirir con ese ardor entusiastico que se ha hecho de moda aquella fi[illegible] nura y amenidad que caracterizò al Siglo de Augusto? A mi entender èsto seria demasiado peligroso en los Pueblos Christianos. Parece una paradoxa; pero voy á demostrar la verdad de mi asèrto.

En todas las Naciones [incluyendo las Idolatras] ha sido siempre el principal objeto de la politica y plan gobernativo conciliar los animos en el amor respetuoso de la Religion establecida, sean quales fueren los dogmas y articulos de su creencia. La de los Griegos y Romanos estaba intima y esencialmente unida á los principios literarios que formaban su ilustracion y cultura, por cuya causa el mas Sabio en sus elementos cientificos èra tambien el mas bien educado en la Teologia de su Religion. Pero ¿què sucede en los pueblos catolicos? Vamos á verlo.

Como ahora el complexo cientifico que llamamos bella literatura ha crecido excesivamente, y no se le confieren los honores de Sabio ni de hombre de buen gusto á los que no se hallan ilustrados generalmente en toda esa vasta enciclopedia de nociones brillantes, es preciso pue los que quieren hacer figura en el Templo de Minerva [y casi ninguno piensa en otra cosa] miren con demasiado descuido, y aun con positiva aversion, el estudio de aquellas Ciencias sagradas cuyas maximas son las que verdaderamente ilustran al espiritu humano y lo hacen feliz en todos estados y fortunas. He aquí el unico origen de la ignorancia lastimosisima en que yacen esos grandes *Sabios* que destruyen hoy la felicidad pub[illegible]

publica de las Naciones. ¡Ay! quantos males resultan á la humanidad de ésa literatura amena y deliciosa! ¡Las gracias y bellezas triunfan de la solidez y de la Doctrina! Pero contraigamonos yà á determinados exemplos.

Yo no criticaré la conducta de Leon X como de un Sumo Pontifice, sino meramente como de un Principe Docto declarado Mecenas de la Literatura: lo veréo en el Solio, y voy á combatirlo en la Academia. Fué un Literato dotado de qualidades muy amables, generoso apreciador del talento original, de festivo genio; pero excesivamente declarado por aquellas amenidades cientificas que mas sirven de diversion que de utilidad. De aqui provino, que elevado al Supremo Trono del Universo empezó á dispensar francamente su proteccion á todos los profesores de las Facultades amenas, honrando sus estudios con sobresalientes distinciones; y yá, ò por adular á tan alto Principe, ó por hacer una fortuna brillante, se convirtiò toda la educacion literaria de su tiempo en cortejar apasionadamente á las Musas, hasta hacer que el mismo Vaticàno se transformase en un Parnaso delicioso. ¡Què lastimosa época para los estudios serios y sagrados! ¡Què desgracia para la verdadera Sabiduria! Yo, en realidad, no sè bàxo de que aspecto han aplaudido todos los Autores Italianos la sublime ilustracion del Siglo *decimosexto*, llamandolo el mas feliz de la Literatura. El Abate Tiraboschi dice lleno de mas entusiasmo que Homero quando cantaba su Odisèa: "Aunque no tuviera el Siglo XVI la gloria de haber producido tantos hombres insignes, lo harian famoso para siempre los nombres del Ticiano, de Rafaél, de Buonarruti, y de Corregio..... La misma idèa harà de un Siglo tan celebrado el que estè medianamente instruido en la historia de la Literatura Italiana. &c"

Vuelvo á repetir, que los que hablan asi son unos meros

1390
meros entusiastas; ó tratandolos con mas indulgencia pu-
demos decir, que proceden equivocados, confundiendo
notablemente las ideas de las cosas. Aunque en aque-
lla época sobresaliò el espiritu de cultura y de amenidad,
no por eso debemos decir, que ese mismo espiritu fuese el
de solidez y de Sabiduria, unico objeto á que deben di-
rigirse todos los conatos de la literatura. Si la educa-
cion universal de los Pueblos no se funda en los inalte-
rables principios de las Ciencias graves y sagradas, ¿á
que fin util nos podran conducir los estudios amenos y
deliciosos? ¡Què digno de risa y de desprecio seria
aquel hombre que no teniendo mas heredad que un Cam-
po de labor lo sembrase todo de rosas, lirios, y cla-
veles, mas bien que de Arboles fructiferos! No pue-
esto se entienda que es mi intento ridiculizar y hacer
odioso aquel genero de estudios. Seria demasiada de-
mencia negar, que esas nociones á quienes damos el
nombre de bellaliteratura" ponen [como se explicaba
un Sabio] en movimiento los espiritus, elevan el Alma,
y al paso que la deleitan, penetran al corazon, y ex-
citan en èl el fuego tierno de la sensibilidad; que ilus-
man y dan calor á la fantasia; adornan el entendimien-
to con la gracia y dulzura de las pasiones; todo lo
qual las hace sumamente agradables, y su verdadera defi-
nicion es llamarlas bellas, humanas, y graciosas. &c.

Pero nada de esto debe preferirse á la utilidad esen-
cialisima y constante que nos producen en todas edá-
des, tiempos, y fortunas los estudios serios y sagrados.
Es cierto que el hombre por su natural propension ama
siempre lo que le deleita, y mira con enfado todos los
objetos que exîgen de èl una aplicacion asidua y labo-
riosa. Confieso que los estudios graves no inspiran en
nuestro animo la festiva complacencia que los amenos,
porque, como discurria el mismo Sabio que citè ante-
" son especulaciones profundas, preceptos molestos, e
tudios retricos, abstractos y severos, donde no se en-
cu-

cuentran gracias ni atractivos, flores ni encantos, mucho menos sentimientos afectuosos ni dulzuras agradables, sino prolixidad y aspereza, aplicacion continua y trabajo pesado."

Tales son las penosas fatigas á que fuè condenado el hombre desde el dia que perdiò en Edèm la rectitud de la razon por haberse dexado dominar del vanidoso deseo de ser tan Sabio como Dios. Para volver á adquirir alguna cosa de lo perdido es necesario poner de su parte todo ese improbo desvèlo y constante aplicacion en el estudio de las Facultades que rectifican el espiritu, oprimen las pasiones, y nos abren el camino real de la Sabiduria. Por lo mismo deben ser éstas las estimadas y preferidas en todo tiempo, como que en ellas consiste nuestra felicidad. Las otras no hay duda que sirven de muchisimo adorno al entendimiento, y que le comunican cierto gusto y penetracion casi universal sobre todos los objetos preciosos que hermosèan la vasta maquina del Mundo. Un *humanista* completo [aunque estos siempre han sido muy raros] es un hombre que se distingue con bizarria y brillantèz entre la demas multitud de esos vanidosos Literatos que preciados de consumados humanistas, no son otra cosa en la realidad que unos miseros eruditos á la violèta cuyas composiciones son otros tantos plagios, que si algo tienen de nuevo y original es solamente el titulo de la pieza bàxo del qual se reunen los màlsurcidos retazos que se han extrahido de las Poliantèas, y otras obras de este genero. No son estos los profesores de bella literatura que aplaudimos aquí; aunque si es la pintura exactisima de los que aspirando á poseèr una erudicion omnicia y enciclopedica, [segun la moda del dia] vienen á confundirse en el informe Càhos de sus nociones, y á quedarse tan vacios de doctrina como llenos de la vanidad de literatos. Pero contraigamonos yà mas directamente á nuestro asunto.

