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# War and Nationalism: Military Recruitment, Patriotic Donations, and Literature in the São Paulo Press, 1865-1866.

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War and Nationalism: Military Recruitment, Patriotic Donations, and Literature in the São Paulo  
Press, 1865-1866.

by

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A THESIS

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## Abstract

The Paraguayan War was a monumental event in Brazilian history and had a significant impact on the development of the Brazilian identity. Although largely forgotten outside the Southern Cone, this conflict has much to offer military and social historians. This thesis looks to analyze the connection between the two most circulated newspapers in São Paulo, the *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo*, and nationalism during the first two years of effective combat in the Paraguayan War, 1865 and 1866. The thesis analyzes the intersection of the press and the war effort in three separate areas of impact: military recruitment, civilian war effort, and publication of propaganda. Newspapers were intimately involved with politics and these three separate areas of impact demonstrated that although Conservatives and Liberals differed on politics and how to conduct the war effort, they agreed on the idealized national identity projected in the war propaganda.

**Preface**

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Renato de Alcântara Dantas Pereira.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the important people in my life that helped me along the way on my journey to the end of my Masters' thesis. There were many people whose ideas and influence persuaded me to follow my passion and pursue academic history. I would like to thank my elementary history teacher, Pedro Garcia who once proudly stated that he would never need a substitute teacher because "Renato is here." I would also like to thank my friend, Cathy McLaughlin, who listened to me speak about my thesis and the issues that accompany the writing process for hours on end. Your experience and wise words always helped me navigate whatever problem lay ahead on the road. I would also like to thank my friends and colleagues at the University of Calgary, Thomas, Patrick, Marvin, Carter, John, Boye, and Andrew, all of whom learned more about the Paraguayan War than they had ever expected. We may be apart, but the 603 community will always be together in our hearts. Additionally, I want to thank my non historian friends who rescued me from myself and dragged me away from my books for much needed leisure time.

This acknowledgement section would not be complete without mentioning two people in my life whose expertise as historians have helped me throughout my undergrad and graduate degrees. First, I would like to acknowledge the support from Dr Harvey Amani Whitfield. Dr Whitfield has been an incredible mentor in my past two years, learning from his methodology of working with the sources helped me significantly improve as a writer and as a historian. Moreover, Dr Whitfield has repeatedly lent me an ear whenever I had an issue with school or life, and he has always advised me with my best interests in mind. I am extremely thankful for his support and for the time we have spent together.

Second, I would like to thank Dr Hendrik Kraay whose been my mentor and supervisor since my undergrad years at the University of Calgary. Dr Kraay's support and mentorship throughout my academic career has been integral to my journey to the end of this master's degree. Dr Kraay's patient and detail-oriented teaching style has deeply influenced how I carry myself as a historian and the lessons he impressed upon me, whether they be historical or personal, will be lessons I will carry with me everywhere I go. I will always cherish the time we've spent together, from the classroom to office hours I attended to ask questions of little importance to projects at hand but great importance to my historical curiosity; I will always hold Hendrik Kraay in the highest regard, both as a historian and as a mentor.

I would also like to thank my parents, Vanessa and Rogerio Pereira. From an extremely young age, I was taught to find enjoyment in learning, reading, and satiating my curiosity. Mom and Dad, I would like to thank you for always pushing me to strive further in school and in life. I would like to thank you for your hard work and sacrifices because without your support I could not have achieved what I have achieved here. Thank you for everything, I hope I can continue to make you and the rest of our family proud.

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## Introduction

On January 25, 1865, a mere five weeks after Brazilian territory was invaded by Paraguayan forces, the *Correio Paulistano* published a proclamation issued by Provincial President (Governor) João Cipriano Soares. He alerted the population that the national territory was under attack and asked whether the “citizens of the heroic province of São Paulo ... [would] take up arms for the land of our birth?” Soares also asked his Paulista audience to consider the consequences that a Brazilian defeat would have on their families, their wives, and their children. He feared and perhaps hoped to impart that, if Brazil lost, their families would be subjected to the “weight of slavery.” Given the possible consequences, Soares then asked whether São Paulo would let its “brothers in Mato Grosso [the Brazilian province first invaded by Paraguay] perish by the enemies’ lust” for violence. São Paulo’s president then mentioned the need to protect the empire’s “vast regions” and connected his audience to the men who had proclaimed Brazilian independence, calling them “sons of the men of 1822.” Soares followed this up by claiming that those who fight and sacrifice for the empire will liberate Brazilian territory and will be forever remembered and bring pride and honour to their descendants. Soares sought to present the Brazilian population and Brazil the nation as a single unit and the proclamation ended with an emphatic call to arms: “Brazilians! Let us run to save BRAZIL!”<sup>1</sup>

Although focusing on a different topic, the editorial published on August 19, 1865, by the newspaper *Diário de S. Paulo*, had a similar nationalistic tone. This article mentioned a circular note from the Ministry of Justice recommending that “all the prudence and moderation” be used in the National Guard mobilization. Throughout the article, the editor complained about partisan loyalties in the National Guard and how they were detrimental to the war effort, even going as

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<sup>1</sup> João Cipriano Soares, “Proclamação,” *Correio Paulistano*, January 25, 1865, 1.



far as to plead with his audience to give up their party allegiances temporarily for the common cause. The editor's opinion cannot be misconstrued as anything else as he openly declared that in "external questions, there are no Conservatives, neither Liberals, there are [only] Brazilians."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, it is important to know that the *Diário* was the mouthpiece of Liberal party, which controlled the cabinet in 1865, so preaching a narrative that emphasize the need for unity and disregard for partisanship served the national government's interests.<sup>3</sup>

These two texts exemplify concepts that will be discussed throughout this thesis, nation and nationalism. The first article was encouraging men to enlist while the second pleaded for more unity among Brazilians across party lines. Nevertheless, they both made comments on the state of Brazilian nationalism and constituted honest reactions to the attack on the empire's territorial integrity. Though pleas to abandon partisan lines in politics are often disingenuous, they both still appealed for unity for the sake of national defence, which indicated that both sides sensed that something bigger than party politics was at stake in the response to the Paraguayan threat. More importantly, both articles represent a small fraction of the countless similar articles that were published during the Paraguayan War, and the underlying concepts in these two articles reappeared over and over in the black and white pages of the Brazilian press, which suggests that editors were not just concerned with national identity and the public support for the nation, but that they were actively taking a role in disseminating and aggrandizing nationalistic rhetoric to support the state in a time of national crisis.

For most of its history, both as an independent nation and as a Portuguese colony, coercive recruitment had always been central to how the Brazilian military recruited its soldiers.

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<sup>2</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, August 19, 1865, 2.

<sup>3</sup> "Diário de S. Paulo (1865)," Biblioteca Nacional Digital do Brasil, accessed October 13, 2023 <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/artigos/diario-de-s-paulo-1865/>

The Paraguayan War required Brazil to update its recruitment strategy, for a war of this scale had never before been seen in South America, and during 1865 and 1866, Brazilians volunteered for military service in numbers never seen before in Brazilian history. Volunteer enlistments decreased over time, and the Brazilian army returned to impressment, demonstrating the state's inability to coerce or convince the population to obey their will through negotiation. Nevertheless, newspapers for their part attempted to assist the government with recruitment for the war and, although there is no concrete link between the press and the state regarding such initiative, the press explicitly embarked on a campaign to convince the population to support the war effort.

This thesis is divided into three chapters that demonstrate that the press actively attempted to help the state with recruitment via representing recruitment positively in the daily newspapers, by appealing to its audience to donate materially or symbolically to the war cause, by giving public praise to those that did, and by the publication of patriotic literature intended to create an emotive reaction from readers hoping they would enlist for military service. All three chapters draw on two newspapers, the *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo*,<sup>4</sup> as their source materials, but they are supplemented by other government documents such as provincial military reports, national military reports, and the 1872 Brazilian census. The newspapers were accessed through the Hemeroteca Digital Brasileira, a section of the Brazilian National Library's digital archives focused on preserving the periodical press and making these historical sources more readily available.<sup>5</sup> The sources chosen for this thesis were deliberately selected because newspapers are a powerful measure of public opinion that reveal contemporaries' understandings of identity and nationalism. Additionally, the government documentation is a useful series of

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<sup>4</sup> The *Diário de S. Paulo*'s title is abbreviated from *Diário de São Paulo*.

<sup>5</sup> "Missão," BNDigital, accessed October 4, 2023, <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/sobre-a-bndigital/missao/>.

sources to include because it can be used to corroborate the recruitment data published in the press and to analyze the changes in recruitment before and during the war. Importantly, each newspaper entry, each poem, short story, or donation included in this project has been chosen because of its symbolic or material value to the war effort and the discussion regarding the nation, nationalism, and identity. This introduction lays the groundwork by discussing the history of the Brazilian press, the concepts of nation and nationalism, and the historiography of the war. It also provides a brief overview of the Province of São Paulo in the 1860s and a short summary of the Paraguayan War and describes a few key events that affected military recruitment in the years of 1865 and 1866 to help the readers familiarize themselves with the context.

The first chapter, “A History of Impressment and the Failed Shift Towards Volunteerism: Military Recruitment in Brazil until the Paraguayan War,” briefly summarizes the history of military recruitment in Brazil from the colonial era (1500-1822) to the imperial era (1822-1889) and analyzes the journalistic reporting on recruitment in São Paulo during the Paraguayan War. The second chapter, “Doing Their Part: Civilian Support in the War Effort,” focuses on the donations made by Brazilians to the state or affiliated organizations to support the war effort and donations made directly to volunteers, soldiers, and their families. Furthermore, this chapter discusses how the press emphasized these donations in their daily publications in the hope that more donors would come forward. The third and last chapter, “The Printer is Mightier than the Rifle: Patriotic Literature in the Brazilian Press in Paraguayan War,” focuses on the nationalistic literature published by the press, which sought to instigate patriotic sentiments amongst its audience. Such literature often promoted a Brazilian identity that fit with the government’s needs for manpower, frequently emphasizing the honour of serving in the battlefield and the familial ties that held the Brazilian nation together. The conclusion will discuss the overall findings from

each chapter while briefly summarizing a few key events that occurred because of the Paraguayan War and hold significant importance to the Brazilian nation and its identity.

## **Nations and Nationalism**

Historians frequently use terms like nations and nationalism, especially when analyzing the nineteenth century, known as the Age of Nationalism.<sup>6</sup> However, despite their prominence in historical works, such concepts are often taken for granted. It is easy to look at modern nations and see them as them as permanent and complete features of our world. Nonetheless, being able to identify modern nations puts us no closer to identifying what a nation is. Using classic works by historians that focus on nations and nationalism, such as those of Eric Hobsbawm, John Breuilly, Ernest Gellner, and Benedict Anderson, the next few paragraphs will determine what the terms nation and nationalism mean while simultaneously beginning the investigation of why this is important in the context of military recruitment in 1865 and 1866 for the Paraguayan War.

There is no *a priori* characteristic that distinguishes one nation from another and, arguably, there is no satisfactory criterion to label what a nation is and what is not. Nevertheless, various historians have tried, and the most emphasized characteristics used in defining a nation are “a shared language, a common territory, a common history, and shared cultural traits,” as Eric Hobsbawm, a leading scholar on the subject of nationalism explained in his famous book, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, alternatives exist as well, as in the case of the Austrian Marxists who believed nationality could be based on where one lived, whom one lived with, and ultimately depended on the individual’s decision to claim a nationality, thus indicating that some definitions can include both subjective and objective

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<sup>6</sup> Hans Kohn, “Nationalism,” *Britannica* Accessed October 15, 2023. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/nationalism>

<sup>7</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1990): 5.

criteria.<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, both for the purposes of this discussion and for the subsequent chapters, Hobsbawm cites a Brazilian encyclopaedia's definition of nation on his introduction which defines the concept as "the community of citizens of a state, living under the same regime or government and having a communion of interests; the collectivity of a territory with common traditions, aspiration and interests, and subordinated to a central power which takes charge of maintaining the unity of the group."<sup>9</sup>

Benedict Anderson also concurs that nations and nationalism were products of social engineering with no exact definition, and views nationalism as a "crossing of historical factors that create varying degrees of self-consciousness that can be merged with political and ideological factors."<sup>10</sup> Crucially, Anderson sees the nation as an "imagined community," meaning a network of comradeship, patronage, and clientship between peoples that have never met but recognize each other as members of the same nation.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, Anderson's work stresses that, although the nation is imagined, the state and its institutions, as well as cultural artefacts like literature and language, were real and had tangible impacts on growing national consciousness which brought the imagined community closer together. Overall, Anderson's additions to the discussion on nations and nationalism were that the concept of a nation exists in the imagination of its members since not all members of a nation will interact with each other on a personal basis, and that the community's recognition of membership and people's belief that they are a member of the community are key elements of admission into a nation. Considering that nations in this period were also political communities, exclusion from political rights meant

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<sup>8</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 7-15.

<sup>9</sup> *Enciclopédia Brasileira Mérito* vol. 13 (São Paulo; Rio de Janeiro; Porto Alegre: Editora Mérito, 1958): 581.

<sup>10</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition (London: Verso, 2016): 4.

<sup>11</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 2-26.

exclusion from the nation as well.

The idea of membership in a nation being based on the individual's self-identification and the community's recognition of the individual as a member of the community in Anderson's work echoed Gellner's earlier ideas. It is perhaps obvious that individuals who share a language, culture, and history while paying taxes to the same state and living in the same national territorial unit are members of the same nation on a national scale. Nevertheless, Gellner recognizes that nations that do not share a language or culture can be formed based on the self-recognition and collective recognition of mutual interests, rights, and duties pertaining to membership.

Essentially, a nation can exist simply because its members believe that they are part of a nation and recognize themselves and others as part of that nation. Historians often think of nations as representative of states; however, it is important to note that those two are not synonymous. Not all nations have a state, some nations exist within other nations, or even within states that claim to represent more than one nation, so it is vital to comprehend the dialectical position that the concept of nation exists in, for nations do not necessarily represent national, ethnic, or cultural groups. By this logic, nations can share a state, which was the case in nineteenth-century Brazil, where the various provinces viewed themselves as equal co-nations to the national community. The objective and the subjective definitions of nation are so broad that technically, the devoted fanbases of sports teams can be considered nations. After all they share a culture, a history, often a stadium that represents the territory; moreover, sports fans recognize themselves and their team's other fans as part of the same community which, in all aspects considered crucial by the theorists, would categorize fanbases as nations, especially the "ultras," the sports fans often associated with fanatical and sometimes even violent devotion to their sports team.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006): 6-7.

Nationalism's definition is perhaps a little more straightforward, as Gellner describes it as "a political principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent," meaning that a people and their state ought to be one single institution, the nation.<sup>13</sup> Breuille argues that nationalist thought "was the product of certain social conditions," and that originally it was seen as a "political philosophy."<sup>14</sup> Similarly, Gellner views nationalism as a theory of political legitimization that emerges in places where the state and its institutions are taken for granted as part of the natural order of things. Essentially nationalism cannot develop without a state. Nevertheless, states can form without a nation to uphold them.<sup>15</sup> Importantly, Hobsbawm agrees with both Breuille and Gellner in stressing the fact nations and nationalism are both products of social engineering, and he contends that, through mass literacy and mass education, nationalism is disseminated through the popular classes and eventually developing a community that recognizes itself as a nation. However, Hobsbawm takes it a step further from simply labelling such concepts as social engineering by pointing to the culprits, for he explicitly views the political agenda of patriotism as an invention of government and the ruling sociopolitical elites.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Hobsbawm holds that nations often develop their national character unevenly which frequently leads to regionalized identities and divisions within a nation, evidence of an incomplete identity project.<sup>17</sup> Hobsbawm's argument about the irregular development of nations corresponds to Anderson's claim that there were varying degrees of national consciousness. Interestingly, the Brazilian case allows for multiple political identities; István Jancsó and João Paulo G. Pimenta argue that regional identities were accepted under the national umbrella as

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<sup>13</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1.

<sup>14</sup> John Breuille, "Introduction," in *Nations and Nationalism*, xvi-xvii.

<sup>15</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1-4.

<sup>16</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 6, 89.

<sup>17</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 12.

internal differentiation within the national community, meaning the various regional identities were not a hinderance to the national identity, instead strengthening the union by presenting a variety of nations coexisting within the same national banner.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, the modern state derived its principles from the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and its views regarding the role of the state, which in its essence was direct political control as the supreme national authority over all the inhabitants in a given territory with borders and frontiers separating it from other states, often using standardized administrative institutions to govern. Limited suffrage allowed some citizens to have a political voice, meaning that states became more concerned with their grievances and found themselves having to appeal for public support and appeasing the public through various concessions to ensure that the citizenry continued to grant the state power and legitimacy. Altogether, the modernization of the state now changed how state interests could be pursued as government officials now had to justify their acts to citizens with the power to remove them and elect another to better administrate the state.<sup>19</sup> National leaders could not simply expect to have the population automatically give the state the support that it sought, and in the case of recruitment for the Paraguayan War, this is clear. Politics shifted from imposing decisions upon the population to convincing and cajoling the population to advance the state's interests.

To bolster recruitment numbers, in the first week of January, 1865, the Brazilian state created the *Voluntários da Pátria*, a voluntary branch of the military. Relative to the regular army, the *Voluntários* received a series of attractive financial and social benefits for enlisting, which indicated that the government understood that, to meet its goal of sending more troops to combat

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<sup>18</sup> István Jancsó and João Paulo G. Pimenta, "Peças de um mosaico (ou apontamentos para o estudo da emergência da identidade nacional brasileira)," in *Viagem incompleta. A experiência brasileira (1500-2000)*, ed. Carlos Guilherme Mota (São Paulo: Editora SENAC, 2001):131-136.

<sup>19</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 80-85.



the Paraguayan invasion, the state would have to convince the population that the war was in their best interests.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, the new relationship between citizen and state also caused national leaders to try to become more identifiable as members of their own nations to garner public support. The idea was that, if the ruler presented himself and his interests as the average views of members of the community, this could facilitate convincing the citizenry that those interests are in fact those of the community as a whole.<sup>21</sup> Interestingly the war can be an example of this in action. Emperor Pedro II felt personally aggrieved over the Paraguayan attack, for he understood it as an attack on his character and honour, a view which the press presented as an attack on the honour and character of every Brazilian male.

Noticeably, Brazil in the nineteenth century had all of the objective traits described by Hobsbawm, and the historian E. Bradford Burns also agrees that these factors had a significant contribution to nationalism in Brazil, though his work failed to account for the nation-building efforts that took place in the nineteenth century. Portuguese was the common language, and while Brazil was not finished its territorial expansion by the 1860s, the imperial territory won during independence provided a national territory, while a Portuguese colonial heritage imparted on the population a form of Portuguese culture that was increasingly influenced by African and Indigenous practices until they were no longer European, but Brazilian instead. These factors and Roman Catholicism's prevalence and Brazil's presence as the only South American monarchy after independence also contributed to the creation of a Brazilian identity. Essentially, Brazilian nationalism in the nineteenth-century was a defensive mechanism against criticism from its republican neighbours. Moreover, most prevalent in urban areas where government institutions

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<sup>20</sup> Império do Brazil, "Decreto 3371 de 7 de Janeiro de 1865," *Coleção de Leis do Império do Brasil (1808 – 1889) vol. I* Accessed September 6, 2023 <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1824-1899/decreto-3371-7-janeiro-1865-554492-publicacaooriginal-73111-pe.html>

<sup>21</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 85.

had a better reach into the lives of its citizens and newspapers were more easily accessible.<sup>22</sup>

Burns' view of Brazilian is quite problematic, for it conveys an image of a predestined Brazil, and scholarship has demonstrated that this was far from the truth. The creation of the Brazilian nation was a process riddled with conflict, progress, and setbacks. Roderick J. Barman's *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852* is a necessary addition to the reading list of any student of Brazilian history, and importantly, its comprehensive look into politics between 1798-1852 demonstrate the difficult process that was the creation of Brazil. The book analyzes how the struggles over the nature of the state shaped Brazil. Barman argues that, from 1798 to 1852, the Brazilian nation was being created alongside the state; importantly in this model, the provincial and national identity were seen as coexisting equals. Furthermore, he demonstrates that the constitutional monarchy and Brazil as we know it today was the result of the work of legislators and administrators attempting to impose authority upon the population who resisted such attempts and the populations' efforts themselves as well.<sup>23</sup> Jancsó and Pimenta also argue that the Brazilian nation was made possible by the state as a creation influenced by both sociopolitical elites and those left in the margins of society.<sup>24</sup>

Marshal C. Eakin's *Becoming Brazilians: Race and National Identity in the Twentieth-Century Brazil* (2017), although focused on events well after the Paraguayan War, argues that the Brazilian identity, like other national identities, were fabricated and shaped both by elites and by the masses, which differs from Hobsbawm's view that nations were solely an elite invention. Eakin sees national identity as a battleground between elites who sought to foster a cohesive national identity that supported their interests through symbolism and historical narratives

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<sup>22</sup> E. Bradford Burns, *Nationalism in Brazil: A Historical Survey* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1968): 3-34.

