



ROAD TO ARMAGEDDON Paraguay Versus the Triple Alliance, 1866-70 by Thomas L. Whigham

ISBN 978-1-55238-810-5

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EPILOGUE

Though the protracted debacle had finally come to an end, no one could yet measure its long-term impact. Most participants had by now forgotten the war's causes, though its immediate effects were plain enough. The Allies emerged victorious, but they gained only a prostrate country whose independence they agreed to respect out of geopolitical self-interest. The Brazilians and Argentines had strained their national treasuries to crush López, and thousands of their soldiers lay dead. For a few officers and politicians, honor may have at long last been satisfied. But for the men in the field, the struggle had been without meaning for many months.

In military terms, the Paraguayan campaign offered few surprises. Any chance of the Marshal gaining a meaningful victory ended with the destruction of his fleet at the Riachuelo in mid-1865. From that point onward, the Paraguayans could never prevail, nor even rescue the Blanco regime in Montevideo. Their struggle instead took the form of a long attrition in which the Allies enjoyed all the material advantages and most of the political ones.

On occasion, the Brazilians and Argentines suffered reverses, including a spectacular defeat at Curupayty. The one major strategic innovation the Allies attempted—the Mato Grosso operation—also resulted in failure, after which they returned to their original idea of pounding Humaitá into collapse. This strategy brought the expected success only after a long effort. Caxias and the Count d'Eu certainly did most things right, of course. They adopted more up-to-date weaponry during the course of the fighting and dramatically improved both provisioning and medical support. And they assigned field command to officers who had already proven their worth in combat, thus demonstrating that military professionalism usually wins out over simple courage.

The other military lessons of the war were purely technical. Universal conscription provided a valuable source of dependable manpower, and the laying of telegraph lines proved essential to a good defense. Ironclad vessels, by contrast, were overrated as an offensive tool, for they failed to silence or even damage good earthen batteries. It was likewise problematic to place rifled cannon or muskets into the hands of troops whose commanders had had no training

with such weapons. Despite the fact that they delivered less of a punch, lighter cannon proved superior to heavier guns because they were easier to transport. For a similar reason, Congreve rockets proved more successful than military planners had previously believed. Needle rifles had no positive impact on the conduct of close engagements and were rejected by all who used them. Cavalry forces had not generally succeeded as planners had predicted and war ministries would henceforth pay more attention to organizing and maintaining infantry units. Lighter-than-air balloons could provide good intelligence initially, but the enemy could hamper their effectiveness by setting fires whose smoke would obscure any observation. A well-organized supply system was vital in facing an opponent who enjoyed interior lines. And finally, though the loss of the *Rio de Janeiro* might suggest otherwise, river torpedoes really offered more of a threat in the minds of naval planners than they ever did in reality.

These conclusions were unlikely to shake the thinking of military men like von Versen, Manlove, and McMahon, who understood them already from wars in North America and the Crimea. What no one could have predicted, however, were the lengths to which the Paraguayans would go to defend their community and nation. It was ultimately not a question of why the Allies won the war but rather why it took the Paraguayans so long to lose. They tenaciously resisted the Allied onslaught after all chances for victory had ended and after every appeal for a negotiated peace was rejected as unacceptable. They resisted like the men and women of Masada, whose fate they shared, astonishing the world in the process.

The Paraguayan War brought many changes to the political milieu in each of the four nations involved, and it accelerated other changes that were already underway. The war cost Argentina some eighteen thousand combat deaths and at least as many from disease.¹ The national government had to absorb considerable financial costs, perhaps as much as fifty million dollars—money that could have been spent more productively on education and infrastructure.² Needless to say, some time passed before the loans were repaid to the various banks.³

Despite these costs, the war brought advantages to the merchants and cattlemen of Buenos Aires and the Litoral provinces. Justo José de Urquiza and Anacarsis Lanús were only two out of a great many men who grew rich as purveyors of livestock and supplies to the Allied armies. The profits earned by Bonaerense oligarchs helped bolster the national government, which took advantage of Brazil's obsession with Paraguay to consolidate power in the Argentine Interior and to strengthen the hand of the army. The *provincianos* witnessed a few final gasps in defense of their Federalist ideals and then gave way as their old quest for coequality with Buenos Aires faded.⁴

The tone of leadership—and the political direction in general—within the Argentine national government changed drastically as a result of the war. Bartolomé Mitre had acted as the booster of pro-Brazilian policies in the Plata.

He had supported the Triple Alliance as the best way forward for Argentina and after the Marshal's defeat, he sought to reinforce good relations with Brazil. To that end, he went to Rio de Janeiro as ambassador in the mid-1870s, and though he got on well with the emperor, he lost the support of imperial officials who argued that Argentina could no longer be trusted.⁵

Rejected as a suitor, Mitre searched for solace once again in Argentine national politics and was rejected there as well. More so than he had anticipated, his country was evolving. Mass immigration started to offer a bridge between the Creole regime of the past and the cosmopolitan nation of the future. Its promoters perceived European immigration as a eugenic solution for the nation's social ills, for, by replacing gauchos and "Indians" with "good European stock," the country could finally become the more "civilized" nation that Sarmiento had heralded. And indeed, by introducing barbed wire to the Pampas, sowing the grasslands with cereals for export, mechanizing the processing of beef, and building railroads, Argentina transformed itself into a terrible yet wonderful exemplar of "Progress" that José Hernández decried and that Mitre thought of as his life's work.⁶

Though the former head of state could take credit for many of these changes, he was increasingly out of step in the new environment. President Nicolás Avellaneda had the foresight to pardon Mitre after an ill-considered rebellion in the 1870s, but the old president could never forgive his successors for ignoring him. He focused on operating *La Nación*, still one of the country's great newspapers, and to some extent, he played the role of godfather to anyone who might listen to his counsel. But Mitre's life proved unfulfilling. His closest friends died before him, as did his wife, and several of his children (one of his sons a suicide). With each death, the bright spark that politics had once provided grew dimmer.

Mitre found solace in writing and in his magnificent home library. From the early 1880s onward, likely as not he could be found at any hour of the day wearing a stained frock coat and sitting, pen in hand, behind a rampart of books. They were his true friends, unwavering in their loyalty. As he aged, Mitre appeared less as the revered founder of a Liberal Argentina than as an eccentric collator of historical details, a *talmudiste manqué*. He wrote classic biographies of his heroes Belgrano and San Martín, received scientific delegations on occasion, and even dabbled in poetry.⁷

For a long time Mitre kept his opinions about the Paraguayan campaign to himself; he emerged from self-imposed silence only in 1903, when Brazilian veterans published a series of jeremiads questioning his effectiveness as Allied commander. He responded by releasing the *Memoria militar* that he had prepared for Caxias in September 1867, in which he defended his actions in his usual sharp-witted way. He then retired quietly to his library and died three years later, still haunted by memories of Paraguay and a thousand unrealized dreams.

Despite his frequent evocation of a happy future for Argentina, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento considered himself a personal failure after he left the presidency in 1872. He had to bear the responsibility for war-related debts that others had accumulated, and he grew bitter about this and much else. He wrote scathing articles about his political opponents, theorized about racial matters (while bemoaning the pluralistic society), and held his face in a perpetual grimace. Visions of Dominguito bleeding into the soil at Curupayty disturbed his nightly rest. Sarmiento ultimately died as a carbuncle-ridden exile in Asunción—of all places—sitting in a high-back chair suitable to a schoolmaster, alone and unmourned.

Like Argentina, the Empire of Brazil saw its political destinies change along with the character of its nationalism, even though these changes were endorsed with the greatest reluctance by traditional power brokers. Among the most influential (and most conservative) of these men was Caxias, the “Duke of Iron,” who returned to political life in Rio in a state of public grace and private disdain. Six months after Cerro Corã, the Imperial Senate appointed him to the Council of State, and he retained that position while serving as senator. His refusal to pursue López after Lomas Valentinas was forgotten, and, in 1875, the emperor convinced the reluctant general to accept the prime ministry for a third time. Unlike Zacharias, Itaboraí, and Paranhos, he made few innovations, leaving the more ticklish affairs of government to younger colleagues. He stepped down in January 1878, leaving the reins of power to his Liberal adversaries, and died two years later, predeceasing the empire he had done so much to defend by less than a decade.

Though he spent the war years at some distance from actual combat, the duke’s Imperial Master was also worn down by the Paraguayan War, which he had always seen as a matter of honor. As Liliana Moritz Schwarcz and John Gledson observed,

At the beginning of the war, when he was forty, with his sturdy demeanor and uniform, Dom Pedro II presented the picture of a serene and confident ruler. ... At the time of the great battles, [he] was portrayed as a soldier in trying circumstances: after all, Brazil had spent 600,000 *contos* and worsened its financial dependence on Great Britain. Its leader, on horseback ... carrying a small spy-glass with a battle scene behind him ... or surrounded by children, was a monarch symbolizing the nation at war. Yet the calm and tranquility with which the photos try to impress us cannot hide the real anxiety. Dom Pedro’s famous beard ... was whitening in front of everyone’s eyes, and the now well-known image of the old man, by which he is still recognized in Brazil ... was emerging. ...

[The] official photographs hide the unease of a king who has gone to war ... and seen the less brilliant side of his Empire.⁸

Notwithstanding his physical decline, dom Pedro persevered, and for a long time few thrones appeared more secure. His reign might have lasted his entire lifetime if not for a certain lassitude that he took few pains to disguise. Inattentive to the temper of the new generation, the emperor failed to keep up with the times, and found himself constantly reacting to political challenges rather than initiating reforms. He grew tired of defending the monarchy with the same alacrity with which he pursued the campaign against López, and he failed to recognize that meaningful disenchantment had set in among military officers whose identities had been shaped by the war. These individuals (not all of whom were Positivists) refused to resume their status as nonentities and took umbrage when their sacrifices were discounted.

After Cerro Corã, most Brazilian soldiers returned home to a rousing welcome from the public.⁹ From the imperial government, however, they perceived a certain worry—justified as it turned out—that men in uniform had gained an outsized prominence while in Paraguay. Now that the war was won, the parliamentarians sought to put the military genie back into the bottle through a series of demeaning gestures and budget cuts. It could be argued that the latter changes reflected normal adjustments to postwar conditions, but the military men nonetheless took offense at what seemed like calculated disrespect. One who expressed irritation was the Count d'Eu, who protested vociferously at any intimation that slighted the armed forces.¹⁰ As an institution, the military swallowed its pride, but many officers in the middle ranks never forgot the rude treatment. Their thinking was henceforth defined more by their loyalty to the nation than to Pedro himself—and this was presumably true of their civilian supporters (including the thirty thousand soldiers who now returned to civilian life).¹¹ The military men believed, as presumably the monarch did not, that they would soon transform Brazil.

Before the war, the men of the armed forces recognized that though they already had a Brazil to defend, as yet they had no Brazilians. The war gave concrete meaning to Brazilian nationalism, however, and with total casualties amounting to sixty thousand dead and wounded, the state badly needed to justify their sacrifice.¹² Officers of humble origin had found considerable authority in Paraguay and discovered that they liked it. They had little interest in going back to the insignificant role of earlier days—and neither had their men. The Paulista, Carioca, Sertanejo, and Gaúcho soldiers developed a bond of unity in the trenches. The monarchy was only incidental to that cohesion. Now, in building a new military and ostensibly a new nation, they would need to be just as dedicated as the Paraguayans had been in defending their native soil.

The emperor had insisted on dictating the peace in Paraguay rather than negotiating it, but this preference had cost him dearly.¹³ Paying off the various loans from foreign banks contributed to ongoing budgetary problems in the 1870s. As was true in Argentina, however, the Paraguayan War also stimulated the most modern economic sectors, and it helped spur the construction of Brazilian rail and port facilities. All of this strengthened the planter aristocracy at a time when coffee inspired a major export boom.

To keep pace with the growing economy, highly placed civilians proposed important political reforms. Unlike the junior officers, they contemplated these adjustments from within the confines of established procedure and with due deference to the emperor's opinions. This inclination was most obvious among the Liberals, who had suffered in Caxias's *fait accompli* of February 1868. In recovering from that blow, they sponsored decentralization, direct elections, the conversion of the Council of State into an exclusively administrative organ, the abolition of life tenure in the Senate, judicial autonomy, the extension of the franchise to non-Catholics, a new structure for public education, and the gradual emancipation of slaves.

This platform, though still avowedly monarchist, in fact weakened the established order, as can be seen in the subsequent career of Paranhos. After departing Paraguay in June 1870, the councilor was ennobled as the Viscount of Rio Branco and took office shortly thereafter as prime minister. Though his four-year administration generally received the same plaudits that he had earned in Asunción, he found that he could govern effectively only by ignoring his old associates, which, unfortunately, increased factionalism in the Conservative Party. In 1871, Paranhos oversaw the passage of the controversial Free Womb Law, which assured the ultimate elimination of Brazilian slavery.¹⁴ Along with Caxias, he defended the emperor during his confrontation with the church in the 1870s, and worked hand in hand with the Liberals to keep the more radical politicians at bay during his time in office. He continued to enjoy public esteem after he stepped down in 1875, though parliamentarians of a younger generation sniggered at him behind his back.

The viscount had always enjoyed imported Havana cigars, and in retirement, his smoking habit led to cancer of the mouth. The painful affliction prevented his speaking with the customary lucidity and eloquence; it did not, however, stop him from quarreling with his son, whose public relation with a Belgian actress irked the elder Paranhos as much as López's antics had done in an earlier day. A statesman of the highest rank who aspired to a visionary role among Brazilians, he ended his days in petty bickering, trying with hand gestures to make himself understood.¹⁵

The changes that the Paraguayan War inspired and that Paranhos and the Liberals supported crept steadily into the body politic in Brazil. The process culminated in Princess Isabel's emancipation decree of 1888. Several of the

system's staunchest defenders had already died or distanced themselves from governance, visibly spent by the unending political debates. The process of dissolution that in some ways commenced on the battlefields of Paraguay culminated in a military takeover in 1889, when Pedro was deposed and a nominal republic established. Broken, it seems, by the weight of events and the ingratitude of people whose loyalty he had taken for granted, the emperor sailed for Europe. He declined compensation for the properties that the new regime had seized and died in a Paris hotel in 1891.

Prince Gaston lived to see the various republican prohibitions against the imperial family lifted in the early twentieth century. He had spent thirty years in exile from his adopted fatherland, maintaining always his affection for Isabel and his fealty to the Bragança monarchy that she embodied. For her part, Isabel felt that the abolition of slavery had been worth the loss of a throne. Some Brazilians, their eyes clouded with nostalgia, increasingly saw her actions in that same patriotic light, and as for her foreign husband, he was not such a bad Frenchman after all.¹⁶ In fact, well-wishers showered him with respect when, in January 1921, he disembarked at Rio de Janeiro, having escorted the bodies of dom Pedro and his empress on their long voyage home for final interment. Isabel, then virtually bedridden, could not accompany him, but she expressed satisfaction at the news of his enthusiastic reception. She died soon thereafter, having lived just long enough to celebrate the fifty-seventh anniversary of their marriage. The count survived her by less than a year. Invited back to the old imperial capital to attend the centennial celebration of Brazilian independence, he died at sea on 28 August 1922.¹⁷ It seemed a fitting end for the man, caught so precariously between many allegiances to Old and New Worlds, and very distant indeed from the accusatory stares of Paraguayan phantoms.

For its part, Uruguay had entered the struggle against López as compensation for Brazilian aid to the Florista faction of the Colorado Party. The deaths of Colonel León de Palleja and a great many others assured payment on that debt, and the Uruguayans waited for some recompense now that the war had finally been won at Cerro Corá. This proved a vain hope, and in the end Uruguay had to be satisfied with a share of the battle flags in exchange for an expenditure of 6 million dollars and the lives of 3,119 men (out of a contingent of 5,583).¹⁸ Unlike Brazil and Argentina, which witnessed the birth of nationalist sentiments as a result of the war, Uruguay experienced no comparable outburst of patriotism. The Uruguayans had to wait until the early 1880s for their measure of national affirmation, when dictator Lorenzo Latorre issued primers for schoolchildren that ascribed an improbable nationalist sympathy to José Gervasio Artigas.¹⁹ This set the stage for the development of a full-blown Uruguayan national identity by the beginning of the 1900s—an identity that regretted the country's participation in the Triple Alliance War and refused to look upon it as a catalyst for anything healthy.

Neither the Argentines nor the Brazilians ever developed a dispassionate view of Paraguay, preferring to see the country as an historical aberration. The two wartime allies did find more ways to get along than either would have thought possible in 1869.²⁰ Yet when it came to negotiating a peace treaty with the defeated nation, the Brazilians preempted Buenos Aires and settled with the triumvirs not as a part of the Alliance, but as a separate government with separate interests. The Argentines feigned surprise at this decision but they had expected it all along.²¹ A rapprochement of sorts occurred between the former Allies only in 1876, when the Brazilian occupation forces were withdrawn from Paraguay. But long-term trust was another matter.

In Paraguay itself, no one could ignore the war's effects. The nation was abused economically and politically, and the only thing that the triumvirs were really sure of was that they wanted no new López to ruin their lives once again. The provisional government made no comment when senior officials of the ancien régime were transported as prisoners to Rio de Janeiro, but protested loudly when Madame Lynch arrived at the Asunción quay in late March aboard the warship *Princesa*. Rivarola, who had already embargoed the López family's properties, upheld the petition of ninety Asuncenas that held that la Madama had stolen a quantity of jewels and that these must be returned to their rightful owners before she could be permitted to land.²² The charge, which Lynch dismissed as slander, overstated how much property she had in her baggage and implicitly censured the Brazilians for their mock chivalry in protecting her. Paranhos dismissed the matter as trivial and Madame Lynch continued downriver. In May, the triumvirs toyed with the idea of bringing criminal charges against her, but by now she had reached Buenos Aires and would soon leave South America altogether. She returned only once, in 1875, but had no success in clearing her name or regaining any of her properties.²³

Castigating Lynch was a popular move and cost the Paraguayan government nothing.²⁴ The fear of annihilation that López had so skillfully drummed into the heads of his countrymen had already dissipated. The appetite for brutality and indiscipline that the Brazilian troops had shown at Piribebuy was not repeated after 1870. To those Allied spokesmen who insisted that their soldiers had had clean hands, however, the Paraguayans could observe that there were few adult men left to murder. The great question now was simple survival. That much was obvious to every foreigner who passed through the country during the 1870s. Without exception, they felt jolted by the dire poverty and the mutilation of civil society. Like Richard Burton, these outsiders had not seen the earlier combat, but they reacted with horror and curiosity at the devastation they saw in its aftermath.²⁵

One need not indulge in Paraguayan exceptionalism to point out the tremendous price the nation and its people paid during the war. The republic did not disintegrate over the next decade, as many citizens had feared, but

its economy more or less collapsed. Ninety-nine percent of Paraguayan cattle were lost, and farming recovered only slowly.²⁶ In addition, Paraguay agreed to Allied claims on 55,000 square miles of disputed territory and was also assessed an impossibly huge indemnity.²⁷ The nation was gutted. It was one thing to see disabled veterans selling matches in the streets, just barely surviving “in a world that didn’t care”; such sights were common in Rio, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires as well. It was quite another matter, however, to visit towns in the Paraguayan Cordillera that had no adult males, or to walk the streets of Luque, where women outnumbered men twenty to one.²⁸

The demographic costs of the war were painful and obvious. Paraguay lost upwards of two hundred fifty thousand men, women, and children during the conflict, the great majority of whom died not as a result of combat but of disease and starvation.²⁹ In fact, the country enjoys the dubious distinction of having experienced the highest rate of civilian and military loss of life recorded in any modern war.³⁰ The fatalities were so high that the numbers horrified all foreign visitors and challenged the demographers of a later generation to provide convincing explanations for what happened.³¹

Rivarola and the other members of the provisional government clearly grasped the scale of the problem. The economic deterioration that accompanied the demographic collapse was the central fact of their time and the triumvirs recognized their inability to do much about it. The treasury was in *de facto* insolvency and the Allies’ decision to demand a heavy indemnity promised no quick solution for Paraguay’s economic woes. So the triumvirs pushed ahead with the political questions at hand. They had promised to hold a constituent assembly to determine the future structure of government, and in August 1870 they delivered on that promise.³² The assembly, which met a total of eighty-three times, was inaugurated by Carlos Loizaga acting as representative of the triumvirs. In florid oratory, he denounced the dictatorships of the past—those monstrosities that had delivered the Paraguayan people to “the criminal passion of tyrants.”³³ He promised in their place a nation founded in liberty. Whereas previous assemblies had subordinated themselves to the will of a despot, from now on, the government would reflect the public will.

It was not to be. Over the next four months, the assembled politicians produced a document that hid relevant issues behind a cloud of platitudes. The writing in the constitution drew largely from Argentine precedents. Yet never was a country so ill-prepared to learn from Alberdi’s notions of nationhood as Paraguay in 1870. The assembly organized a bicameral structure of government when no need for a senate was convincingly demonstrated. The “*Carta Magna*,” the politicians claimed, was guaranteed by popular support in the streets and legal checks within the halls of government—but no one understood what these checks might consist of. In the end, the political model they adopted guaranteed the celebration of the Argentine national holiday, 25 May, as Paraguay’s

own, and made it possible to dedicate the reborn nation to the modern age by prohibiting the use of Guaraní in public schools.

There was something surreal in this outcome. The assembly's deliberations had been accompanied by the worst pettifoggery. Belying their claim of devotion to proper procedure, the representatives plotted, made momentary alliances, and broke them as opportunity allowed. They treated each other with the same venom that the Marshal had reserved for the kambáes. At one point, the representatives even removed Cirilo Antonio Rivarola from the presidency of the triumvirate, only to bring him back again with the help of the Brazilian army.

The constitution of 1870 guaranteed no meaningful stability and the rest of the decade saw little improvement in the country's governance. Coups, counter-coups, and assassinations disgraced the Paraguayan scene right up to (and after) 1879, when the last Allied military force in the country—an Argentine garrison at Villa Occidental—finally withdrew. Throughout this time, the mass of Paraguayans never showed any meaningful resistance to the occupiers. But they were never empowered by their own government either, except as part of a confidence trick to purchase votes for a cup of caña.³⁴

The Brazilians had released five hundred prisoners of war in November 1870, and these rough-and-ready boy-soldiers added their resentments to the political mix, sometimes siding with the "Liberals," sometimes with the "Traditionalists," and sometimes, it seemed, with both at the same time. The Brazilians also permitted the return to Paraguay of key Lopista officials like Caballero, Maíz, Escobar, Aveiro, and Centurión.³⁵ This coterie of veterans—a veritable who's who of Lopistas—ultimately supported the pretensions of Cándido Bareiro. They helped ease him into office as president in 1878, and when he died, they replaced him at the center of power.

By the end of the 1870s, the rural generals who had so assiduously supported López, and whose careers were formed by the struggle against the Triple Alliance, were firmly in power. Though Caballero, Escobar, and the others had benefited from the Marshal's patronage, they had no interest in a similar pursuit of national grandeur. Instead they devoted their energies to suppressing the Liberal heirs of their old opponents, and in profit-making in an "open" economy based on the export of yerba and *quebracho* wood. They also enriched themselves from the sale of thousands of hectares of state lands.

Looked at individually, the petty intrigues that made up their political work and the rackets they constructed merit little attention. Behind them, however, lay the more general goal of reconstructing the social barriers that had separated Paraguayans into classes during the colonial era. These had been weakened, first by the Marshal's explicit appeal to the peasantry to help him fight the war, and second, by the dramatic population shift in its aftermath. The new leaders felt no specific desire to turn the clock back. But under the guise of a nominal

republicanism they asserted a claim to a traditional authority that might otherwise have shifted to poor Paraguayans demanding a greater right over their own lives. This, as much as anything, is why the Traditionalists—soon to be reconfigured within the ranks of the Colorado Party—chose some years later to turn Francisco Solano López into a national symbol.

It would be senseless to describe the Triple Alliance War without giving primacy to the Marshal and almost as difficult to categorize the subsequent period without alluding to his ghost. In life, López relished idolatry. In death, his name eventually subsumed his people's sacrifice, a development that occasioned many ironies and contradictions. The historical López, for instance, had always taken to his heels whenever danger threatened his personal safety. On such occasions, he never hesitated to abandon his men (or, for that matter, his family members) to face the wrath of the Brazilians.

In answer to any charge of cowardice, however, the Marshal could argue that his survival was indispensable, for without him, the Paraguayan nation would perish. This was not such a far-fetched idea. Chris Leuchars has pointed out that though Paraguay eventually lost a great swath of its territory to Argentina and Brazil, the amount was less land than the two countries had earlier demanded.³⁶ Had the Allies not formally agreed on 1 May 1865 to respect Paraguayan independence, they might have adopted an annexationist line, under which the country would have vanished like Poland in the eighteenth century. In this one narrow—and admittedly hypothetical sense—López stood out as a staunch defender of his country's interests.

It is one thing to stand firm in favor of one's nation and quite another to pass muster as a general. Though the Marshal's hagiographers have repeatedly stressed his military genius, they have never really made a convincing case.³⁷ López chose to invade Mato Grosso in 1864 and thereby spurned the opportunity to rescue the Uruguayan Blancos. He made Argentina an enemy when many in the Buenos Aires government were prepared to keep their country neutral. The Marshal's attack on Corrientes thus facilitated the signing of an unlikely military alliance that came perilously close to destroying Paraguay.

López then needlessly delayed his naval attack at Riachuelo until the Brazilians could counter it effectively, and he kept his land forces in Corrientes so far apart that they could never offer mutual support. He withdrew what remained of his army in Argentina before the units were effectively tested, and he later abandoned excellent defensive positions at Tuyutí to pursue a risky offensive strike. Perhaps worst of all, he never trusted his field commanders to do the right thing, even when circumstances favored their success. These were not the marks of a good commander, and where the Paraguayans succeeded militarily, they did so in spite of the Marshal's direction rather than because of it.

That said, much about López remains elusive. Even careful scholars can stumble while trying to separate the man from the marble that has been built

around him. A good many historians have not even tried to find the human being in the history; they seem to prefer the rigid and artificial distinctions forged by Lopistas and anti-Lopistas to any careful consideration of the past.

The Marshal's Paraguayan detractors, mostly affiliated with the Liberal Party from the late 1800s onwards, regarded him as an unparalleled monster whose vanity required the extinction of his people. In their world of black and white, they painted him as darker than dark and his followers as little better than fools or barbarians.³⁸ On one occasion in 1898, for instance, a stationary store in the capital fomented a minor scandal when it marketed notebooks emblazoned with the Marshal's image. Their sale inspired a nasty confrontation when the Argentine director of the normal school refused to permit students to bring them to class. The police had to save the director when a mob of angry Lopistas threatened his life.³⁹

An element of self-reproach has always suggested itself in the anti-Lopista interpretation, for how do such critics justify their opposition when the Paraguayan masses offered the Marshal so much during the worst of times? How do the Liberals, for that matter, explain their own recourse to authoritarian methods during the twentieth century?

There is no mystery in any of this for the nationalists, who depicted López as the personification of Paraguayan virtues—courage, constancy, and unquestioned defense of the fatherland. To Juan E. O'Leary and the others he was the *heroje máximo* and his war *la gran epopeya*, something beautiful and infinitely reaffirming.⁴⁰ The example of Francisco Solano López, they tell us, stirred the young men of 1932, who, when sent to fight the Bolivians in the thorn forests of the Chaco, showed the same grit as their grandfathers, and came back three years later singing Guaraní war songs and cheering the name of the Marshal. Their creation of a radical Febrerista Party, and then, under Natalicio González, of a quasi-fascist wing of the Colorados, came about as a result of this inspiration. It was almost as if the Marshal's defeat and their own generation's victory gushed from the same spiritual fountain. They ultimately depicted authoritarianism in Paraguay as a benign and civilizing force, an assertion that brought them the patronage of dictators like Higínio Morínigo and Alfredo Stroessner.

People often show a great need for mythology, and whether they feel guided by nostalgia or the dictates of state interest, they take refuge in bygone days when the alternative is to wallow in the mundane and disappointing present. Stephen of Byzantium, writing in the sixth century, observed that mythology is "what never was but always is."⁴¹ So it was with the various renderings of the Paraguayan War to appear during the 1900s. Today's Paraguayans are living through another reordering of these hero stories to fit the challenges posed by Brazilian economic dominance in the twenty-first century. In contemplating the earlier sacrifices, modern Paraguayans take no pleasure in the idea of a

glorious precedent because they think it is true (or worthy of emulation): they think that it is true because they take pleasure in it.⁴²

Such mythmaking and rank obfuscation is unfair to those who lived through the Triple Alliance War. Their concept of nationalism was not the product of López's heavy hand—indeed it only incidentally reflected his influence. From colonial times, the Paraguayans held deeply engrained notions about the need to protect the community from invaders. It mattered little whether those enemies were Brazilian soldiers, Porteño sutlers, or Guaicurú marauders.

The Paraguayans' zeal was genuine, their devotion to the fatherland—as they understood it—compelling. The Allies had always found it difficult to smirk at Paraguayan self-reliance, but to label it as the product of Lopista tyranny clearly misrepresented the facts. The majority of the people seemed ready to sacrifice themselves wholeheartedly, no matter what obstacles stood in the way. All of this suggests that we conclude this examination of the war with a requiem. It is painful to contemplate the trials of the Paraguayan people, for even those who survived were plagued with nightmares of gangrenous limbs, empty stomachs, and dead family members. For such individuals, the Paraguayan War never ended. They gave their lives, their property, and their hearts, and whether they couched the memories of their sacrifice in terms of courage or of fear, the war continued to consume them.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 Tulio Halperín Donghi, *The Aftermath of Revolution in Latin America* (New York, 1973).
- 2 Cecilio Báez, *La tiranía en el Paraguay* (Asunción, 1993); Cecilio Báez, *Ensayo sobre el doctor Francia y la dictadura en Sudamérica* (Asunción, 1996); Efraím Cardozo, *El sentido de nuestra historia* (Asunción, 1953).
- 3 Julio César Chaves, *El supremo dictador, Biografía de José Gaspar de Francia* (Madrid, 1964); Julio César Chaves, *El presidente López* (Buenos Aires, 1968).
- 4 Paraguayan historiography of the war has traditionally been divided into Lopista and Anti-Lopista camps. Though the dichotomy would seem to have grown stale long ago, it is still adhered to by many. Among the most significant Lopista works are Juan E. O'Leary, *El héroe del Paraguay* (Montevideo, 1930); *El mariscal Solano López* (Asunción, 1970); *El libro de los héroes* (Asunción, 1970); Arturo Bray, *Solano López. Soldado de la gloria y el infortunio* (Asunción and Buenos Aires, 1958); Carlos Pereyra, *Francisco Solano López y la guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1953); and Natalicio González, *Solano López y otros ensayos* (Paris, 1926). The most noteworthy Anti-Lopista works include Héctor Decoud, *Sobre los escombros de la guerra: una década de vida nacional, 1869–1880* (Asunción, 1925); *La masacre de Concepción ordenada por el mariscal López* (Asunción, 1926); Cecilio Báez, *La tiranía*; and Jacinto V. Vicencio, *Dictadura del mariscal López* (Buenos Aires, 1874).
- 5 By the end of the 1840s, merchants in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and Rio de Janeiro were all pressuring their respective governments to at least investigate better commercial and diplomatic relations with the “famed fairy-land of Paraguay, so long guarded by that wondrous ogre, Francia.” See William Hadfield, *Brazil, the River Plate, and the Falkland Islands* (London, 1854), 305, and more generally, Thomas L. Whigham, *The Politics of River Trade. Tradition and Development in the Upper Plata, 1780–1870* (Albuquerque, 1991), 30–79.
- 6 Pablo Max Ynsfrán, *La expedición norteamericana contra el Paraguay*, 2 vols. (Mexico City and Buenos Aires, 1954–1958); Thomas Jefferson Page, *La Plata, the Argentine Confederation, and Paraguay* (New York, 1859), 271–287; Manuel Peña Villamil, *Historia de la diplomacia y las relaciones internacionales* (Asunción, 2000), 297–304; Peter A. Schmitt, *Paraguay und Europa. Die diplomatischen Beziehungen unter Carlos Antonio López und Francisco Solano López* (Berlin, 1963), 89–237.

- 7 Thomas L. Whigham, *The Paraguayan War. Causes and Early Conduct* (Lincoln and London, 2002), 175–189.
- 8 Bray, *Solano López*, 132–136; Juan E. O’Leary, *El Paraguay en la unificación argentina* (Asunción, 1924).
- 9 Whigham, *Paraguayan War*, 139–144.
- 10 For revisionist historians like León Pomer, the supply of these arms was part of Mitre’s broader plan to instigate a war on Paraguay. To summarize this curious interpretation: Mitre sent Flores into the Banda Oriental in 1863 with the idea that his presence would inspire a civil war between the Colorados and the Blanco government in Montevideo. The fighting would then aggravate the Riograndense ranchers, who would respond by calling on the empire to intervene in favor of the Colorados. Lacking outside support, the Blancos would have no option but to turn to Solano López for aid, whereupon Mitre’s government—most regrettably—would join forces with Brazil in an ugly, but ultimately victorious, campaign against Paraguay. Argentina would emerge triumphant from this struggle, as would Mitre’s capitalist friends in Great Britain. See León Pomer, *La guerra del Paraguay. ¡Gran negocio!* (Buenos Aires, 1968). If Mitre, in fact, had foreseen this sequence of events, he would not merely have been a political genius—he would have been a seer. What Pomer and other revisionists have never explained in all this bizarre assertion is why the national government in Buenos Aires would want to see the development of a conflict in which it would have so much to lose and so little to gain.
- 11 Foreign Minister José Berges to Cesar Vianna de Lima, Asunción, 30 August 1864, ANA-CRB I-30, 24, 26.
- 12 George Thompson, *The War in Paraguay* (London, 1869), 25.
- 13 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 100.
- 14 The two men who had carried the smallpox into Paraguay were beaten until they confessed that they had been sent by Argentine president Mitre. Afterwards, they were flogged to death. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 115.
- 15 In asking the question, “How Long Will the War Last?,” the English-language *Standard* of Buenos Aires admitted to considerable frustration, implicitly blaming López and the Allied chiefs, and observing that the “war with Paraguay [was] a personal war, such as that which England waged against Napoleon, but we confess we look over the map of Paraguay with anxiety to discover the whereabouts of the future Waterloo.” *The Standard*, 6 February 1866.
- 16 George F. Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay* (London, 1869), 110–11. In fact, summary executions for grumbling or utterances of defeatism became commonplace in the Paraguayan army in the months following the retreat from Corrientes. See, for example, Order for the Execution by Firing Squad of Captain José María Rodríguez, Paso de la Patria, 6 January 1866, ANA-SJC, vol. 1723.
- 17 The contempt that the Marshal felt for his people was palpable but hardly novel. In fact, he drew much of this negative sentiment from his father, and from José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, who ruled Paraguay as dictator between 1814 and 1840. Francia once notoriously remarked that the Paraguayans must lack the requisite number of bones in the neck, for none would lift their heads to look him in the face. See Johann Rudolph Renger and Marcel Longchamps, *The Reign of Doctor Joseph Gaspard Roderick de Francia, in Paraguay; Being an Account of a Six Year’s Residence in that Republic, from July 1819 to May 1825* (London, 1827), 202. This tale of a missing neck bone has made its way into the modern political folklore in the country, where pundits still allude to it as an explanation for the poor inroads that democracy has thus far made in Paraguay. See Helio Vera, *En busca del hueso perdido; tratado de paraguayología* (Asunción, 1990).

- 18 Charles Ames Washburn to William Seward, Corrientes, 8 February 1865, NARA, M-128, no. 1.
- 19 The Allies circulated a rumor that López had convinced his soldiers that whomsoever should die in combat for the fatherland would find himself reborn in Asunción. This ludicrous tale, which suggested that for the rural soldiers the capital city could substitute for the Elysian fields, spun misconceptions of Paraguayan society beyond all measure or patience. The rumor first appeared in print in *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires) in its issue of 6 February 1866, and was repeated (with an improbable attribution to the Bishop of Paraguay) in the *New York Times* on 13 July 1866.
- 20 A surprising number of the letters they wrote home still survive in the Archivo Nacional de Asunción. See, for instance, Francisco Cabrizas to Juan Y. Cabrizas, Paso de la Patria, 1 January 1866, ANA-NE 3273.
- 21 Every town and village in the country donated money and food for the hospitals, Humaitá, and the other military camps; only inadequate transport inhibited these supplies from getting to the troops right away. See, for example, "Actas de patriotismo y filantropía," *Semanario de Avisos y Conocimientos Útiles* (Asunción), 13 January 1866. (Henceforth *El Semanario*.)
- 22 Richard Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay* (London, 1870), 300.
- 23 Lista mayor... del ejército en el Sud. Paso de la Patria, 19 January 1866, MHM (A), Colección Gill Aguinaga, carpeta 63, no. 2.
- 24 Efraím Cardozo, *Hace cien años* (Asunción, 1970), 3: 11.
- 25 Most of the animals expired from exhaustion and inadequate pasturage right after gaining the Paraguayan bank of the river; a good many others died soon thereafter from eating a poisonous shrub that local cattle had long since learned to avoid. See Thompson, *War in Paraguay*, 97.
- 26 One unit within the Uruguayan contingent had so little food and equipment that by early December its commander was begging Mitre to incorporate the unit into the Argentine force. See Venancio Flores to Mitre, Ytacuaty, 8 December 1865, MHM, CZ, carpeta 150, no. 33.
- 27 Marcelino Reyes, *Bosquejo histórico de la provincia de La Rioja, 1543–1867* (Buenos Aires, 1913), 232.
- 28 André Rebouças, "Projeito para a Pronta Conclusão da Campanha contra o Paraguay," 9 September 1865, Arquivo Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), 9714983, lata 48 (Arquivo Particular do General Polidoro da Fonseca Quintanilha Jordão, Visconde de Santa Teresa).
- 29 In 1849, the Spanish minister in Montevideo noted the opinion of the famous French naturalist Aimé Bonpland, who thought that the Paraguayans could already field an army of twenty thousand soldiers "so brutally docile and disciplined that they [seemed] more like Russians or Prussians than soldiers hailing from a southern nation." See "Carlos Creus to Spanish government, Montevideo, 29 September 1849," in "Informes diplomáticos de los representantes de España en el Uruguay," *Revista Histórica* (Montevideo), nos. 139–41, 47 (1975), 854.
- 30 "Proclamation of Mitre, Buenos Aires, 16 April 1865," in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 17–18 April 1865.
- 31 For examples, see Hendrik Kraay, "Patriotic Mobilization in Brazil: the Zuavos and Other Black Companies in the Paraguayan War, 1865–70," in *I Die with My Country. Perspectives on the Paraguayan War*, Hendrik Kraay and Thomas L. Whigham, eds. (Lincoln and London, 2004), 61–80.

- 32 When shorn of its dubious Lamarckian inclinations, the classic work of Euclýdes da Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands* (Chicago, 1957), 148, is still useful in understanding the earlier jagunço society of the Brazilian northeast.
- 33 Pomer, *La Guerra del Paraguay*, 340.
- 34 Juan Manuel Casal, "Uruguay and the Paraguayan War: the Military Dimension," in Kraay and Whigham, *I Die with My Country*, 119–139.

1 | THE ARMIES INVADE

- 1 Regarding life in the Allied camps, see Thomas Whigham, *La guerra de la Triple Alianza*, vol. 2, *El triunfo de la violencia, el fracaso de la paz* (Asunción, 2011), 271–287.
- 2 See, for example, Juan M. Serrano to Martín de Gainza, Ensenaditas, 7 January 1866, Museo Histórico Nacional (Buenos Aires), legajo 10613; Evangelista de Castro Dionísio Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai, 1865–70* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948), 121.
- 3 Charles Ames Washburn to William H. Seward, Corrientes, 1 February 1866, WNL. (The Washburn-Norlands Library's collection of materials on Paraguay, while extensive, remains unorganized, a fact that will present problems to researchers seeking quick access to specific documents.) Other sources give a total number of Brazilian troops in the sector at between thirty and thirty-five thousand.
- 4 The Brazilian troops received some one hundred thousand sovereigns in salary by mid-January, so they had enough cash to spend on trifles. See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 10 January 1866. Even so, there were thieves among the men who stole more than an occasional head of cattle; on one occasion, the Hotel Dos Aliados was relieved of several hundred pesos, and quite a few Correntino homes were burglarized at the beginning of the Allied occupation. See Police Chief Juan J. Blanco to Provincial Minister Fernando Arias, Corrientes, 26 January 1866 (Concerning the arrest of a mixed gang of Argentine and Brazilian thieves), AGPC-CO 213, folio 39.
- 5 *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 21 March 1866.
- 6 Comments of John LeLong, *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 10 January 1866.
- 7 "Sindbad," of *The Standard* (in the 8 March issue), noted that "street broils that invariably terminate in bloodshed are not noticed either by the police or the newspapers, so much have they become matters of course. Homicides and other crimes are perpetrated, which would call forth second editions and double-sheets in your papers, and not the slightest notice is taken thus much [*sic*] for progress and the march of intellect!" A month later things had not improved, if we are to judge by the words of one anonymous observer who noted that "the most open robbery is going on in Corrientes [with] Brazilian soldiers offering to sell officers swords for a Bolivian [peso], revolvers for two or three dollars, and even their very uniforms. No Argentine troops [are] in Corrientes, but crimes are committed every night." *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 12 April 1866.
- 8 "Francisco M. Paz to Marcos Paz, Corrientes, 24 January 1866," in *Archivo del Coronel Dr. Marcos Paz* (La Plata, 1964), 5: 37; a half-dozen recalcitrant opponents of the war found themselves shut up in the *calabosos* of Corrientes, charged with being guilty of "incivism." *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 17 January 1866.
- 9 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 17 January 1866.
- 10 The 1869 census revealed 415 individuals engaged in trade at the port, of whom 181 were foreigners, including three Swiss, one Austrian, and one Mexican (!). See AGN (BA) Censo 1869, legajos 210–212. To judge from notices placed in the Correntino newspapers, these merchants offered all sorts of goods to the Allied soldiers—even imported swords and dress uniforms were available for purchase. See commercial advertisements

- in *El Nacionalista*, (Corrientes), 7 February 1866, and *El Eco de Corrientes*, 31 December 1867.
- 11 This figure includes the 157 men of the anti-López Paraguayan Legion, but not the Entrerriano artillery units that arrived in February and March. See Juan Beverina, *La guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1921), 3: 646-48, annex 52. A reorganization of the Argentine *Guardia Nacional* at the very end of January 1866 provided twenty-one battalions of infantry, four regiments of cavalry (and some Correntino irregulars), and two units of artillery. See Miguel Angel de Marco, "La guardia nacional argentina en la guerra del Paraguay," *Investigaciones y Ensayos* 3 (1967): 227-228.
 - 12 *The Standard* reported with more optimism than fact that Mitre's "rough levies, who had never fired a musket previously, had arrived on the Paraná as an army of well-trained soldiers." See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 February 1866.
 - 13 "Bartolomé Mitre to Marcos Paz, Paso de la Patria, 21 January 1866," in *Archivo del Coronel dr. Marcos Paz* (La Plata, 1966), 7: 132-134; Chris Leuchars, *To The Bitter End. Paraguay and the War of the Triple Alliance* (Westport, Connecticut, 2002), 91
 - 14 Jorge Luis Borges captured exactly this sense of things in his 1969 poem "Los gauchos," which celebrates the career of the poet-soldier Hilario Ascasubi:

They didn't die for this abstract thing, the fatherland, but rather for a
casual patron, a whim, or at the invitation of danger.
Their ashes are lost in remote regions of the continent,
in republics whose history no one knows, in battlefields
now famous.
Hilario Ascasubi saw them singing and fighting.
They lived their destiny like a dream without knowing who they were
or what they were.
Maybe the same is true of us.
- See Borges, *Obras completas, 1923-1972* (Buenos Aires, 1974), 1001.
- 15 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 10 January 1866; the military history of Corrientes, which reflected the traditional gaucho culture of the Pampas more than it did the peasant-oriented life of Paraguay, has been the subject of considerable attention. See, for instance, Hernán Gómez, *Historia de la provincial de Corrientes. Desde la Revolución de Mayo al tratado del Cuadrilátero* (Corrientes, 1929), and Pablo Buchbinder, "Estado, caudillismo, y organización miliciana en la provincia de Corrientes en el siglo XIX: el caso de Nicanor Cáceres," *Revista de Historia de América* 136 (2005): 37-64.
 - 16 One report from late January held that the "camps of Corrientes are covered with deserters, *peones* who were scarce, are now superabundant, but some cavalry picquets [*sic*] are scouring the country in search of deserters; just as the steamer was leaving, an officer and ten soldiers were brought in, in irons, and tied." *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 1 February 1866.
 - 17 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 44.
 - 18 León de Palleja, *Diário de la campaña de las fuerzas aliadas contra el Paraguay*, (Montevideo, 1960), 2: 10. The Paraguayan prisoners dispatched to Montevideo were all imprisoned in early March when it was rumored that they planned a rebellion together with Blanco partisans. Given the size of both Colorado and Brazilian garrisons in the Uruguayan capital, this rumor would seem to be absurd, but the Paraguayans often faced worse odds, so the story may be more than simple apocrypha, as events two years later seemed to suggest. See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 7 March 1866
 - 19 On 25 January 1869, *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires) noted that "at the first sight of Paso de la Patria, they forget the slavery that they had endured, forget the floggings, the cruelties and the injuries of López and his followers, forget the nakedness, the hunger, and every

- manner of misery; they likewise forget the commiseration we offered them, the treatment we gave them as comrades and brothers. All this they forget, and vanish [across the river], as if in a dream." See *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 25 January 1869. See also Eduardo Acevedo, *Anales históricos del Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1933), 2: 380–382.
- 20 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 16 December 1865; "Exercice de 5 avril 1866" (French Consul Emile Laurent-Cochelet), in Luc Capdevila, *Variations sur le pays des femmes. Echos d'une guerre américaine (Paraguay, 1864–1870/Temps présent)* (Rennes, 2006), 373–374; Depositions of Cándido Franco and Pablo Guzmán, Paso de la Patria, 11 March 1866, ANA-SJC 1797.
 - 21 The Marshal had a considerable fear of assassins, and surrounded himself from the beginning of his presidency with a double, and ultimately a triple, cordon of armed guards. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 114–115.
 - 22 Memorias de teniente coronel Julian N. Godoy, edecán del mariscal López, Asunción, 13 April 1888, MHN (A), Colección Gill Aguinaga, carpeta 7, no. 3. (Henceforth "Memorias de Julián N. Godoy"). If we are to believe Charles Ames Washburn on this point, the Paraguayan raiders decapitated every Allied soldier who fell into their hands, thus proving to the world that little had changed since "the days of Alva and Torquemada." See Washburn to Seward, Corrientes, 1 February 1866, WNL.
 - 23 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 9 December 1865.
 - 24 This was one of the few times where Francisco Solano López publicly disavowed an atrocity. See "Memorias de Julián N. Godoy."
 - 25 Mitre peevishly noted that the Paraguayans "have made themselves masters of the river with their flotilla of sixty canoes because the Brazilian squadron has no instructions even to advance to the mouth of the Paraguay." See "Mitre to Marcos Paz, Ensenadita, 1 February 1866," in *Archivo del Coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 141; *El Pueblo* Buenos Aires, 25 January 1866.
 - 26 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 27 February 1866. "Sindbad" was, in fact, John Hayes, an elderly American-born rancher "with much time in Corrientes." See Sallie C. Washburn Diary, 16 March 1866, WNL.
 - 27 In his annotations to Louis Schneider's *A Guerra da Triplice Aliança* (São Paulo, 1945), 2: 43, José María da Silva Paranhos, the Baron of Rio Branco, claimed that López's purpose in launching so many raids was precisely to lure the Brazilians into shallow waters where they might run aground and be shelled by mobile artillery. The Argentine military historian Juan Beverina rightly dismisses this contention, noting that the "criminal inactivity" of the squadron had already become *de rigueur*, and that such an interpretation could not "withstand even the most superficial criticism." See Beverina, *La guerra del Paraguay*, 3: 391. Perhaps the simplest explanation for the inaction, however, is that any Brazilian naval commander who grounded his vessel would almost certainly face a court martial.
 - 28 *La Tribuna* (Montevideo), 11 February 1866; *El Pueblo* (Buenos Aires), 14 February 1866; *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 20 February 1866; María Haydeé Martin, "La juventud de Buenos Aires en la guerra con el Paraguay," *Trabajos y Comunicaciones* 19 (1969): 145–176.
 - 29 See "Correspondencia de Buenos Ayres," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 February 1866.
 - 30 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 8 February 1866. For a more detailed account of this stage of the engagement, see Declaraciones del coronel Manuel Reyna, ayudante del general Nicanor Cáceres, aboard the riverboat *Cosmos*, 4 April 1888, MHM-CZ, carpeta 141, no. 27, and Pompeyo González (Juan E. O'Leary), "Recuerdos de gloria. Corrales. 31 de enero de 1866," *La Patria* (Asunción), 31 January 1903.

- 31 *El Pueblo* (Buenos Aires), 9 February 1866; Ignacio Fotheringham, *La vida de un soldado o reminiscencias de la frontera*, (Buenos Aires, n.d.), 1: 79–80.
- 32 Declaración del Sargento mayor Adriano Morales, sobre la expedition a Corrales, 31 January 1866, MHN (A) Colección Gill Aguinaga, carpeta 7, no. 3.
- 33 “Memorias de Julián N. Godoy.”
- 34 The exact number of Argentine troops facing the two hundred fifty Paraguayans is much debated. *El Semanario* (Asunción), 10 February 1866, lists six thousand; Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 118, claims seventy-two hundred; José Ignacio Garmendia, *Guerra del Paraguay. Campaña de Corrientes y de Rio Grande* (Buenos Aires, 1904), 517, notes 1,588 officers and men in the 2nd Division alone; and the Baron of Rio Branco noted that “if the listed troop strengths of the Argentine army were accurate, they had on that day close to 2,000 infantrymen and another 3,000 of cavalry.” See Schneider, *A Guerra da Triplice Aliança*, 2: 4.
- 35 Juan Crisóstomo Centurión argues that Mitre should have taken some responsibility for what had happened at Corrales, but preferred to let Conesa carry the weight for its successes and failures. The colonel, for his part, composed an official account filled with self-serving exaggerations. He stressed, for instance, the diversity of arms and matériel captured (“new Minie rifles and ancient blunderbusses”) and also noted, *inter alia*, the landing of five hundred enemy reinforcements on his right flank—something that never occurred. He likewise claimed a total Paraguayan loss of seven hundred men, that is, nearly three hundred more than actually faced him at any one time. To his credit, however, Conesa did offer elaborate praise to his subordinates, many of whom had suffered wounds like that of their colonel or worse. See Juan Crisóstomo Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias históricas sobre la guerra del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1987), 2: 31–32.
- 36 “Benjamín Canard to J. Antonio Ballesteros, Corrientes, 8 February 1866,” in Canard, Joaquín Cascallar, and Miguel Gallegos, *Cartas sobre la guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1999), 73–75; see also Miguel Angel de Marco, *La guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 2003), 157–94.
- 37 See anonymous report, Ensenaditas, 16 March 1866, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 28 March 1866.
- 38 “Letter of Pastor S. Obligado, opposite Paso de la Patria, 3 Feb. 1866,” in *La Tribuna* (Montevideo), 11 February 1866. See also *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 10 February 1866.
- 39 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 112; Palleja, *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 64, argues that Paraguayan losses could not be “lower than one-thousand”; and Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 99, notes that Paraguayan losses were over five hundred, a figure that coincides with that mentioned by *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 13 March 1866. It is difficult from the limited evidence to account for much more than two hundred.
- 40 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 118, says that nine hundred Argentines were put out of action, while Mitre claimed a loss of only 295 killed and wounded (though he noted that reports of newly discovered casualties were still coming in). See Mitre to Marcos Paz, *Archivo del Coronel dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 143–145. The true number of Allied casualties almost certainly lies between these two figures.
- 41 Several of the Porteño newspapers, including *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 7 February 1866, portrayed the engagement as an Argentine success, though hardly “a bloodless one.” The same article, however, recounted details of the battle that were odd or far-fetched, such as the notion that Conesa’s retreat on the 30 January was a feint designed to pull the Paraguayans deeper into Corrientes, and that the Paraguayan withdrawal across the Paraná two days later was heavily contested by Allied sharpshooters.
- 42 The anxiety was understandable in that a majority of the Argentine troops involved in the engagement were of Porteño origin. See “Ford to the Earl of Clarendon, Buenos

- Aires, 15 February 1866,” in George Philip, ed., *British Documents on Foreign Affairs. Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office. Confidential Print. Part I: Series D, Latin America, 1845–1914*, vol. 1. *River Plate, 1849–1912* (London, 1991), 197.
- 43 *El Semanario* (Buenos Aires), 3 February 1866. Ironically enough, the correspondent of Rio’s *Jornal do Commercio* also referred to the “painful lessons of the Peguajó,” alluding to the lack of military preparation on the part of the Argentines. See *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 March 1866.
 - 44 See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 87–88, for the Marshal’s reactions to the “treasonable” comportment of Colonel Estigarribia, who had surrendered the Paraguayan forces at Uruguaiana in October 1865.
 - 45 This feeling of superiority over the Allies had a remarkably long life. Later in the war, when the Paraguayans had already been driven from their key defensive positions around Humaitá, the US minister to Asunción asked his Paraguayan hosts why the Allies had not followed up all “their advantages,” and was offered the standard expression of contempt, “Son brasileiros” (“They are Brazilians”). See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 253–254.
 - 46 Garmendia, *Campaña de Corrientes*, 557.
 - 47 *La Tribuna* (Montevideo), 2 March 1866.
 - 48 Thompson, *War in Paraguay*, 119; *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 7 March 1866.
 - 49 Report of José Díaz, Paso de la Patria, 21 February 1866, BNA-CJO; “Manuel N. Sánchez to Nicanor Cáceres, Chilín-Cue, 20 February 1866,” cited in María Haydée Martín, “La juventud de Buenos Aires,” 167. A few days after retaking the village, the Allies conveyed the statue to what they hoped would be the safety of a private residence near the Paso de Enramada. Here a temporary sanctuary was established that received a regular flow of pilgrims until the statue could be returned to Itatí later in the war. See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 23 March 1866.
 - 50 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 2: 141.
 - 51 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 139; Colonel Palleja reported that the commander of the Brazilian forces under Suárez had likewise received a letter from Osório telling him to retire his forces to prepare for a Paraguayan attack and not bother to aid the Uruguayans. See “Diary at Head-Quarters,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 8 March 1866.
 - 52 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 101, suggests that Tamandaré might have wished to deploy his squadron to the east to support such an invasion (and thereby reap the glory of a Brazilian—rather than an Allied—victory, over Núñez). If the admiral actually thought this way, then he was misinformed, for the shoals near the island of Apipé would have prevented the passage of all but the most shallow-drafted vessels. For his part, the Marshal had no worries about this front, so long as Núñez “obeyed his instructions.” See Solano López to José Berges, Paso de la Patria, 17 March 1866, ANA CRB I-30, 13, 1.
 - 53 See, for example, “La alianza y la escuadra,” *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 8 February 1866. The Spanish minister in Buenos Aires, Pedro Sorela y Maury, made extensive comment on the negative public reaction to Tamandaré’s inaction (“even among the female population there is a marked aversion to the Brazilians”). See his 14 February 1866 report to his country’s foreign ministry in Isidoro J. Ruiz Moreno, *Informes españoles sobre Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1993), 1: 303–304. For his part, Tamandaré had little love for the Argentines, whose prisoner he had been for a time during the Cisplatine conflict of the late 1820s.
 - 54 André Rebouças, then present in Corrientes as an army engineer, remarked that in the navy as well as the army there was a general contempt for Tamandaré’s “irresolution, the timidity, the excess of precaution ... that always looks ridiculous.” See Rebouças, *Diário: a Guerra do Paraguai* (1866) (São Paulo, 1973), 29. Even the emperor was not averse to

- expressing pique at the lack of harmony between the admiral and Osório. See Francisco Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra. Nova história da Guerra do Paraguai* (São Paulo, 2002), 201. One Argentine veteran of the war noted that this period was characterized not so much by inter-allied friction as by a simple lack of will on the part of naval commanders. See Carlos D. Sarmiento, *Estudio crítico sobre la guerra del Paraguay (1865-1869)* (Buenos Aires, 1890), 20–21.
- 55 See “Declaration of Paraguayan soldier Pedro Mendoza, Corrientes, 23 February 1866,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 7 March 1866.
 - 56 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 145–46; Barbara Potthast-Jutkeit, “¿Paraíso de Mahoma” o “País de las mujeres”? (Asunción, 1996), 247–53.
 - 57 In a letter to his daughter, written on 20 March 1866, General Flores commented that all in camp were anxious to face the despot López. See Flores to Amada Agapa, Ensenada, 20 March 1866, AGN (M), Archivos Particulares, Caja 10, carpeta 13, no. 45; *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 3 April 1866.
 - 58 Thomas J. Hutchinson, *The Paraná, with Incidents of the Paraguayan War and South American Recollections from 1861 to 1868* (London, 1868), 260–261; see also “Correspondencia de Corrientes,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 5 April 1866.
 - 59 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias históricas*, 2: 43. See also the image entitled “Explosión de una chata paraguaya en los combates con la batería Itapirú del mes de marzo,” *Correo del Domingo* (Buenos Aires), 8 April 1866.
 - 60 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 31 March 1866. The most effective gunnery executed by the chatas came from a single man, Lieutenant José Fariña, who survived the engagements to become the most decorated officer in the Paraguayan navy. See Garmendia, *Campana de Corrientes*, 576–581. See also “Importantes noticias de la escuadra imperial,” *La Tribuna* (Montevideo), 4–5 April 1866; Carlos Careaga, *Teniente de Marina José María Fariña, héroe naval de la guerra contra la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 1948); and most importantly, Juan E. O’Leary, *El libro de los héroes* (Asunción, 1922), 11–53, which contains Fariña’s own story, as told in old age to the author.
 - 61 “Francisco M. Paz to Marcos Paz, Ensenaditas, 29 March 1866,” in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 5: 84–87.
 - 62 The commanding officer, Lieutenant Mariz e Barros, died after doctors amputated his shattered legs. The son of a former cabinet minister who was a personal friend of Tamandaré, the younger Mariz e Barros was badly hit in the groin and abdomen as well as the legs. One commentator suggests that he might have survived if he had taken a chloroform preparation offered by the medical staff, but saying that such potions were only for women, he endured the operation with a cigar clenched between his teeth, and succumbed to shock thereafter. See William van Vleck Lidgerwood to William Seward, Petropolis, 4 May 1866, NARA, M-121, no. 34; see also “Comments of Rebouças,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 14 April 1866. In a letter to the countess of Barral, Dom Pedro expressed heartfelt sorrow at the loss of the brave lieutenant, saying that “the iron-clads may have drawn too close to the enemy guns without remembering that nothing in the world is invulnerable.” See “Pedro II to Condessa de Barral, Rio, 23 April 1866,” in Alcindo Sodre, *Abrindo um Cofre* (Rio, 1956), 104.
 - 63 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 4 April 1866; “Theatro da guerra,” *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 21 April 1866.
 - 64 An officer who served on the warship *Mearim* left considerable details on this stage of the fight against the chatas. See Miguel Calmon, *Memorias da Campanha do Paraguay* (Pará, 1888), 109–113. See also *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 17 April 1866; and “Pedro Sorela y Maury Report, Buenos Aires, 12 April 1866,” in Ruiz Moreno, *Informes españoles sobre Argentina*, 1: 308.

- 65 See "Marcos Paz to Mitre, Buenos Aires, 21 March 1866," in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 6: 58–59. Paz discussed at length the transport of hats, shoes, tunics, pants, and foodstuffs. And the Anacarsis Lanús company of Buenos Aires was promising much more (a daily ration of flour and rice and a pound and a half of charqui or two and a half of fresh meat, plus tobacco, yerba, soap, and salt). See "Contract celebrated with Lanús and Brothers, Buenos Aires, 28 Feb. 1866," in Beverina, *La guerra del Paraguay*, 3: 667–669, annex 54. Regarding the supply of Brazilian munitions and armaments see José Carlos de Carvalho, *Noções de Artilharia para Instrução dos Oficiais Inferiores da Arma no Exército fora do Império pelo Dr. ... Chefe da Comissão de Engenheiros do Primeiro Corpo do Mesmo Exército* (Montevideo, 1866), 59. The Brazilian *carne do vento* was the charqui of the Argentines and the *biltong* of the Boers; it was made by cutting beef into long strips and exposing it to the sun for a number of days, then dipping it into orange juice, salt, and perhaps a little cinnamon to give it flavor.
- 66 Thompson, *War in Paraguay*, 122–125.
- 67 Thompson, *War in Paraguay*, 125, claimed that the island was of recent development, one of a myriad of tiny islets periodically thrown up by low water on the Paraná. Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias históricas*, 46, denied that this was the case, arguing that an island half a league long had always existed on the site. General Dionísio Cerqueira, however, finally put this minor question to rest in 1903, when, as a member of a border demarcation commission, he actually passed in a steamboat over the spot where Redención once lay. When asked what had become of the island, he was told that the Paraná had long since swallowed it. See Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da campanha*, 137–139.
- 68 Rebouças, *Diário*, 65–79.
- 69 Charles Ames Washburn to Seward, Corrientes, 27 April 1866, WNL.
- 70 A. de Lyra Tavares, *Vilagran Cabrita e a Engenharia de Seu Tempo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1981), 119–131; Joaquim Antonio Pinto Junior, *Guerra do Paraguay. Defeza Heroica da Ilha de Redenção. 10 de Abril de 1866* (Rio de Janeiro, 1877), 4–5; *El Mercurio* (Valparaíso), 2 May 1866.
- 71 Rebouças, *Diário*, 9.
- 72 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 125; *El Semanario* (Asunción), 21 April 1866.
- 73 A. de Sena Madureira, *Guerra do Paraguai. Reposta ao Sr. Jorge Thompson, autor da "Guerra del Paraguay" e aos Anotadores Argentinos D. Lewis e A. Estrada* (Brasília, 1982), 20.
- 74 For once, Brazilian and Paraguayan sources give similar numbers on casualties, although Rebouças, *Diário*, 85, implies that of the nine hundred to one thousand Paraguayans lost, the great majority were killed; while Centurión appears to think a higher proportion were wounded of the 960 total casualties he recorded. See also Calmon, *Memorias da Campanha*, 119; "Declaration of Captain [sic] Romero," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 19 April 1866; and "El capitán paraguayo Romero," *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 21 April 1866.
- 75 Theotonio Meirelles, *O Exercito Brasileiro na Guerra do Paraguay. Resumos Históricos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1877), 98. See also Dr. Moreira Azevedo, "O Combate da Ilha do Cabrita," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Histórico, Geographico, e Etnographico do Brasil* 3 (1870): 5–20.
- 76 Thompson, *War in Paraguay*, 126, claimed a Brazilian loss of about one thousand killed—a very improbable figure. Pedro Werlang, an eyewitness, noted a loss of almost four hundred men. See "Diário de Campanha do Capitão Pedro Werlang," in Klaus Becker, *Alemães e Descendentes do Rio Grande do Sul na Guerra do Paraguay* (Canoas, 1968), 125.

- 77 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 20 April 1866; *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 May 1866.
- 78 A year and a half later, a war correspondent passed by the “sandbank where the ill-fated Cabrita perished like Wolfe, in the hour of his victory. A solitary crow marks his burial place.” See “The War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 18 September 1867.
- 79 “Mitre to Paz, opposite Itapirú, 30 March 1866,” in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 164–166.
- 80 “Mitre to Paz, opposite Paso de la Patria, 13 April 1866,” in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 171–172.
- 81 Thirty years later, Mitre claimed exclusive credit for the invasion plan, which, he remarked, “was opposed by all Allied commanders save Tamandaré.” The point of disembarkation, he carefully noted, was suggested by a Brazilian military engineer, whose name “could be found in my papers.” See Bartolomé Mitre to Estanislao Zeballos, Buenos Aires, 6 April 1896, Museo Histórico de Luján (Papeles Estanislao Zeballos).
- 82 Guillermo Valotta, *La operación de las fuerzas navales con las terrestres durante la guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1915), 67–69.
- 83 Francisco Doratioto, *General Osorio. A Espada Liberal do Império* (São Paulo, 2008), 16–30.
- 84 Joaquim Luis Osório and Fernando Luis Osório, filho, *História do general Osório*, (Pelotas, 1915), 2; 182; Francisco Doratioto, *General Osório. A Espada Liberal do Império* (São Paulo, 2008).
- 85 The unit that came to Osório’s rescue was commanded by Major Deodoro de Fonseca, who became first president of the Brazilian republic in 1889. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 232.
- 86 The same storm kept the Uruguayan contingent aboard the transport vessels. Flores found good reason to mistrust the weather in those parts, since only two weeks earlier one of his soldiers was killed by a lightning bolt and another five severely burned. See *La Tribuna* (Montevideo), 13 April 1866.
- 87 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 234
- 88 Cited in *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 27 April 1866.
- 89 Both guns were discovered by the Allies and incorporated into their artillery. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 129.
- 90 The Argentines at this time suffered from a shortage of mounts, such that only the commanders of the division had reliable horses. It was little surprise, then, that the Argentine troops deployed on the Paraguayan side of the river were mostly infantry. See “Wenceslao Paunero to Marcos Paz, Paso de la Patria, 27 April 1866,” in *Archivo del Coronel dr. Marcos Paz*, 5: 119–120.
- 91 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 26 April 1866.
- 92 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 130.
- 93 Osório’s engineers again did a splendid job in erecting piers, batteries, and pontoons, struggling not so much against the enemy as against the elements. See Jerónimo Rodrigues de Morães Jardim, *Os Engenheiros Militares na Guerra entre o Brasil e o Paraguai e a Passagem do Rio Paraná* (Rio de Janeiro, 1889); Luiz Vieira Ferreira, *Passagem do rio Paraná; Comissão de Engenheiros de Primeiro Corpo do Exército em Operações na Campanha do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1890).
- 94 “Notícias da guerra,” *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 17 May 1866. Not surprisingly, *El Semanario*’s account of these events omitted reference to the Marshal’s absence, and emphasized that all at Itapirú went as planned. See *El Semanario* (Asunción), 5 May 1866.

- 95 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 132; Testimony of Frederick Skinner, Asunción, 25 January 1871, Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19.
- 96 Tamandaré later raised the vessel and presented her clean and whole to the Argentine government, from which she had been taken a year before. See Calmón, *Memorias da Campanha*, 1: 137.
- 97 Thompson, *War in Paraguay*, 133. Ironically, the tactic that Thompson suggested was exactly that which was frequently adopted by the Paraguayans in the 1932–1935 Chaco War; over and over again (at the battle of Nanawa in January 1933), the numerically superior Bolivians wasted their troops in fruitless assaults against Paraguay's well-constructed, well-defended trenches. See José Félix Estigarribia, *Epic of the Chaco. Marshal Estigarribia's Memoirs of the Chaco War* (Austin, 1950).

2 | VAST FIELDS OF DEATH

- 1 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 27 April 1866.
- 2 Charles A. Washburn to William Seward, Corrientes, 4 May 1866, WNL.
- 3 One of these bridges was a floating affair one hundred thirty yards long and more than ten wide that the engineers had erected in less than twenty-four hours. See *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 2 May 1866.
- 4 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 2 May 1866.
- 5 As a young man, Marshal López had had to obey orders of similar complexity in similar circumstances. In 1845, his father sent the eighteen-year-old Francisco Solano on a military incursion into Corrientes at the head of a force of nearly two thousand men, and on that occasion issued him a set of orders that went on for many pages and pretended to cover every imaginable contingency. It did not occur to the elder López that his son be given the freedom to act as circumstances dictated, and this same conviction (or feeling of doubt) guided many of the younger López's actions during the war against the Triple Alliance. See Instructions of Carlos Antonio López, Asunción, 9 December 1845, ANA-SH 272, no. 22, and, more generally, Manuel Florencio Mantilla, *Crónica histórica de la provincial de Corrientes* (Buenos Aires, 1929), 2: 140–144.
- 6 Revisionist historians have often castigated Britain as an omnipresent puppeteer, pulling strings to effect an imperialism that crushed the Latin American quest for an economic development independent of Albion's control. But these scholars and polemicists, who include José María Rosa, León Pomer, Julio José Chiavenato, and, more recently, Luis Agüero Wagner, have rarely permitted an inconvenient fact to play havoc with their conviction. They have never explained why the British should bother to reveal the complete wording of the Triple Alliance Treaty when its revelation would strengthen the Marshal's cause and the "anti-imperialist" sentiments of those Latin Americans who sympathized with it. The failure of the revisionists to address this question is more than a minor detail, for it disrupts their broader contentions about the workings of nineteenth-century imperialism in Latin America.
- 7 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 157–158; Box, *Origins of the Paraguayan War*, 270–273. Strictly speaking, the text of the treaty contradicted long-standing Brazilian policy, which had generally sought to weaken Argentina at the expense of Paraguay and Uruguay, not the other way around. Ironically, the two major Allied powers outlined a common goal almost certain to set them at loggerheads once victory over López was assured. See Francisco Doratioto, "La politique paraguayenne de l'Empire du Brésil (1864–1872)." Paper presented at the Colloque International "Le Paraguay a l'Ombre de ses Guerres," Maison de l'Amerique Latine, Paris, 17 November 2005.