Es cierto, que en los escritos de los Padres de la Igle-

Iglesia, Chrisostomo, Geronimo, Ambrosio, Agustin, Basilio, y los demàs, resplandece un fondo de amenidad y de bellaliteratura tan sublime como oportunamente acomodado á las sagradas materias que tratàron aquellos preclarisimos Ingenios. Ellos son consumados Retoricos, Letras Divinos, Criticos eminentes, Historiadores, Naturalistas, Astronomos, Geografos, Mitologos, Numismaticos, en una palabra, casi no hay ningun ramo de bella erudicion de que no hayan hecho un uso magistral y cientifico en sus peregrinas òbras. Pero ¡ay! ¿endonde estàn aquellos talentos prodigiosos? ¿aquella aplicacion asidua? ¿aquel amor á la Sabiduria por ella misma? ¿aquella abstraccion del comercio humano? ¿aquel metodo de las Academias de Atenas y de Roma? Y por decirlo de una vez: ¿aquella purèza de costumbres, sin la qual [como decia Platòn] es imposible que se pueda hacer fortuna solida en la Corte de Minerva? — La respuesta es bien facil, pero se queda en piè la dificultad del argumento.

Desengañemonos: los estudios amenos solo deben abrazàrse con la mira de que sirvan de adornos á las Ciencias graves y no de ostentoso luxo de erudicion: debemos hacer uso de ellos como de un gracioso y peregrino engaste en que brille con todo el lleno de su esplendor la inestimable margarita de la verdadera y solida sabiduria. Tal ha sido simpre, ò debe ser, el objeto primario y esencialisimo del complexo literario á quien damos el nombre de *humanidades*. Pero emplear todos los conatos de la voluntad y aplicacion en poseèr solamente estas facultades amenas y agradables, y de preferirlas con tan fervoroso entusiasmo á aquellas sobre que estrivan los sagrados fundamentos de la educacion christianopolitica, eso debe mirarse como el principio mas funesto de la corrupcion de costumbres, como preludio terrible de un gran trastorno en la solida moral, y como el origen mas cierto de las calamitosas guerras que combate

el

el Divino Imperio de la Virtud. Si se combinan estas reflexiones con los acontecimientos actuales, no puede quedar la mas leve duda en la materia.

Al llegar aqui me acordè oportunamente de aquella sencilla confesion que se le escapò al Abate Tiraboschi despues de haber ponderado con expresiones entusiasticas la generosa proteccion que el Papa Leon X dispensaba á los estudios amenos. Es muy digna de que la insertemos en nuestro Discurso.— Dice primero el Escritor Italiano en elogio del gran Mecenas y Padre de las Letras: " Eran magnificas y explendidas las Cenas „ que se daban en el Vaticano en tiempo de Le„ on: en medio de las viandas mas esquisitas y li„ cores preciosos, competian los Poëtas en dàr muestras „ de su numen."— Tales son sus expresiones estampadas al fol. 14 del Tomo 7. Pero despues de aplaudir con el mayor entusiasmo ésta brillante proteccion dispensada generosamente á los profesores de los estudios amenos, se le escapan al Sabio y juiciosisimo Tiraboschi estas otras tan de molde y sobre papel tan fino como las primeras. Registrese el fol. 16 del citado Tomo, á ver si son las mismas: " Lo que hizo mas daño á „ la Iglesia, fue que habiendose declarado Leon tan „ amigo de la Poesia y Letras humanas, no se puso „ mucho cuidado en las Ciencias graves; y habiendo na„ cido por entonces varias heregias nuevas, no se hallò „ ni la abundancia, ni la calidad de defensores que la „ Iglesia necesitaba."— ¿Pues adonde estaban los grandes Maestros de la varia y esquisita erudicion, que dieron tanta gloria al Siglo decimosexto? ¿Que se habian hecho los amenisimos Ingenios de la Arcadia, aquellos celeberrimos Autores de las Novelas divertidas, de los Romances heroicos, y de las Canciones eròticas?

¡Què error tan lastimoso es preferir las obras del ingenio á las del juicio! ¡Què desgracia tan lamentable es, que en el Alcàzar de Minerva anden confun-

didos

1394
didos los frutos con las flores! Concluyamos de una vez: La Sabiduria que hade hacer feliz al Universo, no puede consistir sino en los estudios Clàsicos, en los cos elementos de la conducta prudente y virtuosa. El luxo de erudicion amena en que los bellos ingenios quieren fundar la gloria de la literatura, solo sirve, y servirà en todos tiempos, para corromper las costumbres y precipitar en el abismo de la perdicion à todos los Reynos que quieran imitar la cultura del de Francia. En una palabra: las bellas letras solo hande servir para honesto recreo del animo, y para mayor esplendor de las Ciencias utiles, como discurria el Sabio Peragut en sus Hombres ilustres, hablando de este modo: "La Teologia vino á ser el puerto en que *Petravio* termino toda su carrera literaria: en ella hizo lucir quanto ameno y excelente habia estudiado en todas materias."

Tales son las reflexiones y los deseos de la Dama Filosofa.

BELLO PLAN PARA ADQUIRIR SIN TRABAJO ALGUNO la honra y el provecho en la Republica literaria.

EPIGRAMA.

Si ostentàr quieres gran Sabiduria
Toma, Làuro, cien textos de memoria,
Varios retàzos de Eloqüencia, Historia,
Politica, Derecho, y Poesia:
Empieza, pues, con alta algarabìa
A vaciar tu talego de memòria,
Censura [entre parentesis] la gloria
De los Sabios antiguos y del dia.
Di que aquellos han sido unos pedantes
Sin eleccion, sin gusto, sin talento,
Y que estos otros son meros copiantes.
Con este bello plan, en un momento
Empleos y aplausos lograràs brillantes,
¿Y què importa que Lauro sèa un Jumento?

APPENDIX J

THE RECTOR OF ROSARIO DISAPPROVES THE TEACHING OF COPERNICUS, 1796

Señor:

Parece q.e quando la Sab.a General, y Alt.a Junta de Estudios de esta Capl. previno se siguiesen las Doctrinas del Abb.o Sto Thomas: como sanas, y ajustadas à todos los Evangelios, tenia muy pres.te los actuales tiempos en q.e alumbrados Sabiamente Varios Emprendim.tos querian de otra ser Celebrar con ap.a la engañosa Cordialidad de muchos Filosofos modernos, que con axtificio mode dirigen los animos al Verbalismo, y confusion: Con cuyo pleno Conocim.to previno igualm.te la misma Junta disp.a p.a q.e los Jovenes de este Illustre Colegio no quedasen otra Vez, al nacer en sus Estudios, q.e la Emulsionada y pura enseñanza p.r el Aug.o D.r q.e se mutuasen previam.te en la Filosofia p.r el Rmo P.e Fr. Ant.o Casimiro p.r sezeleste concusam.te la mas Segura segun los Dogmas del mismo Orden, y q.e p.r Sus Grados se tomasen los Actos p.s los Grados en esta Facultad.

