Impoverished and dying from leprosy, the Colombian intellectual, politician, and entrepreneur Adriano Páez began to write his final composition entitled “Viaje al país del dolor” (Journey to the country of pain) in 1889. He had set his ultimate residence in Agua de Dios, a small town located 70 miles away from Bogota where Colombian lepers used to gather—as a result of social mistreatment and exclusion—since the late colonial times. A lazaretto was founded there in 1870, and leper segregation became compulsory two decades later.\(^1\) Páez, a cosmopolitan man who had linked Colombia with the world via printing words, died in isolation on April 2\(^{nd}\), 1890, at the age of 45.\(^2\) Although short, his life was devoted to vindicating Latin America in Europe and to promoting progress in Colombia by circulating global ideas.

Adriano Páez’s inputs were critical but not exceptional. He was one among other nineteen-century Colombians who believed that their home country’s future depended

\(^1\) Diana Obregón Torres, *Batallas contra la lepra: estado, medicina y ciencia en Colombia* (Universidad Eafit, 2002), 175.

heavily on the circulation of useful knowledge and ideas as much as on promoting debates regarding appropriate ways to achieve progress in their motherland. During the second half of the nineteenth century, while the North Atlantic countries widely represented an idealized picture of how material progress ought to look, many Colombian intellectuals deemed vital and committed to the analysis of past experiences in a globalizing Latin America. Intellectuals embracing diplomatic missions were particularly diligent in grasping foreign experiences and in making them intelligible to Colombians. The history of Latin American countries became particularly important to them. In their views, the Hispanic roots of most of the American societies would ease the transfer and adaptation of models for progress from more advanced neighboring countries to Colombia. In this country with high levels of illiteracy (66% of Colombians were still illiterate in 1900), intellectuals were the agents of potential change and many of them knew it. This idea of change implied different facades. Material progress was perhaps the most evident, which was commonly conceived as the process of getting more and better communication systems, upgrading systems of production, and, overall, reaching everything related with economic growth. Once countries like Mexico, Argentina, and Chile began to display the material progress many Colombians were craving during the second half of the nineteenth century, the discourse of progress in Colombia focused on them as the providers of more appropriate models.

By looking at the North Atlantic as much as at Latin American countries, contemporary observers came to realize that progress could not stem from an intellectual vacuum, and that the printing word could easily embody the power of social and economic

---

transformation. However, if ideas circulating freely and extensively formed the breeding ground for any kind of progress, infrastructure hindrances would delay it. In Colombia, the development of railways, roads, and other systems of inland communication lagged dramatically up to the 1920s, but intellectuals like Adriano Páez did not give up in figuring the way to bringing global ideas to Colombian towns. Via the printing word, they connected with the world people that otherwise would have remained not only physically but also intellectually isolated. The capital, as well as other major cities, were located in Colombia’s highlands. Many of them, mostly smaller settlements, lived in relative autarky. Representations of the world, however, reached Colombian cities throughout the circulation of a relatively small but still relevant number of newspapers, books, and some other printing materials during the nineteenth century. The men and occasionally women who promoted such circulation in Colombia embodied the intellectual means imperative for economic progress. Many of them invested their time—and often times their own money—in spreading what they believed were the most appropriate models to achieving progress in Colombia. The foremost condition to develop a nation, they believed, was to make people crave and strive for progress. Thus, they fully committed with this end. Due to the brokerage role this group of people sought to play in Colombia, and resembling the “intermediaries” of North Atlantic political progressivism examined in Daniel Rodgers’s work, as well as the “knowledge brokers” or “linking agents” that literature in corporations

4 Frank Safford, “El problema de los transportes en Colombia en el siglo XIX,” in Economía colombiana del siglo XIX, ed. Adolfo Meisel Roca and María Teresa Ramírez (Bogotá: Fondo de Cultura Económica; Banco de la República, 2010).

5 Frank Safford, The Ideal of the Practical: Colombia’s Struggle to Form a Technical Elite (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976).
study, I refer to them as “progress brokers.” While “intermediaries” simply help ideas move from one place to another, “mediators” or “brokers” take ideas, transform or interpret them, and help move them to another place. I argue that many Colombian progress brokers (many of them acting as intellectuals, politicians, and entrepreneurs simultaneously) sought models of material progress from among other Latin American countries during the nineteenth century, an issue largely ignored in the historiography on Colombia and on Latin America in general.

Historians of Colombia have traditionally emphasized that, for most of the nineteenth century, Colombians remained physically and intellectually isolated from the rest of the world, especially from other Latin American countries. However, my evidence demonstrates that many Colombians developed an intense interchange of ideas with their fellow Latin Americans, which would contribute to a better understanding of the politics, literature, trade, and economies of Colombia’s neighboring countries. In fact, as the Spanish-Bolivian historian Josep María Barnadas stated in 1988, “something that has been usually forgotten must be remembered: that Hispanic American elites cultivated among themselves intellectual, political and economic relations which were far more intense than with Europe or the United States.”

Colombian intellectuals like Adriano Páez played a key role in this exchange of ideas.

---


role in the creation of such relations and in the circulation of useful information from all over the world to Colombia.

In 1859, at the age of 15, in the small Colombian town of El Socorro Adriano Páez began to publish *El Repertorio*, a journal of “Sciences, Arts, and Literature” which lasted only four months. Later, in 1861, he was the editor in chief of *Gaceta Oficial* of Santander, an official organ in which Páez circulated useful information, biographies of renowned people like the American Benjamin Franklin and the Mexican Benito Juárez, as well as translations and reviews of different countries. During the late sixties, he also published the journal *La Juventud* and collaborated with Colombian literary weeklies like *El Iris* and *La Empresa.*

Besides local journalism, Adriano Páez excelled by pioneering the promotion of Latin American countries in Europe, as well as by funneling useful knowledge to them during the 1870s, after he was appointed Consul of Colombia towards the end of 1870. While in Europe, he nurtured intellectual networks and collaborated in salient journals of Madrid, Paris, and Florence like *La America*, *El Americano*, and *La Revista*, respectively. He also published in Londoner tabloids. In 1874, Páez himself founded *Revista Latinoamericana*, a journal published in Paris in both French and Spanish. It was the first newspaper published by a Colombian in the City of Light. By inviting a myriad of Latin American writers to contribute to his journal, Páez aimed to disseminate knowledge about

---


10 Frédéric Martínez, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita: la referencia europea en la construcción nacional en Colombia, 1845-1900* (Bogotá: Banco de la República; Instituto Francês de Estudios Andinos, 2001), 149.
America in Europe, as well as to circulate useful ideas within Latin America. In fact, the
Revista’s goal was twofold: to “defend” in Europe “the interests of the continent of
Columbus” and to bruit widely everything “useful to America”\(^{11}\) Aware of the importance
of making Latin Americans know their countries’ history and to muse about their progress,
Páez openly “begged” Latin American newspapers to “examine and discuss” the ideas his
journal carried.\(^{12}\) The government of Colombia allocated $1800 Colombian pesos to pay
300 subscriptions of this journal out of its budget of the fiscal year 1874-75.\(^{13}\) Moreover,
Revista Latino-americana was distributed in seven Colombian cities and was sent for free
to presidents of Latin American countries, as well as to the main newspapers and libraries
within the American continent.\(^{14}\)

Upon his return to Colombia in 1876, the Colombian journalist continued his former
enterprise by opening La Patria, a more modest journal than the French one, but equally
inspired on ideals of progress. “Politics, literature, and science constitute the three great
branches of human knowledge, and they form together what can be called the true
expression or synthesis of progress”, declared Páez in the introduction of his journal.\(^{15}\) “For
the latter [progress] to be effective and true,” he continued, “not only is the expansion and
moral and intellectual impulse necessary, but also material improvement, which is the solid


\(^{12}\) Paez, 5.

\(^{13}\) Colombia, Memoria del Secretario del Tesoro dirijida al Presidente de la Unión para el Congreso de 1874 (Bogotá: Imprenta de Gaitán, 1874), viii.

\(^{14}\) Martinez, El nacionalismo cosmopolita, 149.

\(^{15}\) “Bibliografía Colombiana. Notas Ligeras,” in La Patria (Bogotá, 1877), 43.
foundation on which the vast building of progress can be well and successfully built.”

With such a conviction, *La Patria* was “dedicated to the people”, and its mission was to “spread useful and remarkable teachings, as well as to instill in the poor classes the desire for work and love for virtue.” Adriano Páez came to believe that progress was intimately weaved with an ample and effective circulation of ideas. A close reading of some of his publications reveals that he was deeply convinced that progress was doomed wherever efforts for intellectual enrichment were lacking—this included the lacking efforts to both educate the people and ease the circulation of persons, goods, and ideas within Colombia. In other words, Páez assumed that the larger the number of readers and the finer the ideas debated in a society, the stronger the fabric of progress. In fact, having analyzed the role the French *Le Petit Journal* played in promoting democratic values in French towns where Ancient-regime ideals where still prevalent, he openly acknowledged that his journal *La Patria*—which, not by chance, he subtitled “Petit Journal of Colombia”—stemmed from his “dream” of creating a modest daily to carry “the civilization verb from Táchira to Carchi,” implying the coverage of the whole territory of Colombia, including some neighboring countries’ bordering cities. Adriano Páez assumed that by circulating ideas widely, a daily like his “would do more for the country’s progress than many laws that remain written only.” Thus, he declared that this journal’s aim was “to study the suitable

20 Prada, 34–35.
means to foment the intellectual, moral, and material progress of Colombia and to preserve the public peace.” He also declared that his journal had no political party, rejecting partisan struggles and welcoming, in contrast, a wide variety of outlooks fitting within republican principles. His motivation was “to shed light” on the people, regardless of its origins. His conviction of an indivisible relationship between ideas circulating (freely and widely) and progress encouraged Adriano Páez’s life, fixing his place in, and his commitment to the world.21 This forward-thinking intellectual trusted in fostering progress by facilitating access to useful knowledge, groundbreaking ideas, and diverse viewpoints to the elites and the grass-roots equally in Colombia and in Latin America in general.

