WE ARE PARAGUAYAN: CONSTRUCTION OF PARAGUAYAN NATIONAL IDENTITY THROUGH GUARANÍ LANGUAGE USE, 1814-1870

by

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ABSTRACT

NICOLE LEA HANNA. We are Paraguayan: Construction of Paraguayan National Identity through Guaraní Language Use, 1814-1870. (Under direction of DR. ERIKA EDWARDS)

This research project examines the creation of the Paraguayan national identity from 1814 to 1870 as a mestizo, Guaraní-speaking people. It explores the language ideology of the Paraguayan government, which placed importance on Guaraní versus Spanish depending on the political situation at the time. This project takes a broad historical view of the reign of Paraguay's first three rulers that allows it to deconstruct the shifting levels of importance the state placed on Guaraní based on the state's needs at the time, and the methods the state used to create a sense of nationalism during moments of crisis, particularly during the War of Triple Alliance (1864-1870). It examines the way the state used the language to create a cohesive national identity based on a shared Guaraní language ideology by looking at the changes in demographics, rhetoric, and policy over time. It concludes that, the development of Guaraní language and mestizaje as a part of Paraguayan national identity can be viewed as a multi-faceted process that was constructed through passive factors such as continued duration and (linguistic) demographic majority, as well as active factors such as state policy, *blanqueamiento*, and state-run symbolic production.

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INTRODUCTION

This research project examines the creation of the Paraguayan national identity as a mestizo, Guaraní-speaking people, from 1814 to 1870. It explores how the Paraguayan government placed importance on Guaraní versus Spanish depending on the political situation at the time. Throughout its history, from independence through the twentieth century, the Paraguayan government has used Guaraní language during times of crisis. That institutionalized use impacted the construction of the Paraguayan national identity to be inextricably linked to the native language. During eras of turmoil, Guaraní was accorded a level of importance that was unusual in Latin America during the early nineteenth century Independence Period. In order to provide a historical foundation of Guaraní language use, my introduction touches on the mid-1700s during the height of the Jesuit mission system, then extends chronologically from the beginning of the republican period (1810), to the end of the War of Triple Alliance in 1870. Each chapter explores the rule of one of Paraguay's first three rulers: José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia (1814-1840), Carlos Antonio López (1844-1862), and his son and successor, Francisco Solano López (1862-1870). This broad view allows this project to deconstruct the shifting levels of importance the state placed on Guaraní based on its needs at the time, and the methods the state used to create a sense of nationalism during moments of crisis, particularly during the War of Triple Alliance (1864-1870). This project aims to answer the following questions: How might linguistic tradition have shaped experiences of nineteenth century nationhood and

citizenship in Paraguay? In what ways was the state active in inspiring Paraguayan national identity based on shared Guaraní language use? How may people be inspired to lay down their lives in defense of *la patria*? With Independence and the start of the republican period, we see the concept of a national identity become a political focal point, asking "who are we?" which begs the question, in a diverse society, who decides?

I argue that the linguistic tradition, relative isolation, as well as economic and military (militia) power of the Jesuit Guaraní missions set the stage for the continued use of Guaraní throughout Independence and the state-formation process. I also argue that though José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia (1814-1840) created several precedents that potentially increased the mobility of indigenous and mestizo peoples, as well as for the use of Guaraní, he did so more out of a sense of pragmatism and a desire for control than any great feeling for Paraguayan indigenous heritage. This argument engages the perspective of the elites and explains how the demographic and linguistic realities of Paraguay informed Francia's decisions and how those decisions in turn affected the choices of the Paraguayan populace. Because this project is a political history that examines an ideology developed by a national government, in addition to a lack of written sources in the native or peasant voice, it does not explore the perspective of the peasant majority.

The foundational conditions of Guaraní language use in Paraguay seen in the Jesuit era and under Francia's rule are expanded upon in chapters two and three. In them, I examine the shift to a focus on modernization, Europeanization, and the use of Spanish under Carlos Antonio López's (1844-1862), followed by the deviation of that project to the concerted efforts of Francisco Solano López (1862-1870) to propagandize a shared Guaraní-speaking mestizo heritage. I use this turn about to demonstrate the importance of

the state's need for soldiers – who were mostly Guaraní-speaking peasants – during the War of Triple Alliance. His use of Guaraní propaganda represents the culmination of the ideology of a Paraguayan national identity based on Guaraní language use and whitened mestizo racial identity. While the existence of Solano López' Guaraní propaganda is no revelation to the field, placing it in the cycle of importance of Guaraní in times of crisis aids my argument that it was useful tool for the state due to the socio-political history of the area.[1]

My research brings a new geographic area of research to the field of language ideology, as there is currently no work that examines Paraguay from that perspective. My research ultimately aims to demonstrate that through these historical stages, the language ideology was constructed that speaking Guaraní was the most important part of what it meant to be Paraguayan, and by virtue of speaking it, all Paraguayans shared the same noble indigenous heritage, even while maintaining an ever-whitening mestizo collective identity. To clarify, a break develops between being an indigenous Guaraní person and speaking the language Guaraní, as the population engages in decades of racial mixing and social whitening. So, indigenous Guaraní people are always speaking Guaraní, but not all Guaraní-speakers identify as indigenous Guaraní people.

Due to the Paraguayan government's need for soldiers and popular support, there was a marked change from Spanish to Guaraní use in government correspondence and propaganda. The shift from Spanish to Guaraní reflected a larger acknowledgement of

[1] Hendrik Kraay, and Thomas Whigham, *I Die with My Country: Perspectives on the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870*, (Lincoln, Neb: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 179-98.; Michael Huner, "Sacred cause, divine republic: a history of nationhood, religion, and war in nineteenth-century Paraguay, 1850-1870," Ph.D Diss ETD, (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011); James Schofield Saeger, *Francisco Solano Lopez and the Ruination of Paraguay: Honor and Egocentrism*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

Guaraní language in Paraguay, which was then used to create a sense of nationalism based on the state's wartime needs. The social and cultural connections between Guaraní use and Paraguayan nationalism provided an arena where the rural population, who only spoke Guaraní, became "defenders" of the people's land and defined their citizenship by their participation in independence and the War of Triple Alliance. In so doing, Francisco Solano López was able to define all Spanish or Portuguese speaking nations around him as "the other."

0.1 Methodology and Primary Sources

I will use the concept of language ideology as a lens through which to examine the role of Guaraní in Paraguayan nation formation. While linguistic or language ideologies can have an array of definitions specific to the area of focus, in general the terms refer to attitudes towards and beliefs about language, including concepts of what languages represent, interpretations of language use, and ideas about what language does for people. Examining language ideologies can help us explain how language factors into, for example, classism or racism, as well as its role in notions of identity. Racial categorizations were (and are) "based upon both cultural and physical characteristics [which] were defined by state policies and frequently contested by those to whom they were applied."[2] In the case of Paraguay, the state eventually crafted an ideology that named Guaraní as the language spoken by all true and patriotic Paraguayans, rather than Spanish or Portuguese, while creating an internal contradiction in the shifting racial identity of the Guaraní-speaking mestizo. This theory deconstructs the ideological framework of the Paraguayan

[2] Sarah Chambers, "Little Middle Ground: The Instability of a Mestizo Identity in the Andes, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *Race and nation in modern Latin America* ed. Nancy Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 32-33.

government that in order to "be Paraguayan" one needed to speak Guaraní – an indigenous language – and yet be mestizo – a racial categorization that could be considered degenerative or progressive depending on the goals and ideals of those in power.[3]

Ideologies encompass signifying practices, discourse, and/or ideas that aid one side or another in a conflict to attain or maintain a position of power.[4] A language ideology can be used or created not only by those already in power, but also those aiming to gain influence themselves. That is, as linguistic anthropologists Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity argue, "it can be 'ours' as well as 'theirs,' subaltern as well as dominant."[5] This is important in Paraguay as Guaraní was used by the government to indicate who "we" were as Paraguayans against Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay in the War of Triple Alliance, and yet also used by indigenous Guaraní people who were able to use the contention that Guaraní-speakers could be mestizo in order to give themselves more social mobility. Speaking Guaraní was not a clear indicator of indigeneity; instead, if one dressed and "acted Paraguayan," they were able to pass as the higher *casta*[6] of mestizo.

Language ideologies may also be on a macro or micro scale. A speech community may involve a smaller number of people who are a sub-set of a larger community, or it may be on a more national scale in the hundreds of thousands, as in the case of Paraguay. Certain languages or speech patterns are given cultural significance or value through language ideologies that then affect: how a person or community is viewed/views themselves; access to material resources; socio-cultural roles and expectations; and even economic status.

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[3] Discussed in Chapter 1; To Spaniards, mestizaje made them "less than," but under Francia, mestizos were forcefully created and given status previously occupied by white elites.

[4] Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, *Language Ideologies*: *Practice and Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] The *casta* system was a racial hierarchy put in place by Spanish elites in the New World during the seventeenth century as racial mixing, or mestizaje, became increasingly prevalent.

This project is built on information from primary documents from the National Archive of Paraguay in Asunción (ANA), particularly the Sección Historia (SH) and Nueva Encuadernación (NE) such as: Paraguayan presidential addresses and decrees, and soltería records from 1805-1830, probate and notarial records, correspondences from Asunción, and census data and requisition requests from 1855-70. In addition, I have read and compiled newspaper articles from 1862-1868 from the Paraguayan National Library. These documents clearly note this marked shift in rhetoric and policy from the 1850s to the late 1860s, which demonstrates the impact of the state's need for soldiers. These sources reveal two notable shifts in Guaraní use: from Francia's ideological creation of a mestizo population and protection of the Guaraní language and people, to Carlos Antonio López' push toward modernization, blanqueamiento, and Spanish-only language use, and then the resurgence of Guaraní in the War of Triple Alliance under Francisco Solano López. The newspapers found in the National Library of Asunción are particularly useful in examining this rhetoric as they are mostly written in Spanish, but have sections of patriotic songs and poems in Guaraní that were intended to be read aloud to soldiers and other citizenry. Looking at these eras of Paraguayan nation building is integral to a well-rounded thesis project that delves into the social and cultural connections between Guaraní use and Paraguayan nationalism.

0.2 Historiography

This project aims to demonstrate broad historiographical foci by organizing these works by overarching trend. In order to explore these things, two major areas of research are used. The work begins with a discussion of the nation building process of Paraguay by looking at works on the reigns of first three dictators of Paraguay: José Gaspar Rodriguez

de Francia (1814-1840), Carlos Antonio López (1844-1862), and Francisco Solano López (1862-1870). Next, it is necessary to engage the historiography of my methodology of Language Ideology, which is defined as "the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests."[7] An example for this research would be the idea that Guaraní is the language of the people of Paraguay and because "everyone" spoke it, they all shared the same indigenous heritage. Overall, the literature on the first two themes moves progressively from a top-down to a bottom-up perspective that focuses more on the experiences of subordinate groups, or at least not on the lives of the elites. The historiography of language ideologies begins with its definition, steeped in linguistics, and shifts toward its application and broader understanding within different fields such as linguistic anthropology and political science.

0.2a Nation Building

The history of Paraguay's nation building process can be organized around the rule of its first three dictators. These men reigned from 1814 to 1870 and were instrumental in defining not only the physical boundaries of the country, but also the ideologies behind how the people and the state defined what it meant to be Paraguayan. Due to a lack of documentation and limited access to what does exist, early works about Paraguay's dictators provide scanty (if any) bibliographies and do not hold up to academic standards. These first publications often seemed to be based on propaganda and myth rather than archival data. As such, the first trend of academic works about nation-formation in Paraguay for this research aims to debunk certain fallacies and also explore military, economic, and political histories. Overall, the literature shifts from focusing on the leaders

[7] Judith Irvine, "When Talk Isn't Cheap," *American Ethnologist*, 16:2 (1989): 4.

themselves and their policies, to a more bottom-up look at how the nation and nationality was conceptualized by the peasantry.

The first works about the first three dictators of Paraguay mention working-class and subordinate groups, but they typically do not engage historical events from the perspective of those on the ground. This wave of thinking is long and varied, running from the 1970s to 1990s. Among these authors, John Hoyt Williams' numerous works explore the policies of Francia, especially as they pertained to isolationism and the destruction of the creole aristocracy, and discusses the effect those policies had on the supposed egalitarian nature of Paraguay under the Franciata. Like Williams, Jerry Cooney's works aim to bring balance and perspective to the study of the reign of Dr. Francia. He looks into the many facets of Francia's dictatorship, both those that could be framed as positive and those that are negative, in order to present a well-rounded view of a complicated man that was otherwise missing in previous historiography.

Perhaps because there was not a major military conflict during the reign of Carlos Antonio López, there are fewer scholarly works to be found on his time in power. Ildefonso Antonio Bermejo's along with John Hoyt Williams's works contain solid overviews of the policies of the first López regime. They, like the works on Francia, aim to present the overall picture of his rule, noting the variety of modernization projects whose purpose was to make Paraguay a more global contender and the revocation of indigenous protection and importation of foreign investors.

Unsurprisingly, the majority of the few early works exploring the rule Francisco Solano López are military histories of the War of Triple Alliance and historical perspectives on its after-effects. Some few discuss his infamous personal life and attempt

to provide insight into his decisions without really engaging the larger, more global history, which certainly had an impact on the issues Solano López faced and his responses to them. Part of the limit to the number of scholarly works on Solano López is due to the lack of accessibility to archival sources, in general and particularly at this time. The fact that many documents were destroyed at the end of the War of Triple Alliance or taken and not available until the late 1980s, as well as the long-standing dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner (1954-1989), made doing timely research quite difficult. It isn't until the second trend that we see an increase in literature about Francisco Solano López and the War of Triple Alliance.

Even in the second trend of nation building literature, written in the 1990s-2000s, there is still very little about the daily experiences of the peasantry and indigenous people during the rule of Francia and of Carlos Antonio López. However, Thomas Whigham and Jerry Cooney's edited volume *El Paraguay bajo el doctor Francia* is one of the few on a time period before the War of Triple Alliance. In it, the essays all discuss the impact of Dr. Francia's efforts to construct a patrimonial state – whereby all decisions, private or public, went through him – on the peasantry and indigenous people. This publication uses quantitative and qualitative analyses from archival sources to finally examine the experiences of the Guaraní-speaking masses of Paraguay during the reign of Francia. Whigham also writes several works about the War of Triple Alliance during Francisco Solano López's reign. These works typically circle the great war but have different foci that engage the realities of the Guaraní-speaking peasantry. His works focus primarily on the War of Triple Alliance and the various aspects of it such as military history, demographics, and wartime nationalism. His books delve into the reasons behind the war

and the conduct of its combatants, and situate the country within the Rio de la Plata and the debate over borders and national differences.

Within the second trend are also publications that delve more deeply into the ways Guaraní language or the Guaraní-speaking people of Paraguay conceptualized the nation and citizenship. For example, Michael Huner's dissertation, "Sacred Cause, Divine Republic: A History of Nationhood, Religion, and War in Nineteenth Century Paraguay, 1850-1870," steps away from the idea of a secular republican nationalism and connects religion to language and state formation as he posits that the mostly illiterate Guaraní-speaking peasantry came to understand their nation and citizenship within the context of Catholic ideology in Guaraní. Huner first examines the use of Guaraní ecclesiastically as it pertains to the religious patriarchy, hearkening back to the Jesuit mission system, and then explores the wartime use of it to explain how the Catholic Church in Paraguay became a gear in the state's war machine. He delves into the reach of the Church as it utilized Guaraní and the idea of *ñane retã* – a term used to connote the patria and one's loyalty to it. In addition, Bridget Chesterton's *Grandchildren of Solano López* demonstrates how past events and current political events in the area altered concepts of Paraguayan nationalism. Though her book takes place in a later military conflict than my own research, she explores the link between Guaraní and Paraguayan nationalism from the perspective of the Paraguayan soldier-agriculturist, noting that they embraced oral Guaraní-language tradition and reconstructed their own perspective of the nation. The government's use of Guaraní in the course of the conflict denotes the continued demographics of the Paraguayan fighting force as Guaraní-speaking working/peasant class rather than the typically Spanish-speaking ruling class.

0.2b Language Ideology

The concept of language ideology sprang from the Ethnography of Communication school of thought that emerged from Dell Hymes' 1962 paper, "Ethnography of Speaking." This school emphasized notions of language culture as it appeared in distinct patterns of speaking. These works critiqued the nineteenth century idea of one language or perspective on language for each nation, in the formulaic idea that one nation has one culture has one language (sometimes called the "Herderian" ideal). That homogeneous ideal did not allow for the reality of diverse language demographics, the multiplicity of different registers found in even a single language, nor the conceptualizations of different classes who speak the same language within the same country. In the ethnography of speaking, as opposed to early work which was mostly concerned with documenting grammatical variation among the world's languages, language was examined as a part of culture and a significant part of socio-cultural encounters.[8] William Labov's *Sociolinguistic Patterns* also exemplifies the trend of presenting language as the "locus of shared evaluations and attitudes" even where there were other cultural variations that might be used to differentiate groups of people.[9] This epoch was also more concerned with linguistics and defining the relationship between language and culture than between language and power.