De aqui fue q.e viendo Vos del mas perfecto Zelo, como Vice-Patrono de este Colegio mandò lo mismo, y confiando de los Rectores el cumplim.to añadio q.e estos Viesen, y à ello estubiesen Atentos los Cathed.cos p.a la pureza en su observancia, y logro de la Juventud: poniendo en Sup.a Aluzo lleno todo de Satisfacion.

El D.r D.n Joan Fran.co Marquez Cathed.co de Filosofia sin respeto à esta Sabia, y Superior Disposicion, desmereciendo el Gasto se ha embebido en el Sygnamento Authora Moderno, y opuesto à aquel; y sin embargo de haver sido Vencido todo, y perfuadido à la debida Obediencia, p.a Abandonar mis prevenciones anteriores à los Superiores, propuso p.a Sabatinas en el Clav.o immed.to para Sabo convidando con Asertos el Systhema Copernicano. Este Systhema es abiertam.te contrario à Varios

expressissimos terminos de la Sagrada Escriptura, y tanto, q.e el Doctissimo P.e Feyjoò en el tomo 3.o de las Cartas eruditas, Carta 20.a n. 26.a hablando al fin sobre este mismo Sy-
„ thema dice asi: Yo por mi proprio, q.e si en esta question no fa-
„ gasen, sino razones filosoficas, y Mathematicas, seria el mas fino
„ Copernicano del mundo. Pero el mal es, q.e despues de apurado
„ todo lo q.e hay de Philosophia, y Mathematica en la materia fa-
„ vorable contra Copernico un Argumento de mucha Sup.a clase à to-
„ dos los q.e se han alegado, ò alegan a su favor. Y cual es este
„ Argumento? Es aquel que se toma de la autoridad de la Escriptura en varias
„ partes de las quales està tan expuesto, q.e la Tierra està inmovil,
„ y el Sol gyra al rededor de ella, q.e Solo Recurriendo à interpre-
„ taciones Violentas se puede mantener contra tan poderosa
„ fuerza el Systema Copernicano.

El mismo Feyjoò concluye su Carta, despues de responder à los Contrarios con un Argumento, ò Ratiocinacion, que, siguiendo el Aristotelico en su Philosophia, y su Sentir, aun siendo Moderno, convence con sus Razones.

Este mismo Systema lo rechaza el Pe. Laudin en la 2.a, parte de su Fisica. Disput. unica. quæst. 4.a Articulo 2.o S. 1.o donde dice: Systema Copernici admitti nequit, imo quæ fuit damnatum ut temerarium, qd scripturæ manifeste faciat, et à fide Catholica abducat.

El mismo Systema fue en su opinion condenado p.r la Sagrada Congregacion de Paulo 5.o y Urbano 8.o contra Galileo, q.e la asentaba. De modo q.e el Sabio Eduardo Corsini Cathed.co de los Clerigos Regulares en la Academia Pisana, reflexionando estas Condenaciones dice: Solemnitez Velut exsecrandum Sacrisque literis contrarium ejuravit, ut notis fuit temporibus non nisi ab iis, quos à Catholica Ecclesia sinu innovandi cupiditas avulsit defendatur.

Ahora: el Respeto q.e la Sagrada Congregacion se merece en materias tan dificultosas, es, con constancia de la Verdad, no menor q.e si la Sagrada Congregacion, en su interpretacion del Evangelio tiene fuerza de Ley p.r las facultades concedidas p.r los Summos Pontifices, en las de las Sagradas Letras, y su Defensa, quando no hagan Ley, hazen à lo menos q.e se miren con Veneracion, p.a no atropellar las p.r un Atrevimiento, contra q.l asi los Antiguos, como los mas Modernos Sabios, y Christianamente creyentes, se-

nio entre otros à mas de los citados se verà à Fortunato de Brescia, quien en su Clica proposition 2ª pag. milli 140. Clausamente dice: Copernicanum Mundi Systema sanctæ Scripturæ aperte Contrarium est. 631

Con todo estos fundam.tos y otros muchos q.e omito p.r no cansar la atencion de V.Sa no quise conceder à Dn Sabatino, y proseg.o q.e ni esta, ni otras questiones permitia se defendiesen en Conclusiones, assi p.r no ser Nouelas; como p.r q.e el citado Cathed.co Vasquez teniendo regio Juram.to de Seguir, y defender la Doctrina de S.to Tomas, no podia separarse de ella; y mas quando al ingresso à esta Cathed.a p.r las salencias, ò Defecto de D.r Valenzuela, q.e era el Cathed.co propietario, Juxò el Referido D.r Vasquez de nuevo Cumplir Cabalm.te y Con Arreglo à los Vltimos Estatos, y Disposiciones Justissimas, y Christianas de V.Sa.

De este mi procedimiento, y sin otro motivo ha dimanado q.e el Referido D.r Vasquez mudandose Voluntariam.te, à su Casa, sin mi Juram.to del Sig.r Dec.to de V.Sa, q.e se lo reprehendi, y manda viva el Cathed.co de Filosofia en el Coleg.o y Sig.to en sus lecciones ord.rias, ha abandonado la Cathed.a y me ha escrito la adjunta Carta q.e incluso Sò emnem, à V.Sa, en la q.e se vè que aun con espresa de ningun me dà el Tratam.to de y.o y Rey.e de Estilo; quando el, ni quienes le influyen no son Capaces de Contestarme, ni responder mis Objeciones.

De lo q.e y de q.e haviendo Yo comensado à establecer el mas fino, arreglo, examinando abusos, y Corrigiendo Vicios, demanda quien en Cauda el Fuego de su Oblig.n o.r q.e no se cumplia como era debido, sino con paralelas, olvidados del methodo acreysolado de Sig.o y medio, q.e tiene la fundac.n este Colegio.

Por tanto, pues V.Sa es no Solo su Protectora p.a este, y semejantes casos, sino la fuente de la Just.a y donde se hallan depositadas todas las Pr.s facultades p.r todo Caso, y tiene las mas pron-

tes dias, y Conocam.ta p.r el Asiento, y de este Colegio
p.a su Reparo: Ocurro postrado suplicando se obligue
al Lic.do D.n Juan Fran.co Vazquez à Concluir el Curso
filosofico, pues solo faltan ya poco mas de tres meses
p.a su finalizacion, y aun.do no faltara tan poco tiem-
po, por razones q.e expuesto à ello, quando entrò à la Cate-
dra, q.e se entiende de tiempo fixo y determinado, que de
be completar p.r fuerza, y p.r el bien pub.co, y del mis-
mo Colegio: Obligandole V.Exc.a, q.e se reponga al
mismo Colegio, y se Arregle al Sup.co Decreto
V.Exc.a tan Justam.te puesto, y dese. incluso Copiado. Copia sin inconveniente
ner de questiones: con perfecc.n del Curso de su Cargo,
y dar no haviendo Arbitrio p.r hallarnos al fin
Dios Nro Señor que la importante vida de
V.Exc.a p.r dilatados Años p.r bien de este Colegio
Vn.a de N.ra S.ra del Ros.o de Sta Fe, Abril 5.n de
1796.