During the late nineteenth century, Colombia’s progress brokers engaged with associations funneled useful information and brokered between Latin Americans residing in Europe and in the United States with Colombian citizens. Associations like “Sociedad Latinoamericana-Biblioteca Bolívar” in Paris and the networks of intellectuals creating, translating, and circulating printing materials in the United States exemplified the brokerage role some Colombians played in the quest for appropriate models of progress from neighboring countries. This circulation of ideas and the search for appropriate models of material progress took place in a globalizing Latin America.

This paper scrutinizes the role some Colombian and Latin American intellectuals played overseas during the 1880s and 1890s. They created and divulged Latin American statistics and narratives of these countries’ developments, and forged international networks that moved useful information among Latin American nations, often through intermediaries in places like Paris and New York. This paper also stresses the expansion of informal and

21 Prada, 35.
official *canje* practices (mutual exchanges of publications) between Colombian intellectuals and government offices and their Latin American counterparts, which is key to comprehending how ideas moved in Latin America, in Colombia particularly, despite the often-noted infrastructure hindrances. It focuses on the late nineteenth century, when a large number of Latin Americans gathered, debated, and published works that would be useful for devising their home countries’ plans for progress. In the form of periodicals, books, and manuscripts, useful knowledge widely circulated in Europe and throughout the American continent during the nineteenth century, with increasing dynamism and numbers of publications since the 1870s. While some of these Latin Americans were looking for models in the United States and Europe, other intellectuals promoted intra-Latin American interactions and mutual learning, fostering publications with such an end.

**The Brokering Process**

The nineteenth century epitomizes an era of Latin Americans striving for political as well as economic independence, the latter seen as material progress, or economic growth. Many Latin Americans understood “material progress” as manifest in what they saw emerging in the industrializing societies of the North Atlantic, in modern cities, factories, railroads, ports, trade, wealth, goods, and profit-making enterprises.22 Scholars have “defined” progress in nineteenth-century Latin America along the same lines. Mauricio Tenorio refers to it as “the emergence of modern, industrial, and capitalist progress,” Frank Safford as a “project of economic Europeanization,” and Edward Beatty as the aspirations

for “the knowledge, skills, labor, tools and capital” that would allow countries like Mexico create national wealth.\textsuperscript{23} The word “progress” would become a commonplace concept in nineteenth-century Latin America, but it would simultaneously become an eloquent expression of the way peoples measured their place in the world.\textsuperscript{24}

In Colombia, many intellectuals—oftentimes acting as businessmen and politicians simultaneously—looked for models of material progress because they believed in and desired economic growth. They widely accepted that progress was imperative after the North Atlantic economies signaled an upward trend of growth after the so-called first industrial revolution (ca. 1760-1840), with its fruits on public display at the Great Exhibition of 1851.\textsuperscript{25} Convinced that progress was truly feasible (and fearful of their fate if their countries might prove unable to keep up), these people looked for models to prosper in their own right during the second half of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{26} The historiography on nineteenth-century Colombia has largely linked the role these brokers played with a North Atlantic model of the civilizing process.\textsuperscript{27} Yet these important historical actors looked at

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{24} Gregorio Weinberg, \textit{La ciencia y la idea de progreso en América Latina, 1860-1930} (Buenos Aires: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998).
\item \textsuperscript{27} Martínez, \textit{El nacionalismo cosmopolita}; Gilberto Loaiza Cano, \textit{Poder letrado}, 2014.
\end{itemize}
Latin America as much as they looked at the North Atlantic countries, and sought to draw from neighboring countries the appropriate models that the North Atlantic was not able to provide to adapt to Colombia’s particular circumstances.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the construction of new republics in the former Spanish colonies—which declared independence during the 1810s—depended heavily on observations of advanced republican societies, mostly from Europe and the United States. However, when devising newly independent Latin American nations, while some political and intellectual leaders opted to import identical, foreign institutions, other influential men advised looking at alien institutions critically, making interpretative adaptations. Either way, the historiography has traditionally argued that Colombians in particular, and Latin American in general, looked for models exclusively in the North Atlantic.

The history of Colombia has typically been published as either a variety of regional histories or in National-like narratives that link political and economic sagas of the major cities and their surroundings. Colombia’s history is predominantly a history of its regions. The history of Colombia has also been linked with the world, but a world that has largely been constrained to North Atlantic economies. Eurocentric and teleological queries about

---

28 Martinez, El nacionalismo cosmopolita, 21, 46–53; Eugenio Gutiérrez Cely, La política instruccionalista de los radicales: intento fallido de modernización de Colombia en el siglo XIX; (1870 -1878); historia (Neiva, Huila, Colombia: Ed. Fornicultra Huila, 2000); Tenorio-Trillo, Mexico at the World’s Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation.

29 Martinez, El nacionalismo cosmopolita, 1; Tenorio-Trillo, Mexico at the World’s Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation; Gutiérrez Cely, La política instruccionalista de los radicales; Alberto Mayor Mora, Las escuelas de artes y oficios en Colombia 1860-1960 (Bogotá: Editorial Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 2014); Maiguashca, “Historians in Spanish South America: Cross-References between Centre and Periphery”; Beatty, Technology and the Search for Progress in Modern Mexico; Matthew C. Mirow, Latin American Law a History of Private Law and Institutions in Spanish America, Academic Complete (Ebrary) (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2004).
national failure have often framed modern historiography on nineteenth-century Colombia. Works addressing processes of nation and state formation in the nineteenth century have largely argued that political and intellectual leaders in Colombia essentially embraced European models after independence, disregarding broader outlooks and some Colombians examining neighboring countries’ historical processes as exemplary.

The influential French historian Frédéric Martínez, whose 2001 masterwork became a classic study of nineteenth-century Colombia, acknowledges that the United States and some of the most prosperous countries in Latin America such as Argentina, Chile and Brazil emerged as countries of reference in Colombia towards the end of the century (“se perfilaban como países de referencia”).³⁰ However, to further his comprehensive analysis of the “nacionalismo cosmopolita” in Colombia, he focuses on the analysis of European referents because “it is against Europe that the new Hispanic American nations are constituted; it is around Europe that the essence of the political debate is concentrated and institutional models are imported from Europe.”³¹ From this perspective, only individuals mirroring or challenging European referents contributed to projects of nation making in Colombia, excluding intra-Latin American perspectives. In fact, he argues that everything related to the so-called Latin race belongs to assimilations and interpretations of European models, leaving little room for non-European referents. Moreover, Martínez has argued that Colombians from different political spectrums condemned blind imitations and contributed to the creation of a “negative imaginary of imitation,” which would take the form of “a true

³⁰ Martínez, El nacionalismo cosmopolita, 22.

³¹ Martínez, 22.
discourse against external influences.” However, by focusing nearly exclusively on North Atlantic references, he disregarded the far-reaching search for models in neighboring Latin America, an “external” reference that played a major role in the search for appropriate models for Colombia’s material and intellectual progress. Like Martínez, historians have systematically overlooked Colombian progress brokers who, based on a sharp understanding of both the Old and the New World, rejected plain imitations from what they saw as unsuitable models, but also deemed necessary to look to and seek to learn from neighboring experiences. Like in Martínez’s authoritative work, the widely studied European civilization process remained central in the historiography on Colombia and Latin America, measuring the countries’ historical success or failure against European norms exclusively. This approach has fixated on the European origins of Latin Americans’ history and worldviews. However, as I have argued elsewhere, from the 1840s some Colombian intellectuals had developed an increasing interest in global affairs, and more precisely in the history and circumstances of Latin America. As a result of this exchange of information, and the careful study of regional experiences, Colombian progress brokers gradually came to believe that neighboring nations rather than North

32 Martínez, 46, 52.


Atlantic countries would provide more appropriate models to adapt to Colombia’s particular circumstances. This idea, however, was not simply an abstract observation.

Colombian progress brokers exercised intellectual curiosity coupled with more concrete and pragmatic interests. They read international books and newspapers, interacted personally and through correspondence with Latin America’s important figures, joined and created scientific and patriotic associations, and represented the Colombian government in diplomatic missions all over the world and increasingly in Latin America towards the end of the century. This complex network of interactions allowed these progress brokers to access critical information and to weigh Colombia against their neighbors and the rest of the world. But they did not keep this information to themselves. Like Adriano Páez, many of them founded newspapers and periodicals, engaged actively with canjes of printed materials, and sought to circulate useful ideas about Latin America that would help Colombians draw suitable models of material progress, and lessons for action, from neighboring countries. For instance, based on careful scrutiny of Latin American experiences during the second half of the nineteenth century, the Colombian jurist Antonio José Uribe proposed to improve the Colombian political system by separating, like other neighboring countries, administrative duties and political debates, which in Colombia seemed to have occupied officials fully, beginning with the President. “We cannot continue as we have come here”, stated Uribe, “it is necessary to make the demarcation between administration and politics.” Uribe believed that examples could be drawn from Colombia’s neighboring countries. “We have called attention to what is happening in Argentina and Peru,” said Uribe in 1900, “and in later articles we will talk about what

35 Antonio José Uribe, “La administración,” La Opinión, September 13, 1900, 81.
happens, in this regard, with several other Hispanic American republics, to show, with practical examples, the fertile work of the demarcation between the Administration and Politics.”  