Building on that work, in the 1980s scholars turned toward a focus on the relationships between language, power, and political economy and emphasized the ideological aspects of language for constructions of personhood and identity. Here the sources discuss how language can affect and can be used to affect social and political

[8] Alessandro Duranti, "Language as Culture in U.S. Anthropology", *Current Anthropology*, 44:3 (2003): 327.

[9] Susan Gal, "Language and Political Economy", 1989: 320

standing. This trend moves away from defining language ideology and moves into applying it. Judith Irvine argues that "linguistic signs are part of a political economy, not just vehicles for thinking about it."[10] Her view of linguistic signs as "goods" in a socio-political marketplace engages the concept that a prevailing language ideology can affect a person's standing or mobility in society, or, the value of the "goods" that s/he brings to the marketplace. Susan Gal's work, *Language and Political Economy,* like Irvine's, explores the relationships between language and power. She notes that since language is always multifunctional, we can use the concept of ideology to explore how it is used not only as a set of signifiers, but also as a system of meaning used to maintain power structures.[11] Paul Friedrich presents a more definitive connection between language ideology and political economy in his article "Language, Ideology, and Political Economy." Friedrich proposes three major ideological perspectives on the functions of language ideologies, and how each function is interdependent with politics.

The third trend of language ideologies in the 1990s to 2000s delves more deeply into sociocultural issues. Works in this trend veer further from pure linguistics and shift toward providing information on the context of language ideologies in linguistic anthropology and the importance of language in the study of culture and identity. In addition, they outline the significance of language as a factor in nationalism and state formation through politicized language and linguistic politics. Where early works on language ideology developed research associated with, but independent from, anthropology and linguistics, more recent publications aim to demonstrate its viability through diverse case studies. These later works transition into discussing language

[10] Judith Irvine, "When Talk Isn't Cheap", 1989: 358-9.
[11] Irvine, "When Talk Isn't Cheap", 1.

ideologies in communities where one or many indigenous languages are spoken, as well as the varied socio-cultural impacts those ideologies have on the politics in the connection of language to peoplehood and collective identity.

In particular, Norman Berdichevsky's aptly titled *Nations, Language, and Citizenship* is a compilation of twenty-six case studies that explore the connections between language and nationalism. These essays explore three main ideas: how important a factor language is in creating national identity; whether the citizenry of multi-ethnic states are most aligned with the community that shares their language or the shared-citizenship community; and, most importantly for this work, whether people in nations in crisis find shared language sufficient to create a sense of solidarity.[12] These explorations of communicative behavior in relation to the state and hegemonic powers may be compared and contrasted to other national cases. The fact that this otherwise well investigated work has only one essay on Latin America demonstrates the ongoing need for analyses of language ideologies in that area, as I aim to in Paraguay.

0.3 Historical Context

0.3a Jesuit Missions

In the early 1600s, the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits arrived in the Río de la Plata and proposed a plan for the development of mission settlements as an extension of religious work, which consisted of strengthening the evangelizing work from social and economic points. For the next 150 years, the Jesuits set up missions throughout the viceroyalty and created an intricate system of agribusiness and trade. Twenty-three missions survived the initial attempts and by the 1640s, there were approximately forty thousand people living

[12] Norman Berdichevsky, *Nations, Language, and Citizenship*, 2004: 4.

on them.[13] The Jesuits led the missions with a perspective of paternalism and cultural superiority. They believed that their indigenous charges required their guidance and protection, as many considered the Guaraní to be "childlike, lacking any creative abilities of their own, naturally lazy, and inferior to the missionaries."[14]

Jesuit priests who were sent to Christianize Latin America learned Guaraní in order to communicate with the natives. Because Guaraní was a purely oral language, the priests also created a written language for the purpose of printed doctrine by using the Roman alphabet to construct its orthography. In the missions, the Guaraní were taught this "colonial Guaraní," with the Jesuits as the highest temporal and spiritual authority on the missions. While the Jesuits managed the missions and replaced shamans as spiritual leaders, the Guaraní were able to continue in their existing socio-political structure, retaining their tribal leaders called *caciques*. They were also taught marketable skills such as: metal works like gun-smithing and iron working; carpentry; masonry, brick laying, and general construction; weaving; and tanning.[15] These skills would create opportunities for Guaraní people to negotiate their positions after many of them fled the missions in the late 1700s.

The decision of indigenous people to join, stay, or leave the missions is an important aspect in the presentation of indigenous people as more than just passive receptors of Jesuit and/or Spanish decisions. Indigenous groups used the Jesuit mission systems as a means of protection and as a way to receive material gains.[16] Jesuit-Guaraní

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[13] Julia Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions: a socioeconomic history*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 34.

[14] Ganson, *Guaraní Under Spanish Rule*, 31.

[15] Sarreal, *Guaraní and Their Missions*, 153.

[16] Jackson, *Missions and the Frontiers*, 257.

interactions were the foundation of this people's post-colonial identities because, while they were obviously affected by European contact, they were also able to maintain portions of their cultural heritage that continue to the present. Those interchanges are not unique to the Guaraní, nor even the Jesuits, as can been seen in the similar local government systems of the Franciscan missions in Mexico and California where local leaders were elected from a list provided by the Franciscans.[17] However, Jesuit-Guaraní relations played an important role in the extensive use of Guaraní language and the way Guaraní speakers continued to maneuver in and adapt to government systems in the future. Within their insular community which placed importance on Guaraní language and community structures, the Guaraní were able to organize and to petition royal elites and others through the mediation (and Spanish language skills) of the brothers. An enlightening example of this is a case from 1680, when the Spanish Crown wanted to use Guaraní labor to build new fortifications in Buenos Aires and thus ordered the relocation of one thousand Guaraní families.[18] The Guaraní protested leaving their mission homes and the conditions of Buenos Aires which they thought would surely cause them to sicken and die.[19] Through the Jesuits, the Guaraní were able to negotiate their needs with the Crown and compromise on a volunteer force of three hundred males that would only work in Buenos Aires for four to five months at a time.[20]

Post-contact Spanish America was rife with forced labor, epidemic diseases, and displacement that "created a climate of fear which could have made Indians reject the missions or, conversely, accept the *reducciones* as a means of rebuilding their

[17] *Ibid.*, 256-258.
[18] Ganson, *Guaraní under Spanish Rule*, 49.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*

communities."[21] By joining the Jesuit missions and allowing them to expand, they were not only avoiding encomienda life[22], but also seeking protection against Brazilian slavers called *bandierantes*. Due to some isolationist regulations of the Jesuits and the frontier nature of the missions, historian Barbara Ganson argues that, "the Guarani could more easily retain many of their traditional lifeways because of the absence of Europeans in their environment."[23]

The mission economy was dependent first and foremost on indigenous labor for both subsistence and for the surplus goods sold in regional markets. Using this, the Guaraní negotiated the demands placed upon them by the Jesuits and the Spanish Crown. The indigenous people would not stay in the missions if their temporal needs were not being met to their satisfaction.[24] If the Guaraní felt that they were being overworked or they did not get their meat and mate rations, they would flee the mission. Within the Guaraní missions, yerba mate (sometimes known as Jesuit tea) and beef, as well as other cattle products were of vital importance not just for the mission economy as an export, but also for the culture of the Guaraní. According to Jesuit José Cardiel, "yerba mate consumption was such an important part of Guaraní daily life that it was like bread and wine in Spain or tea in China."[25] The consumption of mate in the Southern Cone continued to be one of the most binding cultural norms of the area throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, and even persists to the present day.

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[21] Cynthia Radding, *Wandering Peoples: comparative histories in the Sonoran desert and the forests of Amazonia from colony to republic*, (Durham [N.C.]: Duke University Press, 2005), 35

[22] Not every indigenous Guaraní person lived on the missions. Some were "wild," living semi-nomadic, pre-contact lives, and others did work on encomiendas or were slaves.

[23] Ganson, *Guaraní Under Spanish Rule*, 29.

[24] Sareal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions*, 64.

[25] *Ibid.*, 83.

Because they were distant from any large cities, the Jesuits were able to maintain a more isolationist lifestyle in the Guaraní missions than in other areas. For example, Indians from Sonora, California, and Nueva Vizcaya (in present-day Mexico) frequently left their missions in order to work in forts or mines, which led them to acculturate more to Spanish lifestyles.[26] The Guaraní missions did not function in complete isolation – neither economic nor social – rather, the Jesuits made an effort to keep outside influences away from their charges on the missions in order to maintain control. For example, visitors, merchants, and/or travelers were only permitted to stay for a maximum of three days on a mission, and during that time they stayed in separate visitor housing, away from the Indians.[27] In the early 1680s, the population of the twenty-two Guaraní missions made up over half of the population of the Río de la Plata, and by 1759 there were more Guaraní living in the extant thirteen missions than all other denizens of the province.[28] With a population that substantial, despite their methods of cultural isolation, a mission's economy required trade with the larger mission network in order to attain all the products they needed. The trade of beef, mate, textiles, and artisanal goods produced by indigenous labors made the missions, and therefore the Guaraní, an important player in the regional economy.

Guaraní militias were also vital to the protection of the frontier areas. The viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata did not have a standing military force, so the militias served as the primary armed services for the Crown in the area.[29] In 1716, a report from the Crown noted that the missions' militias were the sole military unit that was armed and

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[26] *Ibid.*, 7; Robert Jackson, *Missions and the frontiers of Spanish America: a comparative study of the impact of environmental, economic, political, and socio-cultural variations on the missions in the Rio de la Plata Region and on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*, (Scottsdale, AZ: Pentacle Press, 2005), 31.

[27] Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions,* 46.

[28] *Ibid.*, 3.

[29] Sarreal, *The Guaraní and Their Missions*, 33.

mounted and "that could rapidly be assembled to fight a frontier attack without the Crown incurring great financial costs."[30] The militias caused Guaraní men to leave the isolation and control of the missions, thus granting them further autonomy from European society. In fact, Jesuit sources estimate that more than 45,000 Indians left the mission pueblos just between 1637 and 1735.[31]

0.3b Independence

As the Hapsburg dynasty came to an end with the death of Charles the II of Spain, the Bourbon era was emerging. The Bourbon kings wrote and imposed the Bourbon Reforms, which would span the eighteenth century and change the political landscape of the New World. These reforms were a part of the Spanish crown's attempts to re-establish firm Spanish control over the colonies and minimize the power of its native-born whites (creoles) and the Jesuit order. The reforms created smaller viceroyalties – most importantly for this work, the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata – in order to allow the royal governors greater control over the massive territories. They also removed creole elites from positions of power and replaced them with newly arrived Spaniards. There were a number of reasons that the Crown was in conflict with the Jesuits – which, for the sake of space, cannot be discussed in this work – however the most pertinent one was the fact that the Society of Jesus maintained large territories of land, controlled fortunes in trade, and worked in relative autonomy. Thus, in order for the Crown to gain control of their goods, the Jesuits were expelled from the Americas in 1767. The mission system in the Rio de la Plata was known to have a more autonomous relationship with the crown than other similar Spanish systems before the reforms, but after the expulsion of the Jesuits, control over the missions

[30] *Ibid.*, 34
[31] *Ibid.*, 47

was handed over to a royal governor who was also expected to facilitate trade with Spaniards. Historian Barbara Ganson points out that over the next decade, in response to Spanish rule of the missions, the Guaraní opted for "non-confrontational forms of resistance" such as massive flight.[32]

In addition to epidemic diseases on the missions, Guaraní migration to rural towns and urban centers explains a demographic shift in more urban areas toward more use of Guaraní rather than Spanish. Indigenous Guaraní were not permitted to leave the missions, and so were "fugitives." This is mostly because if they were not in traditional Indian pueblos, they were not paying tribute and the Crown was not able to use their labor.[33] Those that left the missions rarely returned, and instead settled in areas where they shed or lost their indigenous identity in many ways relating to their material culture and lifestyles, but not their language.[34]

The Bourbon Reforms, particularly the disenfranchisement of the creoles, would help to usher in the era of independence. Creoles were whites of Spanish descent who were born in the Americas. Between 1810 and 1813, during the wars of independence, some of the first bricks in the construction of national identity through language in Paraguay were put into place. Paraguay first edged toward independence after Argentina declared itself independent from Spain in May 1810. Conflicts erupted between Paraguayan insurgents, Río de la Plata nationalists, and royalists. Subsequently, "after the provincial militia had fended off a porteño attempt to incorporate Paraguay into the new revolutionary system, Paraguay itself rose against the last Spanish *Gobernador/Intendente*" to declare

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[32] Ganson, *Guaraní under Spanish Rule*, 136.

[33] Thomas Whigham, and Jerry Cooney, *El Paraguay bajo el doctor Francia: ensayos sobre la sociedad patrimonial, 1814-1840*. (Asunción: El Lector, 1996), 119.

[34] Whigham and Cooney, *El Paraguay bajo el doctor Francia*, 119.

independence from Spain on May 14, 1811.[35] The municipal council of Asuncion rejected all proposals for incorporation into a larger Argentine nation, and instead fought to create their own. In his attempts to reason with the Paraguayan populace, General Manuel Belgrano of Argentina wrote numerous proclamations in Spanish and Guaraní exhorting the people to unite with Argentina against the Spanish Crown. Though in Guaraní, Belgrano's calls to arms were not speaking to any regionalist tendencies, as there was not national or regional ideology involving Guaraní at this time, rather he was working with the reality that most of the population of Paraguay – and therefore fighting force – spoke Guaraní.[36] Belgrano needed to communicate with the people of the region in a language they understood and that would hopefully bring them closer to his cause. Though Belgrano was not successful in his exhortations, so began the use of Guaraní by nationalist governments to garner the support of the Guaraní-speaking majority in times of conflict. This linguistic reality would inform some of the more pragmatic policy decisions of Paraguay's first ruler, José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia.

The demographics of the Río de la Plata, the prevalence of agriculture and Guaraní trade labor, as well as the importance of Guaraní militias are fundamental aspects of the establishment of the Paraguayan national identity during the Republican Era. In addition, the connections between Guaraní language and Catholicism, solidified by the Jesuits, would also aid in the maintenance of the language and its propagandized use in the late 1800s. The colonial legacies of the Jesuit mission system, as well as their consequent

[35] Jerry Cooney, "The Many Faces of El Supremo: Historians, History, and Dr. Francia," *History Compass* 2:1 (2004): 1.

[36] Roberto Romero, *Antecedentes de la Independencia Paraguaya: las proclamas castellano-guaraní del General Belgrano*, (Asunción: Ediciones Inteno, 1988), 8.

expulsion in 1767, sets the stage for the pendulum of priority and inferiority placed on Guaraní that continued through the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER 1: MESTIZAJE AND THE REIGN OF JOSÉ GASPAR RODRIGUEZ DE FRANCIA (1814-1840)

"La libertad ni cosa alguna puede subsistir sin orden, sin reglas, sin una unidad y sin concierto pues aun las criaturas inanimadas predican la exactitud."[37]

As new nations emerged from the former Spanish colonies, they frequently maintained colonial standards, simply replacing the Spaniards in charge with native-born creoles. The continuation of various colonial legacies held true in Paraguay as well, however, under the initial nation building of José Gaspar Rodriguez de de Francia (1814-1840), those categorized as mestizos would come to power. Francia used mestizaje to diminish the social power of Spaniards and creoles and to distance Paraguay from Spanish dominion. In addition, through his policies and the demographic realities of Paraguay, Guaraní language became the foundation of any attempt to cultivate nationalist sentiments for *la patria* in times of crisis. Francia's reign demonstrates the practical use of Guaraní that would later be used in constructing a national identity based on Guaraní language use.

This chapter will examine Francia's isolationist policies, and the ways in which he aimed to create the ideal of an independent, mestizo Paraguay that did not rely on any influences from the Atlantic economy. During his tenure as president, Francia actively worked to destroy competing power bases accumulated by European and creole merchants and elites, as well as that of the Catholic Church, which was the sole nongovernmental

[37] ANA-SH, Vol. 204, No. 5; 3 September 1811. "[Neither] Freedom nor anything else can subsist without order, without rules, without unity, and without accord, for even inanimate creatures now preach exactitude"

system of power in the nation.[38] He also restructured the military in order to organize a force that owed their positions and therefore allegiance only to him. This section will also build on the demographic realities discussed in the introduction to explain the impetus behind some of Francia's policies. Paraguayan nationalism would allow for the renewal of various aspects of Hispano-Guaraní culture seen in the Jesuit era such as: isolationism, the influence of local clergy, and paternalism.[39] Francia set out to be the father of the nation and as such, he would control all aspects of the government in order to protect the nation. While historical perspectives on Francia range anywhere from blood thirsty dictator to popular revolutionary and advocate for less class disparity, it cannot be denied that he was one of the most influential actors in the creation of Paraguay as a nation, and what it would eventually mean to be a citizen of that nation.[40]

José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia was born in 1766 of a Spanish-American mother and a Brazilian tobacco planter father. His mother's status as a creole granted him access to some of the benefits of the upper echelon of post-Bourbon colonial society, but his father's connection to Brazil would create rumors of Francia being *mulato*, or part black.[41] Due to the substantial African slave population of Brazil[42], the favored invective against all Brazilians was that they were all black slaves, which remained the lowest position in the social hierarchy. This serious accusation, which led to the denial of the only marriage

[38] John Hoyt Williams, "Dictatorship and the Church: Dr. Francia in Paraguay," *Journal of Church and State* 15:3 (Fall 1973): 430.