- 8 *La América* (Buenos Aires), 5–6 and 13 May 1866; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 270–271, and José Fabián Ledesma to Juan Bautista Alberdi, Buenos Aires, 10 May 1866, Archivo Alberdi (Luján), 4529, no. 5114. Allied officials tried with minimal success to counter the resulting criticism in Europe and the United States with a pro-Allied press campaign; in one pamphlet, issued with the help of the Brazilian legation in Washington, the unnamed author states that the “Allies, far from designing to usurp territories that do not rightfully belong to them, are only defending their own rights [to those territories].” This claim, which might have seemed reasonable had it not been cloaked in a stated need for secrecy, met with near-universal scorn. See *The Paraguayan Question. The Alliance between Brazil, the Argentine Confederation and Uruguay versus the Dictator of Paraguay. Claims of the Republics of Peru and Bolivia in Regard to this Alliance* (New York, 1866), 12.
- 9 An anonymous *El Semanario* article of 31 March 1866 entitled “Los reclutas” expressed the concern for national survival in almost nihilistic terms: “Save the Fatherland or die for her!!! [sic] is the solemn pledge that all Paraguayan citizens make ... [such that we] profess our love for the Fatherland and [offer] our maximum confidence in our brilliant Marshal López’s [campaign] to defeat the barbarous enemy.”
- 10 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 138.
- 11 Palleja, *Diario de la campaña*, 2: 218; “Más detalles sobre el combate del 2,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 12 May 1866; “2 de mayo de 1866,” *La Patria* (Asunción), 2 May 1894.
- 12 José Ignacio Garmendia, *Campaña de Humaytá* (Buenos Aires, 1901), 88; Paulo de Queiroz Duarte, *Os Voluntários da Patria na Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1985), 2, bk. 4: 175–181.
- 13 The officer delegated to transport these guns back to the Paraguayan lines was a young cavalry lieutenant, Bernardino Caballero, who would play an exemplary role in the later engagements of the war and eventually became president of Paraguay (1880–1886). See Gregorio Benítez, *Primeras batallas contra la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 1919), 154.
- 14 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias históricas*, 2: 71–72.
- 15 Silvestre Aveiro, *Memorias militares, 1864–1870* (Asunción, 1989), 38.
- 16 Correspondent to D. M. Rodríguez, aboard *Proveedor* at Paso de la Patria, 10 April 1866, in *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 17 April 1866.
- 17 Julio César Chaves, *El general Díaz. Biografía del vencedor de Curupaity* (Buenos Aires and Asunción, 1957), 64–65. See also “Batalla de 2 de mayo. Estero Bellaco,” *El Independiente* (Asunción), 2 May 1888.
- 18 Colonel Conesa, whose conduct at Corrales had caught the appreciative eye of Brazilian officers, now returned the compliment by assigning to Osório “the greatest glory of the day and the appreciation of the entire [Argentine] army.” See Conesa to Martín de Gainza, Yataity, 20 May 1866, cited in Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 213.
- 19 Never one to whitewash the failures of his fellow officers, Centurión noted that few tacticians among Paraguayan commanders could have arranged a maneuver in time to assure a meaningful victory at the Estero Bellaco. Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 72. See also José María Sandoval to his brother Bernardino Sandoval, Yataity, 1 May 1866, ANA-CRB I-30, 20, 47.
- 20 Decree of López [condemning Robles to death together with two assistants], Paso de la Patria, 6 January 1866, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 2, no. 11; “Destitución de Robles,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 9–10 August 1866.
- 21 Colonel Silvestre Aveiro, one of the Marshal’s most ardent defenders in later years, implicitly criticized this particular failure in his 1874 reminiscences, noting that if López “had [correctly] calculated the effect of his surprise [attack] perhaps he would have launched his entire army [into the fray; as it was, however, Díaz hesitated] to ask

for support [until it was too late] ... for it to arrive." See Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 38. See also Manuel Avila, "Rectificaciones históricas. Estero Bellaco," *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo*, 2, no. 22 (Nov–Dec. 1899): 143–151, who argues that Díaz had little room for meaningful maneuver and could not exceed orders to reconnoiter the ground and return.

- 22 Colonel Thompson put Allied losses at the Estero Bellaco at an improbable twenty-five hundred (see *The War in Paraguay*, 136), while in Sena Madureira's "response," the Brazilian countered with an equally unlikely one thousand men lost (see his *Guerra do Paraguai*, 22); Mitre's own report to Vice President Paz put Allied casualties at 656 ("the majority wounded") with Paraguayan losses "more than 1,200 dead, three artillery pieces, two flags, around 800 rifles, and a great number of prisoners, for the most part wounded." See "Mitre to Marcos Paz, Estero Bellaco, 3 May 1866," in Jorge Thompson, *La guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1869), xxxii–iii; the *Correio Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 16 July 1866, provided eleven columns on the first two pages with the names of the Brazilians killed and wounded, for a total of 425 killed, 2,192 wounded, and 127 lightly wounded (*contusos*); the most exaggerated recounting of losses, however, came from a junior officer in Osório's command, whose diary noted only four hundred total Allied casualties as against three thousand for the Paraguayans. See "Diário do Alferes João José da Fonseca. Natural da Cidade de Castro na Guerra do Paraguai (17/Dezembro de 1865 até 19/Novembro de 1867)," *Boletim do Instituto Histórico, Geográfico e Etnográfico Paranaense*, 34 (1978): 137.
- 23 Flores to Querida Agapa, Paso de la Patria, 11 May 1866, AGN (M), Archivos Particulares, Caja 10, carpeta 13, no. 48.
- 24 Pecegueiro later issued an extended defense of his actions, which included an angry denunciation of several fellow officers. See Lopes Pecegueiro, *Combate de 2 de maio de 1866* (Rio de Janeiro, 1870).
- 25 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 5 May 1866. The Allied press liked to pretend that the distress caused by the war were having a palpable effect in Asunción, where war widows could express their "desperation and sadness only in the bosom of their homes." See "Teatro de guerra," *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 18 May 1866. At this stage of the conflict, in fact, there was little proof that many Paraguayan women were thinking this way.
- 26 *The Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro) reported on 20 May 1866 that López had directed the Paraguayan attack from the front lines at the Estero Bellaco, but this was clearly not the case at any time during the battle. See James Schofield Saeger, *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay. Honor and Egocentrism* (Lanham and Boulder, 2007), 148.
- 27 Dionísio Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1948), 167. See also Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 213.
- 28 In 1862 the Brazilian army had imported several "carros ambulâncias" from France. These stagecoach-like vehicles, with spring suspension, gave a much smoother ride than was possible with cacolets and were much used later in the war; see also Report of Brigadier Polidoro to Colonel Director of the Arsenal. Rio de Janeiro, 18 June 1862, which describes the initial allocation of the ambulances. Arquivo Nacional, Coleção Polidoro da Fonseca Quintinilha Jordão.
- 29 Although the Brazilian medical services were much criticized, in fact, certain impressive innovations had already occurred over the preceding decade, one example being the deployment of specialized orderlies for combat conditions. Previously, musicians from the military band were sent to retrieve the wounded from the battlefield (and this continued as the practice for all armies during the Paraguayan conflict). The Brazilians nonetheless established a field nursing company. General Osório, with more than a touch of racist disdain for his own Black troops, delegated this particularly onerous duty to the

- Zuavos Battalion from Bahia. See Kraay, "Patriotic Mobilization in Brazil. The Zuavos and Other Black Companies," in *I Die with My Country. Perspectives on the Paraguayan War*, Hendrik Kraay and Thomas L. Whigham, eds. (Lincoln and London, 2004), 76–78. Concerning the Argentine medical services, which usually earned greater praise from observers than those of the Brazilians, see Miguel Angel de Marco, *La guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 2003), 157–194.
- 30 For general details on the role of Argentine military chaplains, see de Marco, *La guerra del Paraguay*, 223–240. On the Paraguayan side, see the extensive treatment in Silvio Gona, *El clero en la guerra del 70* (Asunción, 1961), and Rafael Eladio Velásquez, "El clero en la guerra del 70," *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 6 January 1963.
 - 31 The correspondent of the Buenos Aires *Standard* described the hospital complex at Saladero (a league south of Corrientes) as an infinity of tents and eight separate wooden buildings, one of which was 200 yards long by 10 yards wide, the remaining seven edifices each being 60 by 10. The establishment was therefore capable of handling several thousand wounded men. See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 8 June 1866, and Hutchinson, *The Paraná*, 281–282.
 - 32 J. Arthur Montenegro, "Hospital Fluctuante," in *Fragmentos Históricos. Homems e Factos da Guerra do Paraguay* (Rio Grande, 1900), 102–104.
 - 33 Efraím Cardozo noted that the many Paraguayan wounded were taken by skiffs and schooners up to Asunción, where the military hospital was quickly filled. Private homes were then opened, including that of War Minister Venancio López. See *Hace cien años*, 3: 273.
 - 34 "They seemed to remember so little, and would never think for themselves, never try to go through any process of reasoning. And their prejudices, the old wretched nonsense they had learnt from their grandmothers, always stood in the way. If they once got a wrong idea into their heads, nothing could remove it. They are like the Indians of Central America, who, having confounded *envierno* (winter) with *infierno* (hell) could never be persuaded by the Jesuits that the latter was hot." George Frederick Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 117.
 - 35 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 117–118. An intriguing document from mid-1866, which goes on for thirty-six densely annotated pages, lists 24,551 pesos worth of drugs and medical supplies that the state had recently purchased from Asunción pharmacists. This document also indicates that private drugstores still possessed supplies of foreign-produced medicines in impressive quantities this late in the war, and that the state was still willing to pay for such materials, rather than simply confiscate them. See Nota de los efectos de Botica entregados con venta al Estado, 6 June 1866, ANA-NE 1711. As for locally produced *remedios*, the commandant of the Villa de Salvador reported at the end of 1867 that he was sending the hospitals several demijohns of fever medicine, which "had always given good results with head-aches." See Rafael Ruiz Díaz to War Minister, Divino Salvador, 15 December 1867, ANA-NE 820.
 - 36 Anselmo Aquino Report, Encarnación, 11 November 1865, ANA-NE 2375. Measles seems to have made a circuitous journey among the Paraguayan troops; by April 1866, we find the commandant of the tiny, isolated fort of Olimpo (in the northern Chaco) reporting fourteen of his soldiers down with the disease (two in danger of dying). See Pedro Ferreira to War Minister, Olimpo, 9 April 1866, ANA-NE 1733.
 - 37 Lucilio del Castillo, "Enfermedades reinantes en la campaña del Paraguay," *Album de la guerra del Paraguay*, 1(1893): 341–343, 357–359, 2 (1894): 25–30, 43–47, 63–64.
 - 38 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 139.
 - 39 Thomas Whigham "Building the Nation While Destroying the Land: Paraguayan Journalism during the Triple Alliance War, 1864–1870," *Jahrbuch für Lateinamerikanische*

- Geschichte* 49 (2012): 157–180; María Lucrecia Johansson, *Soldados de papel. La propaganda en la prensa paraguaya durante la guerra de la Triple Alianza (1864–1870)* (Cádiz, 2014).
- 40 “Francisco M. Paz to Marcos Paz, Bellaco, 9 May 1866,” in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz* (La Plata, 1964), 5: 134–137.
 - 41 *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 15 May 1866.
 - 42 The ancient Greeks called this latter phenomenon *ignis fatuus* (the fire of fools), a red or greenish light produced by the spontaneous combustion of methane coming from decaying marsh plants. Individuals lost at night would make for these lights in “foolish” fashion, thinking them the lanterns of friends, and would find themselves hopelessly mired in the swamp as a result. See Robert Southey, *Common-place Book* (London, 1849), 730, for a particularly evocative example of the phenomenon. As for fireflies, Masterman reported two different varieties in southern Paraguay—a smaller insect, which emitted an intermittent yellow light and was never seen except over wet ground, and a larger variety, which emitted a steady green light; he also reported “another light-bearer of even greater beauty, the larva of a beetle, a grey ungainly worm by day, but at night a bracelet for Titania herself, a double chain of living emeralds, with a clasp of a single ruby.” See *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 124–125.
 - 43 Joaquim Silverio de Azevedo Pimentel, *Guerra do Paraguai. Episodios Militares* (Rio de Janeiro, 1978), 14–15. As used here, the word *negro* or *negrinho* in Portuguese or *kambá* in Guaraní, probably comes closer in its contempt to the English term “nigger,” which, however, is so laden with nuances today as to be of doubtful utility in this older Paraguayan context; the substitute term “darkie” perhaps provides the least anachronistic epithet for that time and place. The Paraguayans, whose disdain for the Brazilian blacks was ubiquitous, also called them *kai*, the Guaraní equivalent for *macaco*, or “monkey,” the one forest animal that laughs uncontrollably at his own antics and who never takes a serious step. The common Paraguayan slur for Argentines, *kurepi* (“pig bellies”), evidently comes from a later period; it derives from the white color of the underside of hogs, which, to Paraguayan thinking, resembled that of Argentine faces. One frequently hears the latter term even today, and it is just as unflattering now as when it was first coined. *Kai* and *kambá*, on the other hand, have dropped out of usage as derogatory terms for Brazilians.
 - 44 Decree of Vice President Sánchez concerning the evacuation of all civilians from the southern districts, Asunción, 23 November 1865, ANA-SH 334, no. 1.
 - 45 Some anti-López Paraguayans had been organized into a minor military force called the Paraguayan Legion, which had served under Argentine command since mid-1865. Juan Bautista Gill Aguinaga’s, *La asociación paraguaya en la guerra de la Triple Alianza* (Buenos Aires, 1959).
 - 46 Washington Lockhart, *Venancio Flores, un caudillo trágico* (Montevideo, 1976).
 - 47 Cited in the *New York Times*, 29 June 1866.
 - 48 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 141.
 - 49 Manuel Martínez to Colonel José Luis Gómez, President of the Centro de Guerreros del Paraguay, Montevideo, 26 March 1916, MHN-M Colección Guerreros del Paraguay; Floriano Müller, “O Batahão ‘Vilagran Cabrita’ na Guerra do Paraguai,” *Revista Militar Brasileira*, 62: nos. 1–2 (1955): 78.
 - 50 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 142.
 - 51 Centurión, who was awarded with the Knight’s Star of the National Order of Merit for his work in the execution of the attack, did not hesitate to call it capricious and point the finger directly at the Marshal. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 84–85.

- 52 On 23 May, the Paraguayans captured a Brazilian spy who revealed the plans for an Allied attack in two days' time. From today's perspective, it seems obvious that the man invented a story to tell his tormentors what they wanted to hear and thus end the flogging the Paraguayans meted out. See Adolfo I. Báez, *Tuyuty* (Buenos Aires, 1929), 55–56.
- 53 Cited in Albert Amerlan, *Nights on the Río Paraguay. Scenes of War and Character Sketches* (Buenos Aires, 1902), 40–41.
- 54 It was an unfortunate habit of López to communicate to each chief only that which concerned him, so that none of them should presume to take the overall command himself. Thus his field officers frequently failed to understand the Marshal's general aim and could not work to affect it as a whole. See Amerlan, *Nights on the Río Paraguay*, 42.
- 55 Thompson cites a figure of twenty-three thousand men in the attacking Paraguayan force, but bizarrely omits mention of Marcó's column. See *The War in Paraguay*, 143. Cardozo, in *Hace cien años*, 3: 301, mentions an attacking force of eighteen thousand Paraguayans with another seven thousand (and eight artillery pieces) in reserve. Battalions with full complements were always a rarity.
- 56 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 298–299; Wisner, a consummate survivor and eccentric who had come to Paraguay during the early Carlos Antonio López period, managed to live through the Triple Alliance conflict in relative comfort with his many children, and served the postwar governments with as much dedication as he had that of the Marshal. See Gunther Kahle, "Franz Wisner von Morgenstern. Ein Ungar im Paraguay des 19. Jahrhundert," *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs*, 37 (1984): 198–246.
- 57 *Le Courrier de la Plata* (Buenos Aires), 29 May 1866, attributed this story to Paraguayan prisoners who later fell into Allied hands, and Colonel Palleja repeated the tale in his diary, though he seems to have doubted its veracity. See *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 266; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 104, chides Palleja for giving a voice to this falsehood: "I do not understand why officers so brave and enlightened should stoop to denigrate [the natural courage] of our countrymen who fought [so hard] to defend their soil."
- 58 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 183.
- 59 Báez, *Tuyuty*, 51.
- 60 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 144.
- 61 John Hoyt Williams, "'A Swamp of Blood.' The Battle of Tuyutí," *Military History* 17, no. 1 (April 2000): 60. General Sampaio was from Ceará, one of the very few senior officers in the Brazilian army to hail from the northeastern provinces.
- 62 See eulogies in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 21 July 1866; "Sampaio. 200 Anos," *Revista do Exército Brasileiro*, 147, special edition (2010); and Paulo de Queiroz Duarte, *Sampaio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1988), 288–315.
- 63 Garmendia, *Campanha de Humaitá*, 204. This tale might possibly be accurate, though Garmendia did tend to praise the efforts of his own Argentine comrades while underestimating those of his Brazilian allies.
- 64 Azevedo Pimentel, *Episódios Militares*, 88–89.
- 65 "Seeber to 'Querido amigo,' Tuyutí, 30 May 1866," in Seeber, *Cartas sobre la guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1907), 93. This same Seeber later had a successful career as a businessman and served for a year as mayor of Buenos Aires (1889–1890). Jakob Dick, a German-born gunner with the Brazilian forces, noted with pride that the best Allied artillerymen were likewise Germans (veterans of the earlier campaign against Rosas), who, on this day, "saved the cause." See "Diário do Forriell Jakob Dick," in Klaus Becker, *Alemães e Descendentes do Rio Grande do Sul na Guerra do Paraguai* (Canoas, 1968), 160.

- 66 “Relato dos Acontecimentos de 24 de Maio. Batalha de Tuiuti. Manuscrito de Autor Não-mencionado,” IHGB Arquivo, lata 335, pasta 26 (1866?).
- 67 Juan E. O’Leary, *24 de mayo. Tuyuty. Estero Bellaco* (Asunción, 1904), 61.
- 68 Gilbert Phelps, *The Tragedy of Paraguay*, 151. Mallet’s guns were LaHittes 4 (with a bore dimension of 88 mm), which fired a 3.7 kg shell (the shrapnel grenades weighed 4.45 kgs). The Brazilians were fond of the LaHitte cannon and used its French design when constructing their own cannon at the Naval Arsenal. Reginaldo J. da Silva Bacchi, personal communication, São Paulo, 23 October 2005.
- 69 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 144.
- 70 “Friendly fire” casualties were common throughout the Paraguayan War; this case was unusual, however, in that Colonel Palleja admitted that the guns of his Florida Battalion were at fault in killing many of his Argentine allies. See Palleja, *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 268. General Paunero, another victim of this same bombardment, lost part of his right ear. See *La Tribuna* (Montevideo), 31 May 1866.
- 71 The Argentine painter Cándido López recorded that these Paraguayan troops carried no weapons save “heavy machetes, so new that they still bore the green [paper] label that identified their English manufacture.” See López’s notes for 24 May 1866, in Franco María Ricci, *Cándido López. Imágenes de la Guerra del Paraguay* (Milan, 1984), 142.
- 72 See *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 12 June 1866; General Osório’s adjutant later sent what was left of this flag as a trophy to Admiral Tamandaré, who responded by offering an eloquent tribute to the Paraguayan soldier’s devotion to his country. See *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 24 June 1866.
- 73 The Paraguayans kept playing their music over the next several days to hide the disarray of their situation. Cerqueira took this to mean that they had received reinforcements and were so enthused and ready to fight once again that some of their soldiers were already popping out “of their entrenchments to take pot-shots at our advance [units].” See Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Guerra*, 163.
- 74 Báez, *Tuyuty*, 99.
- 75 “Bartolomé Mitre to Marco Paz, Tuyutí, 24 May 1866,” in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 198.
- 76 Colonel Thompson could not resist a touch of derision as he tallied the losses:
Major Yegros (who had been imprisoned and in irons ever since López II was elected President [in 1862]), Major Rojas, and Captain Corvalán—all of them ex-aides-de-camp of López, and in whom he formerly had great confidence—were taken out of their irons (no one knew why they had been put in them) and sent to fight, degraded to the rank of sergeant; they were all killed in the battle or mortally wounded. José Martínez, ... [one of the Marshal’s favorites, had been made] a captain after the “2nd May,” when he was wounded [at the battle of the Estero Bellaco] ... and was now made a major just before he died. ... Many of the merchants of Asunción, who had just been recruited for the army, were also among the killed.
See *The War in Paraguay*, 145–146.
- 77 Palleja, *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 266–267; see also “Jacobo Varela to his brothers, Tuyutí, 24 May 1866, 10 pm,” *La Tribuna* (Montevideo), 2 June 1866.
- 78 Allied accounts of Paraguayan sacrifice at Tuyutí and other battles were always heart-wrenching. They invariably stressed the courage, not the foolishness, of the enemy. See, for example, “Official Report of Field Marshal Osório, Tuyutí, 27 May 1866,” *Jornal*

- do *Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 20 June 1866, and the various “partes oficiales” in *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 31 May 1866.
- 79 Washburn to Seward, Corrientes, 8 June 1866, NARA, M-128, no. 2.
- 80 Thompson recorded eight thousand casualties on the Allied side—an improbably high figure. See *The War in Paraguay*, 146; Leuchars, reflecting the early testimony of Mitre and the more refined analyses of Garmendia, puts the figure of total Allied killed and wounded at just under four thousand. See *To the Bitter End*, 124.
- 81 See Seeber, *Cartas sobre la guerra del Paraguay*, 86–87.
- 82 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 137; “Más sobre el combate del 24 de mayo,” *El Pueblo. Órgano del Partido Liberal* (Asunción), 4–5 June 1895.
- 83 “Dr. Manoel Feliciano Pereira de Carvalho to the Baron of Herval, 27 May 1866,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 July 1866.
- 84 An absorbing account of an Argentine field hospital on the 24 and 25 May can be garnered from José Juan Biedma, “Por un pan de jabón,” *Album de la guerra del Paraguay*, 1 (1893–1894), 69–72.
- 85 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 8 June 1866; in the same report we find a curious story of three camp followers taken aboard the *Presidente* at the same time:
- Two of the trio were wounded, one not so severely as to prevent her from using her wicked tongue. She was a Correntina ‘china.’ The other associate, a Cordevesa, a white woman, was desperately hurt. Her right hand had been pierced through with a lance, her left arm broken at the elbow by a ball, five other grievous wounds upon her head and body made up the score. . . . The surgeon at once pronounced her to be a hopeless case. She still possessed consciousness, imploring the Mother of Mercies to “look down in pity” upon her sufferings. As this was passing, the Correntina, in a no unmistakable tone, began to mimic the last accents of one who probably had been a rival:
- Oh! Woman
- When to ill thy mind is bent,
- All hell contains no fouler fiend.
- The nymph received a caution “to shut up,” at the same time a threat that another breath would be the signal to be thrown overboard. It need not be added after this there was no further mimicry.
- 86 Manuel Biedma, the Argentine officer who directed the disposal of the cadavers, noted with amazement how the fire failed to engulf them and how instead they dried into the form of Egyptian mummies: “The Paraguayans never surrender, not even to the flames!” Cited in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 312. The Bate Company photographers of Montevideo immortalized the scene with shots of corpses piled one on top of the other; these images soon went on sale in downriver ports and still offend the eyes today. See Miguel Angel Cuarterolo, “Images of War: Photographers and Sketch Artists of the Triple Alliance conflict,” in *I Die with My Country. Perspectives on the Paraguayan War, 1864–1870*, Hendrik Kraay and Thomas L. Whigham, eds. (Lincoln and London, 2004), 154–178.
- 87 Captain Seeber considered the Marshal’s unwillingness to focus his attack on the Argentines the key Paraguayan error of the day. See *Cartas sobre la guerra del Paraguay*, 86–87.
- 88 Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 42. I have adjusted the colonel’s Guaraní to conform with modern orthography, but he seems to have left a word or two out of the original: “Aipebú ndeve los kambá, xe Karaí, pero ndambogüi.”
- 89 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 94.
- 90 Sometime later, López told Resquín that he had deserved to be shot for his poor conduct at Tuyutí but was saved by the fact that the Marshal might then have had to shoot his

brother-in-law Barrios, who had shown a similar ineptitude. See Garmendia, *Campaña de Humayta*, 227; in his memoirs, perhaps not surprisingly, Resquín omits reference to this upbraiding. See Francisco I. Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 1996), 46.

- 91 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 95.
- 92 See *El Semanario* (Asunción), 26 May 1866.
- 93 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 98; French consul Emile Laurent-Cochelet, then in Asunción, noted that in the Paraguayan capital the government represented the disaster at Tuyutí as a brilliant victory, though his own testimony suggests that few really believed this interpretation. See his “Exercice de 5 juillet 1866” (Asunción), in Capdevila, *Variations sur le pays des femmes*, 380.

3 | A MARCH THROUGH THE SWAMPS

- 1 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 153–154.
- 2 See, for example, Mitre to Marcos Paz, Estero Bellaco, 10 May 1866, and Evaristo López to Mitre, Corrientes, 14 June 1866 (regarding the expropriation of horses in Corrientes), both in the *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 184–185 and 192–194, respectively; Mitre to Foreign Minister Rufino de Elizalde, Tuyutí, 5 July 1866, in *Correspondencia Mitre-Elizalde* (Buenos Aires, 1960), 284–285; an article entitled “The Horse Panic” appeared in *The Standard* later that month that described the many subterfuges horse owners in Buenos Aires used to keep their animals from being seized for war service. See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires) 17 July 1866. In Uruguay, similar appeals were made to citizens to contribute their horses to the army (and with similar negative results). See “Caballos para el ejército,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 11 July 1866.
- 3 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 4: 32.
- 4 Circular of Francisco Sánchez, Asunción, 1 June 1866, cited in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 4: 9; the specific exemption of slaves in this recruitment gives the lie to Garmendia’s assertion that López built his new army out of a force of “six-thousand slaves and other contingents.” See *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay. Primera parte (Batalla de Sauce—Combate de Yataytí Corá—Curupaytí)* (Buenos Aires, 1890), 43.
- 5 One report noted the passage of 863 new recruits and thirty-two convalescents southward aboard the steamer *Ygurey*. See Captain Francisco Bareiro to Francisco Solano López, Asunción, 14 June 1866, ANA-NE 3280.
- 6 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 133; Garmendia, *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*, 43, puts the figure at thirty thousand.
- 7 Palleja, *Diario de la campaña*, 2: 353.
- 8 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 7 June 1866. The situation had still not improved a week and a half later when the same newspaper reported that “the state of the hospitals, the gross neglect and want of doctors, and the number of unfortunates found dead each morning in their catres [cots] is really unfit for publication. It is a crying sin that doctors are not sent up ... by the score.” See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 20 June 1866.
- 9 Francisco Seeber, *Cartas sobre la guerra del Paraguay*, 110–112.
- 10 On various occasions the high command sought to curb the activities of these sutlers, who caused much jealousy and disorder among the rank and file. See de Marco, *La guerra del Paraguay*, 146–147.
- 11 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 10 June 1866. *La Nación Argentina* had already reported as astounding the sight of the “floating bakeries, whose curious brick ovens [were

- constructed] atop every deck as if built on solid ground.” See *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 9 February 1866.
- 12 Lucio Mansilla, *Una excursion a los indios ranqueles* (Caracas, 1984), 34–37.
 - 13 Paraguayan intelligence likely had a good notion of Flores’s movements at this time. See Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 129–131.
 - 14 *El Semanario* (Asunción) issued a special number on 15 June 1866 that claimed an enemy loss of a “minimum of six battalions of infantry,” but there was no reason to doubt the more measured statistic recorded by Palleja in his *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 306–307.
 - 15 *Boletín de campaña*, no. 7 (15 June 1866); “Correspondencia de Wenceslao Fernández,” unidentified clipping, Palmar de Estero Bellaco, 14 June 1866, BNA, CJO. See also *La Tribuna* (Montevideo), 22 June 1866.
 - 16 Palleja, *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 340.
 - 17 *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 22 June 1866.
 - 18 Alberdi had criticized the Triple Alliance from the beginning. His opponents subsequently branded him a traitor, though various commentators, many of them Paraguayans, stepped forward to defend his actions as essentially patriotic. See David Peña, *Alberdi, los mitristas, y la guerra de la Triple Alianza* (Buenos Aires, 1965), and Liliana Brezzo, “Tan sincero y leal amigo, tan ilustre benefactor, tan noble y desinteresado escritor: los mecanismos de exaltación de Juan Bautista Alberdi en Paraguay, 1889–1910.” Paper presented at the XXVII Encuentro de Geohistoria Regional, Asunción, 17 August 2007.
 - 19 In its issue of 8 August 1866, *El Siglo* (Montevideo) presented the official Allied line on the suppression of *La América*, noting that, while freedom of the press was a “wonderful thing,” it had to be coupled with responsible use, and this was where de Vedia’s comportment deserved more than simple censure.
 - 20 The way had been prepared for the arrest with a sharp critique in the 19 July 1866 issue of *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), in which *La América* was impugned as a throwback to the despotic age of Rosas. The newspaper had its defenders, including Carlos Guido y Spano, who had previously supplied it with articles, and the poet Olegario V. Andrade, who denounced Mitre’s actions against free speech in “La suspensión de ‘La América,’ ” *El Porvenir* (Guauguaychú), 1 August 1866. The *Jornal do Commercio* usually kept silent on internal dissension in Buenos Aires, but on this occasion it lashed out at *La América*, noting that “every day it [revealed itself as] a more pronounced organ of Paraguay.” See *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 July 1866.
 - 21 *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 22 June 1866.
 - 22 Guido y Spano, “El gobierno y la alianza,” *La Trubuna* (Buenos Aires), 20–25 March 1866; see also Patricia Barrio, “Carlos Guido y Spano y una visión de la guerra del Paraguay,” *Todo es Historia* 216 (April 1985): 38–44.
 - 23 The poet Olegario V. Andrade, with his usual flair for the elegiac, referred to the national government’s having “sold for foreign gold the fatherland’s ancient virtues and glories in pursuit of a stupid ambition.” See *El Porvenir* (Guauguaychú), 12 August 1866. See also Guido y Spano, *Rafagas* (Buenos Aires, 1879), 388–91.
 - 24 The normally pro-government *Standard* admitted with more than normal candor that the war had enriched the country, as would any similar conflict in future, so long as Argentina could “find as rich an ally as Brazil, and so many hungry soldiers to feed with our beef at 7 petacones for each cow.” See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 20 June 1866.
 - 25 Beatriz Bosch, “Los desbandes de Basualdo y Toledo,” *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, 4, no.1 (1959): 213–45.

- 26 Taken from an anonymous flysheet entitled "El nube y el arco iris" (probably written by former Finance Minister Luis Domínguez) and cited in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 17 July 1866.
- 27 Erasmo, *Ao Povo. Cartas políticas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866), 12–24 and 70–72; *Ao Emperador. Novas cartas políticas* (Rio de Janeiro, 1867?). Alencar was one of the first significant writers in Brazil to set out consciously to create a national literature; his "Indian" novels, especially *O Guarany* (1857), and *Iracema* (1865), introduced a constellation of specifically "Indian" virtues to complement those that the Portuguese had brought from Europe. He hoped to convince the public that such virtues provided a positive gloss to the new Brazilian society; his readers must have recognized, however, that the "American" elements he praised were indistinguishable from the "unspoiled" and "natural" patriotism that other authors had extolled in the Paraguayans. See Manuel Cavalcanti Proença, *José de Alencar na Literatura Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1966).
- 28 See Marcos Paz to Mitre, Buenos Aires, 11 July 1866, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 4: 193, and Juan Manuel Casal, "Uruguay and the Paraguayan War," in *I Die with My Country. Perspectives on the Paraguayan War, 1864–1870*, Hendrik Kraay and Thomas L. Whigham, eds., 132–133.
- 29 "Mediaciones inaceptables," *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 24 June 1866; "Noticias do Rio da Prata," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 26 June 1866.
- 30 Cardozo, *Hace cien años* 4: 15–16; in its issues of 23 and 24 June 1866, *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires) referred to mediation offers by France and Chile, and noted that such propositions were wholly inopportune, given that the war "would soon end through the definitive victory of Allied arms." Over the next months, the governments of Peru, Chile, Ecuador, and Bolivia developed a common position on the war that featured a pro-Paraguayan neutrality. For an early example of this argument, see Foreign Minister Toribio Pacheco to Benigno G. Vigil, Lima, 9 July 1866, ANA-SH 343, no. 16. This letter and related correspondence first appeared in *El Peruano* (Lima), 11 July 1866, and were later reprinted in the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *Correspondencia diplomática relativa a la cuestión del Paraguay* (Lima, 1867). See also "De la protesta de los Estados Americanos (9 July 1866)," in José Falcón, "Memoria documentada de los territorios que pertenecen a la República del Paraguay," MG 64, and Report of Spanish Minister Pedro Sorela y Maury, Buenos Aires, August 1866, in Ruiz Moreno, *Informes españoles sobre Argentina*, 1: 320–322.
- 31 The man shot for defeatism had been one of the Marshal's mulatto slaves (the son of the woman who had suckled López as a baby). One evening the man was overheard expressing an innocent admiration for the music of the Allied bugler, who, in the distance, had played the *diana* so sweetly. This casual remark cost him his life. Not surprisingly, the Allies depicted his execution as capricious and cruel, whereas the Paraguayans saw it as the product of a necessary firmness. *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 20 June 1866.
- 32 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 7 July 1866.
- 33 The exasperated Washburn once observed that "the people in Corrientes could not understand why the minister of a great and powerful nation should be hanging on in the rear of the Allied army like a camp follower, and I heard of numerous discussions [about] whether or not I was an accredited minister or an impostor." See Washburn, *The History of Paraguay with Notes of Personal Observations and Reminiscences of Diplomacy under Difficulties* (Boston and New York, 1871), 2: 120; for two examinations of Washburn's conflicted relations with his family members (who included in their number two governors, a senator, an admiral, and a sometime secretary of state), see Theodore A. Webb, *Seven Sons. Millionaires & Vagabonds* (Victoria, 1999), 192–196; and Kerck Kelsey, *Remarkable Americans. The Washburn Family* (Gardiner, Maine, 2008), 182–205.

- 34 Porto Alegre, it should be noted, could not use Tamandaré's fleet to smash the little Paraguayan flotilla off Encarnación because the shoals near the island of Apipé prevented the passage of anything but shallow-draft vessels up the Alto Paraná (except when the river was in flood). Porto Alegre to War Minister, 8 May 1866, in Augusto Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai* (São Paulo, 1959), 3: 61–62.
- 35 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 20 June 1866. The 25 July 1866 issue of the same periodical explained Porto Alegre's slow pace as resulting from difficult terrain. But Edward Thornton, the British minister in Rio de Janeiro, observed that if Porto Alegre had "crossed the Upper Paraná at Itapúa, he might have marched to the rear of President López's army, and cut him off from his supplies and from the most populous part of the country, the inhabitants of which would probably have declared against him ... it is this apparent absence of proper discretion which makes one doubt as to the future success of the allied forces." See Thornton to the Earl of Clarendon, Rio de Janeiro, 7 July 1866, in George Philip, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print. Part I: Series D, Latin America, 1845–1914* (London, 1991), 1: 202–203.
- 36 Colonel Palleja, in one of his final dispatches to the Montevideo and Buenos Aires newspapers, noted the superiority of the Marshal's rockets to anything the Allies possessed: "if only the Paraguayans knew how to properly direct their [fire] ... they would have a terrible effect." See *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 363–364; *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 18 July 1866.
- 37 Garmendia, *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*, 124–125, argues that the Paraguayan withdrawal was part of a planned maneuver, but offers no proof to illustrate the point. See also "Triunfo sobre los paraguayos," unidentified clipping, Tuyutí, 12 July 1866, BNA-CJO; the Italian-born General Daniel Cerri, who witnessed the battle as a young officer, later emphasized that despite all the smoke and uncertainty, the Argentine forces never withdrew from their initial defensive line, no matter that certain Paraguayan sources (in particular, Juan Silvano Godoi's *Monografías históricas*) claimed otherwise. See "El combate de Yataití," *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 28 April 1893.
- 38 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 4: 91; Flores to "Mi querida Agapa," Tuyutí, 12 July 1866, AGN (M) Archivos Particulares. Caja 10, carpeta 13, no. 51.
- 39 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 14 July 1866. See also Pompeyo González [Juan E. O'Leary], "Recuerdos de gloria. 16 de julio de 1866. Yataití Corã," *La Patria* (Asunción), 11 July 1902.
- 40 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 159.
- 41 See "Correspondencia del Río Paraguay... julio 15 [1866]," unidentified clipping, BNA-CJO.
- 42 Thompson's success as a military engineer was all the more surprising given his lack of training. He was completely self-taught, and relied principally on ragged copies of Macaulay's *Field Fortifications* and the *Professional Papers of the Royal Engineers*. See Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 133. As for Thompson's reputation among the Paraguayans, his fellow British engineers noted that he "was beloved by all classes of the natives." See Michael G. Mulhall, *The English in South America* (Buenos Aires, 1878), 365.
- 43 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 160–161; "Segundo viaje al teatro de la guerra," MHM-CZ, carpeta 144, no. 1. For a graphic representation of this trench work, and of the adjacent terrain, see "Acción de Boquerón. Croquis," *El Pueblo Argentino* (Buenos Aires), 4 August 1866, and "Reconocimiento de las posiciones ocupadas por nuestras fuerzas el 16 y 18 de julio de 1866. Croquis levantado por el ingeniero [Roberto] Chodasiewicz, Tuyutí, 23 de julio de 1866," Museo Mitre. Sección Mapas.
- 44 Osório's gout troubled him immensely, so much so that he had to go barefoot at Tuyutí, and, in a letter to his son written from Pelotas on 13 August 1866, he noted that his leg

- was “swollen to the groin,” and that he was glad to have delivered command to Polidoro, a “well-placed and talented man” destined later to be ennobled as the Viscount of Santa Thereza. See Joaquim Luis Osório and Fernando Luis Osório, *História do General Osório* (Pelotas, 1915), 2: 271; the general’s affliction added to his legendary status, and many years later, when an equestrian statue of the hero was unveiled in Rio de Janeiro, the sculptor was roundly criticized for depicting him with a boot upon his swollen foot.
- 45 Mitre commented some days later that Polidoro “had more of the qualities of a general than Osório, but he had [neither the] experience, [nor the charisma] of his predecessor. ... In any case, Osório’s command was greater than his capacities; he himself knew it, and this made him morally [*sic*] as well as physically ill.” See Mitre to Vice President Marcos Paz, Yataity, 25 July 1866, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 232–233.
- 46 See “Partes relativas ao ataque do 16 de julho ultimo,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 29 December 1866.
- 47 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 134.
- 48 Of this plethora of high-ranking Allied officers, Centurión snidely commented: “what a luxury of generals, and see how much [consequent] honor for our modest colonels and captains, the commanders of battalions!” See *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 2: 158–159.
- 49 Ordem do dia no. 3 (General Polidoro da Fonseca Quintinilha Jordão, Tuyutí, 20 July 1866), cited in Theotonio Meirelles, *O Exército Brasileiro na Campanha do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1877), 163.
- 50 Pallega, *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 361.
- 51 Pallega, *Diário de la campaña*, 2: 382–383.
- 52 Garmendia, *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*, 73. See also “Parte oficial del coronel Cesáreo Domínguez,” Tuyutí, 20 July 1866, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 31 July 1866.
- 53 Iwanovski was born Heinrich Reich in the Prussian city of Posen in 1827. He first came to South America as a recruit to the Brazilian army in 1851 and served in the Caseros campaign. Finding himself destitute in Montevideo, he appeared before the Marques de Castiglione, who was in the Uruguayan capital recruiting troops for Buenos Aires in its struggle against the confederation. Initially, the Marques had no room for Reich, but when a Polish recruit named Iwanovski failed to appear for the muster, the Prussian stepped forward and took his name and place. He served throughout the war with Paraguay and was wounded several times. A general by 1874, Iwanovski was caught by a rebellion in the province of San Luis and died with a revolver in his hand, shouting in his bad Spanish, “I no surrender, I no surrender!” See De Marco, *La guerra del Paraguay*, 75. Ignacio Fotheringham, another immigrant who knew the man well, insisted that his real name was Karl Reichert. See *Vida de un soldado o reminiscencias de las fronteras*, 1: 332. Juvêncio Saldanha Lemos mentions a João Reicher as having served in the 27th of Caçadores during the 1850s, but it is not clear that this is the same man. See *Os Mercenários do Imperador* (Rio de Janeiro, 1996), 571.
- 54 Domingo Fidel Sarmiento to Editor of *El Pueblo*, Tuyutí, 18 July 1866, BNA-CJO; Giuffra died of his wounds two weeks later in a Correntino hospital. See *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 8 August 1866.
- 55 Emilio Mitre to Martín de Gainza, Yataity, 19 July 1866, Museo Histórico Nacional (Buenos Aires), 3843.
- 56 Cuarterolo, “Images of War,” 163. The newly arrived troops, though basically unprepared for the fight, were quickly incorporated into Flores’s depleted units; for details, see Orden General, Tuyutí, 8 July 1866, in *Archivo del Centro de Guerreros del Paraguay*, Museo Histórico Nacional (Montevideo), tomo 77.

- 57 See, for example, “Un episodio del valor oriental. El capitán Pareja [sic],” in Pane, *Episodios militares*, 115–118. The Uruguayan government declared a day of mourning, and the newspapers vied with each other in covering the most lugubrious details of his passing. See *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 1–2 August 1866.
- 58 Palleja was born José Pons y Ojeda in Seville in 1817, and by the age of twenty had already affiliated with the rebels of Don Carlos. With the latter’s defeat in 1839, Pons immigrated to Uruguay, changed his name to Palleja, and joined his new country’s army. Like Iwanovski, he served with distinction at Caseros, and had already retired when called back into active service for the Paraguayan campaign, a conflict he regarded as a “stupid error.” Palleja wrote sixty-four letters from the front that were published in Montevideo’s *El Pueblo* and *El Siglo*, and occasionally republished in Rio’s *Jornal do Commercio*, Buenos Aires’s *La Tribuna*, and, in English translation, in *The Standard*. See Alberto del Pino Menck, “Armas y letras: León de Palleja y su contribución a la historiografía nacional,” senior thesis, Universidad Católica del Uruguay (Montevideo, 1998), revised version presented at Segunda Jornadas Internacionales de Historia del Paraguay, Universidad de Montevideo, 15 June 2010.
- 59 “Parte del Mariscal Polidoro, general-en-jefe del primer cuerpo del ejército brasileiro,” Tuyutí, 23 July 1866, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 4: 125.
- 60 Garmendia, *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*, 79.
- 61 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 165.
- 62 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 138; *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 1 August 1866.
- 63 Garmendia, *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*, 109; “Teatro de guerra. Combates del 16 y 18,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 1 August 1866.
- 64 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 234.
- 65 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 166–167.
- 66 Cuarterolo, “Images of War,” 164.
- 67 Garmendia absolved Flores of all blame for the setback, claiming that the praise accorded the Uruguayan president was unanimous on the Allied side. On the surface, this seems an odd observation, but the gist of Garmendia’s dubious interpretation seems to be that Flores’s actions saved the Argentines from a worse fate. See *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*, 101.
- 68 General Tasso Fragozo notes very different interpretations of the first stages of the battle in the reports filed by Flores, Brigadier Vitorino, and Colonel Domínguez. See *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 3: 33–35. See also *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 12 August and 1 September 1866.
- 69 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 168.

4 | RISKS AND SETBACKS

- 1 See Vicente Barrios to Marshal López, Asunción, 20, 24, and 26 June 1865, ANA-NE 2824.
- 2 See *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 27 June 1866; *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 5 July 1866; “Diário da Esquadra,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 July 1866.
- 3 Since the 1850s, the Blyth Brothers of Limehouse, London, had supplied the Paraguayan government with construction materials, engines, iron goods, and the services of foreign machinists and engineers for various state development projects, many, though not all, of them associated with the military. See John Hoyt Williams, “Foreign Técnicos and

- the Modernization of Paraguay, 1840–1870,” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 19, no. 2 (1977): 233–257.
- 4 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 152, gives the date for this event as 20 June, and also notes that two mines broke loose from their moorings with one striking the *Bahia* and the other the *Belmonte*. The other sources, which claim that a single mine was purposefully launched against the *Bahia*, make no reference to the other Brazilian warship, and it appears that Thompson erred in his details.
 - 5 Darryl E. Brock, “Naval Technology from Dixie,” *Américas* 46 (1994): 6–15. See also Julio Alberto Sarmiento, “Empleo de minas submarinas en la guerra del Paraguay (1865–1870) y esquema de la evolución del arma hasta fines del siglo XIX,” *Boletín del Centro Naval*, 79, no. 648 (1961): 413–427.
 - 6 Though imported chemicals were impossible to find in Paraguay by this point, the Asunción arsenal still possessed good quantities of saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal for fabricating gunpowder. In fact, each week during this period, shipments of explosives were sent downriver to Humaitá and thence to the front. See, for example, Francisco Ba-reiro to Solano López, Asunción, 27 July 1866, ANA-SH 350, no. 2, which mentions the transport of sixteen hundred *arrobas* (forty thousand pounds) of powder.
 - 7 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 175; Manuel Avila, “La Controversia Cax-ias-Mitre,” *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo*, 5, no. 46 (1903): 291–293, argues that it might seem incredible that empty demijohns alone could have kept a powerful squadron in check, but even the Brazilian admiral believed the mines made for a “terribly dangerous [situation], useless to attempt a passage upriver.”
 - 8 “Visconde de Tamandaré sobre operações da guerra (1866),” IHGB, lata 314, pasta 4; Lieutenant Francisco de Borja Marques Lisboa added an appendix on Paraguayan mines to his translation of C.W. Sleeman’s *Os Torpedos e seu Emprego* (Rio de Janeiro, 1881), 297, in which he noted that they carried between six hundred and fifteen hundred pounds of powder.
 - 9 In a letter to Secretary of State Seward, Charles Washburn emphasized the suspicions of “men better informed of the politics of this country than I am” to the effect that the empire intended to annex not only Uruguay but the Argentine provinces of Corrientes and Entre Ríos as “compensation for the expenses it has incurred.” See Washburn to Seward, Buenos Aires, 14 August 1866, WNL.
 - 10 See miscellaneous correspondence of Tamandaré in the Arquivo do Serviço de Docu-mentação Gerald a Marinha (Rio de Janeiro) and in José Francisco de Lima, *Marquês de Tamandaré. Patrono da Marinha* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982), 509–553.
 - 11 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 3: 76–79; Dora-tioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 234–235.
 - 12 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 167.
 - 13 Pompeyo González (Juan E. O’Leary), “Recuerdos de gloria. 3 de septiembre de 1866. Curuzú,” *La Patria* (Asunción), 4 September 1902.
 - 14 Ouro Preto, *A Marinha d’Ouro*, 145.
 - 15 The only officer to survive the sinking of the *Rio de Janeiro* was Lieutenant Custodio José de Melo, who, as an admiral twenty-seven years later, led a major naval mutiny against the new republican government. On the sinking itself, see Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 4: 196–197; report from war correspondent “Falstaff” (Hector Varela), Vapor *Guaraní*, Corrientes, 7 September 1866, *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 11 September 1866; and “As Experiências do Capitão James H. Tomb na Marinha Brasileira, 1865–1870,” *Revista Marítima Brasileira* (January–March 1964): 45.
 - 16 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 170.

- 17 See Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 143.
- 18 See “Parte do commandante do Segundo Corpo de Exercito a respeito da tomada de Curuzú, (September 1866),” in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 6 October 1866; Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 53.
- 19 *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 12 September 1866, reported a Paraguayan prisoner’s claim that the Curuzú garrison numbered 12,700 men, but this number was never believable except to readers far from the front.
- 20 “Parte do Coronel Manoel Lucas de Lima, Commando da Terceira Divisão, Acampamento nas ruínas do Forte do Curuzú,” 3 September 1866, Arquivo Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), 547 vol. 9.
- 21 “Notas sobre Forças Militares, 1867 [sic],” Biblioteca Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), Coleção A.C. Tavares Bastos, 17, 1, 25, no. 15.
- 22 Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 54.
- 23 Report of Lieutenant Colonel Luis Inácio Leopoldo de Albuquerque Maranhão, Curuzú, 3 September 1866, in Paulo de Queiroz Duarte, *Os Voluntários da Pátria na Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1986), 2, bk. 5: 104–105.
- 24 His claim of extensive military service notwithstanding, the man was ultimately imprisoned in his home province while officials investigated his status. See “Perguntas feitas ao crioulo Felipe [José Luiz de Souza Reis],” Salvador, 10 June 1870, Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Seção de Arquivo Colonial e Provincial, maço 6464 (as extracted by Hendrik Kraay).
- 25 Captain Henrique Oscar Wiederspahn, “Tomada de Curuzú,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul* (1948): 155–164. Report of war correspondent “Falstaff” (Héctor Varela), *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 11 September 1866.
- 26 *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 12 September 1866.
- 27 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 188.
- 28 The number of Brazilian losses at Curuzú was, as usual, much disputed, with an improbably high figure of two thousand dead suggested by Colonel Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 170, while the baron’s own report listed a more believable 772 men (including fifty-three officers) killed, wounded, and missing. See “Parte do Commandante do Segundo Corpo,” Curuzú, 14 September 1866, *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 6 October 1866. Wiederspahn, “Tomada de Curuzú,” 162, offers a total casualty figure of 933, which included the losses suffered by the Brazilian naval forces.
- 29 See “Offícios e correspondências dos generais Polidoro e Porto Alegre,” Rio de Janeiro, 7 October 1866, IHGB lata 312, pasta 14.
- 30 “Parte do Commandante do Segundo Corpo,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio), 6 October 1866; Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 3: 92.
- 31 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 189–190.
- 32 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 191, note b.
- 33 O’Leary, *Nuestra epopeya (Primera parte)*, 171 (I have slightly altered O’Leary’s Guaraní text so as to eliminate any obvious errors of syntax).
- 34 Confidential Reports of Councilor Octaviano, Tuyutí, 6 September 1866, and General Polidoro, 15 September 1866, both in Tasso Fragoso, *História da guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 2: 95–98. See also Francisco Xavier da Cunha, *Propaganda contra o Império. Reminiscencias na Imprensa e na Diplomacia, 1870 a 1910* (Rio de Janeiro, 1914), 26–29, and “Curupaty,” *El Pueblo. Organo del Partido Liberal* (Asunción), 12 March 1895.
- 35 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 197.

- 36 Adolfo J. Báez, *Yatayty Cora. Una conferencia histórica (Recuerdo de la guerra del Paraguay)* (Buenos Aires, 1929), 22–23.
- 37 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 15 September 1867; see also Julio César Chaves, *La conferencia de Yatayty Corã*, (Buenos Aires, 1958), 18.
- 38 “La conferencia de Yataitícorá,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 19 October 1866; “Conferencias de paz,” and “La entrevista de los generales Mitre y López,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 23 September 1866; Báez, *Yatayty Cora*, 27–28.
- 39 Centurión believed that López had had no other motive than to buy time, but the colonel’s own annotator, Major Antonio E. González, found this interpretation unconvincing. Instead, he argued that the Marshal could have achieved the same goal by simulating his acquiescence in the treaty of 1 May 1865, and then demanding time to study its provisions more closely. Mitre would certainly have granted this request and López could thus have gained at least several days of cease-fire. Just because such a ploy was open to the Marshal is no reason to suppose that he thought of it. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 196, note 27; see also Pedro Calmon, “La entrevista de Iataiti-Cora,” *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 8 August 1937.
- 40 Centurión felt surprised that López retained this imperial device, wondering how an individual with such strongly anti-Brazilian predilections could wear such an emblem. See *Memorias o reminiscencias* 2: 200.
- 41 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 175; Juansilvano Godoi, *Monografías históricas* (Buenos Aires, 1898), 138–139; Emanuele Bozzo, *Notizie Storiche sulla Repubblica del Paraguay e la Guerra Attuale* (Genoa, 1869), 54.
- 42 “Theatro da Guerra,” *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 4 October 1866.
- 43 Cited in *Jornal de Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 4 October 1866.
- 44 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 19 September 1866.
- 45 Mitre was fatigued when he wrote this message—it being two in the morning—and begged that a fuller account wait until he had a less-occupied moment. He nonetheless stressed the friendly tone of the meeting and noted that López “sustained his cause in a dignified and orderly manner, in language that was sometimes eloquent.” See Mitre to Marcos Paz, Curuzú, 13 September 1866, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 247–248.
- 46 Juansilvano Godoi, *Monografías históricas*, 141–142; “Proposiciones de paz,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 19 September 1866.
- 47 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 4: 223; “Relación hecha por el general Mitre el día 5 de septiembre de 1891, comiendo en casa de Mauricio Peirano con el teniente general Roca, doctor E.S. Zeballos y doctor don Ramón Muñiz y el consul de Italia cav. Quicco,” in *Historia Paraguaya* 39 (1999): 444–445.
- 48 Many years later Mitre received a visit from the Marshal’s son, Enrique Venancio López, who happened to be in Buenos Aires. As a memento of their pleasant conversation, the aged ex-president presented the younger man with this same riding crop, which today is on display at the Museo del Ministerio de Defensa in Asunción. See Valentín Alberto Espinosa, “Las fustas de Yatayty Cora,” *Mayo. Revista del Museo de la Casa de Gobierno*, 3, no. 6–7 (1971): 234.
- 49 Memorandum of the Interview of Yatayty Corã, in “Documentos oficiales” (printed matter), BNA-CJO; *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 20 October 1866.
- 50 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 20 October 1866.
- 51 Carlos M. Urien, *Curupayty. Homenaje a la memoria del teniente general Bartolomé Mitre en el primer centenario de su nacimiento* (Buenos Aires, 1921), 53–54; see also

- Lieutenant Colonel Enrique Jáuregui, "Curupaity," *La Nación* (Buenos Aires) 23 September 1916.
- 52 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 214–215.
- 53 Azevedo Pimentel, *Episodios Militares*, 99.
- 54 "Plan detallado de las operaciones que se efectuarán para atacar Curupaity, las que serán iniciadas por la Escuadra y completadas por las fuerzas de tierra ... Curuzú, 16 September 1866," in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 249–251; see also "Oficio confidencial do Almirante Tamandaré (?) ao Marqués de Paranaguá," aboard steamer *Apa*, off Curuzú, 28 October 1866, IHGB, lata 314, pasta 19 and Juan Beverina, *La guerra del Paraguay (1865–1870). Resumen histórico* (Buenos Aires, 1973), 236–238.
- 55 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 27 September 1866.
- 56 Antonio da Rocha Almeida, *Vultos da Pátria* (Rio de Janeiro, 1961), 1: 150; the Brazilian minister in London forwarded one hundred pounds sterling to the crewmembers of the *Affonso* as reward for their courage in the incident but the sailors insisted that the money be given to the survivors of the *Ocean Monarch*, many of whom had been left penniless in the disaster. Queen Victoria later rewarded Tamandaré with a gold- and jewel-encrusted chronometer inscribed with testimony of the admiration of her government for "the gallantry and humanity displayed by him in rescuing many British subjects from the burning wreck." See J. Arthur Montenegro, *Fragments Históricos. Homens e Factos da Guerra do Paraguay* (Rio Grande, 1900), 85–87.
- 57 Fotheringham, *La vida de un soldado*, 2: 119–120.
- 58 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 178, and First Lieutenant Antonio E. González, "Curupaity," unpublished manuscript, BNA-CJO.
- 59 Mitre to Rufino Elizalde, 13 September 1866, in Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 229.
- 60 Seeber, *Cartas sobre la guerra del Paraguay*, 157–158. Garmendia later wrote a heartfelt and poignant eulogy for Roseti that appeared in *La cartera del soldado (Bocetos sobre la marcha)* (Buenos Aires, 2002), 69–74.
- 61 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 11 October 1866.
- 62 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 217. See also E. A. M. Laing, "Naval Operations in the War of the Triple Alliance, 1864–70," *Mariner's Mirror* 54 (1968).
- 63 See "Partes dos Commandantes de Divisão de Navíos," (23 September 1866), *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 7 Oct. 1866; "Sobre el combate de 22 de septiembre," *El Pueblo* (Buenos Aires), 13 October 1866; and Theotonio Meirelles, *A Marinha da Guerra Brasileira em Paysandu e durante a Guerra do Paraguay. Resumos Históricos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1876), 150–152.
- 64 Report of Admiral Tamandaré, on board the steamer *Apa*, off Curuzú, 24 September 1866, in *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 6 October 1867, and *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 17 October 1866.
- 65 O'Leary, *Nuestra epopeya (Primera parte)*, 183.
- 66 See Tamandaré to Naval Minister, Río Paraguay, 22 September 1866, in Arquivo Tamandaré. Serviço Documental Geral da Marinha (Rio de Janeiro).
- 67 Many scholars and commentators, including Centurión, Godoi, Leuchars, Kolinski, and Carlos Urien, alluded to bugles and drums initiating the Allied assault, but eyewitness Cándido López commented that "scarcely a bugle was heard among the open formations, and ... even the march from the encampment was muted and without music." See notes by López in Ricci, *Cándido López. Imágenes de la guerra del Paraguay*, 154.
- 68 The *sapukai* is almost certainly related to the war whoop of the early Tupi-speakers, whose shrill and ecstatic character was commented upon in the mid-1500s. See Philipp

- Camerarius, *Operae horarum sucisivarum sive meditationes historicae auctiores quam ante edita* (Frankfurt, 1650).
- 69 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 150.
- 70 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 179.
- 71 See Daniel Cerri, *Campaña del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1892), 29.
- 72 *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 2 October 1866.
- 73 Garmendia, *La cartera de un soldado*, 29–38; Belén Gache, “Cándido López y la batalla de Curupaytí: relaciones entre narratividad, iconicidad, y verdad histórica.” Paper presented at the II Simposio Internacional de Narratología, Buenos Aires, June 2001; a ninety-five-minute documentary film on the artist’s life and accomplishments, entitled *Cándido López y los campos de batalla*, was produced by Argentine cineaste José Luis García in 2004.
- 74 See José María Avalos to Estanislao Zeballos, Rosario (?), October 1889, MHM-CZ, carpeta 149, no. 15; Calixto Lassaga, *Curupaytí (el abanderado Grandoli)* (Rosario, 1939); and the miscellaneous materials stored in the Archivo del Museo Histórico Provincial de Rosario, legajo “Grandoli.”
- 75 Garmendia, *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*, 184–190.
- 76 Miguel Angel de Marco, “La Guardia Nacional Argentina en la guerra del Paraguay,” *Investigaciones y Ensayos* 3 (1967): 238.
- 77 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 11 October 1866.
- 78 Before the engagement began, the Brazilian officers had not shared the same doubts as Roseti and the other Argentines, though they later added their voices to the critical clamor. Even Luiz de Orléans-Bragança, grandson of Pedro II, reluctantly admitted that the defeat had been inevitable. See his *Sob o Cruzeiro do Sul* (Montreaux, 1913), 397.
- 79 The Viscount of Ouro Preto claimed that the company succeeded in seizing four Paraguayan cannon before being overwhelmed, but this does not appear to have been true. See *A Marinha d’Outrora*, 151.
- 80 “Parte do Tenente Coronel Alexandre Freire Maia Bittencourt,” Curuzú, 23 September 1866, Arquivo Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), Coleção Quintinilha Jordão, vol. 547, no. 1.
- 81 Mitre’s initial notes on the engagement, though extensive, are not especially lucid on this phase of the battle. See Mitre to Acting War Minister Julián Martínez, Curuzú, 24 September 1866, in Urien, *Curupayty*, 215–216.
- 82 Commentary of the Viscount of Maracajú (“Grande Combate de Curupaity”), Rio de Janeiro, December 1892, IHGB, lata 223, doc. 19 (6–8).
- 83 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 152.
- 84 Lucio Mansilla’s Private Gómez was one of the men who survived by pretending to be dead. See *Una excursion a los indios ranqueles*, 28.
- 85 Writing in the early 1890s, Colonel Centurión noted that the unfortunate man—a former draftee in the Argentine forces—was still at that moment in the insane asylum. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 220, note a.
- 86 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 220, note 31.
- 87 “Detalles sobre el ataque de Curupaiti,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 3 October 1866, and *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 29 September 1866.
- 88 When moved from the scene of battle, the semi-comatose captain suddenly came to. Mistaking the medical orderlies for Paraguayans on the verge of picking his pocket, he drew a revolver and made ready to shoot, but died before he could pull the trigger. See *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 2 October 1866; see also Andrés M. Carretaro, *Correspondencia*

- de Dominguito en la guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1975), 9–15; and Juan Antonio Solari, “Dominguito,” *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires) 26 June 1966.
- 89 See the various “Partes Officiaes” issued by the Brazilian corps commanders after the battle, which enumerate the losses in nauseating detail, *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 December 1866.
 - 90 Report of Joaquim Aniceto Vaz, Major in Command of the 46th Battalion of Voluntários of Bahia, Curuzú, n.d., in Queiroz Duarte, *Os Voluntarios da Pátria*, 2: V, 93; and Tasso Fragozo, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguay*, 3: 140, 719, 721.
 - 91 How María Curupayti managed to encounter a Paraguayan cavalryman or any enemy soldier during a battle in which the Allies failed to penetrate the enemy line has never been explained. In any case, she recovered from her wound and stayed close to the army for the remainder of the campaign, even serving again in battle with the 42nd Voluntários. She later returned to Rio de Janeiro and was still living there in poverty some thirty years later. See Azevedo, *Episodios Militares*, 149–150. María Curupayti’s story was hardly unique among the Brazilians, who were much attracted to romantic interpretations of the war. Another female Voluntária, Jovita Alves Feitosa, was hailed as a sort of Jeanne d’Arc in the earliest stages of the Paraguayan campaign and became even more famous after having committed suicide after her British lover abandoned her in Rio de Janeiro. See *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 11 October 1867, and *O Correio Mercantil* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 October 1867.
 - 92 As we have seen, the precise number of casualties at every engagement tended to be disputed in the scholarly literature. Curupayti presents an exception, for although some debate exists as to Allied losses (with Thompson reporting an impossibly high figure of nine thousand Argentines and Brazilians slain), no one seems to question that Paraguayan losses were ridiculously low, certainly no more than two hundred fifty killed and wounded. The figure of fifty-four deaths on the Paraguayan side comes from Colonel Thompson, who may very well have counted them personally. See *The War in Paraguay*, 180.
 - 93 Thompson notes that at Corrientes alone 104 Argentine officers and one thousand men were interned at the hospitals. Brazilian wounded from Curupayti were probably only slightly fewer. See *The War in Paraguay*, 180.
 - 94 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 181; see also report of Juan José Decoud, Curuzú, 23 September 1866, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 8 October 1866.
 - 95 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 181.

5 | THE ALLIES STUMBLE

- 1 In a letter to his wife, the Brazilian officer Benjamín Constant noted that the “armed peace” between the Allies and the Paraguayans was designed to starve the Paraguayans, to empty them of all resources, before recommencing the advance. See Constant to his wife, Corrientes (?), 1 November 1866, in Renato Lemos, *Cartas da guerra. Benjamín Constant na Campanha do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1999), 56.
- 2 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 184.
- 3 Various Colorado leaders had been calling for his return to settle outstanding difficulties among them; in a 5 September 1866 article entitled “El regreso del general Flores,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo) insisted that party men were willing to trust in his disinterested attitude and patriotism, but one gets the impression that supporters wanted him back in the Uruguayan capital as soon as possible.

- 4 Some months earlier Flores remarked in a letter to his wife how ill at ease he felt with modern war: "They do everything by mathematical calculations [and] drawing lines ... they postpone all important actions." See Flores to María García de Flores, Campamento de San Francisco, 3 May 1866, in Antonio Conte, *Gobierno provisorio del brigadier general Venancio Flores* (Montevideo, 1897–1900), 1: 412–413.
- 5 Proclamation of Flores, 25 September (?) 1866, in *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 2 October 1866.
- 6 "El arribo del general Flores," *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 30 September 1866.
- 7 Flores to Polidoro, Montevideo, 20 October 1866, cited in Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 249.
- 8 *New York Times*, 1 December 1866; Flores to Castro, Montevideo, 2 Oct. 1866, AGN (M). Archivos Particulares. Caja 69, carpeta 4.
- 9 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 5: 16.
- 10 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 248; government critics in Pernambuco expressed an angry vindication at the news of Curupaty and recast the defeat as anti-monarchist propaganda:

And they speak of Russia! The [imperial] authority has managed to establish a passive obedience, such that the only words heard from the mouths of its agents are *I obey orders*. And through such subservience, the Brazilians are being conducted to a beheading ... without permitting them the least reflection. ... The war with Paraguay has cost us more than three-hundred *contos*, and more than 40,000 men, and we still do not know why, because His Majesty, as they say, does not want peace.

See *O Tribuna* (Recife), 25 October 1866. See also Viscount of Camaragibe to Military Commander, Recife, 6 November 1866, Biblioteca Nacional (Rio de Janeiro), I-3, 8, 10.
- 11 Rosendo Moniz, "A Victoria de Curuzú," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 6 October 1866. At the beginning of the conflict, the Cariocas had flocked to see dramatic presentations at the São Pedro de Alcantara theater that popularized service in the war—but such presentations were by now long forgotten. See Thomaz de Aquino Borges, *O soldado Voluntário, scena dramática* (Rio de Janeiro, 1865).
- 12 Recruitment had been exceedingly poor, and a brisk business was now conducted with substitutes for the sons of prosperous families drafted into the National Guard (at a cost of between one hundred and one hundred fifty pounds sterling for each substitute). See, for example, the various advertisements for substitutes in the *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 January 1867. In addition, as the *Brazil and River Plate Mail* (Rio de Janeiro), in its issue of 22 December 1866, observed: "the Government called out the National Guard, a preliminary step to making drafts from the same for the army, [but] citizens composing the guard have refused to assemble. The war is not popular, but the Government wants men and says it will have them; the people are disinclined to leave their homes for honor and glory." See also "O recrutamento na provincia das Alagoas," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 January 1867; *Relatório apresentado á Assembléa Legislativa Provincial [Espírito Santo] no dia da abertura da sessão ordinaria de 1866, pelo presidente, dr. Alexandre Rodrigues da Silva Chaves* (Vitória, 1866), 4–5; "Soldados de Minas Gerais na Guerra do Paraguai," *Revista de História e Arte* 3–4 (April–September 1963): 94–96; Tomás José de Campos a João Lustosa da Cunha Paranaguá, Rio Grande, 1 December 1866, IHGB, lata 312, pasta 23; and Hendrik Kraay, "Reconsidering Recruitment in Imperial Brazil," *The Americas* 55, no. 1 (July 1998): 1–33. As for São Paulo,

- previously one of the provinces most abounding in volunteers for war service, between November 1866 and May 1867, of the 1,331 of its men sent to the Paraguayan front, only eighty-seven were volunteers. See Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 265–267. The Paulista experience with recruitment offered considerable material for satirists throughout the war. For examples, see *O Cabrião* (São Paulo), 18 November 1866, 26 May 1867, and 15 September 1867; and *O Mosquito* (São Paulo) 24 October 1869.
- 13 Speech of Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, 24 June 1866, in *Annões do Parlamento Brasileiro. Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866), 3: 238.
 - 14 Wilma Peres Costa, *A Espada do Dâmocles* (São Paulo, 1996), 222–225.
 - 15 Letter of 8 October 1866, cited in Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 211 (emphasis in the original).
 - 16 In a subsequent letter to former war minister Ferraz, Polidoro outlined the various failures of command at Curupaty—carefully exempting himself from any criticism—and noted how tired he had grown of all the assorted “accusations.” See Polidoro to Ângelo Muniz da Silva Ferraz, Tuyuti, 29 October 1866 and 31 October 1866, IHGB, lata 312, pastas 18 and 12, respectively; see also Firmino José Dória to Marquis of Paranaguá, Estero Bellaco, 4 October 1866, IHGB, lata 18, pasta 22.
 - 17 Adriana Barreto de Souza, *Duque de Caxias. O Homem por Trás do Monumento* (Rio de Janeiro, 2008).
 - 18 Even today, among military officers and the general public in Brazil, the term “caxias” is reserved in common parlance for someone obsessively concerned with discipline and correct bearing. See <http://dictionary.reverso.net/portuguese-english/caxias>.
 - 19 Cited in Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 170.
 - 20 *New York Times*, 1 December 1866.
 - 21 Laurindo Lapuente, who spent most of his time dreaming up piquant denunciations of the president, looked back in 1868 to Curupaty and averred that Mitre “had never seized a flag and led his men forward, never had been the first in the attack, never the last in the retreat. [And at Curupaty] ... don Bartolo’s clock, instead of marking the hour of victory, marked the hour of defeat; once again the prophet Mitre had brought on a fiasco.” See *Las profecias de Mitre* (Buenos Aires, 1868), 26–31.
 - 22 The maudlin character of many of the eulogies for the honored dead of Curupaty was quite striking in 1866 and assumed greater proportions in later years. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento’s feeling of loss over the death of his son drips from nearly every paragraph of *Vida de Dominguito* (Buenos Aires, 1886), while Vice President Marcos Paz adopted a wholly funereal tone in his equally lugubrious *Una lágrima sobre la tumba de tres soldados* (published posthumously in Buenos Aires in 1873), which describes the martyrdom of his son Francisco, and two other Argentine officers, Julián Portela and Timoteo Caliba. See also B. Moreno, “Domingo Fidel Sarmiento,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 22 September 1867.
 - 23 The writer José Marmol was a case in point; in a letter to his friend, the Uruguayan Colonel Emilio Vidal, he asked a series of pointed questions about the conduct of the war, and observing that no progress had taken place since April, concluded by asking whether the time had come to actually make peace. See Marmol to Vidal, Buenos Aires, 15 October 1866, AGN (M). Archivos Particulares. Caja 10, carpeta 18, no. 18.
 - 24 Elizalde to Mitre, Buenos Aires, 3 October 1866, Museo Mitre. Archivo, doc. 1033; see also “El general Mitre y el Brasil,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 3 October 1866.
 - 25 As early as 5 October 1866, the “Americanist” newspaper *El Pueblo* was demanding that General Paunero or some high ranking Argentine officer replace Mitre as commander of Allied forces—better this than any Brazilian general, all of whom had shown their true colors at Curupaty by “fleeing treacherously from the danger.” One can see from this

- estimation that the attractions of a much-reduced Argentine commitment did not express themselves as a pro-Brazilian sentiment. And *El Pueblo* was far from alone in this attitude: *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 21 October 1866, and *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 23 October 1866, made similar observations.
- 26 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 24 October 1866. Eleven months later, a part-time correspondent of the same newspaper caught the basic sense of contemporary Argentine feelings toward their Paraguayan foes when he observed that it was "amusing to hear in the streets the constant use of the word 'Paraguayo' applied to an obstinate mule, a kicking horse, a drunken man, and by women to frighten children. In history we read that the Saracens used to frighten their little ones by threatening to show them Richard Coeur de Leon." See "Another Voice from the War," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 18 September 1867.
 - 27 Cited in *The Times* (London), 21 November 1866.
 - 28 A boom in wool exports created by the US Civil War subsided in 1866 due to the imposition of new tariffs by Washington, and Argentine suppliers worried that this might engender a general downturn in the local economy, but the negative effects were generally counterbalanced by the sale of supplies, horses, and cattle to the Brazilians. See McLynn, "Argentina under Mitre: Porteño Liberalism in the 1860s," *The Americas* 56, no. 1 (July 1999): 58–59. The Mitristas, it should be noted, were so associated with sales to the Brazilian army that contemporary critics in Buenos Aires commonly styled the Liberals the "partido de los proveedores" (the party of the suppliers).
 - 29 Though it is tempting to think of the Argentine Congress of those times as an Augean stable of confidence men and plunderers, the representatives that met in Buenos Aires, unlike their Brazilian counterparts, at least held no slaves, and they never forgot that fact when comparing themselves to their nominal allies. The resulting anti-Brazilian sympathies, which were clear and unmistakable, never lost their resonance in the streets of the Argentine capital, even when the Alliance was winning. See Hélio Lobo, *O Pan-Americanismo e o Brasil* (São Paulo, 1939), 44.
 - 30 The white-whiskered Santafecino governor, Nicasio Oroño, was a thoughtful exception to the general run of opportunists among the provincial Mitristas. Initially a pro-war activist, he continued to dispatch troops and matériel to the north in spite of Curupayty, and he did so irrespective of the poor reaction that he knew this measure would bring in the countryside. See Oroño to Marcos Paz, Rosario, 19 October 1866, and José M. de la Fuente to Marcos Paz, Rosario, 20 October 1866, in *Archivo del Coronel dr. Marcos Paz*, 5: 231–233. Later, after Mitre had left office and the success of Allied arms was no longer in doubt, Oroño became senator from his home province and a strong proponent of a phased withdrawal from Paraguay, eloquently arguing that Argentine honor had been satisfied and that further effusion of blood was pointless. See "Cuestión moral. Un decreto injusto y su refutación," in Oroño, *Escritos y discursos* (Buenos Aires, 1920), 469–470, and Miguel Angel de Marco, *Apuntaciones sobre la posición de Nicasio Oroño ante la guerra con el Paraguay* (Santa Fe, 1972), 13–17. In Córdoba, the dominant political factions aligned themselves with Governor Urquiza of Entre Ríos, and as long as he stayed loyal to the national government, so did they; compared to other provinces this fealty cost them little and in any case, the Cordobeses badly needed the goodwill of Buenos Aires given that Indigenous rebels had already taken advantage of domestic confusion to launch attacks against isolated communities. See F.J. McLynn, "Political Instability in Córdoba Province during the Eighteen-Sixties," *Ibero-Amerikanische Archiv* 3 (1980): 251–269, and León Pomer, *Cinco años de guerra civil en la Argentina. 1865-1870* (Buenos Aires, 1986), 47–52. Corrientes, for its part, wavered back and forth between an unconditional support for Mitre and the war, and a position more conditionally associated with that of Urquiza. See *El Eco de Corrientes* (Corrientes), 27 November 1866. As for Santiago del Estero, that province remained strongly pro-Liberal thanks to the efforts of

- the Taboada brothers, whose friendly links with Mitre dated from the 1850s. See Gaspar Taboada, "*Los Taboada*." *Luchas de la organización nacional* (Buenos Aires, 1929), and David Rock, "The Collapse of the Federalists: Rural Revolt in Argentina, 1863–1876," *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y del Caribe* 9, no. 2 (July–Dec. 1998): 6–9. In Tucumán politicians engaged in a lively debate on the province's ambiguous stance during the war. See María José Navajas, "Polémicas y conflictos en torno a la guerra del Paraguay: los discursos de la prensa en Tucumán, Argentina (1864–1869)." Paper presented at the V Encuentro Annual del CEL, Buenos Aires, 5 November 2008.
- 31 Marcos Paz to Mitre, Buenos Aires, 27 October 1866, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 6: 152–154, and Fernando Cajías, "Bolivia y la guerra de la Triple Alianza." Paper presented at the V Encuentro Annual del CEL, Buenos Aires, 5 November 2008.
 - 32 *La Epoca* (La Paz), 11 July 1866; newspapermen in Montevideo also signaled out for contempt much of the Peruvian press, especially *El Nacional* (Lima), which had spared no effort in convincing its readers of the righteousness of the Paraguayan cause. See "El Paraguay y la prensa peruana," *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 19 December 1866, and Cristóbal Aljovín, "Observaciones peruanas en torno a la guerra de la Triple Alianza." Paper presented at the V Encuentro Annual del CEL, Buenos Aires, 5 November 2008.
 - 33 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 5: 24–25.
 - 34 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 202–203. As a standard racist epithet for Brazilians, the term "macaco" has a long history among Platine peoples. It likely derives from folkloric antecedents in Paraguay, with this important difference: while Urquiza's attitude was plainly racist in the "modern" sense of the term, the Paraguayans tended to see Brazilian blacks as inferior because of their slavish status, their race being relatively unimportant. As we have seen, the supposed similarity of "darkies" to howler monkeys (*kai* or sometimes *karajá*) explicitly reflects their status as buffoons or ill-tempered pests, which is how they are depicted in traditional folklore and in the propaganda directed against Brazil by the López government.
 - 35 José M. Lafuente to Mitre, 10 October 1866, cited in F.J. McLynn, "General Urquiza and the Politics of Argentina, 1861–1870" (PhD diss., University of London, 1976), 242–243. More generally, see David Rock and Fernando López-Alves, "State-Building and Political System in Nineteenth-Century Argentina and Uruguay," *Past and Present* 167, no. 1 (2000): 178–190.
 - 36 Revisionist historians have been particularly active in developing the analysis of the various Montonero rebellions against Buenos Aires (and the many links with the Paraguayan War). In this quite ample literature, which vainly seeks to link Mitre with British imperialism, several works stand out, most particularly Ramón Rosa Olmos, *Historia de Catamarca* (Buenos Aires, 1957), José María Rosa, *La guerra del Paraguay y las montoneras argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1964), Fermín Chávez, *El revisionismo y las montoneras. La "Unión Americana," Felipe Varela, Juan Saá, y López Jordán* (Buenos Aires, 1966), and Norberto Galasso, *Felipe Varela. Un caudillo latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires, 1975).
 - 37 *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 4 January 1867.
 - 38 Ariel de la Fuente, "Federalism and Opposition to the Paraguayan War in the Argentine Interior, La Rioja, 1865–67," in *I Die with My Country*, Hendrik Kraay and Thomas L. Whigham, eds (Lincoln and London, 2004), 146–149; F.J. McLynn, "The Ideological Basis of the Montonero Risings in Argentina during the 1860s," *The Historian*, 46: (Feb. 1984): 235–251. For a contemporary source (prepared in Chile before the rebellion actually began), see Felipe Varela in *Manifiesto del jeneral Felipe Varela a los pueblos americanos sobre los acontecimientos políticos de la república Argentina en los años 1866 y 1867*, Rodolfo Ortega Peña and Eduardo Luis Duhalde, eds. (Buenos Aires, 1968), 80–82, 87.