P.D.

En Vltimo, he reflexionado, y tenido à bien
incluir à V.Exc.a Original la Sup.ca provid.a
dada en igual Caso p.r q.e se digne V.Exc.a en
conseq.a de ella obligar al insinuado D.n Val-
quez à volverse prontam.te al Colegio, y cum-
plir y finalizar como debe en su Cathedra
el Curso, q.e està à rendirse en el proximo Ju-
lio: y q.e pues se empeño modo de proceder
sin motivo en digno de Castigo en su Carre-
ra, y reviva V.Exc.a igualm.te dar una pro-
p.a Cathedra de Concluex semejantes Volun-
tariedades sin reparo alguno à las Superio-
res prevenciones, de q.e han querido abusar
sin recelar alguno. Y Sup.a à V.Exc.a de me
dedigna la orden al pronto.m.te en este tiempo
mada Justam.te V.Exc.a p.r Arreglada, como
lo estimad= Vt Supra
Martinez Rubio

Exmo Señor.

D.r D.n Antonio Nicolas
Martinez Rubio

Exmo S.r Dn Jose de Espeleta

Santafe y

APPENDIX K

AN INVITATION TO CONCLUSIONES IN MEDICINE, 1806

Para el Acto Publico de Conclusiones del Curso Medico que comenzo, el año pasado se exponen los puntos siguientes deducidos de la Anatomia del Cuerpo Humano.

1. Explicar y numerar todos los Huesos del Esqueleto.

2. Explicar y numerar todos los Musculos.

3 Sostener 1.º q.e la causa q. dispone del movim.to muscular es la irritabilidad de las fibras del musculo. 2 Que la causa q. excita á la contraccion del musculo es el influxo del Fluido nervio, impelido p.r la voluntad de la Alma.

Defenderá D.n José Maria Valenzuela bajo la direccion del Cat.co D. Mig.l Ysla Cathe.co de Medicina p.r R.l Nombram.to en este Colegio Mt. de V. S. del D. el Dia 9 de Julio del año corriente de 1836.

Exmo. Sr. Dr. Ysla

En Dada la O. de la mañana.

APPENDIX L

FIRST PAGE OF PRINTED MEDICAL THESIS, 1806

16 1
001

THESES ANATOMICÆ, MEDICÆ ET CHIRURGICÆ.

DE CALCULO HUMANO.

Quas tueri conabitur Michael Dominguez et Flores, Præside D. D. Michaele Isla Medicinę Cathedræ Moderatore Regio in hoc Mayori Statutique Colegio Deiparæ Virginis à Rosario.

Die 8 Julij anni 1806.

1.° *In calculo renum et vesicæ, pro natura calculi, ætate et temperamento ægrotantis, remedium Alkalino-Saponaceum Anglicum juxta methodum Boerhavii adhibendum.*

2.° *Ergo reni calculoso integro ferrum non est utendum.*

M. H. A.

Libreria del Rosario

APPENDIX M

CAMILO TORRES' NOTES FOR THE DEFENSE OF JUAN JOSÉ AND NICOLÁS HURTADO,. CHARGED WITH SEDITION

Instruccion que damos yo D. Joseph Camilo de Torres, y yo Luis de Ovalle, residentes en ésta Capital de Santafé de Bogotá Nuevo Reyno de Granada, como curadores ad itim, el primero de D. Juan Joseph, y el segundo de D. Nicolas Hurtado, de orden de D. Vicente Hurtado su Padre, vecino de la Ciudad de Popayán a Don. Sebastían Martín de Rosas, Agente de Negocios de la Villa y Corte de Madrid para que mediante el poder que con esta misma familia le dirigimos, pueda presentarse ante su Majestad, sus Supremos Consejos ú otros Tribunales, á manifestar la innocencia de los citados D. Juan Joseph y D. Nicolas, y obtener una completa absolucion de los cargos, que se les hayan hecho, ó les resulten, en la causa de pesquiza general, que con motivo de ciertos pasquines sediciosos, que aparecieron en las calles de esta Ciudad el 19 de Agosto del ano pasado de 94, se ha seguido de oficio y reservadamente por los Ministros de esta Real Audiencia, y de cuyas resultas fueron arrestados y se hallan presos en el Cuartel del Batallon de Auxiliar de esta Capital Don Juan Joseph y Don Nicolas; sinque hasta el presente se les haya oydo en élla y para cuya resolucion se cree haberse dado cuenta a su Magestad con testimonio de todo lo actuado en el particular.

Don Nicolas y Don Juan Joseph Hurtado por su Padre y por su Madre son hijos de las primeras familias del

Reyno, y vinieron a la Capital de Santafé á seguir la carrera de sus estudios que han comenzado en Popayán; vistiendo la beca de este Colegio Mayor de Nuestra Señora del Rosario, en donde se mantuvieron desde su venida hasta el tiempo de su prision, con la honradez propia de su buen nacimiento y de los sanos principios de educacion que recibieron de sus Padres y sin dar la menor nota de su conducta, ni motivo á sus Superiores y Maestros para la mas leve reprehension. Y este juicioso proceder les había acarreado tambien la estimacion de cuantos los habian llegado á conocer.

Así continuaron sus estudios quando el 19 de Agosto citado parecieron en esta Ciudad los pasquines referidos, que tanta consternacion han causado en él Reyno en todo el espacio de tiempo, que ha corrido desde entonces hasta ahora, y de cuya resultas padecen estos Sugetos y otros tantos infelices.

Con motivo de estos pasquines, cuyos autores fueron cuatro jovenes temerarios, que se hallan presos en la Carcel de Corte de esta Ciudad, se comenzó al mismo tiempo que la causa de estos, otra de pesquiza general, fundada en idea de haber cierta conspiracion formada contra el Estado, del que se creía ser un efecto los pasquines, y al que dieron fomento mil calumniosas delaciones de gentes miserables y perdidas que ocurrieron en tropel á

dar denuncios vagos, temerarios y falsos contra varias personas del Lugar, llevadas tal vez de privados resentimientos, del deseo de aparentar fidelidad, ó de hacer fortuna por un medio iniquo y reprobado.

Entre esta tuvieron la desgracia de ser incluidos los Hurtados, de quienes se dixo haber tenido en su cuarto de havitacion en el Colegio, tertulias, donde discurriendose sobre las turbaciones de la Francia se habia desendido á tratar del Reyno y de la posibilidad de adoptarse en él las maximas de aquella Nacion. Yo omito discurrir sobre lo despreciable de un rumor ó delacion semejante, de unos miserables Colegiales que no se hallaban en estado de comprehender las ideas de la Francia, y de que apenas tenian la noticia que ministraban los papeles publicos de la Capital. Lo cierto es que esta fué el principio de su desgrascia y su persecucion. El 5 de Diciembre del año pasado se los sacó del Colegio, se los conduxo á casa del Ministro de esta Audiencia Don Juan Hernandez de Alba, comisionado para la actuacion de la pesquisa general, y desde alli ignominiosamente, con soldados á las tres de la tarde por las calles publicas de la Ciudad, al cuartel en donde se los mantuvo mucho tiempo privados de comunicacion, y aun de la luz, en cuanto por separado y en donde se hallan hasta el presente, aunque ya sin la estrechez que al principio.