[39] Thomas Whigham, and Juan Manuel Casal, *Paraguay, el nacionalismo y la guerra: actas de las primeras jornadas internacionales de historia del Paraguay en la Universidad de Montevideo*, (Asunción: Servilibro, 2009), 22.

[40] Cooney, "Many Faces," 1.

[41] Whigham and Cooney, *El Paraguay bajo el doctor Francia*, 160.

[42] Paraguay, too, maintained an African slave population; one that would be consistently ignored in the rhetoric of Paraguayan identity, particularly during the War of Triple Alliance.

suit he ever attempted, would in turn affect Francia's treatment of the Spanish elites when he came to power.[43]

His social standing also granted Francia access to higher education. He became a doctor of theology after studying at the University of Córdoba in present-day Argentina, and taught Latin for several years. Eventually, he left his teaching position at the Colegio Seminario in Asunción to practice law. After the defeat of Manuel Belgrano's "Liberation Army" in 1811, he became the secretary to the post-independence Junta and was involved when the general Congress named Paraguay a republic in October, 1812.[44] Francia was then named co-consul of Paraguay with Fulgencio Yegros in 1813. Officially, Francia was appointed the supreme dictator[45] of Paraguay in 1814 and would stay in power as "El Supremo" until his death in 1840.[46] The proclamation naming Francia the ruler of Paraguay was publicized around Asunción and surrounding areas such as San Isidrio de Labrador, Villa Rica, and Curuguaty, where it was read aloud and archived. It called upon the fledgling nationalism of "all good and true patriots" of the Republic of Paraguay to support Francia in his new post.[47] One of the ways in which he maintained power after this proclamation was through his control over the military.

1.1 Military

By the beginning of the 1800s, while still under Spanish rule, the Paraguayan militia was divided into two units. The first, *urbanos*, were provincial troops assembled from the pueblos or rural districts who were "enrolled as a matter of course in their local *urbano*

[43] Whigham and Cooney, *El Paraguay bajo el doctor Francia*, 160.

[44] Peter Lambert, and Andrew Nickson, *The Paraguay reader: history, culture, politics* (Durham and London: Duke University Press: 2013), 53.

[45] Primary documentation uses the phrase "Dictador Supremo de la República" to describe his position.

[46] ANA-SH, Vol. 223, No. 4; 6 October 1814.

[47] ANA-SH, Vol. 223, No. 4; 6 October 1814.

unit, and stood their turn at the local *guardia* to protect their community against Indian raids."[48] The second type of unit, *filiados*, were semi-professional and considered the elites of the militias, having more training and coming from families with a higher social status than those of the men in the *urbano* units.[49] The center of the Paraguayan army at Paraguarí and Tacuarí that fought and defeated the Argentine army in 1811 was made up of "the two *filiado* cavalry regiments, to which had been added several thousand *urbanos*."[50] The successes of the *filiado*/*urbano* unit system kept it in place until Francia turned his power consolidation efforts toward the military and against elite families.

In another effort to safeguard the nation, as well as to deny positions of authority to elite families, President Francia expanded and altered the composition of the Paraguayan military. He disposed of the *filiado* system in 1819, supplanting the rather aristocratic officers in the *filiado* militia with common men who then owed their new status – and thereby their loyalty – solely to him.[51] In addition to removing a source of power and esteem for the white Spaniards and creoles, Francia provided more opportunities for indigenous and mestizo men. Military service, of which there was a great need, was a means of gaining some upward mobility for males of the Guaraní-speaking peasant class, made up of mestizos and those of protected Indian status. Indian militias also fought in the Misiones province (now a part of Argentina), as they had been for the last two centuries.[52]

The Francia regime continued to be plagued by Indian raids (usually the Mbayá or Guaná) from the frontier areas of Paraguay. So, part of the nation-building project for

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[48] John Hoyt Williams, "From the Barrel of a Gun: Some Notes on Dr. Francia and Paraguayan Militarism," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119:1 (1975): 73.

[49] Williams, "Barrel of a Gun," 73.

[50] *Ibid.*, 75.

[51] John Hoyt Williams, "The "Conspiracy of 1820", and the Destruction of Paraguayan Aristocracy," *Revista De Historia De América.* 75/76 (1973): 141-2.

[52] ANA-NE, Vol. 1809; 28 June 1814

Francia was defending against external influences – namely Spanish, Argentine, and Brazilian – as well as against internal land/power struggles with hostile indigenous groups.[53] Francia incorporated indigenous people in the militias in a way that was more flexible for the time. There were not only purely Guaraní militias, as there had been since the Jesuit mission era, but also mixed militias that allowed indigenous men to serve with mestizo men.[54] In fact, historian Thomas Whigham notes that Francia often protected the legal privileges of the Indians, though that was as long as they maintained indigenous status rather than that of a mestizo citizen.[55] So while indigenous men were not technically citizens of Paraguay and had little in the way of civic rights and responsibilities, military service could still be used as a way of escaping the drudgery of the *yerbales* (mate plantations) and possibly achieving a higher social status through service or by "becoming mestizo." The concept of becoming mestizo will be discussed in the third section of this chapter.

1.2 Isolation, Anti-Elitism, and Mestizaje

After gaining independence from both Spain and Argentina (1813), Francia's major concern was to maintain the sovereignty of Paraguay. In an effort to do so, as well as to minimize outside influences, he prohibited all river traffic to Argentina as well as all foreign commerce. The only major importation came in the form of weapons and gunpowder for the military. By 1820, Paraguay's borders were effectively closed to immigration into or emigration out of the country. Even people seeking to move from their local area – whether for internal or external relocation – were required to petition Francia

[53] ANA-SH, Vol. 224, No. 5; 1815.
[54] Whigham and Cooney, *Paraguay bajo Francia*, 129.
[55] *Ibid.*, 130.

for permission.[56] There is evidence of a small amount of trade and the occasional arrest for smuggling, however, Paraguay's economy would remain nationalized until the end of Francia's reign.[57]

One of the major drawbacks for the people of Paraguay to Francia's isolationism was economic stagnation. Cutting off most of the external trade was already hurting the bottom line of the merchants, then Francia also demanded considerable taxes on the comparatively little they earned.[58] He also prohibited the exportation of precious metals that had already been stamped by the government; if caught, the government would confiscate the contraband (or what the accused had traded it for) and if anyone had denounced an attempted smuggler, they would receive a quarter of what the accused had tried to export.[59] Francia thus incentivized the merchant class to inform on one another, further undermining their collective.

Together with his control over the economy, Francia developed a campaign against the European elites and merchant class of Paraguay that would eventually grant him sole control over all aspects of the nation. In an 1814 proclamation, the government ordered a residency registration of all Spaniards living in Paraguay without express legal permission.[60] In March 1814, the government decreed that Europeans were not permitted to marry other Europeans or creoles, instead they had to marry mestizos, pardos, "known blacks," or indigenous people.[61] Francia used this forced mestizaje as a process through

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[56] Margarita Durán Estrago, and Martín Romano García, *Formación de la familia paraguaya. Expedientes de Soltería del Archivo del Arzobispado de Asunción, 1776-1939 Vol. I, Vol. I*, (Asunción: Editorial Tiempo de Historia, 2011).

[57] Casal and Whigham, *Jornadas*, 21.

[58] ANA-SH, Vol. 223, No. 4a; 1814. ANA-SH, Vol. 242, No.10; 1838.

[59] ANA-SH, Vol. 223, No. 4; 13 November, 1814.

[60] ANA-SH, Vol. 223, No. 4.2; 5 January 1814.

[61] Williams, "Conspiracy," 142.

which to build his nation in a way that was separate from both the rule of the Spanish Crown, and creole or peninsular rule. Francia also decreed that it was necessary to gain "the express consent of the government" in order for foreigners and by extension "all those who are not natives of the Republic" to marry.[62] Those who attempted to disobey these edicts could be fined and/or imprisoned. Those who could not pay their fines had their possessions confiscated and sold at public auction by the state.[63] Thus, Francia was able to skew the social hierarchy in the favor of mestizos, a racial distinction that would become inextricably linked to Paraguayan identity.

In light of Francia's efforts to consolidate power in direct opposition to the Spaniards and creoles, it stands to reason that there would be unrest among those whose power and gains he intended to appropriate. This discontent began to manifest in 1818 among the creole *filiado* officers "who had led the revolution from Spain in 1811, and the merchant community, mostly composed of peninsular Spaniards."[64] There are no documents stating the exact start date of Francia's repressive response to the perceived threat to his rule, as it was not a state organized military operation. However, it can be argued that it began much earlier than the 1820, when a plot was uncovered to overthrow the Francia regime.

The President had become suspicious that several of the leading creole families of Asunción were planning to turn their mutterings into actions against him, and so he had them watched for perfidious behavior. One February evening in 1820, in the home of Dr. Marcos Baldovinos, four men (including Baldovinos) were arrested under suspicion of

[62] ANA-Rio Branco, Vol. 243; 1828.
[63] ANA-NE, Vol.750; June 1817.
[64] Williams, "Conspiracy," 142.

sedition. A fifth collaborator escaped arrest, having left the meeting early. The man, one Juan Bogarín, fled to his local church the following day, upon learning of his friends' arrests, and confessed his role in a plan to assassinate President Francia to his priest, who then encouraged him to confess it to El Supremo. The plan had been to kill the president during his usual ride through Asunción. After his death, "Captain Montiel, another [elite scion], was then to take over the city garrison, with the aid of Pedro Juan Caballero, while Fulgencio Yegros would assume civil power."[65]

Francia's brutal response to the conspiracy is one of the more dramatic aspects of the Franciata (as his rule would come to be known), and one that would solidify his control over Paraguay for the rest of his reign. Historian John Hoyt Williams notes that, "in a sense, the Franciata better dates from 1822 or 1823 than 1814" because, while he was named supreme dictator in 1814, the violence and complete control for which is reign is remembered did not come into full effect until then.[66] Over one hundred people who were implicated in the conspiracy were arrested within the week, and nearly all of them were from creole elite families, as well as a few foreigners.[67] Those arrests led to additional detentions – continuing for over a year – as the subversives gave up more names in the face of torture. In fact, almost all the revolutionaries of 1811 were implicated in sedition in "the Conspiracy of 1820," as it came to be known, and eventually executed by firing squad.[68] Combining the imprisonments and executions with the financial assault on Spanish and creole families crushed any remaining opposition to Francia's reign.

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[65] Williams, "Conspiracy," 144.
[66] *Ibid.*, 142.
[67] *Ibid.*, 145.
[68] *Ibid.*, 143.

President Francia made a particular effort to persecute the family and descendants of Juan José Machain (1779-1836) and Petrona Rafaela Zavala (1787-1860). Zavala's father was a Spaniard and her mother an Argentine creole, and Machain was from one of the most prominent creole families in Asunción as well as being a successful merchant and militia officer in his own right. Francia had fallen in love with Petrona Zavala and petitioned her father to wed her in 1804, to which her father Coronel Zavala responded, "*qué se va a casar nuestra hija con ese mulato!*"[69] Francia was firmly rebuffed and Zavala and Machain wed shortly thereafter. After Francia gained power in Paraguay, he made a deliberate point to ruin the financial stability and the good name of the Machain family and those connected to it. Some primary records discussing new fines and taxes contain family names other than Machain, however they are often connected to the Machain family through marriage. For example, in a June 1834 mandate, Alejandro García, Juan José Loizaga, and Cayetano Iturburu are ordered to contribute one thousand pesos each, which seemingly had no connection to the Machain family…except that each of these men were married to one of the sisters of Juan José Machain.[70] Francia dreamed up fines and mandatory "contributions" of up to one thousand pesos at a time, which he then required paid within a week of the family being given notice.[71]

In light of his anti-peninsular policies which had cost that community economic power and social esteem, Francia concluded that the remaining Spaniards (those who had not already fled or been exiled after independence) were also involved in the conspiracy. On June 9, 1821, Francia circulated a proclamation to the community of peninsulares in

[69] Whigham and Cooney, *Paraguay bajo Francia*, 162. "As if we would marry our daughter to that *mulato!*"

[70] ANA-SH, Vol. 242, No. 10; 2 February 1835.

[71] ANA-SH, Vol. 242, No. 10; 2 February 1835. ANA-SH, Vol. 242, No. 10; 30 June 1834.

Asunción that condemned the "perverse influence, opposition and incessant insidious suggestions and seductions of the European Spaniards."[72] Citing the necessity of restoring the "tranquility and security of all," Francia's proclamation ordered all Spaniards to gather in the Plaza de la Revolución within two hours (six if they lived further away from the city central), under pain of death. Once they had assembled in the plaza – some three hundred people –, they were read their crimes, arrested, and carted off to jail. Aside from "Bishop Panes, who was released the following day and ex-Governor Bernardo de Velasco, who soon died," the peninsulares would stay in the jails of Asunción for approximately eighteen months.[73] In July of 1821, the aforementioned Captain Montiel, former co-consul Fulgencio Yegros, and at least six others were executed by firing squad.[74] Most of the detainees were able to prove their relative innocence in the conspiracy and were released, but only after paying an exorbitant fine that was the final nail in the coffin of their former economic and political domination.[75] Those who were unable to pay the fine lingered in jail, some as long as two decades, until after President Francia died in 1840.[76] One notable exception to the releases was Juan José Machain, who was detained in 1820 and remained in prison until he was executed by firing squad in 1836.[77]

The height of the political violence of the Franciata was coming to an end by 1823, but by that time the population of Asunción had shrunk by approximately one-third of its

[72] Williams, "Conspiracy," 147; AHA-SH, Vol. 371 and Vol. 5, No. 8.

[73] Williams, "Conspiracy," 147

[74] In a gruesome addition, Thomas Whigam and Jerry Cooney note that each man was allotted one bullet for his execution, and if that did not do the job they were to be bayonetted (*Paraguay bajo Francia*, 169).

[75] Primary sources do not state the exact amount of the fine, however secondary sources agree that is was between 150,000 and 250,000 pesos.

[76] Williams, "Conspiracy," 148

[77] Whigham and Cooney, *Paraguay bajo Franica*, 169.

previous population.[78] The adult males of the peninsular aristocracy and creole merchants were mostly either imprisoned, killed, or exiled. In addition, the government confiscated all property belonging to those who were convicted. Beggared and lacking leadership, some of the elites that survived in freedom, such as Carlos Antonio López, withdrew to their country estates far from Asunción, where they hoped to remain safely below Francia's radar. In addition to the marriage ban, this demographic shift generated by Francia's reign of terror against the peninsulares and creoles of Paraguay is considered by some historians to be "the true Paraguayan revolution."[79] In addition to personally assuming control of the majority of the nation's commerce, Francia also turned his focus to the Catholic Church.

1.3 Anti-Clericalism

Despite his education in theology, Francia was highly anticleric. He was rumored to be an atheist, but most scholars agree that his belief system tended toward deism[80]. As such, Francia considered that clergy did not have the right to any temporal authority in Paraguay, as there was no God around to give them that authority.[81] Thus the survival of his country depended on his absolute control since God was not going to have a hand in it. More importantly, in a pragmatic sense, the Catholic Church was also the only other organization with power, money, property, as well as connections to Europe; all things that Francia deemed unacceptable unless under his control. While his personal beliefs may have been anti-clerical against Catholicism as a religion, his policies were anti-clerical in that they were aimed more toward the removal of all political power and wealth of the Catholic

[78] Williams, "Conspiracy," 151

[79] Williams, "Conspiracy," 152.

[80] Deism is the spiritual belief system that centers on the idea that God exists, and that He created the world, set in motion, and then left it alone.

[81] Whigham and Cooney, *Paraguay bajo Francia*, 127.

Church as an institution. To this end, President Francia cut the Church off from foreign contact of any sort in a letter to the Bishop of Asunción stating that religious communities were "independent from all authority outside the province."[82]

After isolating the Paraguayan Catholic Church, Francia's regime commanded control of the distribution of church finances and of its overall administration. Francia also prevented parish priests from accumulating large personal wealth and mostly discontinued parish benefices.[83] Money received through tithes was sent to the Treasury which then paid the clergy:

> "1816 government account books show a total of 32,655 pesos, 7 reales collected in the name of the Church, an amount representing about twenty percent of all financial ingress for the government that year. Most of this money appears to have come from diezmo taxes, the annual Novena, sale of indulgences and related items. The same source indicates only 5,141 pesos and 2 reales paid out by the treasury for religious purposes."[84]

While Francia did not seek to control the message of the Church, nor forbid the clergy from their going about their religious duties, he did leave the Catholic Church as an institution to wither in neglect.