- 39 Mitre was not the only man at the front who now regarded the war as endless. One war correspondent begged his readers to face facts about the situation:
- I am not a military man, but as an eyewitness I have seen how the Paraguayans fight from a close quarter. I have seen them fall amid the slaughter crying “Viva López!” Those that I have seen in our hospitals, treated with all affection and care, refuse to condemn the tyrant of their Fatherland. I have seen Paraguayans that have resided years among us refuse to recognize their closest relatives only because they have joined our forces. In recognizing with total impartiality all these things, I think I am not mistaken in assuring you that the war has only just started, and that much blood will yet be shed before the Allied flags will wave [in] Asunción.
- See “Tenacidad paraguaya,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 1 December 1866. Only five days later, the same newspaper repeated the rumor of an anti-López uprising in the Paraguayan camp—yet another case of grasping at straws. See “La sublevación de los paraguayos,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 6 December 1866.
- 40 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 186–187.
- 41 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 5: 88; “Correspondencia de Falstaff,” *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 14 December 1866 (which gives the number of troops available to Osório at ten thousand).
- 42 Elizalde to Mitre, Buenos Aires, 6 November 1866, Museo Mitre. Archivo. Doc. 1039.
- 43 *Ordem do Dia no. 1*, Quartel General, Tuyutí, 18 November 1866; Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 187.
- 44 Thompson claimed that whole battalions of Paraguayan soldiers were henceforth outfitted in Allied uniforms. See *The War in Paraguay*, 181–182.
- 45 At the Cerro León camp, four officers and 2,110 soldiers were down with wounds and various illnesses at the beginning of December (forty-six had died the previous week). And this was only one of nearly a dozen hospitals filled with the incapacitated. See Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 2 December 1866, ANA-NE 1733.
- 46 The Paraguayan authorities dealt harshly with any show of defeatism or inclination toward desertion. In early November 1866, the commandant at Humaitá reported the case of a camp follower who had evidently fallen in love with a deserter and who was planning to abscond with him to San Juan Bautista when their liaison was discovered. The woman was arrested and ruthlessly interrogated. The deserter himself escaped into the swamps, and though his pursuers found several campsites he had left behind, the man himself had yet to be captured. See Commandant of Humaitá to War Minister, Humaitá, 3 November 1866, ANA-NE 2408. Individuals found guilty of desertion were commonly sentenced to run a gauntlet of one hundred men four times, and if they survived, they received four years in the public works wearing ball and chain. For examples, see *Proceso* of Simón Aquino, Pilar, 30 January 1865, ANA-SJC 1843, no. 1; *Proceso* of Florencio Godoi, Villa Franca, 9 April 1866, ANA-SJC 1796, no. 10; and *Proceso* of Ildefonso Guyraverá, 15 November 1866, ANA-SJC 1796, no. 9.
- 47 For details on the establishment and operation of the Paraguayan telegraph, see Robert von Fischer Truenfeldt to Francisco Solano López, Asunción, 26 May 1864, ANA-CRB I-30, 5, 12, no. 2; von Fischer Truenfeldt to Venancio López, Asunción, 25 August 1864, ANA-CRB I-30, 19, 170; von Fischer Truenfeldt to War Minister, Asunción, 1 December 1864, ANA-CRB I-30, 21, 167–178, no. 11; *El Semanario* (Asunción), 25 June and 9 July 1864; Eliseo Alfaro Huerta, “Documentos oficiales relativos a la construcción del telégrafo en el Paraguay,” *Revista de las Fuerzas Armadas de la Nación* 3 (Oct. 1943): 2381–2390; and, more generally, Benigno Riquelme García, “El primer telégrafo nacional, 1864–1869,” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 13 June 1965.
- 48 Hutchinson, *The Paraná, with Incidents of the Paraguayan War*, 306.

- 49 Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 89–90.
- 50 The term “Cuadrilátero” evidently derived from the line of fortress cities that had guarded the Hapsburgs’ Italian provinces in the 1850s. See Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 351–362.
- 51 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 155–156.
- 52 Thompson noted that these improvised guns never quite worked right, their range being only fifteen hundred yards. See *The War in Paraguay*, 191.
- 53 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 191–192; regarding the production of cannon and shell at the foundry at this time, see Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 2 July 1866, ANA-SH 350, no. 2, and 5 August 1866, ANA-NE 761. See also Whigham, “The Iron Works of Ybycui: Paraguayan Industrial Development in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *The Americas* 35, no. 2 (1978): 213–217.
- 54 The existence of deposits of saltpeter had been recognized in Paraguay since colonial times, but received more attention with the onset of the war. Regarding gunpowder manufacture and the dangers of periodic and unplanned explosions, see Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 12 August 1866, ANA-NE 1731; Bareiro to Commandant of Concepción, Asunción, 24 January 1867, ANA-NE 3221; Twite to War Minister, Valenzuela, 3 July 1867, ANA-NE 2465; and Zenón Ramírez to Juansilvano Godoi, Asunción, 10 March 1918, UCR Godoi Collection, Box 5, no. 91.
- 55 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 205; one woodcut published in the satirical newspaper *Cabichuí* shows the Marshal’s gunners catching the shells fired at them by the Allies for reuse with their own artillery (“thus do the Paraguayans know how to make use of everything, [not excluding] the shells given them as gifts.” See *Cabichuí* (Paso Pucú), 5 December 1867.
- 56 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 235.
- 57 Even before Allied troops arrived on Paraguayan soil, rumors circulated that France and the United States would intervene to force a cessation of hostilities. Though this was clearly wishful thinking at the time, in the aftermath of Curupaty, the idea no longer seemed so improbable. See Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 6 March 1866, ANA-NE 681; “La guerra del Paraguay,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 16 October 1866; and Gregorio Benites to Alberdi, Paris, 15 November 1866, Archivo Alberdi, no. 1079.
- 58 Washburn to José Berges, Asunción, 12 November 1864, WNL.
- 59 Washburn frequently committed his ruffled feelings to paper, producing a seemingly unending correspondence, full of complaints to friends, family, and US officials in Washington. These letters, many of which can be found today in the Washburn-Norlands Library in Livermore Falls, Maine, reveal much about Asunción society in the mid-1860s; but they also reveal a profoundly irritable man, ill-suited to his occupation, who found himself with rather more time on his hands than is healthy in a diplomat. He had an affair with a Paraguayan woman during his early stay, from which issued a child that he never formally recognized but never denied either. The descendants of this child are still living in Asunción today. See Letter of former US minister to Paraguay Martin McMahon in *New York Evening Post*, 13 January 1871.
- 60 The *Shamokin* was not the only ship whose passage upriver had been impeded by Allied fiat. Only six weeks before, Tamandaré had prevented the transit of the French warship *Decidee*, even though her captain insisted that he carried important diplomatic correspondence for the French consul in Asunción. See Sallie C. Washburn Diary, entry of 30 September 1866, WNL. See also Thomas Whigham and Juan Manuel Casal, eds., *Charles A. Washburn, Escritos escogidos. La diplomacia estadounidense en el Paraguay durante la Guerra de la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 2008), 197.
- 61 Sallie C. Washburn Diary, entry of 5 November 1866, WNL.

- 62 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 5: 84–90. Washburn later ventured that this sickness was political, a result of the Marshal's disappointment that Tamandaré had not forced an incident with the Americans. See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 137.
- 63 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 138–155.
- 64 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 5: 125–126.
- 65 Berges to Washburn, Asunción, 30 November 1866, ANA-CRB I-22, 11, 2, no. 1. See also "Presencia del señor Washburn en la república," *El Semanario* (Asunción), 10 November 1866.
- 66 Frank O. Mora and Jerry W. Cooney, *Paraguay and the United States. Distant Allies* (Athens, Georgia, and London, 2007), 43–53, 64–65, 69–72, 82–87, 122–123, 179–181, 251–252.
- 67 There was even talk after Appomattox of Grant leading an army of Union veterans who would immigrate to Mexico and help Juárez there. See Robert Ryal Miller, "Matías Romero: Mexican Minister to the United States during the Juárez-Maximilian Era," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 45, no. 2 (1965): 242–245, and more generally, Thomas David Schoonover, *Dollars over Dominion: The Triumph of Liberalism in Mexican-United States Relations, 1861–1967* (Baton Rouge, 1978).
- 68 Watson Webb to William H. Seward, Rio de Janeiro, 7 August 1866, Department of State, *Papers Relating to Foreign Affairs* (Washington, 1866), 2: 320.
- 69 Cong. Globe, 39th Cong., 2nd Sess. 37 (1866–1867), bk. 1: 152.
- 70 Peterson, "Efforts of the United States to Mediate in the Paraguayan War," 6; a caricature in the Argentine satirical magazine *El Mosquito* (13 January 1867) portrays Uncle Sam as a cowboy, holding revolvers against both Mitre and López and proclaiming, "Ugh. You two have been fighting for so long that I have come to make the peace, and I have brought with me two little pieces of hardware to make you see reason." It is doubtful that the Argentine satirist was aware of Washburn's previous experience as a duelist in California, but in this one sense, the caricature was more apposite than anyone might have known.
- 71 S.D. to "Querido Amigo," in unidentified newspaper clipping, 22 December 1866, in BNA-CJO.
- 72 Artur Silveira da Mota, *Reminiscencias da Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1982), 102–108.
- 73 Antonio da Rocha Almeida, *Vultos da Pátria* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965), 3: 129.
- 74 Viscount of Ouro Preto, *A Marinha d'Outrora*, 155.
- 75 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 186.
- 76 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 158–159.
- 77 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 159.
- 78 Berges to Washburn, Asunción, 29 December 1866, ANA-CRB, I-22, 11, 2, no. 4. López had at first declined to release those Americans who had been in the Argentine naval service and had been captured aboard their ships when Paraguay occupied Corrientes in 1865; Washburn argued that the men ought not be held responsible for any hostile intent towards Paraguay, as a state of war with Argentina did not yet exist when they were captured. The Marshal, who understood that his government's acceptance of such an argument would put the irregularity of his attack on Corrientes into question, initially refused to budge on the matter and only relented as an explicit gesture of friendship to the United States.
- 79 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 150–161.
- 80 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 164.

- 81 Foreign Residents to Editor, Asunción, 28 December 1866, in *El Semanario* (Asunción), 29 December 1866.
- 82 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 5: 192.
- 83 Gelly y Obes to Estanislada Alvarez de Gelly y Obes (Talala), Itapirú (?), 1 January 1867, in Gelly y Obes, "Guerra de la Triple Alianza contra el Paraguay," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional*, 21, no. 51 (1949): 149–150.
- 84 "Correspondencia del ejército," *El Semanario* (Asunción), 12 January 1867.
- 85 "Rasgos biográficos, honores fúnebres y discursos pronunciados sobre la tumba del ciudadano José Díaz," *La Democracia* (Asunción), 10 July–1 August 1892. See also Letter of Cleto Romero to Ignacio Ibarra, (July 1892), MHN (A), Colección Gill Aguinaga, Carpeta 154, no. 2.
- 86 Testimony of Captain Pedro V. Gill, Asunción (24 April 1888), MHM (A)-CZ, carpeta 137, no. 10.
- 87 The sword, the wreath, and the book of valedictories were paid for with public subscriptions. At a time when the Paraguayan population was starting to go hungry, an extensive outlay of money was wasted on these baubles, and yet any person who failed to contribute risked consequences more fearful than an empty stomach. See "Adhesión de las damas de San Pedro al proyecto del obsequio de una guirnalda de oro y brillantes al Presidente," (San Pedro, 1867), ANA-SH 352, no. 10; "El mariscal López frente a los enemigos de la patria," *Cabichuí* (Paso Pucú), 24 July 1867; and "Al gran mariscal López, vencedor de la triple alianza," *El Centinela* (Asunción), 7 November 1867. Perhaps the most obsequious examples of this public reverence came, however, from the interior villages, where justices of the peace and private parties were constantly wasting precious paper in composing letters of praise to be read before their respective citizens. See, for example, Letter of Juana B. Valdovinos de Benítez, Itauguá, 1867(?), ANA-NE 684.
- 88 The expression "más paraguaya que la mandioca" is modern, but perfectly encapsulates a particular Paraguayan type, of which Díaz was a good example. On Paraguayan national identity, "ideal types," and the universality of the Guaraní language, see Helio Vera, *En busca del hueso perdido (tratado de paraguayología)* (Asunción, 1995).
- 89 Juansilvano Godoi, "El general Díaz," in Monografías históricas (Buenos Aires, 1893), 12–14; Pablo Duarte, *General Díaz*. Conferencia dada en el pueblo de Pirayú con motivo de la colocación de la primera piedra fundamental del monumento a la memoria del héroe de Curupaiti, en Setiembre 24 de 1911 (Asunción, 1913), 7–8.
- 90 Chaves, *El general Díaz*, 118–119; and, more generally, Silvano Mosqueira, *General José Eduvigis Díaz* (Buenos Aires, 1900).
- 91 Every town in the country went into official mourning, and Díaz's name was henceforth used when still more patriotic sacrifices were demanded of the people. Regarding memorial services in Villarrica, see Ramón Marecos to War Minister, 21 March 1867, ANA-NE 758. More generally, see eulogies in *El Semanario* (Asunción), 9 February and 16 February 1867.
- 92 Mitre to Paz, Yataity, 24 January 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 282–285.
- 93 This particular story, which has the ring of overstatement, first appeared in the annotations of Diego Lewis and Angel Estrada, Argentine translators of the first Spanish edition of the Thompson memoirs. See Thompson, *La guerra del Paraguay*, 2nd edition (Buenos Aires, 1910), 1: 193; though the interchange does not appear in the original English version, Mitre did subsequently send Caxias extensive comments on strategic questions, though this did not happen before mid-April 1867. See Thompson, *La guerra del Paraguay*, 2nd edition (Buenos Aires, 1910), 2: 5–6.
- 94 Caxias to Lustosa da Cunha Paranaguá, Tuyutí, 10 February 1867, IHGB lata 313, pasta 5.

- 95 Diarrhea could be fatal for men so undernourished. At the end of May 1866, the officer in charge of the Asunción military hospital reported that two officers and eighty-six men had died over the previous week, with one officer and thirty-two men dying from wounds, the rest from diarrhea. See Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, 27 May 1866, ANA-NE 681; 652 deaths were recorded at the Cerro León hospital between 23 June and 29 September 1866, the great majority from diarrhea, and most of the rest from “fevers.” See “Lista de los individuos muertos en el hospital,” Campamento Cerro León 23 June through 6 October 1866 (seven separate reports), ANA-NE 2438.
- 96 To judge from the reports of small-town officials, the Paraguayan countryside was particularly affected during this earlier epidemic. See Francisco Pereyra to Carlos Antonio López, Pilar, 29 February 1844 in ANA-SH 395; Julián Bogado to López, Santa Rosa, 27 May 1844 (which records seventy-three Indigenous people dead from smallpox since 16 April), ANA-NE 1376; Juan Pablo Benítez to López, Villarrica, 25 June 1844 (which records seventy deaths since 2 April), ANA-NE 1376; Agustín Ramírez to López, Itauguá, 6 November 1844 (which records 556 deaths over the previous season), ANA-NE 1376; and especially “Cuaderno que contiene ... listas de los fallecidos de la peste de viruelas, correspondiente al año de 1845,” ANA-NE 805.
- 97 See Francisco Sánchez to Gefé de Urbanos of Atýra, Asunción, 23 December 1862, ANA-SH 331, no. 22; “Legajos de participantes de los juices de campaña sobre la inoculación de viruelas [1863–65], ANA-SH 417, nos. 1 and 7; and “Instrucción para la vacunación e inoculación de la viruela” (Asunción, nd), ANA-SH 340 no. 8. On the Brazilian side, army regulations insisted that all recruits be vaccinated against smallpox, but given the number of men hospitalized for the disease not just in Mato Grosso but at Tuyutí, we can presume that the effort was only partially effective. Out of 10,506 patients listed in hospital at the latter encampment in May 1867, 390 had smallpox. See Manoel Adriano da Sá Pontes ao Ajudante General Francisco Gomes de Freitas, Tuyutí, 10 May 1867, *Arquivo Nacional* (as extracted by Adler Homero Fonseca de Castro). More generally, see Whigham, *La guerra de la Triple Alianza*, 2: 288–297.
- 98 See Ramón Marecos to War Minister, Villarrica, 30 April 1866, ANA-NE 758 (which notes that 295 children had been inoculated against smallpox); and “Instrucción para los empleados de campaña sobre el regimen a observarse en la epidemia de la viruela según algunos casos, particularmente en la actualidad en que se carece de la vacuna” (Asunción, 22 October, 1866), ANA-NE 3221.
- 99 In a report to his superiors in Paris, the French minister to Asunción claimed that more than a tenth of the Asunceno population had succumbed to smallpox between March and May 1867, but it is difficult to know what to make of this statistic as the other sources made no similar references. The minister was strongly in favor of introducing modern methods of inoculation and perhaps this emphasis led him to exaggerate the prevalence of the disease in the Paraguayan capital. See Report of Emile Laurent-Cochelet, no. 61, Asunción, 31 May 1867, in Capdevila, *Une Guerre Totale*, 420–421.
- 100 See Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 16 April 1866, ANA-NE 681; Martín Urbieto to Solano López, Mbotety in Nioac, 18 April 1866, ANA-CRB I-30, 11, 56; and Bareiro to Teniente Núñez, Asunción, 16 May 1866, ANA-NE 767.
- 101 *Relatório com que o Exm. Snr. Dr. João José Pedrosa, Presidente da Provincia de Mato-Grosso abriu a Primeira Sessão da 22a Legislatura da Respectiva Assembléa no Dia Primeiro de Novembro* (Cuyabá, 1878), 32; Luiz de Castro Souza, *A Medicina na Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971), 107–115.
- 102 Alexandre José Soeiro de Faria Guaraní, “Esboço Histórico das Epidemias de Cólera-Morbos, que Reinaram no Brasil desde 1855 até 1867,” in *Anais da Academia de Medicina do Rio de Janeiro*, tomo 55 (1889–1890); Enrique Herrero Ducloux, “Juan J. J. Kyle,” *Anales de la Sociedad Química Argentina*, 7, no. 31 (1919): 9–10; and

- "Correspondencia, (Tuyutí, 14 March 1867)," in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 13 April 1867. One rather obscure Buenos Aires newspaper, *El Inválido Argentino*, suggested on 5 March 1867 that the epidemic had actually begun not in the south, but in the war zone itself, where, it was claimed, both the Paraguayans and the Brazilians often disposed of their cadavers in the river, and thus contaminated all the waters downstream. This ludicrous argument was easily refuted by individuals with medical experience. See Miguel Angel de Marco, "La sanidad argentina en la guerra con el Paraguay (1865–1870)," *Revista Histórica* 4, no. 9 (1981): 75–76.
- 103 Thompson, *War in Paraguay*, 189; an "unsubstantiated Buenos Aires telegram" claimed that twenty-seven hundred of the six thousand men stationed at Curuzú had died of cholera in only four days. See *The Times* (London), 3 June 1867.
- 104 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 83. A more extensive analysis of the disease, with similar suggestions as to its treatment, can be found in Lucilo del Castillo, *Enfermedades reinantes en la campaña del Paraguay. Tesis* (Buenos Aires, 1870).
- 105 José María Penna, writing thirty years later of the virulence of the disease during the war, noted, somewhat improbably, that the rate of mortality among Allied soldiers sick with cholera ranged from 61 percent among the Brazilians to 77 percent among the Argentines. See Penna, *El cólera en la república argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1897).
- 106 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 279–280.
- 107 The commander of the Uruguayan units remaining in Paraguay after Flores's departure reported that cholera went through the Brazilian and Argentine ranks first and only reached the Uruguayans at the end of May 1867; thirteen cases had been registered within those same units in the first week of exposure, of which nine died. See Enrique Castro to Venancio Flores, Tuyutí, 6 June 1867, AGN (M). Archivos Particulares. Caja 10, carpeta 10, no. 48.
- 108 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 158.
- 109 *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 8 May 1866.
- 110 Caxias sent troops to protect the hospitals against this eventuality. See Miscellaneous Correspondence and Reports on Correntino Hospitals (1867), MHM (A), Colección Gill Aguinaga, carpetas 3, nos. 1–17, and 91, nos. 1–25; "Correspondencia de Corrientes," (5 May 1867), in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 9 May 1867; and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 90.
- 111 "La enfermedad reinante," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 18 April 1867; "Ejército del Paraguay," *Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 27 April 1867. (The Argentines did, in fact, move a large portion of their troops to a new camp some months later).
- 112 In a short note written just before the onset of epidemic conditions at the front, General Gelly y Obes begged his old associate Colonel Alvaro Alsogaray to reassure their mutual friends in Buenos Aires that the tales of a new cholera crisis were "complete nonsense." See Gelly y Obes to Alsogaray, 7 April 1867, MHM (A)-CZ, carpeta 149, no. 33. The general's comment reflected a misplaced hope, and by the time news of the epidemic reached Europe, it had already grown outlandishly in the public mind and was frequently cited by Juan Bautista Alberdi as yet another monstrous byproduct of the alliance with Brazil. See Alberdi to Gregorio Benites, Saint André, 17 November 1867, MHN (BA), doc. 2303.
- 113 The circumstance of malnutrition and lack of medicines provides the context for a curious article in one of the state newspapers on the utility of the coca plant, not a part of the native Paraguayan flora, but very useful in the Bolivian Altiplano in providing energy and in staving off the effects of hunger. See "La coca," *El Centinela* (Asunción), 26 September 1867.
- 114 López to José Berges, Paso Pucú, 18 April 1867, ANA-CRB I-30, 13, 2, no. 5.
- 115 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 215.

- 116 See “Medidas que de prompto se devem tomar nos acampamentos dos exercitos aliados para prevenir-se o apparecimento de qualquer enfermidade epidemica,” (Tuyutí, 31 Mar 1867), in “Exterior,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 18 May 1867.
- 117 Miguel Arcanjo Galvão to João Lustosa da Cunha Paranaguá, Montevideo, 28 May 1867, IHGB lata 312, pasta 55 (Coleção Marquês de Paranaguá).
- 118 Francisco Pinheiro Guimarães, *Um Voluntário da Patria* (Rio de Janeiro, 1958), 222. Only a few months earlier Caxias had complained with good reason that many men in hospital were shamming and that the instances of illness in camp were exaggerated; but the epidemic character of the disease on this occasion could not be doubted. See Caxias to Marquis de Paranaguá, Tuyutí, 30 January 1867, IHGB lata 313, pasta 4.
- 119 “Correspondencia,” (Corrientes, 24 May 1867) in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 June 1867.
- 120 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 201.
- 121 Regarding Dr. Rhynd, whose services to the Paraguayan cause had earned him the National Order of Merit the previous year, see Juan Gómez to Fausto Coronel, Asunción, 8 June 1867, ANA-NE 2459. In a telling aside, Colonel Thompson attributed Benigno López’s sickness to “fright,” but given the virulence of the cholera epidemic at the time, there is no reason to suppose that such a senior figure could not also fall ill. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 202.
- 122 Victor I. Franco, *La sanidad en la guerra contra la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 1976), 80; Dionísio M. González Torres, “Centenario del cólera en el Paraguay,” *Historia Paraguaya* 2 (1966): 31–47.
- 123 See, for instance, Receipt of 15 pesos to pay salaries for six peones working to produce ice for the national government (27 January 1867), ANA-NE 1765.
- 124 Ships coming from Humaitá were also subjected to a quarantine of ten days once they reached the Paraguayan capital. See French minister Laurent-Cochelet to the Marquis de Moustier, Asunción, 31 May 1867, cited in Milda Rivarola, *La polemica francesa sobre la Guerra Grande* (Asunción, 1988), 161.
- 125 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 257.
- 126 Dionísio M. González Torres, *Aspectos sanitarios de la guerra contra la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 1966), 63.
- 127 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 256–257.
- 128 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 202.

6 | INNOVATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

- 1 G. F. Gould to George Buckley Matthew, Buenos Aires, 26 April 1867, cited in Rock, “Argentina under Mitre,” 49.
- 2 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 1 December 1866 and 23 February 1867.
- 3 Charles Ames Washburn, who never missed an opportunity to castigate the Marshal, nonetheless expressed praise for the valor of the common soldier while denouncing the barbarism of López: “they do not surrender even though inevitable death be the consequence of refusal, [replying always that] their orders are to fight and not to surrender—and they literally obey this command; their enemies say that this blind desperation results from a superstitious fear ... of López [who would put them] to inconceivable torture, [and who uses] a system of vicarious punishment [by which] he visits the most terrible cruelties on the families of all who by surrendering escape from his [clutches]; but whatever the cause they admit that the Paraguayans fight with wonderful courage and endurance.” In this, the US minister could just as easily have been describing the

- temperament of Paraguayan civilians. See Washburn to Seward, Corrientes, 8 February 1866, WNL.
- 4 In his *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay*, James Saeger emphasizes the role of force in explaining the collusion of the Paraguayan people in the worst of the Marshal's excesses. He thereby contradicts the greater part of eyewitness testimony and misses an important opportunity to delve into the more frightening side of group psychology. The appeal to duty, which is lauded in both literature and recruitment drives, can command a powerful influence in many countries, and was recognized as crucial by the Paraguayans before and after the war. In an article in *La Unión. Organo del Partido Nacional Republicano* (Asunción), 5 August 1894, a representative of the veteran's association ridiculed the idea that force had had anything to do with his comrades' comportment during the war: "our opponents do not say—because they cannot—that we were cowards, so they affirm with an incredible audacity that [we fought] out of fear of López's punishments, as if in the field of battle we did not face certain death." Loyalty, even to a bad leader, thus explains far more than force why the Paraguayan people behaved the way they did.
 - 5 Jerry W. Cooney, "Economy and Manpower. Paraguay at War, 1864-1869," in *I Die with My Country. Perspectives on the Paraguayan War*, Hendrik Kraay and Thomas L. Whigham, eds. (Lincoln and London, 2004), 23–43.
 - 6 Olinda Massare de Kostianovsky, *El vice-presidente Domingo Francisco Sánchez* (Asunción, 1972); Juan F. Pérez Acosta, "El vice-presidente Sánchez: Curiosos detalles de su administración," in *El Orden* (Asunción), 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 29, and 30 December 1924. US minister Washburn described the vice president in typically derisive terms, calling him "a decrepit old man of about eighty-two ... [with] a good share of Jesuitical craft, and an easy style not wanting in dignity ... [who] was without ambition ... and never had anything to suggest of his own volition, and hence never provoked the jealousy of either of the despots he served." See *History of Paraguay*, 2: 228–229.
 - 7 Insecurity drove the average person to invest what silver they had in a small and easily concealed bulk. Thus the idea of hidden treasure—so much a part of the Solano López legend—in fact has some basis in traditional practices. As for outright theft, see miscellaneous legal records concerning robberies of food, wine, money, cloth, etc. (for 1866–1867) in ANA-NE 1720, and for a specific instance concerning the theft of a poncho at Humaitá, see Vicente Osuna to War Minister, Humaitá, ANA-NE 2408.
 - 8 The smuggling of foodstuffs was more of a problem than the government cared to admit. See Sallie Cleveland Washburn Diary, entry for 27 August 1867 and 30 November 1867, in Whigham and Casal, *La diplomacia estadounidense*, 232, 243.
 - 9 Cooney, "Economy and Manpower," 23–24.
 - 10 Sánchez had always been an exceptionally capable state official, but the presidential family nonetheless treated him with a public contempt. Masterman tells the story of a British diplomat who visited Asunción in the late 1850s and made the mistake of addressing correspondence to then Foreign Minister Sánchez as "His Excellency," an honorific perilously close to that reserved for President Carlos Antonio López; the matter filled Sánchez with fear and the president with vexation, after which the latter gruffly observed, "Call him what you please, he will remain but a blockhead still." See *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 37–38.
 - 11 The quantities of jewelry contributed were extensive, as was the paperwork generated in praise of the contributors. See, for example, Blas Espínola to President of Commission, Pirayú, 1 September 1867, ANA-NE 2454; "Donaciones de alhajas y joyas," (1867), MHM (A), Colección Gill Aguinaga, carpeta 24, nos. 1–72; and, more generally, the carefully annotated list of contributions in six enormous tomes, that today can be consulted (in an unorganized section) of the Archivo Nacional de Asunción. Using these contributions to

- purchase arms and munitions from outside sources would have been nearly impossible given the blockade, though later in the war certain neutral ships did reach Asunción and may have ferried some of the silver out at that time. US minister Washburn and his successor, Martin McMahon, were both accused of having illegally exported what jewels remained, though it is more likely that Allied soldiers did the deed. Even so, the fate of the jewelry remains the stuff of legend in Paraguay and over the years has fueled any number of treasure hunts, scholarly examinations, and novelistic speculations. See “Joyas de familias paraguayas,” *El Liberal* (Asunción), 11 and 13 June 1925; Héctor Francisco Decoud, “Las celebres alhajas de la guerra,” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 5–7 and 11 February 1926.
- 12 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 195. In a letter written after the war, the British physician William Stewart observed that Madame Lynch’s collection of jewelry even then was still “worth more than 60,000 pounds sterling ... most of it the spoils of the poor Paraguayans.” See Stewart to Charles Washburn, Newburgh, Scotland, 20 October 1871, WNL.
 - 13 Encarnación Bedoya, a young woman from a prominent family, recounted that when “the tyrant López wanted the rich families to give up their jewelry for the maintenance of the war, the gold that was gathered was for him alone and Doña Fulana [Madame Lynch] ... [and, thus,] when asked for the jewelry, nobody gave anything except rings from wire and old earrings ... [since we knew who had demanded] the jewelry and nobody gave anything save those pieces that they could spare anyway.” See Potthast, “Paraguayan Women in the ‘Great War,’” 48–52, and Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 200–201.
 - 14 Cooney, “Economy and Manpower,” 24–25; Vera Blinn Reber, in “A Case of Total War: Paraguay, 1864–1870,” *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 5, no. 1 (1999): 27, makes the odd observation that “With decreased revenues, the government printed currency to finance military expenditures, and it paid no attention to the relationship of paper currency to gold or silver.” In fact, as the article itself demonstrates, the Paraguayan state paid careful and detailed attention to that relationship.
 - 15 Laurent-Cochelet to Drouyn de L’Huys, Asunción, 6 February 1865, in Rivarola, *La polémica francesa sobre la Guerra Grande*, 154.
 - 16 See, for example, “Lista de contribuyentes de ganado,” Paraguairí, 31 May 1866, ANA-NE 2831; John Hoyt Williams, “Paraguay’s Nineteenth-Century *Estancias de la República*,” *Agricultural History* 47, no. 3 (1973): 215.
 - 17 “Circular sobre la remisión de ganados al campamento de Humaitá,” (1867), ANA-SH 352, no. 23; “Lista nominal de los individuos de este partido que han contribuido Ganado para gastos del Ejército,” San José de los Arroyos, 27 May 1866, ANA-NE 2831; Mariano González to Comandante de Villarrica, 22 June 1866, ANA-NE 3258; “Lista nominal de ... individuos que han contribuido Ganado bacuno para consumo de los Ejércitos,” Quyyquý, 1 December 1867, ANA-NE 2445; and “Lista nominal de las personas contribuyentes de reses,” Yuty, 17 December 1867, ANA-NE 1731.
 - 18 See “Circular de Saturnino Bedoya sobre cobre y bronce” (Asunción), 1 January 1867, ANA-SH 352, no. 21, and “Lista nominal de los individuos entregantes de cobre y bronce,” Paraguairí, 17 January 1867 (which lists 92 contributors), and Villa Concepción, 28 January 1867 (which lists 133 contributors), both in ANA-NE 760.
 - 19 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 208.
 - 20 As was true of livestock obtained from private parties, farmers were paid for their crops with increasingly worthless currency. See, for example, Justo González and Francisco Gómez to State Treasurer. Caacupé, 27 January 1867 (regarding state purchase of maize), ANA-NE 1765; and Félix Candia and Juan Manuel Benítez to Vice President Sánchez, Itauguá, 1 May 1867 (regarding state purchases of maize, beans, cotton, and caña), ANA-NE 912.

- 21 "Circular sobre trabajos de agricultura," Sánchez to Militia Commanders and Justices of the Peace, Asunción, 18 July 1866, ANA-SH 351, no. 1. The cultivation of food crops remained an exasperating, though not impossible, task that Paraguayan women alone handled during the war years, a fact that Washburn and other foreign observers depicted as utterly exploitative: "The country is thoroughly exhausted. All the manual labor is done by women. The women must plant what of corn or cane or *mandioca* there is planted or nothing can be raised. Women yoke the oxen and serve as teamsters. Women are the butchers who slaughter the cattle, take them to market, and sell the beef in the stalls. They do all the rough labor that elsewhere is done by men for there are no men to do it." See Washburn to Seward, Paso Pucú, 25 December 1866, NARA M-128, no. 2. It may be, as Washburn suggests, that the War of the Triple Alliance enhanced certain opportunities for women, but the heavy burden that peasant women routinely carried in Paraguay well before the war would argue against any major transformation of their role during the conflict. One could just as easily argue that the very fact of the fighting tended to legitimize conventional masculinity in the country.
- 22 Potthast relates the story of Patricia Acosta, a poor woman of Ybytymí who wrote to Sánchez in the winter of 1867 to ask for farm implements and two cows. She noted that her six sons had gone into the army, and four had already died, leaving her with a sick, half-blind mother and no sustenance. The vice president sent the requested help, but the archival documentation offers no proof that he made a habit of charity—usually it was quite the opposite. See Potthast, "Protagonists, Victims, and Heroes," 46–47, and Sánchez to Jefe de Milicias de Ybytymí, Asunción, 3 July 1867, ANA-SH 352, no. 1.
- 23 In a letter to one village official, Sánchez noted that the "primitive Caingá Indians" successfully cultivated all sorts of crops without the use of oxen, horses, or metal plows, intimating with little subtlety that the women of the official's community should be able to do so as well; see Sánchez to Justice of the Peace at Itá, Asunción, 18 July 1866, ANA-NE 2396.
- 24 "La agricultura," *El Semanario* (Asunción), 11 May 1867.
- 25 Census information for various districts in the interior is scattered throughout many legajos of the Archivo Nacional de Asunción; see, for example, "Participaciones mensuales sobre sembrados" (1866), ANA-SH 419, nos. 2–3; "Informes de agricultura de todo el país," (1866), ANA-NE 2405, 2406, and 2410; "Informes de agricultura de todo el país," (1867), ANA-SH 355, no. 1; "Informe mensual del estado de la agricultura de todo el país," (1868), ANA-SH 356, nos. 1–2. Even communities in occupied Mato Grosso occasionally supplied data for these censuses; see Martín Urbietta to War Minister, Fortín de Bella Vista, 25 August 1866, ANA-NE 1733.
- 26 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 19 October 1867; see also Rafael Ruiz Díaz to War Minister, Divino Salvador, 31 July 1867, ANA-NE 2472.
- 27 This unfortunate fact invalidates much of what Vera Blinn Reber has claimed about the limited impact of demographic decline in Paraguay during the war: how can the population be falling so precipitously, she quite reasonably asks, if food crops are being produced at such high levels? Leaving aside the question of exactly what constituted a *liño*, we must observe that while the censuses tell us something about cultivation, alas, they tell us nothing about production or distribution and cannot be used therefore to bolster any argument about demographic stability or decline. See Reber, "The Demographics of Paraguay: A Reinterpretation of the Great War, 1864–1870," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 2 (1988): 289–319; Thomas L. Whigham and Barbara Potthast, "Some Strong Reservations: A Critique of Vera Blinn Reber's 'The Demographics of Paraguay: a Reinterpretation of the Great War,'" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 4 (1990): 667–676.

- 28 Regarding the shipment of oranges to Humaitá, see Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 9 August 1866, ANA-NE 1731.
- 29 See *El Semanario* (Asunción), 26 January and 12 October 1867.
- 30 See Receipt for 2,097 pesos 2 reales paid out to twenty-seven women in payment for *dulces*, Asunción, 14 February 1867, ANA-NE 872.
- 31 "Circular sobre el tejido de poivy para uso del Ejército" (1867), ANA-SH 352, no. 25; Thomas Whigham, "Paraguay and the World Cotton Market. The 'Crisis' of the 1860s," *Agricultural History* 68, no. 3 (1994): 1–15. The use of coconut fibers in weaving cloth never got far beyond the earliest stages during the war; see Justo Godoy to Sánchez, San José de los Arroyos, 14 March 1866, ANA-NE 2402. As for caraguatá, it was also used extensively as a substitute for paper, which in turn was used in the manufacture of currency. See "¿Nos vencerán por asedio?," *El Centinela* (Asunción), 16 May 1867.
- 32 See López Decree, Paso Pucú, in *El Semanario* (Asunción), 16 February 1867, and Cooney, "Economy and Manpower," 28–29. The government, seeking to promote the use of caraguatá in the production of paper, also recommended that resins and tree saps be collected to use as adhesives in the same manufacture. See "Circular de Saturnino Bedoya," Asunción, 14 June 1867, ANA-NE 2496.
- 33 Chipas appear more commonly in the documents in the period before Curupayty. See Receipt for 225 pesos worth of chipas purchased by the state for consumption at the Campamento Cerro León, Itauguá, 19 April 1866, ANA-NE 1714. One exception to the general rule could be found in the Indigenous *pueblos*, where, for example, the village of Guarambaré produced just under forty-eight *arrobas* (twelve hundred pounds) of chipas for the army in March 1867. See Lorenzo Pasagua and José Luis Lugo to Tesorero General, Guarambaré, 20 March 1867, ANA-NE 2869.
- 34 Only villages in the extreme north continued to supply yerba to the army after 1866. See, for instance, "Razón de la yerba recibida de la villa de Ygatymí," Asunción, 9 January 1867, ANA-NE 1763, and "Razón de la yerba traída de la Villa de Concepción," Asunción, 16 August 1867, ANA-NE 2867.
- 35 López to Commander and Justice of the Peace at Villarrica, Asunción, 12 October 1865, ANA-SH 345, no. 2.
- 36 Josefina Pla, *The British in Paraguay, 1850–1870* (Richmond, Surrey, 1976), 152. The Asunción shipyards were still actively engaged in the construction and repair of warships throughout 1866, but a year later their efforts had grown sporadic and the officials in charge no longer issued regular reports. See "Razón de las obras trabajadas" (Asunción, 18 March 1866), ANA-NE 1011; "Razón del estado en que se hallan las obras de la maestranza de ribera" (Asunción, 9 August 1866), ANA-NE 728; and "Razón de las obras trabajadas" (Asunción, 14 October 1866), ANA-NE 1089.
- 37 The Marshal commissioned Thompson to design a rail line from Curupayty past Paso Pucú, and then on to Sauce, but the line was never constructed. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 203. See also Harris G. Warren, "The Paraguay Central Railway, 1856–1889," *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 20, no. 4 (1967): 3–22.
- 38 Saturnino Bedoya to Military Commanders and Justices of the Peace, Asunción, 12 June 1867 (circular), ANA-SH 352.
- 39 James Saeger has argued that "from September 1866 until August 1867, López oversaw a partial recovery of his nation and army," but this observation is accurate only in a limited sense. The Marshal did succeed in ruthlessly shoring up support for the war, but no economic recovery of any kind occurred. As with so much else in Lopista Paraguay, "recovery" was a matter of self-delusion. See Saeger, *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay*, 159.
- 40 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 203.

- 41 Life for the common soldier in the Allied camps during the long lull of 1866–1867 is detailed in Whigham, *La guerra de la Triple Alianza*, 2: 277–288.
- 42 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 122–123.
- 43 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 123.
- 44 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 160.
- 45 Washburn reported “that the average of killed and wounded is less than one per day, and that it costs the Brazilians at least six-hundred shot or shell, and all from cannon of a large caliber, to kill or wound one Paraguayan.” See Washburn to Seward, Paso Pucú, 11 March 1867, NARA, M-128, no. 2.
- 46 In peacetime, the weapon was used by Paraguayan boys to shoot parrots. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 243.
- 47 Summary Accusations against Cabral (May 1867), ANA SH 347, no. 12.
- 48 A corporal could freely administer three blows with a cane to any soldier at any time. A sergeant could administer twelve, and an officer almost as many as he liked. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 56–57. The flogging of miscreants in the ranks dated from colonial times and was not abolished even with the establishment of a supposedly modern regime in 1870; in fact, as late as 1895, opposition politicians were still calling the practice criminal and demanding its elimination. See “Los azotes en el cuartel deben suprimirse,” *El Pueblo. Organo del Partido Liberal* (Asunción), 7 June 1895.
- 49 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 123–124.
- 50 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 128–129.
- 51 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 206.
- 52 The Guaraní term “acá,” when it stands alone, means “head,” as in the head of a man; the syllable “nundú,” when repeated several times, is said to represent the throbbing ache that a sick man feels in his head when in a fever. Female nurses were common on both sides of the conflict from the beginning, of course, and acted in exactly the same capacity, but it suited Allied propagandists to depict Brazilian women as inspirational volunteers, as “encouraging the wounded” and “laughing in the face of bullets and cannon blasts,” whereas those women who served López were no better than “lambs to the slaughter.” See *A Semana Ilustrada* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 September 1865.
- 53 See Vicente Osuna to War Minister, Humaita, 11 August 1866, ANA-NE 2408 (which mentions 233 women serving in the hospital). Full lists of women serving as nurses at hospitals in Asunción, Cerro León, Caacupé, Encarnación, Villeta, and in the smaller *bólicas* has been assembled by Juan B. Gill Aguinaga in “La mujer de la epopeya nacional,” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 30 May 1971.
- 54 Virtually all observers made positive comments on these nurses, whose discipline, hard work, and dedication mirrored that of the soldiers. See Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 224; Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 207–208; and Max von Versen, *Reisen in Amerika und der Südamerikanische Krieg* (Breslau, 1872), 153–154. See also Potthast, “Protagonists, Victims and Heroes,” 47–48; an anonymous article concerning Ña Severa, a sergeant of the great war, in *El Orden* (Asunción), 5 March 1927; and “Paraguayan Woman Dies at 107; Fought in War Sixty Years Ago,” *New York Times*, 6 February 1931, which recounts the story of Señora Aranda, who had served as a sergeant of nurses during the war.
- 55 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 78–79, provides some detailed illustrations of a similar dance event in the countryside at about this same time.
- 56 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 3: 222.

- 57 The most detailed account of the mass held at the Humaitá church dates from a few years before the war. See Blas Garay, "La bendición de la iglesia de Humaitá," *La Prensa* (Asunción), 14 March 1899.
- 58 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 208–210.
- 59 Antonio E. González annotation, cited in Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 210.
- 60 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 125–127.
- 61 Carlos de Koseritz, *Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay, Esboço Característico* (Rio de Janeiro, 1886), 12–16.
- 62 Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay, "Relatório Geral da Comissão de Engenheiros junto as forças em Expedição para a Província de Matto Grosso, 1865–1866," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro* 37, no. 2 (1874): 93.
- 63 Taunay, *Memórias do Visconde de Taunay* (São Paulo, 1948), 119.
- 64 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 121.
- 65 Kolinski, *Independence or Death!*, 111.
- 66 Alexandre Manoel Albino de Carvalho, *Relatório apresentado ao Ilmo. E Exm. Snr. Chefe de Esquadra Augusto Leverger, Vice-Presidente da Província de Matto-Grosso ... em Agosto de 1865* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866), 12–13; Augusto Ferreira França, *Falla apresentada a Assembleia Legislativa Provincial de Goyaz, em o Primeiro de Agosto de 1866* (Goiás, 1867), 11–12.
- 67 President Alexandre Albino de Carvalho to War Minister, Cuiabá, 8 June 1865, in *Relatório do Presidente da Província do Mato Grosso, 1865* (Cuiabá, 1865), 44–45. In July of the same year, the provincial president released 107 men from military duty so that they could plant food crops for their families. See Augusto Leverger to José Ildefonso de Figueiredo, Cuiabá, 29 July 1865, APEMT, fol. 25, and Leverger to Ilmo. Senhor, Cuiabá, 23 August 1865, APEMT, liv. 220, no. 65.
- 68 Luiza Rios Ricci Volpato, *Cativos do Sertão. Vida Cotidiana e Escravidão em Cuiabá em 1850/1888* (São Paulo, 1993), 61; though a few slaves escaped to the Paraguayan-held areas, no general uprising occurred. See Police Chief Firmo José de Matos to Albino de Carvalho, Cuiabá, 11 March 1865, APEMT, Caixa 1865 G (which speaks of detaining a certain "Manoel Perreira da Silva for 'seducing' slaves in the parish of Santo Antonio, [telling] them to abandon their labors and head at once for Corumbá, where they will almost certainly be liberated").
- 69 The local newspaper at Cuiabá described the predicament in plain language, noting that "We can defend the capital and perhaps [a few other] spots, [but] our fields are deserted, our axes silenced, our scythes without movement ... our industries paralyzed, our trade lifeless, our coffers without money." See *A Imprensa de Cuyabá* (Cuiabá), 24 February and 5 March 1865. Given the severe shortages, the province could hardly support the needs of the expeditionary force that would soon arrive on the scene. A short but rather prophetic letter of 1 May 1865 (that purported to come from an individual familiar with Mato Grosso) declared that the Paraguayans had taken thousands of head of cattle to the south, and the livestock that remained to the province (some 251,000 head) would not be enough to feed an eight- to ten-thousand-man army together with the inhabitants that remained north of the line. See "Mato-Grosso," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 2 May 1865.
- 70 "O ex-Comandante do corpo policial mineiro com destino a Mato-Grosso," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 9 September 1865.
- 71 Uberaba had twenty-five hundred inhabitants at the time. See Taunay, "Relatório Geral da Comissão," 134–136; Matthew M. Barton, "The Military's Bread and Butter: Food

- Production in Minas Gerais, Brazil during the Paraguayan War.” Paper presented at the Latin American Labor History Conference, Duke University, 1 April 2011.
- 72 Taunay, *Em Matto Grosso Invadido (1866–1867)* (São Paulo, 1929?), 60–61.
 - 73 Coxim switched hands back and forth between the Paraguayan raiders and the local Brazilian forces over the next months, though generally the Marshal’s men held the territory. See “Mato-Grosso,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 September 1865; Carvalho, *Relatório ... em Agosto 1865*, 38; and Albino de Carvalho to Commander of Goiano Battalion, Cuiabá, 3 October 1865, APEMT, liv. 209, no. 22.
 - 74 The reports sent to Asunción from Paraguayan commanders throughout the Mato Grosso catalogued an unending series of complaints about the lack of provisions, the frequency of desertions, and the scourge of diseases. See Martín Urbietta to War Minister, Nioac, 10 January 1866, ANA-NE 761; Urbietta to War Minister, Nioac, 31 January 1866, ANA-SH 347, no. 8; Juan F. Rivarola to ?, Corumbá, 14 February 1866, ANA-NE 3273; Urbietta to War Minister, Nioac, 23 May 1866, ANA-NE 2436; Hermógenes Cabral to ?, Corumbá, 9 June 1866, ANA-CRB I-29, 16, no. 6; Urbietta to War Minister, Bellavista, 3 November 1866, ANA-NE 2831; Urbietta to War Minister, Bellavista, 29 December 1866, ANA-NE 2831; Patricio Galiano to War Minister, Estrella del Apa, 30 November 1867, ANA-CRB I-30, 15, 196; Hermógenes Cabral to Marshal López, Corumbá, 18 March 1866 through 1 August 1866, IHGB lata 321, doc. 6; and Romualdo Núñez to War Minister, Corumbá, 12 October 1865 through 15 January 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 17, 55, nos. 1–17.
 - 75 “Goyaz” (21 September 1865), in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 2 November 1865; “Provincia de Matto Grosso,” *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 8 December 1865.
 - 76 Luiz de Castro Souza, “A Medicina na Guerra do Paraguai (Mato-Grosso),” *Revista de História* 40, no. 81 (1970): 113–136.
 - 77 Augusto Leverger to Commander of Guards Troops, Cuiabá, 29 September 1865, APEMT liv. 220, no. 89; Leverger to Commander of Guards Troops, 2 October 1866, APEMT liv. 220, no. 91; Leverger to Commander, Cuiabá, 18 October 1865, APEMT liv. 220, no. 104; Vice President to Acting Commander of Guards Troops, Cuiabá, 14 November 1865, APEMT. Registro, ofícios expedidos pela presidencia, 1865–1866, fol. 44v.
 - 78 Baron de Melgaço to José Antonio Fonseca de Galvão, Cuiabá, 16 January 1866, APEMT liv. 209, no. 29, and José Antonio Fonseca de Galvão to Councilor Nabuco de Araújo, Distrito do Taquari, 20 February 1866, IHGB, lata 363, pasta 49. In April, provincial authorities did report the dispatch of a supply of rice, beans, arrowroot, and salt to the troops encamped at Coxim, but the quantities mentioned—three cartloads—were hardly inspiring. See “Carta particular de Minas Gerais, Uberaba, 21 April 1866,” in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 May 1866.
 - 79 Baron de Melgaço to Galvão, Cuiabá, 22 March 1866, APEMT liv. 209, no. 32. Rumors of impending troubles with local Indigenous people had been rife since the onset of the war. See, for example, “Os Indios Coroados,” *Imprensa de Cuyabá* (Cuiabá), 11 December 1865.
 - 80 Taunay, *Memorias*, 171–172.
 - 81 An unsigned letter (probably written by Taunay), from Miranda and dated 6 December 1866, recorded various men in hospital due to stomach ailments (brought on by bad water) and also wondered about the frightening possibility of an alliance between the Paraguayans and the Indigenous people. See “Mato Grosso,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 February 1867.
 - 82 After the fall of Corumbá, a highly critical pamphlet had circulated among Brazil’s senior officers that unfairly accused Camisão and others of cowardice. See Fernando dos Anjos Souza, “A Liderança dos Chefes Militares durante a Retirada da Laguna na Guerra

- do Paraguai,” *Monografia da Escola de Comando e Estado-Maior do Exército* (Rio de Janeiro, 1994), 24–25.
- 83 Taunay, *A Retirada da Laguna* (São Paulo, 1957), 38.
 - 84 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 124 (Kolinski, *Independence or Death!*, 112, gives the figure as sixteen hundred men). The “Indian auxiliaries” were armed with Minié rifles. See “Expedition to Matto-Grosso,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 November 1866.
 - 85 In his account of the subsequent actions, Taunay gave extensive attention to José Francisco Lopes, guide (or *baqueano*) to the expeditionary force. A middle-aged rancher of Mineiro origins and local habits, Lopes seemed to the budding author a model of the uncivilized man—honorable, brave, and pure of heart, almost a force of nature. Taunay compared him explicitly to Fenimore Cooper’s Nattie Bumpo, and in truth, Lopes did seem a prototype of the Matogrossense *sertanejo*, the modest denizen of the frontier who was surprised by the war, but accepted its consequences with grim resignation. In a conflict in which decisions were made by generals, presidents, and emperors, the sacrifices and experiences of men such as Lopes were frequently forgotten. And yet, such men could be found on all sides and at all times. See Taunay, *A Retirada da Laguna*, 39–40, 47; Taunay, *Cartas da Campanha. A Cordilheira. Agonía de Lopez* (1869–1870), 104; and Rocha Almeida, *Vultos da Patria*, 3: 144–149.
 - 86 This message, written in Spanish, Portuguese, and French, was curious in many ways, but, above all, showed a remarkable ignorance of national sensibilities in that it presumed that the Paraguayans could be coaxed away from the Marshal’s cause with mere words. See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 260–263.
 - 87 Taunay, *A Retirada da Laguna*, 62.
 - 88 Taunay, *Memorias*, 236, and more generally, Fano, *Il Rombo del Cannone Liberale*, 2: 268–274.
 - 89 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 127.
 - 90 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 160. J. Arthur Montenegro gives a figure of over two hundred Paraguayans killed in this engagement, as against twelve killed and eighteen wounded for the Brazilians. See “Campana de Matto-Grosso (inedito). Toma del atrincheramiento de Bayende (6 de mayo de 1867),” in *Album de la Guerra del Paraguay*, 2 (1894): 281–283.
 - 91 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 158–160; it is hard to accept the judgment of Montenegro, who, indulging in more than a little hyperbole, called the battle of Bayende a “decisive victory” for the Brazilians, who “once again proved the superiority of their soldiers.” See “Campana de Matto-Grosso,” 283.
 - 92 “Los laurels de la campaña del norte,” *El Centinela* (Asunción), 18 July 1867, and “La espedición brasileira del Norte,” *Cabichuí* (Paso Pucú), 22 July 1867.
 - 93 This recounting of *hors de combat* seems to have been exaggerated in favor of the Paraguayans, who almost certainly lost more than the figure suggested. See “La invasión del norte,” *El Semanario* (Asunción), 13 July 1867.
 - 94 Taunay, *A Retirada da Laguna*, 86.
 - 95 Lobo Vianna, *A epopeia da Laguna. Conferencia pronunciada no Club Militar* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938); João Lustoza da Cunha Paranaguá, *Relatório Apresentado a Assembléa Geral na Segunda Sessão da Deceima Terceira Legislatura* (Rio de Janeiro, 1868), 83–88.
 - 96 Camisão threatened his Indigenous allies with execution if they continued such wanton activities, but it was not clear that his warnings did any good. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 165.
 - 97 Taunay, *A Retirada da Laguna*, 114–115. The Brazilians later claimed that the men left behind were decapitated by the Paraguayans (and something like that was supposedly reported by a survivor). See “Falla dirgida a Assembléa Legislativa da Provincia de S.

- Pedro do Rio Grande do Sul pelo Presidente Dr. Francisco Ignácio Maicondes Homen de Mello (Porto Alegre, 1867),” *MHM* (A), Colección Gill Aguinaga, carpeta 135, no. 3. Walter Spalding, *A Invasão Paraguaia no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1940), 614–619; and Gensérico de Vasconcellos, *A Guerra do Paraguay no Theatro de Matto-Grosso* (São Paulo, 1921?), 57–58. The Brazilians themselves were accused of beheading a much larger number of Paraguayans who fell into their hands after Corumbá was momentarily retaken in June 1867.
- 98 Antonio Fernandes de Souza, *A Invasão Paraguaia em Matto-Grosso* (Cuiabá, 1919), 47.
- 99 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 233–234.
- 100 Taunay, *A Retirada da Laguna*, 137.
- 101 Regarding the figure of the *sertanejo*, which in Brazilian letters tends to play the role reserved for the gaucho in Argentine literature, see Peter Beattie, “National Identity and the Brazilian Folk: The *Sertanejo* in Taunay’s *A retirada da Laguna*,” *Review of Latin American Studies*, 4, no.1 (1991): 7–43.
- 102 Emmanuelle Cavassa, an Italian merchant several years resident in Corumbá when the Paraguayans came in 1865, left a short but edifying memoir on what happened to him and his family (who were removed to Paraguay in August 1866) and what happened to those who stayed behind in Mato Grosso. See Valmir Batista Corrêa and Lúcia Salsa Corrêa, *Memorandum de Manoel Cavassa* (Campo Grande, 1997), 19–42. For other details on the Paraguayan occupation of the province, see “Guerre du Paraguay. Faits Authentiques de l’occupation d’une Province Brésilienne par les Paraguayens,” *Archivo de Itamaraty*. Lata 281, maço 1, p. 15.
- 103 Romualdo Núñez survived the war only to be accused of desertion in General Resquín’s memoirs (see *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 144). Partly to defend his actions and partly to leave a record of his war experiences for his children, Núñez composed a short memoir that included descriptions of his time in Mato Grosso; this was eventually published as “Rectificación histórica. La reconquista de Corumbá por los brasileños,” *La Opinión* (Asunción), 22 July 1895. See also Valério D’Almeida, *Primer Centenario da Retomada da Vila de Corumbá: 1867–1967* (Corumbá, 1967).
- 104 Again, there are many different opinions as to the number of men supposedly involved in this engagement. Mario Monteiro de Almeida, in *Episódios Históricos da Formação Geográfica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1951), 430, claims that the attacking force comprised only 430 men while the Paraguayan defenders could count a garrison of 313; by contrast, Cardozo, in *Hace cien años*, 6: 241, sets the number of defenders at 316 and the number of attackers at over three thousand. (It is hard to credit this latter figure in a province where manpower shortages had been chronic since 1865). Doratioto, in *Maldita Guerra*, 129, gives a figure of one thousand for the attacking force—a figure probably closer to the fact.
- 105 Vasconcellos, *A Guerra do Paraguay no Theatro do Matto-Grosso*, 66. One wishes to be judicious on this point, but today’s scholars should perhaps remember that hungry people will do almost anything in order to eat, and that the sexual “appetite” of desperate men might be uncontrollable or might be constrained by the same hunger that forced women to prostitute themselves for a piece of manioc. Centurión claimed that an aged naval officer had told him that Cabral, the Paraguayan commander at Corumbá, had “sold his affections to a Brazilian girl” in the town, but whether this bit of gossip could indicate a general picture of life in the occupied community is another matter. Simply put, no one knows for certain what happened. See *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 2: 263–264.
- 106 “Recuperación de Corumbá,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 1 September 1867.

- 107 See Núñez Correspondence (June–August 1867), ANA-CRB I-30, 14, 137–139. The official Brazilian account of the engagement can be found in “Partes officiaes e Ordens do Dia Relativa ao Combate do Alegre,” in Fernandes de Souza, *A Invasão Paraguaya em Matto-Grosso*, 77–97.
- 108 Núñez, “Rectificación histórica,” Monteiro de Almeida, *Episódios históricos*, 387.
- 109 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 129, and *Relatório com que o Exm. Snr. Dr. João José Pedrosa, Presidente da Provincia de Matto-Grosso abriu a Primeira Sessão da 22a Legislatura da Respectiva Assembléa no Dia Primeiro de Novembro*, 32; “La guerra, el hambre, y la peste,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 30 November 1867.
- 110 Few Brazilian politicians were willing to criticize the expeditionary force after so many lives were lost; one exception was Teófilo Ottoni, who, in the parliamentary session of 7 August 1867, remarked about how unwise it had been to launch an attack across the Apa without horses. See Camara de Diputados, *Perfis Parlamentares 12. Teófilo Ottoni* (Brasília, 1979), 999–1009.
- 111 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 204.
- 112 “Una traición y una victoria,” *El Semanario* (Asunción), 20 July 1867.
- 113 These discussions had already come to a head in early September 1866, when Autonomist senators complained bitterly that new loans would be required to cover repayments and assure new credit in London. See Congreso de la Nación Argentina. *Diario de sesiones de la Camara de Senadores (1866)* (Buenos Aires, 1893), 401–402 (session of 1 September 1866).
- 114 Mitre to Paz, Buenos Aires, 12 June 1867, and Paz to Mitre, Buenos Aires, 12 June 1867 in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 6: 212–213.
- 115 Miguel Angel de Marco, *Bartolomé Mitre* (Buenos Aires, 2004), 343.
- 116 Rock, “Argentina Under Mitre,” 54; the ongoing fear regarding Urquiza’s intentions was entirely groundless, for the Entrerriano strongman had long since traded the role of revolutionary leader for that of livestock purveyor to the Allied armies. See F.J. McLynn, “Urquiza and the Montoneros: An Ambiguous Chapter in Argentine History,” *Ibero-Amerikanische Archiv* 8 (1982): 283–295. Even Caxias was a touch worried about Urquiza’s commitment, and wondered in a letter to the war minister if the Entrerrianos might join the western rebels. See Caxias to Marquis de Paranaguá, Tuyutí, 7 April 1867, IHGB, lata 313, pasta 6.
- 117 In his previous campaign in Corrientes, López had presumed that provincial sympathies would favor his incursion, and that even Urquiza would eventually join his side. Very little of this support ever developed, but the Marshal continued to hope that “friends” in the Litoral provinces would eventually rally to him. See Whigham, *The Paraguayan War*, 274–276.
- 118 Trinidad Delia Chianelli, *El gobierno del puerto* (Buenos Aires, 1975), 250.
- 119 Marcos Paz to Mitre, Buenos Aires, 6 February 1867, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 6: 201–203; *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 5 February 1867.
- 120 Cited in *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 11 June 1867. As David Rock has noted, over the next few months, most of the Argentines to die at the Paraguayan front came from battalions raised in La Rioja. See “Argentina under Mitre,” 55.
- 121 For a variety of reasons, Elizalde was also favored by the Brazilians, not least because he had recently married the daughter of the Brazilian minister to Buenos Aires. See José Luis Busaniche, *Historia argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1976), 773.
- 122 Busaniche, *Historia argentina*, 769; Sena Madureira, for his part, ascribed an indifferent rather than anti-Brazilian attitude to Mitre, arguing that instead of organizing the Paraguayan campaign in proper fashion, the Allied commander wasted his time in his

“chalet,” writing works of literary merit and playing chess, “of which he was exceedingly fond.” See *Guerra do Paraguai*, 52.

7 | THE ONGOING RESISTANCE

- 1 The Brazilians initially had no sure system of promotion based on merit during war—and in peacetime promotions occurred strictly on the basis of seniority. Caxias started the process of granting field commissions during the 1866–1869 campaign, but the practice greatly expanded under his successor, the Count d’Eu. See Pinto de Campos, *Vida da Grande Cidadão Luis Alves de Lima e Silva*, 372–373.
- 2 The officer in charge of a battalion in which a sentry was found without the regulation boots was placed under arrest, as was a lieutenant who had absented himself when fodder was distributed to the animals. See Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 168.
- 3 The 4 June 1867 issue of the London *Times* reported that “in the month of April 1867, the Allies were in possession of but 30 square miles of Paraguayan soil, for which the Empire of Brazil was said to be paying at the rate of ... 200,000 sterling [a day].”
- 4 “Diários do Exército em Operações sob o Commando em Chefe do Exmo. Sr. Marechal de Exército Marquez de Caxias (Acampamento em Tuiuti, Marcha para Tuiui-Cué,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro* 91–145 (1922): 43 (entry of 26 July 1867).
- 5 Kolinski, *Independence or Death!*, 149.
- 6 Walter Spalding, “Karai-ambaé. A Aerostação na Guerra contra Solano Lopez. Bartolomeu de Gusmão. Julio César. Santos Dumont,” *Jornal do Dia. Suplemento Internacional* (Porto Alegre), 21 January 1953; Doyen to Caxias, Tuyuti, 26 December 1866, Arquivo Nacional. Documentos da Guerra do Paraguai. Vol. 10 (1866), folhas 217–218. Nelson Freire Lavenère-Wanderley, “Os Balões de Observação da Guerra do Paraguai,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 299 (1973): 205–206; F. Stansbury Haydon, “Documents Relating to the First Military Balloon Corps Organized in South America: The Aeronautic Corps of the Brazilian Army, 1867–1868,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 19, no.4 (1939): 504–517; and Thomas L. Whigham, “El cuerpo de globos brasileño en la Guerra del Setenta, o la historia de un éxito efímero,” in *Paraguay: Investigaciones de historia social y política*, Whigham and Casal, eds., 119–128.
- 7 Though the Polish Major remained optimistic about the uses of military balloons, the Marshal’s men felt nothing but scorn for this odd innovation. The 8 August 1867 issue of *El Centinela* (Asunción) included a woodcut image of Paraguayan soldiers confidently guarding their Humaitá battery while bearing their naked backsides to Caxias, who appears as a hapless aeronaut in an outsized balloon. Sir Richard Burton offered a short sketch of Chodasiewicz in his *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay* (London, 1870), 381–383, but the best overall account of the engineer’s life, which details how bitter he became after the war, is the article by Harris Gaylord Warren, “Roberto Adolfo Chodasiewicz: A Polish Soldier of Fortune in the Paraguayan War,” *The Americas* 41, no. 3 (1985): 1–19.
- 8 Mitre to Caxias, Buenos Aires, 17 April 1867, in *Archivo del General Mitre*, 3: 124–131
- 9 Caxias to Mitre, 30 April 1867, cited in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 145–146.
- 10 Talavera, “Correspondencia del egército,” *El Semanario* (Asunción), 31 May 1867. The Brazilian satirical newspaper, *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 27 July 1867, made extensive and caustic comment on the navy’s failure to provide adequate cover fire on this occasion (“Cet imbecile d’Ignacio! Moi qui comptais sur lui pour avoir encore un prétexte à alléguer!”).