His former observations were published as newspaper articles in 1900 under his nom de plume “U,” and in 1917 they were compiled, complemented, and published in a lengthy book.

Like Uribe and Páez, Colombian progress brokers aimed to offer useful lessons from different perspectives and historical periods. They committed to gathering, selecting, and circulating as much useful information as possible, helping their fellow Colombians perceive wider historical processes and to grasp, for instance, how countries with more complex and violent pasts like Mexico and Argentina had begun to develop political stability and economic growth in contrast to Colombia towards the end of the century. Mexico had overcome severe political and economic difficulties after the Mexican-American War in mid-nineteenth century and the invasion by the French in 1862. Likewise, Argentina surmounted the negative effects of the dictatorial and cruel government of Juan Manuel de Rosas (1835-52). The way these countries moved from chaos to order inspired Colombian progress brokers. By discussing and disseminating printed materials, these brokers helped configure appropriate models from Latin American countries during the second half of the nineteenth century. They contributed to the shaping of referents of progress from neighboring countries by engaging with journalism, diplomacy, and intellectual activities in Latin American countries, the United States, and Europe.

36 Antonio José Uribe, “La administración,” La Opinión, September 19, 1900, 238.

37 Antonio José Uribe, La reforma administrativa en Colombia (Bogotá: Librería colombiana, 1917).
In a context where evolutionary Darwinism was commonly accepted in Atlantic intellectual circles, and where efforts to develop social and economic strength was the norm, countries unable to foster plans of material and intellectual progress were at risk of being devoured by more powerful nations. Colombian progress brokers channeled this preoccupation through printed materials, playing the crucial role of selecting and funneling useful global information aiming to promote similar levels of prosperity that neighboring countries had been developing—and which they were envying—like Chile, Mexico, and Argentina during the last third of the nineteenth century.

**Between Colombia and Latin America**

A network of intellectuals, diplomats, artists, and merchants eased communications between Latin Americans during the second half of the nineteenth century. Among them were Colombian progress brokers who traveled around or were settled in major Latin American, European, and U.S. cities. They contributed to raising awareness of the Americas' currents all over the world, and provided intellectual matter to forecast real possibilities and appropriate models to prosper based on neighboring nations’ developments and political circumstances. If physical isolation was the rule, the circulation of ideas knew few limits in nineteenth-century Colombia.

[Here: Map of nineteenth-century Colombia]

Intellectually, many Latin Americans were well connected during the second half of the nineteenth century. Transportation hindrances that slowed the movement of people and goods, particularly challenging in the Andean region, were less onerous on the movement of ideas. They could be overcome, for example, by shipping books and printed materials from places like Argentina to Colombia via Paris and New York, like the correspondence between intellectuals like Colombian Miguel Antonio Caro and Argentinian Juan María
Gutiérrez in the late 1870s, with the intermediation of Colombians like the scientist Ezequiel Uricoechea in Paris and the intellectual Roberto de Narváez in New York. These exchanges are normally assumed to correspond to North Atlantic rather than Latin American exchanges. However, just as some Colombian exports that had to go first to ports like Hamburg before reaching Latin American ports like Valparaíso during the early 1870s, mutual Latin American exchanges required levels of intermediation because the contemporary infrastructure did not provide better alternatives. Though it often required long and complex intertwined logistics chains, Colombians connected with other Latin Americans.

Panama was part of Colombia up to 1903, and as a strategic middle point, it was vital to the circulation of goods and ideas from all over the world to Colombia’s principal ports, from where printed materials like newspapers were distributed to urban hubs. In fact, in 1891 a Canadian traveler in Panama, Wolfred Nelson, stated that “perhaps the best way of giving my readers an idea of the commercial importance of the Isthmus of Panama will be by referring to some of the steam companies connecting with it.” After providing a list of seven regular lines on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, and three on the Pacific side, including a “new South American line that has just inaugurated a regular service between the Isthmus, Ecuador, Peru, and Valparaiso,” the author stated that, returning to the Atlantic side, “The Royal Mail Steam Packet Company have an immense service, for their steam

---


39 Oficina Central de Estadística, Estadística comercial de la República de Chile correspondiente al año de 1873 (Valparaíso, Chile: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1874), XXI.

40 Wolfred Nelson, Five Years at Panama the Trans-Isthmian Canal (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1891), 136.
lines connect the Isthmus of Panama with ports in Colombia, Venezuela, the West Indian Islands, and Southampton.”

In the circulation of global goods and ideas progress brokers played a major role, aided by the improvement of steamship navigation from the 1860s and by the expansion of telegraphic lines since the 1870s, which interconnected the world like never before.

While both the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans were the natural bridges rather than moats through which Colombians drew models of material progress, the promotion of canjes was perhaps the most effective way to circulate useful Latin American knowledge to Colombia.

Colombia’s progress brokers fostered official and informal canjes among Latin American governments and periodical publications especially since the late 1860s. Decree 23 of January 1868 dictated to establish in the “National Library of Colombia a central office of canjes of national publications with those of the other countries of America.”

The primary goal of this office was to exchange scientific and literary productions, which “is the most effective means of developing among the American sections their illustration and progress,” as the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs communicated to his Chilean counterpart in 1872.

In pursuit of this objective, Colombian officials managed to start getting official printed materials from different Latin American Governments like Mexico,

41 Nelson, 136.


43 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Correspondencia del Gobierno de Chile con el de la Nueva Granada. 1824-1881, Caja 212, Carpeta 208, 96-97

44 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Correspondencia del Gobierno de Chile con el de la Nueva Granada. 1824-1881, Caja 212, Carpeta 208, 96-97; Colombia, Memoria Del Secretario de Lo Interior I Relaciones Esteroires Al Congreso de Nacional de 1872 (Bogotá: Imprenta de Medardo Rivas, 1872), 3–6.
which reported in 1875 that Mexico’s President had agreed to make “a collection of official publications, since the fall of the so-called [second] empire,” (under the above-mentioned French intervention) and send it to Colombia via Acapulco and Panama in “four boxes containing the books and documents that the attached catalog expresses.”45 Personal donations and canjes would also enrich the National Library during the 1880s.

In 1883, the appointed Colombian diplomat and highly influential intellectual José María Samper advertised in the Colombian newspaper *El Conservador* that, “traveling to Chile and the Argentine Republic, I wish to take advantage of my trip in the service of the letters and sciences of those republics and of our republic, [and] to that end I intend to take a donation in the name of the Colombian writers to the national libraries of Santiago and Buenos Aires of the works published in Colombia; and then bring and donate to the National Library of Bogotá as many [Latin] American books as I can procure in Chile, the Argentine Republic, Montevideo, etc.”46 Moreover, after reaching the Southern Cone, Samper would sign in 1885—along with representatives of Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina—a “Latin American Convention on promotion and dissemination of useful publications,” which was intended to promote mutual cooperation between the Austral countries and Colombia.47 Thanks to these kinds of individual initiatives and official accomplishments, in 1888 the National Library of Colombia received “from the Ministry of

45 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Correspondencia del Gobierno de Mexico, 1824-1899, Caja 650, Carpeta 139, 84-84v


47 Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores Colombia, “Memoria del Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores dirigida al presidente de la Unión Para el Congreso de 1885” (Imprenta de Vapor de Zalamea Hermanos, 1885), 15.
Public Instruction sixty-one newspaper collections, all incomplete, from Venezuela, Mexico, Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay, Santo Domingo, Cuba, Curaçao, the Philippines, Jamaica, Central America, France, Italy, and Austria.” In the context of rapid economic growth in neighboring countries, Colombian progress brokers like Samper sought not only to learn from them but also to endorse commercial and literary conventions, which would allow a faster and more efficient examination of neighboring republics through collecting and sending useful printed materials. The Colombian diplomatic body in Latin American countries played a key brokerage role by collecting and sending to Colombia a variety of useful publications.

Widely known for his novel *Maria* (1867), “probably the most popular nineteenth-century novel in Latin America,” Jorge Isaacs was appointed as the general consul of Colombia in Santiago from 1870 to 1872. His purpose was explicitly “to foment commerce of our Pacific coast with Chile.” Isaacs was eager and openly optimistic about the opportunities the Colombian state of Cauca—his homeland—would have when fixing a trade route along the Pacific. Once in Santiago, he devoted long manuscripts to analyzing the general situation of Chile, studying the possibilities of establishing regular and promising commercial relations with this southern neighbor, and drawing suitable models for Colombia’s particular circumstances.