Since he had cut Paraguayan clergy off from the Vatican, there was a finite list of priests on which to draw, and it got shorter as time went by. Francia was not concerned with replacing the often foreign-born priests when they died or left an area, just as he was unconcerned about building new churches. He didn't forbid new church construction, however it did require his permission and oversight, making it a more difficult process to

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[82] ANA-SH, Vol. 244, No. 5a; 2 July 1815.

[83] Michael Huner, "Sacred cause, divine republic: a history of nationhood, religion, and war in nineteenth-century Paraguay, 1850-1870," Ph.D Diss ETD, (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011), 81.

[84] John Hoyt Williams "Dictatorship and the Church: Dr. Francia in Paraguay," *Journal of Church and State* 15:3 (Fall 1973): 428.

receive funds.[85] Since the Church was practically the only source of education in Paraguay, he also limited the education possibilities of his populace.[86] An 1811 decree by the ruling junta had stated that all schools in the province must provide the education necessary to be good Christians, and citizens of God and of la Patria.[87] Obviously, President Francia was not particularly interested in continuing this effort since he hobbled the church and dissolved most education programs in Paraguay. The government closed the Colegio Seminario in 1823 after the assassination plot of 1820, confiscating all of their furniture and their property in the countryside. Thus, Francia dissolved the sole institution of higher learning in Paraguay, as well as the sole means of producing new clerics for the Church.[88] In addition, an 1824 decree mandated the dissolution of all monasteries, the confiscation of their goods and properties, and the secularization of all their clergy, who would then be dispatched to open posts in the interior.[89] In such a way, Francia destabilized the political and economic power of the Catholic Church in Paraguay and left the rural population as their sole purview.

Local clergy in the interior were responsible for keeping up with local Catholic traditions that were entrenched in the process of community building. Local clergy also functioned as another acculturating factor of the rural populations. As with the Jesuit missions, Guaraní-speaking peasants on the pueblos, whether fully indigenous or mestizo, worked the land. The clergy were also still teaching in Guaraní, which is another example of the continuation of colonial structures during the nation-building process. Their work in

[85] Williams, "Dictatorship and the Church," 435.
[86] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 81.
[87] ANA-Rio Branco, Vol. 154; 31 December 1811.
[88] Williams, "Dictatorship and the Church," 430.
[89] ANA-SH, Vol. 237, No. 7, 20 September 1824.

the frontiers is also another example of Francia's anti-clericalism in that he sent the clergy out into frontier areas, with minimal financial support, where they would be out of touch with any political goings-on in Asunción. They could also be used by Francia as a method of control and order for the rural populations. So, Francia permitted the Catholic religion to continue in Paraguay, but controlled all of its former wealth and removed the local church's connection to European power. Through their teaching and years of relative isolation, the clergy advanced the linkage of Guaraní to Catholicism/religion and religion with the land, a fact that would be of critical importance during the War of Triple Alliance in 1864.

1.4 Guaraní and Mestizaje

Though President Francia ruled in a way that brooked no opposition, crushing any institution or community that could be a threat, he did not appear to see either the indigenous population or the peasant class in such a way. In a letter written in 1819, he directs an administrator to "maintain harmony with the Indians, better to make friends with them by way of some reward, but always with caution."[90] Aside from men actively involved in the military, Francia left most of the indigenous and mestizo peasant population in benign neglect to work the land. He forced more miscegenation at the upper levels of society while it continued and increased at the middle and lower classes as it had since the arrival of the Spanish. This racial mixing would be foundational in the concept of Paraguayan nationality as being unified in its mestizo nature.

The pueblos were no longer a place for just indigenous Guaraní; many mestizos and creoles lived there as well. Because of the Indians' protected status, some creoles

[90] ANA-SH, Vol. 232, No. 2, 19 November 1819.

moved to indigenous pueblos and married Guaraní women in order to legitimize their claims to the land.[91] Rural areas were places where even those who were not mestizo would be able to claim it through acculturation to creole culture. This was a vital phase in the expansion of the Guaraní-speaking mestizo population of Paraguay, as well as the gradual whitening in the conceptualization of the traditional pueblos.

The rapid rise of a mestizo population was an interesting aspect of the Paraguayan nation. Historian Sarah Chambers notes that in the Andes, "subalterns did not develop a collective identity as mestizos that could be used as a basis for political mobilization," even in areas that had substantial Indian populations, instead, indigenous people who made claims to a higher racial category claimed to be peninsulares.[92] This is likely because there was little benefit in claiming to be mestizo as compared to in Paraguay. As Francia instigated further miscegenation through his anti-Spanish and anti-creole policies, he created an incentive to claiming mestizo racial categorization versus that of Spaniard. From the perspective of indigenous communities, who maintained their dependent but protected status as legal minors, "becoming mestizo" allowed them to leave their pueblos and no longer have to pay a tithe/tribute.

Though the state was creating a mestizo nationality, which by default had an indigenous linguistic heritage, actually being indigenous rather than mestizo was not greatly beneficial in either the long- or short-run. Colonial racial *castas* were ostensibly made obsolete with the creation of the Republic, especially after Francia's anti-white policies. However, it remained true that the lighter population was at the top of the social hierarchy, while indigenous people were lower and Afro-descendent Paraguayans

[91] Whigham and Cooney, *Paraguay bajo Francia*, 124.
[92] Chambers, "Little Middle Ground," 36.

continued to be on the bottom rung of free-born society. As seen in Francia's earlier life, even the accusation of being *mulato* could injure one's social standing. Interestingly, Francia once created a settlement exclusively for free blacks in the northern frontier as an attempt to "civilize" the area.[93] The town of Tevego (which would later be called Salvador under the next regime) was "created on the same communal basis as colonial-era Indian pueblos…with the promise of land and supplies."[94] However, they faced attacks from hostile indigenous groups and very little in the way of government assistance, which led the settlement to break apart a few years after its establishment. It appeared that the only mixed race people that were valued were those of indigenous and white ancestry, i.e. mestizos.

The President's approach to Indians demonstrates the tacit perpetuation of colonial socio-political structures. Instead of a Spanish governor, he was the head authority, but he made no other efforts to change the social order from the bottom up. Indigenous people were still denied citizenship, were required to pay a tithe based on their agricultural surplus, and for the most part had to have permission to leave their local area (as all people in Paraguay did at this time). In fact, historian Thomas Whigham posits that Francia actually left most pueblos alone, as long as what they were doing did not trifle with his supreme authority, and that land disputes and issues with "foreign" Indians were the most common in archival documents.[95]

Additionally, as Francia's reign wore on and trade decreased, the demand for labor on yerbales, tobacco farms, and in the timber industry also decreased. So, all the

[93] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 56.
[94] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 56.
[95] Williams, "Conspiracy," 129-130.

fundamental industries to the economy that had previously drawn Indians out of their traditional villages were ceasing to function.[96] Because of this, most Guaraní families – and really all rural Paraguayan families – turned to subsistence farming.[97] So in addition to a lack of education and constantly spoken Guaraní, rural Paraguayans had even less contact with the urban centers where they would be more likely to come in contact with Spanish and more Europeanize culture. As rural peasants were left to mind their own families and land, they became more linked to the protection of it. The enduring connection of Guaraní-speaking peasants (indigenous or mestizo) to the working of the land would be another tool used in the propaganda of the War of Triple Alliance.

While most indigenous people did live in rural areas, not all did. Due to a lack of work in agricultural arenas, many indigenous people moved to Asunción for work. Guaraní architects and construction workers were sought after in Asunción for important government projects such as the Cuartel del Hospital and the Ministro de Hacienda.[98] These indigenous workers were paid workers, not slaves, whose communities had acquired these architecture skills originally on the missions. Some[99] workers who were slaves were granted manumission, in the form of payment to the slaveholder who owned their papers.[100] Interestingly, they are not referred to as "Guaraní" in work or supply orders written to and from President Francia. Instead, they are called "indios de los misiones," mission Indians.[101] It is important to note that these Guaraní-speaking men were working in the militias on the borders as well as on building towns and buildings in the city, while

[96] *Ibid.*, 129.
[97] *Ibid.*, 129.
[98] ANA-NE, Vol. 1808, 10 May 1814.
[99] It is not clear from the records if those given manumission represent every indigenous slave who worked for Francia in the capital, but there are sufficient records to know that some were.
[100] ANA-NE, Vol. 2534, 3 April 1814.
[101] ANA-NE, Vol. 1808, 10 May 1814.

continuing to speak Guaraní. They were not passive receptors who were simply fortunate that Francia's policies were not against them, they were actively fashioning their social roles through adaptation and assimilation. Yet they continued to use their native language in rural areas where they were advancing European *racial* conventions, and in the cities, where Spanish was likely to be used.

Based on the demographic reality of his emergent nation, Francia required that all administrators be able to speak Guaraní and primarily used it in its local communications and day-to-day business. All laws and proclamations were also required to be translated by his *subdelgados* and read aloud at the local level.[102] Despite the oral use of Guaraní, notarial records and government communications demonstrate that the written language of the government was still Spanish, even though soldiers and common citizenry spoke Guaraní. This supports the argument that he was less concerned with social equality or the advancement of the peasant class so much as he was with the efficient running of his government, which required the use of Guaraní to reach all members of the populace. While Dr. Francia was creating a mestizo nation, he was inadvertently promoting a language of inclusion and exclusion which would define Guaraní language use as a vital part of what it meant to be Paraguayan. Francia leaving indigenous people alone was in direct contrast to the destruction of the ruling elites and creole merchants, which can be seen as more of a consolidation of power rather than an attempt at social equality. His behaviors appear to be based more on pragmatism, tinged with no small measure of revenge.

In his coup de grâce against the Machain family, Francia went so far as to declare that the female progenitor of the Machain line, Clara de Aguiar, was *mulata*. Thus

[102] Whigham and Cooney, *Paraugay bajo Francia*, 22.

"tainting" the lineage of the Machain family with the same disgrace that Francia was rumored to have in 1804, the President decreed that going forward no person in Clara's line would be permitted to marry.[103] From as early as the colonial period, there is evidence of "advancing contentions of whiteness" within communities that were classified as being of an inferior *casta*, particularly that of *indio*.[104] Thus, while indigenous people were able to "advance" to mestizo, Spaniards mixing with an inferior social group impaired their ability to maintain their place at the top of the social hierarchy. While mestizaje was being used as a sort of racial equalizer, being *mulato* was even more denigrated as inferior. Once again, this would become a crucial aspect in the War of Triple Alliance as Paraguay attempted to paint itself as a mestizo nation, erasing any of its black ancestry, against Brazilian hostilities.

1.5 Conclusion

Though this work does not argue that it was his end goal, Francia was instrumental in creating the foundation of the Paraguayan national identity. Suppression of the Church and the white elites, plus an increase in the military created a system of reliance on the state and Francia himself.[105] Through that reliance, he forced miscegenation at the top of the social hierarchy, created opportunities for upward mobility of the lower castes, and controlled the nation in isolation for over two decades. He destabilized the control of traditional groups that held patrimonial authority, such as landowners and merchants, and replaced them with an individual patriarchy reflected in him as Father of the nation. His successor would aim to erase all but the patriarchal aspect of this foundation, however, the

[103] ANA-NE Vol. 1885, Aug 14, 1836. In April 1835, shortly before executing Juan José Machain in 1836; referred to in the cited primary document.

[104] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 122-3.

[105] Williams, "Dictatorship and the Church," 430.

various aspects of Paraguayan identity – Guaraní language, mestizaje, agriculture, and Catholicism – were firmly entrenched and would require more time than he had to turn around.

CHAPTER 2: MODERNIZATION AND THE REIGN OF CARLOS ANTONIO LÓPEZ (1844-62)

"Sin riquezas no hay estado poderoso"[106]

Due to the destruction of the Spanish ruling elite and the appropriation of Church property and power under José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia (1814-1840), there was a limited number of people who were in positions of power to take up the mantle of President when Francia died in 1840. After Francia's death, his military commanders took over the running of the nation with the administrative help of a rural attorney named Carlos Antonio López. López had attended the Colegio Seminario de San Carlos, and later taught there until the school was closed by Francia. Having married into a prominent family, he was able to retire to his family's country ranch where he practiced law. He gained a local reputation for being one of the most learned men in Paraguay (especially after Francia exiled or killed other academics), which would help him to first become co-consul and then President of Paraguay in 1844.

This chapter focuses on the rule of President Carlos Antonio López and the trend of his reign toward modernization and the use of Spanish. It functions as something of a foil to the nation-building projects of his predecessor, Francia, and his successor, Francisco Solano López. Since his reign was anti-Guaraní and focused on the Europeanization of Paraguay's national identity. His reign exemplifies the overarching trend in Latin America

[106] "Doctrinal," *Eco del Paraguay*, 26 April 1855: "Without riches there is no powerful state."

of pushing toward industrialization, social modernization (i.e. Europeanization), creating opportunities for foreign investment, and disenfranchising the indigenous. By the mid-nineteenth century, the majority of post-colonial nations were institutionally dedicated to the Europeanization of their populations and any attempts to emphasize Amerindian heritage threatened to regress any supposed social progress of the colonial period. Consider Argentina's President Domingo Faustino Sarmiento (1868-1874)[107], whose treatises on civilization vs barbarism frequently contained the subtext of white vs non-white, particularly when non-white meant indigenous.[108] The existence of this modernization project in Paraguay is vital when examined in contrast to the ideological outcome during the War of Triple Alliance discussed in chapter three.

2.1 Industrial Modernization

President López aimed to supplant Francia's more colonial administrative structures and transform them – at least in appearance – into a European-modeled liberalism. "These innovations included a reorganized treasury, new ministerial posts, and an officer corps for the army."[109] Unlike Francia, who trusted no one to have power other than himself, López began filling ministerial positions with cronies and family members. As part of the effort to create a modern nation, a new constitution was ratified in 1844. López' hand-picked Congress of three hundred men had no say in the creation of the constitution. Instead, López crafted it with the help of a diplomat named Andrés Gill, and then presided over the ratification of it in Congress.[110] It seems strange for an authoritarian

[107] Though Sarmiento was the President of Argentina from 1868-1874, his first published works began with his 1845 publication of *Facundo: Civilización y Barbarie*.

[108] Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal, "*Mestizaje* and the Discourse of Nationa/Cultural Identity in Latin American, 1845-1959," *Latin American Perspectives*, 25:3 (1998): 25.

[109] Lambert and Nickson, *Paraguay Reader*, 71.

[110] James Schofield Saeger, *Francisco Solano Lopez and the Ruination of Paraguay: Honor and Egocentrism*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007), 41.

regime to publish a constitution, especially when the document still granted the executive branch full authority over the country. It was a rubber stamp, but since modern European nations had constitutions, having the "appropriate legal structure" lent the Paraguayan government legitimacy.[111] The document also allowed López to not only demonstrate to his own people that Paraguay was becoming a modern nation, but also to tell incoming foreign influences that he was the sole power in Paraguay.[112]

The majority of López' presidency was spent overturning Francia's policies, such as his anti-elitism, anti-clericalism, and his protection of indigenous people, but particularly his isolationism. Upon becoming president, López worked to open Paraguay to external trade and foreign investment. While Francia had closed the borders in order to protect Paraguay's sovereignty, López opened them to accomplish the same. He succeeded in the 1850s when he was able to sign commerce and navigation treaties with Great Britain, Argentina, and the United States.[113] These countries, as well as Brazil, also finally recognized Paraguay as a nation as part of these agreements, though problems with defining the exact borders of each nation with Paraguay persisted.[114] In 1852, there were a number of significant policy and power shifts that facilitated these trade agreements. Most importantly, the rule of Argentine dictator Juan Manuel de Rosas came to an end and allowed for the opening of fluvial trade between the nations of Argentina and Paraguay. Rosas had been militant in his refusal to acknowledge Paraguayan sovereignty after it had

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[111] Casal and Whigham, *Jornadas*, 23.

[112] Lambert and Nickson, *Paraguay Reader*, 72.

[113] The two nations signed a commerce and navigation treaty in 1853. However, after signing the treaty, the U.S. then struggled with its ratification until 1859. See Flickema, Thomas O. 1968. "The Settlement of the Paraguayan-American Controversy of 1859: A Reappraisal". *The Americas.* 25 (1): 49-69.

[114] Hendrik Kraay, and Thomas Whigham, *I Die with My Country: Perspectives on the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870*, (Lincoln, Neb: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 7.

won independence. In addition, England had been relatively close with the Paraguayan government since the mid-1840s as they engaged Paraguay in the production of cotton and Paraguay looked to Europe for modern technologies.