- 11 The Paraguayan Misiones experienced an unending series of raids and counter-raids during the war, making it perhaps the most unstable territory along the entire front, and a breeding ground for subsequent banditry. See Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 13 June 1866, ANA-NE 767; "Alto Uruguay," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 17 February 1867; Francisco Fernández to War Minister, Asunción, 13 June 1867, and Venancio López to Marshal López, Asunción(?), 22 January 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 16, no. 1.
- 12 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 340; Osório to Wife, Paso de la Patria, 17 July 1867, in Osório, *História do General Osório*, 364.
- 13 Centurión put the land forces at a slightly higher total, with 38,500 in the vanguard, and thirteen thousand in the reserve. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 6. The friction between Porto Alegre and Osório was political rather than military, and dated to a time when the two men affiliated with different factions of the Liberal Party in Rio Grande do Sul.
- 14 A minor controversy erupted in 1903 when Brazilian journalists published a series of articles celebrating the centenary of Caxias's birth. These articles, which evinced a highly critical view of Mitre's leadership during the war, attributed the plan to flank the Paraguayans at Tuyucué to the genius of the marquis. Mitre was still alive at this time, however, and he promptly responded by releasing confidential correspondence and other documents that unimpeachably showed the plan as his own. The Brazilian press bullheadedly refused to yield on the issue, and was in turn challenged by Argentine newspapers that condemned Caxias as "a dead weight the whole time." Caustic missives in favor of one champion or the other continued for some time, with one Paraguayan author, Manuel Avila, reminding all concerned that the maneuver failed to overwhelm Humaitá in any case. See Luiz Jordão, "O General Mitre e a Guerra do Paraguay," *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 October 1903; Jacques Ourique, "Caxias e Mitre," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 October 1903; Carlos Balthazar da Silveira, "Campanha do Paraguay," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 13 October 1903; Pedro de Barros, "Guerra do Paraguay," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 27 October 1903; Affonso Gonçalves, *Guerra do Paraguay. Memoria. Caxias e Mitre* (Rio de Janeiro, 1906); clipping collection of Argentine reactions (taken from various newspapers in Buenos Aires, San Pedro, Quilmes, Carmen de Flores, San Nicolás, Rosario, Belcarce, etc.), BNA-CJO; and Avila, "La controversia Caxias-Mitre. Notas ligeras," *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo* 5, no. 46 (1903): 286–293.
- 15 The US minister in Buenos Aires reported that the Brazilian fleet had already "received orders to ascend the rivers and pass Humaitá in spite of all the obstacles, and even if half its ships were to be lost in the attempt." See A. Asboth to Seward, Buenos Aires, 11 July 1867, NARA, FM-69, no. 17; and Guilherme de Andrea Frota, ed., *Diário Pessoal do Almirante Visconde de Inhaúma durante a Guerra da Triplice Aliança (Dezembro 1866 a Janeiro de 1869)* (Rio de Janeiro, 2008), 105 (entries for 21, 22, 23, and 24 July 1867).
- 16 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 6–7.
- 17 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 6: 252–254.
- 18 "Correspondencia," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 September 1867; the Brazilian military historian Tasso Fragoso noted that "the situation did not correspond at all to what Mitre and Caxias had expected as the trail had already been hermetically sealed with defensive works in which the [Paraguayans] appeared as confident as they did [further south]." See *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 3: 254.
- 19 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 11 August 1867.
- 20 *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 August 1867.

- 21 Mitre to Paz, Tuyucué, 3 August 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 301–302, and, in more detailed form, Mitre to Caxias, Tuyucué, 5 August 1867, IHGB, lata 312, pasta 33.
- 22 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 31–33.
- 23 See, for example, “Noticias do Rio da Prata,” *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 4 September 1867, which claimed that “General Mitre has been the only cause of the prolongation of the war and of the misuse of so many Brazilian sacrifices.” *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires) offered an emphatic, if not quite measured, response to such attacks on the “warrior spirit” of the Argentine president in its 8 September 1867 edition. *El Pueblo* (Buenos Aires) went one step further in its 14 September 1867 edition, noting that Mitre “might be a general *de salon*, but [Caxias] has yet to get beyond the antechamber.”
- 24 “South America,” *The Times* (London), 21 September 1867.
- 25 See, for example, José Luiz Mena Barreto to Mitre, San Solano, 10 August 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 6: 230–231, and “Teatro de la guerra,” *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 27 August 1867.
- 26 In “Nupã ha’e chúra cacuaa,” *Cacique Lambaré* (Asunción) predictably made much of this seizure, noting with some truth that the Paraguayans had captured substantial quantities of “flour, sugar, yerba, *galleta*, beer, wine, *aguardiente*, cognac and gin,” and also, with tremendous exaggeration, that the nation happily celebrated “the 500 monkey cadavers left behind [to provide] a banquet for the buzzards.” See issue of 22 August 1867.
- 27 “Teatro de la guerra,” *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 9 August 1867. This achievement was celebrated in one of *Cabichuí’s* more elaborate woodcuts wherein Paraguayan soldiers accompanied by wasps are depicted as driving the animals to the Marshal’s camp. See *Cabichuí’s* (Paso Pucú), 16 January 1868).
- 28 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 21.
- 29 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 224.
- 30 von Versen, *Reisen in Amerika*, 129–130.
- 31 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 212.
- 32 Natalício Talavera argued that the Brazilian vessels refused to return fire out of cowardice, and that, “despite the fact that they were ironclads, they still worried about defeat; and thus they resolved on a foolhardy action—they closed their eyes and started off into the abyss.” See “Correspondencia del ejército,” *El Semanario* (Asunción), 17 August 1867. In point of fact, the Brazilians acted prudently, for there was no sense in detaining their progress in front of the Paraguayan batteries where the enemy’s strength was manifest. This was common sense, not fear.
- 33 “A Passagem de Curupaity,” *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 August 1895; Ouro Preto, *A Marinha d’Outrora*, 161–163; and Barros, *Guerra do Paraguay. O Almirante Visconde de Inhaúma*, 220–235.
- 34 “Facts from Brazil,” *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, 24 October 1867; Washburn to Seward, Asunción, 31 August 1867, NARA, M-128, no. 2; and “Breves Apontamentos sobre a Campanha do Paraguai. A Passagem do Humaitá, 1866 [*sic*],” IHGB, lata 335, pasta 9.
- 35 *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 September 1867; the French anarchist writer Elisée Reclus wrote an article at the end of 1867 in which he claimed that the Brazilian passage of Curupaity was only the first stage of a more ambitious plan of attack and that, in failing to move past Humaitá that same day, Admiral Ignácio had essentially assured a “disaster” for the Allies. See Reclus, “La guerra del Paraguay,” *La Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris), 15 December 1867, 934–965. A.J. Victorino de Barros (a highly regarded Masonic historian who made the study of the Catholic admiral part of his life’s work)

- treated this argument as a vapid apologia for the Paraguayans, noting quite correctly that there had never been any plan to move on Humaitá at that time. See *Guerra do Paraguai. O Almirante Visconde de Inhaúma*, 227–231.
- 36 “Chronique,” *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 March 1868.
 - 37 Diary entries of 14–18 August 1867, in Guilherme de Andrea Frota, *Diário Pessoal do Almirante Visconde de Inhaúma durante a Guerra da Triplice Aliança* (Rio de Janeiro, 2008), 110–112.
 - 38 In a typical show of contempt, Washburn belittled Ignácio’s achievement, arguing that “had the squadron passed immediately on after getting above Curupaity, in one hour it would have been above Humaitá and this war could soon have ended, but the [Brazilians,] instead of pushing on, have given López three weeks’ time to ... bring up his guns and [strengthen his defenses once again. And the Allies] think that by this course they may tire out and exhaust Paraguay! Perhaps they may, but it is more likely that they will exhaust and ruin themselves.” See Washburn to Watson Webb, Asunción, 5 September 1867, WNL. Washburn was not the only American to find fault with the imperial navy’s progress at this stage of the war. In a letter to Secretary of State Seward, the US minister to Buenos Aires, General Asboth, repeated the observations of the *La Tribuna*’s war correspondent, to the effect that either the Brazilian ironclads were of an inferior class, or the effectiveness of Paraguayan gunnery was greater than could be supposed from comparable American experience during the Civil War. See Asboth to Seward, Buenos Aires, 12 September 1867, NARA, FM-69, no. 17.
 - 39 In a letter of 3 August 1867, Ignácio wondered if the recent Argentine reinforcement of the island of Martín García might signal a plan to annihilate the Brazilian fleet; and in a similar missive of 11 September, he worried that risking the greater number of his vessels in Paraguayan waters might inspire other enemies of the empire with a desire to settle Platine affairs in a manner not to Brazil’s advantage. Cited in Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Império*, 2: 73–76.
 - 40 Théodore Fix, *Conférence sur la Guerre du Paraguay* (Paris, 1870), 57–58; Asboth to Seward, Buenos Aires, 26 August 1867, NARA, FM-69, no. 17; “Teatro de la guerra,” *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 20 August 1867; and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 177–178 (which describes the Brazilian sailors forced to cut firewood in the Chaco for want of coal).
 - 41 “The War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 25 August 1867.
 - 42 Ignácio to Caxias, off Curupaity, 23 August 1867, in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 64–65. See also Mitre to Arturo Silveira de Mota, Buenos Aires, October 1869, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 11 November 1869 (in which the former Argentine president recapitulates his frustrations with Ignácio and Caxias for the slow progress of the fleet).
 - 43 Antonio Sousa Junior, “Guerra do Paraguai,” in *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*, Sergio Buarque de Holanda, ed. (São Paulo, 1985), 4, bk.2: 307.
 - 44 Caxias to Mitre, Tuyucué, 26 August 1867, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 4: 281–282.
 - 45 *Archivo del general Mitre*, 4: 286–289; Tasso Fragoso notes that Caxias composed a more elaborated response to the Argentine president on 24 December 1867, in which the marquis cited many cases in the recently concluded US Civil War that contradicted Mitre’s understanding of naval tactics; when he sent a copy of this missive to functionaries in Rio de Janeiro, Caxias set aside his usual decorum and asserted that many of Mitre’s “theories were not in accordance with the practice of war, and others had been entirely disproven.” See *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 3: 385–389.
 - 46 Mitre to Caxias, Tuyucué, 9 September 1867, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 4: 289–292.
 - 47 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 116–117.
 - 48 In Asunción, the government kept a particularly close eye on the city’s three resident foreigners, of whom eighty-four were Italians, sixty-one Argentines, forty-six Spaniards,

- forty-six Brazilians, thirty-two Frenchmen, six Germans, and twenty-five of other nationalities. The great majority of Gould's countrymen, who worked as engineers and machinists, appear to have been listed separately, for in an August 1867 reckoning the number of Britons listed for the capital city amounted to an impossibly low five men. See List of Resident Foreigners, 6, 8, and 19 August 1867, ANA-NE 1738.
- 49 Report of Laurent-Cochelet, no. 60, Asunción, 8 March 1867, and a follow-up letter of 5 September 1867, in Capdevila, *Une Guerre Totale*, 417–420, 424–425. There were also a total of nearly three hundred Italian subjects in Paraguay, but little diplomatic effort was ever made to help them. See Lorenzo Chapperon to Italian Foreign Minister, Asunción, 18 March 1868, Archivio Storico Ministero degli Esteri (Rome) [as extracted by Marco Fano].
- 50 Von Versen, *Reisen in Amerika*, 139.
- 51 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 329.
- 52 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires) characterized Gould's quest in biblical terms, noting that the secretary was "working hard like Moses in Egypt, to move the heart of López to 'let my people go,' whilst their promised land, the *Doterel*, remains here until wanted" (see issue of 27 August 1867). As it turned out, the British women were mistakenly permitted to disembark at Montevideo, where they told all they knew to the local press; this greatly irked the Marshal, who never forgot that Gould had seemingly gone back on his word. See Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 330.
- 53 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 218–219 and *El Semanario* (Asunción), 14 December 1867; Sallie Cleaveland, the indiscreet wife of Charles Washburn, habitually noted in her diary the many bits of gossip that reached the foreign legations in Asunción, and in her entry of 30 August, she related how Madame Lynch had spoken of the Paraguayan president's fierce reaction to Gould's having failed to pass along diplomatic correspondence to the US minister. If López was indeed angry with the British secretary, he gave no signs of it at Paso Pucú, but Cleaveland's observation remains relevant nonetheless, since it shows how all potential negotiations were affected by the Marshal's fragile temper. See Washburn diary, 30 August 1867, WNL.
- 54 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 219; see also G.F. Gould to George Mathew, Paso Pucú, 11 September 1867, in Philip, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs, Latin America, 1845–1914*, 1, pt. 1, Series D: 228–230.
- 55 In fact, he did nothing of the kind. We can easily reprimand the Marshal's unfortunate stubbornness throughout the war, though on this occasion, when Dom Pedro learned of the Gould proposals, his own reaction betrayed a similar inflexibility. In a letter to the Countess of Barral, the emperor noted that
- the Secretary of the British legation at Buenos Aires, entirely *motu proprio*, went to Humaitá to protect British subjects and returned from there with peace proposals. Brazilian agents only listened to him. They were inadmissible; even López through his own declarations ruined the efforts of the secretary whose failure may counsel greater circumspection in the future in the matter of intervention into alien affairs.
- See Pedro to Countess of Barral, Rio, 8 October 1867, in Sodré, *Abrindo um cofre*, 136; Kolinski, *Independencia o Muerte!*, 136–137; and "Chronique," *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 October 1867.
- 56 Chris Leuchars suggests that Elizalde probably had in mind asserting future Argentine sovereignty over the riverbank opposite the fortress, a very likely explanation of the temporarily unemployed foreign minister's thinking. See *To the Bitter End*, 167; in a subsequent letter, Vice President Paz reiterated the standard position that the Argentine national government had taken according to the Treaty of Alliance with Brazil, that

- under no circumstances could López retain an official capacity in Paraguay. See Paz to Mitre, Buenos Aires, 25 September 1867, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 6: 260–62.
- 57 “Las proposiciones de paz,” *El Centinela* (Asunción), 19 December 1867.
- 58 The rumors about renewed Montonero violence in western Argentina were not wholly without foundation, and as late as November 1867, the Marshal’s ministers were still trying to communicate with General Saa and other Federalist leaders whose forces had not been entirely contained by the national government. See José Berges to Antonio de las Carreras, Asunción, 24 November 1867, ANA-CRB I-22, 12, 2, no. 91.
- 59 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 204–205. In an unintentionally ironic observation written in 1874, Colonel Silvestre Aveiro averred that López had consulted the “notable personages” of Asunción on the advisability of accepting Gould’s conditions and was told that the country could never do without its head of state, and that the Marshal subsequently rejected the Briton’s suggestion on the basis of their opinion. In authoritarian Paraguay, such a consultation—had it even occurred—could have elicited only one possible response, for any other words would have brought a violent punishment (these “notable personages” being precisely the people who would have preferred to see López hanged). See Aveiro, *Memoria militares*, 48.
- 60 Luis Caminos to G. Gould, Paso Pucú, 14 September 1867, in *La diplomacia estadounidense*, Whigham and Casal, eds., 365–368.
- 61 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 220.
- 62 “War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 11 September 1867.
- 63 “War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 11 September 1867.
- 64 “War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 18 September 1867. See also Mitre to Paz, Tuyucué, 17 October 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 8: 336.
- 65 M.A. de Mattos to Querido Amigo, Tuyucué, 11 October 1867, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 16 October 1867.
- 66 *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro) reported that cholera “in a milder form than before was threatening the Allied forces, and deserters from Humaitá represent it as being very destructive in the Paraguayan encampments.” (See issue of 23 October 1867). The *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro) went much further, claiming that the “Paraguayans are on the verge of dying either from cholera or hunger. In these circumstances, the Paraguayan War will end within a month.” (See issue of 19 Oct. 1867).
- 67 In 2001, a minor (and rather artificial) controversy arose in the Carioca press when scholars associated with the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro resuscitated an old canard concerning the existence of an 18 September 1867 letter of Caxias in which he admitted to having thrown the cadavers of cholera victims into the Paraná so as “to carry the contagion to the riverine populations of Corrientes, Entreríos [*sic*] and Santa Fe, cities still under the domination of the enemy Solano López.” See Alexandre Werneck, “Bactéria foi arma de Caxias,” *O Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 October 2001; this charge of having conducted bacteriological warfare bears all the hallmarks of fabrication, historical blindness, and willful ignorance, and it cannot be sustained by the facts, for even had the Allies “launched” contaminated bodies into the Paraná (a very dubious idea), there were no Paraguayans in any province *downriver* from Itapirú in 1867. Nor can cholera be spread over hundreds of miles in the way this “correspondence” suggests. If writers committed to a conspiracy theory wish to smear the reputation of the Marquis of Caxias, they will have to do better than this. See General Luiz Cesário da Silveira Filho, “A verdade sobre Caxias,” *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 November 2001, with a 25 November rejoinder in the same newspaper from Alberto Magno (“A guerra bacteriológica do Brasil”), who makes the irrelevant but rather telling observation that history itself is an “invention.”

- 68 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 28 September 1867.
- 69 Caxias to Mitre, Tuyucué, 7 September 1867, in *La Noticia* (Buenos Aires), 19 September 1867.
- 70 The archival record is replete with cases of desertion throughout the 1860s. See, for example, Miguel González to López, Tranquera de Loreto, 13 March 1863, ANA-CRB I-30, 16, 7, no. 1; Court-martial of Sixto Mendes [1865], ANA-SJC 1512, no. 7; Interrogation of deserter Juan Bautista Espinosa, Headquarters of 47th Battalion, 15 February 1866, ANA-NE 780; Juan Gómez to War Minister, Headquarters of 47th Battalion, 7 June 1866, ANA-NE 755; Francisco Bareiro to López, Asunción, 16 August 1866 [regarding desertions from the foundry at Ybycuí], ANA-SH 350, no. 2; Court-martial of Anastasio Báez, Paso Pucú, 22 July 1867, ANA-SJC 1798, no. 1; and Miscellaneous documentation on “treason” trials at Paso Pucú (1867), ANA-SH 352, no. 9.
- 71 That desertions expanded in 1867 is illustrated by an incomplete record from June, July, and August of that year that lists fifty-one separate cases of deserters detained, flogged, or executed during the course of those months. See unidentified document of 1867, ANA-NE 768. Toward the end of the year, General Enrique Castro reported that Paraguayan deserters were coming over to the Allied side every day, and that only the previous evening a corporal had come across with promises of “bringing many others” if only a signal rocket could be arranged. See Castro to Flores, Tuyucué, 24 December 1867, AGN (M). Archivos Particulares. Caja 69, carpeta 21.
- 72 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 142–144; *El Semanario* (Asunción), 28 September 1867.
- 73 Caxias to Mitre, Tuyucué, 23 September 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 6: 343–344.
- 74 Dispatch of General Porto Alegre to Caxias, Tuyutí, 24 September 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 6: 344–345.
- 75 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 223–224; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 21–23; Queiroz Duarte, *Os Voluntários da Pátria*, 3, bk. 1:132–134 and bk. 2: 173–175.
- 76 In its issue of 3 October 1867, *El Centinela* (Asunción) published an article that celebrated the “splendid triumph” at Ombú. It was accompanied by an elaborate woodcut illustration of the combat that improbably noted “600 dead Blacks, [other] prisoners taken, many wounded, and an entire battalion armed with the weapons seized in this engagement.”
- 77 Ill-intentioned gossip had it that it was Madame Lynch, rather than López, who felt drawn to the handsome Caballero, who could trace his unprecedented promotions to an intimate relation with her. A parallel story, perhaps invented by the same busybodies, held that Caballero’s sister, María de la Cruz Caballero, had had an ongoing affair with the Marshal and it was due to her influence, rather than that of the Madame, that her brother rose so quickly. See Frota, *Diário Pessoal do Almirante Visconde de Inhaúma*, 344, no. 487. It is certainly true that Caballero was better known as a ladies’ man than as a soldier. After he became president of Paraguay in 1880, he entirely neglected his status as military hero, never wore his medals, and did not even own a uniform (see “Informes del general don Bernardino Caballero, ex-presidente de la república (Asunción, 1888), MHM (A)-CZ carpeta 131); he seems, however, to have fathered at least thirty-two children by almost as many women. According to a well-known family tradition, these children met at the official residence at the end of each month to receive a regular subvention from their father (Guido Rodríguez Alcalá, personal communication, Asunción, 8 June 2009). Probably the best-known work on Caballero, entirely hagiographic in its orientation, is Juan E. O’Leary, *El centauro de Ybycuí. Vida heroica del general Bernardino Caballero en la guerra del Paraguay* (Paris, 1929).

- 78 "Correspondencia del ejército," *El Semanario* (Asunción), 9 October 1867. See also Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 183–188.
- 79 There is a great disparity in the sources—more so than usual—as to the number of units involved in the engagement, with Thompson and Centurión claiming four Brazilian regiments (*The War in Paraguay*, 224; *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 24), and Resquín a full division (*La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 66). It does seem that Caxias had far more units in reserve than he chose to deploy that day.
- 80 "Battle of Isla Taiy. Paraguayan Version," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 9 November 1867.
- 81 Altogether the Brazilians lost about five hundred men and the Paraguayans three hundred (killed and wounded); see Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 224; and Enrique Castro to Juan Bautista Castro, Tuyucué, 10 October 1867, AGN (M). Archivos Particulares. Caja 69, carpeta 23.
- 82 See, for example, "Splendid Victory by the Allies," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 9 October 1867.
- 83 "Great Brazilian Victory. The Battle of the Groves," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 31 October 1867.
- 84 Pompeyo González (Juan E. O'Leary) "Recuerdos de Gloria. Tatayibá, 21 de octubre de 1867," *La Patria* (Asunción), 21 October 1902, and Mitre to Paz, Cuartel general (Tuyucué), 24 October 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 340–341.
- 85 "Revista del mes de octubre," *El Semanario* (Asunción), 2 November 1867; "Teatro de la guerra," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 30 October 1867; marechal Visconde de Maracajú, *Campanha do Paraguay (1867 e 1868)* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922), 39–44.
- 86 González, "Recuerdos de Gloria. Tatayibá;" Ramón Cesar Bejarano, *El Pila. Señor del Chaco* (Asunción, 1985), 277–278.
- 87 Mitre to Paz, Cuartel general (Tuyucué), 24 October 1867, in Thompson, *La guerra del Paraguay*, xciv–xcv. See also Osório to "Chiquinha," Tuyucué, 27 October 1867, in Osório and Osório, *História do general Osório*, 2: 397.
- 88 "Great Brazilian Victory. The Battle of the Groves," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 31 October 1867.
- 89 For general treatments on this theme see Joaquim Pinto de Campos, *Vida do Grande Cidadão Brasileiro Luiz Alves de Lima e Silva, Barão, Conde, Marquez, Duque de Caxias* (Lisbon, 1878); Raymundo Pinto Seidl, *O Duque de Caxias. Esboço de Sua Gloriosa Vida* (Rio de Janeiro, 1903); and Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*.
- 90 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 3: 354–356; "Papéis e Notas Incompletos de Rufino Enés Galvão sobre o Ataque do Potreiro Ovelha, (1867)," IHGB, lata 223, doc. 19; Cunha Paranaguá, *Relatório Apresentada a Assembléa Geral*, 66–69.
- 91 "Crónica del ejército," *El Semanario* (Asunción), 4 December 1867.
- 92 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 259–260.
- 93 "Otra carta del ejército," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 9 November 1867.
- 94 Caxias to Mitre, Tuyucué, 29 October 1867, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 7 November 1867; da Cunha, *Propaganda contra o Imperio*, 34–35.
- 95 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 226–227.
- 96 "Correspondencia do Jornal do Commercio (Buenos Aires, 14 November 1867)," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 20 November 1867.
- 97 Washburn to Seward, Asunción, 13 December 1867, NARA, M-128, no. 2; Queiroz Duarte, *Os Voluntários da Pátria*, 3, bk. 1: 34–38 and bk. 2: 85–91.

- 98 Francisco Manoel da Cunha Junior, *Guerra do Paraguay. Tujuty. Ataque de 3 de Novembro de 1867* (Rio de Janeiro, 1888), 17; see also Queiroz Duarte, *Os Voluntários da Pátria*, 3, bk. 1: 134–137, bk. 2: 5–54, 112–116, 175–180, 206–212, and bk. 3: 82–87, 117–123, 227–228.
- 99 The Legion, which on paper consisted of just over seven hundred troops, had been constituted as a unit in the Argentine army since 1865. Not surprisingly, the Marshal's government treated as traitors the soldiers that composed its ranks, and yet, the number of uniformed legionnaires was never so great as that of the small-time Paraguayan opportunists, men and women, who sought to turn the war to their own advantage in the Allied camp. Honest collaborators among the Paraguayans were rare, turncoats even more so. At Tuyutí, the legionnaires had their bivouac alongside one of the main Argentine mangrullos and that is where Barrios's men found them. See "The Tuyutí Surprise," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 15 November 1867; Cunha Junior, *Guerra do Paraguay. Tujuty*, 15–16; Juan E. O'Leary, *Los legionarios* (Asunción, 1930).
- 100 Thompson noted a painfully exaggerated rise in the fares that the boatmen charged for such transport. See *The War in Paraguay*, 231.
- 101 Malnutrition can have insidious effects. In its early stages, before total listlessness sets in, it can inspire a crazed need for protein that is hard to ignore even among the most disciplined men. This appears to have happened with the Paraguayan soldiers at Second Tuyutí (although a less charitable view holds that the greedy Paraguayans made straight for the liquor). One deserter who came across the lines from Curupaty affirmed that meat rations in the Paraguayan trenches had by now almost completely stopped, and that the civilians could no longer trade for manioc root and maize, for such provisions could not be found. See Declaration of Corporal José Benítez of the 45th Battalion, Tuyucúé, 19 November 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 6: 432–433.
- 102 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 231–232; "A Guerra," *O Tribuna* (Recife), 5 December 1867. In a telling passage, Centurión described the "shameful" scene of his countrymen being shot down while they crammed their mouths from sacks of sugar: "But who was responsible for this shame? Let the reader answer for us"—an obvious intimation that López had caused the starvation that brought out such behavior in his men. See *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 3: 40–41. The uncontrolled hunger of troops too long in the line has often upset calculations among commanders and campaign planners, as, for instance, during the German offensive of 1918, when General Ludendorff had to abandon his timetables because captured Allied stores proved too tempting to his hungry men.
- 103 "Batalla de Tuyu-Tí," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 9 November 1867.
- 104 Thompson spoke for many when he observed that "Porto Alegre himself behaved bravely, but his army did not." See *The War in Paraguay*, 231. See also "Correspondencia," (Curuzú, 30 Jan. 1868), in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 13 February 1868.
- 105 Both General Resquín and Colonel Centurión later adopted a sharply critical view of Barrios's comportment on this occasion, an opinion broadly shared by many other Paraguayans. Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 72, and Centurión, *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 3: 41–42.
- 106 Pimentel, *Guerra do Paraguay. Episódios Militares*, 65–68.
- 107 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 42.
- 108 In its issue of 28 November 1867, *El Centinela* (Asunción) offers a woodcut image of these downtrodden prisoners, depicted without exception as Brazilian blacks, being led off to Paso Pucú by a company of well-clothed and stalwart-looking Paraguayans.
- 109 A slave to money-making, Lanús had acted as armorer for the Paraguayan military before the war and since 1865 had worked for the Argentine national government in a similar capacity. See Whigham, *Paraguayan War. Causes and Early Conduct*, 239, 313, 354.

- Brazilian sources claimed that Lanús's losses were inconsequential as they were limited to "rations for 20,000 men." See "A Batalha de Tuyutí," *O Tribuna* (Recife), 10 February 1868.
- 110 "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 16 November 1867.
- 111 As Sindbad of *The Standard* rather peevishly put it: "if the Paraguayan soldiers had obeyed their officers and abstained from drinking, Itapirú and all appertaining to it would have been a prey to the flames." See issue of 16 November 1867. One Uruguayan eyewitness to the Paraguayan pillaging (and the subsequent beating they took) tended to agree with this observation, as did Julián Godoy, the Marshal's adjutant. See Manuel Martínez to Colonel José Luis Gómez, President of the Centro de Guerreros del Paraguay, Montevideo, 26 March 1916, MHN-M Colección Guerreros del Paraguay, and "Memorias de teniente coronel Julián Godoy."
- 112 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 235.
- 113 Cunha Junior, *Guerra do Paraguay. Tuyutí*, 34–37.
- 114 Despite the extensive damage to the cannon's mechanism, the Marshal's engineers worked all night to repair it, and by the next day had transported it to Curupaty where it was placed at the right of the battery within full view of Ignacio's ships (which kept carefully out of its range). See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 44, 49.
- 115 Mitre to Paz, Tuyucúé, 4 November 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 349–350.
- 116 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 3: 375–376 (which summarized the official statistics reported by Caxias and others).
- 117 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 234.
- 118 Cited in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 278.
- 119 Phelps, *Tragedy of Paraguay*, 195–197; Bejarano, *El Pila*, 280–281; Kollinski, *Independence or Death!*, 154.
- 120 It was entirely predictable that the Marshal's pluck was the principal factor that the government gazette emphasized in its official account of the battle (though Barrios and Caballero also earned plaudits). See "Movimientos del enemigo," *El Semanario* (Asunción), 16 November 1867. At the end of the war, while still in Brazilian detention, General Resquín supposedly argued that the Marshal had had much more than a raid intended when he attacked the Allied camp at Tuyutí—that López really believed the Paraguayans could retain control at that point, which in turn would force the Allies to abandon their strong positions at San Solano. See "Declaración del general Francisco Isidoro Resquín, jefe del estado mayor paraguayo, prestada en el cuartel general del commando del Ejército Brasileiro en Humaitá, en 20 de marzo de 1870," in *Papeles de López. El tirano pintado por si mismo* (Buenos Aires, 1871), 151–152.
- 121 "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 November 1867.

8 | THE COST OF ENDURANCE

- 1 Miscellaneous Correspondence of Mena Barreto (?) to Caxias, Tayí, January–March, 1868, IHGB, lata 447, doc. 82.
- 2 Jaime Gomes Argolo Ferrão, "Relatório sobre a Estrada de Ferro do Chaco," in Levy Scavarda, "Centenário da Passagem de Humaitá," *Revista Marítima Brasileira* 8, nos. 1–3 (1968): 35–40. There is an extant letter of Caxias requesting that the Baron of São Borja arrange that firewood cut for the ironclads be sent northward along this line. See Caxias to São Borja, 15 February 1868, IHGB, lata 447, doc. 84; in fact, the engineers who designed the rail line made a crucial mistake in locating it too close to the edge of

- the Paraguay, for when the river waters rose precipitously in January, they flooded the rails and made it impossible for a time for supplies to reach the fleet. See "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 8 January and 11 February 1868.
- 3 The pressure to send to the front every man, young or old, sick or healthy, had never abated during this time. In a muster roll from the beginning of 1868, the parish priest of one interior village listed 487 "recruits," mostly very old men or children (the few men of intermediate age were all ill, wounded, infirm, insane, or functionally blind). See Report of Domingo Tomás Candía, Ybycuí, 18 January 1868, ANA-NE 982. The *jefe de milicias* of another interior town confirmed this general picture in his report of the same period, which listed 498 officers, soldiers, and "recruits" present in his district, 104 of whom were over sixty-five years of age. One man, Ysidro Escobar, was 101(!) and there were several other men in their nineties. See Report of Juan B. Campos, San José de los Arroyos, 20 January 1868, ANA-NE 982.
 - 4 In a letter of 29 November 1867, the war correspondent of *The Standard* (Buenos Aires) reported that temperatures at the front were hovering between ninety-six and one hundred five degrees Fahrenheit (issue of 1 December 1867). Two weeks later, the same correspondent noted that "Ordinary thermometers [were] of no use, not being manufactured for such a rapid and extensive expansion of the fluid metal ... judging from one's sensations, [the temperature] may be called terrific ... the hot atmosphere ... brings roundly before the imagination Dante's infernal regions, at least a moderate foretaste of Purgatory" (issue of 18 December 1867).
 - 5 In endorsing this general picture of a man jealous of his status and indifferent to the quality—though not the quantity—of his food, Washburn remarked that the Marshal was a "gourmand but not an epicure," with a decided preference for the "greasier dishes." See *History of Paraguay*, 2: 48.
 - 6 See miscellaneous paeans to Marshal López in the 29 July 1865 issue of *El Semanario* (Asunción). As we have seen, at a time when malnutrition had begun to hit both Asunción and the interior towns, public subscriptions were held all over the country to pay for a jewel-encrusted sword the likes of a Tizona, a golden wreath, and a book of valedictories for presentation to the Marshal in tribute to his "many sacrifices" for the fatherland. For examples, see "Adhesión de las damas de San Pedro al proyecto del obsequio de una guirnalda de oro y brillantes al Presidente" (San Pedro, 1867), ANA-SH 352, no. 10, and "Adhesión de los pueblos al obsequio de guirnalda de oro y gorro triunfal" (1867), ANA-SH 353, no. 1.
 - 7 Orión [Héctor F. Varela], *Elisa Lynch* (Buenos Aires, 1934), 217–218. Masterman observed that "it was one of the peculiarities of López that he distrusted everybody who tried to serve him, and treated those worst to whom he was the most indebted." See *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 223.
 - 8 Robert Bontine Cunningham Graham attributed to General Resquín this story of López's torturing animals in his childhood. See *Portrait of a Dictator* (London, 1935), 93. To be fair, Cunningham Graham appears to be the only one arguing this as an explicit fact, for neither in the declaration he made while in Brazilian custody in 1870, nor in the memoir he published some years afterwards, does Resquín claim anything of the kind. Furthermore, though the Marshal was often cruel and always ruthless, there is little to suggest that he was clinically sociopathic. See "Importante documento para la historia de la guerra del Paraguay. Declaración del General Francisco Isidoro Resquín, Humaitá, 20 Marzo de 1870," BNA, Colección Enrique Solano López, no. 1094.
 - 9 R.C. Kirk (?) to Hamilton Fish, Buenos Aires, 31 August 1869, NARA, FM-69, no. 18.
 - 10 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 241.
 - 11 In 1865, Pedro had threatened to abdicate if kept from participating in the war at the head of his troops; to this his ministers reluctantly assented, but they slowed down his

- progress toward the Riograndense front so as to coincide with the Paraguayan surrender at Uruguai, and afterwards convinced the emperor that his proper place was at Rio de Janeiro and that he should leave field command to Mitre and later Caxias. His willingness to fight, and perhaps to sacrifice himself, no one seemed to question. See Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 202–203; Whigham, *The Paraguayan War*, 380–384.
- 12 Charles Ames Washburn perhaps showed the most florid contempt for the cowardice of the “great tyrant,” but he has not been the only individual to qualify López in these terms. See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 568–570; Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 328; Saeger, *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay*, 9–10, 180–182, 201, 208.
 - 13 Cecilio Báez, *La tiranía en el Paraguay, sus causas, caracteres y resultados* (Asunción, 1903); Héctor Francisco Decoud, *La masacre de Concepción ordenada por el mariscal López* (Asunción, 1926); and more recently, James Schofield Saeger, *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay*.
 - 14 As a matter of fact, dom Pedro did step down twenty years later when he saw that the monarchist cause was lost in Brazil. Whether the younger emperor would have displayed such grace in an untenable position is impossible to know, of course, but the truculence and obstinacy he showed in pursuing the war against Paraguay was manifestly absent during the military takeover of 1889, and it ultimately proved easy for him to accept the inevitable (particularly as his family shielded him from some of its uglier effects). Besides, we are concerned here with the Marshal’s estimation of dom Pedro as a leader, not the estimation of Pedro himself. See Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 353–366.
 - 15 These exiles had been operating against the López regime for many years, in some cases, dating back to the time of the Marshal’s father. See, for example, *Carta primera de don Luciano Recalde al Presidente López del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1857), and, as a rebuttal, *Ojeada histórica sobre el Paraguay, seguida del vapuleo de un traidor, dividida en varias azotainas, administradas el extraviado autor de las producciones contra el Paraguay, conocido vulgarmente por el nombre de Luciano el Zonzo, escrita en verso y prosa por el ciudadano paraguayo Juan J. Brizuela* (Buenos Aires, 1857).
 - 16 Washburn tells the anecdote of two sisters from Limpio, Anita and Conchita Casal, who happened to be in Asunción when one of these dances was held. Curious at the event, they approached the plaza during the late hours, and, when spotted by a policeman, were forced to join in the festivities or “go to the calaboose.” Trembling with fear, they danced in the company of the roughest soldiers and common prostitutes until they found an opportunity to slip away unnoticed, running “away like frightened deer.” See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 100–101. In a letter to the British representative at Buenos Aires, G.F. Gould expressed the opinion that women had been flogged to death for refusing to attend the dances. See Gould to Mathew, Paso Pucú, 10 September 1867, in Philip, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, 1, pt. 1, series D: 224.
 - 17 Even in classical times, commentators noted that as the power of a state declines, the pageantry increases—and this was always the case in Paraguay. The author, who was present in Asunción during the late 1980s, noticed a sharp, almost exponential expansion in the number of beauty competitions being shown on local television. This happened at a time of dotage for dictator Alfredo Stroessner, whose failure to name a successor had exacerbated the divisions within the ruling Colorado Party. The reason for televising the beauty competitions appeared obvious even then, and mirrored the rationale for the dance craze of the 1860s: in both cases, an authoritarian government sought to distract the public with meaningless amusements while, beneath the surface, political decay had already done considerable damage.
 - 18 According to Thompson, the “golden combs” was “a name given to a class invented at the beginning of the dancing mania, and consisting of all the third-class girls who had any pretension to good looks, and were tolerably loose in their morals. They all wore

immense golden combs in their back-hair. They were brought forward by the Government to spite the ladies, most of whom refused to dance at these places, though under danger of their lives.” See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 44.

- 19 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 95–96.
- 20 Though of uncertain origin, the tale of López’s illegitimate birth is oft-repeated, with the usual version holding that Carlos Antonio López (himself the son of a tailor) had married the pregnant Juana Pabla Carrillo as part of a business deal with her father. This story was endlessly alluded to by both the Marshal’s enemies and some of his associates. When Estanislao Zeballos visited Asunción in 1888, he discovered that all who had known Francisco Solano López believed that his true father was “one Señor Rojas,” whom he physically resembled. See “Segundo Viaje al teatro de guerra, 1888. Varias noticias recogidas en la Asunción,” MHM (A)-CZ, carpeta 127. This “Rojas” was Lázaro de Rojas Aranda, one of the richest men in Paraguay, who left his fortune to his godson, the future Marshal, “because he had no sons of his own.” See Pastor Urbieta Rojas, “La infancia de Solano López,” *Ñandé* 5, no. 109 (15 October 1963).
- 21 On occasion, a rather questionable treatment can summon up an accurate image. Such would appear to be the case with Anne Enright’s supposedly stylish but in fact ostentatious novel, *The Pleasure of Eliza Lynch* (New York, 2002), which describes the two López sisters as “ghastly ... equally fat, equally swaddled; their moustachios bristling, their bosoms heaving, and their armpits stained with sweat” (49). Most witnesses confirmed this unflattering physical portrayal, but it is also true that the two women suffered extensively at the hands of gossip mongers who thought them venal, ignorant, and spiritually empty. Unlike their brother, they have yet to find a champion among later scholars or polemicists (Alfredo Boccia, personal communication, Asunción, 3 November 2009). Regarding Rafaela’s subsequent life with a Brazilian attorney, see Alfredo Boccia Romañach, “El caso de Rafaela López y el Bachiller Pedra,” *Revista de la Sociedad Científica del Paraguay* 7, nos. 12–13 (2002): 89–96.
- 22 Dante, we should recall, reserved a filth-laden spot in the eighth circle of Hell for abject flatterers, among whom Venancio would surely have felt at home. Washburn described him as a man with many faults. For one thing, he was a lecher, “the terror of those families that, not belonging to the upper class, had yet some regard for decency and the reputation of their daughters.” At the same time, the war minister was uncertain of his own place, “in a chronic fright,” and that made him a most unusual figure, for
all his countrymen were as afraid to visit him as he was to talk to them. Nevertheless, he nominally held a high official position, being commandant of arms, and having duties to perform that required him to visit the arsenal, barracks, and fort at Asunción every day. ... What had he done that he appeared even more frightened and depressed than others who were afterwards accused of being his fellow-conspirators? Probably nothing; but he knew better than they did the terrible character of his brother, who, he was even then aware, had ceased to respect his mother’s gray hairs, and regarded all ties of consanguinity as matters of indifference.
See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 1: 391–392 and 2: 212–213. Venancio may or may not have had the *peste française*, but the idea that he had been incapacitated (or “ruined”) by the disease seems improbable given both his very active work schedule and the regularity of his correspondence. See Siân Rees, *The Shadows of Elisa Lynch* (London, 2003), 227.
- 23 In an otherwise banal report on troop movements written to the Marshal on the last day of the year, his brother began with the following salutation, versions of which had become more or less de rigueur by this time: “Most Excellent Sir, Marshal President of the Republic, [I feel] honored to have received Your Excellency’s dispatches nos. 5 through 29, and [feeling] highly gratified at the news of Your Excellency’s good health ... I lift my vote to heaven so [that God may] conserve Your Excellency’s much-desired happiness.”

- See Venancio López to López, 31 December 1867, ANA-CRB I-30, 26, 1, no. 13. Such observances and honorifics were so jealously upheld by the Marshal that officials had to be punctilious in their usage. We can point to an earlier letter to a minor official at Concepción, in which the treasury minister warns him never again to allude to the minister's "important life," that such a designation did not correspond to someone of such petty rank. One can easily imagine the Marshal's spies—who read every scrap of correspondence that came to and from Asunción—emphatically nodding their approval of this admonition. See Mariano González to Justice of Peace of Concepción, 19 January 1866, ANA-SH 348, no.1.
- 24 Alyn Brodsky, *Madame Lynch & Friend: A True Account of an Irish Adventuress and the Dictator of Paraguay, who Destroyed that American Nation* (New York, 1975); Anne Enright, *The Pleasure of Eliza Lynch*; and, to a lesser extent, Lily Tuck, *The News from Paraguay. A Novel* (New York, 2004).
 - 25 One British witness claimed that the Marshal had eight mistresses, and that the "chiefs and judges of the districts were in the habit of selecting the most handsome of the girls to gratify [his] lusts." See "Testimony of Dr. Skinner (Asunción, 25 January 1871)," in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19. The names of several of these women are known to us, and one of them, Pancha Garmendia, has over the years become a posthumous anti-Lopista heroine for her refusal to yield to his intentions. See "Pancha Garmendia," *El Orden* (Asunción) 22 July 1926; Victor Morínigo, "Los amores del Mariscal. Pancha Garmendia, Juanita Pesoa y Elisa Lynch," *Revista de las FF.AA. de la Nación* 3, no. 31 (1943): 1870–1834; and J.P. Canet, *Pancha Garmendia. El libro que no debe faltar en ningún hogar paraguayo y cristiano* (Asunción, 1957).
 - 26 The malice that typified Lynch's reception by the society ladies of Asunción (and also by Madame Cochelet, wife of the French minister) has generated considerable material for novelists, who seem to have drawn principally from Varela and local gossips. Despite these problematic sources, the outline of her negative experiences in society appears believable. See, for instance, Hector Pedro Blomberg, *La dama del Paraguay. Biografía de Madama Lynch* (Buenos Aires, 1942), 42–46; William E. Barrett, *Woman on Horseback. The Story of Francisco López and Elisa Lynch* (New York, 1952), 84–86; and most recently, Lily Tuck, *The News from Paraguay*. In their well-documented and thoughtful biography, Michael Lillis and Ronan Fanning note that Lynch showed little ill feeling in the face of all the abuse she received; indeed, she never returned the contempt of the elite women of Paraguay, which, under the circumstances, was a decidedly enlightened response. See Lillis and Fanning, *The Lives of Eliza Lynch. Scandal and Courage* (Dublin, 2009), 89–90, 199–200.
 - 27 The rumor that López aspired to convert the Paraguayan government into a monarchy and himself into an emperor was extensively commented-upon in diplomatic circles. In a letter of 3 November 1863 to the US secretary of state, Washburn alluded to a conversation with the future Marshal in which the latter claimed that the idea of creating a Paraguayan empire had been raised by the Brazilians, but that he had not yet "entertained any such idea himself." Commenting on this with his usual acidity, Washburn observed that "little [meaningful] change would be required, for the government is already more despotic, more completely under the absolute control of one man than any empire in the world." See Washburn to Seward, Asunción, NARA, M-128, no. 1; and, for parallel observations from French representatives, see M. Maillefer to Foreign Minister Drouyn de Lhuys, Montevideo, 14 October 1863, in "Informes diplomáticos de los representantes de Francia en el Uruguay (1859–1863)," *Revista Histórica* 19, nos. 55–57 (1953): 472. An analogous story held that the young Francisco Solano López had once initiated negotiations with dom Pedro for the hand of one of the imperial princesses, thinking thereby to marry into the monarchical institution and protect his country in the process. These negotiations, if they ever took place, supposedly foundered on the emperor's opposition

- to any marriage with a commoner (both women married European princes in 1864). The whole episode offers ample room for speculation but never really rises above apocrypha. Even so, in the Museo Histórico Nacional in Buenos Aires there is a curious model for a crown that López supposedly ordered from Paris for a future coronation. See Alcindo Sodré, "Solano López, Imperador," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 182 (1944): 105–115; R. Magalhães Junior, *O Império em Chinelo* (Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, 1957), 103–110; Lillis and Fanning, *The Lives of Elisa Lynch*, 93–94; and, most curious of all, a "Contrato entre o representante da comissão de senhoras paraguayas e o Sr. [Paul] de Cuverville, gerente do consul frances, encarejado de mandar confeccionar em Paris uma corôa de ouro e brilhantes para ser ofrecido ao Marechal Presidente," (1868), IHGB doc. 5, lata 321.
- 28 *Exposición. Protesta que hace Elisa A. Lynch* (Buenos Aires, 1875), 56–57. See also Washburn to Seward, Asunción, 14 October 1867, NARA, M-128, no. 2, which makes specific reference to properties purchased within the capital by the López family and the consequent unlikelihood of an early evacuation.
 - 29 The scale of land holdings sold in private arrangements to various members of the López family could only be described as colossal. The López mother, Juana Pabla Carillo, had been particularly active in this respect, as had Venancio and Benigno. See, for example, Contract of Juana Carillo with Pedro B. Moreno, Asunción, 13 January 1864, ANA-NE 3266; Miscellaneous land transfers (1850s–1860s), ANA-CRB I-30, 24, 38; I-30, 6, 98; I-29, 30, 46; "Cuenta formada de los alquileres de ... las casas de la señora Juana Carrillo de López" (1 July 1865–30 April 1866), ANA-NE 3277; and more generally, Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 8–12.
 - 30 Lynch's yearning to accumulate an immense treasure may be excused by the apprehension of her lover's death or eviction, which would have left her children destitute. See Junta Patriótica, *El mariscal Francisco Solano López* (Asunción, 1926), 17; Andrés Moscarda, *Las tierras de Madama Lynch. Un caso de prescripción contra el fisco* (Asunción, 1920?); and Carlos Pastore, *La lucha por la tierra en el Paraguay* (Montevideo, 1972), 148–157. The López sisters evidently detested Lynch, whom they thought responsible for their husbands' deaths; they also accused her of making off with considerable sums of their money and other properties (though their own avarice was well established). See "Testimony of Inocencia López de Barrios, (Asunción, 17 January 1871), in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19 (90–93).
 - 31 She contrasted the depth of her love with the shallower feelings she encountered among Latins, for "when an Englishwoman loves, she loves truly." See Orión, *Elisa Lynch*, 236; and if la Madama loved López, he loved her in turn and he particularly loved his children. In a rare letter from Panchito López to his mother at the beginning of 1868, we see ample references to the Marshal's tenderness and his desire that his family members not expose themselves to unnecessary peril. See Juan F. López to Mi Querida Mamita, Humaitá (?), 3 January 1868, UCR-Godoi Collection, box 8, no. 92.
 - 32 Washburn, *The History of Paraguay*, 2: 397; in her statement of 1875, Lynch explicitly denied responsibility for the domestic policies and deeds of her paramour: "I was far from being involved in the government ... nor did I involve myself during the war in anything more than attending to the wounded and to the families of the [soldiers], and trying to reduce the general suffering I found." See *Exposición*, 208.
 - 33 The tall tales that seemed to adhere like mucilage to Madame Lynch's life in Paraguay were constantly repeated in the nineteenth century and afterwards. Some argued that she headed an Amazon corps in the Paraguayan army; others that every piece of jewelry collected by her lover's government ended up in her possession; and still others that she had previously been mistress to the Correntino governor and had urged López to attack Argentina as revenge for that failed dalliance or because a newspaper editor in

that community had ridiculed her in a satirical article. Burton even heard it said that she directed military operations at Humaitá from a leather-covered *mangrullo*, “an unusual precaution intended to conceal petticoated ankles.” See *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 357. What these many canards have in common is their utility as propaganda, for the Marshal’s enemies drew great succor from the false image of a Lady MacBeth, who “flattered the vain, credulous, and greedy savage into the belief that he was destined to raise Paraguay from obscurity, and make it the dominant power in South America.” See Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 59. As should be obvious by now, López needed no extra encouragement to think himself a man of destiny. As for Eliza Lynch, it is hard not to concur with the judgment of her daughter-in-law, Maud Lloyd, who remarked that Lynch “was not the lurid, intriguing adventuress they make her out to be. Like most women living ‘without benefit of clergy’ [she] was the victim of circumstances. ... She was a warm hearted, sentimental, early Victorian Irishwoman with a ready sympathy for anyone in trouble ... [But] her influence with López was very limited.” Cited in Michael Lillis and Ronan Fanning, *The Lives of Eliza Lynch, Scandal and Courage* (Dublin, 2009), 199–200.

- 34 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 303–305; unbeknownst to Washburn, the US government had again tendered its good offices to the Allies in trying to arrange a negotiated peace, but the offer, sent from Washington on 25 December 1867, went unanswered by the Brazilians, who insisted on consulting with the Argentine government. The death in mid-January of General Asboth, the US minister to Buenos Aires, prevented the offer from reaching Argentine authorities before February, but afterwards they rejected it, as did the Brazilians, finally and definitively, in April 1868. See “Transactions in the Region of the La Plata,” US Senate, 40th Congress, 3rd Session, ex. Doc. no. 5, 33–35, 44–45.
- 35 Mitre to Paz, Tuyucué, 14 November 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 7: 360.
- 36 Gould to George B. Mathew, Paso Pucú, 10 September 1867, in Philip, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs, Latin America, 1845–1914*, 1, pt. 1, Series D: 225–226.
- 37 The war minister reported in late December that a party of military scouts had traversed nineteen river passes and creeks in the Chaco wilderness and had successfully arrived at the Pilcomayo River after only twelve days. This suggests that the Paraguayans had plans to go to still further lengths in establishing a supply route for the besieged troops at Humaitá. See Venancio López to López, Asunción, 27 December 1867, ANA-CRB I-30, 26, 1, no. 10.
- 38 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 364–365.
- 39 Von Versen, *Reisen in Amerika*, 145–146, and Statement of Paraguayan deserter Gaspar Cabrera, aboard steamship *Princesa de Joinville*, 21 December 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 6: 440.
- 40 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 69–70.
- 41 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 73; Pompeyo González [Juan E. O’Leary], “Recuerdos de gloria. Paso Poí. 24 de diciembre de 1867,” *La Patria* (Asunción), 24 December 1902; Queiroz Duarte, *Os Voluntários da Pátria*, 3, bk. 1: 186–187.
- 42 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 416; *El Semanario* (Asunción), 28 December 1867.
- 43 “Apéndice de los festejos del aniversario de nuestra independencia nacional,” *Cabichuí* (Paso Pucú), 28 December 1867 (special edition).
- 44 General Tasso Fragozo dedicated a mere paragraph to the Paso Poí raid, which seems rather ungenerous given the importance that the Paraguayans attached to the engagement. See *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguay*, 3: 384.
- 45 Leuchars calls these pensions generous, and so they would have been had they involved payment in coin. As it was, the monies were paid out largely in scrip valid only for use in state commissaries, just a few of which remained in operation in Paraguay after 1867

- (Asunción being a prominent exception). In speculating that the Marshal wished to repopulate the country with these handicapped veterans, Leuchars would appear to indulge in an overly charitable interpretation. It seems more likely that López wanted to save himself the cost of feeding men who could add little or nothing to the war effort. See *To the Bitter End*, 177, and Telegram of López to Venancio López, Humaitá (?), 26 December 1867, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 18.
- 46 This remorseless attitude, which had rarely been admitted to publicly and which specifically dehumanized the Paraguayans, now regularly disgraced the Allied press. The *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro) averred at the beginning of the new year that the "Paraguayans never were human beings; the Jesuits succeeded in reducing them to a perfect animated machine ... it is not the form of the government [that counts among them], but the character of the governed." See "Correspondencia, (Curuzú, 15 January 1868)" in issue of 31 January 1868.
 - 47 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 7: 405, and Nicasio Oroño to Marcos Paz, Santa Fe, 22 December 1867, in *Archivo del coronel Dr. Marcos Paz*, 6: 443.
 - 48 "The Impeachment of the President," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 18 April 1868.
 - 49 Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley, 1991), 212–213.
 - 50 Fermín Chavez, *Alberdi y el Mitrismo* (Buenos Aires, 1961); Atilio García Mellid, *Proceso al liberalismo argentino* (Buenos Aires, 1957).
 - 51 "La muerte de Mitre," *Cabichuí* (Paso Pucú), 12 January 1868; "Testimony of Dr. William Stewart, late of Paraguay," (London, 9 December 1869), WNL; not surprisingly, the Argentine press lampooned the Paraguayan claims as yet another ridiculous expression of the Marshal's depravity. See "Los panfletos de López," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 28 January 1868.
 - 52 Forced recruitment had become common practice in many areas of the empire, provoking a general disgust for the government's violent comportment. See, for example, *O Diário do Povo* (Rio de Janeiro), 21–22 October 1867; Comments of President José Costa Machado de Souza, in *Relatório que a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial de Minas Gerais apresentou na Sessão Ordinaria de 1868* (Outo Preto, 1868), 9–12; Comments of Baron of Villa Bella, in *Relatório apresentado a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial de Pernambuco pelo Presidente ... na Sessão do Primeiro de Março de 1868* (Recife, 1868). Desperate for recruits, Parliament had previously approved the purchase of slaves who were given conditional letters of emancipation, freed convicts from prison, and conducted forcible impressments against men normally exempted from regular military service. And yet there were always new demands coming from Caxias. Recruitment for the war ended up "indiscriminately mixing strata of the free poor at the front," while exacerbating an already problematic political scene at home. See Peter M. Beattie, "Inclusion, Marginalization, and Integration in Brazilian Institutions: the Army as Inventor and Guardian of Traditions." Paper presented at the Brazil Strategic Culture Workshop, Florida International University, Miami, November 2009.
 - 53 The text of Zacharias's letter to the emperor can be found in Joaquim Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Império. Nabuco de Araújo, Sua Vida, Suas Opiniões, Sua Época* (Rio de Janeiro, 1897), 3: 100–101.
 - 54 Wanderley Pinho, grandson of the Baron of Cotegipe, downplayed the February 1868 crisis as a factor in the decline of support for the emperor. See "O Incidente Caxias e a Queda de Zacharias em 1868," in *Política e Políticos no Império: Contribuições Documentais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), 65–93, and Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 217–219.
 - 55 Louis and Elizabeth Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston, 1868), 58.
 - 56 Adler Homero de Fonseca and Ruth Beatriz S.C. de O. Andrada, *O Pátio Epitácio Pessoa: seu Histórico e Acervo* (Rio de Janeiro, 1995), 84–86.

- 57 "Relatório da Passagem de Humaitá pelo seu Comandante Capitão-de-Mar-e-Guerra Delfim Carlos de Carvalho (aboard the *Bahia*, 20 February 1868)," in Scavarda, "Centenário da Passagem de Humaitá," 28–32.
- 58 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 247; *El Semanario* (Asunción), 9 March 1868; eight months later, the *London Illustrated Times* published a relatively accurate illustration of the running of the batteries, then mistakenly captioned it "The Advanced Division of the Brazilian Fleet Forcing the Paraguayan Batteries at Tebicuary." (See issue of 3 October 1868).
- 59 The ships were lashed together by rope cables running from bollards in the deck, in the bow and stern of both ships. Since the cables were set perpendicular to the river bank, they offered a minimum target for the enemy batteries, but nonetheless a very lucky Paraguayan shot managed to cut the bow cable as described. In his analysis of the events, Admiral Carlos Balthazar da Silveira rhetorically asks why the other vessels in the fleet did nothing to help, and in supplying his own answer, argued that to risk further ships in an uncertain rescue was unwarranted. See *Guerra do Paraguai. A Marinha Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1900), 53–54.
- 60 Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 108; Ouro Preto, *A Marinha D'outroora*, 185–186; Ricardo Bonalume Neto, "River Passage Sought," *Military History* (December 1993): 66–73, 95–98; Arthur Jaceguay and Vidal de Oliveira, *Quatro Séculos de Actividade Marítima, Portugal e Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1900), 2: 469–471, 485–486 (which hints that the cable linking the *Alagoas* to the Bahia was cut not by shot or shrapnel but by a saboteur's axe).
- 61 Certain of Caxias's detractors in Argentina expressed no surprise at the tardy passage of the Humaitá batteries, claiming, perhaps with some justice, that the marquis had delayed the operation until he could get Mitre out of the way. See Rottjer, *Mitre militar*, 200–207. Another reason frequently cited for the delay was that most ships in the Brazilian fleet had wooden hulls and these could not possibly survive a pelting from the Paraguayan gunners; as it turned out, the wooden fleet got past the batteries at Curupaty in early March without any losses. See Ouro Preto, *A Marinha D'outroora*, 189–192. The future Baron of Jaceguay rather disingenuously claimed a year and a half later that the wooden vessels could never have gotten past the Curupaty batteries until after the Paraguayan guns had been removed—but how could he have known that since the fleet had never tried to run the position? See Silveira de Mota to Mitre (?), Montevideo, 13 November 1868, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 17 November 1869.
- 62 The Viscount of Maracajú admired Flores, whom he described as a "brave general who was also our dedicated ally ... [a man who invariably] gave proofs of his great valor." See *Campanha do Paraguay*, 76. Sena Madureira felt the same way, characterizing the dead man as "the most sincere and loyal friend the empire had in the Río de la Plata." See *Guerra do Paraguai*, 52. Some of the most effusive praise on the Brazilian side, however, came from men who had never met Flores personally. In faraway Pernambuco, for instance, the members of the town council of Recife offered *solemnes exequias* to the murdered president and ally of the emperor. See *Jornal do Recife*, 28 March 1868.
- 63 Juan E. Pivel Devoto, *Historia de los partidos políticos en el Uruguay* (Montevideo, 1942–1943), 2: 23.
- 64 Eduardo Acevedo noted that Flores had narrowly escaped assassination once before, in 1867, when a German engineer in the pay of conservative Colorados had planted a bomb under government house. It failed to detonate and clear responsibility for the attempted murder was never established. See *Anales históricos del Uruguay*, 3: 406–407. The same was true for the successful assassination of 1868; indeed, there are almost as many interpretations of Flores's death as there are Uruguayan scholars and polemicists who have examined the theme. See "Correspondencia de Montevideo, 21 February 1868," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 27 February 1868; "La muerte del general Venancio Flores.

Un estudio del doctor José Luciano Martínez. Páginas de un libro próximo a aparecer,” *La Razón* (Montevideo), 19 February 1912; “El asesinato del general Flores. Datos interesantes e desconocidos,” *La Razón* (Montevideo), 3 July 1912; and Lockhart, *Venancio Flores*, 88–96.

- 65 In a letter of condolence to Flores’s widow, General Enrique Castro noted with his usual embellishment that the president’s assassination had had a bad effect at the front. See Castro to María G. de Flores, Tuyucué, 13 March 1868, AGN (M) Archivos Particulares. Caja 69, carpeta 21. The widow, whom the French minister dismissed as a “plebeian Agrippina,” believed that Suárez and the military had joined with the Blancos in the conspiracy to kill her husband. Considering the visceral hatred that the Blancos felt for General “Goyo,” the suggestion that they could have made common cause with him was inescapably absurd. See M. Maillefer to Marquis of Moustier, Montevideo, 14 March 1868, in “Informes diplomáticos de los representantes de Francia en el Uruguay,” 311–315.
- 66 Pivel Devoto, *Historia de los partidos políticos*, 2: 22–23.
- 67 Rodolfo Corselli, *La Guerra Americana della Triplice Alleanza contro il Paraguay* (Modena, 1938), 459.
- 68 Caxias to Baron of São Borja, Tuyucué (?), 4 February 1868, IHGB, lata 447, doc. 83; Queiroz Duarte, *Os Voluntários da Pátria*, 3, bk. 1: 40–42; bk. 2: 14–20, 153–158.
- 69 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 250–251; Von Versen, *Reisen in Amerika*, 147–148; for extensive Brazilian accounts of the engagement, see Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 255–264, and Ordem do Dia no. 4 (Tuyucué, 21 February 1868) in *Ordens do Dia*, 3: 159–176.
- 70 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 92; Brazilian sources cite a variety of statistics on this engagement. For instance, the BNRJ’s copy of the *Boletim do Exército* (Tuyucué, 20 February 1868) recorded a rather improbable loss of 529 killed and wounded. Perhaps making use of the same source, Tasso Fragoso noted 608 Brazilians killed and wounded. See *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguay*, 3: 423. Sena Madureira, for his part, recorded Allied losses at 120 men killed, 253 wounded, and a Paraguayan loss “of more than a thousand.” See *Guerra do Paraguai*, 54.
- 71 Kolinski, *Independence or Death!*, 155; in its final issue printed at Paso Pucú, the Marshal’s war newspaper recorded this engagement as yet another major victory for Paraguay, even offering the readership a paean in Guarani that alluded to a comprehensive smashing of the “stinking darkies.” See “Cierva,” *Cabichuí* (Paso Pucú), 24 February 1868. A somewhat more thoughtful article, which compared the battle to Thermopylae, appeared as “Paralelo,” in *El Semanario* (Luque), 7 March 1868.
- 72 Declaration of Vice President Sánchez, 22 February 1868, ANA-SH 355, no. 2; “¡Arriba todos!” *El Semanario* (Luque), 29 February 1868.
- 73 The moustachioed Italian consul, Lorenzo Chapperon, who had only arrived in Paraguay at the end of 1867, wrote a short but telling description of the capital’s evacuation. The consul thought Washburn’s obstinacy ill-advised considering that not only Asunción, but the intervening towns of Oliva, Mercedes, Pilar, Villeta, Villa Franca, and Lambaré had been declared war zones. See Chapperon to Foreign Minister, Luque, 31 March 1868, Archivio Storico Ministero degli Esteri (Rome) (as extracted by Marco Fano).
- 74 Washburn agreed to store some of Lynch’s property, but his contempt for her was undiminished even in these trying circumstances:

The ambitious plans that had induced her to invest such large sums of money in furniture and adornments ... seem to have miscarried. Two-hundred thousand dollars [pesos], the price of the toil and the sweat and blood of thousands of half-fed, overworked Paraguayans seemed about to fall into the hands of the hated

Brazilians ... she only thought of saving her life and the lives of her children, and escaping with her ill-gotten gains to Europe.

See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 239.

- 75 Bliss was born in upstate New York in 1839, the son of missionaries who had worked among the Indigenous people of the Adirondack Mountains. He attended Hamilton College and then Yale in the late 1850s, and though he did well at neither institution, his skill as a researcher was noticed by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society who secured him employment for a time. In 1861 he journeyed to Brazil where he served as tutor to the children of US Minister Webb, and then moved on to Buenos Aires in late 1862. There the national government asked him to conduct a survey of Indigenous languages along the Bermejo River (which abutted Paraguayan territory). Caught by the war in Asunción, Bliss took on a variety of jobs, including the writing of a Paraguayan national history for Marshal López; this latter work, which was never published, served as the key source for volume one of Washburn's *History of Paraguay*. See *New York Times*, 5 January 1885.
- 76 Liliana M. Brezzo, "Testimonios sobre la guerra del Paraguay (IV)," *Historia Paraguaya* 45 (2005): 421–435; a slightly different recounting of these two meetings is offered by Centurión, whose *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 96–98, make it clear that confusion rather than concord marked the proceedings. One man who seems to have thought otherwise was Juan Esteban Molinas, nephew of the jefe político of Paraguari, who subsequently learned of the meeting from his father, and who testified in a letter written forty-nine years later that the meeting constituted the beginnings of a concerted plot against the Marshal. See Molinas to Father Fidel Maíz, Paraguari, 17 May 1917, in Maíz, *Etapas de mi vida* (Asunción, 1986), 170–171, and Statement of José I. Acosta, Itá, September 1918, BNA-CJO.
- 77 Manuel Avila, "Apuntes sobre la conspiración de 1868. Pequeña contribución a la historia de la guerra con la Triple Alianza y de la tiranía de López," *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo* 2, no. 17 (1899): 216–222.
- 78 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 139–142.
- 79 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 224.
- 80 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 228–229.
- 81 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguay*, 3: 424–425.
- 82 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 249–250.
- 83 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 226–227; Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 241–242.
- 84 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 242; Venancio López to López, Asunción, 15 February 1868, ANA-NE 989.
- 85 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 227. Doratioto notes that Delphim had originally sought to bludgeon the capital into surrender, but changed his mind when faced with the "Criollo," and mistakenly concluded that resistance was more substantial than it actually was. See *Maldita Guerra*, 323.
- 86 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 243.
- 87 News of the running of the batteries made excellent copy in Brazil, and the resulting festivities in the imperial capital lasted three days. The various paeans to Delphim that followed were predictably turgid; one typical example compared the Commodore's feat to actions at Troy and Trafalgar. See Antonio da Crus Cordeiro, *Episódio da Esquadra Brasileira em Operação nas Aguas do Paraguay, a 19 de Fevereiro de 1868* (Paraíba, 1868). São Paulo also witnessed several days of festivities, including a Te Deum held in the cathedral to thank God for the successful passage of the Humaitá batteries. See *Atas da Câmara da Cidade de São Paulo (1865–1870)* (São Paulo, 1946), 54: 42–43. In Bahia,

whose inhabitants enjoyed the opportunity for a celebration, an “extraordinary number of citizens of all classes, divided into three groups and forming a battalion, preceded by bands and flags ... passed through the principal streets of the city,” loudly cheering the emperor and the armed forces. See *Diário da Bahia* (Salvador), 3 March 1868. The reaction in Montevideo and Buenos Aires was understandably more muted, which led Mitre’s *Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires; issue of 12 March 1868) to denounce those Argentine and Uruguayan writers who had scoffed at the Brazilian achievement. One Argentine writer who had not scoffed at Delphim was the poet José Hernández, who used the occasion to jab, not at the Brazilians, but at his old enemy Mitre:

Humaitá got screwed,
And López carried off to the Devil,
What Mitre had not accomplished in two years,
Caxias got done in a month’s time.

See Hernández to Martínez Fontes, Corrientes, 19 February 1868, in Tulio Halperín Donghi, *José Hernández y sus mundos* (Buenos Aires, 1985), 41.

- 88 General James Watson Webb, the US minister to Brazil, put his finger on the irony of the situation when he observed that the navy’s triumph at Humaitá occasioned “great rejoicings ... throughout Brazil [though] such was the state of public sentiment that the most prudent and loyal people of all classes freely admitted that if the army did not achieve a victory within a month, the government must consent to a peace in order to avoid a revolution.” See Webb to Seward, 9 March 1868, NARA M-121, no. 35.

9 | A CRUEL ATTRITION

- 1 The Correntino pilot Enrique Roibón, who knew the waters off Humaitá better than most Paraguayans, rather unexpectedly defended the Brazilian decision not to place warships between Timbó and the fortress, noting that supplies of coal were insufficient and the danger very great. See E. R. Cristiano [Roibón], “En honor a la verdad histórica,” *La Libertad* (Corrientes), 3 April 1908.
- 2 Captain Pedro V. Gill, who witnessed these discussions (and who designed the main plan of attack), noted the obstinacy with which other naval officers expressed their opposition to the plan, and the insulting response the Marshal gave in return, threatening each man with four bullets for “cowardice” or dumb insolence. See “Testimony of Pedro V. Gill, (Asunción, 24 April 1888), MHM-CZ, carpeta 137, no. 10. In fact, the Paraguayan naval officers all survived López’s wrath on this occasion.
- 3 The specific details of the plan were revealed to Allied commanders by a Paraguayan sergeant who deserted across the lines on 3 March. See “Importantes noticias de la escuadra,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 10 March 1868.
- 4 In his rather abbreviated account of the engagement, Thompson confuses the *Lima Barros* with the *Herval*, which was located slightly downriver that night. See *The War in Paraguay*, 253–254; several other Paraguayan sources make this same mistake, but the official account offered by the Brazilians clearly identifies the ship as the *Lima Barros*. See “Parte oficial del asalto de los paraguayos a los encorazados brasileiros (Tuyucué, 14 March 1868),” in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 22 March 1868.
- 5 Amerlan, *Nights on the Río Paraguay*, 111. As we have seen, in his diary entry on the forcing of the Humaitá batteries, Admiral Ignácio claimed that the men aboard the enemy canoes that assaulted the *Alagoas* were Payaguá people; in this case, his diary entry notes the supposed presence among the bogabantes of “Brazilians!!! Englishmen, Italians, and Frenchmen!!!” In neither case does the claim seem credible. See Frota, *Diário Pessoal do Almirante Visconde de Inhaúma*, 173–174 (entry of 1-2 March 1868).

- 6 Silveira, *Campanha do Paraguay. A Marinha Brasileira*, 56–59.
- 7 Sena Madureira, *Guerra do Paraguai*, 56.
- 8 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 175; Vittone, *Calendário histórico*, 27–28.
- 9 Several of the Brazilian sources claim that Céspedes was taken prisoner together with two other officers and twelve bogabantes. See Bonalume Neto, “River Passage Sought,” 96.
- 10 Thomas Joseph Hutchinson, “A Short Account of Some Incidents of the Paraguayan War,” *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* 60, no. 25 (1871): 27–28; another man, whose surname was Izquierdo, managed to reach the Chaco bank. The Scottish writer Cunninghame-Graham, who made his acquaintance in the early 1880s, censured him at that time as a “roguish” sort of country lawyer, but nonetheless lauded his commitment to duty, his courage under fire, and the loathing he subsequently expressed for the dictator who had sent him out on the river in the first place. The man’s recounting of the night’s action and his ensuing struggle for life brought chills to grown men who had been children during the war:

Armed only with long knives and swords, [he and his comrades] for a few minutes ... were masters of the ship. Then, mowed down by volleys from a *mitrailleuse*, they were all killed but three, who dived into the stream and emerged safely, all wounded, on the Chaco side. The river where the adventure happened is a mile in breadth. ... Wounded and almost naked, exposed to the attacks of every kind of flying insect, their state was desperate. Food, naturally, they had none, or means of killing any game. For two long days they sustained life on what wild fruits they found, whilst their untended wounds festered and made their lives a misery. Then, seeing they must either starve or their wounds mortify, they took the desperate resolution ... to try to swim across [to the eastern bank of the Paraguay]. The current runs at least four miles an hour. ... Of the three, Izquierdo only reached the other side, and lay exhausted, with his leg swollen to an enormous size, upon the sand. Discovered by some women washing clothes, and taken to their huts, he at length recovered, although lame for life.