Ellos ignoraron en su prision los motivos de su arresto, hasta el dia en que se les tomó su confesion, y por ella supieron los cargos que se les hacien, y los sujetos que habian dado los denuncios [Illegible]. 1o. A D. Juan Joseph se le hizo primeramente el de haber dicho a un tal Benitez, moso vago, notoriamente perdido, y de vilisima extraccion, á quien jamas habia tratado, las siguientes proposiciones: 1a. quien estuviera en Paris. 2a. Lea algunos libros que yo se los facilitaré. 3a. Los rebeldes quedarán pasados a cuchillo. Negó el cargo, asegurando no haberse hallado jamas solo con el tal Benitez, como este afirmaba haber estado el dia que aseguraba haberle dicho estas proposiciones, que ya se dexa conocer por sí mismas quan vagas, quan inconexas y despreciables son para proceder sobre ellas á hacer cargos a ninguno.

2o. Hizosele lo segundo, el de haber tenido con Pablo Uribe uno de los Autores de los pasquines, conversaciones en el Colegio, y fuera de él, en que se decía haberse vertido estas otras proposiciones: El Francés vencerá; el nos pondrá en libertad con lo que se acabara la nobleza, y con ella tantos pleitos: que los acaudalados ayudarían con sus caudales. Negó el cargo, citado por testigos de la falsedad de Uribe á varios sugetos que se habian hallado presentes en los cuartos de el Colegio donde se decia haberse tenido semejante conversacion.

Es de advertir, que el tal Uribe esta convencido de perjurio en su causa de los pasquines, y que se retractó el mismo de lo que había dicho, luego que se le afloxo algun tanto la presion en que se le habia tenido.

3o: hizosele tambien cargo de haberse proyectado tomar las armas, en estas conversaciones, quando los Soldados se hallasen fuera del Cuartél oyendo misa, ó quando hubiesen salido á apagar el fuego que se le hubiere puesto á una casa; con otros dos proyectos de que no se acuerda por que fué en la confesion la primera vez que los oia.

4o. que Don Joseph Arelláno, otro de los Autores de los pasquines, hombre de pesima conducta, Mercader alzado en perjuicio de sus acreedores, y que despues de haberse casado con el objeto de aprovecharse de la dote de su Muger y de haberla disipado la tenía abandonada, mientras el pasába una vida vaga y sin destino; que este sugeto (que se denunció asi mismo, y á sus complices luego que se vió perdido, calumniando á cuantos otros le traxo su malignidad á la memoria) habia dicho: que en casa de D. Antonio Nariño y en el Colegio del Rosario habia Juntas de veinte personas, segun se lo habia comunicado Don Luis Gomez (su compañero en la formacion de los pasquines); en las que se trataban aquellos proyectos. Respondío Hurtado á este y al antecedente

cargo, no haber pensado ni haberse tratado semejantes cosas; y que aunque era cierto que habian ido algunas veces Urîbe y Don Joseph Maria Duran y otro complice en los pasquines, al Colegio; habia ido a visitar a los parientes que tenian en él, y que si habian concurrido con ellos algunos sugetos en un mismo cuarto, esto ni era ni podia llamarse Junta, pues la que lo era propiamente tal, suponía citacion, hora y lugar; cosas que no habian precedido.

5o. Que Don Sinforoso Mutis Colegial del mismo Colegio, y preso tambien por ésta causa, habia dicho, que "en el Colegio se sonaba ser las tertulias del cuarto de los Hurtados, Juntas de libertad, y que entre los Juristas se sostenía la opinión de no deberse declarar semejantes cosas, aun baxo de juramento." Respondío ser falso uno y otro, y que no podría señalar el mismo Mutis persona á quien se lo hubiese oydo.

Los cargos que se le hicieron á Don Nicolas Hurtado son poco más ó menos los mismos, pero para mayor instruccion del Apoderado se expondrán con la misma individualidad, que los de su hermano menor Don Juan Joseph.

1o. Se le quiso hacer complice y sabedor de la pretendida conspiracion que se averiguaba, con el dicho de Don Pablo Urîbe, que aseguró, que en cuarto de Don Miguel Gomez, a quien visitaba por pariente, oyó decir, que

varios sugetos, que nombra, de los Principales de ésta Capital, tenían idéas revolucionarias, y pensában verificarlas: que en dicha conversacion se hallaron Don Miguel Gomez, Don Antonio Cortez, Don Angel Manrique, y el mismo Don Nicolas Hurtado; pero no se acordaba, quien de los cuatro había vertido aquella especie. Respondio: ser enteramente falso que alguna vez le hubiese dicho semejante cosa á Uribe; siendo prueba de ello, no haber tratado jamas [ni?] tenido amistad, ni hablado en parte alguna con ninguno de los sugetos que refiere; por cuya razon era imposible que supiese su modo de pensar, y mucho menos que tuviere la ligereza de aventar una proposicion semejante. Es de advertir que Uribe se desdixo de esto en la ratificación que se le tomó como deciamos antes con motivo de la causa de Don Antonio Nariño sobre impresion de cierto papel, que se ha seguido por separado.

2o. que el mismo Uríbe aseguraba que varias veces solian juntarse en el cuarto de los Hurtados hasta diez sugetos que lo eran los citados Gomez, Cortez, Manrique, D. Miguel Valenzuela, D. Joseph Maria Cabal, D. Luis Gomez, D. Joseph Maria Durán, él, y los dos Hurtados (que todos se hallan presos de resulta de esta pesquiza) en donde se hablaba de la libertad francesa con relacion á los modos de establecerse en éste Reyno, y proponiendo los proyectos de tomar las armas, de que se ha hablado

arriba; conseguido lo qual, los ricos y acaudalados gastarian su dinero para que tomase partido el Pueblo y entrase en la revolucion. A todo lo qual respondió: faltaba enteramente Uribe á la verdad; pues jamas ni en su cuarto, ni en ninguna otra parte había oído tratar, ni á él, ni á ninguno de los sugetos que citaba, de semejantes proyectos, ni de libertad francesa (cuyo sistema había mirado siempre con horror) con alusion al Reyno; y que si alguna vez habia rodado la conversacion sobre ésta materia, habría sido solo de las noticias, que corrian, en aquel modo que las anuncian los papeles publicos, y como era licito á todos hablar de ellas. En prueba de lo qual se tendría presente que de los sugetos citados Don Antonio Cortez, y los Hurtados vivian en un mismo cuarto, y Manrique y Don Míguel Gomez asistian en él con frecuencia, con motivo de comer y refrescar a una misma mesa; que Don José Maria Cabal aunque estuvo algunas veces en el colegio de visita por haber sido condicipulo de los Hurtados en el de Popayán, jamas concurrío ni con Uribe, ni con los otros que cita en su calumniosa delacion: que Don Joseph Maria Durán no habia ido sino dos veces á su cuarto solo, y por pura amistad; que jamas vió Hurtado que la casualidad juntase en él, mas de cuatro de los de fuera; y que siendo su havitacion tan reducida é incapaz de contener tanto numero de sugetos, como afirmába Uribe; y hallandose en

un lugar tan publico y expuesto á la vista de los demas colegiales y superiores, no podrían haberse ocultado a unos, ni á otros, tertulias que les son prohibidas; y el simple reconocimiento de ella podria haber desengañado al Juez, y haber hecho patente ésta verdad: que Uribe, las pocas veces que fué al Colegio, fué solo, y con el fin de recibir algunas lecciones en la version del idioma francés, de Don Miguel Gomez su paisano, y su pariente y finalmente, que la negativa y los descargos de Hurtado, asi en este, como en los demas particulares de su confesión, están conformes con las de los demas sugetos citados por Uribe.