To facilitate commercial relations between Paraguay and England, as well as France, Carlos Antonio López sent his eldest son, Francisco Solano, as his primary foreign diplomat. Together, the Lópezes contracted British companies to construct a shipyard to bolster Paraguay's naval might on the Platine rivers, a railroad, telegraph, and other staples of industrialization. The first President López also instituted an exchange program that, while small (around two dozen students total), was "an early example of a South American nation's quest for technology transfer."[115] Because Paraguay had no technological infrastructure, it was necessary to import both industrialized goods and those who could teach others how to make them themselves. One particular piece of technology would become a useful tool in the modernization project and a vital part of Solano López' war: the printing press.

2.2 Social "Modernization" (Blanqueamiento)

Part of López' modernization program was the creation and publication of newspapers in Asunción. The first state newspaper, *Paraguayo Independiente* (Asunción: 1845), was largely written and edited by Carlos Antonio López himself and directed toward securing recognition of Paraguayan political independence. All were in Spanish and were clearly intended for an educated audience, and not solely because they required literacy. The best preserved publication was that of *Eco del Paraguay*, which ran weekly from 1855 to 1857. Each print contained various geographically designated *cronicas*, such as: *Cronica*

[115] Schofield Saeger, *Ruination of Paraguay*, 63-64.

de la Capital, *Cronica de las Provincias*, and *Cronica Extrangera*. Other sections were dedicated to telling the Paraguayan people how they should eat or behave, as well as being peppered with quotes from notable French thinkers like La Bruyère, La Rochefoucauld, and even Napoleon. Messages from the López regime were "blessed in official mass and often read from the pulpit, but also sent abroad."[116] In the first publication there is even a riveting exploration on the history and importance of silk!

As the only state-sanctioned source of symbolic production, López used *Eco* to propagate his modernization agenda by extoling the virtues of modern European life and presenting a paternal front. Symbolic production is the creation of ideologies through the connection of meaning and value to objects or ideas; and symbolic power is one's "authority" over symbolic production. In his publications, López built upon Francia's paternal ideal of the ruler of Paraguay as the father of the nation. Just as in the home, fathers knew best and were owed a certain amount of fealty because of their position as the head of the household as well as the protection they offered. As the supreme leader of Paraguay, López likened himself to the father of his nation; the same values that were used to run a household were used to run a country. He also aimed to sell a sort of trickle-down economics that stated that if the working class worked hard then the state would become wealthy, which would in turn create wealth for them.

> *"Un padre de familia que procura su bien y el de sus hijos es la imagen más perfecta y natural de su gobernante que procura el bien de sus estados y el de sus súbditos…Es imposible que un hombre pueda juntar riquezas, ni disfrutar las que ha reunido sin la cooperación de otros muchos hombres"*[117]

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[116] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 107.

[117] "Doctrinal," *Eco del Paraguay*, 26 April 1855: "A father who tries for the good of himself and that of his children is the most perfect and natural image of his ruler who seeks the good of his states and that of his subjects ... It is impossible for a man to gather wealth, nor enjoy that which he has acquired without the cooperation of many other men"

As a child of Paraguay, each person owed their paternal authority (i.e. the state) their obedience and their hard work. *Eco* also sold the inverse: the ruination of a pueblo would be due to laziness, a lack of patriotism or bad local politics.[118]

Across several publication days, *Eco* printed the *Folletin sobre El Paraguay*, which told a government sanctioned version of the history of Paraguay from the Jesuits to the reign of Carlos Antonio López.[119] The article glorified the civilizing influence of the Jesuits and their strength of character in taking on indigenous barbarity in order to link it to López' own "civilizing" project. It stated that though Francia saved Paraguay from civil war by taking power, he was a despot who had damaged the economy by making it entirely national.[120] According to *Eco*, without faith and religion, the population of Paraguay degenerated into laziness, spending their hours languishing in the tropical sun rather than attending to their physical and spiritual duties.[121] These duties, of course, included working on state-owned farms and yerbales as well as paying a church tithe that went through the government.

El Folletin concluded with descriptions of Paraguay's various populations. The upper class, made up of "*la raza española pura*," was referred to as a population of the past that had only cared about opulence and decadent parties. The middle class, or *"mediopelo,"* was a cross between Spaniards and Guaraní Indians and made up the typical population of the country.[122] Here the periodical continues the ideal of Francia's Paraguay, that its

[118] "Doctrinal," *Eco del Paraguay*, 18 October 1855.
[119] "Folletin: El Paraguay," *Eco del Paraguay*, 6 November 1856 to Thurs, 20 Nov, 1856.
[120] *Ibid.* 6 November 1856.
[121] *Ibid.* 6 November 1856.
[122] *Ibid.*, 20 November 1856.

population was essentially different from its most dangerous neighbors, Argentina (considered all European) and Brazil (considered to be all black). Again due to the ideals of the López regime's modernization project, the lower class was made up of Indians. Presented as savage and somewhat misanthropic, the article called them unhappy drunkards, and said that they lived alone and aligned with neither foreigners nor "*los hijos del País*."[123] Indigenous people who were able to avoid government control were excluded from even the idea of being Paraguayan; they were no longer children of that country.

Throughout the era of nation-building, new nations were veering away from the ideas of the *casta* system inherited from the colonial period and were edging toward citizenship for all men. However, while the ultra-specific juridical caste distinctions put in place by the Spanish Crown were no longer purported to be in use, Indians were often considered collectively as backward, a hindrance to national development, and as a group in need of integration. According to Lopez a modern nation equated to a Europeanized nation, so the use of Guaraní and the presence of Indian pueblos represented this backwardness. By giving indigenous people citizenship, Lopez was taking a large step toward the integration and Hispanicization of the Indians. This removal of the Indian identity removed a means of self-identification that was different from European or mestizo.

From 1846 to 1847, López also collected demographic data to form a census. As one could guess, the largest concentration of people was in Asunción, at forty-two percent of the total 238,862 people counted.[124] Aside from Villa Rica, in which there was just over

[123] "Folletin: El Paraguay," *Eco del Paraguay*, 20 Nov, 1856.

[124] John Hoyt Williams, "Observations on the Paraguayan Census of 1846," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 56:3 (1976): 426.

fort-five thousand people (nineteen percent of the total population), no other town contained more than thirty-five thousand people.[125] Despite errors in continuity, the 1846 census data helps to demonstrate the continuing transition of all Paraguayans into mestizos, whether it was accurate or not. Censuses from 1799 and 1846 show that in the approximately fifty-year span, the indigenous population of Paraguay went from 27.4% to .5% of the total population.[126] This decrease is indicative of not only the increase of mestizaje in Paraguay under Francia, but also the state's role in applying that categorization to its people, as well as the individual's choice to use it to their advantage.[127] It stands to reason that if one is not permitted to have civic rights as an Indian, then the next best option was to identify as mestizo. In fact, the category of mestizo did not even exist on the census since it was assumed that each person was mestizo unless otherwise stated. Only two-thousand people were labeled as Indian, because the "wild Indians" of the north and Chaco were omitted and any others were only noted when they behaved or looked differently than the masses.[128] Historians Sarah Chambers and Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal agree that racial categorizations were social constructs built on conceptualizations of physical characteristics and cultural norms defined by the state.[129] No matter one's biological heritage or phenotype, as long as a person or family behaved "like a Paraguayan," then they were not listed as Indians.

These fixed ideas on what it meant to be and act Paraguayan created opportunities for upward mobility to some people of indigenous descent. In contrast to Sarmiento's

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[125] Williams, "Census of 1846," 426.
[126] There were no censuses between 1799 and 1846.
[127] Williams, "Census of 1846," 430.
[128] *Ibid.,* 431.
[129] Chambers, "Little Middle Ground," 33; Martínez-Echazábal, "Mestizaje," 24.

thoughts on mestizaje as a regression in the cultural evolution of Latin America's European ancestry, mestizaje also functioned as a means of racial whitening, or *blanqueamiento* that increased the social value of indigenous ethnic groups. Because the skin color of mestizos and *indios* frequently looked the same[130], by acting "Paraguayan" – presumably by wearing non-indigenous dress and living in a township rather than one of the indigenous pueblos – families and individuals could advance the gradual process of *blanqueamiento,* and make use of rights that were reserved for mestizos. *Blanqueamiento* was not solely a biological process; it was also, and more importantly, a social process. Thus, there were two ways in which Paraguayans became mestizo: through sex and through the erasure of indigenous identity with an ideological simplification that made linguistic linkages to the indigenous past invisible.[131] These two groups would become the foundation of the Guaraní-speaking peasant class.[132]

By removing or denying certain aspects of indigenous culture, such as dress, traditions, and often language, an individual or state could imagine itself as whiter or more European. Mestizaje was "not the recognition and proclamation of ethnic difference or of a heterogeneous identity but the Eurocentric glorification of a cultural sameness, of similarity in identity."[133] López' emphasis on Spanish language and European culture denigrated the cultural value of Guaraní language through an ideology that viewed Guaraní-speakers as backward peasants who needed to be taught how to function in an

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[130] Mestizo skin is referred to as "a brilliant, burning bronze," so while they are whiter, they are not strictly viewed as white (*Eco del Paraguay*, 20 Nov, 1856 – a2n88).

[131] Kroskrity, *Regimes of Language ideologies, polities, and identities,* (Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 2000), 25.

[132] This is not to say that these two groups *only* made up the Guaraní-speaking peasant class, particularly the biological mestizo families.

[133] Lourdes Martínez-Echazábal. "*Mestizaje* and the Discourse of National/Cultural Identity in Latin America, 1845-1959," *Latin American Perspectives.* 25:3 (1998): 23.

industrialized society. Under López, the state's rhetoric aimed for the linkage of Paraguay's mestizaje to its European ancestors rather than their indigenous ones. The reconceptualization of Paraguayan racial identity had been going on since Francia's reign, but in 1848 López would create policies that aimed to erase the links to an indigenous past and change Paraguay's Guaraní present.

Beginning with the Constitution of 1844, which lacked any mention of the mestizo and Guaraní-speaking reality of Paraguay, the state worked to erase the indigenous part of mestizos and shift toward the European part. Thomas Whigham notes that there were parallel societies in Paraguay that rarely overlapped: one that was geared toward the modern external world, Spanish, and the written word; and another that was focused internally, on the oral Guaraní culture of Paraguay.[134] At the time of the 1844 Constitution, indigenous Guaraní were legal minors. However, in a law created in 1848 López fully did away with their protected status. This law declared indigenous people citizens of Paraguay, which the López government aimed to project as the greatest gift they could receive. In his decree, López discussed the hardships of life for indigenous people and mentioned that by making them true citizens of Paraguay, he was helping them to create better lives and to be one with the nation.[135]

Despite the purported benefits to indigenous communities, the purpose of this decree was to undermine the community structure of the pueblos and to destabilize their ability to petition the government. The most deleterious aspect of these laws was that all communal lands would be turned over to the state, even those of mestizos who lived in

[134] Casal and Whigham, *Jornadas*, 24.
[135] ANA-SH, Vol. 282; 7 October 1848.

indigenous pueblos.[136] López and his Congress decreed that the lands of the twenty-one remaining indigenous pueblos would be divided and ownership restricted, as well as stating that its local leaders would be reassigned.[137] This also allowed the government to press Guaraní men into military service, which many of them had been exempt from in the past.[138] Technically, they were given the right to petition, but without a cohesive community or local leadership, their petitions would bear little weight. The 1848 law also meant that all citizens (now including indigenous people) had to pay various agriculture and pastoral taxes such as the Church tithe.[139] All told, the Paraguayan government seized over 116,500 cattle, 34,500 horses (male and female), 32,000 sheep, and 8,400 pesos cash in 1848.[140]

Another important aspect of the 1848 law dealt with Guaraní nomenclature. In acquiring indigenous communal lands and converting them into state properties, López also changed the names of some of the more important pueblos from Guaraní names to Spanish ones. For example, the town of Itapúa became the port city of Encarnación, as it is known today. Citizens of Paraguay were also required to change their surnames from Guaraní to Spanish ones. Just as language is more than just referential communication, names are obviously more than just a hodgepodge of letters we call ourselves. The language they are in and their meanings connect people to their heritage and culture, and while it certainly functions as a way to denote objects and ideas in the external world, language is also a means of social and economic inclusion or exclusion.[141] Languages can be a basis

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[136] *Ibid.*
[137] ANA-SH, Vol. 285; 25 November 1842.
[138] Schofield Saeger, *Ruination of Paraguay*, 37.
[139] Whigham and Cooney, *Paraguay bajo el doctor Francia*, 133.
[140] Whigham and Cooney, *Paraguay bajo el doctor Francia*, 134.
[141] Irvine, "Talk Isn't Cheap," 250.

for cohesiveness or an indicator of alterity. By forcing people with indigenous surnames to change them to Spanish ones, López was once again encouraging the inclusion of Paraguay in the greater Spanish-speaking economic market as well as advancing the connection to the European aspect of the mestizo identity over that of the indigenous Guaraní.

Though numerous people who had lived in the Indian pueblos had to change their names, certain caste designations could still be implied by calling them "originario de" one of the indigenous towns.[142] López was effectively erasing the existence of indigenous "barbarism" by erasing the linguistic evidence of it, however, ways of designating people as "other" remained. For López, a modern country with modern people could not have indigenous names because they were too strongly linked to a barbaric past. The stereotypical backwardness of Indians was attached to the use of Guaraní, despite the fact that the majority of the population spoke it, whether urban or rural, indigenous or mestizo. López had an answer for that as well.

López did not intend to leave the acculturation of Guaraní-speakers to Spanish and European ideals to chance. Instead, he strove to create an education system that extended outside the urban center of Asunción. He recognized that if he was going to create a "modern" nation that had meaningful contact with its neighbors, then they would need to speak the language of the administration – Spanish.

> *"La educación es la que cultiva nuestras facultades, y la que nos hace hombres más bien que la naturaleza; ella es la que engrandece y eleva al hombre y le pone al frente de todos los seres de la creación. Todas las naciones, todos los gobiernos antiguos y modernos se han manifestado siempre bien penetrados de la importancia de este deber, de ésta necesidad de formar hombres y ciudadanos por medio de una esmerada educación"*[143]

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[142] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 122-3.

[143] "Doctrinal," *Eco del Paraguay*, 19 April 1855: "Education is what cultivates our [mental] faculties, what makes us men better than nature; it is what magnifies and elevates man and puts him ahead of all other beings in Creation. All nations, all governments – ancient and modern – have shown themselves

López and his advisors planned a military-style teaching regimen for primary education that included: religion and morality, Spanish spelling and grammar, Spanish literature, math, science, and agriculture.[144] In addition to indoctrinating the children of Paraguay in preschools and primary schools, the government also instituted adult education in order to reach all Paraguayans. Every Paraguayan needed to at least know his/her (Spanish) letters and the catechisms of the Catholic Church.[145] The education project was a "prelude to even better benefits for the Republic" and was imperative on the road to progress.[146]

Despite his efforts, Guaraní was still the language of use in the rural areas, especially the yerbales. As it had since the Jesuit era, the regime paid for its projects with funds from its wood and yerba mate monopolies in addition to its newly state-run ranches.[147] The state also increased revenue through tax-farming where "individual merchants made bids on contracts to oversee the collection in particular districts, paying the treasury a stipulated amount and keeping the rest for themselves."[148] These agricultural activities were heavily dependent on conscripted laborers who were rounded up from the indigenous and mestizo Guaraní-speaking peasant class. Far from the urban center of Asunción, peasant workers and their overseers maintained Guaraní as their common tongue and shared cultural norms such as social mate drinking.[149] Undeterred by the Europeanization in López' modernization project, sharing a common linguistic and social

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to be aware of the importance of this duty, of this necessity to train men and citizens through an exacting education."

[144] "Doctrinal," *Eco del Paraguay*, 19 April 1855.
[145] ANA-Rio Branco, Vol. 417; 1844. ANA-Rio Branco, Vol. 423; 1844
[146] "Doctrinal," *Eco del Paraguay*, 19 April 1855.
[147] Kraay and Whigham, *I die with my country*, 7.
[148] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 93.
[149] ANA-SH, Vol. 404, No. 1, (foja 553-554).

terrain aided peasants in moving between social groups and maintaining their culture even as their geographic locations changed.[150]

2.3 Resurgence of the Church

Yet another Francia policy that López aimed to overturn was the presence of the Catholic Church in Paraguay. Reaching back to the ideals of the Conquest, López equated civilization with Christianity, thus it was necessary to reinstate various religious posts and build churches in rural areas that had been neglected under Francia. One of Francisco Solano's many tasks in Europe was to negotiate with the Vatican to have Carlos Antonio López' brother, Basilio, named the auxiliary bishop of Paraguay. He could trust his brother to have López interests in mind as well as continue to enrich his family and friends. Chapter two of the 1844 constitution discusses his right to appoint bishops or other members of the Ecclesiastical Senate, as well as to control the manner in which tithe revenues were spent.[151] By reinstating the church, he was able to restore the former reach of the *diezmo*, or tithe, and make it a mandatory state tax that continued to go straight to the state treasury before paying any church officials.[152] The tithe was based on the wealth of the land and the amount of goods/means a person had. It was presented as the duty of the faithful to pay in temporal goods for the spiritual benefits they received. Thus, the Catholic Church was permitted back into Paraguay and even expanded, but López kept it under strict state control.