See Cunninghame-Graham, *Portrait of a Dictator*, 77–78. (The author would appear to be mistaken about the breadth of the river, which even at flood stage is only half the figure cited at the point).

- 11 “Campanha do Paraguai. Diário do Exercito em Operações sob o Commando em Chefe do Exmo. Sr. Marechal de Exercito Marquez de Caxias,” in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro* 91, no. 145 (1922): 298–302 (entry of 2 March 1868).
- 12 Mitre to Gelly y Obes, Buenos Aires, 15 July 1868, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 3: 259; “Paraguay,” *El Siglo* (Montevideo), 22 February 1868.
- 13 The Allies gained proof positive of the Marshal’s flight only at the end of the month when a soldier in a Paraguayan artillery unit deserted to the Allied lines with the news that López and Madame Lynch had departed in the way described in the other sources. See “Declaración del soldado paraguayo de artillería de Humaitá, (Tuyucué, 22 March 1868),” in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 1 April 1868, and “Correspondencia,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 1 April 1868.
- 14 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 251–252.
- 15 The men worked all night in the water of one deep stream, constructing a bridge over which they wrenched the Marshal’s carriage the next morning. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 258.
- 16 “Instrucciones para el Coronel López, comandante general de armas,” Paso Pucú, 30 December 1867, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 17, no. 34.
- 17 The onetime British consul at Rosario witnessed the agonies of a sick Paraguayan prisoner on the HMS *Dotorel* while sailing downriver in 1865 and gave this account, which he

clearly meant as being typical of behavior among the Marshal's men (which was just as true in the Chaco as it had been after the battle of the Riachuelo):

I saw the Paraguayan sergeant, who had command over them, approach the bedside of the man suffering from inflammation in the bowels, now groaning with much pain. One word uttered by the sergeant stopped the complaints. Then the same official pronounced a harangue in Guaraní, and which the pilot on board translated for me as follows: "Dog of a bad Paraguayan! Are you not ashamed to let the enemies of your country hear you complain, and give them reason to laugh at you? The glory of having been wounded fighting for your country does not appear sufficient without crying for sympathy in your sufferings! Do not let me hear another groan from you, or I shall report you to the highest power"—meaning, of course, Field-Marshal López. From that moment the poor sufferer never uttered a moan, although he died four hours afterwards, evidently in dreadful torture. Some Argentines who were on board—no doubt those described as "enemies of his country" called this "Paraguayan stolidity or stupidity," but to me it seemed the perfection of discipline, joined to the highest class of moral and physical bravery.

See Thomas J. Hutchinson, *The Paraná. With Incidents of the Paraguayan War from 1861 to 1868* (London, 1868), 308. It seems rather doubtful that soldiers in modern armies today would describe this attitude as the "perfection of discipline."

- 18 Manuel Trujillo, *Gestas guerreras (de mis memorias)* (1911; Asunción, 1923), 28.
- 19 A Paraguayan deserter reported that the Humaitá garrison, save for a single battalion, consisted entirely of adolescent boys, and, there being no other rations, each individual among them was eating only a tiny piece of meat per day. See Gelly y Obes to Mitre (?) (Tuyucúé, 18 March 1868), in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 24 March 1868.
- 20 Godoi, *El comandante José Dolores Molas*, 18.
- 21 Testimony of Captain Pedro V. Gill (Asunción, 24 April 1888), MHM (A)-CZ, carpeta 137, no. 10.
- 22 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 256–258.
- 23 Von Versen, *Reisen in Amerika*, 145; Doratioto, *General Osório*, 176, notes a figure of ten thousand Paraguayans evacuated.
- 24 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 259–261.
- 25 A surprising amount of personal correspondence from San Fernando has survived, but most of it concerns mundane matters (reports of illnesses and fatalities, requests for information on missing relatives). See Riveros (?) to Pablo Antonio González, San Fernando, 28 March 1868, ANA-NE 2491; Germán Serrano to Ramón Marecos, San Fernando, 4 April 1868, ANA-NE 2497; Domingo Riveros to Marcelino Gómez, San Fernando, 13 April 1868, ANA-NE 2490; José Gaspar Zavala to Josefa Zavala de Rojas, San Fernando, 2 May 1868, ANA-NE 2500; and Angel Cabrizas to Juan Isidoro Cabrizas, San Fernando, 15 June 1868, ANA-NE 2893.
- 26 In its "Chronique" of 15 June 1868, *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro) claimed that the Paraguayans might have as many as fifteen thousand men under arms at the San Fernando front and wondered if it might still be possible for López to reassemble a total force of over thirty thousand in the field. It was not.
- 27 "El Mariscal López," *Cabichuí* (San Fernando), 13 May 1868.
- 28 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 184.
- 29 "The War in the North (Tuyucúé, 24 March 1868)," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 1 April 1868. See also the BNRJ's copy of the 22 March 1868 *Boletim do Exército*, and Argolo to Caxias, Tuyutí, 22 March 1868, in "Campanha do Paraguai. Diário do Exercito em Op-erações sob o Commando do Marquez de Caxias," 321–326.

- 30 Gelly y Obes to Wenceslao Paunero, Tuyucúé, 23 March 1868, in Thompson, *Guerra del Paraguay*, cv–cvi; see also Maracajú, *Campanha do Paraguay*, 83–89.
- 31 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 254. Julián Godoy affirmed that Paraguayan losses were light, there “having been nothing in the way of hand-to-hand combat.” See “Memorias de teniente coronel Julián Godoy.” General Daniel Cerri offered a more believable recounting, citing Paraguayan losses at three hundred. See *Campaña del Paraguay*, 46.
- 32 Phelps, *Tragedy of Paraguay*, 204.
- 33 “Nuevos triunfos,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 29 March 1868.
- 34 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 107–108.
- 35 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 108–109.
- 36 Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 85.
- 37 The orders of the day issued by Caxias as Allied commander are replete with cases of courts-martial with punishments meted out to drunkards, to those taking French leave, brawling, and otherwise disrupting the good discipline. See, for example, Ordem do Dia no. 200 (Tuyucúé, 18 March 1868); no. 202 (Tuyucúé, 26 March 1868); no. 206 (Parecué, 19 April 1868); and no. 221 (Tuyucúé, 17 June 1868), respectively in *Ordens do Dia*, 3: 229–231, 244–247, 325–327, and 448–453. A substantial number of the men accused of infractions were released for want of proof, the threat of punishment alone having been sufficient to maintain the proper discipline. Those men caught in the act of desertion, however, were invariably shot according to article 14 of the Military Code.
- 38 The Argentine colonel Agustín Angel Olmedo, writing after Humaitá fell, commented on the blame that went around after it was discovered that so many Paraguayans had escaped undetected: “The Argentines say that it happened because the *macacos* were all asleep ... and the Brazilians say it was all the fault of the Argentines, *filhos da ... gringo* thieves ... that the Paraguayans got away. It’s now clear that both were at fault.” See *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña. (1867–1869)* (Buenos Aires, 2008), 257 (entry of 31 July 1868).
- 39 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 196; G.F. Gould to Lord Stanley, Buenos Aires, 10 April 1868, in Philip, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs, Latin America, 1845–1914*, 1, pt. 1, Series D: 238; Elizalde to Juan N. Torrent, Buenos Aires, 11 April 1868, Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Scala (Asunción).
- 40 See, for example, Caxias to General Vitorino José Carneiro Monteiro, Tuyucúé, 31 March 1868, IHGB, lata 447, doc. 94 (which contains orders to establish batteries at the Potrero Ovella in order to shell the fortress). The Argentine commander, General Gelly y Obes, evidently thought this display of firepower less than superfluous, as it accomplished nothing but cover the grounds at Humaitá with cannon balls. See Gelly y Obes to Mitre, Tuyucúé, 18 April 1868, in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 298–299.
- 41 “The War in the North (Tuyucúé, 24 March 1868),” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 1 April 1868. Bitter surprises of this sort are common in every war; for instance, when the supposed COSVN headquarters of the Communist forces was discovered in the Cambodian “Fish-hook” toward the end of the struggle in Vietnam, it turned out to be little more than a hole in the ground, and this irritating fact engendered the same sarcasm and disbelief among US generals that the Allies had expressed when they first inspected Paso Pucú.
- 42 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 357. Despite the relatively short time he spent in Paraguay, Burton managed to produce a memoir of considerable depth and sophistication. Though he did not act the role of trailblazer or grand explorer, as he did when visiting Mecca in the guise of an Afghan *fakir*, he did read extensively on the war, omitted no references, and when possible, visited sites and interviewed eyewitnesses. Above all, he brought to the topic an unmatched worldliness, honed by many years spent

- in the most exotic settings imaginable. Curiously, however, he made few efforts to get to know the Paraguayans, whose courage under extreme pressure might have appealed to his romanticism, much as Bedouins, Pathans, and Abyssinians had inspired his pen on earlier occasions.
- 43 "Teatro de la guerra (Tuyucué, 26 March 1868)," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 31 March 1868.
 - 44 More than one hundred thousand head of cattle were still available in Paraguay that could have fed the Humaitá garrison if a way could have been found to drive the animals to the fortress. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 316–317 (which mentions mid-April donations from a score of interior villages including Arroyos y Esteros, 38,168 head; Rosario, 1,381 head; Yuty, 22, 859 head; Quiindy, 17,755 head; San Joaquín, 6,097 head; and Mbuyapey, 14,248 head).
 - 45 Amazingly, the isolated men at Humaitá were still receiving their salaries, as attested to in a receipt for 19,118 pesos sent through to the fortress by way of the Chaco in late April. See Alén to Luis Caminos, Humaitá, 29 April 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 23, 103.
 - 46 G.F. Gould to Lord Stanley, Buenos Aires, 12 May 1868, in Philip, *British Documents on Foreign Affairs*, 1, pt. 1, Series D: 239–240; Cerri, *Campaña del Paraguay*, 51–54.
 - 47 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 339; "Correspondencia," (Curupayty, 14 May 1868), *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 4 June 1868; "Secondo notizie de fonte paraguaiana," *La Stampa* (Turin), 7 June 1868.
 - 48 Rivas to Caxias, Campamento-en-marcha frente a la isla Arasá, 3 May 1868, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 12 May 1868.
 - 49 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 118–119; "The War on the Paraná [sic]," *New York Times*, 21 July 1868.
 - 50 Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 90; Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña (1867–1869)*, 166–169 (entries of 7–8 May 1868).
 - 51 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 372–375, 409; 9: 15, 63–64, 104–105.
 - 52 Leuchars seems to have conflated this reconnaissance with a similar effort made a few days earlier at the mouth of the Ñe'embucú by General Andrade Neves, the Baron of the Triumph. See *To the Bitter End*, 186.
 - 53 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 3: 476–477.
 - 54 "Campanha do Paraguai. Diário do Exercito em Operações sob o Commando do Marquez de Caxias," 396–401 (entries of 9–10 June 1868), and Ordem do Dia no. 222 (Parecué, 18 June 1868) in *Ordens do Dia*, 4: 455–461.
 - 55 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 267.
 - 56 Caxias to War Minister, Parecué, 19 June 1868, IHGB, lata 313, pasta 21.
 - 57 "Nuevas zurrribandas," *Cabichuí* (San Fernando), 8 June 1868.
 - 58 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 98; "Nuevo asalto a los encorazados," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 15 July 1868.
 - 59 "Campanha do Paraguai. Diário do Exercito em Operações sob o Commando do Marquez de Caxias," 426–431 (entries of 10 July 1868).
 - 60 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 120–121. In *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza* (91), General Resquín used almost exactly the same words to describe the fiasco. See also Pereira de Sousa, "História da Guerra do Paraguai," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro* 102, no. 156 (1927): 316.
 - 61 A very odd rumor, current among the Allied soldiers, held that deserters from both sides had set up a joint camp in the far reaches of the Chaco, and like the Brazilian slaves who had escaped into the forests, these men intended to live indefinitely beyond the law's

- reach. Almost certainly this Chaco camp (or *quilombo*) never existed. See Burton, *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay*, p. 430.
- 62 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 119–120; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 113. Despite the slight difference in the spelling of his surname, Alén was in fact a distant relative of Leandro Alem, one of the founders of the Unión Cívica Radical, which came to dominate Argentine national politics in the second decade of the twentieth century.
 - 63 Pedro Gill had witnessed Alén's degeneration into a state of near-insanity, noting that the day before his suicide attempt he left the safety of his gun battery to wander down to the river. In full uniform and with his sword dangling, he attempted, Christ-like, to walk upon the water and was only saved from drowning when an officer pulled him from the current. See "Testimony of Pedro V. Gill, (Asunción, 24 April 1888)," MHM-CZ, carpeta 137, no. 10.
 - 64 Several sources claim that the messenger had been dispatched by Colonel Alén, but this makes no sense, as he had shot himself two days earlier and had already been succeeded by Martínez. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 127, 135–136; and Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 126–127.
 - 65 Hutchinson, "A Short Account of Some Incidents of the Paraguayan War," 28–30. Centurión relates the same story, offering the messenger's name as Francisco Ortega, and noting that the account of his fortitude (which Hutchinson styles a "martyrdom") had been related to the British diplomat by Miguel Lisboa, son of the Brazilian minister to Lisbon. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 127.
 - 66 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 336.
 - 67 Rivas to Caxias, Chaco, 18 July 1868, in Thompson, *La guerra del Paraguay*, cvii–cix; Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 91–92; "Terrible News from Paraguay," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 26 July 1868.
 - 68 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 273; Burton noted that in insisting on getting a receipt for the flags, the skipper of the *Pará* decidedly embarrassed his Argentine allies, a slight that no one, least of all General Gelly y Obes, was willing to overlook. See *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 333.
 - 69 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 147–149. The "Diário do Exército" mentions sixty Brazilians killed, 224 wounded, and ninety-two Argentines killed and twenty-nine wounded—yet another example of divergent reporting of losses. See "Diário do Exército," 447 (entry of 18 July 1868), and "Acayuzá," *El Semanario* (Luque), 19 July 1868.
 - 70 The general Argentine view has always held that Campos was brutalized while in captivity and perished in late 1868 as a result of physical mistreatment; but Major Antonio E. González, the annotator of the Centurión memoirs, claims that he died of natural causes in camp at a time when many Paraguayans were also seriously ill. See *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 3: 125n; Héctor F. Decoud completely contradicts this assertion, noting that those imprisoned in the Paraguayan camp had never seen a man so brutally abused over such a length of time as Campos. See *La masacre de Concepción*, 177–178; and also Garmendia, *La cartera de un soldado*, 87–97, which, in a section entitled "Los mártires de Acayuzá," argues much the same thing about the unfortunate Campos.
 - 71 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 149.
 - 72 Fano, *Il Rombo del Cannone Liberale*, 330.
 - 73 Resquín claimed that at this late stage there were still nine hundred women at Humaitá, but he is the only observer who offered such a high estimate of the number of noncombatants then at the fortress. See *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 93.
 - 74 Osório had expressed reservations about the plan of attack. General Vitorino Carneiro Monteiro, by contrast, offered even stronger opposition, noting with good reason that Humaitá had ceased to have much military value and that the Allies should concentrate

- on pursuing López's army rather than waste lives in capturing a position of such limited importance. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 390.
- 75 Amerlan, *Night on the Río Paraguay*, 115–116; see also “Ocorrencias do Combate Proveniente do Reconhecimento feito nas Trincheiras Paraguaiaas no forte de Humaitá em 16 [sic] de Julho de 1868,” IHGB, lata 335, documento 23; and “The Battle of Humaitá,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 23 July 1868.
 - 76 “Parte Oficial do General Osório,” Parecué, 20 July 1868, and Osório to Estimada Mãe, Parecué, 17 July 1868, in Osório and Osório, *História do General Osório*, 441–445, 447–451; *El Semanario* (Luque), 19 July 1868. Count Joannini, the Italian minister to Buenos Aires, noted that in the wake of this engagement, the reputation of Caxias declined while Osório's vastly expanded, and that “everyone wishes that [the latter] be assigned supreme command.” See Joannini to Foreign Minister, Buenos Aires, 27 July 1868, Archivo Ministero degli Esteri (as extracted by Marco Fano).
 - 77 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), in its issue of 1 August 1868, compared the evacuation of the fortress with that of Sebastopol the previous decade, noting that the latter was deemed a “masterly” accomplishment of the Crimean conflict; but “what was it in comparison to the tactics of the shoeless commander of Humaitá, who drew off his whole force under the very nose of the besiegers, crossed the rapid torrents of the Paraguay river, and gained the opposite shore before even Gelly—the sleepless Gelly—heard a word about it.”
 - 78 *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 22 August 1868; Leuchars notes that sixty of the one hundred eighty guns left behind were still sufficiently operable to be used later against their former owners. See *To the Bitter End*, 187.
 - 79 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 132–133; “Relación de un viejo Sargento,” *El Paraguay Ilustrado* (Asunción), 2 August 1896. (The old sergeant was, in fact, a young Emilio Aceval, who served as president of Paraguay from 1898 to 1902.)
 - 80 “Noticias del ejército. Ataque a Timbó. 400 Prisioneros,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 2 August 1868; “Testimony of Pedro V. Gill, (Asunción, 24 April 1888),” MHM-CZ, carpeta 137, no. 10.
 - 81 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 275.
 - 82 Rivas to Caxias, Chaco, 4 August 1868, in Thompson, *Guerra del Paraguay*, cix–cxi; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 134. Resquín, in implying that Martínez had given up sooner than was strictly necessary, claimed that three hundred Paraguayans at Isla Poí actually succeeded in reaching Caballero's troops by swimming the distance to Timbó on the very day of the surrender. See *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 93.
 - 83 “An Episode of the War,” *New York Times*, 24 September 1868; an intriguing—and not altogether fanciful—image of the surrender negotiations appeared first as “Le Révérend Pere Esmerata,” in *L'Illustration* (Paris), 26 September 1868, and as “The War in Paraguay: Pere Esmerata Persuades Paraguayans to Surrender,” in the *London Illustrated Times*, 3 October 1868. The image, it seems, was provided to the press by the Baron de Rio Branco, who was then visiting the European capitals in his role as an imperial diplomat. See Roberto Assumpção, “Rio-Branco e ‘L'Illustration,’” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 188 (1946): 10–13.
 - 84 The Paraguayan prisoners were divided among the Allied armies and allowed to choose their place of captivity. Most chose Buenos Aires. See “La visita de nuestro corresponsal a Humaitá,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 30 August 1868, and Rivas to Caxias, Cuartel general, 5 August 1868, in Thompson, *La guerra del Paraguay*, cxiv–cxvi.
 - 85 Martínez was questioned by his captors but refused to cooperate, relenting only in October, when he addressed a letter to the Argentine president demanding better treatment for his men. See Martínez et al to Sarmiento, Buenos Aires, 19 October 1868, in *The*

- Standard* (Buenos Aires), 31 October 1868. When this appeal was granted in January 1869, he finally supplied a short account of his activities at Humaitá. He censured the severe discipline and cruelty of Marshal López, who by now had vented his rage against the colonel's family. See "Exposición del coronel paraguayo Francisco Martínez," *Album de la guerra del Paraguay* 2 (1894): 205–207; Captain Gill's reminiscences of the last stand at Isla Poí were assembled by his descendant Juan B. Gill Aguinaga in *Un marino en la guerra de la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 1959), 16–18.
- 86 Carlos Pereyra, *Francisco Solano López y la guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1953), 123. The correspondent for Mitre's newspaper claimed a figure of fourteen hundred Paraguayan prisoners. See "Teatro de la guerra," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 11 August 1868. Colonel Agustín Angel Olmedo, who witnessed the surrender, later spoke of the sad scene. When he tried to converse with the Paraguayans, "they could only stare straight ahead and murmur 'I want to eat.'" See *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 264 (entry of 5 August 1868).
 - 87 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 135, and "Rendição da guarnição de Humaitá e sucesos posteriores," (Humaitá, 6 August 1868), ANA-CRB I-30, 29, 24, no. 2.
 - 88 Rivas to Mitre, Curupayty, 8 August 1868, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 12 August 1868. A good many of these prisoners ended up as laborers in Buenos Aires. Contracts between police commissioners and private parties in the Argentine capital show several hundred men employed in this capacity (listing names, salaries, and termination of contract); see AGN X 32-5-6 (for 1866 through 1871).

10 | THE NATION CONSUMES ITS OWN

- 1 As it happened, the first two men to scout the abandoned fortress were an itinerant Italian sutler and a French baker, who slipped a few minor baubles to the Allied pickets to secure the honor—or the opportunity—of being the first to enter the Paraguayan camp. "To their ecstatic joy, they found the place completely deserted," but they were unable to loot the site before the main Allied units put in an appearance an hour or two later and did the job themselves. See "The Fall of Humaitá," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 August 1868.
- 2 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 314–322; Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 250–254 (entries for 26–28 July 1868).
- 3 Burton scoffed at his Brazilian hosts when he ridiculed the Bateria Londres as "an exposed mass of masonry which ought to have shared the fate of the forts from Sumpter [sic] to Pulaski; and when granite fails, brick cannot hope to succeed." See *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 319–320.
- 4 Thirty-six of these guns were bronze, the rest iron. At Isla Poí, six bronze field pieces and two iron guns were captured, for a total of 188 cannon (and six Congreve rocket stands). See Silva Paranhos notes to Louis Schneider, *A guerra da Triplíce Aliança contra o governo da República do Paraguai*, 3: CDXXXVIII–CDLII.
- 5 Two cannons bearing the Spanish arms were spotted in the workings, one bearing the date 1671 and the other 1685. See "La visita de nuestro corresponsal especial a Humaitá," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 30 August 1868.
- 6 *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 22 August 1868.
- 7 "Humaitá," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 15 August 1868; "Inventário de Humaitá, (Campanamento de Paso Pucú, 5 August 1868)," in *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 12 August 1868.
- 8 The Paraguayans were not exempt from the awe that the demolished chapel invariably excites in visitors. See C.S., "Las ruinas de Humaitá," *El Pueblo. Organó del Partido Liberal* (Asunción), 22 January 1895.

- 9 Images of the ruined interior of the Humaitá chapel were widely distributed in the Allied countries and in Europe, where they appeared in *L'Illustration* (Paris), 26 September 1868. Of the two blue-and-white towers that graced the chapel before the war, the southernmost structure largely survived the Allied shelling, only to be torn down in subsequent years by local landowners who used the bricks to construct their outside ovens (*tatacuás*) and storage sheds. Today, tourists in Asunción who show an interest in purchasing chess sets carved from local hardwoods and featuring motifs of the Paraguayan War, will notice that the white rooks, when placed together, assume a form reminiscent of the Humaitá chapel.
- 10 *O Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, 4–5 August 1868. See also [O'Leary?] manuscript "Humaitá," BNA-CJO.
- 11 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 340.
- 12 Needell, *The Party of Order*, 244–248. It will be remembered that the "moderating power" principle of the 1824 gave Pedro an extensive authority over Parliament but he generally sought to avoid the use of this authority lest he be accused of despotism. By contrast, though the Paraguayan constitution of 1844 gave López considerable authority as president, he never showed any restraint in going beyond its provisions to achieve a political end. In this sense, his opponents were correct in dubbing his government despotic.
- 13 *The Times* (London), 17 August 1868.
- 14 According to General Webb, the US minister in Rio, Itaboraí refused to enter office unless dom Pedro promised to consider peace proposals whenever Humaitá should fall. When the fortress did fall, however, the prime minister discovered that the Council of State had again endorsed the emperor's unbending position that "the war [needed to be continued] until the objects originally aimed at were attained." All the new ministers supposedly "complained of how they had [been deceived]" in this, but they did not proceed to deprive Caxias of the material and political support that he needed. In truth, lest Caxias be tainted as a warmonger, it should be noted that in August he himself proposed the cancellation of that proviso of the Triple Alliance Treaty that required López to step down before peace negotiations could commence—but dom Pedro vetoed the marquis's suggestion, even threatening to abdicate the throne if the matter were pursued against his wishes. See Webb to Seward, Rio de Janeiro, 25 August 1868, NARA, M-121, no. 35; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 277–278; and Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 337–339.
- 15 "Chronique," *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 18 July 1868.
- 16 Cholera had struck regularly at Luque and other villages of the Paraguayan interior since at least mid-March, and no medicines or facilities were available to help stave off an epidemic. See Telegram of Francisco Sánchez to Asunción garrison commander, Luque, 18 March 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 16, 12, no. 23. The disease does not seem to have had a comparable effect on military men; of the 793 soldiers in hospital at Cerro León in July, 236 were listed as wounded, while 167 were down with foot sores caused by jiggers and lesions caused by botflies. Cholera does not even appear as one of the debilitating factors among the patients (though some of the miscellaneous respiratory ailments and fevers listed might possibly refer to the malady). See "Razón de enfermos y heridos," Cerro León, 27 July 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 13.
- 17 As Benigno was absent at one of his northern ranches, he could not respond immediately to his brother's order, but left for Seibo only on 15 March. See Centurión, *Memorias or reminiscencias*, 3: 97–98, and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 207.
- 18 The treasurer had visited Humaitá in late December 1867 to present López with a jewel-encrusted sword that had been prepared for him as a "voluntary" gift of the citizens. Bedoya's arrest came as something of a mystery, with the most convincing explanation being offered by Washburn:

Bedoya was arrested for no cause that I could ever learn, except that the French consul, Cuberville, had told Benigno that, in case the president should abdicate, [Bedoya] would be the proper man for the succession. There may have been other reasons, but anyone knowing López would regard that as sufficient... A whispered possibility that there might be a change was high treason in López's eyes, and though it was the consul who made it, yet it was enough to awaken the suspicion that the brother and brother-in-law were already providing for the succession. With this, I believe, commenced the first idea of a conspiracy in López's mind.

See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 263.

- 19 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 95–96.
- 20 Testimony of Sánchez, Luque, 27 March 1868, cited in Liliana M. Brezzo, “La Argentina y la organización del Gobierno Provisorio en el Paraguay. La misión de José Roque Pérez,” *Historia Paraguaya* 39 (1999): 283, and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 210–212. Benigno had studied at the Imperial Naval Academy in Rio de Janeiro, a fact that was remembered to his discredit during the worst excesses of 1868.
- 21 Sánchez to López, Luque, 27 March 1868, MHM (A), Colección Gill Aguinaga, carpeta 135, no. 1; and Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 253–258.
- 22 In subsequent months, Sánchez sought to redeem himself in the Marshal's eyes by using his own heavy hand against perceived dissidents and malingerers in Luque and elsewhere, sending several to the firing squad. See Manuel Avila, “El vice-presidente Sánchez fusilando. Espiritu de imitación por miedo,” *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo* 6, no. 52 (1905): 32–38.
- 23 According to Italian consul Chapperon, police functions in Luque during 1868 were partly covered by women. See Fano, “Fiesta en la guerra,” *ABC Color* (Asunción), 4 October 2011.
- 24 See Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 208–209. Amerlan repeats the story, noting with emphasis that López used to enter “the chapel and returned crawling on his knees, beating his breast with his fist, he prostrated himself before the altar, tore his hair and demeaned himself like the most wicked and contrite of sinners.” See *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 120.
- 25 William Oliver, a British subject who had come to Paraguay in 1863 to work as a farmer in partnership with Dr. William Stewart, explained the omnipresence of spies in the country:

To express a doubt of López's success in the war, was sufficient to cause any person's imprisonment; and later on in the war many were lanced for charges of less importance than that. Every time I went into Asunción after war commenced, a league before arriving I was met by a policeman in disguise, who followed me to near the town, where there was another man to relieve the first, and to follow me to the house where I stopped. I knew that all respectable persons, men and women, were spied [upon] incessantly by the police. I have seen the police take away under arrest many inoffensive persons, who I do not believe were capable of speaking a word against the Government. ... The want of confidence amongst natives was well-founded. In Ibicuy [*sic*], a young man who had returned to his house from the army was betrayed by his sister, and was taken away again in irons. Deserters were always shot.

See “Testimony of William Oliver (Asunción, 12 January 1871),” in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19 (25–26).
- 26 This comment had the usual racist connotation and might be better translated as “more Brazilian than the Brazilians.” See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 145–146.
- 27 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 267; Washburn(?), “Chronological Synopsis of the Administration of Marshal Francisco Solano López, second President of Paraguay,” WNL.

- 28 Major James Manlove was one of those enigmatic, nonconformist figures who rarely recommend themselves to the official world. At the time of the evacuation of the capital, many local residents had hastily sold their ducks, chickens, pigs, and even cattle to those inmates at the US legation who intended to stay on at Asunción. With the prospect of foodstuffs getting scarcer by the day, Manlove took it upon himself to care for the cattle. One day in late February, while returning from this duty, he galloped across one of the city plazas, though this had been forbidden by the police, who detained him because of the infraction. While in custody, he acted in a most surly fashion. He failed to salute an army captain, saying in his poor Spanish, that, as a major, he was the one to whom a salute was due. Things went downhill from there, and Washburn extricated him from the predicament only with much difficulty. Within weeks, the Marylander was arrested once again, this time for supposedly breaking into the house of a French friend of the US minister. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 8: 175–176, 186; Washburn to Francisco Fernández, Asunción, 5 March 1868; Manlove to Washburn, Asunción, 5 March 1868 (wherein the major notes, that as a former Confederate, he was not sure that he was entitled to the “protection of the flag of your [the latter word crossed through and replaced with ‘our’] country”); Washburn to Gumercindo Benítez, Asunción, 24 March 1868; Gumercindo Benítez to Washburn, Luque, 29 March 1868; Washburn to Gumercindo Benítez, Asunción, 4 April 1868, all in WNL; *Correspondencia diplomática entre el Gobierno del Paraguay y la Legación de los Estados Unidos de América y el consul de S.M. el Emperador de los Franceses* (Luque, 1868?); *Correspondencia cambiada entre el Ministerio de relaciones exteriores de la república y el señor Charles A. Washburn, ministro residente de los Estados Unidos de América, sobre la conspiración fraguada contra la patria y el Gobierno en combinación con el enemigo; y el atentado de asesinato a la persona del Exmo. Señor Mariscal López por los nacionales y extranjeros* (Luque, 1868); and “Sallie C. Washburn Diary,” entries for 2 and 24 March 1868 (wherein Manlove is upbraided for “always making a fool of himself”), also in WNL.
- 29 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 235.
- 30 See Gumercindo Benítez-Washburn Correspondence, 20 March through 6 August 1868, ANA-CRB I-22, 11, 2, nos. 35–64, and NARA M-128, no. 2.
- 31 Washburn, “Memorandum of a Visit to the Paraguayan Camp in San Fernando, May 1868,” WNL.
- 32 Aveiro claims that Bedoya died not in May, but in the winter months, and not of dysentery, but of a gangrenous leg. See *Memorias militares*, 63. Other sources speak of the former treasurer having been executed still later in the year. See “Testimony of Frederick Skinner, (Asunción, 25 January 1871),” Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19 (138); and Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 1: 320.
- 33 Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 94–95.
- 34 Washburn seems to have despised all the Brazilian leaders. He once referred in print to Admiral Tamandaré (who had obstructed his passage to Asunción earlier in the war) as a “genius of imbecility.” See *History of Paraguay*, 1: 553.
- 35 For his part, Caxias dismissed all talk of his involvement in a conspiracy with Washburn as so much tosh, affirming that had a plot even existed, he would never have participated in it either directly or indirectly. See “A Conspiração do Paraguay,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 14 November 1868, and Caxias’s “declaration” in John LeLong, *Les Républiques de la Plata et la Guerre du Paraguay. Le Brésil* (Paris, 1869), 43–44.
- 36 Burton, who was British consul at the Brazilian port of Santos, used rather skeptical language to sum up the general opinion of his colleagues on Washburn’s refusal to move the US legation: “I hardly think that such a proceeding would have been adopted by Europeans. . . . Asunción might have been attacked at any moment by a squadron of iron-clads, and the Marshal-President of the Republic was to a certain extent answerable for

- the lives of foreign agents accredited to him." See Burton, *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay*, 409.
- 37 Leonardo Castagnino, *Guerra del Paraguay. La triple alianza contra los países del Plata* (Buenos Aires, 2011); Javier Yubi, "Al gran Mariscal," *ABC Color* (Asunción), 24 July 2011.
 - 38 Bliss and Masterman had every reason to be grateful to Washburn, but the latter nonetheless observed that the US minister "did talk most imprudently. Amongst ourselves it was all very well to say what we thought of the war and the character of López; but he used, in his blundering Spanish, to tell things to natives ... which, perfectly right in themselves as mere personal opinions, became treason and conspiracy if the point of view were shifted a little." See Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 245.
 - 39 Maíz, Resquín, Aveiro, and (somewhat more parenthetically) Centurión should probably be included in this group. See, for instance, Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 263–286.
 - 40 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 263–264. If anyone on board the ironclads had really wished to signal friends along the river, they would probably have used flags or hand motions rather than rely on shouted instructions.
 - 41 Strictly speaking, the government had suppressed the Laws of the Indies in Paraguay during the early 1840s, but it seems that the regulations concerning treason, as defined first in the Siete Partidas and then in the Military Ordinances of Charles III, were still in force as part of the reigning code of military justice (Jerry W. Cooney, personal communication, Longview, Washington, 9 April 2010).
 - 42 Regarding Roca's experiences in Paraguay, see Zacarías Rivero to Basilio de Cuellar, Santa Cruz, 17 January 1870, in Antonio Díaz, *Historia política y militar de las repúblicas del Plata* (Montevideo, 1878), 11: 171–176.
 - 43 Inocencia López de Barrios is commonly depicted in unflattering terms as a Renoir woman with a Guaraní accent, who went about barefooted, and who betrayed just a touch of the slattern in her leer. But she was also an honest victim of her brother's wrath. She remained in custody in camp from August until December 1868, and during all that time was under constant threat of torture. Her sentence of death was commuted, it is said, on the same day that the authorities shot her husband, General Barrios. See "Testimony of Inocencia López de Barrios (Asunción, 17 January 1871)," in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19 (83–84, 90). The two López sisters, both of whom survived the war, were ordered into detention at Yhú, an isolated village in the southeast of the country, but were rescued by their mother while en route to that destination, and were hidden away in the hill country of central Paraguay. Regarding Bayon de Libertat, see Fano, *Il Rombo del Cannone Liberale*, 2: 336; Maíz, *Etapas de mi vida*, 64–66; and Cuverville Correspondence (1868) in Kansas University Library, Natalicio González Collection, ms. E222. As for the Portuguese consul, he stood accused of having secretly aided Brazilian prisoners of war; this brought the revocation of his exequatur in July and his arrest shortly thereafter. See Decree of López, San Fernando, 20 July 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 26, no. 9.
 - 44 José del R. Medina to Francisco Fernández, Luque, 30 July 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 25, 26, no. 15; see "List of Accused Prisoners aboard Steamer *Añambay*, (7 August 1868)," in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 215–216.
 - 45 Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 124.
 - 46 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 269–270.
 - 47 The term "tribunals of blood" may appear to suggest a connection to the Black Legend, for that was the name English Protestants used in denouncing the Duke of Alba's sixteenth-century Council of the Troubles in the Netherlands. In point of fact, in describing the events at San Fernando, it was the Paraguayans themselves who first used the term,

and it has by now entered the broader political and cultural discourse in the country. Alcibiades González Delvalle's play "San Fernando," published in Asunción in 2011 but written twenty years earlier, could not be presented in Paraguay at that time because contemporary comparisons with the "bloodletting" of López's day seemed a bit too obvious for the defenders of the Stroessner dictatorship.

- 48 Among Maíz's many published works, one can mention the various editions of his memoirs, *Etapas de mi vida*, as well as *La Virgen de los Milagros* (Asunción, 1883); *Pequeña geografía* (Asunción, 1886); *25 de noviembre en Arroyos y Esteros* (Asunción, 1889); and *Discurso del Pbro. Fidel Maíz. Pronunciado hace 21 años en Piribebuy* (Asunción, 1922). His collected works can be found in Carlos Heyn Schupp, ed., *Escritos del Padre Fidel Maíz, I. Autobiografía y cartas* (Asunción, 2010).
- 49 One anonymous writer, possibly Washburn, observed that it "was whispered that, as Rector of the Theological Seminary, [Maíz] was inculcating the most horrible, dangerous and revolutionary doctrines to his unsuspecting pupils. ... [He was ultimately] convicted and removed from [his] post by a decree, which recited in the vaguest possible language [his] horrid crimes and misdemeanors, concerning which nothing tangible was ever published." These "revolutionary doctrines" were almost certainly the standard European liberalism of the mid-1800s. See "Chronological Synopsis of the Administration of Marshal López," WNL.
- 50 *El Semanario* (Asunción), 1 December 1866.
- 51 Maíz also managed to perform a task that was very dear to the Marshal's heart. At the suggestion of Natalicio Talavera, he was ordered to compose a refutation of the Pope's Bull of 1866, which assigned ecclesiastical authority over the Paraguayan dioceses to the Bishop of Buenos Aires. Maíz's argument, which was reminiscent of the regalist doctrines of an earlier age, would have had the effect of strengthening state control over the church in Paraguay if it had been upheld in peacetime; as it was, during the war, the state held all the power anyway. See Maíz Rebuttal in *El Semanario* (Asunción), 2 February 1867 and Maíz Papers in UCR Juansilvano Godoi Collection, Box 1, no. 26.
- 52 Questions of race and class were historically intertwined in Paraguay, and one could just as easily paint the wartime estrangement that the Guaraní-speaking peasantry felt for the urban elite in ethnic as well as class terms. Von Versen probably put it best when he remarked that the "Guaraníes [*sic*] assisted [in this persecution of the elite] with a disguised but natural glee, hoping [thereby] to witness the complete elimination of those Spaniards who had enslaved them." See *Reisen in Amerika*, 173.
- 53 In a somewhat convoluted speech offered when in his dotage to an audience of admirers, Maíz stressed the desirability of a truly civil society, noting that it was all good and well to disagree when "under the breezes of a beautiful democratic freedom, but sometimes a tempest brings about a [broader] agitation from which surge forth new and impassioned disunions, and drive the ancient and hateful rivalries [like a dagger] into the breast of the Paraguayan family." See Maíz, *Desagravio* (Asunción, 1916), 76–77.
- 54 While never able to admit to remorse, Centurión was clearly vexed about his role at San Fernando, where he had taken notes at some of the most brutal interrogations. Frederick Skinner, one of the British doctors employed by the Paraguayan state, later claimed that the colonel had been a sadistic participant in the worst abuses:

I cannot find language strong enough to express my opinion of him, which is that which all the people in the country have of him. He was one of López's *fiscales*, and his executioner-in-chief. I have repeatedly seen him gloating over tortures and cruelties. They say that he has buried women alive in ant hills, but I cannot vouch for this. He is a great liar, and neither his word nor his oath deserves credit. He is a greater scoundrel than López himself.

See “Declaration of Frederick Skinner, Asunción, 28 January 1871,” in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19 (141). After the war, Centurión evidently wanted to escape both from his country and from his nightmares, and ended up for a number of years in England, where he married a wealthy Cuban pianist, Concepción de Zayas y Hechevarría. He seems to have developed a natural flair for literature during this time, and composed a novel of mystical inclination, the *Viaje nocturno de Gualberto o reflexiones de un ausente*, the text of which seemed to beg sympathy and pardon from those who had never found it necessary to compromise their values under the pressure of orders. Centurión thought it convenient, perhaps even appropriate, to publish the work pseudonymously in a foreign city—New York, in 1877. Few Paraguayans ever read it. One year later, the colonel returned to Paraguay, where he found many among his countrymen still unwilling to shake his hand. He devoted himself thereafter to legal and diplomatic work, contributed to the *Revista del Ateneo Paraguayo*, and he eventually wrote the memoirs for which he is principally remembered today. In 1890, when an aspirant for a Paraguayan consular appointment at Montevideo publicly claimed that the colonel had attended the torture and execution of Uruguayan suspects at San Fernando, Centurión reacted swiftly, soliciting letters of support from a long list of veterans who swore that he had been nowhere near the events described. See *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 3: 258–262. Colonel Centurión died in 1902.

- 55 Aveiro was a complex figure, well-educated and loyal, but also cunning, spiteful, and perhaps a bit cruel. He left a brief but useful account of his experiences during the war in which he admits, among other things, that he personally flogged the Marshal’s mother, for “such had been the orders.” See *Memorias militares*, 108. In his own memoirs, which went missing for several generations and which were only recently rediscovered, Falcón took a far more circumspect—if hypocritical—view of the events at San Fernando, casting every ounce of blame on López:

Hundreds of distinguished men, priests, and women were taken from the capital to that spot and there sacrificed to the whim or dream that [López had] conceived of a conspiracy against his life; there occurred the most horrendous torments against innocent persons who did not even know the cause of their torture. They died as martyrs crying out their innocence and they heard nothing but the noise of fetters, chains, lashings, screams, and cries for mercy.

See Falcón, *Escritos históricos*, 95. One would presume that Falcón was an unwilling spectator at these terrible events, and that, in accusing the Marshal, he was at least partly absolving himself for having done so little to prevent the torture. In fact, he acted as one of the *fiscales* appointed to conduct the interrogation of, among others, Masterman, and that, together with Maíz, he directly oversaw the Englishman’s torture (though Maíz denied any knowledge of Masterman in his 1889 letter to Zeballos). See Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 256–258, and “The Atrocities of López,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 15 May 1869.

- 56 In late December, with the tribunals of San Fernando now a thing of the past, the British architect Alonzo Taylor happened to meet Madame Lynch and the Marshal when the latter rode past the *Guardia* at Lomas Valentinas. Taylor had been a prisoner since July and had frequently been tortured, as had many foreigners who had worked for the Paraguayan government:

We were ordered to stand in a row, and he came up to us and asked, “are you all prisoners?” We replied, “Yes,” and then Mr. Treuenfeld [the telegraphist] appealed to His Excellency, who asked him why he was there. Mr. Treuenfeld said he did not know, and the President told him he was at liberty, and might retire. I then approached, and said I should be grateful for the same mercy. López asked me who I was, and affected great surprise when he heard my name, and said, “What do you

do here? You are at liberty.” Then the other prisoners, ten in number, came up and received the same answer.

See “Taylor Narrative,” in Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 330.

- 57 Save perhaps for a truncated excerpt, the written transcripts of the San Fernando trials appear not to have survived. Scholars, however, can consult some of the earlier reports assembled at Luque to get an idea of the evidence to which the fiscales had access. See Miscellaneous testimonies, Luque, 8 May–2 June 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 24, 46; “Plano y organización de la conspiración tramada en el Paraguay, 1866 [sic],” BNA-CJO, Manuel Avila, “Apuntes sobre la conspiración de 1868. Pequeña contribución a la historia de la guerra con la Triple Alianza y de la tiranía de López,” *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo* 2, no. 17 (1899): 215–231, and 3, no. 23 (1900): 3–30; and more generally, Godoi, *Documentos históricos*, 131–145. Dr. William Stewart maintained that Marshal López was well informed about the proceedings at San Fernando, and also of all the tortures. “At table he told us that Mr. So-and-So begged to be shot, but that Father Maíz would reply ‘have no fear for that, when we have done with you, we will shoot you.’” See “Testimony of Stewart,” WNL. Stewart himself was an interesting witness to all these events. A favorite among the foreigners who frequented Madame Lynch’s “salon,” he always exhibited an air of tranquil superiority, except when the Marshal’s name was mentioned; on such occasions, he posed as a model of obsequiousness, and yet always managed to seem manly (unlike Wisner, whose effeminacy was noted by all).
- 58 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 328.
- 59 Father Maíz represents a case in point. After visiting Rome in the 1870s to help rectify Paraguay’s relations with the Vatican, he returned to Arroyos y Esteros and quietly administered the parish school. He felt some guilt for his past brush with power, and in several of his final letters about the war, he laid aside the topic of his own conduct to focus on the sacrifices made by all the Paraguayan chaplains. See, for example, Maíz to O’Leary, Arroyos y Esteros, 24 February 1915, BNA-CO. Maíz died in 1920, a few days short of his ninety-second birthday.
- 60 Toward the end of his life, Maíz justified his behavior with words similar to those uttered by the various petty tyrants tried at Nuremberg in the late 1940s. “In truth,” he remarked, “I obeyed the undeniable orders of the first magistrate of the Republic ... keeping strictly to the law and all the legal precedents [knowing that if] the law was rigid, cruel, and perhaps barbarous, I could not depart from its letter and spirit. ... I have nothing to repent.” See Maíz, *Desagravio*, 23–24.
- 61 Masterman evinced considerable sympathy for the soldiers delegated to guard him, brutal though they were, for they were also mere children caught in terrible circumstances:
- Lying awake at night, I have heard the younger ones, perhaps ten or twelve years of age, crying bitterly, from terror at being left alone in the dark, gloomy vault, or from cold or hunger. Once I saw a chubby flaxen-haired boy, holding his musket like a pole before him, his tears running down his cheeks, trying to weep silently, but a big sob shook him at intervals. I asked him in a whisper what was the matter. “I want to go home to my mother,” he whimpered most unheroically, “and I am afraid of the dark.” Poor little fellow, I thought, you are even more miserable than I.
- See *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 168.
- 62 Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 127.
- 63 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 1: 510. The *cepo uruguaiana* was supposedly used by soldiers of the Uruguayan army against Paraguayan prisoners during the 1865 siege of Uruguaiana. For reasons unclear, the same torture was sometimes referred to in the documentation as the *cepo colombiano*.

- 64 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 269–271; Alonzo Taylor saw doña Juliana on many occasions over the months of her captivity, and conceived a great pity for her after learning that she had been through the cepo on six separate occasions: “She was very anxious to know if a large black mark she had over one of her eyes would disappear or if it would disfigure her for life ... [and] when I saw her led out to execution on the 16th or 17th of December, the mark was still there.” See “Taylor Narrative” in Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 327.
- 65 “Correspondencia (Buenos Aires, 28 May 1868),” in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 June 1868.
- 66 Matías Goiburú, another one of the Marshal’s fiscales at San Fernando, left a short account of the sufferings of Juliana Ynsfrán. He blamed López for all her misfortune. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 241.
- 67 There is a tendency in the anti-Lopista literature to lump together all of the Marshal’s victims, as if their common fate somehow reduced their individuality to useless detail; in truth, they were very different from each other and had different talents, different ambitions, and different weaknesses. Berges was perhaps the only one of the Marshal’s ministers who could think “outside the box”. The minister’s administration of the port of Corrientes in 1865 offered an appropriate example, since it wedded a carefully constructed notion of Correntino “autonomy” to the gloved use of Paraguayan force in a way that actually gained the Asunción government some friends. See Olinda Massare de Kostianovsky, *José Berges. Malogrado estadista y diplomático* (Asunción, nd), 12–17. The former foreign minister’s “defense” at San Fernando, such as it is, can be consulted in ANA-CRB I-30, 27, 96 [August (?) 1868].
- 68 In one of his many (and oft-times contradictory) letters on the subject of the tribunals, Father Maíz claimed that López generally penciled an “x” against the names of those who were to be found guilty and executed. See Maíz to Zeballos, Arroyos y Esteros, 7 July 1889, AHM (A)-CZ, carpeta 122. Though this does not seem out of keeping with the Marshal’s temper, it nonetheless appears overstated, since he usually kept his distance from the inquisitions. The fiscales, of course, could not rely on his absenting himself if they wished to remain safe. Amerlan tells the story of one judge who earned himself four bullets to the brain when the Marshal learned that he had given Benigno a glass of water. See *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 128–129.
- 69 Aveiro maintained that the ex-foreign minister’s distempers were largely a sham. See *Memorias militares*, 64. Berges faced the cepo uruguiana various times before his execution. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 81.
- 70 Barrios was a stiff, rather limited officer who had acted as his future brother-in-law’s procurer during the 1850s and later commanded the invasion forces in Mato Grosso in 1864. See “Sumario instruido contra el Ministro de Guerra y Marina, General de división ciudadano Vicente Barrios, sobre el suicidio que ha intentado de perpetrar degollándose con una navaja de barba el día 12 de agosto [de 1868],” ANA-SH 355, no. 9; Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 68–69; and “Informes del general don Bernardino Caballero, ex-presidente de la república (Asunción, 1888),” MHM (A)-CZ carpeta 131.
- 71 In Paraguay, the foreign engineers had displayed the dull and self-conscious integrity of company men. Seeing their Paraguayan underlings invariably as “wogs,” the engineers treated them accordingly and were little respected for it, however much they were obeyed. On the other hand, local masters, if anything, acted with even greater contempt for their subordinates. See Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 54–55, and Pla, *The British in Paraguay*.
- 72 Though still detained as a suspected enemy agent, von Versen had enjoyed the freedom of the Paraguayan camp in San Fernando until mid-July when Resquín’s men came to formally arraign him on conspiracy charges. He was kept in a sort of cage for a time but

- was not subjected to the cepo. Later, once the Paraguayan camp had moved to Pikysry, he was bound day and night together with various Allied prisoners of war. He was later released and then rearrested once again. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 151–152, 246, 352–353; 10: 25–26; and von Versen, *Reisen in Amerika*, 187–196.
- 73 Magnus Mörner, *Algunas cartas del naturalista sueco Eberhard Munck af Rosenchöld escritas durante su estadía en el Paraguay, 1843–1868* (Stockholm, 1956), 5; Visconde de Taunay, *Cartas da Campanha. A Cordilheira. Agonia de Lopez (1869–1870)* (São Paulo, 1921), 42.
 - 74 Centurión referred to the proceedings as a “hellish vortex” that brought horror to everyone involved. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 155–156.
 - 75 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-Fields of Paraguay*, xi, 128. Regarding the skepticism of the foreign naval officers, see *The Times* (London), 11 December 1868.
 - 76 The general, who had done such fine work as a gunner at Redención Island and elsewhere, managed to run afoul of the Marshal in a manner not entirely clear. Perhaps he was accused as an accomplice in the conspiracy; in any case, he disappeared one day and was later bayoneted to death. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 266. Briguez, it seems, had been an intimate friend of Benigno López and therein lies, almost certainly, the explanation of his fate. In addition to his skills as a gunner, the general was known as a loving foster father to his many nephews and nieces whose own parents had died earlier in the war. See Decoud, *La masacre de Concepción*, 174–175.
 - 77 In his memoirs, Washburn evidently felt no regret for his various displays of disrespect towards López, seemingly thinking that, as representative of a free country, he should be free to act any way he wished: “It may not have been diplomatic, and certainly was not courtier-like, but I took a sort of malicious pleasure, when everyone else in the room was standing, to sit in a conspicuous place, indifferent to whether the President were standing or not,” an offense that was “laid up against me, to be brought up years afterwards.” See *History of Paraguay*, 2: 104.
 - 78 Many well-to-do people, mostly foreigners, had taken advantage of his generosity—or self-absorption—to turn their cash over to him in 1868, and there are many divergent tales of what finally happened to all the money and jewels. See, for example, “Los misterios del Paraguay,” *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 23–24 December 1868. One curious document at the Washburn-Norlands Library in Maine is a promissory note James Manlove, dated 13 August 1868, to pay Washburn the sum of two hundred fifty dollars in gold, with interest. This was only days before the major was shot.
 - 79 Sallie Washburn emerges from the documentation as a smug, rather bigoted figure, boastful of her material advantages and the social position she enjoyed through her husband’s status as US minister. The diplomatic personnel who made her acquaintance tolerated rather than liked her. She appears to have had a nervous breakdown en route to Buenos Aires, and it is hard to know what to make of her controversial assertion given her state of mind. See “Testimony of Commander W.A. Kirkland (New York, 28 October 1869)” in the *Paraguayan Investigation*, 215; In a letter to General Webb later cited in a note to Washburn’s successor as US minister to Asunción, her husband amplified on her mental state, observing that

while the danger lasted and we did not know but I should be arrested, tortured to death or shot, and she sent on foot to the Cordilleras, she kept up bravely. But the danger passed and she has completely broken down. Visions of imprisonment fettered and stripes for your humble servant disturb and haunt her; and her doctor tells me today she must keep entirely quiet and not go out for weeks. . . . What she most needs is quiet together with sleep undisturbed by horrid visions of López and torture.

- See Webb to Martin F. McMahon, Rio de Janeiro (?), 6 October 1868, and Washburn to Israel Washburn, Buenos Aires, 12 October 1868, both in WNL.
- 80 Sallie Washburn may have let slip a dangerous secret, or, more likely, she was deluding herself in thinking she knew more than she did. Months later, she denied that she had said any such thing, testifying before Congress that "I could not have said that there was a plan or a conspiracy because I did not then believe it; but I may have said that at one time we may have supposed there was, because of the arrest of people. ... I do not remember definitely what occurred on the voyage, as I was very nervous and suffered a great deal." See "Testimony of Mrs. Washburn (New York, 29 October 1869)," in the *Paraguayan Investigation*, 217. Given the rancor that developed between her husband and the US naval officers on the South American station, it is possible that her naval interlocutor, Captain William A. Kirkland, heard her comment the way he wanted to and interpreted it in such a way as to embarrass the Washburn family. For his part, the former minister denied that his wife could have disclosed a conspiracy, for no one who "had escaped from the hands of López believes there had been one." See Washburn letter, New York, 16 November 1869, in *New York Daily Tribune*, 17 November 1869.
 - 81 Distinct from his predecessor Emile Laurent-Cochelet, French consul Paul Cuverville had never warmed to the New Englander and had little problem believing the worst of him. See Cuverville to French Foreign Minister, Luque, 23 October 1868, in Capdevila, *Une Guerre Totale*, 456–457. The Frenchman's suspicions, which in every detail reflected the official attitude of the Marshal's government, were widely credited in a Metropolitan France still resentful of the US's role in the Mexican fiasco. One result, perhaps, was the reception accorded the subsidized publication of a pamphlet entitled *M. Washburn et la Conspiration Paraguayenne. Une question du droit des gens* (Paris, 1868). This work contrived to implicate many Paraguayans and resident foreigners in the 1868 conspiracy. See Gregorio Benites to Benjamin Poucel, Paris, 18 December 1868, BNA-CO Benites Papers, which discusses monies paid out for this project.
 - 82 Originally published as a series in *El Semanario*, this report was later published in multiple copies as *Historia secreta de la misión del ciudadano norte-americano Charles A. Washburn cerca del gobierno de la República del Paraguay* (Luque?, 1868). Even those who believe in a conspiracy can recognize the unmistakable hand of coercion in this work. Bliss spent three months composing it, calculating that the longer he stayed at the task, the greater the possibility of his rescue by the Allied army. He was daily bullied throughout this time by Father Maíz, who, though he never tortured the North American, warned that things might go badly for him if he failed to write in the prescribed way. In the end, the "pamphlet" reached 323 pages, and included a fictitious biography of Washburn and as many poems and "ridiculous old jokes" as Bliss could recall ("believing that this publication would inevitably fall into the hands of the Allies and be interpreted by them correctly, I resolved to make it the medium of informing them and all the world in regard to the atrocities committed by President López").
 - 83 "Testimony of Rear-Admiral C.H. Davis (New York, 27 October 1869)," and "Testimony of Commander W.A. Kirkland (New York, 28 October 1869)" in *Paraguayan Investigation*, 186–209. Thomas Q. Leckron, a captain's clerk aboard the *Wasp* at the time of Bliss's release, chanced to talk with the reluctant author of the *Historia secreta* and quoted him as saying that he had never been mistreated, save that "he could not go any distance from his quarters without being accompanied by a Paraguayan soldier." See Leckron to W.A. Kirkland, Montevideo, 18 May 1869, in *Paraguayan Investigation*, 200–201. The ship's doctor aboard the same vessel testified that neither Masterman nor Bliss showed any sign of torture. See "Testimony of Marius Duvall (New York, 25 October 1869)," in *Paraguayan Investigation*, 166–173. With this kind of testimony and counter-testimony, we can only reiterate the observation of Harris G. Warren that someone "certainly was lying." But who? See Warren, *Paraguay. An Informal History*, 257.

- 84 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 407.
- 85 As usual, there is considerable debate as to how many people were executed as a result of these various proceedings. General Resquin's diary, retrieved by the Allies after the Lomas Valentinas campaign, included summary dispositions on the various cases. These aptly titled "Tablas de Sangre" reported 432 individuals shot (*pasados por las armas*), five bayoneted, one lanced; 167 died in captivity; 216 taken out to work in the trenches; two (Bliss and Masterman) expelled from Paraguayan territory; one sent to the capital; and ten released. Of those shot, 289 were Paraguayans, 117 foreigners, and twenty-six listed without designation of national identity (the dispositions included several Correntinos, one Mexican, one Swiss, and one Russian). See *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 20 February 1869; *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 February 1869; and A. Rebaudi, *Guerra del Paraguay. Un episodio. "¡Vencer o morir!"* (Tucumán, 1920), 97–104.
- 86 In his unpublished (and unedited) *Historia del Paraguay*, now housed in the Nettie Lee Benson Library at the University of Texas, Austin, Dr. William Stewart offered an explanation of the Marshal's psychology that roughly coincided with the opinion expressed by Washburn:

López became a victim of a limitless *amour-propre* that prevented him from giving proper weight to the happy perspectives that his position afforded him. Suspicious and taciturn, his life was surrounded by a dense shadow [and] to escape from society, the official sphere became the one thing that absorbed his attention. ... We took every occasion to awake in him noble aspirations of political greatness [that could be manifested in] the moral and material progress [of his country], but all was in vain. The efforts of the physician were arrested by opposing influences that developed into neurosis, which was the central element in my diagnosis.

11 | BLEEDING, DROP BY DROP

- 1 Despite the disorder, certain communities in the interior still managed to send herds of cattle to the army even into September. We see, for example, in the first week of the month, the following figures for cattle received at the camps at Pikysyry: 217 head from Altos; 122 from Salvador; 400 from Rosario; 928 from San Pedro; 370 from Villarrica; 70 from Curuguaty; and 130 from Paraguari. Another one thousand head of cattle (and a few horses) arrived later in the month from Caazapá, Quiindy, San Estanislao, and once again from Rosario. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 300, 342.
- 2 Rural communities used their dwindling supplies of paper to copy effusive statements of loyalty. These letters, which attested to a common willingness to sacrifice "the last drop of blood" for the national cause, were apparently signed by every adult resident that the *jefe político* could find—and affirmed by many more who could not write. Invariably, the treason of Berges and others received a florid censure as utterly unbecoming of loyal Paraguayans. See Statement of Loyalty of Citizens of Itauguá, 27 July 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 3, no. 8; of Limpio, 5 August 1868, UCR-JSG box 15, no. 13; and of San José de los Arroyos, 9 August 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 13, no. 1.
- 3 "Parte oficial, Humaitá, 30 August 1868," in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 16 September 1868; Gelly y Obes to Mitre, Humaitá, 30 August 1868," in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 2 September 1868; and Tasso Fragoso, *História de Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguay*, 4: 5–14.
- 4 *American Annual Cyclopedia of and Register of Important Events of the Year 1868* (New York, 1871), 8: 613 (which apparently used the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* as its primary source); and, more generally, Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguay*, 4: 14–18.

- 5 Bruguez had been executed on 26 August, the Marshal's last full day at San Fernando. The general died together with eighteen other individuals, the majority of them soldiers or clerics. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 271–272.
- 6 Cerqueira probably exaggerated the number of victims, but there remains little doubt that there were many. See *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 308–309. So suddenly had the Paraguayans departed from San Fernando that the officer in charge of one of the outlying posts came into camp to report as usual, only to find the Allies in possession of the site. See Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 188.
- 7 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 101–103.
- 8 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 173.
- 9 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 279.
- 10 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 280; Garmendia, *Recuerdo de la guerra del Paraguay. Segunda parte. Campaña de Pikyciri* (Buenos Aires, 1890), 243–245
- 11 Concerning supplies of cattle and foodstuffs available to the army at this time, see Juan Pedrueza to Colector General, Concepción, 8 October 1868, ANA-NE 2494; Pascual Melgarejo to Colector General, Barrero Grande, 27 October 1868, ANA-NE 2893; and especially List of Livestock Holdings, Estancia Gazory, 29 October 1868, ANA-CRB I-30. 14, 77, no.1 (which lists 15,088 head of cattle, mostly confiscated from ranches in Concepción and San Pedro).
- 12 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 281.
- 13 Bengoechea Rolón, *Humaitá*, 194.
- 14 The desultory Paraguayan resistance in the Misiones represents one of the many untold chapters of the Triple Alliance War. Allied units had penetrated the area both from Corrientes and from the east relatively early in the conflict but never in sufficient numbers to entirely dislodge the Paraguayans even from the south bank of the Alto Paraná. The Marshal had not bothered to reinforce the little garrisons he maintained in this quarter and this left the Misiones “front” a minor business—except to the men who fought and died there. Francisco Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 15 December 1866, ANA-NE 1737; Bareiro to War Minister, Asunción, 11 April 1867, ANA-NE 785; See Francisco Fernández to War Minister, Asunción, 13 June 1867, ANA-SH 352, no. 1; Venancio López to López, Asunción, 22 January 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 16, no. 1; Gabriel Sosa to War Minister, Campichuelo, 6 July 1867, ANA-NE 763; Romualdo Prieto to Garrison Commander, Encarnación, 26 August 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 14, 129; Reports of Romualdo Prieto to War Minister, Encarnación, 24 October 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 14, 48, no. 1; Juan José Venegas to Garrison Commander at Encarnación, Santa Rosa, 15 November 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 4, no. 4; and Ciriaco Gauto to Garrison Commander at Josemi de la Villa Encarnación, Posta en Atingues, 16 November 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 4, no. 5.
- 15 Exploratory parties went as far downriver as Albuquerque in late September 1868 and found no Paraguayans. See “Important from Brazil,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 10 October 1868.
- 16 Regarding the siege at Timbó, see “Chronique,” *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 August 1868; “La toma de Timbó,” *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 25 August 1868; “The War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 26 August 1868; and “Important [News] from the Seat of War,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 1 September 1868.
- 17 “Teatro de guerra,” *La Patria* (Buenos Aires), 28 August 1868.
- 18 *American Annual Cyclopedia* 1868, 8: 613. Since a team of six horses daily ate as much as twenty men, the care and feeding of the animals had to be a major concern for Caxias or any other commander. He could not afford to give any less attention to this matter than to the care and supply of his troops.

- 19 "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 26 August 1868.
- 20 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 281–282.
- 21 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 311–312.
- 22 Washburn to Caminos, Asunción, 2 September 1868, NARA, M-126, no. 2.
- 23 Caminos to Washburn, Luque, 4 September 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 27, 58, and another missive written on the same day, again from Caminos to Washburn, ANA-CRB I-22, 11, 2, no. 27. The WNL boasts an incomplete list of the silver held in Washburn's legation for various British engineers. The quantities involved were substantial, with Thompson's hoard, for instance, amounting to over a thousand pesos in several bags.
- 24 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 416–417.
- 25 Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 250.
- 26 Washburn's account of the interview between López and Kirkland has the latter threatening the Marshal with dire consequences if he did anything to harm the US minister: "I advise you not to touch that man, for if you do, the United States will hunt you through Europe [and] will have your head sure." See *History of Paraguay*, 2: 438. This particular braggadocio, which does not seem atypical for North American naval men at the time, was later enlarged upon by Captain Kirkland in a letter to his superior that was read into the Congressional record. See W.A. Kirkland to Admiral C.H. Davis, Montevideo, 28 September 1868, in *Paraguayan Investigation*, 195.
- 27 This letter was clearly meant to convey the fact that no missive composed in the Paraguayan camp could be treated as containing truthful information. Porter Bliss to Henry Bliss, Esq., Paraguay, 11 September 1868, WNL. Bliss's brother Asher, in a letter to the *Fredonia Censor* in early December, noted the existence of this absurd letter, correctly giving it the interpretation intended by his imprisoned brother. See *New York Times*, 4 December 1868.
- 28 On page 411 of *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, Burton remarked that the material that Washburn put before the public eye in Buenos Aires would have filled 240 pages. *The Standard* (Buenos Aires) received access to this collection of reports and correspondence, and proceeded to publish the whole compilation in a supplementary edition of 26 September 1868. The ex-minister also finished a valedictory dispatch for Secretary Seward (Buenos Aires, 24 September 1868), found in NARA, M-128, no. 2 (with portions repeated in the 17 November 1868 issue of the *New York Tribune*). But perhaps the most interesting, or at least the most touching, of the letters he composed at this time was a short note to his eldest brother that expressed relief at finally being out of the Marshal's clutches, noting that Sallie had by now completely broken down ("For a long time she could not sleep without horrid visions of prisons and fetters"). See Washburn to Israel Washburn, Buenos Aires, 12 October 1868, WNL.
- 29 The Congressional hearings, which Charles Ames Washburn had insisted on as a way to clear his name, produced no clear-cut findings or recommendations. The political influence of Washburn's brother may have prevented the former minister from being officially reprimanded. See "Interview between Secretary Fish and General McMahon," *New York Herald*, 29 October 1869.
- 30 The weaker that Paraguay became, the more European newspapers depicted it as a "gallant little nation." Though the struggle with the Triple Alliance never really made the headlines on the continent, the coverage that did appear tended to be more sympathetic to the Paraguayan people in 1867–1868 (though not especially sympathetic to López). See Juan Carlos Herken Krauer and María Isabel Giménez de Herken, *Gran Bretaña y la guerra de la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 1982). The attention the European press gave to the war was in any case limited; in a political setting defined by growing tensions between Bonapartist France and Hohenzollern Prussia, the affairs of the faraway South

- American states seemed of minimal significance at the time. See Gregorio Benítez to "Amigo Lacalle," Paris, 28 September 1868, BNA-CJO, Benítez Papers, Copiador de cartas. For his part, the Argentine jurist Juan Bautista Alberdi, an opponent of the war living in a self-imposed French exile, welcomed the rumors of a domestic insurrection in Paraguay, evidently hoping that this would at last bring peace to that benighted country. See Alberdi to Benítez, Caen, 1 September 1868, Museo Histórico Nacional (Buenos Aires), doc. 3935.
- 31 Elizalde was married to a Brazilian, and the longer the war lasted, the more often this fact was thrown in his face. See Fano, *Il Rombo del Cannone Liberale*, 2: 366–371, and F.J. McLynn, "The Argentine Presidential Election of 1868," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 11, no. 2 (1979): 303–323.
 - 32 de Marco, *Bartolomé Mitre. Biografía*, 355–357; Roberto Cortés-Conde, *Dinero, deuda y crisis. Evolución fiscal y monetaria en la Argentina, 1862–1890* (Buenos Aires, 1989), 17–77; and Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, whose diary entry for 16 November 1868 goes into great detail on the irregularity of pay and the rancor this engendered (see 329–330). An editorial cartoon in *El Mosquito* (Buenos Aires), 4 June 1868, depicts Mitre in a nightcap being ejected from the bed of a symbolic Argentina: "You have replaced me with another, señora, and now you expect me to keep quiet?" "What do you care?" she retorts, and, pointing down to a baby marked "the war in Paraguay," she continues: "Isn't it enough that you have left me with this ugly and ravenous child?"
 - 33 F.J. McLynn, "The Corrientes Crisis of 1868," *North Dakota Quarterly* 47, no. 3 (1979): 45–58, and Dardo Ramírez Braschi, *Evaristo López. Un gobernador federal* (Corrientes, 1997).
 - 34 Though born in the province of San Juan, Sarmiento was always at pains to convince others to disregard his provincial roots. See Leopoldo Lugones, *Historia de Sarmiento* (Buenos Aires, 1931); Natalio Botana, *Los nombres del poder. Domingo Faustino Sarmiento. Una aventura republicana* (Buenos Aires, 1996); and Tulio Halperín Donghi et al, *Sarmiento. Author of a Nation* (Berkeley, 1994).
 - 35 Sarmiento to Editors, Boston, 3 June 1868, in *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 6 June 1868.
 - 36 Sarmiento's willingness to stand by Brazil, at least for the purposes of finishing with López, drew much criticism from his supporters, but, in truth, he had little choice. See "La gran traición del sr. Sarmiento a su partido," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 31 October 1868.
 - 37 Garmendia, *Recuerdo de la guerra del Paraguay. Segunda parte. Campaña de Pikyciri* (Buenos Aires, 1890), 229.
 - 38 "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 24 September 1868. See also Percy Burrell and Henry Valpy to Interim War Minister, Surubiy, 7 August 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 22, 76 no. 2.
 - 39 Even some Paraguayan musical instruments fell into Allied hands. See *Boletim do Exército* (Villa Franca, 13 September 1868), in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 27 September 1868; "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 24 September 1868; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 9: 332.
 - 40 *Boletim do Exército* (Estancia do Surubiy, 26 September 1868), BNRJ.
 - 41 "The War in the North." *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 7 October 1868; "Correspondencia de Palmas (28 September 1868)," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro) 14 October 1868; Corselli, *La Guerra Americana*, 475.
 - 42 "Correspondencia da Esquadra, 28 September 1868," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 October 1868.
 - 43 The Paraguayans lost five officers and 125 men killed at Surubiy, together with one battle standard, several dozen horses, and a few muskets and sabers. A small number of Paraguayans fell prisoner. The Brazilians lost twelve officers killed and twenty-six wounded,

- along with seventy-eight soldiers killed and 178 wounded, for a total of 292 men lost, not counting those few who went missing. See Garmendia, *Campanha de Pikyciri*, 269–270.
- 44 Garmendia, *Campanha de Pikyciri*, 270. Cerqueira noted that many soldiers in the field shared the contempt that Caxias had expressed for the 5th Infantry, and had rechristened the unit with a contemptuous nickname, “the runner.” See *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 262.
- 45 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 283.
- 46 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 283–284. Provisions continued to be stockpiled within the Paraguayan lines for a time, and even as late as early December, small herds of cattle were brought to the camp from the interior villages. See, for instance, Pedro Pablo Melgarejo to War Minister, Ququyo, 5 December 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 11, 67.
- 47 Carlos Twite to Eusebio González, San Juan Nepomuceno, 27 September 1867, ANA-NE 2483; Twite to War Minister, Minas de Azufre (Valenzuela), 18 January 1868, ANA-NE 2488; Gelly y Obes to Colonel Alvaro J. Alsogaray, January 1868, MHM (A), Colección Zeballos, carpeta 149, no. 29; Twite to War Minister, Valenzuela, 27 September 1868, ANA-NE 2495; The real problem at Valenzuela was transport, not production. The same was generally true for the foundry at Ybycuí, which even at this late date continued to produce cannonballs, bullets, hammers, lances, leg-irons, grenades, and replacement parts for the remaining Paraguayan steamers. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 60–61.
- 48 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 285–286; Visconde de Maracajú, *Campanha do Paraguay (1867 e 1868)*, 133–134; Frota, *Diário Pessoal do Almirante Visconde de Inhaúma*, 240–241 (entries for 30 September and 1–3 October 1868).
- 49 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 9–12.
- 50 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 286–287.
- 51 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 52–57; Corbelli, *La Guerra Americana*, 467–468.
- 52 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 72–74; the *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 20 October 1868, speaks of the incidence of cholera, previously limited to a dozen cases monthly, having lately expanded to three times that number, and it appeared that the disease had spread from the front to Montevideo aboard one of the merchant ships returning from upriver. See also “Chronique,” *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 17 October 1868.
- 53 Report of Caxias, Asunción, 14 January 1869, in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 27 January 1869.
- 54 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 282–284.
- 55 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 189–191.
- 56 Garmendia, *Campanha de Pikyciri*, 273.
- 57 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 107–108.
- 58 Loren Scott Patterson, “The War of the Triple Alliance: Paraguayan Offensive Phase—A Military History” (Ph.D dissertation, Georgetown University, 1975); Juan Beverina, *La guerra del Paraguay (1865–1870): Resúmen histórico* (Buenos Aires, 1973).
- 59 The extension of these works eventually amounted to nearly ten thousand yards, not counting the trench line prepared around the batteries at Angostura. See Garmendia, *Campanha de Pikyciri*, 288. Concerning the mobile reserve, see *Boletim do Exército*, (Surubi-hy, 27 October 1868), BNRJ.
- 60 The Italian naval officers made no secret of the favor they showed the Paraguayan cause, a partiality that was sometimes shared, though in more ambiguous terms, by their French, British, and North American counterparts. See Manfredi to Count Joannini, Montevideo, 28 November 1868, Archivio Storico Ministero della Marina (Rome) [as extracted by Marco Fano].