---


50 Colombia, *Memoria Del Secretario de Lo Interior I Relaciones Esteriores Al Congreso de Colombia* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Medardo Rivas, 1871), 52.
Jorge Isaacs was a man of letters who saw the need to consider a broad and historical perspective. Along with promoting official conventions and business-related knowledge, Isaacs advocated for a more practical, thoughtful understanding of the Chilean past and present. “It is a necessity to study the history of material progress enjoyed by this republic [Chile],” Isaacs wrote in a letter introducing the Postal Convention proposal he drafted in 1871. “It is necessary to follow it [Chile] step by step from 1848 to the present, and not to lose sight of it in the future in order to take advantage of its teachings and to escape from its mistakes.”

Having analyzed the southern cone’s recent history, markets, and political conditions, Isaacs suggested that Colombia’s longed-for material progress could build on this analysis of Chile’s experience—and that of other South American countries like Argentina. Regarding Argentina, Jorge Isaacs wrote in 1871: “Four to five months in permanence in the Argentine Republic, would suffice. […] The importance of its amazing progress in six years, the way in which federal institutions have become practical there; the current of immigration that [it] has managed to attract to its soil, increased year by year; [...] its popular education; everything encourages me to believe that my journey of a few months to that republic will be profitable.”

By then, Chile and Argentina had already developed not only growing patterns of economic growth, but also a large body of historical research and publications.

51 Underlined in the original. Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Transferencia 2, Consulado de Colombia en Chile, 1862-1871, Tomo 37, 23-24

52 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Transferencia 2, Consulado de Colombia en Chile, Tomo 37, 23-24

53 Maiguashca, “Historians in Spanish South America: Cross-References between Centre and Periphery.”
Towards the end of the century, diplomatic missions in the Southern Cone continued contributing to the circulation of useful ideas in Colombia. In May 1888, the Colombian politician Antonio Samper was appointed as General Consul in Buenos Aires.\textsuperscript{54} Having studied this country for over two years, in 1890 he wrote a massive report with a detailed account of several topics regarding Argentina’s currents like its politics, commerce, and the “causes of Argentina’s progress.”\textsuperscript{55} Samper believed that Argentina was exemplary in many aspects, mainly in the way Argentinians were fostering immigration from Europe. In fact, he stated that Argentina “owes its rapid development to the external impulse that immigration provides.”\textsuperscript{56} By detailed specific guidelines, Samper suggested ways to promote European migration to Colombia based on Argentina’s methods and warned about the imperative to take into account topographic, cultural, and climatic differences between Colombia and Argentina before establishing immigration policies.\textsuperscript{57} In 1892, Samper reported the shipment of a dozen of Argentinian official volumes, via Paris, to Bogotá. In a letter to the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Samper informed that “I have sent directly to the Ministry of Development through the trading house of Mr. Antonio Samper and Company in Paris [—which was his own company—], so that they

\textsuperscript{54} Archivo Histórico de la Cancillería Argentina (AHCA), Diplomática y Consular, Consulado General de Colombia, Box 444, 1890, 13-13v.

\textsuperscript{55} Archivo Histórico de la Cancillería Argentina (AHCA), Diplomática y Consular, Consulado General de Colombia, Box 444, 1890, 52v-53.

\textsuperscript{56} Archivo Histórico de la Cancillería Argentina (AHCA), Diplomática y Consular, Consulado General de Colombia, Box 444, 1890, 53v.

\textsuperscript{57} Archivo Histórico de la Cancillería Argentina (AHCA), Diplomática y Consular, Consulado General de Colombia, Box 444, 1890, 53v-57.
can go more safely, the statistical publications that I have been able to gather.”

He also informed that Alberto B. Martínez, then General Director of Municipal Statistics of Buenos Aires, had “given the necessary orders so that all the publications published by the Statistical Office can be sent to this consulate.”

Like Samper, the Colombian Consul in Chile, Clímaco Valdez, funneled useful information to Colombia. In October 1900, Valdez reported that he was about to ship to Colombia “thirty-seven volumes of state reports, statistics, fiscal budgets, general account of the treasure, etc., some of which were requested by that ministry of finance, and others that I have judged of interest for our public administration.” A month later, he wrote again to the Colombian government, correcting the former figure, and informed that he had shipped sixty-eight Chilean books to Colombia, among which forty-seven were “bulletin of laws and government decrees.” The package also included a “mining bill,” commercial statistics, Memoirs of Foreign Relations and of “Culto y Colonización,” “astronomical observations of the observatory of Santiago de Chile,” a study of “cholera prophylaxis,” reports on “telegraphs and post office,” and a variety of volumes regarding “education and instruction.” Like Samper and Valdez, Colombia’s progress brokers often managed to

---

58 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Consulado de Colombia en Argentina-Buenos Aires. 1872-1910, Caja 43, Carpeta 110, 88-88v

59 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Consulado de Colombia en Argentina-Buenos Aires. 1872-1910, Caja 43, Carpeta 110, 88-88v

60 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Transferencia 2, Consulado de Colombia en Chile, 1899-1902, Tomo 44, 54

61 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Transferencia 2, Consulado de Colombia en Chile, 1899-1902, Tomo 44, 70

62 Archivo General de la Nación, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Diplomática y Consular, Transferencia 2, Consulado de Colombia en Chile, 1899-1902, Tomo 44, 70
allocate Latin American official publications and literary productions to Colombia’s libraries and government offices—before and after endorsing official conventions.

During the late nineteenth century, besides delegates shipping printing materials from neighboring countries to the Colombian government, many periodicals established direct canjes with Colombian, hemispheric, and (a few) European counterparts, enriching the circulation of ideas among Latin Americans and contributing to drawing appropriate models to adapt to Colombia’s particular circumstances. As an illustrative case, the number of publication exchanges involving periodicals like Bogotá’s *Anales de Jurisprudencia*, which was the Organ of the Colombian Society of Jurisprudence, reveals not only its far-reaching national impact, but also exemplifies the greater interest and wider orientations that Colombian progress brokers had towards Latin American mutual interactions (see Table 1.1). By 1904 the Society stated that its official organ had established many canjes, and had received from and sent publications to “Spain, Chile, Argentina, Venezuela, Central America, Cuba, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay.”

---

**TABLE 1.1**

**NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CANJES OF BOGOTÁ’S ANALES DE JURISPRUDENCIA, 1896-97**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colombian City</th>
<th>Periodicals (#)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antioquia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barranquilla</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Periodicals (#)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>Santiago</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>San José</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Canje practices, as well as the circulation of Latin America’s official documents and observations by diplomats, show how ideas moved bilaterally from and to Colombia. Colombian progress brokers committed to circulating everything they found useful to foster material progress in their homeland. They were convinced that by analyzing neighboring countries’ historical processes, and by taking ideas, interpret them, and help move them to Colombia, their country would create and constantly enrich an effective progress’ toolkit.

**From Paris and New York to Colombia**

Colombia’s progress brokers sought to draw appropriate models to adapt to Colombia’s particular circumstances directly from Latin American countries. However, they also looked to neighboring countries via intermediaries who were established in both Europe and the United States. During the second half of the nineteenth century, New York and Paris hosted many Latin American intellectuals who gathered, debated, and published works that would be useful for devising their home countries’ plans for progress. While
some of these Latin Americans were looking for models in the United States and Europe—e.g., influential men like Argentinian Faustino Sarmiento and Colombian Eustacio Santamaría—other intellectuals promoted South-South mutual relations and learnings, fostering publications with such an end. Colombia’s progress brokers, convinced that the North Atlantic could barely provide models because they were not suitable for Colombia, engaged with associations, funneled useful information, and brokered between Latin Americans residing in Europe and in the United States with Colombian citizens. Associations like Sociedad Latino-Americana, “Biblioteca Bolívar in Paris and the networks of intellectuals creating, translating, and circulating printing materials in the United States exemplified the brokerage role some Colombians played in the quest for appropriate models of progress from neighboring countries.

* Sociedad Latino-Americana, “Biblioteca Bolívar“

By the 1880s, cosmopolitan Paris had become the most important international meeting point for Latin Americans. From the City of Light, many intellectuals, artists,

---


politicians, and businessmen from all over Latin America worked diligently on getting to know each other, promoting their countries, and sharing their ideas of material and intellectual progress. Most of this work was carried out by establishing associations like the *Sociedad Politécnica de Colombia*, the *Sociedad de la Unión Latinoamericana*, the *Sociedad América*, and the *Sociedad Latino-Americana* “*Biblioteca Bolívar.*” Most of them were created during the 1870s and among their founder members were Colombians like José Tomás Henao, Jorge Enrique Delgado, José María Torres Caicedo, Ignacio Gutiérrez Ponce, and Ramón Santo Domingo Vila.66

“*Biblioteca Bolívar*” was formed in Paris to celebrate Simón Bolívar’s first centenary of birth, on July 24, 1883, and the *Sociedad Latino-Americana* was created to manage it.67 Paris, as the Colombian statesman Carlos Holguín believed, was “virtually […] the capital of Latin America, whose children, if living fraternally, will be able to consolidate and put on track their common interests.”68 In fact, many Latin Americans like Adriano Páez had made Paris the center of, and inspiration for the idea of Latin America during the second half of the nineteenth century.69 The Latin American population residing in Paris grew from 4,000 to 6,000 from the 1870s to 1900, without counting many others

---


who frequented Paris transitorily. The 1883 centenary celebration of Simón Bolívar’s birth, and the inauguration of a library in his honor, was “the first time residents of Latin America in Paris give proof of union and patriotic enthusiasm, as if it were a family celebration.”

The Colombian intellectuals Ignacio Gutiérrez Ponce and Ramón Santo Domingo Vila would play a prominent role in this society.