<sup>23</sup> Roderick J. Barman, *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988)

<sup>24</sup> Jancsó and Pimenta, "Peças de um mosaico," 155.

against the common people who fashioned their own identities and created their own heroes and folklore. Essentially, to Eakin, national identities are a mix of elite driven ideals and the realities faced by the masses.<sup>25</sup> The argument that national identities were created in the clash between the elite and popular classes' notions of identity was also present in Hendrik Kraay's *Days of National Festivity in Rio de Janeiro, 1823-1889* (2013).<sup>26</sup> Throughout the book, Kraay argues that Brazilians used national holidays and days of festivity to debate "the meaning and nature" of Brazil's political institutions, essentially meaning that such days were used to reflect on how the nation had been shaped since its founding which apart from denoting that contemporary Brazilians understood the development of a national identity to be an ongoing process. Altogether an assessment of Brazilian literature on nationalism demonstrates that scholarship agrees the process was fraught with conflict, influenced by both the elite and popular classes, continuous, and inconclusive as national characters changes as more history, myths, legends, and symbols are added to its folklore.

It is also important to note that the majority of the São Paulo population was not of European descent by the second half of the nineteenth century. According to the 1872 census, *Pardos* (light skinned mixed-race people of African and European descent), *Pretos* (people of solely African descent), *Caboclos* (African and Amerindian descent) outnumbered those of solely European descent in São Paulo at the time.<sup>27</sup> The 1824 Brazilian constitution recognized all of those born in Brazil to be citizens if they were free persons, indicating that many of those

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<sup>25</sup> Marshal C. Eakin, *Becoming Brazilians: Race and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 1.

<sup>26</sup> Hendrik Kraay, *Days of National Festivity in Rio de Janeiro, 1823-1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013)

<sup>27</sup> Império do Brazil, *Recenseamento do Brazil em 1872*, 3. Accessed October 3, 2023. <https://biblioteca.ibge.gov.br/biblioteca-catalogo?id=225477&view=detalhes>

*Pardos, Pretos, and Caboclos* were eligible for citizenship, provided that they were born free.<sup>28</sup> However, much like the uneven development of nationalism in the geographical context, the sense of nationalism or national consciousness develops unevenly throughout the population, and some groups may adhere to such ideas more than others. Thus, it is fair to expect that deprived individuals may not share the same attachment to the state as an individual with full political rights, though both recognize themselves as members of the name nation, albeit from different classes. Nevertheless, full political rights and citizenship were not necessarily out of the reach of most Brazilians. The 1824 constitution granted voting rights to any male citizen with an income of at least 100 mil-réis (roughly \$54USD in 1864), and though that would later be increased to 200 mil-réis (\$108USD),<sup>29</sup> it was not a relatively high-income requirement since it did not specifically require property ownership.<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore, it is critical to note that nineteenth-century Brazil was largely an agrarian society with a tiny yet slowly developing industrial core and that its culture was significantly affected by the agrarian context. Gellner notes that such societies are frequently divided along class lines with a smaller ruling class being separate from the free poor. Importantly, São Paulo was not a class society as it would become in the twentieth century; it was a slave society, though as such Gellner's view is still applicable since slave societies were also organized in a similar manner: a small ruling elite had political, social, and economic power over the majority. Often such societies are broken down into smaller communities that favour village culture over any standardized national practices. Agriculture-based states for the most part are large empires or

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<sup>28</sup> Conselho de Estado, "Constituição Política do Imperio do Brazil (1824)," accessed October 3, 2023. [https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/constituicao/constituicao24.htm](https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao24.htm)

<sup>29</sup> Julian Smith Duncan, *Public and Private Operators of Railways in Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932):183.

<sup>30</sup> Conselho de Estado, "Constituição Política do Imperio do Brazil (1824)"

small communities.<sup>31</sup> The Brazilian empire represented the former and was the last independent state in the American continent to uphold slavery by 1865, for the United States passed the thirteenth amendment on January 31, 1865.<sup>32</sup> Afterwards, Brazil remained the only independent state to uphold slavery in the Americas until 1888.

Overall, it has been established that a nation is an imagined political community composed by various peoples connected by their ties to the state (though not necessarily) and to each other, to the local community within a national community, a language, and culture; while nationalism is the belief that a community with such characteristics should be governed by a single state. In the Brazilian case, nationhood was problematic given the empire's agrarian nature which favoured regionalism over national identities and its status as a slave society. Such conditions made the creation of an inclusive national identity quite difficult. However, the Brazilian constitution granted the citizenship to all free peoples born in Brazil, even those born into slavery could achieve citizenship granted they obtained their freedom first. Essentially, Brazilian citizenship was accessible to most residents in Brazil and considering the Brazilian identity was based on politics, access to citizen status meant inclusion in the nation.

### **Historiography of the Paraguayan War**

The Brazilian historiography of the Paraguayan War has evolved significantly since historians began to put pen to paper to describe the events that occurred between 1864 and 1870. Fabiano Teixeira explains that there were three phases and five distinct stages of the historiography on the Paraguayan War, each with various opinions on the conflict, its causes, and

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<sup>31</sup> Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 8-14.

<sup>32</sup> "13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S Constitution: Abolition of Slavery (1865)," United States National Archives, accessed October 13, 2023, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/13th-amendment>

its meaning to South American history. In chronological order, the different stages of Paraguayan War scholarship are as follows: Traditional scholarship included the early patriotic literature which sought to blame López entirely for the war.<sup>33</sup> It lasted from the 1870s to the 1950s and encompassed the republican positivists from the early republic (the regime proclaimed in 1889). Importantly, despite the critical stance on the monarchy taken by republicans, the historiography of the conflict continued following nationalistic tropes that celebrated Brazil's victory until the 1950s. Social revisionism drew much of its critical commentary on the war from the context of the Cold War of the 1960s and 1970s. Finally, what Teixeira calls modern restorationism emerged in the 1980s, followed by neo-revisionism in the 1990s.<sup>34</sup> Importantly, this historiographical review borrows heavily from the neo-revisionist ideas of Fabiano Barcellos Teixeira and Mário Maestri's work on the historiography of the Paraguayan War.

Traditional scholarship encompasses the early patriotic narratives that emphasized the Brazilian military victory, while the republican positivist revisionists disapproved of the empire's meddling in Platine affairs and blamed the conflict on Brazilian imperialism and expansionism.<sup>35</sup> Works from the traditional camp were frequently centred around political and military aspects and this scholarship sought to legitimize the empire's role in the conflict simultaneously denigrating Paraguay and its dictator.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, it was this historiographical school that popularized the Paraguayan War as the foundational event of the professional military forces in Brazil.<sup>37</sup> Historical narratives written about the war in the years immediately after the war, also

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<sup>33</sup> Mário Maestri, "Por uma historiografia dos povos sobre a Guerra da Tríplice Aliança contra a República do Paraguai," *Semina: revista dos Pós-Graduandos em História da UPF* 19:2 (2020): 124.

<sup>34</sup> Fabiano Barcellos Teixeira, "Os 150 anos de uma Historiografia em conflito (1870-2020)," *Semina: revista dos Pós-Graduandos em História da UPF* 19:2 (2020): 7.

<sup>35</sup> Teixeira, "Os 150 anos de uma Historiografia em conflito," 7.

<sup>36</sup> Ana Paula Squinelo, "150 anos da Guerra do Paraguai: olhares do Brasil, Paraguai, Argentina e Uruguai," *Diálogos* 19:3 (2015): 922.

<sup>37</sup> Maestri, "Por uma historiografia dos povos," 122.

known as “trench history,” were often written by military officers both local and foreign, though sometimes by external civilian observers as well, and focused on the campaigns and the heroism of those involved, though such narratives inadvertently highlighted the empire’s weaknesses.<sup>38</sup>

As the historian Vitor Izecksohn explains, this was the case with Augusto Tasso Fragoso’s 1934 book, one of the most exhaustive reports of the military and diplomatic events between 1864 and 1870.<sup>39</sup> Tales of soldiers’ heroism and bravery were the centrepiece of the monograph; however, most passages reflected the poor conditions that soldiers endured on the front lines and the empire’s logistical frailty.<sup>40</sup>

The main additions of the republican shift in the traditional historiography that began in 1889 were criticisms of the empire’s meddling into Platine affairs and accusations that the war had been an elite-led event. Works like Helio Lobo’s *Cousas diplomáticas* (1918) and Raimundo Mendes Teixeira’s *Benjamin Constant: esboço de uma apreciação sintética da vida e obra do fundador da República Brasileira* (1892) were the most influential among the publications from republican positivist camp.<sup>41</sup> Although the republican writers regarded the Paraguayan War and slavery as the two biggest sins committed by the monarchy, this historiographic school still agreed with the earlier patriotic narratives that the conflict was a battle between civilization and barbarism and that López held responsibility for the war; nevertheless, by the 1930s positivism fell out of favour while the patriotic literature maintained its dominance until the 1960s.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Mário Maestri, “A Guerra contra o Paraguai: História e Historiografia: Da instauração a restauração historiográfica [1871—2002],” *Nuevos Mundos Nuevos* (2009): 3.

<sup>39</sup> Augusto Tasso Fragoso, *História da Guerra entre a Tríplice Aliança e o Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca do Exército, 2009) The title translates to *History of the War between the Triple Alliance and Paraguay*.

<sup>40</sup> Vitor Izecksohn, “State formation and identity: Historiographical trends concerning South America’s War of the Triple Alliance,” *History Compass* 17:9 (2019): 2.

<sup>41</sup> Helio Lobo, *Cousas diplomáticas* (Rio de Janeiro: Leite Ribeiro & Maurillo, 1918) (*Diplomatic things*, 1918); Teixeira Raimundo Mendes, *Benjamin Constant: esboço de uma apreciação sintética da vida e obra do fundador da República Brasileira* vol. 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Sede Central da Igreja Positivista do Brasil, 1892) (*Benjamin Constant: an outline of a synthetic appreciation of the life and work of the founder of the Brazilian Republic*. 1892)

<sup>42</sup> Maestri, “Por uma historiografia dos povos,” 126.

Moreover, both the patriotic literature and positivist detractors solely used Brazilian documentation in their works.<sup>43</sup>

The next phase of the historiography of the War of the Triple Alliance, one of the many names the conflict has received over the years, was the social revisionism brought on by left-leaning scholars in the 1960s and 1970s. This period in the study of the Paraguayan War saw historians turn towards the study of the societies involved in the war. Unlike its predecessors, revisionism in this era blamed the war on Brazilian and Argentine imperialism, viewing Paraguay as a victim of its neighbours' aggression. Revisionism saw the 1863 intervention in Uruguay as the beginning of the war, instead of the Paraguayan capture of the *Marquez de Olinda*. Importantly, revisionism in the 1960s and 1970s developed in the context of the Cold War, dependency theory, and a military dictatorship in Brazil, all of which affected how militaries and military studies were seen in the academic community.<sup>44</sup> Importantly, such events pushed the academic community to shun military studies.

Furthermore, León Pomer's argument that the war was caused by capitalism and British influence in his 1968 book, *La guerra del Paraguay: gran negocio!*<sup>45</sup> made a significant impact as a turning point in Brazilian historiography. Revisionism had set in by the late 1960s, and various other books were published blaming British imperialism for South America's bloodiest war.<sup>46</sup> The main arguments of social revisionists are summarized in Julio José Chiavenato's

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<sup>43</sup> Teixeira, "Os 150 anos de uma Historiografia em conflito," 7-15.

<sup>44</sup> Izecksohn, "State formation and identity, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Leon Pómer, *La guerra del Paraguay: gran negocio!* (Buenos Aires: Calden, 1968) The title translates to *The Paraguayan War: great business!*

<sup>46</sup> Manlio Cancogni and Ivan Boris, *El Napoleon del Plata; historia de una heroica Guerra Sudamericana* (Barcelona: Editorial Noguer, 1972) The title translates to *The Napoleon of the Plata: the history of a heroic South American war*; Max von Versen, *História da Guerra do Paraguai* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1976) The title translates to *History of the Paraguayan War*.



*Genocídio americano: A Guerra do Paraguai*.<sup>47</sup> Notably, Chiavenato presented the Paraguayan War as the reflection of inequality in Brazilian society through highlighting slavery, recruitment, and resistance to the war, even claiming it as a “racial genocide” of Brazil’s Afro-descendent population of slaves. He based his argument on the fact that Afro-Brazilians were disproportionately represented in the casualty lists.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, Chiavenato’s book held that Paraguay’s independent development model concerned the British who intervened through its client states in the region, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, who used the conflict as an opportunity to ethnically cleanse their populations. Chiavenato’s book lacked footnotes and critical research present in academic scholarship; it was directed at the general public and, although it was seen as a romanticization of sorts, it influenced a generation of readers on the Paraguayan War, though Teixeira notes that perhaps its most enduring contribution in historiography was renewing academic interest on the topic.<sup>49</sup> Moreover, Chiavenato and members of the social revisionism school sought to place blame of the war on British imperialism, capitalism, and Brazilian-Argentine imperialism in the region, something which has been thoroughly disproven in subsequent years. Leslie Bethell goes so far as to claim that there was “little to no evidence to support” that Britain caused the war in any way, even though the British had supplied loans and weapons to the Brazilian empire during the conflict. By contrast, Bethell argued in 1996 that the war actually had its roots in the inherited colonial conflicts between Portugal and Spain for the resources and control of navigation in the region that continued beyond independence. The primary catalyst for war in 1864 was thus the long-

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<sup>47</sup> Julio José Chiavenato, *Genocídio americano: A Guerra do Paraguai* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1979) The title translates to *The Paraguayan War: American Genocide*.

<sup>48</sup> Izecksohn, “State formation and identity: Historiographical trends concerning South America’s War of the Triple Alliance,” 3.

<sup>49</sup> Teixeira, “Os 150 anos de uma historiografia em conflito,” 18-22.

standing political tension in the region.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, Bethell also agrees that López's decision to declare war was one which had disastrous consequences and, regardless of whether it was a decision based on ambition or self-preservation, it was still his decision.<sup>51</sup> Though Bethell has disproven their argument, his rebuttal is a key inclusion in this discussion as part of the analysis of social revisionism's influence.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, in the decades that followed its publication in 1979, Chiavenato's book influenced an excellent core of new historians who have published various monographs and articles about the Paraguayan War, while the number of dissertations published on the topic is also on the rise.

The last school of thought is modern revisionism, which includes two tendencies: modern restorationism, which reaffirms early patriotic narratives with more extensive research than its original proponents; and neo-revisionism, which focuses on the study of Platine societies in the conflict. The former school has received jubilant public praise, whereas the neo-revisionists have not received the same attention despite their outstanding work.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, both schools of modern revisionism study similar topics, including state formation, the development of nationalism, mobilization and recruitment, along new conversations regarding "the public sphere, popular sovereignty, and republicanism" in the warring states. Noticeably, military history among modern restorationists progressed beyond the recollection of military events to focus on the lives and experiences of soldiers. Moreover, research since the mid-1980s has grown to include studies on the intersection between gender and the Paraguayan War.<sup>54</sup>

The modern revisionist camp has produced numerous publications on the Paraguayan

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<sup>50</sup> Bethell, *The Historiography of the Paraguayan War(1864-1870)* (London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 1996): 1-6.

<sup>51</sup> Maestri, "A Guerra contra o Paraguai: História e Historiografia," 14.

<sup>52</sup> Leslie Bethell, *The Historiography of the Paraguayan War*, 5-6.

<sup>53</sup> Teixeira, "Os 150 anos de uma historiografia em conflito," 7-9.

<sup>54</sup> Izecksohn, "State formation and identity: Historiographical trends concerning South America's War of the Triple Alliance," 4-8.

War. Ricardo Salles' *Guerra do Paraguai: Escravidão e cidadania na formação do Exército* (1990) discussed the important intersection between slavery and citizenship within the context of the war and the changes occurring to the army during the Paraguayan War. Vitor Izecksohn's *O cerne da discordia: A Guerra do Paraguai e o núcleo profissional do exército* (1997) analyzed how the Paraguayan War served as a crucial impetus for modernizing changes in the Brazilian military.<sup>55</sup> Another important publication, *Nova história militar brasileira* (2004), marked a turning point, for it signified that the modern revisionist ideas were going to be a permanent feature of the historiography going forward. Military history now expanded beyond the battlefields to analyze the societies at war.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, concepts of gender, social inclusion, recruitment, and the soldiers' experiences were at the centre of the discussions in each chapter of this edited book. One last recent key publication from this camp to be discussed is Francisco Doratioto's *Maldita Guerra: Nova história da Guerra do Paraguai*, is the most exhaustive narrative of the war published in Portuguese in recent years.<sup>57</sup> Its meticulous analysis of the political, diplomatic, and military situation is a necessary read for all who wish to understand more about the Paraguayan War.

Richard Graham's *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* is a key work in the historiography of the Brazilian state and its inclusion throughout this project benefits the discussion through its comprehensive breakdown of how social connections influenced politics at every level of the state. Graham's book perfectly demonstrates the client/patron relationships that shaped the state and how that exchange of political support for social and material benefits

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<sup>55</sup> Vitor Izecksohn, *O cerne da discórdia: a Guerra do Paraguai e o núcleo profissional do exército* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Biblioteca do Exército, 1997)

<sup>56</sup> Celso Castro, Vitor Izecksohn, and Hendrik Kraay, *Nova história militar brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2004)

<sup>57</sup> Francisco Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra: Nova história da Guerra do Paraguai* (São Paulo: Companhia da Letras, 2022). The title translates to *The Damned War: A New History of the Paraguayan War*.

that accompanied such relationships created the basis for how the state negotiated with its people.<sup>58</sup> Although, Graham's book is not about the Paraguayan War, his patronage model figures prominently in most discussions regarding military recruitment in the nineteenth-century.

Another historical work which moved the historiography forward was Peter M. Beattie's *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945* (2001).<sup>59</sup> Beattie's monograph meticulously analyzed concepts like race, masculinity, and nationhood within the context of the Brazilian army from the Paraguayan War to the end of World War II. *The Tribute of Blood* is a fantastic contribution to the historiography, and its nuanced discussion on the concept of honor explains why military service was emphatically detested by the Brazilian population. Beattie notes that corporal punishment, the military's role as a penal institution, life in the barracks, and lack of access to socially favoured resources left military men in non-commissioned roles dangerously close to the line of social respectability, and that this caused the free poor Brazilians to fear military service since it would lower their status within the community. Moreover, this had clear connections to the concept of masculinity at the time. Military service had undeniable symbolic connections to servitude, and masculine honour was dependent on one's independence. Additionally, military life prevented men from marrying and starting families, two other key factors in male honour and public respectability, which, Beattie suggests, further explains why Brazilians loathed military service.