- 61 On at least one occasion, the Brazilian ironclads fired at the Angostura batteries over the bows of the Italian steamer, a serious breach in the understanding with the neutral powers. As Colonel Thompson noted, the “English gunboat was the only one they respected.” See *The War in Paraguay*, 291. See also Luis Caminos to Gregorio Benítez, Pikysyry, 9 November 1868, ANA CRB I-30, 22, 58, no. 1. Thanks to this perceived influence, the HMS *Beacon* did manage to take away seventeen British subjects at this time, Dr. Fox and sixteen women and children. See John T. Comerford, “Journal of her Majesty’s ship *Beacon* (1868–1871),” *Coleção Privada Michel Haguénauer* (Rio de Janeiro).
- 62 In addition to the women and children mentioned (as well as a baker, a butcher, a bricklayer, and several unemployed sailors) the Italian officers also secured the liberty of three individuals captured at the beginning of the war while serving aboard the Argentine warship *25 de Mayo*. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 65, 165, and “La quistione delle prigioniere,” *La Nazione Italiana* (Buenos Aires), 22 December 1868. A partial list of monies sent out of the country with the Italians can be found in Circular del Gobierno, Luque, 2 December 1868, ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 14, no. 6.
- 63 The Libertat conspiracy trial is one of the few for which ample documentation exists. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 64–65, 67–68, 71, 74–75, 77–78, 80, 84–85, 88, 90–91, 94, 100–101, 103–104, 109, 112, 115–116; Cuerville Correspondence (1868), Kansas University Library, Natalicio González Collection, ms. E222; and French Consular Documentation (November–December 1868), ANA CRB I-30, 11, 29, nos. 67–79.
- 64 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 290.
- 65 Washburn put a value on these monies of between five and six thousand dollars (and this figure did not count the silver of other persons left in the US charge). See Washburn to Martin McMahon, Buenos Aires (?), 11 November 1868, WNL. After the war, Madame Lynch embarked on a complex and ultimately fruitless lawsuit to regain the fortune she deposited with the Stewarts. See Cecilio Báez, “Los grandes despojos,” *El Orden* (Asunción), 22 December 1923. The legal documentation on the Lynch lawsuit—a voluminous mass—can be found in the Scottish Record Office, CS244/543/8–9; 12; 19; 25; 26; 28; and 247/3230–3231.
- 66 “Chronique,” *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 12 December 1868.
- 67 Tasso Fragoso, *História de la Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 59–60.
- 68 Official Paraguayan sources remain nearly mute on this second bombardment of Asunción, and scholars have mostly depended on Brazilian reports. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 193–194.
- 69 Many of the Marshal’s subordinates had been shot for less, but the obsequious Caminos survived once again. This was no small feat; as Burton snidely observes, Caminos played the same disastrous role for Paraguay that General Emmanuel de Grouchy did for France at Waterloo. See *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 428.
- 70 “The War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 8 December 1868.
- 71 The US minister to Rio de Janeiro strongly advised McMahon not to bother assuming his duties in Paraguay before receiving the Marshal’s assurances about Bliss and Masterman. McMahon ignored this advice. See J. Watson Webb to General Martin T. McMahon, Boa Viagem, 23 October 1868, WNL; Mora and Cooney, *Paraguay and the United States*, 30–31.
- 72 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 126–127; “Testimony of Dr. William Stewart,” WNL.
- 73 Even in his public statements Marshal López’s tone had of late taken on a more religious character, as, for example, in a proclamation of mid-October in which he noted that the Lord “never despises the humble prayer to assist our arms.” See Proclamation of López, Pikysyry, 16 October 1868, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 15 November 1868.

- 74 This assertion was palpably untrue, for the Marshal had only to lift his finger to cancel a meeting of the tribunal. Bliss and Masterman seem to have undergone some fearful handling during the three months of their confinement (though not all testimony endorses their claim of mistreatment). Masterman asserted that the Paraguayans had routinely tortured him in the cepo and singled out for particular condemnation those clerical fiscales (Maíz he thought merely “terrible,” while Román presented “an admirable study for Torquemada.”) See *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 250–309.
- 75 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 291.
- 76 Dr. Stewart claimed that the confinement that Bliss and Masterman were subjected to aboard the US vessels was not so comfortable, a fact that gave much amusement to López when he subsequently heard the tale from General McMahon. See “Testimony of Dr. Stewart,” WNL.
- 77 See *Paraguayan Investigation*, 306–307; Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 128–129.

12 | THE DECEMBER CAMPAIGN

- 1 In *Maldita Guerra*, 361–362, Doratioto stresses that the marquis ultimately took responsibility for this battle (and all of its setbacks) rather than see any slander directed at his subordinate Argolo, who died in the engagement. The dignified behavior certainly would be in keeping with the marquis’s standards for personal comportment among officers, but the truth is that we do not really know. See also “Breve Resumo das Operações Militares dirigidas pelo metódico general Marquês de Caxias na Campanha do Paraguai,” *O Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (23 February 1870).
- 2 Godoy later explained to Estanislao Zeballos that his troopers were under orders to economize with their cartridges, which by this time were down to sixty rounds a man; besides “the success of our arms had always [come] through bayonet charges [which] the Brazilians do not resist.” See “Memorias de Julián N. Godoy.”
- 3 Tasso Fragoso suggests that Machado’s infantry was ordered back by General Argolo to support the advance of cavalry units under Niederauer that were at that moment heading across the bridge, but this interpretation suggests a deliberation or coolness in the Brazilian troop movements that was largely or entirely absent on the field. See *História da Guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 79; see also Testimony of Teófilo Ottoni, Chamber of Deputies, Rio de Janeiro, 25 September 1869, in *Camara dos Deputados. Perfis Parlamentares* (Brasília, 1979), 12: 1074–1085.
- 4 Garmendia, *Campaña de Pikyciri*, 318.
- 5 See Manuel Avila manuscript, “Itá Ybaté,” in BNA-CJO.
- 6 Gurjão was evacuated by steamer to the Allied military hospital at Humaitá, but died of shock shortly thereafter. See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 204.
- 7 Garmendia, *Campaña de Pikyciri*, 320; Hector F. Decoud, “6 de diciembre de 1868. Sangrienta batalla de Ytororó,” *La República* (Asunción), 5 December 1891; “Itororo,” *La Opinión* (Asunción), 9 April 1895.
- 8 Taunay, *Memórias do Visconde*, 434.
- 9 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 81–82; William Warner, *Paraguayan Thermopylae—the Battle of Itororó* (Norfolk, 2007), 8–10.
- 10 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 324; “Correspondencia, Ruínas de Humaitá, 15 December 1868,” in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 December 1868.

- 11 Although neither the Paraguayan nor the official Allied sources mention it, the battle may not have been necessary. Leuchars cites the experience of Dionísio Cerqueira, who had had the good fortune to spend the battle with the reserve in a small clearing to the left of the allied line. When the firing stopped, he walked a short distance to his left and noticed that in that place the stream was shallow enough to be crossed and could have served as a useful, and less costly, place from which to outflank the enemy. Perhaps wisely, he chose to keep his thoughts to himself.

See *To the Bitter End*, 199. Leuchars may very well have exaggerated this last point, which Cerqueira mentions only briefly and without irony. In any case, once the frontal assault had been decided upon, the battle took a predictably bloody course. See also Caxias to War Minister, Villeta, 13 December 1868, in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 26–27 December 1868, and “Boletín del Ejército,” in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 22 December 1868.
- 12 “Esquadra Encouraçada, Villeta, 12 Dez. 1868,” *Semana Illustrada* (Rio de Janeiro), 14 December 1868 (3366); Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 326; the Brazilian losses were so high that Caxias dissolved six battalions and distributed the survivors among the other corps. See Arturo Rebaudi, *Lomas Valentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1924), 6. There were some of the usual inconsistencies in the reporting of casualties, though the figures cited here are the most commonly encountered; Sena Madureira writes that the Brazilian losses were less than half those claimed by Thompson. See *Guerra do Paraguai*, 67; General Resquín qualified the Paraguayan losses as 13 officers and 317 soldiers killed, and 29 officers and 757 soldiers wounded. See *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 99.
- 13 Doratioto asserts that Caxias was physically and psychologically exhausted, and had he been properly rested, he would have sent Osório’s troops in hot pursuit of Caballero. See *Maldita Guerra*, 363. The scholarly treatment of Brazilian conduct at Ytororó has grown annoyingly partisan over the years. The hagiographic accounts of Caxias cast blame for the miscalculations on Osório rather than on the marquis, whereas those seeking to celebrate the Riograndense general have asserted precisely the reverse. Without once taking the “fog of war” into consideration, Paraguayan writers have taken both commanders to task for the sloppy execution of poorly considered tactics and have generally portrayed Caballero as a brilliant field commander. In responding to this interpretation, the Italian marshal Badoglio, who knew something about losing battles, expressed more than a touch of impatience. He roundly condemned O’Leary’s attempt to portray Osório as incompetent or even disloyal on this occasion, noting that the habit of always depicting Allied officers as fools did little to make Caballero look heroic, for where is the glory in defeating a bungler? See Brezzo, “¿Qué revisionismo histórico? El intercambio entre Juan E. O’Leary y el mariscal Pietro Badoglio en torno a *El Centauro de Ybicuí*.”
- 14 Cited in Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 361. This Paraguayan officer was the same Céspedes who had helped the Brazilians with their balloon ascents earlier in the war.
- 15 This was not an idle preoccupation. The rains fell so hard for several days in late November that the Allied hospital on the island of Cerrito was flooded, and six patients drowned. See “The War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 25 November 1868, and “Chronique,” *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 December 1868.
- 16 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 208.
- 17 The Guaraní expression (“Eio pygüe nderebicuá gallon pyajhú tuyá”), taken in this case from testimony related long afterward by Caballero, loses something in translation but roughly meant that the Brazilians would certainly fight hard and never offer a lukewarm offense. See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 2: 209.

- 18 The Mena Barreto family of Rio Grande do Sul produced many army officers of national importance in Brazil over more than two hundred years. Six members of the family, all senior officers, were present in the December 1868 campaign in Paraguay. See João de Deus Noronha Menna Barreto, *Os Menna Barreto. Seis Gerações de Soldados* (Rio de Janeiro), 159–322. Both primary and secondary sources tend to confuse these officers and it is not always obvious which man is being described. The case of the Mena Barretos (and, for that matter, of the Lima e Silva family) demonstrates that the imperial army was rife with nepotism.
- 19 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 200; Héctor F. Decoud, “11 de diciembre de 1868. Batalla de Ayay,” *La República* (Asunción), 11 December 1891; “Los triunfos del 6 y 11 del corriente,” *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 20 December 1868; and “Combate de Itororo y los movimientos precursors,” anonymous manuscript, Kansas University Library, Natalicio González Collection, Ms. E202.
- 20 The Marshal had set up an ancillary telegraphic line with his commander at Ayay (or perhaps Villeta) and was thus in regular contact with his frontline troops—or could at least claim to be. See “Memorias de Julián N. Godoy.”
- 21 *The Standard* likened the Paraguayan defenders at Ayay to “a living wave [of soldiers], cheering wildly, [that] literally sprang upon the Brazilian line.” See “The Seat of War, Corrientes, 17 Dec. 1868,” in issue of 25 December 1868. The official Paraguayan account, which was not published until nearly three months later, qualified the Marshal’s resistance in similar terms (for “such was the resolution of the army and the entire Paraguayan people that under the leadership of the illustrious Marshal, shout ‘Long live the holy cause that we are defending!’” See “¡Batalla de Ayay!” *Estrella* (Piribebuy), 6 March 1869; and Corselli, *La Guerra Americana*, 478–481.
- 22 “The War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 23 December 1868.
- 23 The Brazilian army’s *Boletim do Exército* (Villeta, 13 December 1868) was careful to distinguish between the engagement at Ytororó, which the command deemed a “combat,” and that at Ayay, which was termed a “battle.” See also “The War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 23 December 1868.
- 24 It says much about the aging Caxias that, when the Ayay painting was unveiled, he snarled at its inaccuracies and coldly asked the artist when “he had ever seen him [Caxias] with an unbuttoned frock.” The marquis (by then, in fact, a duke), had become personally emblematic of military rectitude and proper etiquette and resented the suggestion that he could ever have gone into battle improperly attired. Indeed, the angry journalist Melo Moraes Filho considered the depiction “an aggression of the artist against the dignity of [both] the general and the army.” See *Gazeta de Notícias* (Rio de Janeiro), 16 April 1879.
- 25 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 332.
- 26 Noting the high proportion of Paraguayans killed as opposed to wounded, Garmendia remarked that the Marshal’s many atrocities had so hardened Allied hearts by now that engagements were “no longer battles but a horrible slaughter.” See *Campana de Pikyciri*, 345; “Batalla de Ayay,” anonymous manuscript, Kansas University, Natalicio González Collection, Ms. E202.
- 27 Colonel Serrano proved quite voluble with his captors, and while a prisoner aboard the *Princesa*, offered them considerable information, carefully omitting all references to his service as executioner and military aide to the fiscales at San Fernando. See “Declaration of the Paraguayan Prisoners,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 27 December 1868, and “Esquadra Encouraçada, 26 Dez. 1868,” *Semana Illustrada* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 December 1868 (3382).

- 28 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 296. Sena Madureira notes a loss of just over one thousand men for the Brazilians, a figure reduced to eight hundred by Leuchars. See *Guerra do Paraguai*, 68, and *To the Bitter End*, 203. In his note to the secretary of state, General McMahon claimed that the Brazilians had lost six thousand men “according to the Paraguayan account ... [it being] quite certain that the battle was very disastrous to the Allies.” See McMahon to Seward, off Angostura, 11 December 1868, in NARA M-128, no. 3. It was, in fact, far from certain that the Allies had been dealt the blow that this account described.
- 29 The Brazilians thought that they had killed the Paraguayan general and reported him as dead in the 13 December 1868 *Boletim do Exército*. See also “Correspondencia, Buenos Aires, 16 Dec. 1868,” in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 December 1868.
- 30 In this respect, Avay seems to have illustrated the same senseless lack of foresight that López had shown at Tuyutí in 1866. See Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 296–297.
- 31 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 297.
- 32 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 297; “Correspondencia, 15 Dec. 1868,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 December 1868.
- 33 *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 January 1869.
- 34 Here we have another example of outsiders drawing broad comparisons between the Paraguayan situation and circumstances encountered in other parts of the world. The Argentine Montoneros saw Tsarist Russia in Brazil, and McMahon saw Ireland in Paraguay. Lest outsiders take all the blame for this unfortunate or simplistic interpretation, one should recall that Marshal López had earlier equated the circumstance of the Platine Republics specifically with that of the Danubian countries, an analogy that, in part, had paved the way for war. See Lillis and Fanning, *The Lives of Eliza Lynch*, 134. Arthur Davis, Martin T. McMahon, *Diplomático en el estridor de las armas* (Asunción, 1985); Lawrence Robert Hughes, “General Martin T. McMahon and the Conduct of Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Paraguay,” MA thesis (Boulder, University of Colorado, 1962); Michael Kenneth Huner, “Saving Republics: General Martin T. McMahon, the Paraguayan War and the Fate of the Americas (1864–1870),” *Irish Migration Studies in Latin America* 7, no. 3 (March 2010), <http://www.irlandeses.org/1003huner.htm>.
- 35 “The Paraguayans are a very peculiar people,” he later observed. “They have always been accustomed to an arbitrary sort of government ... but when the question of independence [from] a foreign nation comes up, there never has been a people who have a stronger love of [it] than the Paraguayans, from the lowest to the highest, who would more readily die to preserve it.” See “Testimony of Martin T. McMahon, Washington, 15 Nov. 1869,” in *Paraguayan Investigation*, 280.
- 36 Mora and Cooney, *Paraguay and the United States*, 31; though he was not present for any of the interviews between McMahon and López, Washburn concluded that the newcomer was willfully predisposed in favor of the Marshal’s caprices. He also implied that McMahon held a reactionary Papist viewpoint that the civilized, (i.e. Protestant) world had left behind but which the Marshal would find both congenial and convenient. See *History of Paraguay*, 2: 556–558. Such characterizations tell us more about Washburn than they do about McMahon.
- 37 Meliá, “El fusilamiento del Obispo Palacios,” 36–39; “Declaración de don Manuel Solalinde (10 Jan. 1870),” in Junta Patriótica, *El mariscal Francisco Solano López* (Asunción, 1926), 249–251; Juan Silvano Godoi, *El fusilamiento del Obispo Palacios y los tribunales de sangre de San Fernando. Documentos históricos* (Asunción, 1996); and *Causa celebre: don Manuel A. Palacios, Obispo del Paraguay procesado y declarado reo de muerte por los presbíteros Fidel Maíz y Justo Román, y fusilado en Pikisyr y el 21 de diciembre de 1868* (Corrientes, 1875).

- 38 The Marshal's sister, Juana Inocencia López de Barrios, later testified *in extenso* about these executions, which she blamed on the malevolent influences of Madame Lynch, "the enemy of all respectable women." See, in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19: Testimony of López de Barrios, Asunción, 17 January 1871.
- 39 Gelly y Obes to Mitre, Lomas de Pikysry, 24 Dec. 1858 [sic], in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 31 December 1868. Colonel Alén, still in pain from his attempted suicide, managed to stand erect before the tribunal and in the final moment before judgment, intoned a clear denial of culpability: "I have *never* been a traitor to my country." He was shot together with the other condemned men, one by one, on 21 December. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 258, 269–270.
- 40 The Marshal had commuted Vanancio's death sentence on 4 November 1868, the younger brother having cooperated with the fiscales in providing details about the conspiracy that implicated a wide circle of people, including Benigno, the López sisters, and even Juana Pabla Carrillo. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 116–117; Federico García, "La prisión y vejámenes de doña Juana Carrillo de López. Antes del ultraje de una madre. Breve itinerario," *El Liberal* (Asunción), 1 March 1920, and Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 67–72.
- 41 Von Versen, *Reisen in Amerika*, 202.
- 42 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 298; *Boletim do Exército* (Villeta, 19 December 1868) in BNRJ.
- 43 The Paraguayans lost one hundred forty as against only three wounded for the Brazilians. See Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 204.
- 44 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 360–374; Ministério da Defesa. Exército Brasileiro. Estado-Maior, *Manuel de Campanha. Emprego da Cavalaria* (Brasília, 1999), 2–13; and "Dezembrada" in <http://www.historiabrasileira.com/guerra-do-paraguai/dezembrada/>. The term is by now ubiquitous and appears in the Online Portuguese Dictionary at <http://www.dicio.com.br/dezembrada/>.
- 45 Bejarano, *El Pila*, 306–322; Efraím Cardozo, *Paraguay independiente* (Asunción, 1987), 242–245; O'Leary, *Nuestro epopeya*, 311–378.
- 46 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 10: 263; "Batalla de 21 de diciembre en Itaybaté," *Estrella* (Piribebuy), 10 March 1869; Pampeyo González [Juan E. O'Leary] "Recuerdos de Gloria. 21 a 27 de diciembre de 1868. Itá Ybaté," *La Patria* (Asunción), 22 December 1902.
- 47 Cerqueira, who witnessed this scene first-hand, remembered the horror of the moment many years later, describing it as the worst thing he had ever seen. See *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 337; Martin T. McMahon, "The War in Paraguay," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 239: 40 (April 1870), 637.
- 48 Cerqueira joined the mass of bloodied and torn men at the field hospital later that day, but even he did not know how long he had wandered amid the scene of destruction. See *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 338–340.
- 49 Gustavo Barroso, *A Guerra do López* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), 185–189.
- 50 McMahon, "The War in Paraguay," 637–638.
- 51 The minister witnessed several intriguing acts of bravery on the part of the López children. On one occasion, an Allied barrage began while the family dined with McMahon, and a bullet ricocheted onto the plate of one of the López boys, who smilingly picked up the object and waved it at the Marshal, exclaiming "Look what Caxias has given me as a gift!" See "Correspondencia [of Taunay] (Pirayú, 7 July 1869)," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 24 July 1869.
- 52 The tragedy he witnessed affected him deeply:
I regret to say that more than one-half of the Paraguayan army
is composed of children from ten to fourteen years of age. This

circumstance rendered the battle of the 21st and the ensuing days peculiarly dreadful and heart rending. These little ones in most cases absolutely naked, came crawling back in great numbers, mangled in every conceivable way. ... They wandered helplessly toward the headquarters without tear or groan. I can conceive of nothing more horrible than this slaughter of innocents by grown men in the garb of soldiers ... and I mention it here precisely as I saw it because I believe it would justify the immediate intervention of civilized nations for the purpose of putting a stop to the war.

See McMahon to Seward, Piribebuy, 31 January 1869, cited in Hughes, "General Martin T. McMahon and the Conduct of Diplomatic Relations," 54.

- 53 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 304; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 222–223; Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 73. Von Versen, who was also close at hand, claims that the Marshal hid so low within a bower that he could see nothing, and every time a bullet hit nearby, he treated the occurrence with awe and fled. See *Reise in Amerika*, 207.
- 54 Andrade Neves was a cavalryman who had frequently deployed his forces in the Allied vanguard. At Itá Ybaté, however, he was fighting on foot when he received his mortal wound. Taken by fever (or pneumonia) while in a field hospital, he lived just long enough to see Asunción occupied, and he died in the Brazilian hospital there on 6 January 1869. His last words were, reportedly, "One more charge, my fellows!" See José de Lima Figueiredo, *Grandes Soldados do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1944), 77.
- 55 Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 102. McMahon left an indelible portrait of the wounded and dying Paraguayans in the aftermath of the battle. See McMahon, "The War in Paraguay," 639–646.
- 56 Gelly y Obes to "Talala," Tuyucú, 18 March 1868; Gelly to "Talala," Paso Pucú, 15 April 1868; and Gelly to "Talala," 16 December 1868, in Biblioteca Nacional (Buenos Aires), Sección Manuscritos, documentos 15.683, 15.694, and 15.708, respectively.
- 57 Garmendia, *Campaña de Pikyciri*, 384; "War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 29 December 1968; Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 356–368 (entries of 22–27 December 1868).
- 58 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 208; "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 30 December 1868.
- 59 McMahon, "The War in Paraguay," 638; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 226–228; Lillis and Fanning, *The Lives of Eliza Lynch*, 153; and "Testament de López," *Le Courier du Plata* (Buenos Aires), 31 December 1868.
- 60 In his comments to Estanislao Zeballos, Colonel Godoy claimed credit for organizing new units out of these men, who had come through the swamps "in groups of three or more." See "Memorias de Julián N. Godoy."
- 61 The army's transit of the Ypecuá, one of the lesser-known episodes of the war, received its due attention from Juan O'Leary, who, under his pseudonym Pompeyo González, published a short account entitled "Recuerdos de Gloria. Ypecuá, 27 de diciembre de 1868," in *La Patria* (Asunción), 27 December 1902; one survivor of the passage, José Guillermo González, also published a brief memoir of his experience as a sixteen-year-old battalion commander, who, badly hurt with three suppurating wounds, nonetheless managed to make the crossing. See *Reminiscencias históricas de la guerra del Paraguay. Pasaje de Ypecuá* (Asunción, 1914). Gaspar Centurión, another wounded officer, made the same crossing and escaped unscathed to Carapeguá. See his *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1931), 20–22.

- 62 McMahon, "The War in Paraguay," 640–641; Caxias to War Minister, Lomas Valentinas, 26 December 1868, in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 8 January 1869.
- 63 McMahon, "The War in Paraguay," 638–639; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 233; Hector F. Decoud, "24 de diciembre de 1868. Intimación de rendición al Mariscal López," *La República* (Asunción), 24 December 1891. Critics of such brave rhetoric can legitimately observe that talk is cheap, and that López could have saved his country at any time by agreeing to leave.
- 64 There are multiple English translations of this note, some better than others. See McMahon, "The War in Paraguay," 639; Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 301–303; Kolinski, *Independence or Death!*, 222–223; "President López's Reply," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 1 January 1869; *New York Times*, 22 February 1869; and William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to Seward, Petropolis, 25 January 1869, in NARA M-121, no. 36.
- 65 Avila manuscript, "Itá Ybaté."
- 66 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 210.
- 67 "Gran triunfo," *El Liberal* (Corrientes), 30 December 1868; *Boletim do Exército* (28 December 1868), in BNRJ.
- 68 According to the war correspondent at *The Standard*, a "large column of cavalry under General Rivas and the Baron del Triunfo were immediately dispatched in pursuit of the fugitives," but, if this were the case, then someone fumbled in its execution, for the Marshal got away cleanly. See "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 10 January 1869. Juan Asencio, a young soldier wounded in covering the retreat of the Marshal, found no great mystery in the latter's abrupt departure, the "son-of-a-bitch was a coward (*Ypia miri co añá ray*)," he claimed, and fled at the first moment the Allied bullets fell nearby. See Asencio letter in *El Liberal* (Asunción), 14 November 1919.
- 69 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 374–382.
- 70 Garmendia, *Campaña de Pikyciri*, 422–465.
- 71 Juan E. O'Leary, *Lomas Valentinas. Conferencia dada en Villeta el 25 de diciembre de 1915* (Asunción, 1916), 37–38.
- 72 Pedro Werlang, the German-born Riograndense captain, claimed to have witnessed Lynch, the Marshal, his generals, and senior staff escaping in a bunch toward the east, encountering no obstructions in their path, "which would have been easy enough to [erect had] Caxias thought it convenient to detain them." See Klaus Becker, *Alemães e Descendentes*, 143.
- 73 Garmendia, *Campaña de Pikyciri*, 475–477.
- 74 In a personal communication of 27 August 2009, the Italian scholar Marco Fano suggested that Thompson's memoirs were likely edited by persons unknown to make them appear like an anti-López diatribe—even though the colonel had previously shown no such sentiments. In this altered form the reminiscences arrived in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro and were thus translated in the months before the war concluded. There may be something to this idea, for, as Fano observes, the placement of anti-López commentary in certain points in the text does seem a tad forced, ill-considered, and artificial. I am persuaded, however, that this phantom editor was none other than Thompson himself trying to come to terms with his earlier loyalties and hoping to ingratiate himself with those Paraguayans who had chosen the winning side. One wonders in this context what words the colonel might have used in describing his former commander in chief had he lived to see the man championed by O'Leary and others some thirty or forty years later. Much the same might be asked of Cunninghame Graham, who noted at the beginning of the twentieth century that he had never met anyone in Paraguay "who had a good word to say of López, but all condemned him, [speaking of] his cruelty, his love of bloodshed." Having made this unequivocal statement, the Scottish author promptly

- contradicted himself, noting that there were those in the country who wished to “set up a legendary national hero as a rallying point for Paraguayan patriotism.” See *Portrait of a Dictator*, 79–81.
- 75 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 309; Garmendia, *Campaña de Pikyciri*, 485.
- 76 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 309–310; McMahon seems to have been misinformed about the state of readiness within the Angostura line, noting that they had sufficient provisions to hold out a month. See “The War in Paraguay,” 647.
- 77 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 310–311.
- 78 Angostura was distant from the Marshal’s former headquarters by a mere 800 yards. See “War in the North,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 27 December 1868; “Teatro de guerra, Palmas, 29 Dec. 1868,” *El Liberal* (Corrientes), 1 January 1869.
- 79 Davis, *Life of Charles Henry Davis*, 321–325.
- 80 To suggest that American tactics would have easily won the day was doubly offensive in its arrogance. The Allied fleet off Angostura counted more than fifty vessels armed with hundreds of guns while the total number of US ships on the Paraná and Paraguay amounted to only five, and these had a mere thirty-eight guns. To think that the latter force could outperform the Brazilian navy under such circumstances seems unlikely, even granting the Americans some points for marksmanship. See Davis, *Life of Charles Henry Davis*, 324.
- 81 Thompson and Lucas Carrillo to Allied Commanders, Angostura, 29 December 1868, in Garmendia, *Campaña de Pikyciri*, 487–488 (this letter was reproduced in the pages of *La Estrella* on 17 March 1869 while Piribebuy was still in the Marshal’s hands); the Allied rejoinder can be found in Gelly y Obes to Mitre (?), Cumbarity, 29 December 1868, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 5 January 1869.
- 82 Manuel Trujillo, who attended the discussions among the Paraguayan soldiers, suggested that Thompson and Carrillo were no more inclined than previous officers to share the military facts with the men, but had lost so much authority with them the previous week that they saw no other option if they wished to avoid a mutiny. Trujillo claimed that almost no one wanted to capitulate initially and that the men changed their minds only after much urging from the officers. See *Gestas guerreras*, 37. For his part, Colonel Centurión criticized the two commanders not for the surrender, which was inevitable, but for their unwillingness to save honor by enduring at least one Allied assault, observing that “the surrender at Angostura was even more shameful than that at Uruguaiana, which resulted from starvation.” See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 248. Both Brazilian analyses and that of Rodolfo Corselli supports this observation, with the Italian general chiding the Paraguayan units at Angostura for not having attempted a least a diversionary attack in favor the Marshal. See *La Guerra Americana*, 492–494.
- 83 “Revista das tropas paraguaias,” *Vida Flumenense* (Rio de Janeiro), 30 May 1868 (figure 5), provides a sarcastic image of the much-reduced Paraguayan army of that period, still ready to fight. Among the later Paraguayan nationalist writers who attempted to explain the sources of their countrymen’s obstinacy in the face of sure defeat, see, for example, Manuel Domínguez, *El alma de la raza* (Asunción, 1918); Justo Pastor Benítez, *El solar guaraní* (Buenos Aires, 1947), 89–94; and J. Natalicio González, *Proceso y formación de la cultura paraguaya* (Asunción, 1988).
- 84 Thompson and Carrillo to Allied Commanders, Angostura, 30 December 1868, and Caxias, Gelly y Obes, and Castro to Thompson and Carrillo, Headquarters opposite Angostura, 30 December 1868, in “Fall of Angostura,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 10 January 1869; “Correspondencia, (Humaitá, 29 Dec. 1868),” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 January 1869; “Ultima hora,” *El Liberal* (Corrientes), 1 January 1869.

- 85 Now at a safe distance from Paraguay, former minister Washburn made a shrewd observation in comparing the situation that had faced Thompson at Angostura with that of Martínez at Humaitá, that, “fortunately for Thompson, he had no wife in the country, on whom López and Lynch could exercise their ingenuity in torture.” See *History of Paraguay*, 2: 571.
- 86 Thompson had one final opportunity to assert his authority as a Paraguayan officer, when, just before leaving for Britain, he learned that Caxias’s successors in the field had enrolled Paraguayan prisoners into the Allied army, this latter action being contrary to the surrender agreement reached with the marquis in December. Thompson sent a spirited message to Caxias to complain about this practice, which “doubtless happened through the absence of the Marquez de Caxias from the seat of war.” See Thompson to Caxias, Rio de Janeiro, 12 March 1869, in *The War in Paraguay*, 346. In later times, the British engineer was censured on all sides. He was condemned by the Lópista faction of the early twentieth century for his having “treacherously” denounced the Marshal after having served him so faithfully, and by the Liberals, who claimed that he was an opportunist who acted with willful ignorance of the atrocities that López had committed. Relatively little of this criticism was directed at him during his lifetime, however, and like many of the foreigners who had once worked for the Paraguayan government, he came back to live in the country after the war. He married, had a family, and worked as an official in the Paraguay Central Railroad before dying at age thirty-seven in 1879. His wartime reminiscences have proven of enduring value, and even such critics as Antonio de Sena Madureira, Diego Lewis, and Angel Estrada were mostly reduced to carping about details. Thompson’s condemnation of the Marshal does indeed seem tardy, of course, though no more so than similar testimony offered by Dr. Stewart, Colonel Centurión, Father Maiz, and Colonel Wisner.

13 | ANOTHER PAUSE

- 1 Richard Burton later examined these documents, which threw “a fierce light upon the shades of Paraguayan civilization.” They included information on slavery (which had yet to be abolished in Paraguay), the disposition of monies collected through forced contributions, courts martial records, descriptions of punishments meted out for various offenses in the army, and some of the Marshal’s private correspondence. See *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 472–481.
- 2 “Special Mission to Paraguay. Lomas Valentinas,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 1 August 1869. President Sarmiento reacted to the Marshal’s escape with considerable frustration, demanding of General Emilio Mitre how it could have happened, and reminding him that chasing López might cost an additional “four or six millions pesos that we do not have.” See Sarmiento to E. Mitre, Buenos Aires (?), 21 January 1869, in *Obras de Domingo Faustino Sarmiento* (Buenos Aires, 1902), 50: 126–128.
- 3 The naval correspondent of *A Semana Ilustrada* (who may have been Admiral Ignácio himself), wrote insultingly of the Marshal’s decision to flee, calling him a recreant for not having killed himself like the brave Negus Theodore [Tewodros] of Ethiopia, who had chosen suicide rather than yield to the British the preceding April. See “Esquadra Encouraçada, 26 Dez. 1868,” *A Semana Ilustrada* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 December 1868 (3382). Comparisons with Ethiopia came naturally to Britons at this time, for Englishmen were then being held hostage by supposedly insane jailers both in Paraguay and in the benighted empire in East Africa. See “The Fate of Paraguay,” *Fraser’s Magazine*, 81 (1870): 181–183.
- 4 The pattern of favoring community values and interests over those of the individual was established early in the colonial period in Paraguay. See Efraím Cardozo, *Apuntes*

de historia cultural del Paraguay, I: *Epoca colonial* (Asunción, n.d.), 167–181, and, more generally, Juan Bautista Rivarola Paoli, *La colonización del Paraguay, 1537–1680* (Asunción, 2010).

- 5 Cecilio Báez, *Política americana* (Asunción, 1925), 41; Julio José Chiavenatto, *Os Voluntários da Pátria* (São Paulo, 1983), 107; and more generally, Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 374–382.
- 6 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 308; the violent implications of the colonel's latter speculation were seconded by the longtime Lopista official José Falcón, who wrote in the 1870s that the Brazilian leadership had wanted all Paraguayans dead. See *Escritos históricos*, 100. With the exception of this one man, the imputation of a genocidal policy among the Allies received less than a ringing endorsement during the nineteenth century, but it has excited a passionate reaction from among the more eccentric and exasperating revisionist writers a hundred years later. The most obvious example of this trend was journalist Júlio José Chiavenato, who chose letters dripping with blood to sensationalize the cover illustration of his *Genocídio Americano. La guerra del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1989). The term “genocide,” which Chiavenato uses with considerable imprecision, was coined in 1943 by Raphael Lemkin, a lawyer of Polish birth who wished to attract international attention to “crimes of barbarity,” alluding, first, to the organized slaughter of Armenians by the Ottoman Turks earlier in the century, and second, to the Nazi butchery of the Jews. The General Assembly of the United Nations passed a convention on the topic in 1948 that incorporated much of Lemkin's language, defining genocide as “acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group.” Since the historical record makes no reference to any premeditated plan on the part of the Allies akin to a “Final Solution” for the Paraguayan “problem,” to uncover a genocidal intent in their words and actions seems wildly and unforgivably exaggerated. It did sometimes happen that Paraguayan prisoners were killed out of hand (as in the aftermath of the 1865 battle of Yataí), but Allied prisoners were slain in similar circumstances by López from time to time. To use the word “genocide” to describe every atrocity panders to emotional reactions. It is bad enough that Chiavenato's text provides only the thinnest catalog of facts to serve as a basis for critical judgment, but in accusing the Allies of genocide, he stokes the baser attitudes of xenophobes in today's Paraguay who hate Brazilians just because they are Brazilians.
- 7 Thompson, *The War in Paraguay*, 308; McMahon's own testimony has nothing whatsoever in it to corroborate this story, and only affirms that, in his retreat, the Marshal “narrowly escaped capture by galloping almost unattended through the *monte*” and “was pressed at first by the enemy's infantry, who fired excitedly and too high.” See McMahon to Seward, Piribebuy, 31 Jan. 1869 in NARA, M-128, no. 3, and “The War in Paraguay,” 639.
- 8 Carlos Pusineri, the longtime director of the Casa de la Independencia in Asunción made this argument explicitly when interviewed for the 1987 Sylvio Back film “Guerra do Brasil.” He should have known better, for despite the claims of certain conspiracy theorists, Masonic organizations played no role in Lopista Paraguay. Nor could they have, for their secretive bonds and esoteric rituals would surely have attracted the attention of the police. The idea that the Marshal was himself a Freemason, moreover, strains credulity for two obvious reasons. First, his Catholicism, which he learned from his uncle (the Bishop of Asunción), was expressly reactionary in its estimation of the Masons. Second, if there had been any lodges in the country their presence would presuppose a brotherhood of equals or near-equals and the Marshal never admitted his coequality with anyone, not with Mitre, Flores, or Caxias (all of whom were Masons), and certainly not with his own brothers Venancio and Benigno. Hence, any explanation for his escape that hinges on Masonic connections or a fraternal sympathy for his plight seems farfetched. While it is true that individual Masons were present in the foreign community of

- Asunción before the war, they kept their heads low and formed no official associations. The British architect Alonzo Taylor does tell the curious story of Ernesto Tuvo, an Italian confidence man who attempted to extort money from foreigners resident in Paraguay as the price of their enrollment in an entirely fictitious lodge. Taylor's brief contact with this "mountebank" provided the excuse for the Briton's detention at the time of the San Fernando tribunals. The obscurity of the whole affair speaks for itself. See Taylor's testimony in Masterman, *Seven Eventful Years in Paraguay*, 319–320. Freemasonry did enjoy a vogue among the officers of the Paraguayan Legion, who established lodges in Asunción during the 1870s and whose "irritating sarcasm" was predictably condemned by Catholic clerics in Paraguay throughout the twentieth century. See Fidel Maíz to Juan Sinforiano Bogarín, Arroyos y Esteros, 29 April 1900, in *Autobiografía y cartas*, 265–268.
- 9 Proclamation of López, Cerro León, 28 Dec. 1868, in ANA-CRB I-30, 24, 43, reprinted in *La Estrella* (Piribebuy), 24 February 1869.
 - 10 Washburn reported at the beginning of 1868 that cholera was "raging in the capitol [*sic*] and vicinity." See Washburn to Elihu Washburne, Asunción, 15 Jan. 1868, in WNL. His fears about the spread of an epidemic were confirmed three weeks later by the jefes políticos of Concepción, who noted that the disease had spread to his district and beyond. See Gaspar Benítez to War Minister, 3 February 1868, in ANA-CRB I-30, 15, 156.
 - 11 Colonel Aveiro argues convincingly that, while "no one could justify the despotic acts of López, in truth he was much admired in life both by civilians and the men of the army, [and] despite his severity, he knew how to treat each of them well." See *Memorias militares*, 79. This was not so much charisma, which López also clearly possessed, as it was a natural affinity for commanding those beneath him (*saber mandar*). To the extent that this ability could be reduced to a traditional paternalism, the Marshal could depend on a Paraguayan society that regarded a father figure as absolutely necessary, particularly in times of crisis.
 - 12 McMahon, "The War in Paraguay," 647.
 - 13 To the Allied soldiers, Azcurra was a kingdom tantalizingly close to their forward lines that was nonetheless cunningly arranged along the heights of the hill, access to which could only be gained by a single pass whose limits and dangers they could not easily discern. See Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 110.
 - 14 Alfredo d'Escagnolle Taunay, who arrived on the scene in April, immediately noted the transparent irony of a nominally republican president occupying such a gaudy palace, while his own imperial master lived in a relatively modest home in Rio de Janeiro. See Taunay, *Cartas da Campanha*, 8 (entry of 20 April 1869).
 - 15 Proclamation of Fleet Commander, Asunción, 6 January 1869 (?), in BNRJ documents collection.
 - 16 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 3: 213; Without allowing for the possibility that Argentine and Uruguayan soldiers were likewise capable of bad comportment vis-à-vis the women that fell into their hands, a disgusted General Garmendia denounced the Brazilians responsible for the mass rape after Avay, stating that they had "opened the valves to their savage lasciviousness, and those unhappy women who had seen their husbands, sons, and lovers perish, now suffered the outrage of the [enemy's] lust in that darkest of dark nights." See Garmendia, *Campaña de Pikyciri*, 346. The facts of this brutal incident are not disputed, but the tone of Garmendia's observation, which appears to single out Brazilian blacks, clearly owes much to the racism that all too often typified scholarly writing in the early twentieth century.
 - 17 Though there were few local women in town at that moment, the streets soon "filled up with the most filthy Indian women [from the Chaco], who go about the city, their long hair down to the heels, and in the most perfect state of nudity; yet these women find a hearty welcome [from the soldiers]." "Important from Asunción," *The Standard* (Buenos

Aires), 20 January 1869. According to *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), one reason that there were so few Paraguayan women in sight was that the Brazilians were sending captured women north to the settlements in Mato Grosso, there to serve like “the Sabine women of ancient Rome” in founding a new society. Cited in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 58–59. The story is ridiculous stated this way; but it was nonetheless true that some (but not all) Paraguayan women found Brazil more amenable than home. Whenever possible, they went north, presumably because their wrecked country offered them no future. In the mid-1870s, their presence evidently became a real problem and the Mato Grossense authorities started complaining about “gangs” of displaced *paraguayas* who, hungry and overbearing, were taxing civic virtue in their communities. It is unclear whether they arrived in the province during the war or immediately thereafter. Either way, the Brazilian officials thought them harpies ready to devour every portion of comestibles they could find and pounce on any unmarried man they could find. The officials were anxious to rid themselves of the displaced women “of the lowest possible class who bring with them the most repugnant vices, and ... and [who run] from washing clothes and every other aspect of proper women’s work.” See statement of João Lopes Carneiro da Fonseca, Corumbá (?), 17 February 1876, in Potthast-Jutkeit, “¿Paraíso de Mahoma” o “País de las mujeres”?, 328.

- 18 McMahon to Hamilton Fish, Buenos Aires, 19 July 1869, cited in Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 19; Huner, “Saving Republics;” and Correspondence of Manuel A. de Mattos, Asunción, 27 February 1869, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 5 March 1869 (which discusses the murder in broad daylight of a Paraguayan woman by a Brazilian corporal who acted from jealousy). The subject of rape as a byproduct of war has lately received much attention because of its widespread incidence in Africa and the Balkans since the 1990s. See Jonathan Gottschall, “Explaining Wartime Rape,” *Journal of Sex Research* 41, no. 2 (2004): 129–136. Anthony Beevor’s *The Fall of Berlin 1945* (New York, 2002), 409–415, cites a figure of 2 million German women and girls raped by Soviet soldiers “as a part of the extended celebrations” that marked the end of the war. The Russians clearly felt justified in avenging themselves for previous Nazi brutality on the Eastern Front. But it is doubtful that the revenge motive for wartime rape could have played a tremendous role in the fall of Asunción, for the Brazilians had never suffered any abuses at the hands of the Paraguayans that remotely approximated what the Nazis did in Russia. Nor had Allied officers ever issued orders or instructions for their men to follow the advice of Nestor of Pylos, who told his Greek hosts in the second book of *The Iliad* that they should “suffer no man to hurry homeward until he had first lain alongside the wife of some Trojan.” To the extent that vengeance did play a role in events in early 1869, it harkened back to the Paraguayan occupation of towns in Mato Grosso and Rio Grande do Sul, and appropriately focused on looting rather than on rape. If vengeance deserves much attention as a motive in 1869, it was so intermingled with personal greed that it was hard to distinguish as a separate motivation. See Héctor Francisco Decoud, *Sobre los escombros de la Guerra. Una década de vida nacional* (Asunción, 1925), 1: 19–20, which records Brazilian soldiers sacking a private home and leaving behind upon its barren wall a scrawl or graffiti that (quite falsely) alleged that the “Paraguayans were worse in Uruguiana and Corrientes.”
- 19 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 386; Juan B. Gill Aguinaga, “Excesos cometidos hace cien años,” *Historia Paraguaya* 12 (1967–1968): 17–25. Manuel Domecq García, the child kidnapped in Asunción, was ransomed from the Brazilians for eight pounds sterling, and as an adolescent joined the Argentine navy, where he eventually rose to the rank of admiral. He served as minister of marine in the cabinet of Marcelo T. de Alvear (1922–1928). See also Bartolomé Yegros to Juan E. O’Leary, Recoleta, 8 January 1919, in O’Leary, *El libro de los heroes*, 471, who confirms (from his personal experience as a boy of nine years) that the kidnapping of children became commonplace in 1869.

- 20 The Paraguayans had imprisoned the wives of several Correntino officers who had resisted the Marshal's occupation of their province in 1865; five such women were removed at the end of the year to the interior of Paraguay, where they remained in captivity until 1869. See Testimony of María Bar de Ceballos, in *El Liberal* (Corrientes), 12 September 1869; "A Romance of the War" (regarding the misadventures of another Correntino captive, Carmen Ferré de Alsina, whose name is incorrectly given as Carmen M. de Pavón), *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 25 September 1869; Delfor R. Scandizzo, "Entonces la mujer. La larga odisea de las cautivas correntinas," *Todo es Historia* 383 (June 1999): 44–46; Hernán Félix Gómez, *Naembé. Crónica de la guerra de López Jordán y de la epidemia de 1871* (Corrientes, 1997), 13; and Ramírez Braschi, *La guerra de la Triple Alianza a través de los periódicos correntinos (1865–1870)*, 198–201.
- 21 Adler Homero Fonseca de Castro, personal communication, Rio de Janeiro, 7 April 2011.
- 22 The Paraguayans had plundered freely on many occasions. But it should also be noted that friends as well as enemies can loot. In liberating Corrientes from Paraguayan occupation in 1865, Allied soldiers tore into many private residences and took what they wished from helpless residents. This opened a decades-long series of lawsuits conducted against the national government that demanded indemnities for losses sustained. See *Documentos que justifican la legitimidad de las deudas contra el gobierno de la Nación por suministros hechos al ejército de vanguardia nacional en Corrientes en armas contra el del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1870), and Dardo Ramírez Braschi, *Consecuencias de la guerra contra el Paraguay en la provincia de Corrientes. Una aproximación al estudio de los daños, perjuicios, e indemnizaciones* (unpublished manuscript).
- 23 "From Montevideo to Paraguay," *Littell's Living Age* (5th ser.), 51 (July–September 1885): 98–99, and William Eleroy Curtis, *The Capitals of Spanish America* (New York, 1888), 638–640. See also Francisco Ignácio Marcondes Homem de Mello, "Viagem ao Paraguay em Fevereiro e Março de 1869," *Revista Trimensal do Instituto Histórico, Geographico e Etnographico Brasileiro*, (3rd Trim.) (1873): 22–25, which describes most of the other major public buildings after a month of Brazilian occupation.
- 24 Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 144; *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 16 January 1869; Juan E. O'Leary, "El saqueo de Asunción," *La Patria* (Asunción), 1 January 1919; and Carlos Zubizarreta, "Asunción saqueada por las fuerzas aliadas," *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 19 December 1965.
- 25 The Brazilian soldiers emptied out the US Legation, seizing the furniture and archived papers, the official character of which Marshal López and his police had always respected, even during the confrontations with Washburn. See H. G. Worthington to Seward, Buenos Aires, 11 March 1869, in NARA, FM-69, roll 17. The consulates of Italy, Portugal, and France were also ransacked. Cited in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 17.
- 26 Allied troops supposedly tore into family crypts at the Recoleta cemetery, stripping cadavers of their finery, but for some reason they spared the tomb of General Díaz, who even in death enjoyed a charmed existence. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 25–26.
- 27 As early as 1865, in fact, López authorized his officials in the countryside to execute burglars as a war measure. See Disposition of López, Asunción, 16 May 1865, in ANA-SH 343, no. 5.
- 28 Some of the Argentine soldiers got their wish in this respect, for the plunderers were sometimes willing to trade their spoils for comestibles. As the correspondent of *The Standard* (Buenos Aires) noted in the issue of 20 January 1869, "we hear of a brass bedstead being exchanged for a piece of beef and a few biscuits; a pound of potatoes is worth more than the best arm chair in Government House."
- 29 See "Editor's Table," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 31 March 1869; "Noticias locales. El conde d'Eu," *La República* (Buenos Aires), 3 April 1869; *La Capital* (Rosario), 27 January 1869; Decoud, *Sobre los escombros de la guerra*, 1: 37.

- 30 "Important from Asunción," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 20 January 1869; Martín de Gainza to Emilio Mitre, Buenos Aires, 23 January 1869, in Museo Histórico Nacional (Buenos Aires), Lc. 11811/11; "Más sobre el saqueo," *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 24 January 1869.
- 31 Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 17–18. According to *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 27 January 1869, General Mitre embargoed a large shipment of dried hides bound on Uruguayan account for the port of Montevideo, stopping the vessel as it entered Argentine waters.
- 32 The Legion had doubled in size since the fall of Humaitá—to eight hundred men in two units, one cavalry and one infantry. Argentine commentators were unwilling to exclude its members from charges of looting Asunción, placing them fourth in the list of perpetrators after the Brazilians, the camp followers, and the sutlers. See *La Capital* (Rosario), 13 and 24 February 1869, and *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 24 January 1869; Liliana M. Brezzo, "Civiles y militares durante la ocupación de Asunción: agents del espacio urbano, 1869," *Res Gesta* 37 (1998–1999): 32–34.
- 33 The Paraguayan vice president had issued a directive at the beginning of December that authorized the inhabitants of Asunción to return to the city by rail to remove furniture or other properties in advance of expected Allied depredations. From subsequent testimony, it does not appear that many people took advantage of this opportunity, which was in force for six days. The Allies later liked to claim that the sacking of the Paraguayan capital began before their troops came on the scene and point to this decree as proof that the Marshal's soldiers were free to do what they wished with any properties they found in the city. This was not an argument well calculated to justify the rampant looting engaged in by Brazilian and Uruguayan troops. See Decree of Sánchez, Luque, 1 Dec. 1868, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 23 January 1869. Though he arrived in Asunción only in April, after the looting had mostly run its course, the Viscount of Taunay made much of the story that López's agents had looted the city during the previous December. Some of this had happened, in fact, but Taunay engaged in a bit of willful exaggeration when he claimed that the Marshal's "agents had fashioned skeleton keys or wrenched locks away" so as to sack houses at the Marshal's will. There was, to put a fine point on it, much left in the city for the Allies to plunder. See Visconde de Taunay, *Recordações da Guerra e de Viagem* (São Paulo, 1924), 98.
- 34 Although an occasional coin has turned up along the paths of retreat that the Marshal had taken, no large cache of *plata ybyguí* has ever been reported. The folkloric ramifications of hidden treasure are discussed in León Cadogan, "Plata Yviguy. Tesoros escondidos," in Colección Félix. *Antología ibérica y americana del folklore* (Buenos Aires, 1953), 243–245.
- 35 "Latest from Asunción," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 23 January 1869; and "Sobre el saqueo de Asunción," *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 21 February 1869. Richard Burton was likewise willing to forgive the plundering, reminding those who would castigate the Brazilians "to remember certain glass houses at Hyderabad, Sind, and the Summer Palace, China." See *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 443.
- 36 Manoel Francisco Correia, "Saque de Assumpção e Luque atribuido ao Exército Brasileiro na Guerra do Paraguay: Refutação," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro* 59 (1896): 376–391 (originally composed in May 1871 as a reply to French claims for damages); *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 14 and 21 February 1869. See also Letter of Candido Carlos Prytz, Vice-Consul of Brazil, Corrientes, 13 January 1869, in *El Liberal* (Corrientes), 15 January 1869.
- 37 "Important from Asunción," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 20 January 1869.
- 38 The reason that so few of these foreign merchants left memoirs of their time in Paraguay was simply that there was no profit in it. Instead, they assembled an ongoing bazaar

adjacent to the Brazilian camps, near where the Allied soldiers operated a “furniture depot,” where they traded loot for liquor, comestibles, and various consumer goods. In an intriguing twist on commodity fetishism, these soldiers grew uncommonly fond of the floral perfumes that the sutlers had in their stock; the men in uniform would empty whole bottles upon their persons and thereby enjoyed a concession to luxury. The less imaginative among them drank the stuff as a tonic. All their simple bartering, reminiscent of rural markets everywhere, made many sutlers momentarily wealthy (especially compared to their predecessors at Paso de la Patria). While it is true that a good number of these merchants eventually lost their fortunes, there were some who succeeded in turning their Asunción shops into major establishments during the 1870s. A new and highly influential elite of foreign-born businessmen (mostly Italians) developed in the Paraguayan capital from this early beginning, and eventually spread into the interior during a heyday of land-grabbing in the 1880s. In analyzing their impact during the final decades of the nineteenth century, see Juan Carlos Herken Krauer, “Economic Indicators for the Paraguayan Economy: Isolation and Integration (1869–1932)” (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1986).

- 39 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 49. Senior officers appropriated all of the best residences in Asunción, with Emilio Mitre, for instance, setting up his personal quarters in Venancio López’s former house.
- 40 “Correspondencia, Buenos Aires, 20 Jan. 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 29 January 1869; Homem de Mello, *O General José Joaquim de Andrade Neves*, 43–44; Canabarro Reichardt, “Centenário da Morte do Brigadeiro José Joaquim de Andrade Neves, Barão de Triunfo, 1869–1969,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 285 (1969): 21–34.
- 41 João Carlos de Souza Ferreira to “meu Conselheiro [Paranhos?],” Rio de Janeiro, 8 February 1869, in IHGB DL 983.15, no. 2. Wounded in the liver during the Lomas Valentinas engagements, Machado Bittencourt died in Asunción on 4 April 1869.
- 42 “Ordem do Dia, no. 272, Asunción, 14 Jan. 1869,” in Tasso Fragoso, *História de Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 181–185.
- 43 “Important from Paraguay,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 31 January 1869 (the Caxias quote is in Portuguese in the original). Caxias never wavered in his class-based disdain for the plebeian soldiers under his command. In a note to the war minister of 2 September 1868, the marquis remarked that the majority of these men were the sort that “society repudiates for their vile qualities.” See Arquivo Nacional. Codice 924, V. 4.
- 44 It was said that Guilherme’s inaction smacked of an unwillingness to operate without clear instructions, seeing in this a degree of incompetence or even cowardice, with *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 March 1869, going so far as to call the man a “poltrinaire” [*sic*]. This interpretation (or calumny) seems manifestly unfair to the general, who, besides being very sick, could not be expected to operate effectively in the absence of clear instructions from Rio de Janeiro. See [Quentino Souza de Bocaiuva], *Guerra do Paraguay. A Nova Phase. (Carta a um a Amigo)* (Montevideo, 1869), 15–17. Bocaiuva later became a key leader of the anti-Positivist faction of the Republican movement.
- 45 Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 19; Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 397–399 (February 1869); the functions of this commission evidently devolved in March into the hands of a commercial tribunal made up of three Brazilians, two Argentines, and two Uruguayans. The new body had no more success in imposing its decisions than that which preceded it. See “Teatro de la guerra,” *La República* (Buenos Aires), 17 March 1869.
- 46 Chapperon to General Guillermo de Souza, Asunción, 6 February 1869, and Declaration of General Xavier de Souza, Asunción, 14 February 1869, in Fano, *El Consúl, la guerra, y la*

- muerte, 132–138; Rufino de Elizalde to Bartolomé Mitre, Asunción, 17 March and 22 March 1869, in *Archivo del general Mitre*, 5: 220–222, and Brezzo, “Cíviles y militares,” 37–44.
- 47 The Uruguayan leaders received Caxias perfunctorily and with the same coldness that the Porteños had shown. See M. Maillefer to the Marquis de La Valette, Montevideo, 20 February 1869, in “Informes diplomáticos de los representantes de Francia en el Uruguay (1866–1869),” *Revista Histórica* 26, nos. 76–78 (1956): 357.
 - 48 “Important from Rio. Caxias Dying,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 7 March 1869; Xavier Raymond, “Don Lopez et la Guerre du Paraguay,” *Revue de Deux Mondes* 85 (1870): 1019.
 - 49 “Pedro II e Cotegipe,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro* 98, no. 152 (1925): 280–281.
 - 50 *Exército em Operações na Republica do Paraguay sob o commando em chefe interino de S. Ex. O Sr. Marechal de Campo Guilherme Xavier de Souza, Ordens do Dia*, 1–13 (1869) (Rio de Janeiro, 1877), 69, 145–146; Rocha Almeida, *Vultos da Pátria*, 143–147.
 - 51 In its issue of 15 March 1869 the Carioca newspaper *Ba-Ta-Clan* upbraided the Conservative Party for having failed to contribute money to Ignácio’s family during the time of his illness. Caxias was too ill to attend the admiral’s funeral.
 - 52 The institution of the monarchy had not fared well since February 1868, for politicians in Rio de Janeiro, as elsewhere, had long memories and had not forgotten the emperor’s earlier support for Caxias. Ten months later, an anonymous poet, almost certainly a Liberal or a Republican, slipped an innocuous adulatory poem into the pages of *O Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 2 December 1868. This turned out to be anything but innocuous or adulatory. The newspaper staff evidently failed to notice that the poem was an acrostic, with the first letters of each stanza spelled out “O bobo do rei faz annos” (the fool of a king is having a birthday), an unbelievably impudent allusion to dom Pedro that the opposition *Opinião Liberal* (Rio de Janeiro), gleefully pointed out—or celebrated—in its issue of 3 December. The justice minister reportedly called for the prosecution of the *Jornal*’s owners, but eventually let the matter drop, possibly at the insistence of Pedro. The author of the poem was never identified, but his effrontery suggested that the Bragança monarchy needed a boost in 1869—and the Senate was clearly happy to oblige by once again proffering its support to Caxias. Hendrik Kraay, personal communication, Calgary, Alberta, 10 December 2010. A more conventional poem that celebrated the monarch and his generals can be found in A. J. Santos Neves, *Homenagem aos Heróis Brasileiros na Guerra contra o Governo do Paraguay* (Rio de Janeiro, 1870).
 - 53 *Discurso que o Marechal d’Exército José Joaquim de Lima e Silva, Duque de Caxias, pronunciou no Senado na Sessão de 15 de Julho de 1870* (Bahia, 1870), 21, 23–26, 30, 32–33; and Corselli, *La Guerra Americana*, 499–501.
 - 54 Caxias’s posthumous reputation might seem exaggerated to non-Brazilians, but for those who grew up in the light of his iconic image, it seemed a natural progression from hero to demigod. See, for example, Joaquim Pinto de Campos, *Vida do Grande Cidadão Brasileiro Luiz Alves de Lima e Silva* (Lisbon, 1878); Raymundo Pinto Seidl, *O Duque de Caxias. Esboço de Sua Gloriosa Vida* (Rio de Janeiro, 1903); Eugenio Vilhena de Moraes, *O Duque de Ferro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1933); and Manuel César Góes Monteiro, “Caxias, a Expressão do Soldado Brasileiro,” *Correio da Manhã* (Rio de Janeiro), 12 July 1936.
 - 55 Mariano Varela to José María da Silva Paranhos, Buenos Aires, 12 January 1869, in ANA-CRB I-30, 29, 29; Decree of Sarmiento, Buenos Aires, 10 February 1869, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 12 February 1869.
 - 56 Sarmiento to Emilio Mitre, Buenos Aires (?), 21 January 1869, in Sarmiento, *Obras*, 50: 126–128.
 - 57 The 7 March 1869 issue of *The Standard* (Buenos Aires) reported, “López’s men in many parts have abandoned his cause, and are daily flocking to the capital; and from the poor

people who now and then escape from the mountains it is known that the general feeling of the sorrowing population of that ruined land is to get rid of López and return to their homes." There was less to this observation than met the eye, for many refugees coming from the back country were fleeing not from the Marshal but from starvation, and would probably have rejoined López in the same way that refugees from Uruguiana had risked everything to escape and serve the Marshal once again.

- 58 "Important from Paraguay," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 4 March 1869; Thomas Whigham, *La guerra de la Triple Alianza. Volumen III: Danza de muerte y destrucción* (Asunción, 2012), 319–324.
- 59 [José Segundo (?)] Decoud, "Después de la guerra," *El Liberal* (Corrientes), 24 January 1869; Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 50–52; Juansilvano Godoi, *El baron de Rio Branco. La muerte del Mariscal López. El concepto de la patria* (Asunción, 1912), 229; "Informes del Dr. José Segundo Decoud (Asunción, 20 Apr. 1888)," in MHM (A)-CZ carpeta 125.
- 60 Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 52.
- 61 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 446.
- 62 A perusal of the 335 appended names—and the affirmative references within this document to the "valiant corps of volunteers"—attests to its strong *Legionario* orientation. The subsidizing of the Paraguayan Legion had been managed by the Argentines in a routine way, and most of the Paraguayans involved retained an affinity for their sponsors in Buenos Aires and shared their mistrust of the empire. Whether this mistrust could serve Argentine interests over the long run only time would tell. See Petition of Paraguayan Citizens to the Governments of the Alliance, Asunción, 20 February 1869, in Hector Francisco Decoud, *Los emigrados paraguayos en la guerra de la Triple Alianza*, 39–49; Eduardo Amarilla Fretes, *La liquidación de la guerra de la Triple Alianza contra el Paraguay (negociaciones diplomáticas)* (Asunción, 1941), 32–35.
- 63 Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 384 (entry of 11 January 1869).
- 64 Agricultural Censuses (1868–1869), in ANA-CRB I-30, 26, 78, nos. 1–33; "Noticias del 7 de marzo de 1869," in MHM (A), Colección Gill Aguinaga, carpeta 1, no. 21.
- 65 A labor draft for women had existed informally since at least 1866, when the vice president issued a circular ordering every family to labor in the fields "even on moonlit nights." See Circular of Sánchez, Asunción, 18 July 1866, in ANA-SH 351, no. 1. In subsequent years what had once been de facto along these lines became de jure. See, for example, Decree of Sánchez, Piribebuy, 9 January 1869, in ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 3, no. 1; Circular of Sánchez, Piribebuy, 14 February 1869, in ANA-SH 356, no. 9; and the Resquín Order of 18 December 1868, which the Argentine compiler saw fit to denominate "Round-up of Women," in *Papeles de López. El tirano pintado por si mismo*, 81–82. In the end, there may have been upwards of one hundred fifty thousand women cultivating fields in the Cordillera during 1869, the great majority of whom refugees from other parts of Paraguay.
- 66 "The Paraguayan War," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 24 and 27 January 1869.
- 67 The juez político of Tobatí reported that three hundred displaced families had entered his *partido* in the hill country by mid-February, and that, while he was doing all in his power to support them with rations of corn that support could not last forever. See Carozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 109.
- 68 As late as 1868, the Paraguayan state provided periodic assistance to needy families displaced by the war, but this support (and the private support that the government also encouraged) generally came to an end once Asunción fell to the Allies. See List of Funds Provided for Deserving Families [1865], in ANA-SH 418, no. 1; Contributions to the Rural Poor, Recoleta, 4 March 1865, in ANA-SH 346, no. 4; Jueces de Paz to Marshal López,

- 5 Feb. 1868, in ANA-NE 1010; Decree of López, Paso Pucú, 25 February 1868, in ANA-SH 355, no. 5; Francisco Sánchez to Militia Chief at Valenzuela, Luque, 5 April 1868, in ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 3; and Gumersindo Benítez to Consul Cuverville, Luque(?), 18 April 1868, in ANA-CRB I-22, 11, 2, no. 39.
- 69 Fuerza efectiva records for Villarrica and other partidos (1868), in ANA-NE 1012.
- 70 For an example of a muster roll written on rawhide, see List of Able-bodied Troopers, 2nd Company, 4th Squadron, 32nd Regiment, Azcurra(?), 2 May 1868, in MG 2003.
- 71 John Hoyt Williams, *Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic*, 221.
- 72 Statement of Lucas Carrillo (February 1869) in Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 136.
- 73 In a brief note, the *jefe político* at Villarrica informed the authorities of the many women and children passing through his district as refugees on the way to the Cordillera, hinting broadly that the threat of epidemic disease was driving them forward as much as any government dicta. See José Antonio Basaral to Luis Caminos, Villarrica, 4 February 1869, in ANA-CRB I-30, 27, 62, no. 5.
- 74 Several of the interior communities were still able to send supplies to the Marshal's army between February and May 1869. Cattle came from Caazapá, Valenzuela, Ajos, San Estanislao, Yuty, and Mbocayaty; maize from Caazapá, Tobatí, Caraguatay, and the very distant Ygatymí; cloth and clothing from Tacuatí, Itacurubí de la Cordillera, San Estanislao, and San Joaquín; molasses from Mbocayaty and Itapé; onions from Carapeguá and Mbocayaty; and yerba mate—the standard beverage—from the single distant community of Unión. See Seferino Colmán to War Minister (?), San Estanislao, 28 February 1869, in ANA-NE 2508; Pantaleon Insaurralde to Luis Caminos, San Joaquín, 13 May 1869, in ANA-CRB I-30, 27, 66, no. 1; and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 109, 119–120, 122–124, 159, 183–184, 192, 228–229, 233, 236, 239, 254, 258, 262, and 311.
- 75 Centurión thought the Marshal's interest in Chateaubriand constituted a "distraction for his spirit, as a way to ease his conscience from [the weight] of so many deeds that were difficult or impossible to justify." See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 28–29.
- 76 Cited in Héctor Francisco Decoud, *La convención nacional constituyente y la carta magna de la república* (Buenos Aires, 1934), 40.
- 77 Pedro A. Alvarenga Caballero, "Villa Real de Concepción en los días de la ocupación brasileña," *Historia Paraguaya* 39 (1999): 59–68; historically the central government found good reasons to suspect the elaboration of strong dissident factions in Concepción, San Pedro, and the other northern towns. So it was with Dr. Francia in 1813–1816, with Higinio Morinigo in 1946–1947, and with the Colorado traditionalists in 2007–2008.
- 78 Héctor F. Decoud described the slaughter as the cruelest and most unjustifiable act of the entire war. The atrocity does not improve on closer examination. See Decoud, *La massacre de Concepción ordenada por el Mcal. López* (Asunción, 1926); Nidia R. Areces, "Terror y violencia durante la guerra del Paraguay: 'La massacre de 1869' y las familias de Concepción," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 81 (October 2006): 43–63; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 319, and 12: 86–88; and Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay*, 113–114. The chief culprit in the Concepción atrocity, an antediluvian figure best known by his evocative nickname, "Bull-Strong," (Toro Pichai), was a cavalry major who after the war worked as a foreman on the Decoud estate outside Emboscada.
- 79 This figure amounted to about half the individuals executed at San Fernando and along the Pikysyry during the period of the tribunals of blood. See "Victimas de la tiranía," *El Orden* (Asunción), 21 December 1923.
- 80 Juan F. López to José Falcón, Azcurra, 15 March 1869, in ANA CRB I-30, 27, 93.
- 81 "Testimony of Dr. Skinner (Asunción, 25 Jan. 1871)," in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19.

- 82 In the inaugural issue of *Estrella* (Piribebuy), 24 February 1869, the editor defined his mission as promoting “the duties of man to the Patria and its Government; to stimulate and fulfill those duties; to attack vice wherever it is found; to combat indolence and excite in all a holy enthusiasm for the national cause.” These stated objectives, while appropriate coming from a priest, shed little light on who the editor considered his readership to be. It may have been distributed in limited numbers at Azcurra, but the men who saw it were monolingual speakers of Guaraní and unlikely to understand the nuances the writers placed in their articles. The limited number of Spanish speakers in the Cordillera could not justify the expenditure of paper and ink needed to print each edition. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the readership for this last Lopista newspaper was mostly limited to the López entourage and to the Marshal himself—a supposition that provides still more proof for the oddity of the political atmosphere in unoccupied Paraguay. See Victor Simón Bovier, “El ultimo combatiente: Estrella,” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 26 April 1970.
- 83 Elizalde to Mitre, Asunción, 22 March 1869, in *Correspondencia Mitre-Elizalde*, 460–461; “Teatro de la guerra,” *La República* (Buenos Aires), 18 March 1869. Regarding fodder, though scrub-grass was hardly lacking in Paraguay, the horses had shown little taste for it, and while starving or malnourished men can sometimes fight well, horses tend to be useless without adequate feed.
- 84 Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 388–389, 400–401 (March 1869).
- 85 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 18–20, 323; E.A.M. Laing, “Naval Operations in the War of the Triple Alliance, 1864–70,” *Mariner’s Mirror* 54 (1968): 278; Ouro Preto, *A Marinha d’Otrora*, 210–212.
- 86 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 93; “Latest from Paraguay,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 5 March 1869.
- 87 The locomotive did not become operational until the last days of April. See “Fetes and Fights,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 5 May 1869; “Correspondencia, Luque 14 May 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 31 May 1869.
- 88 On the first leg of their journey from Pirayú, the Paraguayan raiders were accompanied by Madame Lynch, General Caballero, the war minister, and Minister McMahon, but it seems that all of these high-placed individuals got off before the train reached the Yuquyry. “Sucesos del ejército,” *La Estrella* (Piribebuy), 24 March 1869. The Brazilians reported a mere five men wounded, but Burton, who arrived in Asunción a bit later, thought the figure closer to forty. He also reported that the train was armored as a “railway battery.” See *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 449.
- 89 “Chronique,” *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 April 1869; “Correspondencia, Asunción, 14 Apr. 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 29 April 1869; Elizalde to Mitre, Asunción, 11 March 1869, in *Correspondencia Mitre-Elizalde*, 453.
- 90 *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 April 1869.
- 91 Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 400–401 (entry of 15–31 March 1869); “Latest from Paraguay,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 5 March 1869; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 285–286.
- 92 Burton, *Letters from the Battle-fields of Paraguay*, 465–467.
- 93 Eldest son of the Duke of Nemours, Gaston was six years old when he witnessed the catastrophe that drove the whole family of his grandfather, Louis Philippe, King of the French, into exile. His family had never regained its previous luster in Europe, but in associating himself with the House of Bragança, he left behind a quiet life of leisurely indulgence and embarked on one of action. See Heitor Moniz, *A Corte de D. Pedro II* (Rio de Janeiro, 1931), 73–80; Helio Vianna, *Estudos de História Imperial* (São Paulo, 1950), 239–255.