Seeking to publicize the American countries abroad, and to strengthen bonds among Latin Americans, Biblioteca Bolívar operated as an independent library from 1883 to 1890. In 1885, the library had already collected three thousand volumes of official publications and original works, most of them by Latin American authors. In 1889, the library’s then board president, the Colombian intellectual Ignacio Gutiérrez Ponce, published the library’s first catalogue, which was divided into fourteen categories: “law and legislation, history, literature, philosophy and religion, economics and finance, geography, navigation, travel, philology and pedagogy, science, arts, commerce and industry, maps and periodicals.”

Towards the end of the 1880s, this library became perhaps the largest specialized collection on Latin America in Paris, as many Latin American newspapers reported. However,

---

70 Streckert, Die Hauptstadt Lateinamerikas, 75–76.

71 Pedro S. Lamas, “Centenario de Bolívar en París,” El Conservador, September 18, 1883, 3.

72 Martínez, El nacionalismo cosmopolita, 154; Gutiérrez Ponce, Reminiscencias de vida diplomática, 1879 a 1923, y Crónicas de mi hogar en la época colonial, 1536 a 1816, 105.

73 Gutiérrez Ponce, Reminiscencias de vida diplomática, 1879 a 1923, y Crónicas de mi hogar en la época colonial, 1536 a 1816, 105.

74 Gutiérrez Ponce, 105.

lacking consistent benefactors to maintain it properly, the *Sociedad Latino-Americana, “Biblioteca Bolívar”* donated the library to the French government, which was the original objective. It was annexed to the *Institut de France’s Bibliothèque Mazarine* in 1890, remaining accessible to worldwide visitors and mainly to Paris’s Latin American population.\(^{76}\)

The history of *Sociedad Latino-Americana, “Biblioteca Bolívar”* is a history of Latin Americans promoting abroad their own countries and the entire region. As Páez had done since 1874 throughout *Revista Latino-americana*, Venezuelan José Antonio Carrillo y Navas, who initiated the association, convoked Latin Americans to support this new endeavor. In September 1882, the Bolivian newspaper *La Industria*, reproducing correspondence from Copenhagen to the Chilean newspaper *El Trabajo*, reported that Carrillo y Navas was organizing this “Latin American library [which will compile] all the laws governing our peoples, all the international treaties, all the official publications, all the works that *las plumas americanas* [Latin American writers] have produced and continue to

\(^{76}\) Gutiérrez Ponce, *Reminiscencias de vida diplomática, 1879 a 1923, y Crónicas de mi hogar en la época colonial, 1536 a 1816*, 106.
produce, in science, in literature, in everything. [...] Our wit can be estimated there.”

Endeavors of this sort would allow Latin American countries to promote themselves abroad, and to get to know each other’s history and current events more easily.

Latin American governments enthusiastically welcomed this initiative, and some even passed laws to ensure the delivery of their publications to the library. In June 1882, the library promoters had sent invitations to Latin American governments asking them to “agree to enact a law ordering to send there [to the Biblioteca Bolivar] two copies of any work that will be printed in the future.” Among other benefits, the library organizers believed key to “centralize all our intellectual works and to give us this way to know each other, our compatriots (which I call all the children of America) finding in it as much as they wish to know about any of those regions.”

Responses came quickly. In September 1882, the Guatemalan president José María Orantes issued Decree 281, proclaiming that along with every official publication, “any brochure, newspaper, book or paper that is published in the country” must be sent to the Biblioteca Bolivar. As an expression of the ways Latin American nations came to know one another, this decree was widely broadcasted within the Americas. The Colombian newspaper El Conservador published the decree by quoting the Guatemalan newspaper El Oriental on November 25, 1882. A week later, the Mexican newspaper El Siglo Diez y Nueve republished the same decree, along


79 Argentina, 1:296.


with a note from Buenos Aires’ *La Prensa*, which had respectively published an official note from the Ministry of Public Instruction asking Argentina’s provincial governors to “dictate the appropriate measures so that a copy of works of general interest and of available official publications be sent to this Ministry as soon as possible, and to facilitate the shipment of those that individuals wish to destine to the expressed object [the *Biblioteca Bolívar*].”

Honduras’ government also supported this endeavor, issuing a decree donating ten thousand francs to the library, and mandating the national archive to send two copies of every official publication and work subsidized by the government to the *Biblioteca Bolívar*. After learning about this new decree, nom de plume Alfredo Herrera exclaimed: “Honor to the enlightenment and Americanism of the Honduran, Argentine and Guatemalan governments! [...] Honor to all the governments of Hispano-America! To this date it is possible that all, or almost all, have issued respective decrees.”

Later, soon after the library was inaugurated, the Chilean *Consejo de Instrucción Pública* also communicated that it “would provide a copy of all those [printed materials] that were in the University [of Chile’s] archive.”

Alfredo Herrera was the nom de plume of Hilarión Antich, one of the library founders. He was widely known for having published in the principal Latin American newspapers for many years. He had devoted his articles to economic, social, and political matters, mainly of Latin America. In one of his writings

---


Antich asserted that *Biblioteca Bolívar* would “constitute the intellectual link between our republics,” which was, in fact, one of the library cofounder’s explicit objectives. 86

Along with eighteen fellow Latin Americans, the pioneer J. A. Carrillo y Navas had been working diligently to promote the library since 1882. Aiming to “establish definitively the *Biblioteca Bolívar’s* board of directors,” they reached out to other intellectuals like the Colombian intellectual Rufino José Cuervo. 87 The invitation to the meeting was signed by Carrillo and by the Colombian intellectuals Pedro F. del Castillo, Pedro F. del Castillo Jr., A. R. Hurtado, and José Triana; Peruvian Luciano B. Cisneros, Ecuadorian Juan José Flores; Mexicans Pablo Castellanos, Juan Gamboa Guzmán, Jacobo García, Juan Hernández Acevedo, Benito Juárez, and Eugenio Michel; and Venezuelans Antonio Parra Bolívar, Luis Theodor Ravelo, Miguel A. Troconis, Modesto Urbaneja, Luciano Urdaneta, and Hilarión Antich. 88 Interestingly, mostly representatives of the Andean countries, which were lagging behind the others, had taken the primary lead in this intellectual enterprise. Over the next months, they continued to hold meetings and discuss the statutes of the society, which were officially released in Paris, on July 14, 1883. The creation of a center for thinking and promoting Latin America was chief among their objectives.

The statutes of the *Sociedad Latino-Americana, “Biblioteca Bolívar”* circulated widely in Latin America. In Colombia, along with different tributes to Simon Bolívar on the centennial of his birth, the official periodical *Anales de la instrucción pública* published the society’s entire articles of association, which comprise ten titles and thirty-nine articles.


88 Cuervo, 2:136–39.
Besides formally establishing the library, the society aimed to “create a meeting place for Americans of Latin race, in which they can devote themselves to studies, conferences, conversations related to science, letters, education, industry, commerce, etc., etc., and everything else vis-à-vis the progress and union of the New World.” Moreover, the society intended to “organize annual competitions and to award prizes to the authors of studies of high American importance,” to publish its own periodical giving “light to the Society’s works and to what would be of interest to [Latin] Americans,” and to “organize in their salons, or in any more suitable place, ethnographic, industrial expositions, etc., relative to America.” These activities were devised as a complement to the establishment of the actual library, to which the founders expected to “bring together all the ancient and modern productions of American intelligence, as an archive of all its literary history,” which would require the compilation of “everything printed in each Latin American country since its discovery, all works printed in Europe by Americans or by Europeans who have written something of interest to the New World, all periodical publications of the American press, maps, plans and other manuscripts that refer to the New Continent.”

Having established both the society and the library, emblematic representatives of the Latin American community in Paris designated capable officers to manage these institutions.

* Biblioteca Bolívar’s associates like Uruguayan Pedro S. Lamas—who was elected the Society’s first Vice-President—would contribute notably to the circulation of ideas of

---


Latin America from Paris.\textsuperscript{92} Besides publishing books promoting Latin American countries, particularly Argentina, Lamas was the editor of \textit{Revue Sud-Américaine} from 1882 to 1890.\textsuperscript{93} This was a fortnightly periodical until 1888, when it became a weekly magazine. Several Latin American governments and private entrepreneurs used this periodical to showcase their progresses and trade statistics. Moreover, chronicles about Latin American and European currents and specific studies about Latin American countries or regions were often published.\textsuperscript{94} Also, each edition included financial and economic reviews, bibliographic information, and useful announcements (\textit{Revue économique}, \textit{Revue financière}, \textit{Bibliographie}, and \textit{Annonces}).\textsuperscript{95} Reporting commercial and cultural possibilities of the Latin American countries, the \textit{Revue Sud-Américaine}’s main target was European readers. However, it also aimed to strengthen ties among Latin Americans.\textsuperscript{96} This publication circulated widely, allowing many Colombians and Latin Americans to enhance


their knowledge about Latin American countries’ history and currents. *Revue Sud-Américaine* was available through subscription and purchases at post offices. It was also available free of charge in reading rooms, public establishments, and trade unions.97 Although direct distributors of international newspapers were not many in Colombia, publications like *Revue Sud-Américaine* circulated extensively and were quoted in some Colombian publications.98 In fact, Colombia was the country with the larger number of direct agents of this journal. In 1883, while countries like Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Perú, Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela had one agent, the journal reported ten different agents in Colombia, which credits the efforts Colombian progress brokers were making to widespread ideas of Latin America in their home country.99

Colombian progress brokers expanded the reach of publications like *Revue Sud-Américaine* within the country. By translating and republishing excerpts and speeches from this French periodical, editors of Colombian newspapers like *El Conservador* circulated articles regarding the anniversary of Simón Bolívar’s birth in July 1883, and the celebration in October 12, 1883, of the Americas’ discovery.100 Likewise, as newspaper editors expanded their networks during the second half of the century, Colombian periodicals

---


98 Martínez, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita*, 79 [footnote 52]; *La Crisis Económica* (Bogotá: Imprenta de “La Luz,” 1886); Gutiérrez Ponce, *Reminiscencias de vida diplomática, 1879 a 1923, y Crónicas de mi hogar en la época colonial, 1536 a 1816*.