Beginning with the Jesuit missions, teaching in Guaraní and its institutional use were solely the purview of the church. Despite the fact that Spanish-speaking ruling elites

[150] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 31-2.
[151] ANA-SH, Vol. 266, No. 23; Constitution 1844 Chapter VII Article XVI-II; XXII.
[152] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 82-3.

were forced out or killed under Francia, the administration had still used Spanish in day-to-day functions. So, when the church was forced out, there was no longer an expansive institutional use of Guaraní. Rather it continued to be used as the language of the home or even the language of the heart, as it would be called later. Notwithstanding López' push toward Spanish education, he could not realistically affect the Indian pueblos without having the clergy speak to them in Guaraní, the language of the nation.[153] López also sent out native Paraguayan, rather than European, clergy to teach the pueblos in Guaraní. While Spanish was pushed as the language of the future and of the administration, practicality meant that in order for religious messages to reach citizens of the pueblos, those messages would have to be delivered in Guaraní. One letter to the Vatican in 1842 stated that, "only those who spoke Guaraní could minister to Indian pueblos or to the recently converted, and [that] the articles and symbols of the Catholic faith should be explained to parishioners in the language of the country."[154] Certainly this had more to do with López wanting to further the interests of his family and cronies than it did with any great care for the souls of the peasantry.

Whatever his reasons, López advocated the use of Guaraní for clerical instruction, while simultaneously encouraging Spanish use and the elimination of the traditional Indian pueblo. Like the idea that men are children of God, citizens of Paraguay were the children of their temporal ruler, President López. In Carlos Antonio's Paraguay, being Catholic and mestizo – with an emphasis on the European half – were the most important aspects of citizenship. "To be a Paraguayan in 1846 was to be settled, mestizo and Christian."[155] Like

[153] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 118.
[154] *Ibid.*
[155] *Ibid*., 434.

Francia, López was driven by necessity to create policies that submitted to the linguistic reality of Paraguay. In so doing, Guaraní became even more entrenched as the purview of the church and rural communities.

2.4 Conclusion

Throughout his two-decade long presidency, López directed several luxuries and industrial improvements to the nation such as: "the construction of a legislative palace, an arsenal, a shipyard, a national theater, a foundry and industrial smithy, several presidential residences, and various military facilities."[156] In addition, he brought in European engineers to build a railway. His endeavor to revitalize the Catholic Church in the region and keep it under state authority was also a part of López' plan to broaden the authority of the government to make decisions that would push forward its modernization project. Because López controlled every aspect of the country, all state revenues came to him for dispersal. His cronies also became wealthy from the benefits of indirect local governance and plush government postings. He used his policies to fund the modernization project through import taxes, trade revenue, and tithes.

On the social front, President Carlos Antonio López aimed to modernize the nation by bringing in European people and ideas through international trade, abolishing the traditional Indian pueblo and compelling Guaraní people to change their surnames to Spanish ones. He didn't view his country as an indigenous nation, since it had always seemed like two separate entities occupying the same area: the mestizo state that governed Paraguay, and the indigenous periphery who simply needed to be educated in

[156] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 73.

civilization.[157] By stripping indigenous pueblos of their leadership and protected status, the López regime helped to solidify the mixed-race identity of all Paraguayans that began under José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia. So, while the state led ideology was still owning the fact that Paraguayans have a mestizo identity, López aimed to disconnect from the indigenous half of that mestizo identity in favor of the European half. Thus did *all* Paraguayans transition to mestizos, an idea that would culminate in the next presidency. The policies against Guaraní and indigenous people during Lopez's peacetime reign demonstrate how the language fell out of favor when the state did not need Guaraní speakers to defend it and was no longer focused on external threats. The reorientation of the state-sanctioned identity toward Guaraní language use would come during the reign of the next dictator of Paraguay, Francisco Solano López.

[157] Lambert and Nickson, *Paraguay reader*, 72; Kraay and Whigham, *I die with my country*, 182.

CHAPTER 3: WARTIME RHETORIC AND THE RULE OF FRANCISCO SOLANO LÓPEZ (1862-70)

"ohayhuva iPatria, omanova hese, oho derecho ybape, pero el otracionaba ohone anaretame"[158][159] *- Cacique Lambaré, 1867*

The most important political aspect of a national identity is that it creates a homogenized society that encourages nationalist economic and political participation. The political aspect is combined with the idea that if differences create conflict (which is often true, or at least the inability to accept differences creates conflict), then by attempting to clear the slate of cultural differences, one creates less internal conflict. Tied to this idea of a national identity is the creation of alterity or "otherness." To have an "us" there must also be a "them." In Paraguay, despite the first López' modernization project, "us" would become the Guaraní speaking mestizo while "them" was anyone who did not speak Guaraní and was not considered mestizo.

For years under Carlos Antonio López, the state had pushed for Spanish language education and a European modernity, leaving Guaraní as the purview of the church and local communities. After his demise in 1862, López' son and successor, thirty-seven year old Francisco Solano López took up the presidency and the mantle of modernization.

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[158] Translation by Michael Huner in "Sacred Cause, Divine Republic: A History of Nationhood, Religion, and War in Nineteenth-Century Paraguay, 1850-1870. p.233" (2011): "those that love their Patria, and die for it, go straight to heaven; those that betray it will go to hell."

[159] "Misa de gracia," *Cacique Lambaré*, 10 November 1867; "Ñande retã," *Cacique Lambaré*, 24 July 1867.

However, his efforts would be stymied by the onset of the War of Triple Alliance[160] as tensions between Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay came to a head. This chapter examines the rule of Francisco Solano López and his participation in the War of Triple Alliance (1864-1870). It seeks to explore in what ways the state was active in inspiring Paraguayan national identity based on shared Guaraní language use and how people who were often subordinated by the government may be inspired to lay down their lives in defense of *la patria*. This chapter also explores the use of propaganda and wartime rhetoric used to solidify the ideology of a mestizo, Guaraní-speaking Paraguay whose foundation had begun under Francia. Since Paraguay continued to have a primarily agrarian economy, this chapter will also explore the how emphasis and value placed on Paraguayan's "shared Guaraní heritage" was closely linked to the working of the land.

3.1 Solano López And Europe

Before his rule, Solano López had spent over ten years working on behalf of the Paraguayan state as its war minister. He had also traveled to Europe, where he spent considerable effort on securing arms and expanding political relationships with other nations. As Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the Paraguayan government, he had full power to negotiate diplomatic relations with Europe for his father.[161] His endeavors paid off in the form of a larger, more modern military with "a flotilla of steamers converted from mercantile to naval use, several new artillery pieces, Congreve rockets, a world-class fortress…, and a well-trained army of 28,000 troops."[162] In addition to his European diplomatic relations, Solano López began his infamous private

[160] Also called "The Great War," "The Paraguayan War," and "La guerra de '70."
[161] ANA–Rio Branco, Vol. 837; 22 December 1853.
[162] Lambert and Nickson, *Paraguay Reader*, 74.

relationship with Eliza Lynch, an Irish woman whom he met in France in 1854. Though they never married, Lynch would be Solano López' partner until his death in 1870. As his de facto first lady, the blond and blue-eyed Lynch set fashion trends and was responsible for sponsoring salons and parties, which she modeled after those she and Solano López had attended in Europe.[163] These ties to Europe in both his professional and private lives would encourage Solano López to maintain his father's vision as long as he could.

Correspondence between Solano López and various European powers telling of Carlos Antonio López' demise note Solano López' intent to continue the international relations and trade begun under Carlos Antonio.[164] He also maintained contact with a British lawyer named Alfred Blythe, who wrote to extend hopes for mutually beneficial, "friendly and commercial intercourse with [their] important country."[165] John and Alfred Blyth made plans with the Lópezes to bring in skilled workers to build a railroad, telegraph and naval yard in Paraguay. The railroad had the dual benefit of economic growth and facilitating military mobilization. Solano López also contracted the Blythe firm to construct the *Tacuarí*, a steam warship, to bolster Paraguay's naval might on the Platine rivers. Their agreements included the importation of skilled workers and technical experts to advise and teach Paraguayan workers how to construct, repair, and utilize steam ships in a modernized shipyard. The Lópezes used the Blyth enterprise to hire naval experts, physicians, engineers, and telegraphers to whom he offered attractive salaries.[166] Importing white Europeans to be the example of modernity to Paraguayan citizens was another aspect of the *blanqueamiento* process. Their connection to an indigenous past held them back from

[163] Schofield Saeger, *Ruination of Paraguay*, 67-68.
[164] ANA-SH Vol. 331 No. 13, 1862.
[165] ANA-SH Vol. 331 No. 25, 1862.
[166] Schofield Saeger, *Ruination of Paraguay*, 63.

achieving what their European ancestor had, thus it behooved them to be more like the British émigrés. All of these efforts demonstrate Francisco Solano López's dedication to continuing his father's work toward a Spanish-speaking, industrialized, and Europeanized Paraguay. So, why then is he known for his use of Guaraní and his focus on the identity of Paraguayans as Guaraní speakers? The answer to this begins with one word: control.

After ascending to the presidency, Solano López not only began his rule by furthering the modernization project, but also the nationalist rhetoric of his predecessor. While referred to as a president, Solano López was every bit a dictator. Since his father had given him control of the military in the 1850s, he was able to advance followers who were loyal only to him – whether they were adept or not – and create a support base that allowed him to take over the presidency with minimal contest. He continued to follow his father's example in choosing ministers, cabinet members, and even Catholic Church leaders who were loyal to him and offered no criticisms to him or his policies. His dominion over military forces and willingness to use violence against those he considered to be in opposition also allowed him to have sole control over many aspects of Paraguayan life, including their ideological perspectives. He used his authority in the church to extol his own virtues, claiming that his rule was by divine right. In proclamations to the nation, Solano López demanded the support of the people and discussed his duty to maintain a nation of "justice, order and morality."[167] Solano López made it so that he was the image of the government and through the government, the nation.

Before his presidency, his correspondences make no mention of Guaraní as a part of Paraguayan nationality. It is known that he spoke it (as almost all administrative

[167] ANA-SH, Vol. 331, No. 22; October 1862.

personnel still did in order to communicate with their local populace), but in light of his father's Spanish-language education reform, it was not highlighted. However, as his reign continued, López used Guaraní to control his mostly Guaraní-speaking populace and to generate support for a war Paraguay had little hope of winning. To further explore his shift from ignoring Guaraní to using it as the basis for Paraguayan unity, it is necessary to briefly examine the start of the War of Triple Alliance.

3.2 Solano López And The War

Throughout the modernization and militarization efforts of both López dictators was the underlying fear that the sovereignty of Paraguay would eventually be threatened and the nation would need to muster a substantial defense or be broken apart.[168] This fear was not completely irrational, as the Argentine government in Buenos Aires laid claim to the region of Corrientes-Misiones, deeming it more of recalcitrant territory that should come back under their control. There were also disputed territories along the Brazil/Paraguay border near Cerro Corá. These tensions erupted in violence at the 1864 announcement that the Brazilian emperor intended to intercede in the civil war happening in the Banda Oriental (present-day Uruguay). Venancio Flores, a *caudillo* in patronage to Argentine president Bartolomé Mitre, was attempting to wrest control of the country from President Bernando Berro. For López, Brazilian intervention for Venancio Flores threatened to "upset the regional balance of power and ultimately lead to Paraguay's annexation by one or both of her neighbors."[169] In an effort to avoid what he saw as the inevitable turn to Paraguay, López sent an ultimatum demanding that Emperor Pedro II not

[168] Lambert and Nickson, *Paraguay Reader*, 74
[169] *Ibid.*, 83.

invade the Banda Oriental. Brazil ignored the ultimatum and sent its military into Uruguay. In response, López commanded his own military to capture the *Marques de Olinda*, a Brazilian steamer that was taking the new governor of the Mato Grosso province to his post.[170] Their successful capture of the vessel and occupation of several towns in the region, while boosting national pride and securing a few caches of weapons, did not help them in the long run.

The Paraguayan military then attempted to cross through the Argentine province of Corrientes to reach Uruguay, but were denied entry and were too late to help the Berro presidency; Venancio Flores established his "provisional" government in February, 1865. López understood President Mitre's role in his thwarted attempt to mean that Argentina was complicit with Brazil, and responded with a declaration of war on Argentina. In April, 1865, López' forces disembarked at Corrientes and advanced on Buenos Aires down the River Paraná.[171] In hindsight, López's decision to take on two much larger powers seems suicidal at best, however, based on historical tensions based on territorial disputes between Brazil and Argentina, he assumed that they would not be able to maintain a cohesive front against Paraguay. He was sorely mistaken.

Though coordinating supplies would be a difficulty for the allied forces of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay throughout the war, they did in fact overcome their historical differences to unite against Paraguay. Representatives from Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay met and signed the Triple Alliance Treaty on May 1st 1865. The treaty ostensibly allied their countries in the removal of Solano López, with an article stating the intent of

[170] Lambert and Nickson, *Paraguay Reader*, 83.
[171] *Ibid.*, 84.

the three powers to "respect the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the republic of Paraguay."[172] However, the treaty also contained a secret (it only came to light when it was tabled before the British House of Commons in March, 1866), contradictory article that detailed exactly which areas Paraguay would cede to the allies upon López' defeat. And so the fear that Brazil and Argentina would set their expansion sights on Paraguay became a self-fulfilling prophecy and Paraguayans began a fight for the survival of their nation. The Paraguayan War would end in the loss of an estimated sixty percent of the entire population of Paraguay as well as the loss of approximately 50,000 square miles (140,000 square kilometers) of land divvied up between Brazil and Argentina.[173]

During this time, Solano López would build upon the ideological foundation unintentionally formed through Paraguay's historically agricultural economy, years of isolation, and mestizo heritage in order to garner support for the war. Due to the need for a large army, populated from the Guaraní-speaking peasant class, Solano López abandoned the Spanish language aspect of his father's modernization project in order to appeal to those he needed to fight the war.

3.3 Solano López, Language, and Blanqueamiento

As a major part of his departure from his father's modernization project, Solano López embarked on a massive propaganda campaign with Guaraní language, the land, the Church, and anti-Brazilian sentiments as its main ideological components. Linguistic anthropologist Susan Gal notes that, "[t]he making of hegemony…requires the assertion of social control over various modes of symbolic production"[174] just as is seen with

[172] Lambert and Nickson, *Paraguay Reader*, "The Treaty of the Triple Alliance" 78.
[173] Kraay and Whigham, *I Die with My Country*, 192.
[174] Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, *Language Ideologies*, 322.

Paraguayan wartime rhetoric. For example, wartime newspapers were the sole purview of the López regime and were only to be read by or to the people. Guaraní-speaking peasants did not have access to produce pamphlets or other print media themselves. Thus, the state maintained a platform of authority (symbolic power) to use this controlled media successfully in creating national pride and support for the war effort. Belief in the legitimacy of ideas or words and in the authority of those who create them is what makes slogans or words a powerful tool, powerful enough even to either maintain or subvert the social order.[175] In Paraguay, it was through the threat of war that the state was able to get people to consume their language ideology published in newspapers and touted in speeches and songs. As the impetus for the shift away from Spanish use back toward Guaraní, the Great War adds another facet to the ideology that all true Paraguayan citizens are Guaraní-speaking mestizos. López also formalized the idea that fighting and potentially dying for the nation was the ultimate act of bravery and citizenship. This connects to the uses of language ideologies in the military.

The language ideology of Paraguay during the War of Triple Alliance aimed to fit the country into the favored model of one language = one culture = one nation, which was developed and legitimized by European philosophers Johann Herder and John Locke in the eighteenth century. Solano López strove to define his borders through the idea that if a person was Paraguayan (nation) then they must needs speak Guaraní (language), and be a mestizo of indigenous Guaraní heritage (culture). If a person spoke Guaraní then they were included in the myth of a socio-linguistically united Paraguay[176], once again with ties to

[175] Pierre Bourdieu and John B. Thompson. *Language and Symbolic Power*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991), 170.

[176] For example: many of the "non-hostile" indigenous groups of the Chaco were included as "Guaraní" because they used it as a common tongue, whether they were actually ethnically Guaraní or not.

the indigenous past. Language ideologies are used to further specific interests, which are typically represented as "universal interests, shared by the groups as a whole."[177] The break from the Spanish-speaking, brown-skinned mestizo of Carlos Antonio's reign is a direct result of the demographic and linguistic reality of Paraguay, combined with the military needs of the government. Paraguayan language ideology provided both a means of civic participation and upward mobility for the peasant class *and* a means of hegemonic control for the López regime.