Importantly neo-revisionism began in the 1990s as part of the broader academic trends within postmodernism which rejected grand narratives from the past in favour of new histories

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<sup>58</sup> Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

<sup>59</sup> Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

cultural histories.<sup>60</sup> Despite having an illustrious list of members, neo-revisionism in the historiography of the Paraguayan War is relatively new and is still developing under the leadership of Mário Maestri at the University of Passo Fundo (UPF) in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil's southern-most state. Neo-revisionism is likely in still in this developmental stage because, despite its rich production of historical content, it has not received the same funding and exposure opportunities granted by the public, media, and state to the modern restorationists.<sup>61</sup> Nevertheless, neo-revisionism has among its best publications Wilma Peres da Costa's *A espada de dâmocles: O Exército, A Guerra do Paraguai e a crise do Império* which analyzes the impacts of the Paraguayan war on the Brazilian state, military, and society to explain why Brazil became a republic in 1889;<sup>62</sup> and Jorge Prata da Silva's book *Escravidão ou Morte: Os escravos brasileiros na Guerra do Paraguai* which sought to disprove narratives that suggested volunteers made up most of Brazil's army during the conflict while analyzing the participation of slaves in the war giving special attention to military recruitment and the many ways through which slaves found themselves in uniform.<sup>63</sup> Crucial to context of some scholars believing neo-revisionists have not received due attention, Costa's book, a revised version of her 1990 PhD dissertation at USP (University of São Paulo) and Prata's book which was published during his tenure as an independent scholar both gained significant prominence. It is primarily the historians associated with the neo-revisionist program at UPF who feel ostracized in the mainstream historical media.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Maestri, "A Guerra contra o Paraguai: História e Historiografia," 8-10.

<sup>61</sup> Teixeira, "Os 150 anos de uma historiografia em conflito," 7-9.

<sup>62</sup> Wilma Peres da Costa, *A espada de dâmocles: O Exército, a Guerra do Paraguai e a crise do Império* (São Paulo: Editora HUIITEC: Editora da Unicamp, 1996): 1-24. The title translates to *Dâmocles' Sword: The Army, The Paraguayan War, and the Imperial Crisis*.

<sup>63</sup> Jorge Prata da Silva, *Escravidão ou Morte: Os escravos brasileiros na Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Mauad: Adesa, 1996). The title translates to *Slavery or Death; The Brazilian Slaves in the Paraguayan War*.

<sup>64</sup> Teixeira, "Os 150 anos de uma historiografia em conflito," 9.

The 2004 publication, *Nova história militar brasileira*,<sup>65</sup> edited by Celso Castro, Vitor Izecksohn, and Hendrik Kraay, signified that the ideas that began in the 1990s were going to stay in the historical conversations regarding Brazilian military history. The collection of chapters written by a variety of authors focused on the intersections between military history and sociopolitical history. Importantly, the book also had chapters that focused on the experience of soldiers. Chapters like Fábio Faria Mendes' "Encargos, privilégios e direitos: o recrutamento militar no Brasil nos séculos XVIII e XIX," Vitor Izecksohn's "Recrutamento militar no Rio de Janeiro durante a Guerra do Paraguai," Hendrik Kraay's, "O cotidiano dos soldados na guarnição da Bahia (1850-1889), and Peter M. Beattie's "Ser homen, pobre, libre e honrado: a sodomia e os praças nas Forças Armadas brasileiras (1860-1930)" combined military history with social and political history, demonstrating how the military factors effected state-formation, concepts of honour, and the lives of soldiers, though also demonstrating how in return those concepts influenced the military as well.

From the 1980s to the present, modern restorationists have discredited many of the publications from the revisionist era which became seen as "revisionism from the left" by some researchers who felt that previous scholarship on the Paraguayan War had too been too heavily influenced by left-leaning politics. The most notable work from this camp is Francisco Doratioto's *Maldita Guerra: Nova história da Guerra do Paraguai*, originally published in 2002.<sup>66</sup> The book exhaustively analyzes the conflict from diplomatic, military, and political perspectives using source materials ranging from newspapers and private letters to diplomatic, military, and political documentation from all the warring nations to present one of the best historical works on the conflict to date. Doratioto provides an overview of Paraguayan history

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<sup>65</sup> Castro, Izecksohn, and Kraay, *Nova história militar brasileira*.

<sup>66</sup> Doratioto *Guerra Maldita: A nova história da Guerra do Paraguai*.

and the increasing militarization of its society to criticize the revisionist claims of a ‘progressive’ Paraguay during the nineteenth-century. Moreover, Doratioto holds that the war was caused by the geopolitical situation in the Plata and not foreign influence or solely imperialist ambitions from a single warring faction, although he sees Solano López’s ambition for a larger and more powerful Paraguay a leading factor contributing to the conflict.<sup>67</sup> The belief that López and his greed were the primary instigators for the Paraguayan War is also echoed in Chris Leuchars’s book *To the Bitter End: Paraguay and the War of the Triple Alliance* published in 2002,<sup>68</sup> and Thomas L. Whigham’s works on the Paraguayan War, *The Paraguayan War: Causes and Early Conduct*<sup>69</sup> and *The Road to Armageddon: Paraguay versus the Triple Alliance, 1866-1870*.<sup>70</sup> Whigham’s books are especially useful for an exhaustively detailed account of the conflict from its antecedents to its end in 1870.

Additionally, this project has interacted significantly with the English scholarship on Brazilian history and the Paraguayan War. Richard Graham’s *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, along with Roderick J. Barman’s *Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1952* and Hendrik Kraay’s *Days of National Festivity in Rio de Janeiro, 1823-1889*, frequently feature throughout this project to contextualize the Brazilian nation and ideas regarding politics, citizenship, and nationhood. Graham’s book is particularly useful for identifying how politics functioned along day-to-day life in Brazil at the time. Furthermore, Barman’s book provides fantastic insight as to how the Brazilian nation was shaped by politicians and legislators that sought to control the direction the nation moved towards, while

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<sup>67</sup> Teixeira, “Os 150 anos de uma historiografia em conflito,” 22-24.

<sup>68</sup> Chris Leuchars, *To the Bitter End: Paraguay and the War of the Triple Alliance* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2002).

<sup>69</sup> Thomas L. Whigham, *The Paraguayan War: Causes and Early Conduct*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2018)

<sup>70</sup> Thomas L. Whigham, *The Road to Armageddon: Paraguay versus the Triple Alliance, 1866-1870* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2017)

Kraay's book presents how the ideals of the nation were made into public rituals to strengthen the connection between the state and its people. Other studies like Vitor Izecksohn's *War and Slavery in the Americas: Race, Citizenship, and State-Building in the United States and Brazil, 1861-1870* contrast how war and slavery intersected in different contexts. Noticeably, similar discussions regarding slavery, citizenship, and the role of the state were taking place in both the United States and Brazil, and Izecksohn navigates the nuances of comparing two different case studies, presenting a history in which progress was often accompanied by setbacks.<sup>71</sup>

This project is part of the recent trend of increased interest in the Paraguayan War and its place in South American history, with special attention being given to state formation, the social impacts and consequences of recruitment, and the nascent national identity in Brazil during the nineteenth-century. This thesis contributes to the historiography of the Paraguayan War by analyzing topics like military recruitment, national identity, civilian mobilization within the press during the nineteenth century and connecting such concepts and events to state-formation and adhesion to the state-sponsored Brazilian identity.

### **São Paulo in the Nineteenth-Century and the Local Press**

Today, many see the printed press as a dying medium of communication, given that digital technology has interconnected the world and expanded our reach into current events across the globe with the ease of a few clicks; however, in the nineteenth century it was by far the most popular form of literary communication and life may have seemed dull without the entertainment provided in the black and white pages of the press. The Brazilian press had a late start in comparison to Europe; the first printing machine was set up in Rio de Janeiro after the

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<sup>71</sup> Vitor Izecksohn *War and Slavery in the Americas: Race, Citizenship, and State-Building in the United States and Brazil, 1861-1870* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014)



Royal Arrival in Brazil in 1808. Prior to that printing was prohibited by the Portuguese crown. Despite the printing press arriving in 1808 in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo did not have a local paper until 1823, when the bi-weekly paper, *O Paulista*, a manuscript, began circulating. At the time, readers were required to share their copy with at least five other subscription holders because scribes could not meet the demand for papers.<sup>72</sup> The first machine printed newspaper was established in São Paulo in 1827, when *O Farol Paulistano* began publishing daily. In the following decades, especially the 1830s and 1840s, the press changed significantly. Newspapers took more active political stances, and the press became a political arena where contenders used words and insults to cast down their enemies and win the support of undecided voters.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, from the 1830s to the 1850s, newspapers grew from being artisanally produced to being printed industrially for large audiences.<sup>74</sup> From the 1830s to the 1860s the press was marked by its virulent criticism of politicians and violent language.<sup>75</sup> The press continued growing in Brazil throughout the nineteenth century and, by the time that the Paraguayan War had begun, the press was the central medium of political communication in the empire. There were forty-five newspapers in circulation in the 1860s in São Paulo; although most were published in the provincial capital, they circulated deep into the countryside. Therefore, as suggested by Jürgen Habermas's concept of the public sphere the press in São Paulo functioned as an open space for rational and social and political debate possibly free from state intervention though in reality state intervention is never far from the public sphere.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *Retrato em branco e negro: jornais, escravos e cidadãos em São Paulo no final do século XIX* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987): 56.

<sup>73</sup> Marialva Barbosa, *História cultural da imprensa: Brasil, 1800-1900* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 2010): 49-50.

<sup>74</sup> Nelson Werner Sodré, *História da Imprensa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Graal, 1979): 206.

<sup>75</sup> Barbosa, *História cultural da imprensa*, 55.

<sup>76</sup> Hendrik Kraay, Celso Thomas Castilho, and Teresa Cribelli, "Introduction," in *Press, Power, and Culture in Imperial Brazil*, edited by Hendrik Kraay, Celso Thomas Castilho, and Teresa Cribelli (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2021): 4.

Marialva Barbosa's research into the world of communication during Brazil's colonial and imperial eras determined that oral communication was particularly important to how news would be divulged with word of mouth being the most effective method to share information.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, there are few if any oral resources remaining from the Paraguayan War that would have allowed for the level of analysis available in the newspapers. Furthermore, Barbosa also notes how copies of *O Paulista* were shared and read collectively by its subscribers when the manuscript paper first began circulating. Barbosa argues that collective reading was a common custom during the nineteenth-century and a natural part of the progression of an oral society towards a literate society.<sup>78</sup> Such emphasis on an oral culture does not detract from the newspapers which carry the news and essentially serve as the catalyst for oral discussion. Barbosa's claims correspond to Teresa Cribelli's findings in her studies regarding the *apedidos* section of the newspapers. *Apedidos* were written submissions from the newspapers' readers who paid to have their articles published. *Apedidos* frequently discussed a variety of topics from politics and economics and were often used to insult one's rivals publicly behind the safety of anonymity that such *apedidos* articles afforded the author. Often *apedidos*, like other sections of the newspapers, were read aloud and collectively so the community at large could discuss them.<sup>79</sup> Although Barbosa emphasizes the importance of oral communication, Hobsbawm and other scholars of nationalism emphasize the importance of the written word, and specially the press as an official medium of nationalism in the nineteenth century. Moreover, the connection between the press, its political nature, and the official nature of the written word made the perfect

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<sup>77</sup> Marialva Barbosa, *História da comunicação no Brasil* (Petrópolis, RJ: Editora Vozes, 2013): 21-27

<sup>78</sup> Barbosa, *História cultural da imprensa*, 41.

<sup>79</sup> Teresa Cribelli, "Apedidos and Public Discourse: Paid Letters and Articles in the *Jornal do Commercio*, 1870," in *Press, Power, and Culture in Imperial Brazil*, edited by Hendrik Kraay, Celso Thomas Castilho, and Teresa Cribelli (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2021): 199-216.

vessel to distribute each political party's rendition of a national identity. Although some key sources like the *apedidos* were not official government documentation, the written word comes with a sense of permanency that gives it an appearance of officiality.

The province and city of São Paulo possessed a remarkable literary culture centred around the city's law school, one of two in the nation, something which had profound impact on the growth of São Paulo's newspapers where the academic press flourished.<sup>80</sup> According to the 1872 census, and both men and women reported higher averages of literacy than the national average in the provincial capital and the only exception was that the province had an 11.4% literacy rate amongst women while the national average was 13.4%. The Brazilian average stood at 23.4% for men whereas in the province of São Paulo 26.3% of men were literate. The numbers are even more impressive when analyzing literacy in the capital where 36.9% of men and 19.3% of women were literate.<sup>81</sup> These statistics from the 1872 census are important because it is in the capital that these newspapers were published and were the most prevalent; furthermore, the population density in cities allowed for more the frequent intentional public gatherings and impromptu discussions about the news that Barbosa analyzed. Nonetheless, that is not to say that newspapers like the *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo*, the most circulated newspapers in São Paulo during the Paraguayan War and the source material throughout this thesis, did not make it into the countryside.<sup>82</sup> Importantly, the *Diário de S. Paulo* only began publishing in August 1865. Articles and letters published by the *Correio* and the *Diário* indicate that these newspapers published in the capital often made their way into remote corners of the province, from which people often joined in the discussions through correspondence. Noticeably,

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<sup>80</sup> Sodré, *História da Imprensa no Brasil*, 225-226.

<sup>81</sup> *Recenseamento do Brasil em 1872*, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Sodré, *História da Imprensa no Brasil*, 240.

the key takeaway from the history of the press, the prevalence of word-of-mouth communication, and the statistics regarding literacy in São Paulo is that the press held an important place in society as a debating space that reached far beyond the eyes of literate newspaper subscribers.

São Paulo was not much more than a village in the first half of the nineteenth-century. It functioned as a trading town; the economy was centred around commerce since São Paulo is located between the countryside and the port of Santos. There were few notable structures save for the Government's Palace, the building that housed the provincial government and used to be the convent that housed the Jesuits who founded São Paulo in 1554; the Municipal Assembly building, and the four major convents in the city: those of St. Francis, St. Benedict, Carmo, and Luz. The streets were mostly unpaved with large sidewalks; public squares and parks were unplanned; and houses of stone coexisted with houses made from clay, though the latter was the more common building material. The installation of one of two of the law schools in Brazil in 1827 also significantly affected the character of São Paulo, giving it a literary culture and demographics that accompany college towns. Interestingly, E. S. de Paula mentions that the shared student accommodations were common throughout São Paulo in the 1860s, a small glance into the living situation of some of São Paulo's residents, many of whom were students coming from other parts of Brazil.<sup>83</sup> São Paulo's population numbered around twenty-three thousand in the first half of the nineteenth century, many of whom were skilled labourers, whose skills ranged from stonemasonry to watchmaking.<sup>84</sup> Additionally, there was an agricultural industry present in and around São Paulo that produced significant quantities of tea and sugar before the coffee boom in the 1870s.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> E. S. de Paula, "A segunda formação de São Paulo: Da pequena cidade à grande metrópole de hoje," *Revista de História* 8:17 (1954): 169.

<sup>84</sup> Schwarcz, *Retrato em branco e negro*, 49.

<sup>85</sup> Odilon Nogueira de Matos, "A cidade de São Paulo no século XIX," *Revista de História* 10:20-21 (1955): 89-101.

Historians Odilon Nogueira de Matos and E. S. de Paula both agree that the city remained like this until after the Paraguayan War when it began to drastically change.<sup>86</sup> Though the population had increased and the 1872 census reported thirty-one thousand people living in São Paulo, the city remained small and maintained its academic character throughout the Paraguayan War. The three primary catalysts for São Paulo's growth were first, the movement of the coffee industry from the Paraíba Valley to the west of São Paulo which began in the 1870s; second, the influx of European immigration, especially Italian immigrants after 1887; and third, the construction of rail lines. Paula notes that the growth of rail networks and São Paulo's location as a transit hub were crucial in the city's development in the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>87</sup> Although there were tiny pockets of industrial production here and there in the province, industrial manufacturing would not have a significant presence until 1889 and by then São Paulo had become the "Farmer's Capital" as its prime location for trade and the presence of financial institutions made it the perfect place for commerce and business to take place.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, that is beyond the scope of this project, and the purpose of this discussion was to inform that São Paulo was a rapidly growing town in the late nineteenth-century, its law school and lively literary community made up of dozens of newspapers that produced an environment in which intellectual and political debates thrived all of which make it a great subject for this study.

### **Summary of the War**

The Paraguayan War officially began on November 12, 1864, when the Paraguayans seized the Brazilian merchant steamer *Marquez de Olinda* and declared war against the Brazilian

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<sup>86</sup> Paula, "A segunda formação de São Paulo," 168.

<sup>87</sup> Paula, "A segunda formação de São Paulo," 170-171.

<sup>88</sup> Matos, "A cidade de São Paulo no século XIX," 101-114.

empire, though the seeds for the war begin much earlier in the conflicts over self-determination, territory and navigation rights in the Plata basin dating as far back as the colonial era.<sup>89</sup> However, the more important and immediate catalyst for the war that began in late 1864 occurred in 1863 when General Venancio Flores, leader of the Colorado Party of Uruguay, invaded his country from Argentina with the support of Brazilian Liberals from Rio Grande do Sul to oust the Blanco Party and its president Manoel Oribe. Riograndense landowners supported the Colorados because Oribe and the Blancos had begun taxing cattle crossing between the Uruguayan-Brazilian border which incensed Brazilian ranchers, many of whom owned land on both sides of the border and depended on the better Uruguayan grass to feed their livestock. Flores was initially defeated and retreated into Brazil to reorganize his forces while diplomats attempted to negotiate a solution. Unfortunately, that never materialized, for Brazilian demands for compensation were too high and the Uruguayans continued stalling until the impatient Brazilians sent an ultimatum to Montevideo restating the empire's demands that Brazilian citizens be reimbursed whatever property or money had been confiscated from them and that all officers and government officials who had mistreated Brazilians be punished. These demands were rejected and on October 16, 1864, the Brazilian army invaded Uruguay.<sup>90</sup>

During 1863, the Blancos and the Paraguayan state developed closer diplomatic ties, for the Paraguayan dictator Francisco Solano López believed that an independent Uruguay was necessary for the balance of power in the Plata region and for Paraguay's survival. Under Carlos Antonio López, Solano López's father and dictatorial predecessor, Paraguay went through a modernization program that focused on strengthening existing defences and improving the military. By 1865, the military that Solano López inherited in 1862 stood at nearly forty-

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<sup>89</sup> Thomas L. Whigham, *The Paraguayan War: Causes and Early Conduct*, 3-47.

<sup>90</sup> Whigham, *The Paraguayan War: Causes and Early Conduct*, 134-159.

thousand men with another one-hundred and fifty-thousand reserves to call upon.<sup>91</sup> Certainly his large army was a contributing factor to Solano López's confidence when he issued an ultimatum to Brazil declaring that Paraguay would respond to military intervention in Uruguay.<sup>92</sup> The Brazilians, seemingly unbothered by López's threat, invaded Uruguay anyway, and a little under a month later, the *Marquez de Olinda* was captured by Paraguayan forces.

The Paraguayan offensive continued in December 1864, when they attacked Nova Coimbra, a Brazilian fortress in the province of Mato Grosso near the border with Paraguay. Mato Grosso was distant from Brazil's military and population centres; the province was almost unguarded against the Paraguayans and the fact that all news traveled by ship further delayed the empire's response. On January 4, 1865, the Paraguayans attacked the town of Corumbá, the first major civilian settlement that they encountered in their march into Mato Grosso. The fearful residents ran into the bush to escape the oncoming invaders, and once they were able to return home, they found the town completely sacked. Other residents of Corumbá attempted to escape on the steamer *Anhambai*, though unfortunately for them, their ship would be torpedoed and boarded by Paraguayan marines who massacred the crew and its passengers, going as far as putting women to the sword. Throughout their occupation of Mato Grosso, the Paraguayans captured guns and ammunition from Brazilian depots, though they also stole cattle, tools, food, house décor, and anything they could get their hands on to trade or sell later.<sup>93</sup>

The Brazilian response, despite being delayed by the time that it took for news to reach the country's centers of power, was enthusiastic. Originally the regular forces were mobilized and joined by the police corps from various provinces along with fifteen thousand national

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<sup>91</sup> Whigham, *The Paraguayan War: Causes and Early Conduct*, 91, 176-187.

<sup>92</sup> Bethell, *The Historiography of the Paraguayan War*, 32.