99 *Revue Sud-Americaine*, April 15, 1883, 468


In Colombia, people also accessed *Revista Latino-americana, Revue Sud-Américaine*, and periodicals alike in public libraries like Bogotá’s *Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia*, where global publications were sent regularly, especially after the endorsement of many different official exchange agreements.\footnote{Hemeroteca Nacional De Colombia and Biblioteca Nacional De Colombia, *Catálogo de publicaciones seriadas. Siglo XIX* (Bogotá: Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia; Instituto Colombiano de Cultura, 1995), 734.} Colombians, mainly intellectuals and...
officials residing or visiting Bogota had at their disposal a large and growing collection of printed materials from all over the world, and increasingly with valuable information about Latin American countries. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the influx of global books and periodicals enhanced private and public libraries in Colombia, feeding debates about Latin American countries’ histories, current developments, and potentialities.

Bookstores also eased the circulation of Latin American ideas in Colombia. One of the most influential bookstores in Colombia was “Librería Torres Caycedo,” which was named in honor of José María Torres Caicedo, a Biblioteca Bolívar’s member and widely esteemed Colombian who “was the protector and mentor of all South Americans and, especially, of the Colombians who arrived in Paris.” Torres Caicedo was the editor in chief of the Colombian newspaper El Día, which was founded in 1840, and the Parisian El Correo de Ultramar, “the most popular newspaper in Latin America until its absorption in 1886 by La Ilustración Española y Americana, a magazine founded in Madrid in 1870.” Librería Torres Caycedo was publicized through the periodical Revista Bibliográfica, which reached thirty-four installments between 1878 and 1889. Torres Caicedo and Adriano Páez were pioneers and influential journalists at this time.

---


105 José María Quijano Wallis, Memorias autobiográficas, histórico-políticas y de carácter social (Roma: Tipografía Italo-Orientale, 1919), 172.

106 Martínez, El nacionalismo cosmopolita, 44, 69.

Belonging to the Colombian intellectual Lázaro María Pérez, Librería Torres Caycedo was “the best internationally connected bookstore in the country.”108 This library developed a Latin American collection, resulting from the network of exchanges its owner weaved with Latin American booksellers, mainly from Chile, Argentina, Nicaragua and México. Among other connections, the relationship between Pérez and the Chilean Roberto Miranda was key, lasting for about a decade and resulting in the circulation in Colombia of original Chilean manuscripts like *Exposición razonada y estudio comparativo del Código Civil Chileno* (1868) and *Código civil ante la Universidad* (1871) by Jacinto Chacón.109 Aiming to draw appropriate models for Colombia’s particular circumstances from neighboring countries, the circulation of books on Latin American legal institutions were among the critical materials Colombia’s progress brokers circulated in Colombia towards the end of the century. Among appropriate models that Colombians drew from Chile was its Civil Code. Although it was being adapted to Colombia’s states during the federative era (1863-1886), the Chilean Civil Code was adopted by the whole territory of Colombia by Law 86 of 1887, right after a centralist system of government came to be established by the constitution of 1886. Although it was not copied identically, Chile’s Code served as a mediated base.110

Besides selling books, bookstores also offered subscriptions to global periodicals. Although in Bogotá the first modern bookstore was opened by Juan Simonnot in 1851,

108 Murillo Sandoval, 56; Martínez, *El nacionalismo cosmopolita*, 64.


110 Fernando Vélez, *Datos para la historia del derecho nacional* (Medellín: Imprenta del Departamento, 1891), 79.
which offered subscriptions to two of the most influential European publications for Latin Americans, Correo de Ultramar y el Eco de Ambos Mundos, Librería Torres Caycedo promoted subscriptions to a large variety of Latin American periodicals like Revue Sud-Américaine and Revista del Mundo Latino from Paris, and El Educador Popular, La Industria, El Ateneo y La América Ilustrada from New York.  

The creation of Latin American associations in Paris, as well as the circulation of useful knowledge of their countries from Europe to Colombia, was critical in allowing intellectuals and politicians to draw appropriate models for Colombia’s particular circumstances from neighboring countries, rather than only from North Atlantic societies. In fact, towards the end of the nineteenth century Latin Americans were also circulating useful ideas from the United States, where the movement of printed materials from New York southwards was also vital to the realization of Latin American models of material progress for Colombia.

Latin Americans in New York and the Circulation of Useful Knowledge

Colombian progress brokers engaged with fellow Latin Americans in New York as much as they did in Paris towards the end of the nineteenth century. By fostering either official or private businesses, they sought the promotion of their home lands by creating and circulating useful knowledge from the United States. Some Latin Americans encouraged the translation of useful works into Spanish, and pushed for the publication and distribution of periodicals addressing a variety of scientific and intellectual novelties within

111 Murillo Sandoval, “La aparición de las librerías colombianas. Conexiones, consumos y giros editoriales en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX,” 56; Martínez, El nacionalismo cosmopolita, 64; “Anuncios. La Librería Torres Caycedo,” El Conservador, October 9, 1883, 1.
the Americas. Initiatives to translate and circulate European or North American school texts, scientific knowledge, and industrial developments had flourished over the second half of the nineteenth century. Being a vibrant, international city of immigrants, New York became the Latin Americans’ hub of early translation movements, focused specifically on texts produced since the 1870s, when an acceleration of industrial production (known as the second industrial revolution) was taking place in advanced North Atlantic economies.

Many Latin American intellectuals worked closely with U.S. industries and associations that sought to strengthen commercial relations with Latin America. These companies’ main goal was to open new markets for useful publications in Spanish. New York publisher D. Appleton & Co. was the pioneering enterprise in publishing books in Spanish with scientific and educational purposes, which “constituted in itself a small but interesting chapter in inter-American cultural relations.” Since the 1840s, this company had intentionally published books for a Latin American audience and Spanish speaking countries in general, where they established branches for distributing their books. By 1885, the House of Appleton had opened eighteen branches in Hispanic America, Brazil, and the Philippines. Aiming to disseminate useful knowledge throughout the Hispanic


113 Beaty, Technology and the Search for Progress in Modern Mexico, 57.

114 Kanellos and Martell, Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography, 43–74.


portion of the hemisphere, D. Appleton & Co. recruited some of the most renowned Latin Americans who were at the time living in New York. Among them were influential intellectuals like the Argentinian Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, Cuban José Martí, Puerto Rican Eugenio María de Hostos, and Colombian Rafael Pombo.\footnote{Miguel Cané, \textit{Notas de viaje sobre Venezuela y Colombia}. (Bogotá: Imprenta de La Luz, 1907), 211; Shearer, “Pioneer Publishers of Textbooks for Hispanic America.”} While Appleton prioritized profit making, progress brokers focused on benefiting their home countries by disseminating useful knowledge.\footnote{Shearer, “Pioneer Publishers of Textbooks for Hispanic America,” 24, 27.} They worked on either translating or publishing original works, which eventually were integrated into some Latin American school systems, including works for teachers’ coaching like the Appleton series \textit{Biblioteca del Maestro}.\footnote{Shearer, 24–25; Ministerio de Instrucción Pública de Colombia, “Reglamento Para Las Escuelas Primarias,” in \textit{Revista de La Instrucción Pública de Colombia}, vol. 7 (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional, 1893), 31.}

Some of the works published by Appleton were used to instruct Colombians. In 1871, the renowned Colombian intellectual Miguel Antonio Caro was appointed agent of Appleton and Co. for Colombia's interior. Although he was allowed to expand the distribution of printed materials in Colombia, and thus was looking for a publishing house to represent in Spain, Caro asserted in a letter to his dearest friend Rufino José Cuervo that “I am committed not to sell others [textbooks] that may compete with those published by these gentlemen [Appleton & Co.].”\footnote{Cuervo, \textit{Rufino J. Cuervo Cartas de su archivo}, 2:58, 63.} Moreover, Caro invited Rufino Cuervo, who resided in Paris, to engage with the promotion of textbooks in Colombia. “I hope you study this issue of textbooks and bring those that can be translated and accommodate our
circumstances, and we will contract them with Appleton,” Caro advocated. Although little is known about Cuervo’s commitment to this end, the agreement Caro made with Appleton would open the road for introducing pedagogic novelties to Colombia, benefiting the country’s education system. In 1878, Caro and Cuervo founded *Librería Americana* in Bogotá, which continued to represent Appleton as the publishing house’s exclusive agent in Colombia.