3o. Haber dicho tambien este, haber oído á uno de los de la tertulia (aunque no se acuerda á quien) que oxalá saliera bien la Francia para que se acabará la nobleza, y no hubiera tantos pleitos. A lo que respondió: no haber oído semejante proposicion: que lo unico de que se acordaba era, haber reflexionado una vez sobre el capricho de algunas personas que aman tanto la nobleza, que pierden por ella matrimonios ventajosos, y otras comodidades, de lo que se originaban varios pleitos; pero que no se había pasado adelante ni se había hablado mal de la nobleza en general, ni de ningun sugeto en particular.

4o. Que Don Sinforoso Mutis decia en su confesion tener mala fama el cuarto de los Hurtados en el Colegio,

por la entrada de Uribe y Gomez, y que habia oído decir se hablaba en el de libertad. Contestó; que Mutis no tenía motivo para afirmar semejante falsedad, que si fuese cierta tal mala fama, sería facil averiguarla, y para ello pedia que se tomase declaracion de todos los individuos del Colegio, para ver si alguna vez habian oído se hubiere hablado en su cuarto alguna cosa de las que supone Mutis.

5o. que este muchacho había afirmado tambien, que entre los Juristas del Colegio se sostenía la opinion, de que hemos hablado arriba, de que el Juramento, no óbligaba en daño de tercero, y que por esto jamas diria ninguno la verdad sin ser [illegible] con el tormento. Respondió: que jamas había oído decidir, sostener, ni proponer proposicion semejante: que el contrario habia llevado la christiana opinion de que obliga el Juramento en conciencia, siempre que una persona sea legitimamente preguntada por el Juez, y que ésta era la que se enseñaba y sostenia en el Colegio: finalmente que aunque el Don Nicolas era Jurista no habia cursado con Mutis el Derecho, ni podía saber sus opiniones. Es de advertir que tambien este Mutis se desdixo en la ratificacion, que se le tomo en la causa de Nariño; no habiendo podido hacerlo en la de pesquiza general por no haber llegado éste caso ni haber pasado hasta ahora del sumario.

Estos son los cargos y respuestas que han comunicado haberseles hecho, y haber dado en sus confesiones los mismos Hurtados; pues esta causa se ha manejado con tanta reserva, que el proceso solo lo han visto los Ministros de la Real Audiencia, y para su actuacion desconfiando de todos los Escribanos de la Capital, se vatió el Juez comisionado de los Militares Españoles que hicieron de testigos.

Es de advertir lo. que hasta hoy despues de año y cuatro meses, sin embargo de las vivisimas, y repetidas instancias de los interesados, y de Real Orden, que se dice haber venido á consecuencia de sus representationes á su Magestad para que les oyga y se siga su cause conforme á derecho; no lo han podido conseguir; ni tampoco que se les relaxe la carceleria baxo de fianza para salir dentro de los Arrabales de la Ciudad; sino que continuá todavia su prison, aunque no con la estrechez que al principio, pues logran ya de comunicacion en el Cuartél.

2o. que á Don Juan Joseph Hurtado con motivo de hallarse amenazado de rehumatismo se le ha permitido, no ha muchos dias, salir baxo de fianza, pero con entera libertad, á una Hacienda de tierra caliente, distante cuatro ó cinco dias de Santafé, en donde actualmente se halla. Lo que prueba el poco perito que prestan los autos contra él, y el ningun concepto que han formado de su causa los mismos Jueces, que la han seguido.

3o. Afianza mas este concepto el haberse remitido en Octubre pasado á España a Don Antonio Nariño, Don Joseph Maria Cabal, Don Enrique Omaña, Don Pedro Pradilla, Don Sinforoso Mutis, Don Manuel Froes, Don Ignacio Sandino, Don Joseph Ayala, Don Francisco Zea, y Bernardo Sifuentes, á disposicion de su Magestad; excluyendo a Don Miguel Gomez, Don Miguel Valenzuela, Don Antonio Cortes, y los dos Hurtados, fuera de los cuatro autores de los pasquines Durán, Uribe, Arellano y Don Luis Gomez, a quienes se sigue causa por separado: lo que prueba no haberse hallado ni resulta bastante merito de los Autos para que siguieren á España los que han quedado aquí; y que por consiguiente sus cargos estarán desvanecidos por el mismo sumario.

4o. Que se dice tratarse actualmente de poner á los Hurtados, Gomez, Cortez y Valenzuela en libertad, sin mas figura de juicio, ni discusion de causa: lo que apoya el mismo modo de pensar, ó presuncion en su favór.

5o. Pero que no obstante esto, como su libertad será acaso limitada con algunas odiosas restricciones y en terminos perjudiciales á su buen nombre y reputacion; es preciso insistir en que se les oyga en la Corte, á aqui hasta hacer una formal vindicacion que acreedite en todo tiempo su inocencia, que borre fea nota que en el concepto del publico se les ha impuesto ya; y que los reponga enteramente y sin la menor restriccion su antiguo buen

nombre y opinion. Pues de otro modo, quedarian expuestos á que la malignidad y la venganza les hechase en qualquier tiempo á la cara defectos ó delitos, que no han cometido, y cuya imputacion es tan sensible á qualquier hombre de honór.

6o. que con motivo de hallarse en edad avanzada y bastante quebrado en la salud Don Vicente Hurtado ocurrió á este Tribunal de la Real Audiencia con documentos que acreeditaban suficientemente su relato, y la necesidad que tenia de que fuesen sus dos hijos á su lado á tomar noticia y encargarse de sus asuntos, por ser los mayores de su crecida y numerosa familia, pidiendo se les permitiese pasár á Popayan baxo de fianza, y obligandose él a tenerlos en todo tiempo á disposicion de la Real Audiencia o de su Magestad, por los resultos de ésta causa; y que en caso de no haber lugar á ésta solicitud por hallarse pendiente su suerte de la resolucion del Rey por otros motivos que reservase el Tribunal; se le diere testimonio para ocurrir a la piedad del Rey. El decreto á esta presentacion fué, tengase presente por cuyo motivo no va este testimonio como habia instruido aquel sugeto desde Popayan. Segun me escribe, él quiere que se haga igual solicitud en la Corte por ante su Magestad pero creo que no será necesaria, segun lo que se dice destarse tratando actualmente de la libertad de los presos que han quedado aqui, y que no pasará su salida de todo este mes. Por

cuya razon sera bueno que en este particular espere el Apoderado los avisos que se les comuniquen en el correo venidero.