<sup>93</sup> Whigham, *The Paraguayan War: Causes and Early Conduct*, 199-215.

guardsmen.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, the navy was immediately dispatched to the Plata River to support military efforts, though this initial mobilization was not sufficient to the task. On January 7, 1865, the Voluntários da Pátria were created by the imperial government specifically to deal with the Paraguayan threat. This new force would be composed of recruits who received special benefits along with higher wages than impressed soldiers. The result was spectacular. Never had the empire ever seen such success in voluntary military recruitment; never had it been invaded by another sovereign state. Nevertheless, the first half of 1865 was marked by the rapid Paraguayan advance into Brazil and Argentina. It is important to note that Brazil is an immense country, and despite their rapid and voracious early advances, Paraguay occupied little of Brazil. After failed attempts to negotiate a passage through Corrientes, López invaded the Argentine province which brought Argentina into the war. On May 1, 1865, Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay, then controlled by the Colorado Party, formed Triple Alliance, a political and military alliance whose aim was to remove López from power.

Additionally, victory at Riachuelo in June of 1865 marked another turning point in the war, for the allies gained control of traffic into the Plata region and naval control up to the fortress of Humaitá. The naval battle took place on a small brook feeding the Paraná River, and the Paraguayans hoped that a full surprise attack would catch the Brazilian navy unguarded which would have allowed them to board and steal Brazilian vessels and destroy those they could not take. More importantly perhaps, Paraguay's access to the outside world where they could have sold their goods and bought resources for the war was the Plata River system which was blockaded by the Brazilian imperial navy. Early in the war, Brazil struggled to move at full speed in the rivers due to its navy being equipped with mostly seagoing vessels. Unfortunately

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<sup>94</sup> Doratioto *Guerra Maldita*, 120-123.



for López and his military, the plan failed, for the Brazilian navy was able to shake off the surprise attack and defeat the Paraguayan navy resoundingly, ensuring that the alliance maintained naval superiority for the remainder of the war.<sup>95</sup> Though victorious on the river, the alliance was still losing on land, on August 2, 1865, Colonel Antonio de la Cruz Estigarribia and his Uruguayan Division of the Paraguayan army captured Uruguaiana, a Brazilian town located on the road to Montevideo and Porto Alegre, the provincial of Rio Grande do Sul. However, to capture the town, Colonel Estigarribia overextended his supply lines, and he could expect no reinforcements. In Corrientes, the Paraguayan invading force was destroyed at the Battle of Yataí, so Estigarribia now had no allies close by to help him and he must have realized how desperate his situation was after Brazilian forces besieged him in Uruguaiana soon after his men captured the town. After weeks of starvation and failed attempts to break the siege, Estigarribia surrendered personally to Brazilian Emperor Pedro II and Argentine President Bartolomeu Mitre. The event was a successful public relations move by the imperial government as images of the emperor accepting the Paraguayan officer's surrender raised the public's morale back home. Arguably, the surrender of Uruguaiana was the peak of the war's popularity in Brazil.

As for the Paraguayans, the loss of both of his invading forces made López reconsider his position. The tables had turned, and Paraguay had to prepare for a defensive war. López then ordered a retreat which was completed on November 4, 1865.<sup>96</sup> From this moment on until the end of the war, Paraguay was on the defensive, fighting for the survival of the López regime. Noticeably, it was also in late 1865 that Brazilian troops began moving towards Mato Grosso to liberate said province from the Paraguayans. Though the Mato Grosso campaign was relatively unimportant for the war, it was important for the São Paulo troops that participated in the

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<sup>95</sup> Whigham, *The Paraguayan War: Causes and Early Conduct*, 308-327.

<sup>96</sup> Whigham, *The Paraguayan War: Causes and Early Conduct*, 333-384.

disastrous campaign.

The year of 1866 was the year of battles in the Paraguayan War and deadly confrontations like Estero Belaco, Tuyuty, and Curupayty all left deep scars on all of those involved. After April 16, 1866, the war now had fully turned, for the allies had invaded Paraguayan territory and the defenders dug themselves into strong defensive positions after being pushed out of Corrientes and Brazil's southern provinces. Though they still held Mato Grosso, the situation slowly worsened for Paraguay throughout the year until the Battle of Curupayty on September 22, 1866. At Curupayty, the Paraguayans prepared strong defensive fortifications and were able to repel the allied attacks effectively. Curupayty was marked by rain, mud, terrible conditions, and high casualty rates amidst artillery fire and hand to hand combat in the trenches. When all was said and done, the Brazilian army had lost over two thousand men. Importantly, Curupayty effectively killed off public support in Brazil, as news of the conditions faced by the soldiers and casualty numbers scared off potential volunteers and woke the population to the horrors of the war. The loss in life deeply affected the Brazilian military which had lost a significant number of officers.

From September 1866 to September 1867, the frontlines remained static as Brazil's new commander in chief, Luís Alves de Lima e Silva, then the Marquis of Caxias, reorganized the military to fix sanitation services and logistical lines. Caxias hoped to control the cholera epidemic that had ravaged the allied and Paraguayan lines alike. The allies continued marching further into Paraguay in 1867, albeit slowly and by the end of the year, López's position had become helplessly desperate, for the Paraguayan army lacked firewood, food, and almost all basic supplies necessary in the frontlines; moreover, their soldiers were starving and weakened by disease. Nevertheless, they fought on with the supplies they had left.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Thomas L. Whigham, *The Road to Armageddon*, 43-149.

Early 1868 brought changes to the allied command structure. Bartolomeu Mitre, then supreme commander of the allied forces, retired to Argentina with his troops to quell local rebellions against Porteño rule which left the more experienced Caxias as the commander of the now almost entirely Brazilian allied force in Paraguay. The year would be marked by allied advances while the Paraguayan army retreated further into the country, abandoning defensive structures at Curupayty and the formidable fortress of Humaitá. The end of 1868 saw the December Campaigns which included the bloody battles of Ytororó and Lomas Valentinas, which effectively destroyed the Paraguayan army as a conventional fighting force, pushing López and his remaining ill-equipped and ill-fed men to resort to guerrilla warfare. The situation only worsened as Asunción was captured and sacked by the Brazilians on January 1, 1869; the war was finally near its end. A fair assumption from Caxias, though unfortunately it was far too optimistic, and the war raged on for another fifteen months.<sup>98</sup>

For Caxias however, the war had already ended. The illustrious officer viewed the capture of the Paraguayan capital as the logical end of the war and retired to Brazil, a controversial decision given he had not been dismissed by the emperor yet. His replacement was the much-maligned Count d'Eu, Princess Isabel's French husband. The count led Brazil's forces against López's reorganized army, which included "invalids, old-men, and children."<sup>99</sup> The pursuit of López continued until March 1, 1870, when the Paraguayan dictator was killed after his forces were trapped near their camp by Brazilian forces. Testimonies credit Corporal José Francisco Lacerda with ending the war by killing Solano López with his lance; some noted that the corporal seemed to enjoy inflicting pain on the Paraguayan dictator even though he "winced just a bit." While fighting to stand with his last breath, López uttered perhaps one of the most iconic

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<sup>98</sup> Whigham, *The Road to Armageddon*, 216-327.

<sup>99</sup> Whigham, *The Road to Armageddon*, 327-349.

last words in South American history: “I die with my country!”<sup>100</sup> Perhaps López expected that the entirety of Paraguay would be annexed by Brazil and Argentina after the war; however, despite some territorial losses, Paraguay remained an independent country, though the Brazilian occupation would last until 1876 when the last of the imperial troops were evacuated from Asunción. Paraguay to this day continues to be dwarfed in economic, political, and military power by its giant neighbours of Brazil and Argentina.

The next few chapters outline how the press actively engaged in recruitment campaigns and how province of São Paulo mobilized its military aged men into service in Paraguay from 1865 to 1866, the first two years of combat in the Paraguayan War. Moreover, the second chapter analyzes the mobilization of resources that took place in the province during 1865 and 1866 through the press’ coverage of patriotic donations. Lastly, the third and final chapter will discuss the fictional and non-fictional literature published in the São Paulo newspapers and how they were an integral part of the press’ recruitment efforts.

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<sup>100</sup> Whigham, *The Road to Armageddon*, 387-410.

## Chapter 1

**Impressment and the Failed Shift Towards Volunteerism:  
Military Recruitment in São Paulo during the Paraguayan War**

In the 1864 annual Ministry of War report, Minister of War José Mariano Mattos nonchalantly stated “that recruitment is indispensable.”<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that, in the Brazilian empire, the word *recrutamento* (recruitment) was often synonymous with impressment.<sup>2</sup> Although the Paraguayan War and its enormous demand for manpower had not yet begun, Mattos’s words represented the reality of military recruitment in imperial Brazil. Statesmen like him thought that it was necessary to unleash the horrors of impressment and coercive recruitment upon the population to supply the army with sufficient manpower. Moreover, the Brazilian military had recruited coercively since the colonial era, a crucial fact to consider throughout the following pages detailing the struggles that came with modernizing military recruitment during the Paraguayan War.

This chapter will analyze military recruitment and the attempts to reform it during the first two full years of effective combat in the Paraguayan War, 1865 and 1866. These two years were chosen because they effectively highlight the best and worst of military recruitment during the war. The year 1865 saw the creation of the Voluntários da Pátria (Volunteers of the Homeland), a voluntary branch of the army created for the war against Paraguay that was accompanied by an impressive showing in terms of enlistment numbers in that first year. The following year saw recruitment numbers plummet, impressment and other forms of coercive recruitment return, and the emancipation of a number of slaves for service amidst discussions of

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<sup>1</sup> José Mariano Mattos, *Relatório apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na segunda sessão da décima segunda Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negocios de Guerra, José Mariano Mattos* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1864): 5.

<sup>2</sup> Hendrik Kraay, “Repensando recrutamento militar no Brasil imperial,” *Diálogos* 3:3 (1999): 114.

a general emancipation program to free men for the army. Together, these two years represent the most critical years of recruitment during the Paraguayan War because they exhibit the state's attempts to modernize and reform its traditional practices while being held back by its many limitations that impeded its ability to effectively impose state priorities on the population. This chapter begins by analyzing volunteer recruitment, the National Guard's mobilization, and the descent back to coercive recruitment in late 1865 and 1866.

The Brazilian military that battled Paraguay from 1864 to 1870 was still far from a professional army by modern standards. This process did not demonstrate linear progress and lasted for centuries of trials and tribulations as the armed forces grew from colonial militias, supplemented by Portuguese regulars, into an army capable of defeating external threats to Brazilian sovereignty. The army sent to face the Paraguayan invaders was far from the professional military standards set by modern armies of the twenty-first and even the twentieth centuries; soldiers were subject to physical punishment, recruitment was violently coercive, and the officer class was highly politicized. Nevertheless, this was the army that the empire had to defend its territory, and more important, the Paraguayan War was a pivotal moment in the Brazilian armed forces' history as the institution modernized and grew closer to the institution that stands today. At the centre of this uneven modernization process was recruitment.

The difficulties encountered in the campaigns against the Paraguayan dictator Francisco Solano López propelled the development and professionalization of the army, and the attempted changes in recruitment strategies were necessary to meet the challenges posed by the Paraguayan military while projecting the state's desired image. Nonetheless, the unforeseen scale of the conflict meant that recruitment was often the primary concern on the minds of politicians and strategists alike; the initial wave of volunteerism was not enough to supply the necessary

manpower to the front lines, and imperial authorities resorted to impressment to feed able-bodied men into the trenches in the south. Though the beginning of the Paraguayan War marked another attempt to transition from coercive recruitment practices to volunteerism. A draft lottery was suggested in 1827 and it would be proposed to parliament in 1834, but the proposed draft lottery never made it past the discussion floor and by the fourth reading of this bill in 1835 it became clear an army composed entirely of volunteers was not possible as rebellions broke out in two different provinces.<sup>3</sup> The sheer scale of the war started by Solano López meant that it was a necessity for imperial authorities to revert to impressment. Newspapers demonstrated that the war was potential a turning point for military recruitment in Brazil. The war spurred more volunteer enlistments than ever before. Recruitment was even suspended for a few months in the middle of 1865. However, due to the lengthy duration of the conflict, which caused public support and volunteerism to fade after 1866, it was necessary to fall back into impressment and forced recruitment. The São Paulo press demonstrates this explicitly, for as the months went by, the number of volunteer recruits published in the papers and the frequency with which they enlisted decreased significantly. Starting around April 1866, newspapers published lists of new recruits less often, so whenever the list was published it included a larger list of names, a significant change from the early months of the war when every day new recruitment numbers were published even though as few as four men enlisted on a given day.

Difficulties with recruitment were also shown explicitly through articles and letters written by civilians and military men alike, which expressed the need for more soldiers. At the same time, complaints about recruitment abuses became increasingly present in the press as the war raged on. The reversion to impressment exhibits state weaknesses in its ability to convince

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<sup>3</sup> Hendrik Kraay, *Race, State, and Armed Forces in Independence Era Brazil: Bahia, 1790s-1840s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001): 189.

the population to participate in the war willingly or to organize and impose an efficient, impersonal military draft system, in addition to demonstrating the state's dependency on middlemen to fulfil its needs and goals at the provincial and municipal levels. Arguably, military recruitment and how it changed over the years in the Brazilian empire shows the uneven process that was nation-building, state formation, and military modernization, all significantly affected by the give and take that existed in the patronage system that structured Brazilian politics, while the press served as both a space for public debate and a litmus test for how effectively the government convinced the nation that both the state's and the public's interests were aligned.

The professionalization of Brazil's army went hand in hand with the process of ennobling the soldier and changing societal perspectives regarding military service, which often took place in the black-and-white pages of the press. Noticeably, the history of recruitment and modernization in the Brazilian army reflects the state-development and the nation-building process that took place in nineteenth-century Brazil. Military recruitment is a fascinating affair which encompasses discussions about citizenship, nationalism, social class, power, and state formation. Significantly, newspapers figure prominently as a source for studies on these topics. Given that the press served as the voice and debating arena for literate members of the community, this chapter investigates the Brazilian press in the province of São Paulo from 1864 to 1866 to understand its role in recruitment and public debates about how the mobilization of manpower for the war should be conducted. Moreover, this chapter will analyze Brazilian military recruitment before and during the Paraguayan War to examine its connection to the state's development and the population's adherence to the national narratives in the press through its ability to recruit military aged men into service with the help of the local press to contextualize recruitment during the war. Newspapers were a crucial part of these processes as a



vehicle for communication and a public space for citizens to discuss current events with significant implications for the nation.

### **Military Recruitment**

The methods by which recruiters filled the rank and file had not changed since the colonial era, and impressment remained the most effective tool at the state's disposal when it came to recruitment by the time the war began in 1864. Impressment had been a historically unfair form of recruitment that, at best, coerced its recruits to enlist through fear of repercussions and, at worst, chained its recruits like captives to march them off to military bases. This section will analyze the nature of military recruitment and its implications for state development.

In the years immediately before the Paraguayan War, and even during the conflict, impressment and forced recruitment continued to be the primary strategy the state and its intermediaries used to replenish the army's rank and file. The exception was 1865 when volunteer enlistments outnumbered those forced to serve. The practice of recruitment continued following the same pattern of targeting individuals without patrons who could protect them from military service, along with those seen as unproductive members of society. The hierarchical, moral, and social elements that defined the Brazilian society continued to influence recruitment during the Paraguayan War. Furthermore, the bureaucratic weakness seen earlier during the colonial era or at the beginning of the imperial period remained nearly unchanged. The central government's reliance on local intermediaries persisted as a vital part of military recruitment, meaning that local obligations and interests could be prioritized over national interests by the local notables tasked with recruitment, further hampering the complicated recruitment process. Additionally, the codified lists of exemptions from 1822 which protected individuals based on

employment and social standing and the lack of registries made the recruitment process even more arbitrary and ineffective. All men aged 18 to 35 were eligible for recruitment, though there were exemptions for those employed in industries that considered essential like muleteers and cart drivers. Altogether, there were few changes to military recruitment in the years leading up to the war, while the changes made during the war were both ineffective and unsustainable because of the unforeseen scale of the Paraguayan War.<sup>4</sup>

Although this may be counterintuitive to some, though perhaps also a demonstration of the admirable subordination of military authorities to civilian authorities in the empire, civilians oversaw military recruitment in Brazil and the military simply had to content itself with the recruits given to them. Often recruiters were local police officers whose police duties included the pursuit and capture of free men for military service. Men eligible for recruitment frequently absconded themselves to the forests surrounding settlements, leaving towns and villages bereft of young men. Sometimes recruited men went willingly, knowing resistance was futile; however, many resorted to violence to escape impressment and many more were marched off to war in chains. The *Voluntários da Pátria*, created in the first week of 1865, significantly changed recruitment, given that recruits were given bonuses for voluntary enlistments. But old practices persisted, it was no surprise that recruiters frequently threatened to impress recruitable men if they did not enlist as volunteers after the volunteer numbers begun falling.<sup>5</sup>

Notwithstanding Miguel Angel Centeno's belief that the nature of warfare hindered state formation nineteenth-century in Latin America, the Paraguayan war was a catalyst for state development in Brazil. Centeno's argument that Latin American states were "infrastructurally

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<sup>4</sup> Fábio Faria Mendes, "A Economia Moral do Recrutamento Militar no Império Brasileiro," *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 13:38 (1998): 81-96.

<sup>5</sup> Jorge Prata de Sousa, *Escravidão ou morte: Os excravos brasileiros na Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad: Adesa, 1996): 49.

weak” and unable to effectively impose their decisions on the population is valid and supported by historiography, but his view on the relationship between war and state does not hold up in the Brazilian case in regards to the Paraguayan War, a large scale intrastate war that resulted in economic and territorial gains for the victors.<sup>6</sup> Centeno’s model focuses on the Spanish Latin America where national civil wars were more frequent and intense than in Brazil where most revolts lacked a national character and failed to reach the intensity of other case studies used as examples by Centeno.

The central feature of Brazilian politics in the nineteenth century was the patron-client relationships that governed all aspects of social status and political administration. Patronage was a system of interpersonal relationships involving an exchange of political and social loyalty along with obedience to the patron who, in turn, granted their subordinate privileges and benefits they would not have without the patron's support. A patron's power was measured by how many dependents he had. Thus, patrons often competed for the support of possible clients since the more clients one had, the more influence over the community they had, which in turn enabled patrons to extract more concessions from authorities and attract more clients. Nevertheless, this was a double-edged sword. If a patron could not fulfil his end of the bargain with his clients, he risked his clients' loyalty as they would have looked for a patron that could best address their needs. Protection from military recruitment was a fundamental privilege sought by those looking to enter a patron-client relationship. Essentially, impressment and patronage worked together to keep the free poor under the strict control of sociopolitical elites and, given that the fine line separating a free poor worker from the trenches was his personal relationship with a powerful local individual, most individuals eagerly obeyed their patrons to escape the horrible fate that

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<sup>6</sup> Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2002): 10.

came with military service.<sup>7</sup> It is crucial to mention that small acts of rebellion like deserting were expected and impressment sought to account for the men who ran away. Wartime recruitment created tension within these relationships, as patrons could no longer protect their clients after 1866 because recruitment had to keep up with the frontline's demand for men. Moreover, even without the stress created by wartime recruitment, the influence patron-client relationships had on the state epitomized its weaknesses.

Other historians have also noted the presence of a patronage system at work in military recruitment. Vitor Izecksohn notes that recruitment of free men depended on their patrons' willingness to put up obstacles to protect their clients from recruiters.<sup>8</sup> Hendrik Kraay shows that recruitment was a task left for local civil administrators, the very same men who composed the patron-client relationships at the local level.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, he details the patrons' usage of the exemption system to protect their subordinates. Often local notables in charge of recruitment used their role to force other patrons' clients into their network of patronage or to get rid of their competitors' followers. Altogether, recruitment was controlled by local authorities who could use their power to strengthen their position as patrons at their rivals' expense.

The emphasis on compromise and negotiation between sectors of the Brazilian society were not confined to the patron-client relationships at the local or provincial level. Such relationships and this pattern of behaviour that revolved around privileges and compromises were deeply ingrained in the nature of the Brazilian state in the nineteenth century. At its inception, the Brazilian empire was a compromise between elites whose members sought

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<sup>7</sup> Richard Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 22-63, 211-249.

<sup>8</sup> Vitor Izecksohn, "Freeing Slaves to Fight Against Paraguay: Brazilian Freedmen in the War of the Triple Alliance, 1864-1870," in *The Rio de la Plata from Colony to Nations: Commerce, Society, and Politics* ed. by Fabrício Prado, Viviana L. Grieco, and Alex Borucki (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021): 248.