During the War of Triple Alliance, Paraguay had a great need for soldiers since its population was vastly outnumbered. At the start of the war, the Paraguayan forces contained approximately 30,000 trained soldiers and another 34,000 in training.[178] This number continued to grow and "by December 1864, one observer estimated that there were now some 75,000 men under arms – better than half of Paraguay's male population capable of military service."[179] Military organizations are made up of a series of cohesive units that allows the government to exert hegemonic control over what the soldiers learn and how they think. The use of Guaraní in the military established a connection between the military and state officials and their subordinates that created a paternal bond built on mutual linguistic understanding and reciprocal trust, which were vital to the success in war. Solano López delivered rousing speeches to his soldiers in Guaraní, encouraging them to feel closer to a leader that spoke to them in "*ñane ñe'ê,*" our language.[180] In order to engender support for the war effort and encourage men to enlist to military service, Francisco Solano López also generated a massive propaganda campaign. He was the first Paraguayan ruler

[177] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 167.
[178] Kraay and Whigham, *I Die with My Country*, 32.
[179] *Ibid.*, 33.
[180] "Lambare kuatia ñe'ê," *Cacique Lambaré*, 24 July 1867.

to *actively* engage in propaganda for the purpose of uniting Paraguayans under a cohesive Guaraní-speaking national identity.

As the war effort dragged on, the López regime found itself in need of an increasing number of soldiers. Solano López published three newspapers that used Guaraní to engender support for the war effort. Unlike Carlos Antonio López' *Eco del Paraguay*, the younger López aimed to reach a more rural audience with his periodicals. Because the economy was still very much centered on agriculture, "Paraguayans based their ideas about the ideal citizen…on the assertion that Paraguayan men must work to farm the land and fight to defend the same land from foreign invaders."[181] So, the state based its rhetoric on those rural traditions, the most prevalent of which was the use of Guaraní in the home. For centuries the non-elite populace had continued to use their "language of the heart"[182] in their homes and in every day society, even as the government continued to use Spanish. As seen in both the Francia era and the first López era, Guaraní was a daily reality in Paraguay.

The simple use of Guaraní was not the only catalyst for peasant involvement in the War of Triple Alliance. Many people, of course, were pressed into service as the war wore on, however, this does not account for the number of volunteers nor the ferocity with which the Paraguayans fought against superior numbers. This can be explained by the warning made over and over again in each printed source that the allied forces of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay had set out to completely conquer Paraguay and destroy their beloved Guaraní society. Thus, López spoke to the populace in the language they understood best in a manner that gave pride to their heritage and society, and spoke to the things that were most

[181] Bridget Chesterton, *Grandchildren of Solano López: Frontier and Nation in Paraguay, 1904-1936*, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013), 105.
[182] "Cacique Lambaré," *El Centinela*, 22 August 1867.

important to them: their land and their traditions. In Paraguay, the ideology that to be Paraguayan (which entailed loving, tending, and defending the land) one must obviously speak Guaraní facilitates the continuation of the Guaraní-speaking peasant class as the agriculturalist and soldier, as opposed to the elites who run the country and – though they *spoke* Guaraní – used Spanish in their administrative dealings. Because the state needed to construct a bridge between the elite regime – which had previously been entirely focused on modernization and Spanish – and the working-class peasantry, Paraguayan nationalism was shifted to align with the rural traditions of the peasant class: speaking Guaraní and working and protecting the land.[183]

3.3a Propaganda Analysis

The first of López' periodicals, *El Centinela* ran from 25 April, 1867 to 10 February, 1868. It was edited in Asunción, at the *Imprenta Nacional*, and was characterized by its satirical tone and the often grotesque illustrations that portrayed Paraguay's enemies. It was published in Spanish, but contained some songs, poems, or stories in Guaraní. *El Centinela* was geared toward describing the military aspects of the war and to demonizing the enemy forces. *Cabichuí* – which ran almost twice a week from 13 May, 1867 to 20 August, 1868 – was also mostly in Spanish and contained songs, stories, and poems in Guaraní at the end of each publication that were intended to be sung in the trenches and passed by word of mouth to boost troop morale. *Cacique Lambaré* (24 July, 1867 – 27 February, 1868) was written entirely in Guaraní, though Paraguayan literacy numbers were still low, especially in Guaraní due to its typically oral use. It is interesting to note that these newspapers did not begin circulation until 1867, after two years of full-scale military

[183] Casal and Whigham, *Jornadas*, 33.

attacks from the allied forces of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay. We can also see the downfall of the Paraguayan government after the fall of Humaitá in January 1868 in the fact that the newspapers were not published after 1868, even though the war did not officially end until López was killed in 1870. Humaitá had been under siege since 3 September 1866, stalling the allied advance into Paraguay.[184] Though the war continued for another two years, López' grip on media propaganda no longer held.

The aim of print media in Guaraní was less "to reach Guaraní readers, who were fewer than readers of Spanish, as to facilitate the word-of-mouth repetition and circulation of wartime propaganda."[185] Each periodical also included woodcut illustrations that frequently decried the allied forces as animals, demons, and/or rapists of Paraguay – depicted as the virgin of Justice and Truth. All the newspapers were published by the López regime and so did not really demonstrate the voice of the people. However, they were supposed to *represent* the voice of the people in what Historian Michael Huner calls "a striking ventriloquism of popular voices for official ends."[186] This *periodismo de trinchera,* "trench journalism," was used to build the language ideology that speaking Guaraní was part of what it meant to be a Paraguayan citizen, and through that citizenship one must be willing to die to defend his or her nation.

The brief reign of Solano López solidified the iconization of Guaraní use in general and various terms in particular. In language ideology, the process of iconization transforms the significance of certain linguistic features and the social images to which they are linked. For example, the use of Guaraní became the essence of what it meant to be Paraguayan. It

[184] Kraay and Whigham, *I Die with My Country*, 10.
[185] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 232.
[186] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 231.

was a simple way to mark a particular social group, but what makes it fascinating is the way it was used by the state to boost the morale and support of the peasant class rather than to set them up as an uncivilized, backward "other." Sociolinguists agree that while there may not be complete linguistic homogeneity in a given society, "social coordination is facilitated if the parties to it share some common code."[187] So, it is unlikely that every group was speaking the exact same, "pure" Guaraní (especially since such a thing did not exist), but they were still using some common form of it for "social coordination." Iconization may also apply to the concept of Guaraní as a people. As mentioned in the introduction of this project, *being* Guaraní and *speaking* Guaraní were not the same thing. Indigenous Guaraní became mestizos during the rule of Francia and then Hispanicized citizens under Carlos Antonio López. During the War of Triple Alliance, Guaraní (language) and mestizo became synonymous with a phenotypically white mestizo *paraguayo* as Solano López tapped into the cultural history of the rural population to formulate his wartime propaganda.

Not only did Solano López build upon the iconized version of Guaraní-speakers, he also made use of another facet in the creation of a language ideology, erasure. Erasure is the mechanism through which ideology may simplify a sociolinguistic domain by ignoring or expunging a unique sociolinguistic feature. The reason for erasure is so that dominant ideologies can dispose of features that don't fit within their framework. For example, there were several ethnically and linguistically distinct indigenous groups in the frontier areas of Paraguay that either did not speak Guaraní at all or only spoke it as a lingua franca rather than their native tongue. However they were "erased" from public discourse

[187] Irvine, "When Talk Isn't Cheap," 251.

during the War of Triple Alliance in order to simplify reality to fit the ideology that *all* Paraguayans spoke Guaraní. As with iconization, erasure can also be seen with Guaraní as a people. The wartime rhetoric of Solano López insists that Paraguayans are mestizos who shared a common background, ignoring the continued existence of indigenous communities – not to mention Afro-descendant communities – in favor of his ideology that while they could trace their proud lineage back to the noble savage, they were currently a modern, Christian, and white[r] nation. Race in particular would become a strong focus in the anti-allies propaganda.

The three periodicals published by López during the War of Triple Alliance personified their papers and the news they were presenting. López used the idea of the *periodico* as a person participating in the Great War alongside the people, whose story and ideas represented the cohesive identity of all Paraguayans. The newspapers demonstrate the importance that López attempted to place on not only Guaraní language use, but also the care he took in some of his word choices. As linguistic anthropologist Susan Gal states, each utterance contains "ideas and signifying practices [that] provide representations of the social world."[188] For example, your choice of signifier, and all the connotative baggage that goes with it, demonstrates the social position of yourself and the signified in question. Each periodical began with a description of itself and a plug for the greatness of Guraraní, despite the fact that two of the papers are almost entirely in Spanish.

In order to explore the importance of López' symbolic choices, this project examines a total of sixty-three issues of his various periodicals in order to analyze the general rhetoric and the particular ideas expressed in Guraraní. It inspects twenty issues of

[188] Schieffelin, Woolard, and Kroskrity, *Language Ideologies*, 321.

El Centinela, thirty of *Cabichui*, and all thirteen issues published of *Cacique Lambaré*. Within these publications, five particular ideas that had nationalist significance were examined: ñande retã, Tupã, language,[189] López,[190] and camba/kamba. An analysis of these publications found that the Paraguayan government's primary nationalist rhetoric in Spanish involved the idea that all Paraguayans were Guaraní-speaking mestizo brothers with the same indigenous ancestry.

> *"'El Centinela', hijo de esa raza de valientes, tiene el especial gusto de hablar a sus compañeros de armas en el idioma de sus mayores porque él sabe inspirar ese ardor bélico, que dio; tanta celebridad a la raza Guaraní, celebridad que el paraguayo no ha desmentido hasta hoy"*[191]

However, the two dominant images *in Guaraní* were those of Solano López as a great and powerful leader, chosen by God, and that of the allies as an evil empire set on the destruction of republican (and white) ideals. He focused his vitriol on the Brazilian forces, who were seen collectively as the main aggressor, but was expanded to include Argentine and Uruguayan forces by virtue of their "double infamy" of associating with Brazil and thus being "the slaves of slaves."[192]

The term *ñande/ñane retã*[193] may be translated as "our nation." However, translating it to English does not provide the proper cultural connotation. It is used to

[189] For the clarity of Figure 1, as there are several variations of ñe'ê that may be translated to mean language and pertain to Guaraní.

[190] Also for clarity, the word count for López includes several variations.

[191] "Literatura guaraní," *El Centinela* 16 mayo, 1867. "The Sentinel, son of that race of brave men, has the special pleasure of speaking to his comrades-in-arms in the language of his elders because he knows how to inspire that warlike ardor; So much renown to the Guaraní race, renown that the Paraguayan has not denied [even] until today."

[192] *Cabichuí*, Thurs, 6 June 1867.

[193] Generally written as *ñande reta* in the primary sources, Guaraní grammar dictates that *ñane* be used with the nasal *retã*.

signify community as well as the land itself. *Tetã*, the unconjugated form of the word,[194] can also mean land (as in earth or *tierra* in Spanish), giving it a connection to both the land itself and the socio-political community that tends it. *Ñande retã* had significant connection as a term for community long before it was used in the war effort, but was used orally by the people rather than written and published by the state.[195] Perhaps it would be more accurate to translate it to *la patria*, because in Spanish it is infused with the linguistic and historical markers of patriarchal society, obedience, and love of the nation. *Ñande retã* is meaningful to this research because it is a Guaraní term that was appropriated and used by the government to sell the idea that the community and the very land itself was in danger from the allied forces. "The concept of ñane retã seemed to carry expectations of loyalty and sacrifice, much like that of a modern nation."[196] Using *ñande retã* to describe the nation emphasized the ancient ties that the indigenous Guaraní – and by virtue of their ostensibly mixed-race heritage, all Paraguayans – had to the land. Through this iconization, *ñande retã* shifted from its connection of Guaraní community to mean the country of Paraguay and the state that controlled it.

López propaganda is also riddled with religious references, especially as they pertain to Paraguay as righteous and civilized, and Brazil and its other allies as satanic and barbarous. Several Guaraní songs and poems mention that *Tupã* (God), was on the side of Paraguay or that He was guiding the hand of the president. *Tupã*, in fact, is actually the name of the supreme deity in the pre-Conquest Guaraní pantheon. It was used syncretically to describe the Christian God as a conversion tactic on the Jesuit mission systems. During

[194] Verbs are not conjugated in Guaraní, instead, the noun is typically conjugated.
[195] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 20.
[196] *Ibid.,* 15.

the war, Solano López used local churches to spread his propaganda from the pulpit, even going so far as to proclaim "that patriots 'who love their nation and die for it, go straight to heaven.' Traitors and turncoats, in turn, were to go to hell."[197] He also contrasts the righteous nature of Paraguay's position with words describing the evil nature of the allied forces. Most every mention of *Tupã* is followed by a derogatory term for the allies; usually the word *añа*, meaning either the adjective "evil" or the noun "demon."

The religious denotation of *Tupã* can also be connected the concept of "ñane retã as the conceptual heart of all such lessons on love, obedience, republic, and nationhood."[198] As seen in the colonial period, the concept of civilization and Christianity are inextricably linked. In Paraguay, so too are Guaraní and Christianity. Again, symbolic power "is defined in and through a given relation between those who exercise power and those who submit to it, i.e. in the very structures of the field in which *belief* is produced and reproduced."[199] Through the unceasing involvement of the Catholic Church in the Paraguayan countryside, where they never stopped speaking Guaraní in services, religion became connected to Guaraní in such a way that when *Tupã* called upon his sons, they answered.

Next, this project examines the idea of language, or *ñe'ê*. This term has several variations and meaning, some simply meaning "word" and others implying Guaraní specifically. In an effort to balance content analysis with discourse analysis, uses of *ñe'ê* or one of its variations was marked only when clear references to Guaraní were included, thus avoiding a boost in frequency for utterances that do not necessarily support the

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[197] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 2; "Ñane retã," *Cacique Lambaré*, 24 July 1867.

[198] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 199. For a comprehensive study on the Christianization of Paraguayan citizenship, see Mike Huner's dissertation "Sacred Cause, Divine Republic: A History of Nationhood, Religion, and War in Nineteenth-Century Paraguay, 1850-1870" (2011).

[199] Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 170.

argument of this research. Obviously, references to Guaraní as the language of Paraguay are an important aspect of this study. As the basis on which Paraguayan language ideology was founded, one would expect mention of Guaraní to be extremely common. It was interesting to find that the "sweet language of [their] fathers" was mentioned far less frequently in Guaraní than it was in Spanish.[200]

Under the heading of "López," are descriptors such as *ñande rubicha* (our leader), *tubicha guasú* (supreme leader/señor), *karai guasú*, or some combination of the three. These terms had been used in the past as titles for respected elders, shaman, or foreign leaders, but would later be reserved for the presidents of Paraguay.[201] In particular, the term *karai* maintains a religious connotation. Its etymology takes it from its roots in Guaraní social standing to meaning Christian or *bautizado*. As seen with *Tupã*, the meaning of *karai* changed during the Christianization of indigenous Guaraní on the Jesuit missions. Even in the twenty-first century, "Christian" seems to be synonymous with "civilization" in the minds of many, and it was no different in nineteenth century Paraguay.

As López made a concerted effort to paint Paraguay as a contemporary, Catholic republic he focused on Brazil as the embodiment of all that was contrary to those ideas, and Argentina and Uruguay as little more than stooges to an evil imperium. He marked this by choosing to call all of the forces allied against Paraguay *camba* or *kamba*. *Camba* is racial slur in Guaraní that used to refer to Afro-descendant slaves in Paraguay, but was later applied to the allied forces. Interestingly, we can see that even though the Spanish language aspect of the modernization project is stalled, the state is still positioning itself as

[200] "A nuestros lectores," *Cabichui*, 13 May 1867.
[201] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 44.

a "civilized" (i.e. modern), whitened mestizo, Catholic society trying to defend its land in the face of incursions from demonic barbarians. *Camba* is iconized in López propaganda to apply to all Brazilians and their allies as well as attempting to erase their European ancestors. It is also an example of the potential regression found in ideas of mestizaje, in that Afro-descendent Brazilians were not beneficiaries of *blanqueamiento*, rather they had all become as their slave ancestors. Paraguayans may lay claim to a whitened mixed-race identity, but Brazilians were imagined as naught but Portuguese-speaking slaves.

Race became a deliberate point of contention for Paraguay since underlying its process of mestizaje was the idea that they were phenotypically white, with the language and occasional cultural norm (particularly mate) of their indigenous ancestors…the best of both worlds in an era when national identity still very much ignored the existence of people of color.[202] The paradoxical nature of assertions that Paraguayans were white made in a tongue with indigenous origins is another example of the ongoing process of *blanqueamiento* that began in the colonial period.[203] During the Jesuit mission era, written Guaraní was created as a means of aiding the indoctrination of the Indians to European religious morality. Next, while Francia ruled, Guaraní language use continued to be the linguistic reality while the racial demographics shifted toward a mestizo identity. Carlos Antonio and Francisco Solano López actively aimed to separate Paraguay from its indigenous heritage indicated by spoken Guaraní and move toward European ideals. However, as the war progressed, Francisco Solano needed those Guaraní-speakers and was forced to re-conceptualize the Guaraní-speaking Paraguayan mestizo, in contrast to the

[202] *Cabichuí* 15 August 1867 "Sobre lo blanco negro" – "Ellos, al poner lo negro sobre lo blanco, se dirijen a los ausentes, interesados, o no, en la contienda" (p.2).