7o. Ultimamente que siendo esta instruccion formada unicamente sobre los cargos que se les han hecho en su confesion á los Hurtados, y por las noticias extrajudiciales que se han podido adquirir, el Apoderado nombrado arriba, ó qualquiera otro que en su defecto se encargase de este asunto procurará instruirse mejor en la Corte de los testimonios é informes remitidos por esta Real Audiencia y Virrey, y de las Ordenes y Provincias despachadas por el Soberano, o señores del Consejo, pues en vista de todo, hacer, representar, y pedir lo que tenga por mas conveniente al buen exito de esta causa, y arreglado á justicia. Santafé Diciembre 19 de 1795.

APPENDIX N

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE REPRESENTATIVE FROM POPAYÁN TO THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS

Apuntamientos para las instrucciones del Representante del Cabildo de Popayán en el congreso Provincial, y Formación del Cuerpo Municipal

Las abdicaciones de la Corona de España é Indias hechas por Carlos Quarto y por Fernando Septimo en Napoleon Bonaparte, sin el consentimiento de la Nacion: la recidencia de aquellas en Países enemigos y estraños: la ocupacion de la España, por el Tirano de la Europa: el transtorno fundamental de su Gobierno: las succesivas translaciones de la Soberania, en diversas representaciones, sin consultar el voto general de los Pueblos Americanos: estos y otros acontesimientos han disuelto el antiguo Gobierno.

Se ha devuelto, en fuerza de estos eventos respecto de las Americas, a su fuente primitiva que es el Pueblo, por defecto de autoridades naturales con legítima representación, quales serían las de los Cabildos elegidas por el vecindario en quienes se pudiera depositar interinamente, para precaver los efectos de la anarquia, conservar la paz interior, y administrar Justicia, hasta el establecimiento de un Gobierno legal y permanente.

En este caso, la elección libre del Pueblo es la única fuente provisoria del poder que exersa la autoridad en todos sus ramos, por representación de sus conmitentes.

Estos principios fundamentales, esforzados con la falta de la superioridad del Virrey y demás Tribunales del Reyno, califican la legitimidad y obgetos del Cuerpo Electoral, Representantes del Distrito de este Cabildo, formado e instalado por el voto general del Pueblo, suficientemente convocado en quanto lo han permitido las circunstancias, para proveer:

1. a la ereccion de un Cuerpo Municipal: designacion de sus facultades: organizacion de sus funciones económicas, y limitacion de la permanencia de sus funcionarios--

2. y al nombramiento por votación de un Diputado y Supleente, Representante de este Municipio en el congreso Central de Provincia, con la exprecion de sus poderes é instrucciones correspondientes:

1. Que se profesa exclusivamente y proteja la Religión Católica, Apostólica, Romana.

2. Que el congreso Provincial exersa provicionalmente el Gobierno Superior de la Provincia, con absoluta independencia, a nombre del Señor Fernando Septimo, [illegible] a la posecion de la soberania de España é Indias por los votos de la Nacion; siempre que se Restituya al Trono, libre, pasifica y absolutamente baxo una Dominación constitucional, sin influxo directo ni indirecto de Napoleon Bonaparte u sin perjuicio de los derechos naturales é imprescriptibles de toda sociedad.

3. Que se conserben las relaciones con la Metropoli, sin comprometer nuestros derechos con las usurpaciones del Tirano que la ha invadido, y con las arbitrariedades de autoridades ilegitimas.

4. Que se sobstenga la unidad é integridad de la Provincia.

5. Que el congreso Provincial eliga por votación para el Supremo erigido en la Capital de Santafé, un Representante y Supleente de la Provincia, dandoles los poderes suficientes, para que por ahora-provea con plena autoridad, solo en los casos urgentes de la comunidad, é instrucciones precisas relativas a que su obgeto principal sea la Convocación de los estamentos del Reyno, luego que cecen los actuales obstaculos, sobre la base de su poblacion; en que se establesca una constitución legal y permanente: que entre tanto se eviten las fracciones y agregaciones de las Provincias, conservando sus demarcaciones antiguas, hasta que las enunciadas Cortes plenamente convocadas, y no otra autoridad, fixan una confederacion--
que no sea Leonina--
que pueda equilibrar la balanza del poder--
garantir la impotencia de las Provincias nominales;
y procurar que su representacion no sea nula y su dignidad aparente.

6. Se acordará en Congreso Provincial lo que mas exigan las circustancias, sobre el reconosimiento de Cortes, convocadas en la Isla de Leon con presencia de que:

1. habiéndose estas subrrugado al Consejo de Regencia, en medio de las combulciones de la Provincia, una parte de ella se denegó á prestarlo; y en la otra se hizo solo por las corporaciones, sin suficiente representacion popular. Teniendo también en consideracion-

2. las Calidades, que deben acompañar a los estamentos de la Nación, para su legitimidad, y entre ellas principalmente la representación que corresponde a las Americas por su poblacion.

7. Se reservará la desición en quanto al Patronato, provición de negocios y vacantes Eclesiasticas, hasta la consecución un concordato sobre tales puntos con la Silla Apostólica-
o convocación de un Sinodo general del Reyno (si el transtorno de la Europa no diese lugar a lo primero) a que en todo caso se promoverá con mayor seberidad posible; y entre tanto para proveer a las presentes urgencias de la Iglesia, se recomendará-

1. que los Ordinarios provean, en inter los beneficios que tienen Cura de Almas-

2. que suplan las vacantes de Coro como lo dispone la Ley de Indias 13. lib. 1. Tit. 6.

8. Se promoverá, que el Congreso Provincial nombre por ahora una Comicion de Letrados, si fuese posible del mismo Cuerpo, presedida por una de los Diputados de Provincia, para los recursos de Justicia Civiles y Criminales en segunda importancia; pues la suspencion en que se hallan estos negocios, causan grandes perjuicios a los Reos, a la causa pública y a los intereses particulares.

9. Que se encarguen a una Disputacion, presidida del mismo modo que la anterior, las funciones del Tribunal de Cuentas-

1. para fenecér y dirigir las de las Administraciones particulares y ramos de real Hacienda-

2. y para presentar planes sobre la mejor organizacion del Tesoro público.

10. Se discutirá con la debida detencion, despues de oir los Informes do los Cabildos, Ministros de Hacienda y Empleados, y resolverá-
si será conveniente declarar de comercio libre el ramo estancado de Tabaco; subrrogado a sus productos, una alcavala en el mismo genero, suficiente para la indemnización del Erario teniendo en consideracion:

1. la actual escacés de este para la anticipaciones

de dinero en las factorias, sin las que no tiene como proveerse el Estanco

2. que en este caso conforme al pacto público, tampoco se puede privar a los particulares, que se abstengan de otro modo, de este artículo de consumo necesario

3. que esta tolerancia a que obligará por ahora la presente urgencia, dificultará en los succesivo qualquiera impuesto o contribuciones q que se la quiera sugetar.