<sup>9</sup> Kraay, "Repensando recrutamento," 114.

independence with those who sought social and political instability assured by the centralized monarchy. According to Sebastián Mazzuca's argument regarding state-formation, the Brazilian state followed a "trade led path," rather than growing from military expansion; instead, the state sought to grow through trade and economic development.<sup>10</sup> Although rebellious regions had the makings of potential rudimentary states, the central power in Rio de Janeiro could provide protections and privileges that enticed local notables in the provinces to the national cause, while each region was sought after by Rio de Janeiro for their export revenues and import tariffs.<sup>11</sup> Rather than seeing war as the primary driver for state-formation like Charles Tilley and Miguel Angel Centeno, Mazzuca argues that it was trade centred around port-cities and the revenue that they brought in that drove state-formation in Brazil.

Importantly, the political union of the various regions that composed Brazil was a deliberate choice made by the homogenous political elite trained at the University of Coimbra who dominated Brazilian politics.<sup>12</sup> Coimbra's impact on Brazilian politics was undeniable; its jurists' influence determined much about how the state in Brazil functioned and their homogenous ideological beliefs ensured relative political and social stability in post-independence Brazil. The lessons in Coimbra favoured an absolutist system, which was clearly seen in the Brazilian context as the highly centralized imperial government and economic liberal beliefs like property rights held by the young South American monarchy.<sup>13</sup> The Coimbra-educated men essentially formed the political elite of the empire. They may not have had the financial power of the landowning class, but they had the bureaucratic state and its apparatuses

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<sup>10</sup> Sebastián Mazzuca, "Port Driven State Formation in Brazil," in *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2021): 231.

<sup>11</sup> Mazzuca, "Port Driven State Formation in Brazil," 268-269.

<sup>12</sup> José Murilo de Carvalho, *A construção da ordem: a elite política imperial* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 1996): 16-18.

<sup>13</sup> Carvalho, *A construção da ordem*, 27.

standing behind them. The division between landowning and political elites was significant because it was at the core of the divisions in Brazilian politics. Disagreements about how the state should behave politically and fiscally led to rebellions and served as a source of inspiration for the development of political parties.<sup>14</sup> Brazilian elites were constantly divided, economic and political elite groups sought to maintain political and social stability and foster with economic development; however, in most cases their solutions differed. That was not the case when it came to property rights and slavery and both political and economic elites viewed these institutions as fundamental necessities for stable political, social, and economic development in Brazil.

Furthermore, there are two important factors to consider while analyzing the nature of the Brazilian state in the nineteenth century: Brazil's reliance on agricultural production and land being the primary source of wealth and financial power. Combined, these factors demonstrated that the planter class was significantly more powerful, and, in fact, the imperial state defended their interests like slave trading until it was no longer possible in the face of Great Britain's threats in 1850. The state could not exist without the financial resources collected from the taxation of agricultural products, and internal security was not achievable without the state apparatus; essentially then, political and economic elites formed an alliance to control the Brazilian state and to shape it to support their interests.

Nevertheless, this did not mean that the state was entirely at the mercy of powerful slaveowners. The centralized absolutist system put in place by the Coimbra men who built the Brazilian state afforded the executive branch the power to act in a contrary manner to what landowners would have wanted.<sup>15</sup> The Brazilian state was marked by ambiguities, despite the dominating class's power and prestige. The emperor's executive powers and centralized nature of

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<sup>14</sup> Carvalho, *A construção da ordem*, 211.

<sup>15</sup> Carvalho, *A construção da ordem*, 212-213.

the state allowed the government to push through policies that would have been disliked by the landowning elite. Moreover, the centralized nature of the state meant that government institutions were stronger closer to the capital; farther away from imperial centers of power, the less influence imperial politics had on the local elite.<sup>16</sup>

The scale of the war had never been experienced by the empire, and to confront the formidable foe that the Paraguayan nation had become required the Brazilian government to modernize. One of the more critical reform attempts that were made came in the form of the *Voluntários da Pátria*, a branch of the army supposedly composed entirely of volunteer recruits who received better and benefits than the impressed men. In creating a special volunteer branch with higher pay and opportunities for upward social mobility like special consideration for employment in the government and land grants, the state openly recognized the public's aversion to military service and the socially dishonourable position of enlisted men in the ranks. The *Voluntários* were not created solely out of a desire to ennoble the soldier profession, hoping it would bring more recruits. Its primary goal was to supply the army with enough men without the hassle of coerced recruitment. Initially, the government's initiative paid off. In some provinces, there were so many volunteers in the first months of 1865 that authorities turned men away.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, the unexpectedly lengthy duration of the war, news about the terrible conditions soldiers were subjected to, a general distaste for military service, and dissatisfaction with the war led to the failure of voluntary recruitment and the return of impressment on a large scale by 1866. Furthermore, establishing the *Voluntários* also demonstrated critical weaknesses within the Brazilian state. The incentives granted to volunteers in the Paraguayan War

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<sup>16</sup> José Murilo de Carvalho, *Teatro de Sombras: a política imperial* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora UFRJ, 1996): 383-385.

<sup>17</sup> Alice Goldoni, "Recrutamento, negociação e interesses: as dificuldades de mobilização da Guarda Nacional Fluminense durante a Guerra do Paraguai," in *Homens e armas: recrutamento militar no Brasil, século XIX* ed. Miquéias H. Mugge and Adriano Comissoli (São Leopoldo: Editora Oikos, 2011): 213.

demonstrated that the state lacked the administrative and bureaucratic capacity to implement and conduct an impartial and effective conscription system. Likewise, the mobilization of the National Guard, a civilian paramilitary institution meant to serve as the army's reserves, revealed similar issues in the Brazilian military structure. Officers and guards alike tried to evade service away from home or hindered mobilization by failing to appear for inspections or begrudgingly following orders; the national government's inability to enforce mobilization showed that it lacked the bureaucratic and material capacity to impose its will on the population without the support of the local elite.<sup>18</sup> The war also influenced discussions over the future of slavery in Brazil as imperial authorities discussed the emancipation of slaves to bolster the rank and file's numbers during the war. Overall, the war and, more specifically, recruitment made many of the Brazilian empire's flaws glaringly apparent to the world. These included limitations such as its administrative and bureaucratic inability to effectively and equitably conscript men into the military, to efficiently requisition resources from its territories, to convince the influential individuals far away from the Rio de Janeiro's influence to prioritize a national cause, the patron-client relationships that dominated sociopolitical life in Brazil, and its overreliance on slave labour. These were all frailties exposed by Brazil's mobilization in the Paraguayan War. Such weaknesses were common for states in the nineteenth century and not exclusively a Brazilian problem, that is, apart from its reliance on slavery for a labour force since the United States passed the thirteenth amendment in 1865 leaving Brazil as the only national state that upheld the right to own another human being as chattel.

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<sup>18</sup> Vitor Izecksohn, "Recrutamento militar no Rio de Janeiro durante a Guerra do Paraguai," in *Nova história militar brasileira*. ed. Celso Castro, Vitor Izecksohn and Hendrik Kraay (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2004): 183.



## **Voluntários da Pátria and the Other Men Who Saved the Nation**

The Paraguayan War was and remains Brazil's largest ever war; prior to 1864, most armed conflicts involving the empire had been internal rebellions. Previous engagements were mostly short and sporadic which made impressment a somewhat adequate recruitment strategy. However, the Paraguayan War changed that. The capture of the steamer *Marquez de Olinda* and the subsequent invasion of Mato Grosso was the first time since the 1820s that the Brazilian territory had seen enemy soldiers march through its land. Paraguay had spent many years before 1864 preparing for conflict with Argentina and Brazil, meaning that instead of fighting against a poorly trained army of impressed men, they were fighting conscripts with years of military training. Undoubtedly, the Paraguayan War shifted warfare in South America, and the Brazilian empire's response was to create a new military unit composed of volunteers to defend the homeland. The Voluntários da Pátria were created on January 7, 1865, specifically to fight against the Paraguayan army. Nonetheless, they were not the only men who were sent to defend the empire's integrity. Brazil also counted upon its standing army and the National Guard, a civilian paramilitary unit created in 1831 meant to serve as the military reserve. The recruitment of these men is an important subject to be studied because of the implications regarding state-formation and adherence to the national identity demonstrated in the process of military recruitment. Furthermore, despite the initial volunteer boom that demonstrated Brazilians adhered in the national identity, the war weariness that grew stronger after 1865 would dissuade prospective volunteers from enlisting.

Documentation from the years leading up to and during the war demonstrates how the sheer scale of the conflict in Paraguay forced military recruitment to be drastically increased to meet the demands for new soldiers to feed the war machine. The 1865 provincial president's

report from São Paulo shows that imperial authorities were not significantly concerned with recruitment in the province before the war. The report was made in February 1865 and analyzed the administration of the province during the second half of 1864, meaning that most of the information divulged in the report written by São Paulo's then-provincial president, João Cipriano Soares, did not include the Paraguayan War. Recruitment statistics demonstrate that, of the seventy men enlisted in the army from July 1 to December 31, 1864, only fifteen were volunteers, while the remaining fifty-five had been impressed into the army. Moreover, the report also listed that forty-four deserters were captured.<sup>19</sup> The report is rather unsurprising in its contents. Peacetime recruitment did not emphasize volunteerism, nor did the state recruit on a large scale. The 1865 report did not mention that there were one-hundred and fifty-seven regular army soldiers in São Paulo, divided between a cavalry company and a contingent of an infantry battalion.<sup>20</sup> At the national level, there were 841 volunteers and 1435 impressed men; the significant difference between both categories was a result of the populations' disdain for military service. Neither the *Diário de S. Paulo* nor the *Correio Paulistano* presented an explanation for the high rate of volunteer enlistments in São Paulo, though the fact that only one in five Paulistas volunteered for service before the war makes the surge of volunteers in 1865 even more impressive and especially surprising.<sup>21</sup>

Impressment and coercive forms of recruitment remained the primary method of amassing soldiers for the army prior to the Paraguayan War. However, the issues created by forced recruitment became more unmanageable than ever before in 1866. The reliance on local

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<sup>19</sup> João Cipriano Soares, "Relatorio apresentado a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial de São Paulo na segunda sessão da decima quinta Legislatura no dia 2 de fevereiro de 1865 pelo Presidente da mesma provincial o conselheiro João Cipriano Soares," (São Paulo: Typographia imparcial de J.R.A. Marques, 1865): 29-33.

<sup>20</sup> Soares, "Relatorio apresentado a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial de São Paulo," 85.

<sup>21</sup> Viscount of Camamú, *Relatorio da Repartição dos Negocios da Guerra*, 33.

notables to enforce state interests meant that the state had less direct control over recruitment and was required to constantly convince intermediaries that their local interests coincided with the national interests. Furthermore, marching recruited men into the provincial capitals in chains negatively affected how soldiers were perceived. It not only reinforced the belief that military service was only suitable for socially undesirable individuals but also supported the symbolic connection between service in the army and slavery.<sup>22</sup>

At the outset of the Paraguayan War, imperial authorities attempted to transition the recruitment strategy from impressment to voluntarism. Having recruits enlist willingly created less friction between local communities and the central government and made the recruitment process more autonomous. Simultaneously, it granted more control to the state authorities while presenting an image of sociopolitical development that rivalled the European states that served as inspiration for the Brazilian empire. Furthermore, the Paraguayan capture of the *Marquez de Olinda* had already caused an outburst of anger directed at Solano Lopez; the subsequent violent invasions of the Brazilian provinces of Mato Grosso and Rio Grande do Sul further intensified public anger into outrage and augmented the sense of patriotism among the Brazilian population. The public's enthusiastic opposition to Paraguay presented an opportunity for the empire to capitalize on public support to implement more effective recruitment strategies. Having already experimented with using additional benefits to entice voluntary recruitment in 1848 when the army began offering cash bonuses and shorter service terms of six years for volunteers instead of the nine years that impressed men were required to serve, and now faced with a well-organized enemy that threatened the “honour and integrity” of his empire, Pedro II’s government

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<sup>22</sup> Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood*, 18.

announced the creation of the Voluntários da Pátria through Decree 3371.<sup>23</sup>

This Voluntários da Pátria were a new army corps that offered additional benefits on top of the regular army pay and existing volunteer bonus to all citizens aged eighteen to fifty who volunteered for service in the Paraguayan War. Voluntários were paid an additional \$300 réis on top of regular army pay which was around \$050 réis per day.<sup>24</sup> Voluntários were entitled to a 300\$000 réis bonus and 22,500 *braças* (49,500 square metres) of land in one of the many military or agricultural colonies spread out throughout the empire once they were discharged from the army.<sup>25</sup> Families of voluntários were also eligible for a pension in case their loved ones lost their lives on the battlefield. Soldiers were entitled to half-pay if they were left physically invalidated by injuries sustained in the war. Benefits were not only financial and voluntários were to receive special consideration when being evaluated for public jobs or promotions within the army, and this was an especially valuable benefit since such jobs also could have meant upward social mobility for many men who volunteered for service. Importantly, voluntários were to be discharged from the army as soon as peace was achieved, a further incentive to enlist, but a contentious clause in the later years of the war when the Paraguayan state was effectively defeated, but its tyrannical dictator still evaded capture.<sup>26</sup> Noticeably, the Voluntários da Pátria served as an elegant solution for the problems inseparably attached to coercive recruitment while also providing an opportunity to stimulate patriotism and present an image of social and political development that was perhaps unexpected of the largest remaining slave state in the Western

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<sup>23</sup> Francisco Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra: nova história da Guerra do Paraguai* 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2022): 121-125.

<sup>24</sup> Visconde do Rio Branco, *Relatório apresentado á Assembléa Geral Legislativa na terceira sessão da decima quarta Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Guerra Visconde do Rio Branco* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1871): 54.

<sup>25</sup> Império do Brazil, “Decreto 3371 de 7 de Janeiro de 1865,” *Coleção de Leis do Império do Brasil (1808 - 1889) vol. I* <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1824-1899/decreto-3371-7-janeiro-1865-554492-publicacaooriginal-73111-pe.html> (accessed September 6, 2023).

<sup>26</sup> Decreto 3371 de Janeiro de 1865.

world.

The reports provided by São Paulo's provincial presidents to the Legislative Assembly and the yearly reports published by the Ministry of War corroborate the claims that there was a massive increase in the number of volunteer enlistments after the promulgation of Decree 3371. The 1865 Ministry of War report, which included data from the 1864-1865 fiscal year, listed 829 soldiers, 773 of them *Voluntários da Pátria*, as São Paulo's contribution during that period.<sup>27</sup> The 1865 provincial report from São Paulo had noted that there were seventy new enlistments in the second half of 1864, meaning that the numbers from the document written by the Viscount of Camamú, then Minister of War, were in their majority enlistments that occurred in 1865 from January to April 1866, though there were many issues when it came to matching provincial and national data on recruitment matters.<sup>28</sup> These data clearly demonstrate how the enthusiastic initial response to the Paraguayan War resulted in an influx of volunteers that the Brazilian military had never dealt with before.

The initial reaction to the creation of the *Voluntários da Pátria* took the government by surprise; Carlos Roberto Carvalho Daróz noted that the number of volunteers overwhelmed recruitment offices and made the army's inability to equip and train a large number of new soldiers glaringly obvious to provincial presidents, who regularly complained about this.<sup>29</sup> Importantly, acting as almost a chronicle of public opinion, the press demonstrated the feverish support given by Paulistas in 1865 and its decline throughout 1866 through the published letters sent in by readers and the increasingly alarmed pleas for assistance from newspapers' editors. At the beginning of the war, the press proudly displayed the increasing number of volunteers.

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<sup>27</sup> Viscount of Camamú, *Relatorio da Repartição dos Negocios da Guerra*, 33.

<sup>28</sup> Soares, "Relatorio apresentado a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial de São Paulo, 29-33.

<sup>29</sup> Carlos Roberto Carvalho Daróz, "O 7º Corpo d *Voluntários da Pátria*: de São Paulo ao Paraguai," *A Defesa Nacional* 105:834 (2017): 76.

However, as the war continued, the number of volunteers whose enlistment was published in the press decreased until it almost stopped altogether. Nevertheless, the initial enthusiastic public support was on full display in the black-and-white pages of the press.

On February 2, 1865, the *Correio Paulistano* proudly revealed how the early patriotic response to the Paraguayan aggression led to a record number of voluntary recruits, less than a month after the Voluntários were created. The unit being formed in São Paulo already numbered 155 men, a tenfold increase over previous year's voluntary recruitment of merely fifteen men. Moreover, a supplementary edition discussing the war from the same day demonstrated the key role that the press played in the recruitment drive; clamouring for more men to volunteer, the editor pleaded with his audience, stating, "We must hurry to assist our southern brothers." Often, the press used the idea of the Brazilian nation as a family to appeal to a sense of togetherness community across the vast Brazilian territories to persuade more men to join the war.<sup>30</sup> The press celebrated the volunteer initiative created by the imperial government. Later that year, the *Correio Paulistano* claimed that it was the right step in the nation's development, for it put the responsibility of defending the nation in the hands of those who cared the most: the people.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, the press also praised the extension of the voluntários' benefits to national guardsmen: the *Diário de S. Paulo* proclaimed that the "occasion for the National Guard to fulfil its noble duty had arrived."<sup>32</sup> Generally, the press was genuinely excited about the enlistments; however, much of the praise given from volunteers came in the *apedidos* section of the newspaper, articles which readers paid to have printed. For example, in September 1865, Antonio de Oliveira Leite Septubal commended his friend Camillo Lellis de Goes Teixeira for

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<sup>30</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, February 2, 1865.

<sup>31</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, June 17, 1865.

<sup>32</sup> "Gazetilha," *Diário de S. Paulo*, August 25, 1865.

volunteering. Septubal's announcement noted Teixeira's youth, wished him and other volunteers a prayer, and applauded his friends' and other volunteers' patriotism and courage. Septubal also mentioned national honour in his article, a repeated theme in publications about volunteers. In comparison to other goodbye letters, this one was considerably lengthier, perhaps indicating a very close connection between the two friends. It demonstrated the fervent support given to volunteers by the Brazilian population.<sup>33</sup>

Notably, the eager support from the newspapers appears to be backed by public support during 1865 when comparing the recruitment statistics published by the press with those published by the Ministry of War. It is important to mention that only the *Correio Paulistano* published volunteer numbers, certainly because it was the newspaper attached to the provincial government and as such had access to official documentation. In December 1865, the *Correio Paulistano* claimed that the province of São Paulo had contributed just over three thousand men to the war while the second round of volunteers numbered nearly fifteen hundred men.<sup>34</sup> By contrast, the report presented to the Legislative Assembly in São Paulo shows that São Paulo sent 2,808 men that year. The discrepancy in numbers from the press and national numbers can be explained by the fact that many Paulistas enlisted outside the province, especially in the capital of Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo's newspapers often reported their numbers alongside local enlistments.<sup>35</sup> There is a discrepancy between the provincial report and the Ministry of War documents. The former claimed that the province sent 1,193 voluntários, while the latter claimed 1,399, though again, this discrepancy can be accounted for by the voluntários who enlisted in Rio

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<sup>33</sup> "Publicações pedidas," *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 24, 1865.

<sup>34</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, December 1, 1865.

<sup>35</sup> Dr. João da Silva Carrão, *Relatorio apresentado a Assembléa Provincial de S.Paulo 1º sessão da decima sexta Legislatura no dia 3 de Fevereiro de 1866 pelo presidente da mesma provincial, O Dr. João da Silva Carrão* (São Paulo: Typographia Imparcial de J.R.A. Marques, 1866): 24-27.

de Janeiro but whose place of birth and residence would have still been in São Paulo.<sup>36</sup> Despite the relatively small differences, the numbers show the exponential increase in voluntary recruits compared to previous years and demonstrate that public support for the war initially manifested itself as voluntary recruitment. Moreover, the newspaper's persistent support for the war indicates that the press actively sought to help develop patriotism and increase recruitment numbers.