- 94 William Scully, *Brazil. Its Provinces and Chief Cities* (London, 1866), 3; Roderick J. Barman, *Princess Isabel of Brazil. Gender and Power in the Nineteenth Century* (Wilmington, 2002), 61–119; Pedro Calmon, *A Princesa Isabel “a Redentora”* (São Paulo, 1941); Lourenço L. Lacombe, *Isabel a Princesa Redentora (biografia baseada em documentos inéditos)* (Petrópolis, 1989).
- 95 See Gaston d’Orléans to War Minister, Petropolis, 28 January 1868, in IHGB, lata 314, pasta 10, no. 14.
- 96 Alberto Rangel, *Gastão de Orleans (o ultimo Conde d’Eu)* (São Paulo, 1935), 209; Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 226–228.
- 97 In a letter to the Argentine president, General Wenceslao Paunero observed that Gaston felt it dishonorable to assume leadership over an army that had won the war already and did everything in his power to decline the offer of command. See Paunero to Sarmiento, Rio de Janeiro, 28 March 1869, in Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 398–399.
- 98 Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 211–212, 216–217, 227–228. One of the few who voiced disapproval of the count’s taking command in Paraguay was Dona Isabel, who clearly wanted her husband to stay at home. She did not mince words with her father, to whom she wrote, “I remember, Daddy, that by the Tijuca waterfall three years ago, you told me that passion is blind. I hope that your passion for the war has not blinded you! It seems that you want to kill my Gaston. ... [Our physician] strongly advises him against too much exposure to the sun, and no rain and damp; how can he avoid these things if he is in the midst of a war?” Cited in Schwarcz, *The Emperor’s Beard*, 243.
- 99 “The Seat of War,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 28 April 1869.
- 100 In his *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 5–47, General Tasso Fragozo gives the count some credit as a field commander but generally ignores his work as an organizer of the troops. Francisco Doratioto does much the same in *Maldita Guerra*, 396–402, stressing instead that Prince Gaston really did not wish to be in Paraguay in the first place.
- 101 Osório’s courage was one of the great staples of the imperial army, like feijão or hard-tack, and everyone wished to partake of it once again. Osório could not effectively use his lower jaw, however, and was still suppurating from the earlier wound. He accepted command of the 1st Corps only on condition that doctors always accompany him to the field. This stipulation was granted, for the Baron of Muritiba understood that the Riograndense’s natural aggressiveness would lift moral among the Brazilian troops. See Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 400.
- 102 Taunay, *Recordações de Guerra e de Viagem* (São Paulo, 1924), 10–11, 18–22; *Memórias do Visconde de Taunay* (n.p., 1960), 320–323.
- 103 Taunay thought that the count’s efficiency and professionalism exceeded that of all the previous Allied commanders. See *Recordações de Guerra e de Viagem*, 31.
- 104 Taunay who owed political debts to the Conservatives, and did not take kindly to the count’s order that he tender his services as war correspondent to the Liberal newspaper *A Reforma*. This might seem like a trivial matter, but the two men were equally unyielding, and refused for a time to converse with each other except while on duty. See Taunay, *Memórias*, 320–325.
- 105 With friends like the Swiss zoologist Louis Agassiz and his wife, the Count d’Eu always seemed “gay, easy, cordial, and with the self-possession and unconsciousness of perfect good breeding.” See Elizabeth Cary Agassiz to Mrs. Thomas G. Cary, Rio de Janeiro, 25 January 1872, in Lucy Ellen Paton, *Elizabeth Cary Agassiz: A Biography* (Boston, 1919), 124. Others held the opposite opinion. Brazilian critics of a later generation portrayed the count as the problem child of the Paraguayan conflict, but getting a proper sense of the new Allied commander was already difficult in 1869. His contemporaries revered or reviled him, and always compared unfavorably him to Caxias. Gaston was by turns attractive and repugnant,

honest and deceitful, fanatically patriotic, and too obviously a foreigner for the taste of most Brazilians. In the 1860s and '70s his efforts were misunderstood, though his sincerity went unquestioned, and in later years it was the other way around. See Rocha Almeida, *Vultos da Pátria*, 2: 98–104; Barman, *Princess Isabel*, 104–110.

- 106 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 218; morale among the Brazilian troops had been seriously tested by Caxias's departure and by the political calculations of Carioca Liberals, who saw to it that their newspapers, brimming with antiwar sentiments, circulated among the men stationed in Asunción. See Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 395.
- 107 An English translation does poor service to the rhythm scheme of this tune, which was sung by soldiers on the way from Asunción to the battlefield in the hill country. The Portuguese runs:

Quem chegou até a Assumpção
Acabou a sua missão.
Si o Lopes ficou no paiz
Foi porque o Marquez o quiz!
Quem marcher p'ra Cordilheira
Faz uma grande asneira!

O Alabama (Salvador da Bahia), 5 June 1869.

14 | RESISTANCE TO NO AVAIL

- 1 The search for “laws” or “principles of war” goes back to at least as far as Caesar’s *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*. In the nineteenth century the Baron de Jomini was particularly known for his elaboration on this quest, but the American Henry Wagner Halleck and the Germans Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz and Hans Delbrück also provided impressive examples of this trend in military scholarship. The experience of the First World War and the general decline of positivism in the military academies and staff colleges witnessed a broad rejection of this approach in later generations. See J. D. Hittle, *Jomini and His Summary of the Art of War* (Harrisburg, 1959); Halleck, *Elements of Military Arts and Science* (New York, 1862); von der Goltz, *Das Volk in Waffen, ein Buch über Heerwesen und Kriegführung unsere Zeit* (Berlin, 1883); Delbrück, *History of the Art of War* (Lincoln and London, 1990); and, more generally, Peter Paret et al., eds., *Makers of Modern Strategy from Machiavelli to the Nuclear Age* (Oxford, 1986).
- 2 Writing in late April, US minister Martin T. McMahon noted with egregious imprecision that the Paraguayan army had “greatly improved in numbers and in enthusiasm and looks forward with extraordinary confidence to the next encounter with the enemy, which there is good reason to believe will be the decisive battle of the war.” See McMahon to Secretary of State, Piribebuy, 21 April 1869, in NARA, M-128, no. 3.
- 3 Cirilo Solalinde, who had saved the Marshal’s life earlier in the war, saw no generosity in Madame Lynch’s distribution of food to the soldiers. Indeed, while

the army was in Cordilleras, she ordered the local authorities to bring to her all the provisions. The order was fulfilled, and she appropriated for her own use a great quantity of those provisions; so that, up to the close of the war, she had a superabundance of everything, while thousands of soldiers and women and children were dying of hunger. In 1869 salt was very scarce and dear. The soldiers did not get a grain, and for that want many died, whilst all the time Madame Lynch had four hundred arrobas (10,000 lbs.) in store; but she would not part with an ounce of it, except now and then in the purchase of some jewelry still remaining in the possession of its owner. The result was that the greater part of the salt, which would have done much good, was lost; for in January 1870 it was thrown away, to prevent

its falling into the hands of the enemy. The only portion which was rendered useful was what soldiers of the guard could carry away with them.

See "Testimony of Dr. Solalinde (Asunción, 14 Jan. 1871)," in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19. Despite the above criticism (and that of Stewart, Skinner, and other witnesses), there were individuals who continued to praise Madame Lynch's personal generosity and affection long after the war ended.

- 4 The war correspondent of the *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro) stated in the issue of 12 March that the Marshal's garrison had grown to some five thousand men. A month and a half later this number had expanded by two thousand, though this calculation included boys of ten years old scoured from the most remote communities still under Paraguayan control. See Falcón, *Escritos históricos*, 99–100.
- 5 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires) reported in its issue of 25 April 1869, that the Caacupé arsenal "is almost the last vestige of civilization [in Paraguay]; here the greatest activity still reigns, the few foreign engineers that yet remain are compelled under pain of death to turn out so many guns, drums, and swords each day." The European machinists were still receiving pay for their work in the Caacupé arsenal as late as June 1869. See pay receipts for 1 April, 1 May, and 1 June 1869, in ANA-NE 780, and request for salary for Jakob Wladislaw, Piribebuy, 4 June 1869, in ANA-NE 2509. Eventually, the arsenal produced eighteen cannon, two of iron and sixteen of bronze. See Resquín, "Declaración," in *Papeles de López. El tirano pintado por si mismo*, 156.
- 6 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 216.
- 7 Taunay, *Memórias*, 367–368, 372–374; Dispatch of the Count d'Eu, Pirayú, 28 June 1869, in NARA, M-121, no. 37.
- 8 In Portuguese, the verse went:
Osório dava churrasco
E Polidoro farinha.
O Marqués deu-nos jabá,
E sua Alteza sardinha!
See Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 160.
- 9 "The Seat of War," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 14 May 1869, and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 273–274.
- 10 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 348–350; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 294–296; Hélio Vianna, *Estudos de História Imperial* (São Paulo, 1950), 235–237. One man who wished to participate in the Allied advance, but whose services were rejected, was Antonio de la Cruz Estigarribia, the Marshal's former commander at Uruguaiana, who had spent four years living in comfortable circumstances as a prisoner of war in Rio de Janeiro, and who evidently wished to thank his hosts by offering to act as a guide for Prince Gaston's troops. His somewhat pathetic petition to that effect never received an answer from the emperor, and the Paraguayan colonel dropped out of sight once again. He died of plague in Asunción in December 1870, having returned to his country only a few days earlier. See Walter Spalding, *A Invasão Paraguai no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1940), 282–283; "Recortes de jornais trazendo notícias da guerra," in ANA-CRB I-30, 30, 24; and Pedro Zipitria to Darío Brito de Pino, Fortaleza de San Juan (Rio de Janeiro), 6 December 1865, in AGN (M). Archivos Particulares, caja 10, carpeta 22, no 17 (in which an imprisoned Blanco officer laments his own misery at the hands of the Brazilians while "that rapist, incendiary, and plunderer" Estigarribia lives "luxuriously in a hotel with 300 *petacones* a month given him to satisfy his various whims").
- 11 Just before First Tuyutí, the foundry's commandant listed eighty-six cannonballs produced over the preceding two weeks along with pieces for the waterwheels of the Paraguayan steamers. See Julián Ynsfrán, 17 May 1866, in ANA-NE 2436. Monthly reports

- from 1868 attest to a continued production of cannonballs, sabers, bayonets, and the like, though quantities had fallen appreciably. See Ynsfrán to War Minister, Foundry of Ybycuí, 31 January 1868, in ANA-CRB I-30, 14, 154, nos. 1–3; Ynsfrán to War Minister, Foundry of Ybycuí, 31 March 1868, in ANA-CRB I-30, 14, 158, no. 1; Ynsfrán to Treasurer, Foundry of Ybycuí, 18 August 1868, in ANA-NE 2495; Ynsfrán to War Minister, Foundry of Ybycuí, 30 September 1868, in ANA-CRB I-30, 14, 162, nos. 1–3; Ynsfrán to War Minister, Foundry of Ybycuí, 16 October 1868, in ANA-CRB I-30, 14, 166; and Benigno Riquelme García, “La fundición de Ybycuí, 1849–1869,” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 20 May 1965.
- 12 The Count d’Eu may have viewed his (ostensibly) Uruguayan allies rather like a bag of ferrets around his neck, but he had no intention of seeing them slip away from their commitments. See Casal, “Uruguay and the Paraguayan War,” 136.
 - 13 Castro married the woman, Teresa Meraldi, in mid-June. See Marriage certificate, Asunción, 14 June 1869, in AGN (M). Archivos Particulares, caja 70, carpeta 1.
 - 14 Casal, “Uruguay and the Paraguayan War,” 135.
 - 15 Gustavo Barroso, *A Guerra do Lopez* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), 219. Some twenty European engineers were also present at the ironworks until early 1868, but it appears that they had been withdrawn to Caacupé before the December campaign. See Pla, *The British in Paraguay*, 147. See also José Antonio Seifert, *Os Sofrimentos dum Prisioneiro ou o Martir da Pátria* (Fortaleza, 1871).
 - 16 “The Seat of War,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 29 May 1869.
 - 17 Hipólito Coronado to Enrique Castro, near Franco Islas, 15 May 1869, in Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 217–219; “Correspondencia, Luque, 20 May 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 12 June 1869.
 - 18 Whigham, *The Paraguayan War*, 370–371.
 - 19 Barroso, *A Guerra do Lopez*, 223–224; Several sources, most notably José Bernardino Bormann, claim that the initial decision was to shoot the Paraguayan captain, but Coronado ordered the decapitation when he discovered that the Allied prisoners had received similar treatment. See *História da Guerra do Paraguay*, 1: 22. Coronado later attempted to justify the killing by claiming that Captain Ynsfrán had brought on needless bloodshed in defending the foundry and had sought to execute his prisoners at the time of the Allied approach; though his soldiers had disobeyed this order, any man capable of issuing it, the major reasoned, deserved a swift execution. The obvious injustice of Coronado’s thinking and his own brutality were widely condemned, even by General Castro and the Count d’Eu. The latter, who noted that executions were neither habitual among the Allies nor permitted by the rules of war, nonetheless observed that Ynsfrán’s death was loudly applauded by those prisoners who had suffered at his hands. See Campanha do Paraguay. Comando em Chefe de S.A. o Sr. Marechal do Exército Conde d’Eu. *Diário do Exército* (Rio de Janeiro, 1870), 30.
 - 20 Edgar L. Ynsfrán, “Fin de la ‘Fabrica de fierro’ de Ybycuí (13 de mayo de 1869),” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 11 June 1972.
 - 21 Juan F. Pérez Acosta, Carlos Antonio López. *Obrero máximo. Labor administrativa y constructiva* (Asunción, 1948), 194–196; “Chronique,” *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 3 July 1869.
 - 22 Coronado’s exploit won the Oriental Division a general promotion from the Montevideo government for all those ranked sergeant and above. See Martínez, *Vida militar de los generales Enrique y Gregorio Castro*, 269–270; Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 411 (31 May 1869); Casal, “Uruguay and the Paraguayan War,” 135.
 - 23 McMahon, “The War in Paraguay,” 644–645; Potthast-Jutkeit, “¿Paraíso de Mahoma” o “País de las mujeres”?, 269–279; Juan Martín Anaya to Sánchez, Valenzuela, 25 July 1869,

- in ANA-NE 2509; and, more generally, Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 124, 130–131, 139, 144, 181, 275, 284.
- 24 From the time he landed in Paraguay to his return to the Argentine capital in July 1869, McMahon sent only nine dispatches to the State Department. These missives dealt exclusively with the official conduct of his mission and reveal little concerning the more controversial side of his activities. McMahon's relations with López have offered considerable room for speculation, but their diplomatic intercourse was largely confined to verbal communication after the minister took up his duties in Piribebuy. See Hughes, "General Martin T. McMahon and the Conduct of Diplomatic Relations," 47–48.
 - 25 McMahon to Seward, Piribebuy, 31 January 1869, in NARA, Records Group 59. *The Times* (London) reported a false rumor in its 25 June 1869 issue to the effect that López had at last agreed to leave the country, thanks to the efforts of the US minister.
 - 26 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 116–117.
 - 27 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 88–89; Taunay, *Cartas de Campanha*, 62–65.
 - 28 "Correspondencia, Asunción, 20 May 1869," in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 June 1869.
 - 29 McMahon to Luis Caminos, Piribebuy, 20 June 1869, in ANA-CRB I-30, 11, 17, nos. 1–2. For reasons best known to him, Elihu appended an *e* to the end of his surname, a choice that all of his descendants have had to live with.
 - 30 Along with official messages for his agents in Europe, the Marshal also sent a letter with McMahon addressed to his estranged son Emiliano Victor, who was then living in Paris. He advised the young to move to the United States to take up the legal profession and help Paraguay accordingly. See López to Emiliano López, Azcurra, 28 June 1869, in *Proclamas y cartas del mariscal López* (Asunción), 192–199; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 173–174; Saeger, *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay*, 183–185.
 - 31 See Cecilio Báez, *La tiranía en el Paraguay, sus causas, caracteres y resultados* (Asunción, 1903), 179, which claims that the "counting of coin went on for several days and nights in an office situated to the back of the police station in Piribebuy, [and that] large boxes were taken away one morning beneath the gaze of the entire population." In a letter from Dr. Stewart's brother to Washburn, it was noted that among the papers found on Madame Lynch after she fell prisoner in March 1870 was a copy of a letter written to McMahon, which entrusted "to him some money to be deposited with the Bank of England, amounting to several thousand pounds." See C. Stewart to Washburn, Galashiels, 27 November 1870, in WNL. For other estimations on the quantity of coin and other valuables the minister carried out of Paraguay, see Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 180–181; Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 20; and Hughes, "General Martin T. McMahon and the Conduct of Diplomatic Relations," 69–70.
 - 32 Harris G. Warren, "Litigations in English Courts and Claims against Paraguay Resulting from the War of the Triple Alliance," *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 22, no. 4 (1969): 31–46.
 - 33 The Allied press speculated endlessly about these trunks. Some gossips reported having seen as many as thirty boxes, each one weighing so much that it required eight men to lift it. See "Los catorce cajones del General MacMahon," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 9 July 1869. The then Argentine minister to the United States noted in a missive to the wife of Horace Mann that McMahon's baggage "must have included jewels and other valuables sent out by López ... while the naked Paraguayans are dying from hunger." See Manuel R. García to Mary Mann, Berkeley Springs, 24 August 1869, in Mary Mann Papers. US Library of Congress. Ms. 2882. Mary Mann, it will be recalled, was Sarmiento's English translator, providing him, most notably, with the standard English version of his classic essay, "Facundo."

- 34 A. Rebaudi, *El Lopizmo*, 45–48. The perambulations of unopened trunks of Lopista loot presented a major focus for many would-be treasure seekers in later years. McMahon appears to have carried all the coin entrusted to him to London and New York and turned it over to designated parties in those cities. With Washburn, however, the uncertain circumstances in Asunción resulted in many properties formally under his care being lost or left in the care of others. The US government did eventually deliver to Paraguayan authorities one box of minor baubles left behind at the American Legation at Petrópolis. By then, however, sixty years had passed and inventories had been lost or thrown away. See Victor C. Dahl, “The Paraguayan ‘Jewel Box,’” *The Americas* 21, no. 3 (1965): 223–242. Madame Lynch, we should remember, had on several occasions sent monies out on neutral ships (Italian and French as well as American).
- 35 McMahon’s detractors made him into a receiver of stolen property. One congressional representative from Kentucky speculated openly that the former minister received money for the help he gave the Marshal and Madame Lynch: “He ingratiated himself with [the two, and guarded their interests] faithfully. ... I hold in my hand an inventory of a part of what was thus entrusted to General McMahon’s charge as executor; and it is worthy of remark that five percent commission would give him in that capacity three times the salary of any American Minister.” See “Statement of Representative Beck of Kentucky,” *Cong. Globe*, 41st Congress, 3rd Sess. 1 (1866–1867), bk. 1: 339. In making much the same accusation against McMahon, General José Bernardino Bormann noted that “for many men, the dollar has a magical power.” See *História da Guerra do Paraguay*, 1: 36.
- 36 Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 82–85; *La República* (Buenos Aires), 17 March 1869.
- 37 López to Allied Commander in Chief, Headquarters, 29 May 1869, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 10 June 1869; Count d’Eu to López, Pirayú, 29 May 1869, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 11 June 1869; ANA-SH 356, no 5, and ANA-CRB I-30, 21, 69.
- 38 McMahon Letters (15–18 June 1869), in ANA-CRB I-30, 11, 16, nos. 1–4. The Paraguayan government expended most of its precious supplies of paper in publishing multiple copies of this correspondence in *Documentos oficiales relativos al abuso de la bandera nacional paraguaya por los gefes aliados* (Piribebuy, 1869), 1.
- 39 The poem was placed in an album owned by Madame Lynch, and rested unexamined for many years in a private historical collection in Rio de Janeiro. It was afterwards translated into Spanish by Pablo Max Ynsfrán and published as “Resurgirás Paraguay!” *Historia Paraguaya* 1 (1956): 66–68. The original English-language version is included as an appendix in Hughes, “General Martin T. McMahon and the Conduct of Diplomatic Relations,” 99–101.
- 40 McMahon to Fish, Buenos Aires, 19 July 1869, in NARA, Records Group 59.
- 41 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 348–360.
- 42 “Sucesos del ejército,” *Estrella* (Piribebuy), 3 June 1869; Taunay, *Cartas da Campanha*, 36–37.
- 43 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 86–88; *Campanha do Paraguay. Diário do Exército*, 75 [entry of 2 June 1869]; Doratioto, *Maldita guerra*, 403–404; Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 114–115; Lidgerwood to Seward, Rio de Janeiro (?), 24 July 1869, in NARA, M-121, no. 37.
- 44 General Resquín claimed that after the battle the Brazilians despoiled all the poor families of the district, stealing everything they could find, raping women and boys, and sowing the seeds of real hatred for the Allies throughout the region. See *Guerra del Paraguay*, 114–115. Dionísio Cerqueira mentioned the women who fell into Brazilian hands at some length, but made no admission of his countrymen having raped anyone. See *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 362–366. Cecilio Báez mentions the thefts but not the

- rape. See Báez to Juan B. Dávalos, Asunción, 1924, in “La guerra del Paraguay. Matanza de familias, oficiales, y soldados,” *El Orden* (Asunción). 28 August 1924.
- 45 See Kolinski, *Independence or Death!*, 182.
- 46 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 57–59; “Correspondencia (Buenos Aires, 9 June 1869),” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro) 16 June 1869.
- 47 The war correspondent for *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 17 June 1869, reported that the “families rescued by General Mena Barreto exceeded 12,000 in number” but this figure must surely be an error. Perhaps he meant 12,000 individuals, but even that number, given what Centurión and other eyewitnesses claimed, would seem exaggerated. The *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 June 1869, mentions 4,000 families saved.
- 48 Taunay, *Diário do Exército, 1869–1870*, 69–70; Paraguayan sources hint that these people were forced to accompany the Brazilians on their retreat towards Pirayú, but there was no precedent for any coercion in such matters, and there seems little reason to doubt that they came of their own free will “to get out of their misery.” See Centurión, *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 4: 58–59; Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 115–116.
- 49 See “Brazil. Letters of López and the Count d’Eu. Progress of the Allies. Their Recent Successes,” *New York Times*, 20 July 1869; “The Seat of War,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 2 July 1869. The Viscount of Taunay remembered them as “walking cadavers.” See *Recordações de Guerra e de Viagem*, 42, and *Cartas da Campanha*, 50–51.
- 50 “Asombrosas hazañas del Conde-arlequin,” *Estrella* (Piribebuy), 16 June 1869.
- 51 Most of João Manoel’s rear guard saved themselves by abandoning their horses and by taking to the woods. See *American Annual Cyclopaedia of and Register of Important Events of the Year 1869*, 9: 556.
- 52 Taunay, *Cartas da Campanha*, 79–80; *Diário do Exército*, 109 (entry of 27 July 1869).
- 53 Azevedo Pimentel, *Episódios Militares*, 11–13.
- 54 On 24 June, a small Paraguayan unit attacked a Brazilian force of some twelve hundred men near the Paso Jara. In the skirmish, the Brazilians lost ten men killed and forty wounded, but the Paraguayans lost more than a hundred before falling back towards Yuty. See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 August 1869; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 60–62. Allied naval units managed to reinforce the Brazilian land forces in this area shortly thereafter, effectively ending Paraguayan resistance.
- 55 “The Seat of War,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 2 July 1869.
- 56 Juan E. O’Leary, *El mariscal Solano López* (Asunción, 1970), 275–277; Hugo Mendoza, *La guerra contra la Triple Alianza, 1864-1870, 2da parte* (Asunción, 2010), 77–78; Chía-venato, *Genocídio Americano*, 159–161.
- 57 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 33–34.
- 58 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguay*, 4: 273; “Chronique,” *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 31 July 1869.
- 59 *La Stampa* (Turin), 31 March 1869, held that López was attempting to escape, not to Bolivia, but to the United States.
- 60 “Important from Paraguay,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 22 July 1869.
- 61 Centurión observed of this occasion that the “comic and the ridiculous always combine even in the most serious acts and most solemn moments of life.” See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 67–68.
- 62 “Correspondencia (Asunción, 31 July 1869),” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 August 1869.

- 63 Taunay, *Recordações de Guerra e de Viagem*, 42–44, and *Memórias*, 343; at Sapucaí, the Brazilians encountered a self-appointed *teniente* of infantry, who resisted bravely, her sword tied jauntily to a belt made of rope. Her striking demeanor suggested that, while “there were no Charlotte Cordays to be found among the Paraguayan women, there were still many Joans d’Arc.” See “Correspondencia (Asunción, 31 Aug. 1869),” in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 16 September 1869.
- 64 Roque Pérez to Foreign Minister, Rosario, 10 August 1869, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 11 August 1869; “Interrogatório de Felix Paraó,” Piribebuy (?), 13 August 1869, in ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 14, no. 5.
- 65 The Altos feint successfully distracted the Marshal’s garrison at Azcurra while Gaston’s main forces approached Piribebuy. Mitre not only conquered the little town, he brought back to the main camp at Pirayú another two thousand refugees, most of them women and malnourished children. A small number were Brazilians who had fallen prisoner in Mato Grosso. See Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 407, and Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 347–350.
- 66 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 70–71.
- 67 “Correspondencia (copia) entre o Conde d’Eu e o General Osório,” in IHGB, lata 276, doc. 27. Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 310–322.
- 68 Pompeyo González [Juan E. O’Leary] “Recuerdos de Gloria. Piribebuy. 12 de agosto de 1869,” *La Patria* (Asunción), 12 August 1902.
- 69 Andrés Aguirre, *Acosta Nú. Epopeya de los siglos* (Asunción, 1979); Mendoza, *La guerra contra la Triple Alianza*, 82.
- 70 Campanha do Paraguay. *Diário do Exército*, 169 (entry of 12 August 1869); O’Leary has the order of battle arranged differently, with Osório on the left, Victorino in the center, and the count on the right. See “Recuerdos de gloria. Piribebuy.”
- 71 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 312–313; “Correspondencia (Asunción, 16 Aug. 1869),” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 30 August 1869.
- 72 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 307. See Taunay, *Diário do Exército*, 131 (entry of 12 August 1869).
- 73 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 375–377.
- 74 Allied comportment at Piribebuy has been widely censured in Paraguayan historiography up to the present day, with both liberal and revisionist scholars making the same arguments regarding the scale of Brazilian atrocities. See Juan Bautista Gill Aguinaga, “Excesos cometidos hace cien años,” *Historia Paraguaya* 12 (1967–1968): 22–23; Efraím Cardozo, *Paraguay independiente*, 250; Hugo Mendoza, *La guerra contra la Triple Alianza*, 77–79.
- 75 There are two alternative views of the general’s death, one having him shot at close range by a Paraguayan sharpshooter and the other having him felled by a randomly fired ball in a final cannonade. See “The Paraguay-Brazilian War,” *Herald and Star* (Panama City), 14 October 1869, and Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 408, 548.
- 76 João Manoel Mena Barreto always led from the front, and was generally recognized as one of the bravest officers in that famous military family. When the Paraguayans first invaded his home province in 1865, the then-colonel made a great show of parading in full uniform within rifle shot of the enemy. This was a ruse, designed to facilitate the escape of a full battalion of Voluntários, but it took extraordinary valor. See Francisco Pereira da Silva Barbosa, “Diário da Campanha do Paraguai,” <http://web.archive.org/web/2002106050712/http://www.geocities.com/cvidalb2000/>.

- 77 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 72–73, notes both Gaston’s horrified reaction to Mena Barreto’s death and the violent response that he ordered in consequence. The Welsh travel writer John Gimlette, who never offers a simple explanation when a sensational one is at hand, claims that Gaston and the Riograndense general “conducted an uncomfortably public and torrid affair,” and that when João Manoel was slain, the “Prince of Orleans’s grief was genocidal.” See *At the Tomb of the Inflatable Pig. Travels Through Paraguay* (New York, 2003), 205, 212. There is, in fact, no proof whatsoever of an intimate relation between the two men. Had there been one, it could never have escaped notice and condemnation in the Allied camp, and López would surely have learned of the story and used it as propaganda. But no such talk circulated at the time, which leaves us to ask where Gimlette got his evidence. João Manoel had lost his wife to illness while he was at the front earlier in the war, and by 1869 he had taken a mistress (or *china*) who accompanied him into combat and in whose arms he was found at the time of his death. Most of the Brazilian senior officers kept mistresses in the field (Osório, who was an unrepentant womanizer, had several). But a homosexual encounter of the sort alleged by Gimlette would have aroused considerable commentary, and none of this occurred in 1869. Hence, it is not difficult to read the accusation as an intentional canard of fairly recent vintage. See Taunay, *Memórias*, 346, 350, 353.
- 78 Contrary to the speculations of certain twentieth-century writers, there was nothing genocidal in this spilling of blood, no plan, no “final solution” for the Paraguayan “problem.” The count may have seen some advantages in a prompt and proportionate vengeance, but needless slaughter was beyond his ken. Piribebuy was not Auschwitz or Srebrenica; it instead was a site where angry soldiers abandoned their discipline, and their officers did nothing to stop them. The Paraguayans engaged in some of this same butchery at Curupayty and had developed a reputation for not taking prisoners. One of the Brazilians who admitted to having participated in the Piribebuy atrocities was the German immigrant Pedro Werlang, who made no excuses for having acted badly in the heat of the moment. See Werlang Diary in Becker, *Alemães e Descendentes*, 146–171, and more generally, Ary G. Prado, *O Capitão Werlang e seu Diário de Campanha Escrito Durante e Após a Guerra do Paraguai* (Canoas, 1969). Despite Werlang’s contention that beheading prisoners was “normal after a battle,” some Brazilian officers managed to show restraint. One was General Emilio Mallet, the gunner whose skill won the day for the Allies at Tuyutí. At Piribebuy, Mallet intervened at several junctures to save the lives of wounded Paraguayans, including Manuel Solalinde, the acting justice of the peace in the town, who was also an army captain and second-in-command after Caballero. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 307 and Doratioto, *General Osório*, 197. For a polemical example of the “Allies as butchers” interpretation, see Nebro Ariel Cardozo, *De Paysandu a Cerro Cora o el genocidio de los “civilizadores”* (Montevideo, 1970).
- 79 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 376. Taunay confirmed the general outlines of Cerqueira’s account, noting that Paraguayans were commonly killed in cold blood after battles and that he, too, had saved a *soldadito* from being decapitated and that afterwards the boy refused to leave him, even sleeping near his feet. See *Recordações da Guerra e da Viagem*, 48.
- 80 Gill Aguinaga, “Excesos cometidos hace cien años,” 67, records this loss as typical. José Guillermo González, who was present with the Paraguayan artillery during the battle and fell prisoner to the Brazilians afterwards, evidently witnessed the torture and execution of Colonel Caballero. See “Reminiscencias históricas,” *La Democracia* (Asunción), 27 December 1897.
- 81 Paraguayan historians have made much of these atrocities, taking their lead generally from the synoptic accounts of Colonels Centurión and Aveiro and from Father Maíz. The latter minced no words in denouncing the Brazilians for having “committed the most execrable cruelties; savagely cutting the throat of the brave and stoic Caballero, and

- other prisoners, including children in their mothers' arms; the burning of the hospital with all the sick and wounded ... horribly burned to death." See *Etapas de mi vida*, 70–71, and Maíz to Juan O'Leary, Arroyos y Esteros, 15 October 1907, in *Escritos del Padre Fidel Maíz, I. Autobiografía y cartas*, 311–313. Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 87; Letter of "Mefistófeles," *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 24 August 1869; and O'Leary, "Recuerdos de Gloria. Piribebuy," which claims that long after the event the flesh of wounded men trying to escape the burning building was still visible as greasy smudges upon the scorched walls. In his *Episódios Militares* (96–99), General Azevedo Pimentel claims that spontaneous combustion was a common occurrence in the grasslands of central Paraguay and perhaps had that fact in mind as a possible excuse for what happened in Piribebuy, though he does not make this argument explicitly.
- 82 This figure included fifteen Argentines killed and ninety-six wounded. See Tasso Frago-so, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 320, and Emilio Mitre to Martín de Gainza, Altos, 13 August 1869, in MHN (BA), doc. 6690.
- 83 In going over these treasures, which seemed so out of place amid such devastation, Taunay observed how "vast and pernicious an influence this imperious and intelligent woman had had over the spirit of Solano López." See *Memórias*, 349–350. The presence of a volume of *Don Quixote* among the Marshal's possessions was ironic, for, as more than one observer noted, the Paraguayans had been tilting at windmills since 1864.
- 84 In retaining a large portion of this material for his personal collection, Councilor Paranhos unfavorably affected relations with the Paraguayans for over a century. In fact, the absence of the documents was later cited as one reason the Asunción government failed to justify its many claims against Brazil during the postwar period. See Acevedo, *Anales históricos del Uruguay*, 3: 371 (which notes an angry letter from the mid-1870s in which diplomat Jaime Sosa Escalada tells President Salvador Jovellanos that he finds it difficult to advise on foreign policy without the documents in hand). The "Piribebuy archive" remained with Paranhos until his death, and was afterwards donated by his family to the Biblioteca Nacional in Rio. The Carioca librarians took exceptionally good care of the Paraguayan materials in the Coleção Rio Branco, eventually microfilming them and organizing a highly useful catalog for the collection. Their organizing principle proved so efficient that it was retained by the Archivo Nacional de Asunción when the Brazilians finally returned the documents to Paraguay in the 1970s. See Hipólito Sánchez Quell, *Los 50.000 documentos paraguayos llevados al Brasil* (Asunción, 1976).
- 85 Letter of Julio Alvarez to O'Leary, Asunción, 3 November 1922, in "Los crímenes del Conde d'Eu. Informe de una víctima sobreviviente," in BNA-CJO (this letter purports to record the experience of Alvarez's aunt, Juana Mora de Román, who had been cut terribly in the face at Piribebuy and given up for dead, but succeeded nonetheless in observing the count's conversation with the two women).
- 86 Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 88; "Nouvelles du Paraguay," *Le Courrier de la Plata* (Buenos Aires), 22 August 1869.
- 87 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 582–583.
- 88 Testimony of William King, Asunción, 18 October 1869, in Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Scala.
- 89 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 319; Corselli, *La Guerra Americana*, 521–522.
- 90 Though their access to rations was constricted, the engineers had continued to draw their salaries during their time in the Cordillera. See Salary Receipts for 13 Foreign machinists (and three Paraguayans), Piribebuy, 4 June 1869, in ANA-NE 2509 (with partial copies in the BNA-CJO, and in the ANA-CRB I-30, 25, 27, no. 6). Several Britons continued to follow López after the retreat from Caacupé and still enjoyed his favor, but only one, Dr. Frederick Skinner, went with him the entire distance to the northeast.

- 91 "Testimony of William Eden," in Rebaudi, *Vencer o Morir*, 91–95; and "Arrival of the British Sufferers," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 26 August 1869.
- 92 A. Jourdiier Communications in *L'Etendard* (Paris), 19 and 22 March 1868; W. R. Richardson Letter, in *The Times* (London), 3 April 1868; "The British in Paraguay," *The Times* (London), 7 August 1868; "Review for Europe" and "Foreigners in Paraguay," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 25 September 1868; "Mr. Washburn; Foreigners in Paraguay," *The Times* (London), 4 November 1868; "The War in the North. The English in Paraguay," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 19 November 1868; "Mr. Washburn and the British in Paraguay," *The Times* (London), 8 and 11 December 1868; "List of British in Paraguay," *The Times* (London), 2 January 1869; "Letter of a British Resident in Paraguay," *The Times* (London), 12 January 1869; "Mr. Washburn. List of the British in Paraguay," *The Times* (London), 25 March 1869; "The British in Paraguay," *The Times* (London), 4 October 1869; Documents Regarding British Prisoners in ANA-CRB I-30, 28, 10, nos. 1–7; and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 18–19.
- 93 "Un heroe de 13 años," and "La mujer de Rbio [sic] Nú," in Justo A. Pane, *Episódios militares* (Asunción, 1908), 12–22, and 41–49; Victor I. Franco, "Las heroínas mujeres del Acosta Nú," *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 9 March 1969; and Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 409.
- 94 The Paraguayans have set aside 16 August as Children's Day, and a very curious secular festival it is. In other countries, similar holidays celebrate the youthful innocence and sweet exuberance that childhood supposedly encompasses. In Paraguay, Children's Day pays tribute to the prepubescent soldiers of Nú Guazú who willingly took on the most adult responsibility imaginable and fought to the death in futile combat. It should be remembered, of course, that while the Paraguayan boy-soldiers displayed implacable courage at Nú Guazú, they had only recently shown an execrable brutality toward their own people. The sniggering executioners at San Fernando were nearly all teenagers. See Barbara Potthast, "¿Niños heroes o víctimas? Niños soldados en la guerra de la Triple Alianza," *II Jornadas Internacionales de la Historia del Paraguay* (Universidad de Montevideo), 15 June 2010; and Cooney, "Economy and Manpower," 41–43.
- 95 Manoel Luis da Rocha Osório to General Osório, Caragatay, 20 August 1869, in *História do General Osório*, 2: 617–618; Altair Franco Ferreira, "Batalha de Campo Grande, 16 de Agosto de 1869," *A Defesa Nacional*, 5: 626 (July–August 1969), 65–121; and Corselli, *La Guerra Americana*, 523–524.
- 96 Taunay, *Recordações da Campanha e da Viagem*, 57–58; J. Estanislao Leguizamón, *Apuntes biográficos históricos* (Asunción, 1898).
- 97 The baron was not allowed leave until December. See Doratioto, *General Osório*, 197–200.
- 98 "The War," *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 September 1869. A somewhat fictionalized account of the engagement, replete with blood and loss of innocence, can be found in two of Adriano M. Aguiar's short stories, "Los dos clarines," and "Yaguar-í paso," in *Yatebó y otros relatos. Episódios de la guerra contra la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, 1983), 145–158, 198–203.
- 99 "Chronique," *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 4 September 1869. The Paraguayans had used stones and broken shards as standard grapeshot since the beginning of the war (though now there was more stone than iron available). The grape, which was encased in leather boxes, caused many wounds but also ruined the bores of the cannon. See José Carlos de Carvalho, *Noções de Artilharia para Instrução do Oficiais Inferiores da Arma no Exército em Operações fora do Império* (Montevideo, 1866), 60.
- 100 Pompeyo González [Juan E. O'Leary] "Recuerdos de Gloria. Rubio Nú. 16 de agosto de 1869," *La Patria* (Asunción), 16 August 1902; Andrés Aguirre, *Acosta Nú*, 71–77; Antonio Díaz Acuña, *Homenaje al centenario de Acosta Nú* (Asunción, 1969).

- 101 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra da Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 342. Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 417, records a more modest loss for the Allies—26 killed and 259 wounded—but this figure seems to represent the casualties recorded in the *Diário do Exército* (184) for the 1st Corps alone; other Brazilian units took hits on the field that day and the *Diário* does acknowledge those losses (though it excludes those sustained by the Argentine and Uruguayans). Like Doratioto, Altair Franco Ferreira argues for a low casualty total for the Allies, but he stresses that the high number of KIA among the Paraguayans could only derive from their fanaticism, the backwardness of their supporting arms, and the technical sloppiness or lack of training in their lower ranks. See Ferreira, “Batalha do Campo Grande,” 105.
- 102 Taunay, *Memórias*, 527.
- 103 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 418. If one compares the figures of men lost at Piribebuy and Ñú Guazú with the casualties suffered at Tuyutí, it is possible to see at once how trivial in the military sense these engagements were; but the Paraguayans suffered mightily from this “bloodbath” and they never forgot.
- 104 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 90; Victor I. Franco, *Coronel Florentín Oviedo* (Asunción, 1971). The Allies took from one thousand to twelve hundred prisoners at Ñú Guazú, most of whom had initially dispersed into the forests but who delivered themselves into Allied hands over the next two days. One of their number was a young sergeant, Emilio Aceval, who served as Paraguayan president between 1898 and 1902.
- 105 Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 390–391 (emphasis in the original).
- 106 O’Leary, “Recuerdos de Gloria. Rubio Ñú. 16 de agosto de 1869.” Taunay saw with his own eyes a wounded Paraguayan boy-soldier upon the ground, twisted into the fetal position and simpering with pain and coughing with the irritation of the smoke. Between coughs he called out to a comrade to dispatch him before the fire could consume his person; the other soldier, with a look of resignation, responded by firing a single shot into the heart of the prostrate boy. See Taunay, *Recordações da Guerra e da Viagem*, 68–69.

15 | THE NEW PARAGUAY AND THE OLD

- 1 This calculation is attributed to one of the Englishmen liberated at Caacupé in mid-August, a man who was clearly not exaggerating when he made the point that he expected the figure to grow over the next months. See “Correspondencia, Asunción, 18 Aug. 1869,” in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 1 September 1869.
- 2 “Correspondencia (Caraguayat, 28 Aug. 1869),” in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 September 1869.
- 3 The Paraguayan exiles still hoped to win major concessions because the Allied powers seemed even more riven by dispute than themselves. See Misc. Correspondence of Paraguayan exiles in UCR-JSG, Box 14, nos. 11–13, 15; Declaration of Paraguayan Citizens, Asunción, 31 March 1869, and José Díaz de Bedoya, J. Egusquiza, and Bernardo Valiente to Mariano Varela, Buenos Aires, 29 April 1868 [*sic* 1869], in Díaz, *Historia política y militar de las repúblicas del Plata*, 11: 199–203.
- 4 The rumor of a possible American intervention was likely started by McMahon, who wished to buy López some time. See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 578–580. Paranhos knew enough of US policy considerations to doubt the validity of this tale, but he could not afford to ignore the reactions of Conservative members of Parliament who might happen to believe it. See Francisco Doratioto, “La política del Imperio del Brasil en relación al Paraguay, 1864–1872,” in Richard et al., *Les Guerres du Paraguay*, 39.
- 5 Ex-president Mitre strongly opposed the drift suggested by Varela, which he thought tantamount to throwing away his country’s territorial claims in Misiones and the Chaco

- in exchange for nebulous political considerations. See Doratioto, "La ocupación política y militar brasileña del Paraguay (1869–1876), *Historia Paraguaya* 45 (2005): 256.
- 6 The Argentine Congress resisted the idea of sending a diplomatic mission to Asunción, arguing that the signing of a comprehensive peace treaty needed to come first. See *Congreso Nacional. Camara de Senadores. Diario de sesiones* (Buenos Aires, 1869), 238–239 (Session of 26 June 1869).
 - 7 "The War in the North," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 17 March 1869.
 - 8 The number of displaced persons flowing into Asunción continued to increase over the next months. According to one source, the cost of supplying rations to these refugees had grown by September to 100,000 milréis a day, a huge sum for which the Brazilians had made no allowance. See "Enormous expenses," in unidentified clipping attached to Lidgerwood to Seward, Petrópolis, 24 September 1869, in NARA M-121, no. 37.
 - 9 Though imperial officials preferred to leave formal charity work to others, the generosity and compassion of individual Brazilian troops (and their officers) should not be doubted. Particularly striking was the work of Ana Néri, the Florence Nightingale of Brazil, who had effectively administered military hospitals in Corrientes and Asunción, and sometimes managed to get food to displaced Paraguayan children in the capital. Before returning to Bahia at the end of the war, she adopted four Paraguayan orphans she had helped in this way. See Cybelle de Ipanema, "No Centenário de D. Ana Justina Ferreira Néri," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* 334 (1982): 145–154, and João Francisco de Lima, *Ana Néri. Heroína da Caridade* (São Paulo, 1977). Just as striking were the efforts of Argentine Freemasons, who, in mid-July 1869, established an asylum in Asunción to house the poor. Located near the cathedral in a former clerical school, the asylum featured clean, whitewashed dormitories and some access to food and medical care. A little chapel was also provided for the inmates. Unfortunately, there was only room for one hundred fifty of the latter—hardly sufficient to deal with the problem. See "Paraguayan Asylum," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 22 July 1869.
 - 10 The Brazilians were anxious to resurrect Paraguay as a viable entity, so that it could serve as a buffer state and effectively cancel out any Argentine pretensions to northern territories abutting the Mato Grosso. The Argentines had already displayed some interest in the Chaco districts opposite Asunción, and it was a matter of long-term Brazilian interest that Buenos Aires not get those lands. Hence, the empire looked with approval on any policies that strengthened the hand of a post-Lopista Paraguay. See Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 463–470.
 - 11 José S. Campobassi, *Mitre y su época* (Buenos Aires, 1980), 2: 213.
 - 12 For many months, the members of the Alliance had seemed no better than the Graiae, the three primordial witches who shared a single eye among them and could see no further than what that one eye permitted. Now, however, the Allies had rediscovered some of their mutual animosity and were confronting each other (at least rhetorically) almost as much as they confronted the Marshal's army. See Cardozo, *Paraguay independiente* (Asunción, 1987), 248.
 - 13 "Provisional Government of Paraguay. Agreement of the Allies," 2 June 1869, in Díaz, *Historia política y militar de las repúblicas del Plata*, 11: 206–210, and unidentified clipping in Asboth to Hamilton Fish, Buenos Aires, 21 July 1869, in NARA, FM-69, no. 18.
 - 14 Some of the jibes were directed at the Paraguayan delegates who had met with Varela and Paranhos, others at men who had been in Asunción for some time and who now wished to assume the status of courtiers. See "De lo que han sido capaces," *La Verdad* (Buenos Aires), 19 June 1869, and Juansilvano Godoi, *El baron de Rio Branco. La muerte del mariscal López. El concepto de la patria* (Asunción, 1912), 232–233.
 - 15 "Importantes noticias del Paraguay," *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 8 April 1869.

- 16 Decoud, *Sobre los escombros de la guerra*, 87–90; Gill Aguinaga, *La Asociación Paraguaya en la guerra de la Triple Alianza*, 24.
- 17 The liberal opponents of the López regime often spoke among themselves in French and used Guaraní only when they wished to express contempt. Ironically, they were not far removed in this habit from the Marshal, though for López French was the language of intimacy, not of intellectual discourse. With regards to the latter, it might be submitted that, in spite of well-read intellectuals like the Decoud brothers, the Argentine model for liberalism that the Paraguayans adopted was somewhat passé—at least insofar as it reflected European impulses, which by the late 1860s had moved away from the ideals of Mazzini and the Frankfurt liberals. See Nicolas Shumway, *The Invention of Argentina* (Berkeley, 1991); Tulio Halperín Donghi, *Contemporary History of Latin America* (Durham and London, 1993), 105–121, 135–139.
- 18 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 11: 269–271.
- 19 Act of Foundation of the Club Unión, Asunción, 31 March 1869, in MHM, Colección Gill Aguinaga (uncataloged section).
- 20 Héctor Francisco Decoud, *Sobre los escombros de la guerra*, 105.
- 21 F. Arturo Bordón, *Historia política del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1976), 43.
- 22 This provision, the inclusion of which demonstrates just how far sutler power extended, read that “All individuals, ships, provisions, forage, and other material of whatever species, belonging to the Allied armies or to its contractors shall have ingress into and egress from the Republic, free of all and every onus or search, the same as granted to the generals and diplomatic representatives of the Allied Governments.” See Tasso Fragoso, *A Paz com o Paraguai depois da guerra da Triplíce Aliança* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), 47–48; Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 54.
- 23 Decoud, *Sobre los escombros de la guerra*, 145–146.
- 24 Lopista officials never quite trusted don Cirilo’s independent streak, which doubtlessly explains why he never attained an officer’s rank. They remembered that his father had also quarreled publicly, first with Dr. Francia’s sub-*delegados*, and then with Carlos Antonio López, whose accession to power the elder Rivarola had opposed in 1844. Nor had the Marshal forgotten that the younger Rivarola had uttered “defeatist” remarks on several occasions. Such accusations were commonly directed at anyone with a recognizable surname during the final years of the war, but it was not always the case that Marshal López believed the rumor. In this case, he evidently took pleasure at the man’s escape from Caxias, and promoted him as a reward. Unfortunately, the Marshal’s satisfaction with Rivarola did not last. When two wounded troopers in his charge drowned during a torrential downpour at Cerro León, the sergeant was brought up on charges, given forty strokes, and kept tied to a tree just outside the encampment. The court-martial had intended him to post him to a vanguard unit to be killed in action, but when the count’s troops stormed the camp in May, they liberated him without further ado. He proved grateful to his captors, who hoped to make of him a useful instrument. See Decoud, *Sobre los escombros de la guerra*, 145–147.
- 25 Paranhos had sought the inclusion of Egusquiza in the provisional government as proof of the empire’s willingness to enlist old Lopistas. This was a typical concession to the politics of the moment, in which the councilor appeared so mild and judicious to the Brazilians, and so infamous to Paraguayans of every political stripe. See Doratioto, “La rivalidad argentina-brasileña y la reorganización institucional del Paraguay,” *Historia Paraguaya* 37 (1997): 231.
- 26 Ernesto Quesada, *Historia diplomática nacional: la política argentina-paraguaya* (Buenos Aires, 1902), 33; Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 55.

- 27 "He's quite a devil this Decoud," said a perturbed Paranhos at one point. See *Sobre los escombros de la guerra*, 134–136. Another of the Decoud sons, Juan José, had for some time used the pages of a Correntino newspaper to spit bile on Paranhos and the count's military regime. The Brazilian foreign minister, who took the insults personally, saw no reason to cater to any one of that surname after that, and so put his foot down when the matter of candidates for the triumvirate arose. See Godoi, *El barón de Rio Branco*, 236–237; and Whigham, *La guerra de la Triple Alianza*, 3: 402–411.
- 28 The old Lopista system had always taken the form of a rigid court hierarchy consisting of rival paladins seeking the Marshal's blessing; the provisional government was similar in that each faction sought the patronage of Paranhos. Colonel Decoud, head of the Club del Pueblo, was made chief of the Asunción police. His son Juan José was named attorney general, and José Segundo first became Rivarola's private secretary, and later minister of education. Even Ferreira earned a post in the new government as port commander at Asunción. Though the Decoudistas were kept out of the most senior positions in the new government, their presence in the second tier was very prominent—all the result of political payoffs from Paranhos and Rivarola rather than from serious compromises. See Bordón, *Historia política*, 49–52; Godoi, *El barón de Rio Branco*, 250–251; Carlos Centurión, *Los hombres de la convención*, 10–11, 19–20.
- 29 Act of Installation of the Provisional Government (Asunción, 15 August 1869), in *Registro Oficial de la República del Paraguay correspondiente a los años 1869 a 1875* (Asunción, 1887), 3–4.
- 30 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 267; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 316–317; according to *The Standard's* description, this street theater "partook of some grotesque features." See "Installation of the Paraguayan Triumvirate," in the 25 August 1869 issue.
- 31 Wilfredo Valdez [Jaime Sosa Escalada], "La guerra futura. La guerra de Chile y Brasil con la República. La Alianza—la caura común. Estudio de los hombres del Paraguay—el Triumvirato," *Revista del Paraguay* 2, no. 3–9 (1892): 257–260.
- 32 Valdez, "La guerra future," 196; "Correspondencia" (Asunción, 7 August 1869), *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 21 August 1869.
- 33 Though Juansilvano Godoi almost certainly overstates the silver pilfered by Díaz de Be-doya as "300 or more arrobas [7,500 pounds]," the quantity taken was surely large. See *El barón de Rio Branco*, 242–243, 278–279.
- 34 McMahon to Hamilton Fish, Buenos Aires, 19 July 1869, cited in Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 54.
- 35 Cited in Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance*, 54.
- 36 Decree of the Provisional Government, Asunción, 17 August 1869, in Lidgerwood to Seward, Petropolis, 11 September 1869, in NARA, M-121, no. 37; Decoud, *Sobre los escombros*, 168–169.
- 37 *La república del Paraguay. Manifiesto del Gobierno provisorio* (Asunción, 1869). The Paraguayan people might have been able to claim a certain moral authority by virtue of their terrible suffering, but such cannot be said for the members of the provisional government, who were capable of displaying an ostentatious, almost oriental, disregard for their countrymen's plight. It was therefore indecorous for the triumvirs to presume to teach them their duties. See Alberto Moby Ribeiro da Silva, "Bailes e Festas Públicas em Asunción no pós-guerra da Tríplice Aliança: Mulher e Resistência Popular no Paraguai," *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* 25, no. 1 (1999): 43–52, and more generally, *La noche de las Kygua Vera. La mujer y la reconstrucción de la identidad nacional en la posguerra de la Triple Alianza (1867–1904)* (Asunción, 2010).

- 38 See "Important from Paraguay," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 21 September 1869. See also *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 17 September 1869, which speculates that cholera was again about to fall upon these poor people; and Brezzo, "Civiles y militares," 45–51.
- 39 See Decrees of 1–10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, and 29 September 1869 in *Registro Oficial de la República del Paraguay*, 11–27. *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 15 October 1869, reported that sutlers were organizing to oppose the government licensing of their activities.
- 40 Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 432–433; "Chronique," *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 and 29 October 1869. These efforts to raise revenues were inconclusive. As *The Times* (London) noted, the new government was anxious to "restore the country to order, but destitute as it is of resources, without a trade save the army supply, without a solitary staple wherewith to feed the people, and without even the vestige of a treasury, it is impotent and every way unequal to the task." See issue of 6 December 1869.
- 41 See Decree of 2 October 1869, in *Registro Oficial de la República del Paraguay*, 29–30; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 400–401, 13: 12–13; "O Conde d'Eu e a Escravidão no Paraguai," in Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Imperio*, 162–165; and Ana Maria Arguello, *El rol de los esclavos negros en el Paraguay* (Asunción, nd), 92.
- 42 It cannot be said that the Allied commissioners and directors of the military government were unaware of the scale of the problem. In a personal note to Foreign Minister Mariano Varela, the Argentine commissioner remarked that "what was most horrible and degrading in the liberated zones was the unfortunate state of the families. Hunger, misery, suffering, and nudity abound, and even in the streets [one can see] a mass of cadavers. This, my friend, no one can imagine, it is necessary to see." He might have shown great sympathy in noting this terrible business, but he could do nothing—or would do nothing—to help bring it to an end. Concern in words, indifference in actions would seem to have been the rule at that time. See *El Nacional* (Buenos Aires), 29 August 1869.
- 43 Williams, *Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic*, 225; in addition to these decrees passed to supposedly favor the poor, the displaced women and children huddled into the plazas of the city were expelled to their home districts "as a hygienic measure." See Godoi, *El barón de Rio Branco*, 262–263.
- 44 Mitre and the financial backers of *La Nación Argentina* had evidently planned to establish a liberal newspaper in occupied Asunción tentatively called *El Sol de Lambaré*, but, for a variety of reasons, the project never came off. This left the field open for *La Regeneración*, which was edited by Decoud and radiated his political viewpoints as if the type were inked with pitchblende. Juansilvano Godoi regarded the paper, which appeared three times a week, as progressive in spirit, as favoring a broad concept of social welfare and public education for women. See *El barón de Rio Branco*, 267–270. Other readers might argue that there was less in *La Regeneración* than met the eye. See "Important from Paraguay," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 4 March 1869; Harris Gaylord Warren, "Journalism in Asunción under the Allies and the Colorados, 1869–1904," *The Americas* 39, no. 4 (1983): 483–498.
- 45 Incongruously, *La Voz del Pueblo*, which did not issue its first number until 24 March 1870, was founded by Miguel Gallegos, the surgeon who had served as head of the Argentine medical corps during the Humaitá campaign, and who thus played the role that fate assigned the Correntino Victor Silvero in his editorial work for *Cabichuí*. See Carlos Centurión, *Historia de la cultura paraguaya* (Asunción, 1961), 1: 317. Both *La Voz del Pueblo* and *La Regeneración* ceased publication in September 1870 when their respective offices were wrecked in the night by parties unknown (though it is not difficult to point the finger at government agents). See Warren, "Journalism in Asunción," 485.

- 46 While we might censure the triumvirs for concentrating on partisan politics when so many people faced starvation, in truth, the scale of the challenge would have confounded any responsible authorities. Conditions were so bad that, on 1 December 1869, Rivarola admitted to “the difficulty of transporting cadavers to the public cemeteries for lack of men to convey them, the task [having been relegated] to women already sunken from hunger and fatigue [brought on by living] under the yoke of Solano López, who had [sought] to exterminate the Paraguayan nationality.” He ordered his little militia to aid in the interment of the dead wherever they were found, not bothering to carry them “to more distant burial grounds. See Circular of Rivarola, 1 December 1869, in *Registro Oficial*, 38–39.
- 47 “A March in Paraguay,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 25 November 1869.
- 48 Taunay, *Diário do Exército*, 163 (entry of 21 August 1869).
- 49 Councilor Paranhos initially reported that Hermosa had died during the attack, but he evidently survived by hiding in the scrub brush and later turned himself in as a prisoner of war. See Paranhos to Sr. Carvalho Borges, Rosario, 25 August 1869, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 26 August 1869; and Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 9: 91.
- 50 Taunay, *Diário do Exército*, 160–161 (entry of 19 August 1869); Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 4: 355–357; *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 September 1869; Alexandre Barros de Albuquerque to Francisco Vieira de Faria, Caragatay, 21 August 1869, in IHGB, lata 449, doc. 54.
- 51 The Paraguayan side of this incident is presented in Victor Franco, “Crueldades imperiales en el combate de Caaguy-yurú,” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 9 April 1972, while the Brazilian side is presented in “Correspondencia (Caragatay, 28 Aug. 1869),” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 September 1869, and, more evocatively, in Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 392 (the latter does not claim to have seen the bodies of the dead men himself, but he leaves no doubt that Victorino’s units took their revenge).
- 52 Centurión speculated that Victorino’s bloodthirstiness, and the inflexibility of his order, suggested that it had originated from higher authority (possibly the count). See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 91–92.
- 53 It might seem odd that undernourished girls would beg for music rather than food, but such odd and coquettish happenings were far from uncommon. See Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 466 (entry of 18 August 1869). Robert Bontine Cunningham Graham was far from the only one to notice how Paraguayan women in those sad moments often looked at men the way “a cannibal might stare at a young, well-fed missionary out in La Nouvelle or the New Hebrides.” See “La Alcaldesa,” in *Charity* (London, 1912), 40–41.
- 54 J. B. Otaño, *Origen, desarrollo, y fin de la marina desaparecida en la guerra de 1864–70* (Asunción, 1942), 16–17.
- 55 Carlos Balthazar Silveira, *Campanha do Paraguay. A Marinha Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1900), 69–70.
- 56 Taunay notes that the force of the explosion of one ship’s magazine sent shards of metal into the air, killing a Brazilian sergeant and wounding another man. See *Diário do Exército*, 162 (entry of 19 August 1869); Levy Scarvada, “A Marinha no Final de uma Campanha Gloriosa,” *Navigator* 2 (1970): 36; and Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 473 (entry of 24 August 1869).
- 57 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 95–96.
- 58 “Correspondencia, Asunción, 20 Aug. 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 2 September 1869.

- 59 Amerlan, *Nights on the Rio Paraguay*, 147; Rocha Osório to General Osório, Caraguatay, 27 August 1869, in Osório y Osório, *História do General Osório*, 622–623; “Don Lopez et la Guerre du Paraguay,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* 85 (1870): 1024–1025; *La América* (Buenos Aires), 26 August 1869.
- 60 One of the Marshal’s remaining British stalwarts, whom the pseudonymous author of a letter in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires) identified as Captain [Charles?] Thompson, had taken charge of this baggage (which included fruit preserves, bonbons, fine wines, dinnerware and the Marshal’s gold-embossed boots). The Briton managed to flee into the woods when his troops were cut up at this engagement, and fell prisoner a day or two later. See “H. F.” to Cranford, Asunción, 27 August 1869, in issue of 3 September 1869. See also “Correspondencia (Caraguatay, 28 Aug. 1869),” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 September 1869.
- 61 Taunay, *Diário do Exército*, 165–166 (entry of 22 August 1869), “The Seat of War,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 1 September 1869.
- 62 Maíz, *Etapas de mi vida*, 71.
- 63 In such remote sites, López’s civilian functionaries still went through the motions of governing in his name. They dispatched reports to a central government that no longer had a fixed seat of power, and they recorded minimal acreage sown with maize, peanuts, and cotton to supply a largely nonexistent army. In truth, however, the well-oiled state apparatus that had provided a bulwark for the Marshal’s regime was increasingly replaced by direct military fiat. See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 102–103.
- 64 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 331–332; Díaz de Bedoya’s behavior on this occasion proved that it was easier to begin collaboration than to stop, but his example was not much copied. The *jefe político* of San José de los Arroyos arrived on the scene at about this time, and immediately put himself under Allied orders. “This was the first defection from López’s side,” observed one Argentine officer, “and we will see how many will [soon] follow him.” There were very few. See ? to Pedro José Agüero, Campamento, 22 August 1869, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 2 September 1869.
- 65 A few months later, he threatened to resign his command and leave Paraguay if something were not done to help his soldiers. Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 446–448.
- 66 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 338.
- 67 Emilio Mitre remarked in a letter from Caraguatay on 25 August that he had just returned to the village after eight days searching for López’s army and that he hoped to obtain victuals and new mounts from the Brazilians. He apparently believed that Gaston’s stores to allow him to join the chase again fairly promptly. It turned out, however, that his Allies were just as destitute of supplies as he was. See *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 2 September 1869, and Mitre to Martín de Gainza, Caraguatay, 30 August 1869, in MHN (BA), doc. 6693.
- 68 The horses the Argentines stole likely ended up in pucheros, for Emilio Mitre’s troops were even hungrier than the Brazilians. See Kolinski, *Independence or Death!*, 183; a related tale has the Argentines at Cerro León turning the stolen animals into sausages, “horses and mules all alike.” See “Startling from Paraguay,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 7 November 1869. General Mitre himself had long cited the inadequacy of the horses remaining to him as a factor in his army’s inability to pursue López, but no one thought that his men would ultimately eat them. See Mitre to Martín de Gainza, Caraguatay, 25 August 1869, in MHN (BA), doc. 4294.
- 69 The dearth of horses continued to hamper Allied operations well into October. See Polidoro to Victorino, Asunción, 27 September 1869; Victorino to Polidoro, Caraguatay (?), 28 September 1869; Polidoro to Victorino, Asunción, 29 September 1869; Victorino

- to Polidoro, Caraguatay (?), 30 September 1869; and Carlos Resin to Victorino, San Joaquín, 8 October 1869, in IHGB lata 447, nos. 107, 116, 108, 117, and 20, respectively.
- 70 Provisioning problems vexed Allied operational effectiveness for many months. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 57–58, 70, 72, and 121. On one occasion, a small Brazilian unit managed to capture a number of milk cows—a great rarity—and these were sent on to His Highness as a token of esteem (13: 64).
- 71 Taunay, *Memórias*, 367–369.
- 72 The Brazilians were also very hungry. General Azevedo Pimentel tells the story of a large macaw that his men had shot from a tree to provide something for the otherwise inconsequential mess; the soldiers had fired simultaneously, hitting the poor bird with eight bullets, and thus rendering their meal into pieces too small to eat. See *Episódios Militares*, 35–39.
- 73 “Correspondencia, Asunción, 31 Aug. 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 15 September 1869; Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 398; the *New York Tribune* reported in its 9 October 1869 issue that López had safely arrived in Bolivia, “to which country he had retreated from the mountains, attended by a few of his personal adherents.” It had not happened.

16 | THE END OF IT

- 1 A double, or triple, espionage could transform an informer into the accused, and toward the end of the campaign, López found it difficult to trust anyone. On this occasion, he executed the sergeant who let the supposed spy escape. See Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 583.
- 2 “Declaración del general Resquín (Humaitá, 20 May 1870),” in *Papeles de López. El tirano pintado por sí mismo*, 158–159. Centurión confirms the story, supplying details on the conversation between López and Aquino that bought the latter a few days, but which condemned many other members of the Acá Verá. See *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 4: 103–107; “Declaración de Coronel Manuel Palacios,” in Rebaudi, *Guerra del Paraguay. Un episodio*, 72–73; Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 26–27; “Importante declaración de don Manuel Palacios (aboard Brazilian warship *Iguatemy*, Asunción, 20 May 1870),” in Masterman, *Siete años de aventuras en el Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1911), 2: 370–371. See also “Declarations of 2 Paraguayan Women,” *The Times* (London), 19 November 1869.
- 3 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 106. According to Dr. Skinner, the lieutenant enjoyed a natural talent for mimicry and had frequently provided amusement for López’s family, as if he were a jester. See “Testimony of Dr. Frederick Skinner,” in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/14, 1010.
- 4 Luis María Campos to Martín Gainza, Caraguatay, 4 September 1869, in MHN(BA), doc. 6602.
- 5 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 339, records the total manpower of the Allied army at this juncture as 30,000 men, with 10,042 operating in Villa de Rosario and Concepción; 8,160 in the “central” districts; 2,140 in Villarrica; 1,000 in Asunción; 500 in Pirayú; 3,000 with the Count d’Eu in Caraguatay and San José; and 2,229 in various convoys. See also “Correspondencia (Asunción), 17 Sept. 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 2 October 1869; and Centurión, *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 4: 107.
- 6 The Brazilians also managed to take two small cannon from the Paraguayans on this occasion. They must have been among the few artillery pieces left in the Marshal’s army. See Centurión, *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 4: 109–110.

- 7 Ulrich Lopacher had been present when Argentine troops reached Caragatatay, and had noted on that occasion that the northeast abounded with the so-called "Santa Fe grass, sharp as a knife, whose blades stabbed upward, and bloodied both feet and lower leg." It was the same further east. See *Un suizo en la guerra del Paraguay*, 38.
- 8 Centurión, *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 4: 109–110.
- 9 Several hundred Paraguayan soldiers were killed or deserted to the Allies the day before. See Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 225.
- 10 Dorotéa Lasserre, *The Paraguayan War. Sufferings of a French Lady in Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1870), 14–17. Other *destinadas* included Elizabeth Cutler, whose account of her time on the road can be seen in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 29 August 1869; Casiana Irigoyen de Miltos, who described her experiences in a single letter written from Asunción on 8 October 1871 to her brother Manuel V. Irigoyen, and which can be found in the private collection of Cristobal Duarte (Washington, D. C.); Concepción Domecq de Decoud, the mother of José Segundo Decoud, whose 1888 testimony can be found in MHM(A), Colección Zeballos, carpeta 128; María Ana Dolores Pereyra, mother of the late Bishop Palacios, whose declaration of 3 January 1870 can be found in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 2 February 1870, and *La Regeneración* (Asunción), 19 January 1870; Susana Céspedes de Céspedes, whose short declaration can be found in *La Regeneración* (Asunción), 15 December 1869; Encarnación Mónica Bedoya, whose memoir was reproduced in Guido Rodríguez Alcalá, *Residentas, destinadas y traidores* (Asunción, 1991), 91–97; and Silvia Cordal de Gill, whose abbreviated notes can be seen in Manuel Peña Villamil and Roberto Quevedo, *Silvia* (Asunción, 1987). Manuel Solalinde, a Paraguayan captain who surrendered to the Brazilians in September 1869, recorded six camps set aside for the *destinadas*. See Solalinde Testimony, Asunción, 16 September 1869, in Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Scala.
- 11 Lasserre, *The Paraguayan War*, 17; Potthast-Jutkeit, "¿Paraíso de Mahoma" o "País de las mujeres", 279–288.
- 12 En route to Yhú, they occasionally received kind treatment and food from local farmers, but it never amounted to much more than a handful of maize, for at least fifty displaced families had preceded them. Héctor Francisco Decoud recorded 2,021 displaced individuals in Yhú, mostly women and children. See *Sobre los escombros de la guerra*, 209–215.
- 13 Lasserre, *The Paraguayan War*, 23–25.
- 14 Testimony of Auguste Carmin, Asunción, 24 September 1869, in Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Scala.
- 15 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 433–444; Centurión, *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 4: 111–113. Dr. Skinner attributed the mistreatment of Colonel Marcó to Madame Lynch, who was supposedly jealous of the attentions that the Marshal paid the colonel's wife. See "Skinner Testimony," in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19, 1018.
- 16 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 114–115.
- 17 They had to "sow maize and mandioca, making holes in the ground with their hands or with the jaw-bone of a cow." See "Declaration of the Bishop's Mother," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 2 February 1870.
- 18 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 12: 365, quotes a letter to this effect written by Councilor Paranhos to the Baron of Cotegipe at the end of August; two weeks later, General Castro announced his own intention to return to Montevideo because the fighting had ended. See Castro to José Luis Benalazreto, Cerro León, 9 September 1869, in AGN (M), Archivos Particulares, caja 69, carpeta 21; as for Emilio Mitre, he had already recognized that the struggle "had concluded, and now nothing yet remained but to pursue that maniac to finish even with the last shadow of the war." See Emilio Mitre to Mitre (?), Caragatatay, 2 September 1869, in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 10 September 1869.