4. que este ramo es el único que puede servir para el fomento de la Provincia en el día, que se halla sin caminos de exportación; y por consiguiente con una agricultura e industria limitada al consumo interior; pues sufre con ventajas los costos de dilatados transportes.

11. Procúrese la civilisación de los Indios, como raza, que merece de vigorosa justicia las primeras atenciones de un Gobierno liberal y benefico, que la anterior ha dexado abandonada en su barbarie y contribuiendo a su embrutecimiento-

1. Retasando su tributos

2. Empleando todos los productos de los que queden en Escuelas, Iglesias de sus Pueblos habitaciones de que carecen; intrumentos de labor y especies de cria.

3. que se divida el terreno que poseen entre los Padres Cabezas de familia; y se les asigne en propiedad, para que disfrutando exclusivamente de sus respectivas porciones, limitandoles la enagenación absoluta.

12. Que se den instruciones a todos los Cabildos, por el congreso, para la formación Padrones exactos, con exprecion del sexo, estado, edad, calidad, oficio, Cabeza de familia, y esclavos en sus respectivos districtos, los que servirán de base para las futuras elecciones anuales, de Parroquias, Partidos y Provincia.

13. Las primeras se practicarán por una convocación plena de vecindario, en que sufragaran los Varones libres, de veinte y cinco años, cabezas de familia, ó que vivan de su trabajo; que no sean infames, estén acusados judisialmente de Crimen, deudores del Tesoro público, fallidos, sobre que formará el congreso reglamentos uniformes para todos los municipios de la provincia que compreendan también las segundas y últimas elecciones.

14. Siendo en el día el asunto más importante de la Provincia, sostener la expedición Militar que se ha formado para su defensa, se proveerá la subsistencia de las Tropas-

1. con los productos de las Rentas públicas;

2. haciendo sobre ellas emprestitos en las demas Provincias;

3. Exigiendo con calidad de devolución, contribuciones voluntarias y necesarias de los vecinos, con proporción a sus facultades;

4. rebajando los sueldos crecidos de los rentados

5. echando mano de los depositos de testamentarios y litigiosos, que hayanen numerario;

6. y en último recurso de las alhajas de luxo de las cofradías.

15. Siendo el principal destino del Tesoro público la mantención de su Gobierno, se asignarán en él los sueldos de sus funcionarios, luego que se forme un Colegio Electoral de toda la Provincia, compuesto del número de Representantes que correspondan a su Población, considerándose solo en este Cuerpo facultades expedietas para dicha asignación y de que asi se proporciona el consumo en esta parte a los contribuyentes.

16. Que promueba nuestro Diputado que se nombre por el Superior Gobierno un Prefecto para que se encargue del Gobierno Subalterno de este Municipio añalejo sin renta.

Dn. Gerónimo de Torres

Bartolomé Mosquera

Toribio Miguel Rodríguez — Sandoval Mosquera

José Valencia — Manuel Ma. Quijano

Mariano de Campo y [illegible] — José Antonio Pérez de Valencia

Cristoval de Vergara

APPENDIX O

INVITATION TO A PUBLIC EXAMINATION IN MEDICINE, 1821

LOS CURSANTES

DE

MEDICINA

DE SEGUNDO AÑO

ANTONIO ALVAREZ,
ELAS BALBUENA,
GREGORIO CONCHA,
IGNACIO ANTORVESA,
IGNACIO QUEBEDO,
JOSÉ MARIA BUENO,
MANUEL OROSCO,
RAFAEL DUQUE,
RAMON LOTERO,
RUFINO UMAÑA,
RICARDO PARRA.

Presididos por su Catedrático Doctor Benito Osorio, sujetan á exámen público las siguientes proposiciones de Fisiolojia.

1. El hombre es un ser organizado que participa con todo lo que [illegible] de la facultad de desarrollarse i subsistir en un cierto tiempo: medios para este fin.
2. Tiene tambien en comun con los animales, ser formado de una materia llamada animal, que se presenta bajo un cierto número de formas convertibles las unas en las otras: division de esta materia animal.
3. A las formas esenciales á la materia animal, se hallan asociados otros principios cuya mayor parte se encuentran en gran número de cuerpos inertes.
4. Distincion del hombre entre todos los seres vivientes.
5. Organos i aparatos en los que predominan las principales formas de la materia.
6. Lo que se entiende por tejidos, órganos, aparatos i funciones.
7. Sistemas orgánicos jeneradores principales, jenerales.
8. Propiedades vitales de los tejidos, fuerza vital, leyes vitales. Sin el conocimiento de estas tres cosas, no puede darse un paso en los otros ramos de la medicina.
9. Todas las funciones que constituyen la vida están reducidas á dos órdenes: órganos que desempeñan cada una de aquellas.
10. El hombre no vive ni se sostiene, sino por cuerpos que no son él.
11. La composicion de los órganos i de los fluidos, es una química particular del ser viviente. La potencia que pone en accion esta química, dá á los órganos al componerlos la facultad de sentir i moverse. La sensibilidad i la contractilidad son los testimonios ó pruebas del estado de vida.
12. Habiendo los movimientos voluntarios puesto en contacto á los materiales asimilares, con los órganos asimiladores; obran estos la animalizacion de aquellos al individuo.
13. El acto maravilloso de la mas importante de nuestras funciones, está confiado al sistema asimilativo.
14. La absorcion depende en primer lugar de las afinidades de la química viviente, i en segundo del ejercicio de la sensibilidad i contractilidad.
15. Solo moviendose los fluidos en el tejido de las partes, es que se efectuan la composicion i descomposicion de estas; i la formacion de los fluidos que mas ó menos tiempo deben permanecer entre sus intersticios.
16. Es de las funciones asimilativas que depende la vida de nutricion.
17. La circulacion i el sistema vascular, es el centro de la vida de nutricion.
18. Es el sistema céfalo-raquidiano i sus dependencias que tienen á su cargo la vida de relacion.
19. En la muerte natural deja de existir primero la vida de relacion, i vice versa en la accidental la de nutricion.
20. Siendo el cerebro, el corazon i los pulmones los que forman el triunvirato de la vida, la muerte de cualquiera de estos órganos, suspende las funciones de los otros dos i las de todas las demas partes de nuestro cuerpo.
21. La sangre negra no es propia para mantener la escitacion i la vida en todos los órganos.

El Catedrático i Cursantes, suplican á U. se digne solemnizar este acto con su asistencia en la sala de la Universidad el dia 30 de Junio por la noche.

Ramon Dr. José M.ª Duque

VITA

John F. Wilhite was born in McMinnville, Tennessee on 6 November 1947. He graduated from Grundy County High School in 1965 and entered Martin College the following September. In March 1969 he received the Bachelor of Arts degree in Spanish and French from The University of Tennessee. In the summer of that year he traveled to Colombia where he taught English at the Universidad Javeriana in Bogotá. There he married Gloria Mercedes Ramírez of that city.

He returned to The University of Tennessee to complete the Master of Arts degree with a major in Spanish in June 1974. He was awarded the Doctor of Philosophy degree in August 1976. He is a member of Sigma Delta Pi, the Spanish honor society, and Pi Delta Phi, the French honor society, and several professional organizations.