Although the news was positive during 1865, the following year was the complete opposite. In contrast to the enthusiastic announcements of new voluntários, the press published more and more complaints about recruitment inactivity and impressment. As early as January 1866, the *Correio Paulistano* published an *apedido* from the residents of Mogy-Mirim who bemoaned that recruitment had come to a stand-still until the arrival of a recruiter known as “caçador de homem,” meaning “man-hunter.” However, this article seemed supportive of the man-hunter's new assignment, though it also claimed that the town had sent many volunteers and that impressment would not be required in the municipality.<sup>37</sup> Residents of Bragança made the same argument a few days later, and National Guard Major João Detz, the man-hunter, was once again mentioned for his unnecessary service. Detz was a member of the National Guard, as can be inferred from a *Correio Paulistano* article that mentioned that called up national guardsmen were reporting to him, though it did not mention where he was stationed at that moment.<sup>38</sup> The complaint from Bragança went further than the previous one from Mogy-Mirim by declaring that recruitment was a local affair and that local authorities should be in charge, since they were

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<sup>36</sup> Angelo Moniz Ferraz, *Relatorio apresentado á Assembléa Geral Legislativa na quarta sessão da decima segunda Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negocios da Guerra Angelo Moniz Ferraz* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1866): 61.

<sup>37</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, January 23, 1866.

<sup>38</sup> “Conflicto,” *Correio Paulistano*, January 6, 1866.



familiar with the community and knew who was eligible for recruitment and whose recruitment would not cause a loss to the community if removed.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, the article actually praised the recruitment performed by the local police after chastising Detz as the man hunter, which contradicts their complaints about recruitment slowing down. The issue for the people of Bragança was that a National Guard officer was recruiting men as he saw fit in their town, unlike the local police who respected the recruitment traditions of the community. Not much is known about Major João Detz. He remains a mysterious figure mentioned a few times in relation to recruitment, striking fear into the residents of the countryside, forcing them to run away into the forest. He epitomized coercive military recruitment in imperial Brazil., Perhaps the most interesting fact about the man-hunter was that in 1874, the *Diário de S. Paulo* reported that he was still involved with recruitment, terrorizing the civilian population.<sup>40</sup>

Such outbursts against the intrusion of national powers into local communities were not new. This power struggle characterized much of Brazilian politics up to this moment. However, the Paraguayan War forced the empire to contravene its previous traditions and to significantly increase the severity of recruitment to meet the war demands. Nonetheless, the local sociopolitical elites did not accept those infringements without protests and silent disobedience. The watershed that demonstrated that the press was no longer able to positively influence public opinion in favour came after the bloody Battle of Curupaty that occurred in September 22, 1866. The *Correio Paulistano* argued that this destructive battle had not caused a significant loss in morale and that, in fact, it motivated the population to continue the fight. However, this could not be further from the truth, and perhaps this government newspaper was trying to control the damage in claiming that there was no dip in overall morale. Nonetheless, voluntary recruitment

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<sup>39</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, February 1, 1866.

<sup>40</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 2, 1874.

numbers never recovered after this battle, and the press went from discussing the decreasing number of volunteers to criticizing the impressment and pleading with readers to assist the war effort by enlisting for the remainder of the war.<sup>41</sup> The opposition *Diário de S. Paulo* had a different opinion regarding the Curupaty's impact. An *apedido* published on December 6, 1866, declared that no new battalions would march to war with the "old enthusiasm" because of the sadness caused by the loss of lives in Curupaty. Although *apedidos* did not necessarily reflect the newspapers' views, the fact they were selected by the editors meant there was a level of agreement between the author and the editor. The anonymous author went on to complain about the war effort, citing the expenses and the war's duration as the main issues. Although the author complained about the loss of life and the financial burden, he did not object to the war at all, solely to how it was being conducted by the government.<sup>42</sup>

Official documents also reflected the recruitment stories being told in the newspapers in 1866 when praise for recruitment was replaced with laments about the National Guard and the lack of fresh recruits. São Paulo's president in 1866, Dr. João da Silva Carrão, noted that the province had sent nearly 1,200 Voluntários da Pátria and 363 impressed recruits to the front in 1865, but he was extremely anxious regarding recruitment's impact on the war and society. Joaquim Floriano Toledo's report from late 1866 mentioned that few men were then volunteering for service.<sup>43</sup> Unsurprisingly, José Tavares Bastos's report from the following year, 1867, which focused on the recruitment numbers from 1866, registered 87 volunteers to 693 recruits, all but confirming that impressment had returned.<sup>44</sup> Altogether, the 1872 Ministry of War report states

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<sup>41</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, October 16, 1866.

<sup>42</sup> "Publicações pedidas," *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 6, 1866.

<sup>43</sup> Joaquim Floriano de Toledo, *O relatório com que o Ill. E Ex. Sr. Coronel Joaquim Floriano Toledo passou a administração da provincial de S. Paulo ao Ill. e Ex. Sr. Desembargador José Tavares Bastos no dia 9 de Novembro de 1866* (São Paulo: Typographia Imparcial de J.R.A. Marques, 1866): 3-4.

<sup>44</sup> José Tavares Bastos, *Relatório apresentado a Assembléa Provincial de S. Paulo pelo presidente O desembargador José Tavares Bastos na sessão de 12 de Maio de 1867* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1867): 6-63.

that São Paulo contributed 2,271 Voluntários da Pátria and 2,553 men listed as “Volunteers and Recruits,” though how many of those men were coerced into “volunteering” may never be uncovered.<sup>45</sup>

Furthermore, newspapers also highlighted the difficulties in mobilizing the National Guard; even though the benefits given to voluntários were extended to national guardsmen, members of the National Guard were extremely reluctant to enlist. Historian Peter M. Beattie even states that guardsmen had to be flattered or coaxed by authorities to report for service.<sup>46</sup> In July 1865, the *Correio Paulistano* reported that people in the municipality of Parahybuna complained that the National Guard mobilization had been used for political gain by those in charge, while residents of Iguape remarked that “the National Guard only existed on paper” in their area of the province.<sup>47</sup> Perhaps this could have been a convenient excuse used to explain why guardsmen could not be rounded up and forced to serve.

Issues with the National Guard discussed in the newspapers were confirmed through the report given to the provincial assembly by Carrão in 1866, which stated that the province was unable to meet its quota of three thousand national guards, mustering only six-hundred men out of the over thirty-thousand active members in the province. The National Guard’s inactivity bothered many people, especially Carrão, who complained about the institution openly by confidently stating that “the current situation should have already convinced the supreme powers of state of the urgent necessity to reform an institution which finds its credit profoundly wounded.” The emperor’s representative in São Paulo declared in no uncertain terms that the National Guard had profoundly lost the government’s and people’s confidence as an institution

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<sup>45</sup> Viscount of Rio Branco, *Relatorio da Repartição de Negocios de Guerra, 1872* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imparcial Laemmert, 1872): 92.

<sup>46</sup> Peter M. Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood*, 46.

<sup>47</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, July 7, 1865.

tasked with national defence. Carrão also complained about its use to receive exemptions from military service, a common lament in discussions regarding the National Guard in the press.<sup>48</sup> The *Diário de S. Paulo* also agreed in a May 1866 editorial that the National Guard had to be reformed, though not just because of its inactivity. The editor believed that those national guardsmen being called up were being wrongly sent to war because they were good working men who upheld the agricultural production in the province. The editor did not provide his vision for how the National Guard should be reformed, though he mentioned other countries had models that could have been useful for Brazilian statesmen.<sup>49</sup>

The National Guard had been created in 1831 by the Regency to serve as a paramilitary institution loyal to the state rather than the monarch. This was noticeable in the decision to make the institution subordinate to the Ministry of Justice instead of Ministry of War. The National Guard recruited any male citizen aged eighteen to fifty who could prove that he had an income of at least 200\$000 réis, about \$54 USD in 1864,<sup>50</sup> the same requirements for suffrage until 1881. The regents who created the National Guard aimed to create an institution of trusted civilians to protect Brazil's independence, its constitution, its people, and the "integrity" of the empire. Apart from its role as the army's reserve, the National Guard also performed policing duties. In its initial phase (1831-1850), National Guard officers were elected by the men they led, though that would end by 1838. Earlier the 1834 Ato Adicional transferred power over the National Guard from the national government to the provinces. Complaints about the purchase of officer ranks along with the disorganized and decentralized nature of the National Guard led the imperial government to reform the institution in 1850. Under the new reforms, National Guard officers

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<sup>48</sup> Carrão, *Relatorio apresentado a Assembléa Provincial de S. Paulo*, 24-27.

<sup>49</sup> "Guarda Nacional," *Diário de S. Paulo*, May 6, 1866.

<sup>50</sup> Julian Smith Duncan, *Public and Private Operators of Railways in Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932): 183.

were subordinated to the Minister of Justice and provincial presidents. Furthermore, the National Guard was relieved of its policing duties; now it was responsible solely for suppressing internal revolts and assisting the army with national defence. Nevertheless, the National Guard continued being used as an escape from military service in the regular forces since guardsmen were exempted from recruitment. By 1864, the National Guard changed significantly from the institution created in 1831. It began as an internal paramilitary institution meant to guarantee internal peace and to police settlements whose duty may lead them into combat in external; nonetheless, by 1850, the guard had become the army's official reserve. Although it was already known as the army's reserve, the new emphasis on external defence in the 1850 reforms demonstrated that the National Guard was an institution whose sole purpose was to defend the empire from internal or external threats.<sup>51</sup>

As 1866 progressed, the members of the National Guard continued to drag their feet against mobilization. Carrão's successor, Toledo, also found little in the way of assistance with mobilization from the National Guard. In November 1866, he complained that the lack of official and accurate registries with the total number of active National Guard personnel and incomplete unit inspections rendered officials unable to meet the national government's latest request for national guardsmen. Moreover, Toledo explicitly stated that, of the guardsmen who were served with marching orders, "few presented themselves" for duty.<sup>52</sup> To pressure the National Guard into service, Toledo mentioned that the province enacted a new law creating municipal quotas for National Guard mobilization.<sup>53</sup> It is unclear whether the law worked. Although the next

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<sup>51</sup> Douglas Pereira da Silva, "A Guarda Nacional e sua importância histórica: Das origens ao surgimento e crescimento das Polícias Militares," *Jus Militaris* (2018): 2-3. Accessed on October 31, 2023. [http://jusmilitaris.com.br/sistema/arquivos/doutrinas/guarda\\_nacional\\_.pdf](http://jusmilitaris.com.br/sistema/arquivos/doutrinas/guarda_nacional_.pdf).

<sup>52</sup> Toledo, *O relatório com que o Ill. E Ex. Sr. Coronel Joaquim Floriano Toledo passou a administração da provincial de S. Paulo*, 3-4.

<sup>53</sup> Toledo, *O relatório com que o Ill. E Ex. Sr. Coronel Joaquim Floriano Toledo passou a administração da provincial de S. Paulo*, 4.

president, Bastos, claimed in 1867 that the National Guard had begun cooperating more and that the municipal quotas had been effective, the statistics from 1866 that he presented did not include any figures on the numbers of guards mobilized. In fact, Bastos' report demonstrated that the situation was considerably worse than in 1865. Although he praised the province for having sent "volunteers and forces of diverse natures," it was an apparent attempt to avoid publicly embracing impressment. Furthermore, Bastos stated that he understood that the nation had asked its citizens for many sacrifices in recent years. However, more sacrifices were needed if the nation hoped to reach "a permanent and honourable peace" and to reinforce the men fighting in Paraguay. He reemphasized the need to recruit more men close to the end of the report, further demonstrating that authorities were deeply concerned with recruitment's poor results. Bastos' plea emphasized that government officials were losing credit even among their peers in government because of problems with recruitment.<sup>54</sup>

Although recruitment after January 1865 emphasized convincing recruitable men to enlist voluntarily, the sheer scale of the Paraguayan War and the dwindling number of volunteers after 1865 forced imperial authorities tasked with recruitment to resort to impressment once again. From 1866 to the war's end, the volunteer units were essentially a disguise to hide the fact most of the men fighting the war had been enlisted against their will.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, the immense scale of the war prompted impressment's quick return as the primary recruitment strategy and forced authorities to violate recruitment customs that had been in place for centuries. Recruiters ignored previously exempted occupations and positions. Married men with children and the sons

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<sup>54</sup> Bastos, *Relatório apresentado a Assembléa Provincial de S. Paulo* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1867): 6-63.

<sup>55</sup> Paulo Rodrigues de Andrade, "Só se ouve falar em Guerra, necessidade de soldados, de ordens apertadas:" o recrutamento e a designação de trabalhadores livres na província de São Paulo durante a guerra do Paraguai," *Revista Hydra* 2:3 (2017): 188.

of widowers were now recruitable targets in parishes with unscrupulous recruiters looking to fill their pockets in the name of patriotism.<sup>56</sup> Noticeably, most complaints regarding recruitment were published in the *Diário de S. Paulo*, the opposition newspaper.

The *Diário de S. Paulo* was rife with complaints about abuses during recruitment, even in 1865 when volunteers were enlisting in droves. The *Diário de S. Paulo* published an anonymous complaint that the police in São Sebastião were recruiting “in the most inconvenient way.” The author, whose pseudonym was “O Justo” (The Just), claimed that officials “recruit[ed] without criteria ... and release[d] them with the same ease.” The allegations did not end there, and The Just also accused recruitment officials of releasing national guardsmen from their duty if they agreed to work on their land. The accusations levied were not accompanied by evidence, though most of them lacked any sort of evidence, solely relying on stories that without further context were purely hearsay.<sup>57</sup> It is important to mention that the *Diário de S. Paulo* was the opposition’s paper and it relished on publishing criticisms of the government and how it was conducting its affairs.

The *Diário de S. Paulo* also noted how traditional exemptions were sometimes simply ignored by recruiters. In October 1865, it claimed that a “despotic sergeant” had “violently imprisoned” men in broad daylight in the Braz neighbourhood in the city of São Paulo. According to the article, it was commonly known that this sergeant had was running afoul of the law; however, the specific arrest that brought infamy on this sergeant was his arrest of a clerk working in a merchant house in Carmo Street. The author also claimed that the sergeant’s abuses were authorized, though it was not indicated who authorized the sergeant’s arrests.<sup>58</sup> Presumably

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<sup>56</sup> Izecksohn, “Recrutamento militar no Rio de Janeiro durante a Guerra do Paraguai,” 181; 203-206.

<sup>57</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 21, 1865.

<sup>58</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, October 4, 1865.

such authorization would have come from the very top of the recruitment structure, or so would the opposition paper want its readers to think.

Often articles that complained about recruitment were published in the *apedidos* section of the newspaper. This was the case with a letter sent in from the town of Itaperica to the *Correio Paulistano*, in which an anonymous national guard accused “the stupid and enamoured conservative leadership” of being the reason that mobilization to free the province of Mato Grosso had stalled. Interestingly, this town seems to have a stronger Conservative base in spite of the fact that the Liberals controlled the national government at the time. The guard also mentioned various irregularities with recruitment in Itaperica. He noted that most mobilized national guards were liberal voters while conservative voters were spared. More egregious to the author was the fact that single conservative men were not being selected for military service while married men, sons of widowed mothers, and orphans’ guardians were being dragged to war. Interestingly, the author also claimed that the National Guard’s high command did not have complete control over its subordinates which led these recruitment abuses to occur.<sup>59</sup> Although authors paid to submit their work in this section of the newspaper, the editor controlled which submissions would be published; thus, he had the power to control the narrative in the *apedidos* section of their newspaper, and this *apedido* clearly expressed government views about opposition perfidy.

The *Diário de S. Paulo* and *Correio Paulistano* both published complaints regarding the war effort, though the nature of their complaints differed significantly. While the *Diário de S. Paulo* complained about recruitment abuses, the *Correio Paulistano* complained about the “public impatience ... and political passions.”<sup>60</sup> In an editorial article from July, 1866, the

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<sup>59</sup> “Itaperica,” *Correio Paulistano*, June 10, 1865.

<sup>60</sup> “A Guerra,” *Correio Paulistano*, July 4, 1866.



*Correio Paulistano*'s editor claimed public dissatisfaction with the war was caused by either "public impatience and patriotic anxiety ... to see the war concluded, or by systematic political passions ... which at every turn seek to discredit the men in government with the intention to take them down from power and then take their place."<sup>61</sup> The editor made the *Correio Paulistano*' view glaringly clear: those criticizing the war effort were either impatient patriots or self-serving politicians looking to gain power. The editor then stated there were two types of people who spoke against the war, those who were impatient patriots, whom he called the "sincere pessimists," and "systematic pessimists," The second type. According to the *Correio*'s editor, they spoke against the war to "disassemble the government," and they were "more dangerous." Although the editor does not indicate who were the systematic pessimists, it was clear they were the members of the political opposition press given the *Correio*'s status as the official government newspaper. Moreover, in calling the opposition press "partial," the *Correio* implicitly attempted to assert itself as an impartial newspaper, ironic given its silence on the recruitment abuses being perpetrated by the Liberal party, with whom the *Correio* was affiliated. Altogether, this article epitomized the *Correio Paulistano*'s response to criticism: rather than addressing any specific concerns, because doing that would have legitimized them, the *Correio* chose to attack the credibility of its rivals because they had political intentions behind their criticisms.

Another *apedido* article that targeted recruitment was published by the *Diário de S. Paulo* on December 13, 1866. The author who chose to remain anonymous was vexed with what he saw as unconstitutional recruitment practices which affected all Brazilians. The author cited article 179 from the 1824 constitution which affirmed the "inviolability of the civil and political

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<sup>61</sup> "A Guerra," *Correio Paulistano* July 4, 1866.

rights of Brazilian citizens” to argue that this law had not been properly followed when it came to recruitment and that such actions violated the rights and liberties of Brazilians.<sup>62</sup> First, the author noted that the recruit’s rights were being infringed upon; however, more important to the author were the rights of the landowners whose employees were being impressed and whose products could not be exported because exemptions granted to muleteers were not being followed. The article ended with the author reminding his audience of São Paulo’s role in declaring independence and its foundational place in guaranteeing Brazilian liberties. Notably, the article did not contain any anti-war sentiments, nor did it criticize the monarchy and state. Most often, complaints regarding the war focused on recruitment, while the war itself was never in question. What was being questioned in such complaints was which political party oversaw the war effort. Newspapers never said the war was wrong or that the empire should not respond to the Paraguayan offense; in fact it was the opposite, as both newspapers agreed with the state that such an affront to Brazilian honour must be responded to with all energies. Nevertheless, partisan differences meant that whichever party was the opposition always found criticisms with how the war was conducted but never with the war or the emperor’s wishes themselves.

Recruitment complaints were often centred around the use of recruitment as a political tool, much like the one discussed above. Such complaints were most frequently found in the opposition *Diário de S. Paulo*, understandably so considering that it was the opposition’s newspaper. One such complaint in the *Diário de S. Paulo* named a recruiter as Fulano Mello, which means “So-and-so Mello,” which indicated the press did not know his name. Not much else about him is available in the short notice. The writer, who sought to notify the chief of police of the situation, declared his hope that “impartial” individuals would conduct recruitment. This is

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<sup>62</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 13, 1866.

an interesting position to for the newspaper to hold given that it is doubtful they would have been so critical of recruitment abuses had their political party been in charge, though such behaviour is expected in partisan politics.<sup>63</sup> Unsurprisingly, the war effort and recruitment were used to criticize the Liberal government in charge of the province of São Paulo. The *Diário de S. Paulo*'s editor insulted the provincial president José Tavares Bastos in November 1866 by stating that he was “inferior” to his position and that his conduct when it came to recruitment was “unconstitutional.” The editor claimed that Bastos’ recruitment had hindered agricultural production and the construction of the railway between São Paulo and Santos. Furthermore, the article stated that the police was “completely disorganized” and composed of “men who should be serving sentences,” a scathing review of the men whose duties included recruitment, but such language was typical of the Brazilian political press.<sup>64</sup>

As the war progressed, the number of recruitment complaints increased, though they were not the only discussions that saw a significant change in 1866. In the beginning of the war, articles discussing recruitment often celebrated volunteers and, even as voluntary enlistments began to decrease in late 1865, the press continued to support volunteerism and repeatedly pleaded with its audience to enlist. This trend of increasingly negative articles on recruitment continued throughout 1866. A small article from late 1866 in the *Correio Paulistano*'s news section mentioned that recruiters were instructed to apprehend “the highest possible number of recruits” for the sake of a “glorious end to the bloody war.”<sup>65</sup> By the end of 1866, even the government newspaper had lost hope on volunteerism and accepted that impressment had fully returned.