During the early 1880s, the Colombian government showed interest in adopting works published by Appleton to enhance the public-school system. In fact, in 1881 the Colombian Treasury Minister reported expenses “to legalize the expense that the same Consul made in the payment to Messrs. Appleton & Co. for the value of books sent by the Consul to the General Director of Public Instruction.”

By 1900, the Colombian public school system had already adopted several books printed by Appleton, like *Primer libro de geografía de Smith* (1867)—a geography book by Asa Dodge Smith which was translated into Spanish and adapted to the schools of South America, the West Indies, and Mexico—and *El lector americano: nuevo curso gradual de lecturas compuesto para el uso de las escuelas hispanoamericanas* by José Abelardo Núñez (1888), a reader designed “for the use of Hispanic American schools.”

Private education also benefited from Appleton.

---

121 Cuervo, 2:36, 57–58.


123 Simón de Herrera, *Memoria del Secretario del Tesoro dirijida al Presidente de la Unión para el Congreso de 1881* (Bogotá: Imprenta de Medardo Rivas, 1881), 56.

Besides the widely known Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras by the Venezuelan Manuel A. Carreño, Bogotá bookstores retailed a collection of original manuscripts by the Colombian poet Julio Arboleda as well as the Tratado elemental de algebra, which was an adaptation for Latin American schools by the Colombian priest Rafael Celedón. Either officially or privately adopted, Appleton books boosted the education system in Colombia, and helped promote the work of Colombian intellectuals who came to embody in the United States the brokerage role some intellectuals were playing in Europe. They were looking for appropriate models from within the region for Colombia’s particular circumstances.

Some Appleton books were explicitly projected to impact the Latin American education system more broadly. This publishing house also circulated works by Latin American intellectuals like the Chilean Pedro P. Ortiz. Aiming to revolutionize education practices and contents in Latin America, and playing a prominent role as miembro correspondiente (correspondent member) of the University of Chile’s Humanities Department in the United States, Ortiz composed the books Principios Fundamentales Sobre Educación Popular i Los Nuevos Métodos de Enseñanza, Etc. (1866) and Principios elementales de física experimental y aplicada, incluso la meteorología y la climatología para el uso de los colegios, escuelas superiores y liceos hispano-americanos y de las personas estudiosas (1887). Like Ortiz, Latin Americans working along with Appleton

---


126 Pedro P Ortiz, Principios fundamentales sobre educación popular i los nuevos métodos de enseñanza, etc. (Nueva York: D. Appleton y compañía, 1866); Pedro Pablo Ortiz, Principios elementales de física experimental y aplicada, incluso la meteorología y la climatología para el uso de los colegios, escuelas superiores y liceos hispano-americanos y de las personas estudiosas. Conteniendo todos los últimos
were looking to foster public education systems and to widen the circulation of useful knowledge, which they deemed critical for fostering material and intellectual progress in their home countries.

Women and the youngest children also benefited from the relationship between Latin American intellectuals and the publishing house Appleton & Co. While some Latin American countries would adopt Appleton’s *Economía doméstica e higiene* to educate women, illustrated tale books would circulate widely to support early childhood education.\(^{127}\) Regarding the latter, in 1877 the Colombian intellectual Rufino J. Cuervo wrote to his friend Miguel Antonio Caro that “I have always looked with envy at the children’s booklets, illustrated with pictures, that the house of Appleton published in English: in view of them, I said many times, why do not we have something equal for our schools?” Yet Cuervo continued by describing that “one day, when I least expected it, I saw the libraries of Buenos Aires flooded with identical books in Spanish, and what is even more satisfying, they were put in verse with a skill and a mastery that only a truly talented translator could reach. If this translator is, as I believe, Mr. [Rafael] Pombo, he deserves to be esteemed by friends of education as one of the benefactors of South American childhood.”\(^{128}\) Thousands of Appleton’s illustrated series for children were sold within the

---


\(^{128}\) Guitarte, *Cartas desconocidas de Miguel Antonio Caro, Juan María Gutiérrez, y Ezequiel Uricochea*, 57–58.
Americas. The renowned Colombian intellectual Rafael Pombo had authored some of these books, “which we have all seen in the hands of all of America’s children,” as the Argentinian statesman and intellectual Miguel Cané stressed in his memoirs. As the authorship of these books were not explicitly stated, in 1879 Pombo himself wrote a clarifying note stating that “[of] the books for children of the Appleton house in New York, only the twelve notebooks entitled Cuentos pintados, and the twelve largest entitled Cuentos morales para niños formales are written by me.”

Although catalogs of Appleton's publications in Spanish are rare to find, the catalogue indicates that there were already eight agentes y corresponsales (agents and stringers) in Colombia, who covered the markets of main cities such as Bogotá, Barranquilla, and Cartagena. D. Appleton & Co. also had agencies in smaller cities such as Bucaramanga, Ocaña, and Pamplona, which by proximity could attend the frontier area shared by Colombia and Venezuela. Among these agents was Salvador Camacho Roldán, a Colombian politician and entrepreneur who founded the well-known bookstore

---


130 Miguel Cané, Notas de viaje sobre Venezuela y Colombia., 211–12.


132 D. Appleton y Compañía, Catálogo general español (D. Appleton y compañía, 1908), 79.
Librería Colombiana in Bogotá, which was stocked with books he himself purchased in the United States and Europe, as noted in his *Notas de Viaje*.133

The circulation of printed materials from the United States to Colombia reached significant levels towards the end of the century. It is worth noting that Colombians spent roughly as much money on U.S. printed materials as on sewing machines—roughly $90,000 per year in imports in each category, from 1891 to 1900.134 Although the value tells us little about the actual quantity and quality of the imported printings, the comparison with the sewing machine is telling because, according to the U.S. Consul at Barranquilla, towards the end of the century “the sewing machine [was] the only machine that [was] sold in large numbers [in Colombia], and these are all of American manufacture.”135 Although in terms of technology transfer Colombia could only import large numbers of sewing machines from the United States, trading with the north allowed Colombia’s progress brokers to circulate useful information they would convey from New York to Colombian readership, seeking to draw appropriate models for Colombia’s particular conditions from Latin American interactions.

Appleton also published works of reference about Latin America. From 1870 to 1910, they published influential books like *Life and Nature under the Tropics* by Henry Morris Myers, *Ambas Américas* by Ramón Péaéz, *Around and about South America* by Frank Vincent, *Brazil: Its Condition and Prospects* by Christopher Columbus Andrews,


Although most of these works were penned by North Americans, perspectives on Latin America from the United States enriched a broader outlook by Colombians and Latin Americans alike who were looking for models and for a better understanding of their own republics. In fact, a robust and diverse body of books, newspapers, and periodicals circulated widely from New York to Colombia and to other Latin American countries alike. Along with European periodicals and manuscripts on Latin America that circulated from Europe to Colombia, U.S. newspapers and journals reached the Colombian reader, mostly from New York, towards the end of the century.

Major Colombian periodicals had typically included information about Latin American countries’ history and currents since the 1840s. However, it was during the 1880s when some newspapers such as *Colombia Ilustrada* (1889-92) established canjes with U.S. counterparts. In the race for material progress, scientific and industrial developments were among the priorities of this newspaper’s editors. In the first number of *Colombia Ilustrada*, José T. Gaibrois, the periodical’s director, declared that, along with a variety of topics, “we will allocate good space to scientific works in general, which in a style appropriate to the spirit of this magazine, are presented to us by their authors, and we will record the progress and discoveries that resonate for their importance in the thinking world.”


137 “Prospecto,” *Colombia Ilustrada*, April 2, 1889, 4.
circulation of useful knowledge was critical to drawing appropriate models of progress, *Colombia Ilustrada* promoted canjes with national and international counterparts, gaining rapid recognition within the hemisphere. In October 1889, in its eighth issue, the editors noted their active exchange not only with *Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York* but also with more than twenty newspapers from different Latin American countries, and a dozen more from different Colombian cities (Table 1.2). Throughout the following editions, while gradually revealing the growth of the journal’s mutual exchanges, the editors proudly hinted at the vibrant trade of ideas and useful knowledge that was taking place between Colombia and the rest of the hemisphere. Most of the publications exchanged focused on either industrial, commercial, or technical matters, hinting at Colombian progress brokers’ increasing interest in models of material progress and lessons for action (Table 1.3).

If canjes with Latin American periodicals—printed both within the continent and overseas—would provide perspectives on the region’s own history, currents, and projects for progress, canjes with U.S. periodicals would allow Colombians access both to ideas of the magnitude of the spillover of technology from the North Atlantic to Latin American countries and perspectives about Latin America from the northern country. In fact, when in early 1890 the influential New York periodical *Scientific American* launched its Spanish edition entitled *La América Científica e Industrial* (1890-1908), *Colombia Ilustrada*’s editors acknowledged receipt of its first issue less than two months after its original publication in New York.138 The Colombian entrepreneur Amaranto Jaspe, who resided in Cartagena, was the distributor of this journal in Colombia.139 The English version of this


magazine, as well as its Spanish edition, were perhaps the richest publications available in Latin America in regards to cutting-edge scientific knowledge, industrial developments, and patent systems.

Although short-lived and inconsistently delivered in general, Colombian periodicals republished news excerpts of different printed materials from Latin American countries and from Latin Americans hubs like Paris and New York which the editors considered noteworthy and, more importantly, useful for Colombian contemporary needs. Seeking to make scientific articles and useful knowledge more widely accessible to Colombians, progress brokers even reduced the scientific jargon when necessary.  