[203] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 8.

black Brazilians. This is an interesting comparison to *blanqueamiento* under Carlos Antonio López. The first López connected Paraguayan mestizaje more with its European heritage and the use of Spanish, but still noted his citizenry as "bronze-skinned" whereas Solano López created linkages with indigenous heritage and Guaraní language use while simultaneously calling Paraguayans white, completing the process of *blanqueamiento* in the public consciousness.

As it had been in the colonial period, written and spoken Guaraní was used during the War of Triple Alliance to inculcate the population of Paraguay to the ideologies of the European-minded rulers. Figure 1 is a word frequency chart that demonstrates the number of Guaraní "buzzwords" found in Solano López' periodicals: ñande retã, Tupã, language, López, and camba/kamba. The chart is a quantitative representation of the information found in the following analysis of each periodical and its contents.

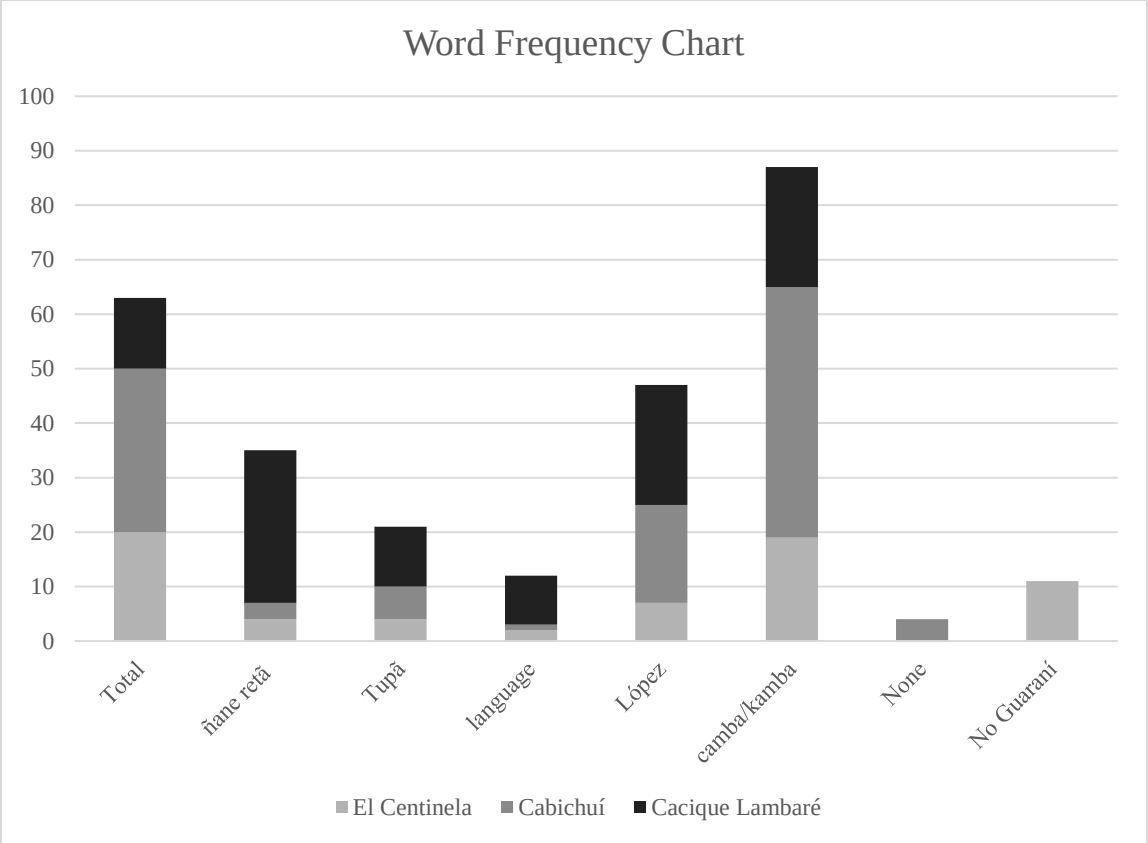

Figure 1

Of the twenty publications of *El Centinela* used for this project, eleven issues contained no Guaraní at all. Every issue that contained any Guaraní had one of the nationalist buzzwords. Of the nine issues with Guaraní, *ñane/ñande retã* was used four times; *Tupã* four times; López descriptors seven times; *ñe'ê* twice; and *camba/kamba* nineteen times. In contrast to state rhetoric, there was very little Guaraní used in *El Centinela*:

> *"¡Sí! Hablaremos en nuestro idioma, no nos correremos, como el grajo, de nuestra propia lengua ni tomaremos las plumas de otras aves para adornarnos, desnudando las nuestras. Cantaremos en guaraní nuestros triunfos y nuestras glorias. Como cantaron en otro tiempo su indómita bravura, los descendientes de Lambaré y Nanduazubí Rubicha'"*[204]

[204] "Literatura guaraní," *El Centinela*, 16 May 1867: "Yes! We will speak in our language, we will not run from our own language nor, like the crow, take the feathers of other birds to adorn ourselves,

The fact that *camba* is used more than all of the other words combined demonstrates that the state was not as focused on waxing poetic about Paraguayans in written Guaraní so much as it was interested in vilifying a common enemy that looked different, spoke a different language, and stood against republican ideals.

Despite López' attempt at embodying the voice of people, *El Centinela* is published in Spanish, with most issues containing no Guaraní at all, as well as containing allusions to Greek and Roman mythology that few would have understood.[205] These contradictions demonstrate how out of touch Solano López actually was from the general populace and serves to underline the fact that the state was using their symbolic power of their nationalist rhetoric for their own purposes. In *El Centinela*, the paper is personified as the "Everyman" soldier who would "go forth with your Marshal, [and] gaze upon the enemy who will freeze in terror" and who was "of the same race as those who make shirts from coconut leaves, shorts of tanned leather, and who [would] not starve to death from sieges and blockades."[206] Interestingly, the "race" in question here is Paraguayan. López tied nationalism to race in the idea that as mestizos with links to their indigenous heritage, Paraguayans were completely different than (and therefore superior to) the people of Argentina and Brazil. This also referenced the Afro-descendance of Brazilians, again a common topic of insult in Paraguayan war propaganda. For example, every second issue contained a "letter" or anecdote of a soldier written in Guaraní. These *cartas del Centinela* were written by character named Mateo Mata-moros – both a religious connection (pertaining to the idea

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stripping our own. We will sing in Guaraní our triumphs and our glories. As they once sang their indomitable bravery, the descendants of Lambaré and Nanduazubí Rubicha"

[205] *El Centinela*, 23 May 1867: reference to Minerva. 6 June 1867: reference to Hercules. *Cabichui*, 19 August 1867: reference to Orpheus.

[206] *El Centinela*, 25 April 1867.

that the Paraguayan side of the war as blessed as being a righteous cause) and violently anti-Brazilian.

Cabichuí, which means wasp in Guaraní, was intended to represent the acerbity of the Paraguayan people, and to symbolize their ability to overcome a larger opponent with their ferocity, which was noted in several Brazilian sources.[207] The imagery also resonated because Paraguay was being invaded, a hive that has been disturbed. Based on the word frequency chart seen in Figure 1, it seems that *Cabichuí* was less for increasing the spirit of nationalism through lifting up Guaraní as it was through demonizing and insulting allied forces. The cover image of each publication, seen here, is an animalistic (note the character's ears and what appears to be fur) black man being swarmed by wasps.[208] Of the thirty issues examined for this research project, *ñane/ñande retã* was only used three times; *Tupã* six times; *ñe'ê* once; López descriptors were used eighteen times; and *camba/kamba* a whopping forty-six times! That is an average of approximately 1.5 times for each issue. This may not sound like a large number, but considering that this newspaper contained only short poems in Guaraní, sized at less than a fifth of a page, that means that slur was repeatedly used in a small area of writing. Four of the thirty issues did not contain any of the nationalist terms this work examined. Like *El Centinela*, *Cabichuí* also contained

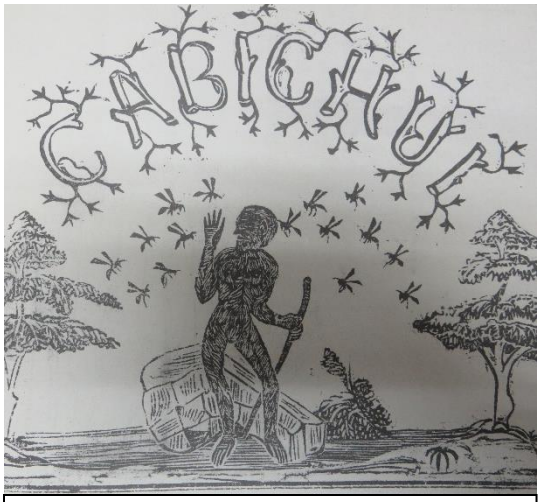

Figure 2: Cabichuí Title Page Image

[207] Kraay and Whigham, *I Die with my Country*, 192.
[208] Photo of page one of *Cabichuí*, taken by Nicole Hanna.

literary or historical references such as Ulysses and Caesar, continuing to demonstrate López' true social inclinations.[209]

The title of López' only fully Guaraní paper, *Cacique Lambaré*, was based on a mythical battle that took place between the Spanish and the indigenous people of Paraguay in the 1500s. The tale states that during the Conquest, Juan de Ayolas was traveling through what is now Paraguay and encountered the Karió Indians, led by Cacique Lambaré. In the inevitable conflict, Lambaré stood against superior numbers and weaponry to protect his land and people from the invading force. Nevermind that the Karió were eventually defeated, nor that the enemies of this tale were their own European ancestors, the López regime appropriated the valiant image of Cacique Lambaré to exemplify the Paraguayan indigenous heritage. Paraguay was not the only country connecting a fallen indigenous leader to the protection and pride of the nineteenth century nation. This narrative can also be found in Mexico in the form of Cuauhtémoc, and in Guatemala as Tecún Uman. Linking present conflict to indigenous leaders of the past helped structure an ideological framework designed to gain the support of peasant classes who were typically still involved in the telling of oral histories.

López' use of Cacique Lambaré once again erased the unique identity of the Karió. Since they spoke a dialect in the Tupi-Guaraní linguistic family, they were lumped together with the catch-all "Guaraní," thus linking the indigenous past to the Paraguayan national present. In the thirteen issues of *Cacique Lambaré*, *ñane/ñande retã* was used twenty-eight times; *Tupã* eleven times; López descriptors twenty-two times; *ñe'ê* nine times; and *camba/kamba* twenty-two times. There were no issues without at least one of these words.

[209] "Viva la Patria!" *Cabichuí*, 12 August 1867.

Interestingly, in the first lines of the paper, Cacique Lambaré introduces himself to the reader and explains that as he left his tomb (presumably to assist in the war effort), his first act was to bow to *karai guasú* López and then to his (López') people.[210] Though Lambaré was a hero of legend and an original inhabitant of the region, Paraguay and its people were not his; they belonged to Francisco Solano López and the mestizo present.

3.4 Conclusion

While Solano López spoke of the "shared" Guaraní heritage, the state's use of the language alongside its presumptive whiteness demonstrates that his propaganda was mostly a (very successful) language ideology used to engender support for the war effort. Solano López had little concern for indigenous Guaraní culture any more than Francia or Carlos Antonio López did. There was no talk of creating social programs or "helping" the few indigenous people left. Granted, Paraguay was in the middle of a war and perhaps if they had won there would have been social change, as so often happens after large military conflict. By promoting the ideology that every person within the borders of Paraguay was a part of a homogenous linguistic community, Solano López artificially constructed the language ideology that all Paraguayans were Guaraní-speaking mestizos, which still persists today. Through an analysis of the symbolic production in López' newspaper propaganda, it is evident that the state continued in certain aspects of its modernization project such as industrialization and *blanqueamiento*, while it connected to the indigenous past through Guaraní language. Despite his disastrous military campaign, Francisco Solano López was a cunning statesman with over a decade of experience in international relations.

[210] "Lambaré he'i," *Cacique Lambaré*, 24 July 1867.

He aimed to accomplish this end by using pre-existing sociolinguistic connections, propaganda, and the existence of a common enemy.

CONCLUSION

"Ha'e hese ave niko ore avañe'êmi, upe ñe'ê rohayhuetéva, ore sy pyti'a rehe roguerokambu va'ekue…"[211]

The development of Guaraní language as a part of Paraguayan national identity can be viewed as a multi-faceted process that was constructed through passive factors such as continued duration and (linguistic) demographic majority, as well as active factors such as state policy and state-run symbolic production. The Jesuit Guaraní mission system laid the groundwork for post-colonial Paraguayan identity and the continuation of Guaraní language use through its economic might, wide-ranging militias, and relative isolation from Europeans. The linkage of Catholicism and Guaraní language, cemented by the Jesuits, would also serve in the persistence of the language as well as its later use in war-time propaganda. During the rule of José Gaspar Rodriguez de Francia (1814-1840), his isolationism and anti-elite policies, such as forced mestizaje, created the foundation of the mestizo aspect of the national identity of Paraguay and by almost by default, solidified the use of Guaraní. The extensive agricultural economy and Guaraní trade labor, as well as demographic realities of the Río de la Plata were also foundational parts in the development of the Paraguayan national identity during the nation-building process.

[211] "San Francisco rembiapo," *Cacique Lambaré*, 24 July 1867; "For him [López] our sweet language, that language that we love so much and that we have suckled from the breast of our mother…"

In contrast to Francia, Carlos Antonio López (1844-1862) strove for the use of Spanish while he progressed the idea that all Paraguayans were mestizo, thereby attempting to erase the indigenous identity (as is evidenced by policy) in order to increase Europeanization. For him, being mestizo, while not *completely* white, was one step closer to being white. Finally, Francisco Solano López (1862-1870) tried to continue in the Europeanization aspects in his father's modernization project, but was impeded by the War of Triple Alliance. Though he broke with the first López' linguistic Europeanization by actively forming the language ideology of Paraguayan nationalism through Guaraní language use, he also continued the march of mestizaje toward whiteness. Cultural and social linkages between Paraguayan national identity and Guaraní throughout the history of Paraguay provided rural Guaraní-speaking peasants an arena where they became protectors of the land and characterized their citizenship by their participation in independence and the War of Triple Alliance.

The initial rejection of Guaraní during the modernization period, which was a time of relative peace, was followed by a break in the modernization project with the presence of crisis in the country. Due to the Paraguayan government's need for soldiers and popular support, there was a marked change in rhetoric toward Guaraní nationalism that began in 1867, three years after the start of the war. Paraguayans believed that their cause was that of the just and was vital to the survival of their nation, which had an important impact on the army's morale. Ideology is constantly embroiled in the positioning and maintaining of power, and through symbolic production during the war, López was able to position himself as the *karai guasú* of the nation. As an increasing number of men were pressed into military service, the state was able to indoctrinate them in the beliefs espoused by the

elites running the state government and the military. These included the idea that there were no racial divides in Paraguay because they were as one light-skinned mestizo collective.

The successful creation of the Paraguayan language ideology during the War of Triple Alliance as a people who shared a mestizo heritage and spoke the language of "their ancestors" was due to both "factors of long duration…like sedimentary rock" *and* due to policies that created an environment in which that ideology could take root and be used for state gain.[212] Examining Paraguay from the perspective of language ideology, this research notes that the state's ideology did not simply spring forth from the earth, it was based on a foundation of the historical Jesuit-indigenous relations, demographic changes over time, and the policies of previous leaders seen in previous chapters. Without these experiences, the populace would not have had as strong a connection to their indigenous past nor would Solano López have been able to exploit it. That is not to say that the War of Triple Alliance would not have taken place or that the state would not have attempted to use propaganda during the conflict. Rather, Solano López would not have been able to use Paraguayan Guaraní as an instrument in the building of the nation-state. In the end, over 60 percent of the population of Paraguay perished in the war. However, the language ideology of Paraguayan national identity did not. The same tactics would be used, with the addition of radio propaganda, during the Chaco War (1932-1935).[213]

Throughout the history of Paraguay, its people have had a unique relationship with Guaraní, which is currently one of two national languages, the other being Spanish. Today,

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[212] Huner, "Sacred Cause," 5-6.

[213] For a resurgence of the Guaraní-speaking mestizo peasant as the protector of the nation during the Chaco War, see Bridget Chesterton's *Grandchildren of Solano López* (2013).

people speak it at home and consider it a vital part of what it means to be Paraguayan. While there are other countries that have indigenous languages as one of their official languages, Paraguay is unique in that during the nation-building process the state used Guaraní language use to define themselves and to create a national identity that differed from the Spanish-speaking and Portuguese-speaking countries that surrounded them. While other countries were demanding Spanish use and Catholicism to form their state selfhood, Paraguay was defining its borders by linguistic demography. The full explanation for this interesting relationship continues on throughout Paraguay's modern history and is the work of a much larger study; however, one may examine the way the state used the language to create a cohesive national identity based on a shared Guaraní language ideology by looking at the changes in demographics, rhetoric, and policy over time.

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