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<sup>63</sup> “Policia,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, October 10, 1866.

<sup>64</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, November 9, 1866.

<sup>65</sup> “Recrutamento,” *Correio Paulistano*, November 13, 1866.

Ironically, the medium of communication that fought so valiantly to persuade its audience to volunteer for military service in the name of the nation was also a driving factor in the reason volunteer recruitment faltered. News from the front lines about soldiers' miserable experiences and the dissipation of the hopes that the war would be a short one were influential factors in ending the short-lived period in which volunteer recruitment provided most of Brazil's newly enlisted soldiers. The conditions on the front lines were horrible throughout the war. However, they were significantly worse before the reforms imposed by Luis Alves de Lima e Silva after he took command of the land forces of the Triple Alliance late in 1866. The cold and wet conditions of the Platine landscape, combined with the unhygienic nature of military camps in the nineteenth century, made disease the most potent killer in the Paraguayan War. Moreover, soldiers were subject to various tribulations caused by the empire's relatively weak supply chain. Food distributed to soldiers was frequently rotten or of poor quality, which only added to the poor health among soldiers. Additionally, food was not the only supply that the army lacked, and soldiers were forced to weather through the cold because coats were not systematically distributed to army groups. Furthermore, the Paulista soldiers suffered heavily because of their involvement in the battles of Estero Bellaco, which took place on April 14, 1866, and Tuiuti on May 24, 1866. These two deadly battles decimated the Seventh Volunteer Corps, which was composed entirely of Paulistas; the survivors were sent to join the Thirty-Fifth Volunteer Corps which had recently been organized in Porto Alegre.<sup>66</sup>

Water and food were supplies were constantly needed in the frontlines; however, their deliveries to the soldiers were irregular, often forcing them to forage and steal from their surroundings to survive. The soldiers fighting in the Paraguayan War were mostly young men of

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<sup>66</sup> Carvalho Daróz, "O 7º Corpo d Voluntários da Pátria," 76-80.

seventeen to twenty years of age, according to Maria Teresa Garritano Dourado, extremely young ages to suffer through such deprivations. Nevertheless, these poor conditions also led to the suffering of the thousands of camp followers who provided the much-needed logistical support in army camps. Although the situation in army camps was terrible, it is important to note they were much worse in navy ships where storage was limited, and sailors lived in even tighter proximity than soldiers did in army camps, though it is likely their accessibility to water was better than the soldiers in army camps.<sup>67</sup>

News reports regarding the conditions faced by soldiers were scathing reviews of the sacrifices being made by the Brazilian men sent to war. Importantly, these complaints regarding the poor living arrangements and supplies provided to soldiers primarily came from the *Diário de S. Paulo*, the opposition paper. The *Diário de S. Paulo* never missed an opportunity to criticize how the war effort was being conducted and on August 26, 1865, it published an article comparing the war effort in Bahia and São Paulo. The article complained that Bahia was not providing enough men given the size of the province's population, while São Paulo was contributing more than it should have to. However, that issue was not the author's main concern. The Paulista author complained that Bahia's troops were sent to the south where they could earn "national honour" while the bulk troops from São Paulo were being sent overland to Mato Grosso where the author implied there was no honour to be won. The author blamed the Mato Grosso assignment for all the desertions in the Paulista forces sent to liberate the occupied province. He even claimed that deserters stated that they would gladly fight with "their brothers from other provinces" instead of "fighting the horrors of the *Sertão*. The *Sertão* was defined as

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<sup>67</sup> Maria Teresa Garritano Dourado, "Cotidiano e sobrevivência: Soldados e marinheiros na Guerra do Paraguai," *Historiae* 5:1 (2014): 118-127.

backlands.<sup>68</sup> These horrors were the diseases that infected and killed most soldiers throughout the war. The article also noted that soldiers were forced to “fight with privations of all sorts, with fatigue, hunger, and plague.”<sup>69</sup>

Other complaints in the *Diário de S. Paulo* focused on the disorganized manner in which recruitment was conducted. A complaint sent in from the town of Franca mentioned that physically incapable men had been recruited, though some were released after bribing the recruiters. The article stated that it would not divulge the specific area of Franca that the recruiter was operating in because the editor viewed the declaration will cause “sufficient ... shame.”<sup>70</sup>

Other complaints mentioned the influence of partisan politics on recruitment, such as a publication from January 1866 which stated that recruitment would be a great political tool in the upcoming elections.<sup>71</sup> Some complaints even viewed the wartime recruitment as a disregard of Brazil’s foundational principles. An editorial from July 1866 went as far as claiming that the empire was no longer “the empire of Enlightenment” and that people were just “material” to despotic states. The article’s argument was clear: that recruitment was corroding away the constitutional foundations of the empire.<sup>72</sup> The opposition press’ concern with the partisanship in recruitment was so great that the *Diário de S. Paulo* even suggested in September 1866 that recruitment should be conducted by appointed local officials from both political parties to prevent abuses.<sup>73</sup> Another key theme in the complaints regarding recruitment was the impact impressment would have on agriculture; some feared it would leave the plantations with too few

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<sup>68</sup> “Sertão,” *Dicionario da lingua portuguesa composto pelo padre D. Rafael Bluteau, reformado, e accrescentado por Antonio de Moraes Silva natural do Rio de Janeiro* (Lisboa: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1789): 396.

<sup>69</sup> “Bahia e São Paulo,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, August 26, 1865.

<sup>70</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, October 28, 1865.

<sup>71</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, January 27, 1866.

<sup>72</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, July 25, 1866.

<sup>73</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 26, 1866.

men to watch over the slaves and ensure productivity.<sup>74</sup> One article even claimed that people were going hungry because of recruitment.<sup>75</sup> However, most complaints regarding recruitment were centred around its conduct and questioned its necessity in São Paulo. A *Diário de S. Paulo* editorial from September 1866 asked whether “recruitment will save the country?” The rhetorical question posed by the editor aimed to convince the population that recruitment was not the answer to the manpower shortage; nevertheless, like most critics of recruitment, he offered no solutions.<sup>76</sup>

Complaints did not only come from the editors of the opposition in the *Diário de S. Paulo*, but this newspaper also published letters from soldiers whose accounts told stories of hunger and deprivation. In September 1865, one soldier wrote that, during their voyage south, soldiers went “hungry and thirsty” as meals were delivered late and in poor quality even on the ships carrying soldiers to the front.<sup>77</sup> The story was similar in another letter sent in to the *Diário de S. Paulo* a few days later, and like the previous one, there was no indication of who may have written it. The second letter included more details like the name of the ship, the *Joinville*, and it also complained about hunger among the soldiers. Considering that both letters were published so close together, it was likely they both originated from soldiers travelling on the *Joinville*.<sup>78</sup> Hunger and the lack of care from the military hierarchy were common complaints in the press, and in September 1865, the *Diário de S. Paulo* claimed that injured soldiers were “completely abandoned” on their stretchers to die of hunger and lack of medical care.<sup>79</sup> The complaints regarding hunger in the passage to the south came from all over the country, and in December

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<sup>74</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, November 9, 1866.

<sup>75</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, November 21, 1866.

<sup>76</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 11, 1866.

<sup>77</sup> “Correspondencia ao Diário,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 6, 1865.

<sup>78</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 16, 1865.

<sup>79</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 23, 1865.

1865, the *Diário de S. Paulo* mentioned that there was little food given to soldiers and that most had to buy food at exorbitant prices.<sup>80</sup> Noticeably, these complaints began appearing halfway through 1866 in the *Diário de S. Paulo*, though certainly these issues were a part of the war before the newspaper began publishing in August 1865.

The *Diário de S. Paulo* continued to publish complaints about hunger 1866. In March, it noted that a crucial shipment of livestock was being sent to the troops in Coxim and that, without that shipment, soldiers would go hungry. Although there was no explicit complaint in this publication, it is implied that the journalist is frustrated with the supply lines to the soldiers sent to free Mato Grosso. Furthermore, the fact the press understood single shipment was the deciding factor between starvation and adequately fed soldiers proved how weak the military supply lines were, though most importantly, the editor's casual attitude demonstrated everyone knew about the awful situation soldiers were in. The author even stated that the officer tasked with the duty of feeding the troops was "firm in walking like a drunk" which indicated that the editor did not hold those conducting the war effort in high regard.<sup>81</sup> Noticeably, no such complaints were seen in the *Correio Paulistano*.

Letters detailing the long marches soldiers were subjected to were common in the *Diário de S. Paulo*, and they often emphasized the soldiers' struggles with hunger and fatigue. One such letter written in November 1865 and published anonymously in following March is a fantastic document to analyze just how poor were the conditions suffered by Paulista soldiers on their march to Mato Grosso. The writer noted that it took seventeen days and thirty-five "leagues of very unpleasant roads" on their way to Mato Grosso. Moreover, the author also commented on the food suppliers' "few resources to enter the hinterlands." Essentially, supplies were scarce

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<sup>80</sup> "Correspondencia ao Diário," *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 14, 1865.

<sup>81</sup> "Correspondencia ao Diário," *Diário de S. Paulo*, March 12, 1866.



from the very beginning of their journey, and the situation did not improve. While passing through Goiás, the author mentioned that the sparsely populated region provided few places to find food, and throughout the entire letter, the author constantly talked about the “few resources” available to them. In addition to detailing the precarious food situation for the troops sent to Mato Grosso, the letter also outlined the routes soldiers marched through, which demonstrated just how strenuous their journey was. Just in the first week of October, soldiers were forced to march fifteen leagues (eighty-three kilometres) through extremely hot and dry weather in southern Goiás.<sup>82</sup> The *Diário de S. Paulo* also demonstrated how the situation did not improve at all in 1866. In April 1866, the opposition newspaper mentioned that, once again, the troops in Coxim were one shipment away from facing starvation.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, news from Porto Alegre, in Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil’s southernmost province mentioned that soldiers were dying from hunger even in the main combat theatre in Paraguay.<sup>84</sup> Altogether, the press painted a horrible picture of dietary conditions in the frontlines to those still at home, and undoubtedly, the news of starvation and scarcity scared off potential volunteers after the initial enthusiasm waned.

Hunger was not the only issue that the *Diário de S. Paulo* complained about. Cold weather was a common concern for the journalists covering the conflict back home. Brazilian soldiers often suffered from the change of climate, and although that was a problem mostly dealt with by soldiers from the north, Paulistas still felt the southern chills after arriving in the frontlines. The *Diário de S. Paulo* noted that the winter in 1865 had been particularly “intense.”<sup>85</sup> One article from March 1866 claimed that a deserter testified he had run away from his unit

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<sup>82</sup> “Mato-Grosso: Acampamento na margem direita do Rio-Verde, 19 de novembro, 1865,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, March 20, 1866.

<sup>83</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, May 10, 1866.

<sup>84</sup> “Força do sr. Porto-Alegre,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, May 27, 1866.

<sup>85</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 23, 1865.

because of the “nakedness and hunger.”<sup>86</sup>

The problems with sanitation and supply chains were not improved upon until the Marquis of Caxias, Luís de Alves da Silva Lima, was appointed to be the Commander in Chief of the Allied forces in 1867, though that is beyond the scope of this project.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, a look into the complaints published by São Paulo’s main opposition daily demonstrated that soldiers not only battled the armed enemy, but also hunger, disease, thirst, and extreme temperatures. Often such complaints originated from the journalists following the war, though it was also common for correspondence from the frontlines to discuss the terrible conditions imposed upon the heroes of the nation. Additionally, soldiers’ letters were also published in the newspapers and their first-hand account of the events certainly played a significant role in reducing the number of voluntary recruits from 1865 to 1866.

Military recruitment in nineteenth-century Brazil was a complicated affair that was regulated by written laws and unwritten social customs which made mobilization for a war of the Paraguayan War’ scale more difficult than a more robust mobilization strategy. Nevertheless, the introduction of the *Voluntários da Pátria* was meant to be the solution for Brazil’s recruitment woes, and although it worked for the first year of the conflict, the volunteer boom did not last past 1865. News of the bloody battles, and the miserable conditions soldiers were subjected to dissuaded prospective volunteers from enlisting, which then required the government to reintroduce impressment in 1866. Moreover, as the patriotic enthusiasm waned, the complaints regarding recruitment abuses increased. Noticeably, such complaints originated in the pages of the opposition press whose criticism focused on how the war was conducted but never against the war itself. Furthermore, the early adherence to the national cause resulted in record number

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<sup>86</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, March 24, 1866.

<sup>87</sup> Dourado, “Doentes e famintos,” 7.

of volunteer enlistments as demonstrated in the provincial and national reports from 1865 and 1866 which showed that Brazilians felt a sense of nationalism and duty to their country.

Importantly, however, the demise of public enthusiasm for the war and the recruitment struggles that succeeded the volunteer boom demonstrated the state's weakness in the Brazilian empire. Unable to effectively impose military recruitment upon the population, the imperial government resorted to offering volunteers and national guardsmen social and financial benefits in hopes that these would convince respectable citizens to take up arms in national defence. Although that worked initially, other ways in which the empire's weaknesses manifested aided in the demise of the volunteer boom. The state's inability to provide soldiers with adequate equipment, training, and supplies demonstrated Brazil lacked the institutions and reach to properly requisition resources from its population, thus leaving the military with an inadequate and ineffective supply chain.

Additionally, the Voluntários were not the only men who fought to defend the empire's integrity. National guardsmen were actively recruited as well, and their mobilization demonstrated the power of local authorities in face of impositions being made by the national government. National guardsmen had to be frequently praised and cajoled into reporting for duty, although the fear of being impressed as a regular soldier if they did not report for duty weighed heavily on the conscience of many national guardsmen and certainly convinced many that they must report for duty else they risked their social status. It was not surprising that many national guardsmen attempted to evade military service since it was seen as an intrusion on their rights. Brazilians felt (and to this day still feel) an aversion to military service which partially explains why so many resisted recruitment so forcefully. Nevertheless, there were other motives as to why one would resist military service. In a world dominated by personal connections and permanence

in the local community, a man whose social status was dependent on his current employment and the good will of his patron would see military service as a loss of status. Service in the army would take such men away from their homes and the places where their patrons had any influence, meaning these men were now lowered to the same status as everyone else. Additionally, there were no guarantees that such men would return home and find their previous employment available to them, thus reporting military for service as a national guardsman or even enlisting as a volunteer could have meant significant changes in social respectability and political influence for Brazilian citizens.

Altogether, the Voluntários, the National Guard, and the small Brazilian standing army provided the men who saved the nation, and their enthusiasm in the first year of combat, before the horrors of battles like Tuiuti, Curupayty, and Estero Bellaco, all of which took place in 1866, demonstrated that the Brazilian people truly did believe in the national rhetoric regarding one's duty to the nation and the familial structure of the national identity. Nevertheless, the sheer scale of the conflict combined with the increased deadliness of warfare meant that the patriotism displayed early during the war would transform into apprehension among a population who feared the recruiter almost as much as they did the enemy. Moreover, the war itself, but perhaps most importantly recruitment and the mobilization of resources for the conflict, demonstrated how ineffective the empire was outside Rio de Janeiro. The war served as an impetus to reform military recruitment, something which the empire and the subsequent republic continued to struggle with long after Solano López was defeated.

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Earlier, this chapter discussed how military recruitment during the colonial era was

frequently impeded by networks of privilege that protected specific individuals from the recruiters. Through the patronage system, such exemptions from military service based on professional and social networks continued to thrive after independence and Brazil's transition into its imperial era in the early nineteenth-century. Importantly, patrons were those with the power and influence to affect recruitment; at times, they were landowners or business owners who could protect clients by presenting them as essential workers, and at other times, they were appointed civil administrators with the power to instruct recruiters on whom they could or could not recruit.

The imperial armed forces underwent significant changes to meet the new (real or imagined) security threats to the Brazilian nation. The combination of professional armies and civilian militias was a Portuguese crown imposition on its subjects, including the ones in its American dependencies. That same structure was replicated during the reign of Pedro I (1822-31), and while the army shrunk and militias were disbanded during the Regency, the National Guard was essentially a continuation of the colonial militias, albeit inspired by a French model instead of following the Portuguese tradition. Nonetheless, the empire maintained a pattern of combining paid soldiers with unpaid civilians as the basis for its national defence system. The Paraguayan War forced an abrupt need for change in the military organization of the empire and a new manner to recruit new soldiers as impressment was becoming increasingly untenable. Importantly, it is necessary to mention that although the Portuguese and Brazilian militaries had similar organizational orders and recruitment practices, their purpose differed significantly. Whereas the Portuguese military was focused on protecting an empire from more powerful external enemies, the imperial Brazilian military was far more concerned with internal centrifugal forces and maintaining social order than external attacks from rivals.

Overall, the Paraguayan War forced the Brazilian empire to change its military organization and recruitment strategies. However, administrative and bureaucratic weaknesses within the imperial government structure, such as poor record keeping, uncertain National Guard registries, and the state's inability to effectively extract resources from its territories and population, along with internal political conflict for control between imperial authorities and local sociopolitical elites over labour supply, ensured that recruitment became a complicated problem even when impressment was not the primary strategy. Furthermore, the conditions only worsened as news from the front reporting death by disease and combat scared away prospective volunteers, and impressment gradually returned until it was once again the key strategy of the empire's recruitment, as it had been since the colonial period.

The press played a crucial role in the recruitment effort throughout the war as an effective medium of communication, and it could reach a broad audience, whether they were readers or listened to group readings of the paper. However, it is specifically its role as a representation of public opinion that stood out. The *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo* functioned as barometers; their publications reflected the public's opinions. This pattern was visible in 1865 as the press lauded the public for its support in the war, indicating the public had been participating willingly in the war effort, though the criticisms about the National Guard's inactivity, lack of volunteers in 1866, and perhaps most revealing, the grievances regarding impressment sent from local communities to the newspapers published in the provincial capital of São Paulo were undeniable pieces of evidence that public support had turned against the war and that imperial authorities now had to pressure and coerce the population to engage voluntarily. It is important to note that most complaints regarding recruitment were published by the opposition paper, the

*Diário de S. Paulo*.<sup>88</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the *Correio Paulistano* published fewer complaints and more praise about recruitment, for it was the newspaper attached to the provincial administration; nevertheless, the government newspaper also published its concerns with recruitment. Whenever the *Correio Paulistano* complained, it most frequently addressed the lack of recruits, not the manner in which recruitment was being conducted. Despite the largely positive opinion on recruitment, sometimes complaints were published in the *apedidos*, the press section where readers paid to have their submissions printed. The author of a February 1865 *apedido* mentioned that he “always had fear of recruitment.”<sup>89</sup> Nonetheless, such complaints about recruitment itself were rare, by and large, the *Correio Paulistano* was far more concerned with the number of recruits than how they were obtained.<sup>90</sup> Even as the situation worsened in 1866, the *Correio Paulistano* did not waver in its support of recruitment. In early 1866, the newspaper stated that recruitment must continue, and it must be proportional to the population of each locality.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, the government newspaper acknowledged the arbitrary nature of recruitment and lamented that recruits were “entering the city of São Paulo chained together through the streets.”<sup>92</sup> Another article from later in 1866 stated that recruitment “had a long history of abuses ... perfectly known by public opinion.”<sup>93</sup> These admissions of recruitment’s irregularities demonstrated that the violence and coercion involved in the recruitment process could not be ignored because of its influence in the day to day lives of Paulistas. Nevertheless, the *Correio*

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<sup>88</sup> More recruitment complaints can be found in the daily publications of the *Diário de S. Paulo* editions from 1865 to 1870.

<sup>89</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, February 12, 1865.

<sup>90</sup> More recruitment news can be found in the daily publications from the *Correio Paulistano* throughout the war years of 1864-1870.

<sup>91</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, January 23, 1866.

<sup>92</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, February 14, 1866.

<sup>93</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, March 16, 1866.