TABLE 1.2.
NATIONAL CANJES OF COLOMBIA ILUSTRADA, 1889-1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periodical</th>
<th>Colombian City</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>El Promotor</td>
<td>Barranquilla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anales de Instrucción Pública</td>
<td>Bogotá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Instituto</td>
<td>Bogotá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Taller</td>
<td>Bogotá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Revista</td>
<td>Bogotá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Revista de Higiene</td>
<td>Bogotá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Revista Médica</td>
<td>Bogotá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Anales de Ingeniería</td>
<td>Bogotá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La República</td>
<td>Bucaramanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Provenir</td>
<td>Cartagena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Registro Oficial</td>
<td>Cartagena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Revista Escolar</td>
<td>Cartagena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Tarde</td>
<td>Medellín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Voz de Antioquia</td>
<td>Medellín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notas y Letras</td>
<td>Medellín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Revista Comercial e Industrial (de la casa de D. Manuel J. Álvarez C.)</td>
<td>Medellín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Cronista</td>
<td>Panamá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Estrella</td>
<td>Panamá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Unidad</td>
<td>Tunja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

140 “La flora colombiana,” Colombia Ilustrada, October 15, 1889, 126.
**TABLE 1.3.**

INTERNATIONAL CANJES OF COLOMBIA ILUSTRADA, 1889-1890

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periodical</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Porvenir Militar</strong></td>
<td>Buenos Aires, Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Diario de La-Plata</strong></td>
<td>La Plata, Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revista de Artes y Letras</strong></td>
<td>Santiago, Chile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Habana Elegante</strong></td>
<td>Havana, Cuba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Boletín de la Librería de Bethancourt e Hijos</strong></td>
<td>Country of Curaçao, Curaçao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Boletín</strong></td>
<td>Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Teléfono</strong></td>
<td>Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Globo</strong></td>
<td>Guayaquil, Ecuador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Diario Oficial</strong></td>
<td>San Salvador, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Repertorio Salvadoreño</strong></td>
<td>San Salvador, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Telégrafo del Salvador</strong></td>
<td>San Salvador, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Juventud Salvadoreña</strong></td>
<td>San Salvador, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Nueva Enseñanza</strong></td>
<td>San Salvador, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Los Debates</strong></td>
<td>San Salvador, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Palmera del Valle</strong></td>
<td>Guadalajara, Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Familia</strong></td>
<td>Mexico, Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Perú Ilustrado</strong></td>
<td>Lima, Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Opinión Nacional</strong></td>
<td>Lima, Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Universidad</strong></td>
<td>San Salvador, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La América Científica e Industrial</strong></td>
<td>New York, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Revista Ilustrada de Nueva-York</strong></td>
<td>New York, USA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Pastor</strong></td>
<td>Barquisimeto, Venezuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Economista</strong></td>
<td>Caracas, Venezuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La América Ilustrada y Pintoresca</strong></td>
<td>Caracas, Venezuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>La Opinión Nacional</strong></td>
<td>Caracas, Venezuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Fonógrafo</strong></td>
<td>Maracaibo, Venezuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>El Zulia Ilustrado</strong></td>
<td>Maracaibo, Venezuela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Colombia Ilustrada*, Bogotá, Nos. 8 and 11, 1889-90.
Conclusions

Colombian progress brokers made possible the circulation of a large body of knowledge about Latin American experiences that would be useful to devise Colombia’s own prosperity. They were well informed about global currents and historical processes. As intellectuals, many of them accessed and circulated printed materials with useful information from all over the world. As statesmen and diplomats, they promoted agreements (like postal conventions) to ease the circulation of official documents, correspondence, and printed materials in general. Newspapers and books circulated widely, although irregularly, throughout Colombia’s main urban centers, letting concerned citizens stay aware of global affairs. Political disturbances and rainy seasons made this level of circulation difficult in the hinterland, isolating most of Colombia’s population for some periods. However, people in Panama and in the major ports of the Caribbean and the Pacific coastlines remained relatively up-to-date, transferring news and printed materials to the interior whenever possible. Intellectuals (sometimes acting as bureaucrats and commercial agents) stimulated a continual flux of information into the hinterland. As global printed materials were largely collected in public and private libraries, contemporary intellectuals and politicians had easy access to them. Besides periodical publications and monographs collected and circulated by individuals, many Latin American officials, libraries, and associations donated works to the Colombian national library and international libraries like Biblioteca Bolívar in Paris, easing the examination of neighboring countries’ history and developments. Publishing houses like Appleton & Co. of New York would also stimulate and ease the circulation of educational printed materials.

Global news and printed materials that circulated from Latin American countries via Paris and New York to Colombia were key to expanding mutual knowledge and drawing
appropriate models for Colombia’s particular circumstances. Colombian progress brokers came to trust that Colombia would reach analogous ends if following in Latin American countries’ footsteps, rather than following North Atlantic models. This was particularly important at the turn of the century, when a bloody civil war unfolded in Colombia, causing a period of critical reflection. Some Colombians realized that their country was not only falling well behind other Latin American countries, but it was regressing. Working to incorporate lessons and models from their Latin American neighbors, some progress brokers analyzed and debated historical lessons within the hemisphere.

Works cited

Amaya, Isidoro Laverde. Bibliografía colombiana. Imp. y Librería de M. Rivas, 1895.
Antonini y Diez, P. “Le commerce général et la navigation italo-uruguayens.” Revue Sud-Américaine 5, no. 102 (October 1, 1886).
“Anuncios. La Librería Torres Caycedo.” El Conservador. October 9, 1883.
“Bibliografía.” Colombia Ilustrada, March 15, 1890.

———. *Memoria Del Secretario de Lo Interior I Relaciones Exteriores Al Congreso de Nacional de 1872.* Bogotá: Imprenta de Medardo Rivas, 1872.
———. *Memoria del Secretario del Tesoro dirijida al Presidente de la Unión para el Congreso de 1874.* Bogotá: Imprenta de Gaitán, 1874.
Colombia, Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores. “Memoria del Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores dirigida al presidente de la Unión Para el Congreso de 1885.” Imprenta de Vapor de Zalamea Hermanos, 1885.
“Comunicaciones.” *El Siglo Diez y Nueve.* August 9, 1884.
———. *El gato presumido.* Appleton & Ca., 1891.
———. *La cenicima, ó, El zapattito de vidrio.* Nueva York: D. Appleton y Ca., 1867.


“Extraordinaria.” *La Industria.* May 26, 1884.


Guilaine, L. “Finances et Crédit Argentins.” *Revue Sud-Américaine* 5, no. 102 (October 1, 1886).


“La Biblioteca Bolívar.” *El Monitor Republicano.* August 9, 1884.

“La Biblioteca Bolívar.” *El Siglo Diez y Nueve.* May 1, 1885.


“La flora colombiana.” *Colombia Ilustrada,* October 15, 1889.
———. “Centenario de Bolívar en París.” El Conservador. September 18, 1883.
———. “La banque de la province de Buenos-Aires.” Revue Sud-Américaine 5, no. 102 (October 1, 1886).
———. “La ville de Caracas.” Revue Sud-Américaine 5, no. 102 (October 1, 1886).
———. “Les progrès du Chili.” Revue Sud-Américaine 5, no. 102 (October 1, 1886).
———. “Notice géographique, économique et industrielle sur les États-Unis de Colombie.” Revue Sud-Américaine, no. 3 (August 1882).


Martínez, Frédéric. “Apogeo y decadencia del ideal de la inmigración europea en Colombia, siglo XIX.” Translated by Ximena Fidalgo. Boletín Cultural y Bibliográfico 34, no. 44 (1997).


Oficina Central de Estadística. *Estadística comercial de la República de Chile correspondiente al año de 1873*. Valparaíso, Chile: Imprenta del Mercurio, 1874.


Ortiz, Pedro P. *Principios fundamentales sobre educación popular i los nuevos métodos de enseñanza, etc.* Nueva York: D. Appleton y compañía, 1866.

Ortiz, Pedro Pablo. *Principios elementales de física experimental y aplicada, incluso la meteorología y la climatología para el uso de los colegios, escuelas superiores y liceos hispano-americanos y de las personas estudiosas. Conteniendo todos los últimos descubrimientos y aplicaciones recientes a la industria, artes, etc., y a los usos y objetos de la vida común. Y una numerosa colección de grabados explicativos e interesantes, intercalados en el texto*. Nueva York: D. Appleton y Compañía, 1887.


“Prospecto.” *Colombia Ilustrada*, April 2, 1889.


———. *Lo que se vè y lo que no se vè. O la economía política en una lección, dada a sus paisanos de Francia por Federico Bastiat, é interpretada y ofrecida á los suyos de Zipaquirá por Eustacio Santamaría*. Nueva York: Imprenta del Correo de Los Estados Unidos, 1853.

———. *Primer libro de instrucción objetiva para el aprendizaje combinado del dibujo, la escritura i la lectura con nociones rudimentales de historia natural, geometría, aritmética, geografía i agricultura*. Havre: impr. de A. Lemale Aîné, 1872.

Sarmiento, Domingo F. *Ambas Américas, revista de educacion, bibliografia i agricultura*. Nueva York: Imprenta de Hallet y Breen, 1867.


“Unión Latino-Americana.” *La Estrella de Panamá*. October 22, 1887.


Vincent, Frank. *Around and about South America*. New York, 1890.