- 19 Jerry Cooney has pointed out how long-lived the tendency toward independent poses was in this region of the Curuguaty and Ygatymí frontier, and how flexible it could become under outside pressure. See Cooney, "Lealtad dudosa: la lucha paraguaya por la frontera del Paraná, 1767–1777," in Whigham and Cooney, *Campo y frontera. El Paraguay al fin de la era colonial* (Asunción, 2006), 12–34.
- 20 Frederick Skinner saw an "infant on the road trying to eat human blood," only one of many hundreds destined to die in similar squalor. See "Skinner Testimony," in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/14, 1014. Comments of Brazilian general Carlos de Oliveira Nery, in Acevedo, *Anales históricos del Uruguay*, 3: 549–550; Testimony of Hipólito Pérez, Asunción, 6 September 1869, in Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Scala.
- 21 *Cartas de Campanha*, 100–101 (entry of 24 December 1869).
- 22 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Tríplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 34–37; *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 4 November 1869; Victorino to Polidoro, 10 October 1869, in IHGB, lata 447, doc. 112.
- 23 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 21. One of those happiest to see the Brazilians was William Oliver, a British engineer who had worked at Ybycuí, and whose want of money prevented his buying food for his adopted children. See Oliver Testimony, Asunción, 15 September 1869, in Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Scala.
- 24 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 575.
- 25 Cerqueira offers a rather gruesome account of how vampire bats assaulted his favorite horse. See *Reminiscencias da Campanha do Paraguai*, 397. As for the *úra*, the Spanish editor Ildefonso Antonio Bermejo offered an exaggerated observation a decade earlier, which repeated the myth that the troublesome insect was in fact a colossal moth whose "urine" could bring on death. Many denizens of the Paraguayan countryside repeat this story about moths today—all entomological proofs to the contrary. See *Vida paraguaya en tiempos del viejo López* (Asunción, 2011), 81–83.
- 26 Lasserre, *The Paraguayan War*, 27.
- 27 These pancakes had such a gritty taste that the women would "almost have preferred to eat pure dirt." See Decoud, *Sobre los escombros*, 230.
- 28 The destinadas encountered neither Brazilians nor Paraguayans in these districts, and the few Guayakí or Mbayá people who showed themselves offered no help. Some *caciques* were greater poseurs than the sutlers in Asunción. They were ready, they indicated, to make an alliance with any of the belligerents, and provide the women with foodstuffs, but only in exchange for goods that the women did not have. See Testimony of Francisco Benítez, 19 November 1869, in IHGB, lata 449, doc. 74; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 273–274. One intriguing, almost certainly fabricated, account of late October has some crafty Caingua offering to furnish López's with a hundred squadrons of ninety warriors each (with another similar group of warriors being offered by the "Mbaracayú") for any Paraguayan women the warriors might wish to take for wives. See "López with the Caiguay Indians," *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 11 December 1869. It is hard to credit a story whose veracity depends on the agency of nonexistent Indigenous groups and dubious traditions. That said, the Indigenous people were always on the lookout for advantages they might gain from any confrontations between the Brazilians and Paraguayans, and were willing to tell a good many lies to forward their interests generally.
- 29 Lasserre, *The Paraguayan War*, 28; Bormann, *História da Guerra do Paraguay*, 1: 407–409; the bishop's mother noted that the refugees were eventually reduced to eating "frogs and serpents." See "Declaration of the Bishop's Mother," one rumor held that the Caingua sold the women at Espadín a measure of "bush-meat," that turned out to be human

- flesh cut from cadavers. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 100, 154, and Decoud, *Sobre los escombros*, 234–235.
- 30 Lasserre, *The Paraguayan War*, 29–30; *La Regeneración* (Asunción), 5 January 1870.
 - 31 Lasserre, *The Paraguayan War*, 31.
 - 32 This train of refugees included the bishop's mother, Decoud's wife, the sister of General Barrios, various representatives of the Gil, Aramburu, Aquino, Dávalos, and Haedo families, and Madame Lasserre. See Taunay, *Cartas da Campanha*, 114–115 (entry of 28 January 1870); Taunay, *Campanha das Cordilleiras*, 323–326; *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 January 1870.
 - 33 *Diário do Exército*, 316 (entry of 28 December 1869); Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 254; Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 104–109.
 - 34 “Startling from Paraguay,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 7 November 1869. Whoever went about without a broad-brimmed hat in this weather risked heatstroke. General Joaquim S. de Azevedo Pimentel tells of a long-range patrol deployed from Rosario that experienced heat so intense that the men almost died of thirst and were saved by their horses, who smelled water in the distance. See *Episódios Militares*, 28–30.
 - 35 The lawless commercial environment in Asunción had finally begun to stabilize, with lawyers, photographers, physicians, and retail merchants setting up local businesses. Even the Polish engineer Robert Chodasiewicz, who had recently separated from the Brazilian army, offered his services to the Asunción public as architect and engineer. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 68–69. In November, the triumvirs tried to license billiard parlors, hotels, and consignment houses, announcing that any establishment that failed to display the appropriate license would be fined double the price of the license; it is not clear that the government had any better luck with this measure than with those that preceded it. See *Registro oficial*, 1869–1875, 33.
 - 36 *La República* (Buenos Aires), 15 and 18 January and 9 February 1870; *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 19 January 1870.
 - 37 *La Regeneración* (Asunción) had already offered an outline for constitutional changes in its 10 October 1869 issue, but this “barometer of progress” bore the mark of the Decoudistas, and was denounced as such both in Asunción and Buenos Aires. Mitre's *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 7 December 1869, continued to argue—not implausibly—that the provisional government did not “represent the opinion of the ... population in Asunción, nor of any broader view [in the country, and the men of the triumvirate now] bite the hand of those who yesterday they had joined so as to get to Asunción.”
 - 38 With only slight exaggerations, the US minister to Rio observed in this respect that the provisional government was “extremely feeble, and all the interest both on the part of those at the head of it, and the Allies who sustain it, is concentrated in the constant anxiety regarding General López; if his person could be secured it would be a solution of all their difficulties, but as long as he remains alive and free on the soil of Paraguay the pledges of the Allies will be a most serious embarrassment.” See Henry T. Blow to Hamilton Fish, Petropolis, 23 November 1869, in NARA, M-121, no. 37.
 - 39 Plausible accounts of the Marshal's movements cropped up in the oddest places. In the 17 January 1870 issue of the *Hartford* [Massachusetts] *Daily Courant*, a Bolivian exile was definitely ruled out, for when “last heard from, [the Marshal was] wandering with a few followers about the deserts [sic] of the Brazilian provinces.”
 - 40 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 117–118.
 - 41 See, for example, William E. Barrett, *Woman on Horseback* (New York, 1952); Lily Tuck, *The News from Paraguay*, 180–182; Katharina von Dombrowski, *Land of Women. The Tale of a Lost Nation* (London, 1935), 381–449; and Enright, *The Pleasure of Eliza Lynch*.

- 42 Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 92–93. Scholars have generally depicted Venancio López as the innocent victim of his brother's ambition, without recollecting that he himself had once coveted power, just like Benigno, and had he gained the top position, he was just as capable as the Marshal of consummating a policy of revenge and murder. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 29, 48.
- 43 Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 585; Federico García, "La prisión y vejámenes de doña Juana Carrillo de López ante el ultraje de una madre," in Junta Patriótica, *El mariscal Francisco Solano López*, 73–98.
- 44 Centurión offered extensive information on their "trial," making comparisons with Julius Caesar and other classic figures who had to prosecute their relatives. See *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 4: 118–124; by contrast, Father Maíz, who headed the investigation, offered relatively little information on exactly what happened. See Maíz letters, in MHM (A)-CZ, carpeta 122, nos. 4–5.
- 45 Washburn ascribed this brutality to rank sadism on the part of López, who "was careful not to have them punished beyond the power of endurance. For this object he kept his mother, his sisters, and his brother alive for a considerable time, and they were flogged most unmercifully as often as could be done without danger of hastening their death." See *History of Paraguay*, 2: 586. It is difficult to know how often this occurred in fact, but the hatred that his sisters reserved for the Marshal after the war never abated. In her testimony during the Stewart case, Inocencia offered detailed comments on the brutal treatment meted out to her and her siblings, the cruel boasting of the fiscales, and the culpability of Marshal López for all that took place. See "Testimony of Señora Juana Inocencia López de Barrios, (Asunción, 17 Jan. 1871)," in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19, 84.
- 46 Dr. Frederick Skinner evidently felt less scandalized by the Marshal's mistreatment of his relatives than by the indifference he showed to his countrymen as a whole. "Who else," he asked Washburn, has "exterminated a whole people by starvation, while he, his mistress and bastards, passed a life of comfort, feasting, nay, drinking choice wine *ad libitum*, surrounded by every convenience attainable in a retreat from a retreating army?" See Skinner to Washburn, Buenos Aires, 20 June 1870, in Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 586.
- 47 Aveiro, who flogged the Marshal's mother until the sinews showed, had not started out as a brutal enforcer. In fact, he had shown considerable diligence in seeking personal advancement since his time as Carlos Antonio López's secretary, but in other ways he was entirely ordinary, just possibly the embodiment of what Hannah Arendt termed the "banality of evil" in *Eichmann in Jerusalem* (New York, 1963). Much like his predecessors at San Fernando, Aveiro regarded obedience of orders as his supreme responsibility. So, to his discredit, did Centurión. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 148–150.
- 48 Colonel Patricio Escobar was one of the officers delegated to monitor the ex-war minister, and one morning discovered him dead of "hunger and misery." Escobar immediately penned a note to the Marshal to inform him that don Venancio had died, but before he could send the message, his arm was caught by General Caballero, who advised him to scratch the honorific "don" from the paper or risk throwing suspicion upon himself. Escobar complied and Marshal López neither answered the note nor afterwards showed any concern over his brother. See "Informes del General Escobar, coronel en Cerro Corá, presidente de la república ahora (Asunción, 1888)," in MHM (A)-CZ, carpeta 129. An anonymous letter written by an eyewitness confirms Escobar's account of Venancio's death; see ? to Colonel Juan Crisóstomo Centurión, Asunción, 18 July 1891, in Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Scala. For his part, Father Maíz denied any role in Venancio's death, remarking in a letter to Escobar that he had been away with the general staff at the time, and found out about his demise only later. See Maíz to Escobar,

- Arroyos y Esteros, 4 July 1893, in Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Sca-la. In the 1 February 1870 issue of *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), the editors mistakenly reported Venancio still alive, that the López family was “blessed with a naturally ‘strong constitution,’ ” for Venancio had received “enough lashes to kill twenty ordinary men, and more probably than have been given to the ‘mauvais sujets’ of the British army with-in the last quarter of a century.”
- 49 Testimony of Concepción Domecq de Decoud (Asunción, 1888) in MHM(A), Colección Zeballos, carpeta 128.
 - 50 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 226; Cecilio Báez, “Pancha Garmendia,” *El Combate* (Formosa), 14 May 1892; “Pancha Garmendia,” *El Orden* (Asunción), 22 July 1926; Jacinto Chilavert, “La Leyenda de Pancha Garmendia,” *Revista de las FF.AA. de la Nación*, año 3 (July 1943); Aveiro to Centurión, Asunción, April 1890, in Centurión, *Memorias y reminiscencias*, 4: 208–212; and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 101–102, 104, 121–122, 203–204.
 - 51 Actions in October and November 1869 cost the Paraguayans another two hundred men killed and wounded—a tiny loss compared to Tuyuti or Boquerón, but a very heavy one at this juncture. See Corselli, *La Guerra Americana*, 535–536; Gaspar Centurión, *Recuerdos de la guerra del Paraguay*, 25–28; and Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 77–79, 83–86, 169–172. Comments from the Brazilian side of these short engagements can be found in “Correspondencia,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 10 November 1869; “Correspondencia de Asunción 31 Oct. 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 17 November 1869; “Correspondencia de Asunción 9 Nov. 1869,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 7 December 1869; and “Diário de Francisco Pereira da Silva Barbosa,” which offers extensive details not just on the wasted condition of the Paraguayan troops, but on the dearth of provisions among the Allies.
 - 52 Falcón, *Escritos históricos*, 103–104.
 - 53 Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 149–150. Solalinde later opened a hospital at his Asunción house, where he treated many veterans, including the naval officer Romualdo Núñez, who afterwards never failed to express gratitude to the “deserter.” See Riquelme García, *El ejército de la epopeya*, 2: 392. Later still, Solalinde sold his rural properties in San Pedro department to Friedrich Nietzsche’s sister and her anti-Semitic husband for the establishment of a “pure” German colony at the site. Today only about eighty households are found in this isolated community, which was grandiloquently christened Nueva Germania in 1888. See Ben MacIntyre, *Forgotten Fatherland. The Search for Elisabeth Nietzsche* (New York, 1992), 119–124.
 - 54 Allied patrols were avid to find the Paraguayan troops who had escaped their clutches at Tupí-pytá and executed those survivors who fell into their hands—a fact that López noted on many occasions during the subsequent retreat. See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 140–142.
 - 55 José Falcón reported that, in its lack of birds, the area seemed like a huge wasteland, notable only for the miserable people who passed through it and the mounds of “six, eight, and even ten persons dead of hunger lying alongside the trail.” See *Escritos históricos*, 104–105. If the Allies had paid better attention, they could have tracked the Paraguayan retreat by following the line of corpses.
 - 56 *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 3 November 1869.
 - 57 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 227.
 - 58 Some cattle were sent by steamer from Asunción to Rosario, but the supplies were never enough and the official records of the Allied armies alluded constantly to serious hunger among the troops throughout this time. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 70, 82, 87, and Olmedo, *Guerra del Paraguay. Cuadernos de campaña*, 499–501, 510–511 (entries of 28 and 30 September and 15–16 October 1869). *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 14 November

- 1869, reported that the Brazilian 1st Corps had “had to subsist for three days on the pith of the palm trees, and in consequence there have been several deserters, amongst them twelve officers; the same thing occurred in the 2nd Corps commanded by General Victorino.” Argentine merchants had already responded in writing to the Allied demand for supplies but as of late October, provisions had yet to arrive in Paraguay. See Juan J. Lanusse to Paranhos, Asunción, 20 and 29 October 1869, in ANA-CRB I-30, 29, 35, and Campanha do Paraguay, *Diário*, 281 and 287 (entries of 14 and 19 November 1869). Regarding horses, see Antonio da Silva Paranhos to Victorino, Concepción, 31 December 1869, in IHGB lata 448, doc. 62. On cattle, see “Nota detallada de las cabezas de ganado conducidas al Rosario desde el 17 de octubre al 3 de noviembre,” Asunción, 9 November 1869, in ANA-CRB I-30, 23, 178.
- 59 Interrogation of Paraguayan Captain Ramón Bernal, Concepción, 10 November 1869, in IHGB, lata 449, doc. 79; Interrogation of Italian Abraham Sartorius, resident in Paraguay since 1862 (and in service to the López government), Rosario, 22 December 1869, in IHGB, lata 449, doc. 75 [and *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 16 January 1870]; and Interrogation of Paraguayan Sergeant Antonio Benítez, 4 January 1870, in IHGB lata 449, doc. 78. See also Colonel Antonio da Silva Paranhos to General Victorino, Concepción, 12 November 1869, in IHGB, lata 448, doc. 60.
 - 60 See “Teatro de la guerra, (Patiño Cué, 20 Nov. 1869),” *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 27 November 1869, and Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 111–115.
 - 61 Centurión relates how soldiers came back from the bush with *aracitú* fruit (wild chirimoya), which in normal times would have provided a wonderfully sweet dessert, but which caused the men to get sick, so little accustomed were they to eating anything remotely rich. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 154–155.
 - 62 *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 14–15 February 1870; it is unclear how many of the men recovered from their wounds and illnesses, though the dearth of foodstuffs suggests that most of the seven hundred or so perished. See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 150. As for the women and children, a good number evidently escaped Panadero and joined the numerous trains of refugees wandering through the Cordilleras. The luckier ones encountered Allied troops who shared rations with them. The luckiest of all eventually reached Luque and Asunción. See Count d’Eu to Osório, Rosario, 22 February 1870, in IHGB, lata 276, doc. 27.
 - 63 *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires) reported that as of early February “López has taken to drink and is perpetually tight.” See issue of 5 February 1870. Other witnesses were saying similar things.
 - 64 “Latest from Paraguay,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 16 February 1870. The “seven cataracts” of the Salto Guairá was once a strikingly beautiful spot where iridescent rainbows coexisted in permanent embrace with tropical foliage. It served as an Ultima Thule for explorers coming upstream along the Paraná since Jesuit times, and had only been mapped with any degree of precision in the early 1860s as part of a geographical and hydrographical survey organized by Carlos Antonio López just before his death and completed by order of his son. See *Diario de un viaje por el Paraná desde el puerto de Encarnación hasta el Salto de Guairá por el teniente Domingo Patiño* (Asunción, 1881). One hundred years later the “Sete Quedas” were flooded by the waters of an artificial lake created during the construction of the Itaipú hydroelectric complex.
 - 65 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 16 February 1870; Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 159–172; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 271–273, 313–314; “Aquidabán,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 5 March 1904.
 - 66 “Correspondencia da Vila do Rosario (14 Feb. 1870),” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 28 February 1870; Antonio da Silva Paranhos to Victorino, Concepción, 12–13

- February 1870, in IHGB lata 448, doc. 67; *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 31 March 1870.
- 67 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 161–164.
- 68 See Marco Antonio Laconich, “La campaña de Amambay,” *Historia Paraguaya* 13 (1969–1970): 17–18. Several sources claim that the precise movements of the Marshal’s forces into Cerro Corá were revealed to the Brazilians by Cirilo Solalinde, the doctor who had escaped to Allied lines a few days earlier. See Amerlan, *Nights on the Río Paraguay*, 151–153.
- 69 This conversation, remembered by Silvero in old age, was related to Juansilvano Godoi in Buenos Aires at the end of the 1800s. See *El baron de Rio Branco. La muerte del Marsiscal López* (Asunción, 1912), 119–122. The Correntino journalist and former member of the province’s Junta Gubernativa, Silvero supposedly penned a memoir of his experiences but it was never published and evidently disappeared soon after his death in 1902.
- 70 The Marshal could still impress his soldiers with shows of camaraderie and bravado common in many commanders. On one occasion at Cerro Corá, the men were amused to see López strip off all clothes, jump into a fast-flowing stream, and defeat the current with ease, thereby illustrating how victories could be obtained through audacity. See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 156–157.
- 71 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 423.
- 72 Decree of Francisco Solano López, Campamento General Aquidabanigüí, 25 February 1870, in ANA-SH 356, no. 17; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 168–170.
- 73 Napoleon held that it was by “such baubles” that men were led (an opinion that Marshal López doubtlessly shared). See Cunninghame Graham, *Portrait of a Dictator*, 262. Panchito López was among those who earned this decoration. See Luis Caminos to Juan F. López, Aquidabanigüí, 26 February 1870, in Ramón Cesar Bejarano, *Panchito López* (Asunción, 1970), 59.
- 74 “Primero de marzo de 1870. Cerro-Corá,” *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo* 6 (1897): 374; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 380–383; Resquín gives twenty-three as the number of men accompanying Caballero. See Resquín Testimony in Masterman, *Siete años de aventuras*, 2: 419.
- 75 Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 144–146. Centurión claims that nine hundred men were present at the Tacuara outpost, but this number seems wildly out of synch with other accounts; the total number of Paraguayan effectives, after all, had fallen significantly since the army abandoned Panadero, and those that remained had dispersed in several directions. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 164. Cardozo records for all the Cerro Corá encampments a total of only 351 men “ready for combat.” See *Hace cien años*, 13: 402. Amerlan notes 400 men and 500 women present. See *Nights on the Río Paraguay*, 149.
- 76 Most of the men were mounted on mules rather than horses, the former animals having a better record withstanding the fatigues associated with such protracted labor. See Da Cunha, *Propaganda contra o Imperio. Reminiscencias*, 60–61; Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 172–176.
- 77 One anonymous commentator in the next generation (possibly a young Juan E. O’Leary) held that “two traitors had guided the Brazilian forces in their surprise against the small garrison [at the Tacuara Pass].” See “Cerro Corá,” *La Opinión* (Asunción), 8 April 1895, and more generally, “Noticias del Paraguay,” *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 31 March 1870; Mozart Monteiro, “Como foi morto Solano López,” *Diário de Notícias* (Rio de Janeiro), 11 September 1949; Aguiar, *Yatebó*, 50–54.
- 78 “La fuga del mariscal,” in Junta patriótica, *El mariscal Francisco Solano López*, 158–162.

- 79 Maíz to O'Leary, Arroyos y Esteros, 16 May 1911, in Maíz, *Autobiografía y cartas*, 333–334; Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 434–435.
- 80 Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 172–173; Olinda Masarre de Kostianovsky, “Cuatro protagonistas de Cerro Corã,” *Anuario del Instituto Femenino de Investigaciones Históricas* 1 (1970–1971): 48–49.
- 81 See Junta patriótica, *El mariscal Francisco Solano López*, 155–169.
- 82 Aviero, *Memorias militares*, 102; Cerqueira, *Reminiscencias da Campanha*, 400.
- 83 *A Gazeta de Notícias* (Rio de Janeiro), 20 March 1880; Ignacio Ibarra, “1 de marzo de 1870. Cerro-Corã,” *La Democracia* (Asunción), 1 March 1885.
- 84 Not surprisingly, Resquín told the story differently, claiming that López had delegated him to escort Madame Lynch out of the line of fire. See Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 152–154; “Another Account of the Death of López [testimony of Colonel José Simão de Oliveira, Brazilian engineers],” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 April 1870; and Amerlan, *Nights on the Río Paraguay*, 154.
- 85 Aviero, *Memorias militares*, 103–104.
- 86 An obscure second lieutenant named Franklin M. Machado claimed to have fired the shot that wounded López, but the preponderance of evidence argues in favor of the Marshal's being wounded by a saber, and only later being shot—in the back. See *A Reforma* (Rio de Janeiro), 27 September 1870, Walter Spalding, “Aquadabã,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul* 23, no. 90 (1943): 205–211; James Schofield Saeger seems to think it significant—or at least indicative of cowardice—that the Marshal was shot in the back, but a survey of every modern war finds no end of heroes who died with bullets in their backs. True enough, López had never displayed much courage, but at Cerro Corã, he refused to yield in the face of certain death. See *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay*, 187.
- 87 Francisco Xavier da Cunha asserted that the Marshal succumbed to a rifle shot rather than a lance thrust. See *Propaganda contra o Imperio. Reminiscencias*, 62. Rodolfo Aluralde, an Argentine sutler who accompanied Câmara's troops to Cerro Corã claimed that the Brazilian general himself gave orders to shoot López. Cited in Godoi, *El baron de Rio Branco*, 126. In his *Francisco Solano López y la guerra del Paraguay* (Buenos Aires, 1945), 134–155, the Mexican historian Carlos Pereira asserts that in the flurry of the attack, the Marshal also received a saber slash across his head, which failed to kill him. Following the lead of General Câmara and a great many other Brazilian sources, Gustavo Barroso claims that it was a shot to the back that killed López. See *A Guerra do López* (Rio de Janeiro, 1939), 238, as well as Da Cunha, *Propaganda contra o Imperio*, 62, and Arnaldo Amado Ferreira, “Um Fato Histórico Esclarecido, Marechal Francisco Solano López,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* 70 (1973): 365–376.
- 88 Lacerda was a killer and he looked the part: jet-black hair outlining a fierce face; cruel, sensuous lips; and a square jaw suggestive of passion. As was their wont, the Brazilian soldiery included this unlikely man in their list of popular heroes, even rewarding him with a clever ditty to mark his achievement: “O cabo Chico diabo do diabo chico deu cabo” (Corporal Frank the Devil has finished off the devil Francisco). The imperial government provided Lacerda with a more tangible token of the emperor's appreciation, and he went home to Rio Grande do Sul one hundred pounds richer. See Francisco Pinheiro Guimarães, *Um Voluntário da Pátria*, 156; Azevedo Pimentel, *Episódios Militares*, 169–170; Núñez de Silva, “O Chico Diabo,” *El Día* (Buenos Aires), 25 January 1895; and Luis da Camara Cascudo, *López do Paraguay* (Natal, 1927), 19–68.
- 89 Héctor F. Decoud has the Marshal asking General Câmara at this moment whether he would guarantee his life and property, and when the Brazilian agreed to the first but not to the second, López chose death. See “1 de marzo de 1870. Muerte del mariscal López,”

La República (Asunción), 2 February 1892. Ildefonso Bermejo notes having received a letter from one of the Marshal's agents in Europe that claimed that López was lanced while still on horseback, fell, and when called upon to surrender, growled that death was better than submission to the emperor. It was then that the Brazilians shot him in the head. See *Vida paraguaya en tiempos del viejo López*, 170.

- 90 The Marshal's last words are variously recounted. Some writers have appended "and with a sword in my hand!" to the familiar "I die with my country!" Others (including Centurión, for example), recorded the words as "I die *for* my country!" The difference between the two expressions is held by many Paraguayans to be essential in understanding López's role in their national history, and has engendered more than a few bitter polemics. The Marshal's twentieth-century idolaters eventually turned his words into something canonical, designed, so we are led to believe, with posterity in mind. But the tongue-tied often find eloquence in their last moments, and it is perfectly obvious that López spoke extemporaneously. Juan E. O'Leary gilded the Marshal's words with glory, but it would be more accurate to see them as precipitous, human, perhaps even trite. See *Nuestra epopeya*, 569, and *El héroe del Paraguay* (Montevideo, 1930), 59–75; Henrique Oscar Wiederspahn, "O Drama de Cerro Corá," *A Gazeta* (São Paulo), 14 November 1950; J. B. Godoy, "A Enigmática Morte de Solano Lopes," *Diário Trabalhista* (Rio de Janeiro), 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17, 20, 23, and 24 January 1953.
- 91 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 448–449; Sánchez and Caminos—the Rosencrantz and Guildenstern of political conformity in Lopista Paraguay—played their prescribed roles to the very end, laying down their lives for the Marshal when both probably could have survived the war unscathed.
- 92 If such orders did exist, it is difficult to explain how a good many highly ranked Paraguayans managed to survive. See Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 230, and Fano, *Il Rombo del Cannone Liberale*, 456; writing from a great distance in terms of space if not of time, a reporter for the *New York Herald* (12 May 1870) had no hesitation in labeling the Brazilian actions at Cerro Corá a "horrible massacre"; in his official report on this final engagement, General Cámara admitted no wrongdoing on the part of his men, though there is no more reason to believe his word on this matter than the words of the *New York Herald*. See Official Report (Concepción, 13 March 1870), in *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo* 12 (1892): 414–421.
- 93 "Noticias do Paraguay," *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 4 April 1870 (includes correspondence from Martins and other officers).
- 94 Opinion is divided as to whether Panchito López met his death by lance or by bullet, with the former position being argued, among others, by Washburn, *History of Paraguay*, 2: 593; Phelps, *Tragedy of Paraguay*, 259; Blomberg, *La dama del Paraguay*, 118; Amerlan, *Nights on the Río Paraguay*, 155; and Agustín Pérez Pardella, *Cerro Corá* (Buenos Aires, 1977), 150–151; and the latter position by Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 230; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 183; and General Louis Schneider, "Guerra de la Triple Alianza," in *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo* 12 (1892): 462.
- 95 Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 446–447; *La Regeneración* (Asunción) 11 March 1870.
- 96 Escobar's capture occurred while he was bringing up one of the last Paraguayan canons. Brazilian horsemen surrounded him and shouted the news that López was *hors de combat*. Escobar laid down his sword, and immediately sent word to General Francisco Roa to tell him of the Marshal's death. But Roa thought the message an Allied ruse, and continued to fight until seriously wounded. The Brazilians beheaded the prostrate Roa once the fighting subsided, an atrocity for which Escobar held himself responsible. See "Testimony of Patricio Escobar," in MHM (A)-CZ, carpeta 129; Juan Sinforiano Bogarín, "Anecdota histórica de Cerro Corá," Asunción, September 1936, in Museo Andrés Barbero, Colección Carlos Pusineri Scala; Maíz to O'Leary, Arroyos y Esteros, 5 April

- 1904, in Maíz, *Autobiografía y cartas*, 276–279; and Benigno Riquelme García, “General Francisco Roa. Un artillero inolado en Cerro Corá,” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 25 August 1968. The late Washington Ashwell published an Escobar “memoir” found in an old chest of drawers at the Paraguayan Academy of History. This work asserts that it was a Paraguayan rather than a Brazilian bullet that killed the Marshal. Unfortunately, this “memoir” is manifestly a modern forgery using anachronistic language to make a series of absurd claims (including the idea that Escobar, then a virtually unknown twenty-seven-year-old colonel, was in active contact with Pedro II while en route to the Aquidabán, and that he also maintained correspondence with officials at Brazil’s Itamaraty Palace, an edifice not constructed until the 1890s). Of course, as any reader of Sir John Mandeville or Marco Polo knows, a false document can occasionally contain accurate materials, and it is only improbable, not impossible, that the Marshal died at the hands of his own men “to save him from being mocked by the Brazilians.” See Ashwell, *General Patricio Escobar. Guerrero, diplomático, y estadista* (Asunción, 2011). Public response in Paraguay to this weird “memoir” was predictably contentious and largely divided along factional lines. See *Ultima Hora* (Asunción), 8, 10 November 2011, and *ABC Color* (Asunción), 9, 10, 11, 13, 20 November and 16 December 2011.
- 97 The doctors issued a report only after returning to Concepción. They found a three-inch cut to the front (probably from a saber), two major wounds from thrusts driven downward into the abdomen, one of which penetrated to the intestines, and the other, through the peritoneum into the bladder. They also found a bullet wound in the back from which they extracted the Minié ball. See “Certification of the Wounds Causing the Death of Marshal Francisco Solano López by Brazilian Army Surgeons Manoel Cardoso da Costa Lobo and Militão Barbosa Lisboa,” Concepción, 25 March 1870, in ANA-SH 356, no. 18.
- 98 See *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 April 1870; Amerlan, *Nights on the Río Paraguay*, 155.
- 99 *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 6 April 1870.
- 100 See Cunha Mattos testimony in von Versen, *História da Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), 263–267.
- 101 Schneider, “Guerra de la Triple Alianza,” 463. Major Floriano noted that Lynch “caused a great sensation” among the Allied officers. See Floriano Peixoto to Tiburcio Ferreira, Arroyo Guazú, 4 March 1870, in Roberto Macedo, *Floriano na Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro, 1938), 43–44.
- 102 *History of Paraguay*, 2: 593. Washburn echoed the common Brazilian rationale for Lynch’s guard, but, as Barbara Potthast-Jutkeit points out, those women who had followed the Marshal to Cerro Corá had other reasons for doing so than to murder his lover. See “¿Paraíso de Mahoma,” 296, no. 169.
- 103 The story repeated by O’Leary (and alluded to in novelistic form by Manuel de Gálvez), which has a Brazilian trooper responsible for cutting the left ear from the Marshal’s cadaver to settle a wager, stretches credulity given the presence of senior officers who wanted to take López prisoner and who would have interfered to prevent such an act. Just as unlikely is the assertion that one man danced upon the Marshal’s bloodied belly before being driven away by Major Floriano Peixoto. See Cardozo, *Hace cien años*, 13: 446, 450. Doratioto refers parenthetically to the ear mutilation, and to another story involving soldiers who knocked out several of López’s teeth and tore out a tuft of his hair, but he does not appear to believe either tale. See *Maldita Guerra*, 453. Slightly more credible is the account offered by Father Maíz, who condemns the Brazilians (“those human hyenas”) for having forced Paraguayan prisoners to march over the Marshal’s grave as they departed the next day. See *Etapas de mi vida*, 75.
- 104 In 1936, the Febrerista government exhumed the Marshal’s bones and those of Panchito for reburial in the Panteón Nacional, but almost immediately questions arose about their authenticity. Evidence for the specific location of the earlier graves depended entirely on

- the testimony of one ancient veteran, who revisited Cerro Corá ten years after the last engagement and found that the crosses that marked the two López graves had fallen—or had been thrown—to one side. He replaced the crosses where he thought they belonged and cut a notch into a nearby tree to further mark the spot. He returned again in 1897 and could find only the machete cut in the tree, the crosses having vanished in the interim. The team that visited the site in the 1930s had only his testimony to work with, and he was by that time a very rheumy old man. Modern DNA research might be able to determine whether the remains in the Panteón really belong to López, but no one as yet seems interested in reopening what could prove a politically charged case. See *La Hora. Organo de la Asociación Nacional de ex-Combatientes* (Asunción), 5 September and 14 October 1936; Juan Stefanich commentary, *La Nación* (Asunción), 23 September 1936; and Efraim Cardozo, “¿Donde estan los restos del mariscal López?” *La Tribuna* (Asunción), 29 March 1970. The scene of battle at Cerro Corá passed during the 1880s into the hands of La Industrial Paraguaya, the country’s foremost yerba concern. The Morínigo dictatorship then expropriated the land for a national park in 1945.
- 105 Official Report of General Cámara (Concepción, 13 March 1870), in *Revista del Instituto Paraguayo* 12 (1892): 421.
- 106 Couto de Magalhães (1837–1898) rose to the rank of general after the war and earned acclaim as a scholar long before his retirement. His 1876 study, *O Selvagem*, stimulated folkloric studies in Brazil. In 1907 his nephew presented this rare Jesuit text taken from the Marshal’s belongings to the diplomat Manoel de Oliveira Lima, who included it in the famous collection of books and documents he donated to the Catholic University in Washington, D. C., where it remains today.
- 107 General Resquín paid tribute on this count to Paranhos, whose refusal to hand the Paraguayan officers over to the triumvirs for almost certain execution marked him and his countrymen as civilized men, quite distinct from “perfidious traitors” like Rivarola and Loizaga. See *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 158–160.
- 108 Pinheiro Guimarães, *Um voluntário da Pátria*, 44; General Cámara never recognized his paternity in the case of Adelina López, the daughter born to Inocencia after her return to Asunción. Wanderley, by contrast, married Venancio’s daughter.
- 109 Centurión purposely signed this statement “Centauro” as his way of invalidating the document. See *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 200.
- 110 Aveiro, *Memorias militares*, 107–108.
- 111 There was dancing in the streets of the imperial capital when word arrived of the Marshal’s death, and then again in May, when the first units returning from Cerro Corá paraded before the jubilant Cariocas. Dom Pedro appeared as excited as all the others when he first received the news but his temper soon cooled when he learned how López was slain. In a letter of 4 April 1870, the war minister wrote to Paranhos about this concern, noting that the emperor “had no wish to consent to the conferring of honors on Corporal Chico [Lacerda] until all was cleared up,” and that perhaps it would be “convenient to satisfy him with money.” See Pinheiro Guimarães, *Um Voluntário*, 156–158; Kolinski, “The Death of Francisco Solano López,” *The Historian* 26, no. 1 (November 1963): 90; *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 25 March 1870.
- 112 *La Regeneración* (Asunción), 9 March 1870; *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 17 March 1870.
- 113 Two days after the engagement at Cerro Corá, the same unit that had killed General Roa caught up with a small unit of Paraguayans under Colonel Juan Bautista Delvalle, who had fled with several wagons of silver plate and other valuables. Though Delvalle and the others raised their hands in surrender, the Brazilians killed every man among them save one, then divided the loot. Resquín claimed that the number of Paraguayan victims in this encounter exceeded two hundred men (although that figure is almost certainly too high). See Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 192–195; Bejarano, *El Pila*, 390–391;

and Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 231. That the Brazilians gave no quarter on this occasion certainly argued against Caballero's prompt surrender, but Delvalle's killing may have had less to do with refusing quarter than with simple indiscipline.

- 114 Telegram of Paranhos, 10 March 1870, in *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 25 March 1870; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 189–190. The prisoners from Cerro Corá, some three hundred officers and men (excluding the highest ranks), reached Asunción by the end of the month, and were promptly released. See *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 14 April 1870.

EPILOGUE

- 1 One source notes a loss of twelve thousand men from disease, but this either represents a typographical error for a far greater loss or is simple understatement. See “End of the Paraguayan War,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 23 November 1869.
- 2 The US minister to Buenos Aires offered this estimate of costs, adding in his dispatch to Washington that Argentina suffered less than the empire, which had incurred nearly six times as much in war expenditures. Indeed, he expected the resulting budgetary shortfalls to cripple Brazil's economy for some time. See R. C. Kirk to Hamilton Fish, Buenos Aires, 11 September 1869, in NARA FM-69, no. 18. For more details, see *La Prensa* (Buenos Aires), 18 October 1869 and *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 27 October 1869.
- 3 Both the Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires and the Bank of London benefited from Argentina's conflict with Paraguay. The latter institution had provided a substantial loan to the national government at a rate of 18 percent, and saw its reserves rise tenfold during the war years, despite having paid 87.5 percent of capital invested in salaries and dividends. See H. S. Ferns, *Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1960), 359.
- 4 Ironically, Urquiza did not long survive Marshal López, and died a victim of one of the last Federalist uprisings in the Litoral provinces. Urquiza's final trajectory mirrored the fate of Venancio Flores. Both men had started off as minor rural chieftains; both maneuvered their way into power with the connivance of local politicians who underestimated their abilities; both sought Brazilian patronage that seemed valuable initially but which in due time became a liability; and both were murdered by men whose notions of statecraft were even more antiquated than their own. See María Amalia Duarte, *Urquiza y López Jordán* (Buenos Aires, 1974), and Beatriz Bosch, *Urquiza y su tiempo* (Buenos Aires, 1980), 705–714.
- 5 Armando Alonso Piñeiro, *La misión diplomática de Mitre en Rio de Janeiro, 1872* (Buenos Aires, 1972).
- 6 The unrestrained money-grabbing, ostentation, and self-delusion of the era eventually converted the gauchos (who had constituted the bulk of the Argentine troops in Paraguay) from “worthless vagabonds” into quaint rustics, the objects of curiosity. José Hernández was only one of many figures who noticed the contradictions in this process. Whether Mitre ever evinced a similar nostalgia is doubtful, but it is nonetheless obvious that he felt uncomfortable in the world he had helped create. Regarding the economic changes that Argentina experienced during these years, see James R. Scobie, *Revolution on the Pampas. A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860–1910* (Austin, 1977). Regarding the political changes, see Natalio Botana, *De la república posible a la república verdadera, 1880–1910* (Buenos Aires, 1997), and Botana, *El orden conservador* (Buenos Aires, 1998).
- 7 Mitre was Argentina's premier historian during the nineteenth century, though in some ways he acted less as a scholar than a promoter of civic values. In an attempt to anchor

his version of Argentine nationalism to the aspirations of an earlier generation, Mitre promoted the figure of Manuel Belgrano, in life a rather ambiguous actor on the Platine stage (who once argued for an Incaic “restoration,” but who looked every inch a hero and visionary). Mitre later transferred the same characteristics to San Martín, another curious choice, for the southern liberator’s monarchism shrank in Mitre’s hands until it nearly disappeared. Don Bartolo may have taken a leaf from the book of Thomas Carlyle in his choice of Romantic heroes, and in asserting that the Argentine nation followed from a teleology or providential plan that only required human will to actuate. True enough, Mitre upheld a modern standard in insisting on documentary evidence to illustrate historical accounts, but his prose style had a built-in gravity, in which every word was accorded weight. As a result, he often turned the trivial into the magnificent and succeeded only in boring the middle-class readers who made up his intended audience. See Eduardo Segovia Guerrero, “La historiografía argentina del romanticismo,” (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 1980); Guillermo Furlong Cardiff, “Bartolomé Mitre: El hombre, el soldado, el historiador, el político,” *Investigaciones y Ensayos* 2 (1971): 325–522; and Tulio Halperín Donghi, *El enigma Belgrano* (Buenos Aires, 2014).

- 8 Liliana Moritz Schwarcz and John Gledson, *The Emperor’s Beard*, 248.
- 9 Brazilian military engineer André Rebouças recorded that when the count first arrived at Rio de Janeiro it “wasn’t enthusiasm; it was delirium. You had to struggle to keep your feet on the ground ... you cannot have an idea of the excitement that unfolded throughout the entire city of Rio. During four consecutive evenings there was not a single house that was not illuminated.” Cited in Barman, *Citizen Emperor*, 230. See also Kraay, *Days of National Festivity in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1823–1889* (Stanford, 2013), 259–260.
- 10 Manuel de Oliveira Lima, *O Império Brasileiro, 1822–1889* (São Paulo, 1927), 146. Though he was not properly recognized for it, the count remained an indefatigable defender of veterans’ interests for the rest of his life. See Hélio Viana, “O Conde d’Eu: Advogado dos que serviram na Guerra. Dez cartas inéditas do Príncipe Gastão de Orléans,” *Cultura Política* 31 (August 1943): 321–327. The count’s diaries and personal papers on these (and many other questions concerning the war) can be found in the Archives Nationales (Paris), Archives de la Maison de France (branche d’Orléans), Papiers personnels de Gaston, comte d’Eu (1842–1922), dossier 300 AP IV 278.
- 11 These men were mostly *caboclos*, or poor whites, who settled into *bairros* on the peripheries of São Paulo and other cities, took advantage of land grants and monetary rewards offered to veterans, and saw their children converted into a lower-middle class that definitely sided with political change and against the status quo. See Pedro Calmon, *História da Civilização Brasileira* (São Paulo, 1940), 226–229, and Kolinski, *Independence or Death!*, 195.
- 12 The total fatalities suffered by the Brazilian armed forces during the war are difficult to determine, though the most complete statistics seem to suggest that at least 29,000 Brazilians died in combat, with another 30,000 dead from other causes (and missing). See Robert L. Scheina, *Latin America’s Wars* (Washington, 2003), 331. Citing materials gleaned from the *Ordens do Dia*, General Tasso Fragoso provides a list of 23,917 men lost up to August 1869, but this statistic seems low even before we correct for the seven missing months (and to be fair to the general, he admits that he had had no time to confirm the figures, having concluded that an analysis of military “operations was more useful and interesting than any numerical index”). See *História da Guerra entre a Triplíce Aliança e o Paraguai*, 5: 278. Cerqueira, *Reminiscências da Campanha do Paraguai*, 401, argued for a loss of 100–150,000 Brazilians, inclusive of those who died from disease. *Ba-Ta-Clan* (Rio de Janeiro), 9 October 1869, made the same claim.
- 13 As with all other statistical information concerning the war, the monetary expenditures of the empire are much debated. See Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 461–462; “The Cost

- of the War to Brazil,” *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 26 November 1869; João Nogueira Jaguaribe, “Quanto custou a guerra contra o Paraguai?” in *O Conde de Bagnuoli* (São Paulo, 1918), 89–100; and the *Anglo-Brazilian Times* (Rio de Janeiro), 23 July 1870. Carlos Pereira notes that to obtain 91 million from British banks, the imperial government in Rio had had to recognize a debt of 125 million and this took much effort to repay. The government compounded its problem by covering wartime domestic expenses through the issuance of bonds and paper currency, both of which held little value afterwards. See Solano López y su drama, 81. Thus, though commerce increased in Brazil during the 1860s, the financial health of the nation remained doubtful.
- 14 In an earlier day, Paranhos had expressed ambivalence about the place of the peculiar institution in Brazilian society. With time, however, he came to regard slavery as a major obstacle not just to social progress, but to good relations with the rest of the world. It stung him that foreign abolitionists were singling out his country for contempt. See Robert Edgar Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850–1888* (Berkeley, 1972), 106–117, and Jeffrey D. Needell, *The Party of Order. The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831–1871* (Stanford, 2006), 254–256.
 - 15 Paranhos’s tenure as prime minister was the longest of the imperial era. See José Murilo de Carvalho, *D. Pedro II* (São Paulo, 2007), 58–59; Lidia Besouchet, *José Maria Paranhos. Vizconde do Rio Branco* (Buenos Aires, 1944), 251–262.
 - 16 Barman, *Princess Isabel*, 232–249. To judge by the results of the 1993 constitutional referendum, the Bragança cause evidently still has its adherents in Brazil; the electorate on that occasion returned an estimated 22 percent in favor of a restoration of the monarchy. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brazilian_constitutional_referendum,_1993.
 - 17 Hermes Vieira, *A Princesa Isabel no Cendrio Abolicionista do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1941); Barman, *Princess Isabel*, 232–234, 249.
 - 18 Garmendia, *Recuerdos de la campaña del Paraguay y de Rio Grande* (Buenos Aires, 1904), 493; Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 462; Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance. The Postwar Years*, 31.
 - 19 The choice of José Gervasio Artigas as a “national” hero for Uruguay was odd, for the Protector de los Pueblos Libres (1764–1850) had never envisioned or contemplated a separate Uruguayan state, and in fact spent the last thirty years of his life in Paraguayan exile. See Guillermo Vázquez Franco, *La historia y los mitos* (Montevideo, 1994) and Francisco Berra: *la historia prohibida* (Montevideo, 2001).
 - 20 The mutual admiration commonly expressed in the Brazilian and Argentine press was unexpectedly prevalent before the Misiones land dispute of the 1890s. See Ori Preuss, *Bridging the Island. Brazilians’ Views of Spanish America and Themselves, 1865–1912* (Madrid, Orlando, and Frankfurt, 2011).
 - 21 After the signing of an initial peace protocol in June 1870, considerable debate erupted among the Brazilian councilors of state as to whether the empire should negotiate separately with the provisional government on land questions or whether such negotiations should take place within the bounds of the Triple Alliance. Not surprisingly, imperial interests won out. See Senado Federal, *Atas do Conselho de Estado* (Brasília, 1978), 8: 117–133 (ata de 26 April 1870). See also Treaty of Peace, Asunción, 9 January 1872; Treaty of Limits, Asunción, 9 January 1872; Treaty of Extradition, Asunción, 16 January 1872; Treaty of Friendship, Trade, and Navigation, Asunción, 18 January 1872, in Justo Pastor Benítez, *República del Paraguay. Colección de Tratados* (Asunción, 1934), 380–423; Doratioto, “La ocupación política y militar brasileña del Paraguay (1869–1876),” 274–283; Tasso Fragoso, *A Paz com o Paraguai depois da Guerra da Triplíce Aliança* (Rio de Janeiro, 1941), 55–80; and Antonio Salum Flecha, *Derecho diplomático del Paraguay de 1869 a 1994* (Asunción, 1994), 29–51.

- 22 Decree of 19 March 1870, in *Registro oficial, 1869–1875*, 63–64; though the charges against her were wildly exaggerated, it did not stop the Asunción elites from treating her with contempt that even the conservative *Voz del Pueblo* saw fit to endorse: “All of Paraguayan society knows how that evil woman stole their jewels, took their valuables and even fine clothing, sometimes violently, sometimes with serious injury. Every family has a claim against her and every citizen has knowledge of the violence she committed ... she will now enjoy the wealth of many unfortunates who today have not a piece of bread for their children.” Cited in *La Nación Argentina* (Buenos Aires), 31 March 1870.
- 23 Lynch remained a sedulous caretaker of her consort’s memory, and a staunch, if somewhat unsuccessful, defender of her family’s finances. She returned to Paraguay in September 1875, but within three hours the government put her back aboard the steamer that had brought her from Buenos Aires. Then, after making a trip to the Holy Land, she eventually settled into a quiet life in Paris. She had the satisfaction of seeing her children raised to positions of relative prosperity. One son, the unfailingly charming Enrique Solano López, became superintendent of public instruction in Paraguay a few years after *la Madama’s* death and a senator for the Colorado Party sometime after that. See Eliza A. Lynch, *Exposición y protesta que hace Eliza A. Lynch* (Buenos Aires, 1875); *La Tribuna* (Buenos Aires), 26 September 1875; *Artículos publicados en “El Paraguayo” referentes a la reclamación Coredero* (Asunción, 1888); and Victor Simón, *Enrique Solano López. El periodista* (Asunción, 1972).
- 24 Though her critics cast her as a would-be Marie Antoinette, Madame Lynch acted with charity toward prisoners and the poor during the war years, but she tended to concentrate on her own affairs and those of her children. This she continued to do in the conventional fashion one would expect of a mid-Victorian widow—a genteel respectability accompanied by a stiff upper lip and a rustling of crinoline. A lock of her blond hair made its way to Asunción together with the announcement of her passing, and was eventually incorporated into the Juan E. O’Leary Collection at the Biblioteca Nacional. The Alfredo Stroessner government transferred her remains from Paris in the early 1960s, but as she had never married the Marshal, the church objected to her being interred next to him in the Panteón Nacional. She now rests across town at La Recoleta. See Lillis and Fanning, *Lives of Eliza Lynch*, 196–207.
- 25 K. Johnson, “Recent Journeys in Paraguay,” *Geographical Magazine* 2 (1875): 267–269; and, more generally, Herken Krauer, *El Paraguay rural entre 1869 y 1913*, 76–80.
- 26 Irene S. Arad, *La ganadería en el Paraguay, 1870–1900* (Asunción, 1973), 8.
- 27 Imposing an indemnity on the defeated Paraguayans seemed a petty, or at least stupid, act, one that made them pay in money what they had already expended in blood. In any case, the new government in Asunción could not pay. The former Allied countries eventually forgave the debt and returned many, though not all, of their war trophies. See Cesar López Moreira, “La deuda de la guerra del Paraguay de 1865/70, reconocida a los países de la Triple Alianza,” *Revista del Centro Estudiantes de Ciencias Económicas* 35 (1942): 161–166; *Deuda argentina-paraguaya. Petición presentada al Honorable Congreso Nacional al abrir sus sesiones en 1901* (Buenos Aires, 1901); and Arturo Brugada, *La deuda de guerra paraguaya. Su condenación por el Uruguay en 1883. Antecedentes históricos* (Asunción, 1926). Some of the trophies taken by Argentina were not returned to Paraguay until the time of General Perón. See “No serán devueltos los trofeos,” *La Opinión* (Asunción), 22 August 1928; José Angio, *A propósito de la devolución de los trofeos de la guerra del Paraguay* (Paraná, 1954); and Liliana M. Brezzo, “Juan Domingo Perón y la devolución de los trofeos de la guerra de la Triple Alianza al Paraguay: entre la fiesta y lo efímero,” *Historia Paraguaya* 42 (2002): 267–292. Brazil has taken even longer to return its portion of the trophies.

- 28 M. L. Forgues, "Le Paraguay. Fragments de journal et de correspondences, 1872–1873," *Le Tour du Monde* 27 (1874): 369–416.
- 29 The population decline seemed unprecedented, and more than a century later, its analysis unleashed a major debate between "low-counters" and "high-counters." The former asserted a total loss in Paraguay between 1864 and 1870 of less than 20 percent of the population, while the latter upheld the more traditional depiction of Taunay, Centurión, and others, who stated that over 50 percent of Paraguayans died from disease, starvation, and combat. See Vera Blinn Reber, "Demographics of Paraguay: A Reinterpretation of the Great War, 1864–1870," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68, no. 2 (1988): 289–319; Thomas L. Whigham and Barbara Potthast, "Some Strong Reservations: A Critique of Vera Blinn Reber's 'The Demographics of Paraguay: A Reinterpretation of the Great War,'" *Hispanic American Historical Review* 70, no. 4 (1990): 667–676. *La Regeneración* (Asunción), 31 December 1869, alludes to staggering losses recorded in a preliminary census, findings also asserted shortly thereafter by Paraguayan doctor Cirilo Solalinde, who saw the disaster at firsthand during the final months of the conflict. He held that the Paraguayan population had fallen to less than one hundred thousand individuals, a shocking figure that, given its provenance, must carry considerable weight. See Solalinde Testimony (Asunción, 14 January 1871), in Scottish Record Office, CS 244/543/19.
- 30 Today's Lopista revisionists, who might be called "ultra-high-counters," seem to have purposely exaggerated the findings of "high-counters" to bolster a xenophobic depiction of Brazilians as genocidal maniacs. The modern Lopistas (and their foreign admirers) who make these claims do a disservice to the men and women of the past in thinking that the louder they shout their claims, the more convincing they become. See, for example, Daniel Pelúas and Enrique Piqué, *Crónicas. Guerra de la Triple Alianza y el genocidio paraguayo* (Montevideo, 2007), 197, who posit a total loss of between 750,000 to 800,000 Paraguayans, "all of whom died in battle." This is rather like saying twice as many people perished in the war as actually lived in the country. Moreover, following the Pelúas and Piqué logic, if 99 percent of the men did die between 1864 and 1870, then the only possible way for the population to have righted itself subsequently would be for the great-great-grandfathers of today's Paraguayans to have been Brazilian soldiers—a politically unthinkable reality for the Lopistas.
- 31 In the late 1990s, a previously undiscovered national census for 1870–1871 came to light in the archive of the Paraguayan defense ministry, and the high losses it recorded provided a new impetus to the demographic debate. The census had a few structural shortcomings that historians and geographers were quick to point out, but even after taking these weaknesses into consideration, the picture revealed was still unimaginably bleak. See Censo general de la república del Paraguay según el decreto circular del Gobierno Provisorio de 29 de septiembre de 1870," in Archivo del Ministerio de Defensa Nacional (Asunción); Whigham and Potthast, "The Paraguayan Rosetta Stone: New Insights into the Demographics of the Paraguayan War, 1864–1870," *Latin American Research Review* 34, no. 1 (1999): 174–186; Reber, "Comment on the Paraguayan Rosetta Stone," *Latin American Research Review* 37, no. 3 (2002): 129–136; Jan M. G. Kleinpenning, "Strong Reservations about 'New Insights into the Demographics of the Paraguayan War,'" *Latin American Research Review* 37, no. 3 (2002): 137–142; Whigham and Potthast, "Refining the Numbers: A Response to Reber and Kleinpenning," *Latin American Research Review* 37, no. 3 (2002): 143–148. *La Reforma* (Asunción), 6 August 1876, references yet another census, in this case, for April 1872, that records a total population in Paraguay of 231,194 individuals, with adult men only 28,777 in number. The Dutch geographer Jan Kleinpenning, whose own analyses placed him at the lower end of the "high-counters," sadly observed that, though Paraguay's total fatalities were "somewhat less dramatic than [those] calculated by Whigham and Potthast, [they are] still of a pitiful magnitude." See Kleinpenning, *Paraguay, 1515–1870* (Frankfurt, 2003), 1581.

- 32 Héctor Francisco Decoud, *La convención nacional constituyente y la Carta Magna de la República* (Buenos Aires, 1934); Carlos R. Centurión, *Los hombres de la convención del 70* (Asunción, 1938); Juan Carlos Mendonça, *Las constituciones paraguayas y los proyectos de constitución de los partidos políticos* (Asunción, 1967).
- 33 Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance. The Postwar Decade*, 80. More than half of the delegates who attended the constituent assembly felt so threatened or disgusted with the proceedings that they abandoned politics thereafter. One man who did not was José Segundo Decoud, who broke with his liberal allies during the next decade and helped establish the Asociación Nacional Republicana (Partido Colorado). This fact vexes today's Colorado ideologues, who hope to find a one-to-one correspondence between former legionnaires and the founders of the rival Liberal Party and instead have to accept Decoud as one of their own.
- 34 Votes had little value in Paraguay. Men had votes in Italy in the time of the Gracchi, and the exercise of the franchise had saved no one in those days. In Paraguay, only factional allegiances counted, and the sanctity of the ballot box seemed a foreign innovation that both Colorados and Liberals found inconvenient. See Warren, *Rebirth of the Paraguayan Republic*, 39–133; Gómez Freire Esteves, *El Paraguay constitucional, 1870–1920* (Buenos Aires, 1921); Florentino del Valle, *Cartilla cívica: proceso político del Paraguay, 1870–1950. El Partido Liberal y la Asociación Nacional Republicana (Partido Republicana) en la balanza de la verdad histórica* (Buenos Aires, 1951); and Manuel Poesa, *Orígenes del Partido Liberal Paraguayo, 1870–1887* (Asunción, 1987).
- 35 Most prominent individuals in the Marshal's government served only minimal time in Allied detention. For instance, Colonel Wisner de Morgenstern, who had worked for the Paraguayan state since the early 1840s, continued to do so during the 1870s. Allowed by the Brazilians to take up residence in Asunción after the December campaign, he irritated his liberal sponsors by speaking positively of the Lopista cause and turning his nose up at the Allied soldiers who guarded the streets of the capital. A year after Cerro Corá, President Rivarola directed the Hungarian to inventory the Marshal's remaining property so that any hidden monies or valuables could be taken by the state rather than by thieves in Brazilian uniforms. He also aided Colonel George Thompson in the administration of the railroad and ran the government's immigration office. See Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance. The Postwar Decade*, 133, 144, 206. The majority of the Marshal's officials held prisoner in Rio de Janeiro returned after an unpleasant sojourn, and took up where they had left off. One such man was Falcón, who kept a revealing diary of his captivity in the Brazilian capital (where he and the others were treated as objects of curiosity much in the manner of exhibits in a zoo). Like Centurión, Caballero, and Aveiro, he survived his humiliations and assumed important posts in the new Paraguayan government. He served as senator and foreign minister before passing away at a ripe old age in 1881. See Falcón, "Diario de los prisioneros de guerra," in *Escritos históricos*, 109–156; Centurión, *Memorias o reminiscencias*, 4: 200–202; and Resquín, *La guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza*, 158–160.
- 36 Leuchars, *To the Bitter End*, 235.
- 37 See, for example, Luis Vittone, *Con motivo de la muerte heroica del Mariscal Francisco Solano López en Cerro Cora* (Asunción, 1970). James Saeger, *Francisco Solano López*, 208–221, appropriately condemns these claims as part of a "Big Lie" promoted by O'Leary and other right-wing Lopistas. That the claims also find some support on the populist left is illustrated by the recent decision of the Cristina Kirchner government to rename the 2nd Armed Artillery Group of the Argentine army for Marshal López. See *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), 6 December 2007.
- 38 Cecilio Báez, the bookish proponent of anti-Lopismo in Paraguay, once sneered in a public forum at the "cretinism" of the Paraguayan people for having followed such a man. See *La tiranía en el Paraguay, sus causas, caracteres y resultados* (Asunción, 1903).

- 39 The liberal newspapers *La Opinión* and *El Pueblo* severely criticized the young Colorado historian Blas Garay for having instigated the near riot. See Warren, *Rebirth of the Paraguayan Republic*, 111–114, and Francisco Tapia, *El tirano Francisco Solano López arroja-do de las escuelas* (Asunción, 1898). The effort of Garay and O’Leary to dismiss Báez and other Liberal writers as antiquated hacks was not totally without effect, for the anti-Lopista position seemed largely in retreat for many decades. Intriguingly, James Schofield Saeger’s *Francisco Solano López and the Ruination of Paraguay*, though written by a foreigner, seems to wholly resurrect the polemical style of nineteenth-century anti-Lopista writers (and bears comparison, in this respect, to the denunciations of Washburn).
- 40 The term “Lost Cause,” which foreigners sometimes applied to the Paraguayan War, was borrowed from Sir Walter Scott’s romantic depiction of the failed struggle for Scottish independence in 1746, retooled to describe the defeat of the secessionists in the United States 119 years later, and finally resurrected to describe Paraguay’s fate in the Triple Alliance War. Twentieth-century Lopistas argue that the war represented the apex of Paraguay’s history, when the country stood firmly in defense of her own freedom. O’Leary is most commonly associated with this opinion, but there have been a great many others, some of whom blame British imperialists and bankers more than the kambáes. Others see a natural (though, in fact, improbable) link between Francisco Solano López, Dr. Francia, Juan Manuel de Rosas, and sometimes even Juan Domingo Perón and Fidel Castro. See O’Leary, *Los legionarios* (Asunción, 1930), 192–216, and *El mariscal Francisco Solano López* (Asunción, 1970); Victor N. Vasconcellos, *Juan E. O’Leary: el reivindicador* (Asunción, 1972); Alfredo Stroessner, *En Cerro Corá no se rindió la dignidad nacional* (Asunción, 1970); León Pomer, *La guerra del Paraguay; ¡Gran negocio!* (Buenos Aires, 1971); José María Rosa, *La guerra del Paraguay y las Montoneras argentines* (Buenos Aires, 1986); and Eduardo H. Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America. Five Centuries of Pillage of a Continent* (New York, 1997).
- 41 This same sentiment is revealed for modern Paraguay by Helio Vera, whose *En busca del hueso perdido*, 131, suggests that the “Paraguayan past does not exist as history, only as legend, and because of this, we have no historians, only troubadours, emotive singers of epics.”
- 42 Prosperous citizens in today’s Asunción can speak of current events while enjoying ice cream at the Marshal López Shopping Center. In such a pleasantly air-conditioned (and ironically named) setting, they can ignore the painful chapters in Paraguay’s history or remake them to suit modern tastes. They can complain, for example, about Brazilian agribusiness, the latest fees for internet service, and the lack of parking spaces for their Chinese-made cars. In their parents’ time, the Lopista interpretation of Paraguay’s past received formal support from General Stroessner (as a glance at *Patria* or *Cuadernos Republicanos* will show). This “official account” came to dominate the popular conception of the war, and stays alive today not so much because of state mandate as by the workings of the media. YouTube, which in effect privatized the old nationalism, has become a far greater purveyor of Lopista hyperbole than O’Leary’s pamphlets could ever aspire to. Whether the general public in Paraguay will ever give scholarship a place of importance amid the many nationalist or *marxisant* fantasies repeated on the internet remains a matter of intense debate, and it is noteworthy that even the leftist guerrilla organization the Ejército Paraguayo del Pueblo bears on its flag an image of Marshal López on horseback. See Luc Capdevila, “Patrimoine de la défaite et identités collectives paraguayennes au XXe siècle,” in *Patrimoine. Sources et paradoxes de l’identité*, Jean-Yves Andrieux, ed. (Rennes, 2011), 205–218; Peter Lambert, “Ideology and Opportunism in the Regime of Alfredo Stroessner, 1954–89,” in *Ideologies and Ideologies in Latin America*, Will Fowler, ed. (Westport, 1997), 125–138; and Jennifer L. French, “‘El peso de tanta pena’: La guerra de la Triple Alianza como trauma intergeneracional,” in *Paraguay en la historia, la literatura, y la memoria. Actas de las II Jornadas Internacionales de Historia del Paraguay en la Universidad de Montevideo*, Juan Manuel Casal and Thomas L. Whigham, eds. (Asunción, 2011), 321–342.

GLOSSARY

Abati: a defensive obstacle formed by felled trees with sharpened branches.

Acá Carayá: “monkey heads,” one of Marshal López’s two escort battalions, so called from the tails of howler monkeys used to decorate individual helmets.

Acá Verá: “shiny heads,” another of Lopez’s escort battalions, so called from the highly polished metallic plates used to decorate individual helmets.

Aguardiente: generic term for distilled spirits, often flavored with fruit or sweetened herbs.

Ahijuna: an interjection of gaucho origin indicating surprise or frustration.

Apepú: bitter orange, the juice of which is sometimes used to flavor alcoholic beverages, and the leaves for making petitgrain oil.

Arroyo: stream or creek.

Banda paí: Paraguayan term for military band.

Bandeirantes: Brazilian backwoods pathfinders or slave catchers.

Barbette: an earthen platform or raised mound fashioned at the edges of forts or reinforced positions to facilitate defensive fire over the parapet.

Batería Londres: the most lethal of the twenty odd batteries facing the Paraguay River at Humaitá.

Bersagliere: a member of a Piedmontese infantry corps organized around 1850 as sharpshooters or riflemen.

Bodoque: marble-sized balls of fire-hardened mud used by Paraguayans as shot for a sling.

Bogobantes: rowers, as with canoes.

Bombilla: a metallic straw, usually of silver, through which yerba mate is sucked.

Bonaerense: an inhabitant of the province of Buenos Aires

Cabichuí: stinging wasp.

Cacolet: one of a pair of chairs or litters mounted on a horse or mule.

Camalote: floating island of aquatic vegetation.

Caña: sugarcane liquor.

Caraguatá: species of agave plant useful in the making of rope and substitutes for paper.

Caranday: a palm tree of Paraguay and the Gran Chaco known for an internal reservoir containing water that is sometimes used in the preparation of a fermented beverage, *copernicia alba*.

Carioca: an inhabitant of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Carrizal: marsh, slough, or shallow swamp.

Caudillo: military or political chieftain.

Cepo uruguiaiana: a painful form of torture employed by the Paraguayans whereby legs and hands were tied together and heavy muskets placed upon the back and under the knees to insure that the musculature would slowly be pulled from the bones.

Charqui: dried, salted beef in strips, often used as a ration in both Allied and Paraguayan armies.

Chata: a flat-bottomed raft equipped with a single cannon and towed into position for river operations.

Che ray: “my son” (Guaraní).

Chipa: bread made from manioc flour, eggs, and cheese.

Chiripá: leather undergarment worn at the waist by vaqueros and gauchos in lieu of trousers.

Chucho: malaria.

Congreve rocket: an iron-tipped, British-designed rocket used in the Mysore Wars and the War of 1812; largely obsolete as an offensive weapon by the mid-nineteenth century, but still encountered in some armies around the world.

Correntino: native of the Argentine province of Corrientes.

Cuadro estacado: a form of torture practiced by both sides in the Paraguayan campaign whereby the victim is stretched upon the ground with leather cords attached to his wrists and ankles and pulled tight, leaving him to the full rays of the sun in the form of a Saint Andrew’s cross.

Cuero: cowhide.

Destinada: the wife or other female relative of a man who turned against Marshal López in the later months of the war, and held as prisoners as the Paraguayan army retreated inland.

Dulces: sugar sweets often made in Paraguay from guava paste or coconut.

Entrerriano: native of the Argentine province of Entre Ríos.

Estancieros: ranchers or estate owners.

Esterio: swamp.

Farinha: manioc flour; arrowroot.

Feijão: black beans, issued as a ration in the Brazilian army.

Forastero: outsider; foreigner.

Galleta: hardtack or heavy cracker, often tasteless, issued as a common ration in the Allied armies.

Galopa: a lively dance tune of gaucho origin, named after the fastest running gait of a horse.

Generale di Divisione: Italian military rank corresponding to lieutenant general.

General da Corte: armchair general or staff officer attached exclusively to the imperial court.

Guairero: inhabitant of the Paraguayan town and district of Villarrica.

Guembé: fibrous reed used as a rope substitute.

Horizontale: low-class courtesan or prostitute.

Hors de combat: military losses; killed in action and wounded in action.

Jefe de milicia: commander of local militia.

Jefe político: political boss, usually in the rural districts.

Juez fiscal: judge-prosecutor.

Juez de paz: justice of the peace; lower-level town official.

Kaguy: liquor or firewater; literally “drunk-water” (Guaraní).

Kambá: a pejorative term of Guaraní origin, referring to African blacks or to Brazilians more generally; “darkie.”

Karaí: father figure or senior individual, sometimes used as a synonym for “señor.”

Lapacho: a hardwood of Paraguay and the Argentine Northeast (*Tabebuia*)

Liño: a row of plants.

Litoral: the Argentine provinces edged by the Río de la Plata and its tributaries: Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Santa Fe, and the territories of the Misiones and the Chaco.

Macaco: racist epithet referring to Brazilians, and meaning “monkey” (“Kai” or “Karajá” in Guaraní).

Malambo: a rhythmic dance tune of gaucho origin.

Mangrullo: a primitive observation platform or lookout tower, constructed of tree limbs.

Maquinas infernales: river mines.

Mate: a gourd used as a vessel in the drinking of yerba mate.

Mbaragui: stinging gnats native to Paraguay and the Argentine Northeast.

Mbareté: Guaraní term for both strength and intransigence in political matters

Mbotavy: shamming; lying in order to deceive or evade responsibility.

Mineiro: inhabitant of the Brazilian province of Minas Gerais.

Minié ball: a muzzle-loading spin-stabilized rifle bullet in use in many armies during the nineteenth century, from the time of the Crimean War onward.

Mon dá: theft (Guaraní).

Monte: brush or woodlands.

Montoneros: lower-class rebels, usually referring to gaucho insurgents in the western provinces of Argentina.

Nambí-í: “Little Ears” (Guaraní), a celebrated unit in the Paraguayan army composed exclusively of Afro-Paraguayan soldiers.

Ñandejara Jesucristo: our lord, Jesus Christ, a common Guaraní interjection.

Needle gun: a firearm, usually a rifle, that has a needle-like firing pin, which passes through the paper cartridge case to strike a percussion cap at the bullet base. Associated with the Dreyse design of the 1830s, the weapon was standard for a short time in the Prussian service before being abandoned as inefficient.

Ñú: Guaraní term for meadow or opening within a grassy field.

Oriental: Uruguayan.

Palometa: razor fish or piranha.

Pantano: swamp.

Patria: fatherland.

Peón: peasant retainer on a rural estate.

Picada: a trail cut by hand through scrub forest.

Pindó: a hardy feather palm tree native to Paraguay, Argentina, and Uruguay (*Butia capitata*).

Pingo: affectionate gaucho name for pony or small horse.

Plata ybyguí: hidden treasure.

Poiby: cotton blanket of Paraguayan design.

Político: politician, or political hack.

Porteño: an inhabitant of the city of Buenos Aires.

Potrero: field or pasture.

Praça: enlisted man in Brazil’s imperial army.

Provinciano: a term commonly used among the Argentines to refer to inhabitants of the countryside (as opposed to citizens of the city of Buenos Aires).

Puchero: a meat-based stew common in the Platine countries.

Pueblito: village.

Puesto: medical aid station.

Purgantes: laxatives.

Pyragüe: Guaraní term meaning “soft-” or “hairy-footed;” a spy or informer.

Quai d’Orsay: French Foreign Ministry.

Residenta: a female member of families who stayed loyal to Marshal López in the later years of the war but who were nonetheless used as forced laborers during the army’s retreat inland.

Salvaje: “savage,” often used pejoratively to refer to citified political opponents or liberals, and more generally, to any political opponent.

Sapukai: a cry or war-whoop associated with feelings of great anger or exaltation (Guaraní).

Sarandí: tall grass usually found alongside creeks and rivers in the Argentine Northeast and Paraguay.

Sargenta: informal title for women who served as head nurses or medical aides at Humaitá and elsewhere in Paraguay.

Saudade: loneliness and sometimes homesickness or nostalgia, a longing for things distant in time and space (Portuguese).

Sertanejo: backcountry cowboy of the Brazilian interior, usually (though not always) denoting an inhabitant of the Northeastern provinces.

Telégrafo ambulante: mobile telegraph system.

Tereré: a cold or room-temperature infusion of yerba mate.

Toldería: Indigenous encampment or collection of huts.

Torpedo: river mine.

Turútutú: cow-horn cornet, used by the Paraguayans to mock the poor gunnery of the allies.

Úra: botflies.

Viento norte: a hot, gritty wind that blows seasonally out of the Gran Chaco and into Paraguay and is often blamed for lapses in temperament and occasional shows of violent anger.

Viento sur: a cold wind that blows northward out of Argentina and cools tempers in Paraguay as the viento norte heats them up.

Vomitorios: emetic.

Yacaré: caiman.

Yataí: a palm tree of Paraguay, Northeastern Argentina, and the Gran Chaco known for its edible inner stalk (*Areca olerácea*).

Yerba mate: a green herb (*ilex paraguayensis*) used in South America as a highly caffeinated tea.

Yerbal: wild stand of yerba mate, also called *minerales de la yerba*.

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In 1864 the capture of the Brazilian steamer the *Marqués de Olinda* initiated South America's most significant war. Thousands of Brazilian, Argentine, and Uruguayan soldiers engaged in a protracted siege of Paraguay, leaving the nation's economy and population devastated. The suffering defied imagination and left a tradition of bad feelings, changing politics in South America forever.

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