*Paulistano*'s support for recruitment was explicit throughout the war; even the disastrous battle of Curupayty on September 22, 1866, did not weaken the government paper's support for recruitment. On December 11, 1866, its editor declared that "today's tribute of blood is of urgent necessity."<sup>94</sup> Altogether, both newspapers supported the war; however, they significantly differed on how recruitment should be conducted and, importantly, the press' coverage of the war on both sides of the political spectrum reflected the government documentation regarding the war which indicates a high level of press integrity, although both papers attempted to forcefully present their side as the righteous one.

The documentation provided by the government echoed the same struggles in the press' chronicles of the war. The initial volunteer boom was unexpected, and perhaps blinded by their hopes of a short war, imperial authorities suspended recruitment for a few months in the middle of 1865, though that decision proved to be short-sighted as mere months later, impressment returned to its prominence as volunteer enlistments nearly ceased. The decision to suspend recruitment derived from the empire's logistical weaknesses, for there were not enough resources to train, clothe, and equip so many recruits immediately. Politicians' hopes that the war would end quickly left them unprepared for the events that followed. It is more than likely that many of the would-be volunteers from 1865 who were turned away due to the military's inability to take them in did not volunteer again in 1866 when the belief that the war would end quickly had all but dissipated. Both the provincial presidential reports and the War Ministry reports published regarding recruitment from late 1865 to early 1867, and the last report focused on the 1866 recruitment numbers, lacked the optimism over recruitment prospects that were seen at the beginning of the war, much like the newspapers did after 1865.

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<sup>94</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, December 11, 1866.



Moreover, even though the Voluntários da Pátria were seen initially as a positive step in the nation's development, the course of the war proved that it was a failed attempt at modernizing the military and that the empire had to return to its complicated, conflict-ridden, and ineffective recruitment strategy that had served the interests of the dominant political elite in Brazil for its entire history. Even though coerced recruitment created more problems than it solved and weakened the state in its battle against local political elites, the need to feed men into the war machine fighting in the south pushed the state to abandon its development efforts, abandoning volunteerism for a recruitment system it was more familiar with, and that would provide more reliable results for the time being. It is not unexpected for a government to yield its efforts in a fruitless endeavour for a course of action that it knows will be relatively successful immediately, even if more problematic and divisive amongst its population for the future, which reflects a statement in the 1864 report by a previous Minister of War, José Mariano Mattos, who noted that "recruitment, which many clamour against, cannot be allowed cease continuing ... seeing that recruitment is indispensable."<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> José Mariano Mattos, *Relatorio apresentado á Assembléa Geral Legislativa na segunda sessão da decima segunda Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretário de Estado dos Negocios de Guerra, José Mariano Mattos* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1864): 5.

## Chapter 2

**Doing Their Part: Civilians in Support of the War Effort**

On December 28, 1866, the *Correio Paulistano* published a notice mentioning that Maria Luiza de Souza Aranha donated 600\$000 to a volunteer who enlisted in Campinas, a town in the interior of the Province of São Paulo.<sup>1</sup> Such notices had not been uncommon in the previous two years of the war. A similar donation to a volunteer was made in August 1865 in Santos where Antonio Ferreira da Silva offered 200\$000 to each man from the town who volunteered for service. The *Diário de S. Paulo* noted that eight men had already taken up Silva's offer by August 20, 1865.<sup>2</sup> Offers like these were frequent in the press through the first two years of the war, and they demonstrated that Paulistas felt compelled to assist with the nation's war effort, even if they were unable or unwilling to enlist in the military for service in the war.

When one thinks about service to the nation, military service is likely to be one of the first examples that comes to mind; however, the civilian involvement in the Paraguayan War included broader forms of national service, such as donations of cash and enslaved persons to the state, gifts of money to individual volunteers, and even volunteering skills and crafts to help soldiers and their families. This chapter will analyze civilians' role in supporting the war effort from the home front and show how this demonstrates that newspapers played a crucial role in the public sphere as a place for sharing experiences and discussions about nationalism and national identity in São Paulo. Civilian material support during the Paraguayan War came primarily from the upper echelons of society in São Paulo, for only the richest of Paulistas could donate large sums of money or even a few slaves considering the price surge after 1850. Nevertheless, there is

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<sup>1</sup> "Acto Patriótico," *Correio Paulistano*, December 28, 1866.

<sup>2</sup> "Santos, 20 de Agosto, 1865," *Diário de S. Paulo*, August 20, 1865.

also significant evidence that donations also came from the humbler classes, as with foodsellers who offered free food to volunteers, or professionals offered their services to help volunteers and their families. Moreover, it is important to mention that most donations came the professional class and public servants. Altogether, what donors most often had in common was an interest in supporting the monarchical regime.

Civilian material support demonstrated that Brazilians felt a sense a duty to the nation in its hour of need and sought to fulfill it through material donations. Certainly, the stigma around military service discussed in the previous chapter played a role in these individuals' decision that their help would not come in the form of enlistment; however, the more probable fear of a gruesome death in battle was also a very likely reason as to why some chose to help by giving money to the state or giving bonuses to those who actually enlisted instead of taking up arms themselves.

First, this chapter will analyze service offers and cash donations; the former represents a variety of ways in which civilians tried to help the war effort without direct financial support, while the latter is civilian support that consisted solely of financial support. The second section of this chapter will focus on the slave donations that occurred in 1865 and 1866. The *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo* published information about eleven donations, totalling thirty-five enslaved men, freed to become soldiers. Although the Paraguayan War has a long and detailed historiography focusing on the military aspects of the conflict, regional diplomacy, and military recruitment, research explicitly focusing on civilian involvement in the war is non-existent. This chapter will attempt to bridge that gap by discussing such donations and analyzing what they meant for contemporary Brazilians and their understandings of national identity.

## Historiography of Donations

Unfortunately, the historiography of the patriotic donations during the Paraguayan War is almost non-existent. There are no monographs dedicated to their study on a national level, nor are there any articles about these donations in the province of São Paulo. The majority of the literature written about the civilian participation in the war effort during the Paraguayan War focuses on the that role women played in the home front and the slave donations. It is vital to note that most discussions regarding the donation of slaves in the Paraguayan War were accompanied by the analysis of the proposals to emancipate slaves which is more closely related to military recruitment, discussed at length in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, such works will enhance the discussion in the current chapter which aims to contribute to the subject's foundations and hopefully increase scholarly interest in the Brazilian home front during the Paraguayan War.<sup>3</sup>

Although very little has been written specifically about the civilian participation in the war effort during the Paraguayan War, and nothing at all about it in São Paulo, there are a few works that briefly discuss the subject. Despite their lack of connection to São Paulo, such studies provide a useful base to understand how civilian participation took place in other regions and as a model for this chapter. Vitor Izecksohn notes that donations were most common during 1865 while the nationalistic sentiments were still on a high.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Izecksohn also mentions that slave donations had occurred since the beginning of the war but dwindled as the war progressed,

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<sup>3</sup> Ricardo Salles, *A Guerra do Paraguai: escravidão e cidadania na formação do exército* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1990); Jorge Prata de Sousa, *Escravidão ou morte: Os excravos brasileiros na Guerra do Paraguai* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad: Adesa, 1996); Hendrik Kraay, "Arming Slaves in Brazil from the Seventeenth Century to the Nineteenth Century," in *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* ed by Christopher Leslie Brown and Phillip D. Morgan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006): 146-179.

<sup>4</sup> Vitor Izecksohn, *Slavery and War in the Americas: Race, Citizenship, and State-Building in the United States and Brazil, 1861-1870* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014):63-64.

a key fact to be included given that his book is one of the few that discusses slave donations in depth. Altogether, Izecksohn found that private donations of slaves only represented two percent of overall recruitment throughout the war.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, there is no specific historiography on the slave donations.

Ricardo Salles notes that donations not only came from the rich but also from public servants as well.<sup>6</sup> Using the Ministry of War reports from 1865 and 1866, Salles discusses the patriotic donations that occurred in those years. While he focused more on donations related to cash bonuses given to soldiers, of which he found 877 in 1865 and 1866, he also discusses donations made to the state, although he does not attempt to quantify them. The War Minister mentioned that donations ranged from 2\$000 réis to 5:000\$000 réis, which indicates people of all socioeconomic backgrounds may have donated to the war effort.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, Salles also briefly analyzes slave donations, noting that it was rare for slaves to be bought for the purpose of being emancipated for military service. He only found nine instances of that occurring on a national level during those years.

Although the topic of civilian participation in the war effort has received little academic attention, there are plenty of studies regarding the civic nature of the imperial Brazilian state. Hendrik Kraay analyzes the civic rituals that occurred during the Paraguayan War. Though the subject of donations is not discussed at all throughout the chapter, its focus on civic interest in the war supports this project's argument that the early enthusiasm about the war translated into record number volunteer enlistments and greater material support on a national level for the war than in previous conflicts. Importantly, Kraay outlines how public festivities during the war

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<sup>5</sup> Izecksohn, *Slavery and War in the Americas*, 158.

<sup>6</sup> Salles, *A Guerra do Paraguai*, 97.

<sup>7</sup> Salles, *A Guerra do Paraguai*, 98.

demonstrated Brazilians' sense of nationalism in the discussions about the state and the nation that took place during days of festivity. Though much of the chapter focuses on the victory parades which were beyond the scope of this project, the enthusiasm demonstrated by the Brazilian population revealed that, despite the war's unpopularity by its end, the Brazilian population still chose to honour its returning heroes with excitement. Moreover, Kraay's analysis suggests that donations were genuine acts of patriotism. The enthusiasm shown in public celebrations at the end of the war reveal an image of a nation whose members were invested in the state's war against Paraguay, willing to donate part of their wealth so that the state could wage war, prepared to celebrate the victory in 1870, certainly not the signs of a cynical national identity.

The historiography of women in the Paraguayan War is still a developing subject, though it began in the 1990s with a new historiographical trend that sought to study the role of women in warfare. In 1990, Barbara J. Ganson comprehensively outlined the role women played in society in Paraguay prior the war, and the role they came to play during the war such as camp followers, nurses, and even soldiers.<sup>8</sup> Hilda Agnes Hübner Flores' *Mulheres na Guerra do Paraguai* (2010) analyzes the war from women's perspectives, from both the allied and Paraguayan camps. Flores' broad research includes the stories of Brazilian women who followed their husbands to battle or tried enlisting as men, those who worked as nurses in military hospitals, and those who worked in various capacities as camp followers. Flores also discusses the well-known Elisa Lynch, Solano López's Irish mistress, and other Paraguayan elite women who suffered as consequences from the war.<sup>9</sup> Another key work on the historiography of women in the Paraguayan War was

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<sup>8</sup> Barbara J. Ganson, "Following Their Children into Battle: Women at War in Paraguay, 1864-1870," *The Americas* 46:3 (1990): 335-371.

<sup>9</sup> Hilda Agnes Hübner Flores, *Mulheres na Guerra do Paraguai* (Porto Alegre: EDIPUCRS, 2010)

Wiebke Ipsen's article (2012) on the elite women and the activities they undertook during the war which highlighted ideas regarding femininity during this period.<sup>10</sup> More recently, José Murillo de Carvalho analyzes Jovita Alves Feitosa's rise to fame in 1865 as she enlisted as a soldier in Piauí, became a heroine during the journey to the imperial capital and her unfortunate fall from the public eyes and tragic death in 1867. Using a variety of sources like newspapers, brochures, music, and even the records of Jovita's interview with the military leadership after being discovered, Carvalho highlights the existence of Brazilian national patriotism during the nineteenth century. Jovita was from Piauí, thousands of kilometres from the war, yet she felt compelled to go to war for the national community.<sup>11</sup> Maristela Rocha and Silvio Reis de Almeida Magalhães' book chapter (2022) on women in the Paraguayan War perfectly sums up the broader themes in the historiography; gender roles were strict and intimately related to class, while women's opportunities to participate in the war effort were entirely dependent on their social status.<sup>12</sup> As we will see in the next few pages, many other women and men like Jovita who were concerned with the war effort also felt compelled to help the nation, though unlike Jovita, they hoped their assistance could be accomplished from home.

Given that the scholarship specifically about civilian participation in the home front during the Paraguayan is non-existent, this chapter aims to broaden the current historiography on the subject and to create more interest in the study of the civilian war effort. Importantly, the civilian participation in the war effort has not necessarily been shunned by current and previous historians; rather, there are just not many publications specifically on the subject, often leaving it

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<sup>10</sup> Wiebke Ipsen, "Patrícias, Patriarchy, and Popular Demobilization: Gender and Elite Hegemony in Brazil at the End of the Paraguayan War," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 92:2 (2012): 303–330.

<sup>11</sup> José Murilo de Carvalho, *Jovita Alves Feitosa: Voluntária da pátria, voluntária da morte* (São Paulo: Editora Chão, 2019).

<sup>12</sup> Maristela Rocha and Silvio Reis de Almeida Magalhães, "Mulheres na Guerra do Paraguai, os dois lados da moeda: Aa "Voluntárias" e a "Imperatriz" da América Latina," in *Educação, Música e Artes: Contribuições e desafios no contexto escolar* (Guarujá, SP: Editora Científica, 2022): 134-152.

to be discussed as a relatively minor part of the war in monographs and articles dedicate to other topics.

### **Service Offers, Cash Donations, and Soldiers' Bonuses**

From the beginning of the war in late 1864 to roughly the autumn of 1865, the Brazilian population passionately supported the state and the war. Patriotism was at an all-time high in São Paulo, translating into significant assistance to the war effort from Brazilian citizens. Many prominent Paulista citizens donated money and materials, and some even donated slaves for the war. Others without the financial means to donate offered to help in various ways, like providing services or aid to soldiers and their families. Notably, cash donations from wealthy Brazilians were far more common than service offers from lower- and middle-class individuals. Although these can be termed "service offers," a critical difference between civilian and military service needs to be analyzed. Civilian service for the war effort did not endanger those who participated, for they did not face enemy fire, nor any of the other perils of nineteenth-century warfare. While some donors' desire to stay safely away from the war can be inferred from their donation statements, other donors made it clear that they had specific reasons for which they could not serve militarily. One must acknowledge that the sacrifice made by the soldiers on the front lines was greater than giving medical aid to soldiers' families or offering free rooms for volunteers; nevertheless, this project's analysis provides a greater understanding of patriotism and of nationalism in nineteenth century Brazil through the discussion of the voluntary donations made by Brazilian citizens for the war effort.

One of the most notable service offers from the civilian population during the war came from doctors who volunteered their time and skills to care for volunteers and their families. In



January 1865, São Paulo the surgeon Salvador Machado de Oliveira offered free treatment to all sick volunteers who came to his clinic. Oliveira was a wealthy doctor, as evidenced by the newspaper article's reference to his three employees, who would also tend to the sick. The announcement did not include a statement from Oliveira explaining his reasoning for the offer. However, that did not prevent the *Correio Paulistano*'s editor from praising this as "an act of true patriotism" that would be noticed by the entire nation.<sup>13</sup> Oliveira's donation reflects two common features of civilian service offers. First, Oliveira was a doctor, a member of the professional literate class, and, second, he lived in the province's largest city. In these ways, the doctor's example shows that nationalism was predominantly an urban middle- and upper-class phenomenon. Service offers were not solely of a medical nature. A variety of offers of aid were made to the volunteers. Julio Mariano Galvão Moura Lacerda, the owner of a private school in São Paulo, promised to reserve ten spots for the children of volunteers. Of course, the tuition fees required by the school were waived for these students. The newspaper editor thanked the educator for his patriotic sentiments and considerate offer.<sup>14</sup> Another example of an individual using his skills to participate in the war effort was Gaspar Antonio da Silva Guimarães's offer to photograph volunteers at cheaper rates so that families could keep a picture of their departing loved ones.<sup>15</sup>

Other citizens who lacked the disposable income to donate or the skills to assist the volunteers and their families offered what they could. In a short notice in the *Correio Paulistano*, Virgílio Goulart Penteadó, a landowner near Agua Branca, stated that, because of his employment and family, he was not able to volunteer for military service; however, he wanted to

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<sup>13</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, January 21, 1865.

<sup>14</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, July 13, 1865.

<sup>15</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, April 25, 1865.

participate in the war effort, so he allowed volunteers to camp on his land for free on their journey to enlist.<sup>16</sup> Many other landowners also allowed travelling volunteers and military units to stop on their land. The Marqueza de Santos allowed the entire Seventh Battalion of Volunteers from São Paulo to bivouac on her farm; additionally, she even promised that the soldiers would have "everything in her farm at their disposal," though surely the marchioness had limits to her generosity.<sup>17</sup> The newspaper editor thanked the noblewoman for her "ample patriotic sentiments" and lauded her offer as a great patriotic act. Moreover, the editor praised her dedication to public service. The enthusiasm about the marchioness' proposal demonstrated that the newspaper hoped that she would not be the last civilian offer to assist the war effort. The marchioness was not the only woman to make such an offer to volunteers. Dona Quitéria Martins, a resident of Mogy-Mirim, made a similar proposal and allowed volunteers to stay in her house on their way to the capital. In the case of Dona Quitéria, the newspaper noted that she hugged the volunteers before their departure, a touching moment of patriotism as this motherly figure said goodbye to the nation's valiant sons.<sup>18</sup> Some Paulistas even offered to look after the families of soldiers, like Carlos Gustavo Ribeiro d'Escobar, who made his home available to the family of a volunteer and offered free medication to the families of volunteers. Many offers were also made to help prospective soldiers travel to a location where they could enlist, as was the case with Antonio Mariano, Manoel Barbosa, and Francelino Lisboa. The three men organized the departure of eleven volunteers from Pirapora; the event saw the presentation of patriotic performances and also united the town in donating money so that the eleven Voluntários could make their way to the provincial capital to enlist.<sup>19</sup> Like most other service offers and donations, the *Correio*

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<sup>16</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, July 23, 1865.

<sup>17</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, July 27, 1865.

<sup>18</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, May 2, 1865.

<sup>19</sup> "Noticiário," *Correio Paulistano*, March 3, 1865.

*Paulistano* jubilantly applauded the donor's patriotism.<sup>20</sup>

The *Correio Paulistano* frequently published notices about civilian service offers; however, one form of civilian support received an even more prominent position on the black-and-white pages of the press—cash donations made by citizens of São Paulo. Two types of cash donations must be addressed: the first type was cash contributions to the government, which took the form of direct donations of a set amount of money or percentages of an individual's yearly income given to the state to aid in the war effort. The second type was the cash donations made to men who enlisted for military service. These often came from military officers and politicians trying to bolster the ranks and frequently took the form of immediate cash payments to volunteers, unlike the bonuses offered by the government.

The cash donations made by many Brazilians were not an insignificant amount. Patriotic donations were made either to the government or directly to enlisted volunteers, and at the beginning of the war, they were numerous and generous. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish how much money was donated; the 1865 Ministry of War report listed all donation offers, but not how many times they actually occurred. For example, the report mentioned various National Guard commanders offered money to eligible men as a reward for volunteering, but did not mention how many men accepted these offers and there was no specific total donation amount listed.<sup>21</sup> The same issue is present in the 1866 report. Despite various pages listing the names of each donor along with how much was offered, there was no mention of how much was actually donated.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, May 25, 1865.

<sup>21</sup> Viscount of Camamú, *Relatório da repartição dos negócios da Guerra* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal Laemmert, 1865):203-204.

<sup>22</sup> Angelo Moniz da Silva Ferraz, *Relatório apresentado á Assembléa Geral Legislativa na quarta sessão da decima segunda Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretário de estado do negócios da Guerra* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1866):148-190.

The aristocracy was one of the primary donors, likely because of their close connection to the monarchical state and their wealth. Noticeably, most donations made by members of the nobility and wealthiest Paulistas were published in the *Diário de S. Paulo*, the newspaper that represented the landowning elites. On September 9, 1865, the *Diário de S. Paulo* published a short notice announcing that the Baron of Guaratinguetá had offered 100\$000 réis to any national guard who volunteered for military service. The Baron increased his offer to 200\$000 réis in 1866, an indication not only of the difficulty in recruiting free men but also of the willingness of the Brazilian aristocracy to spend their resources on the nation's needs. Such offers were lauded by newspapers and politicians alike as demonstrations of patriotism. The article announcing the Baron's offer in 1866 mentioned that a civil servant had thanked the aristocrat for his "spontaneous and patriotic offer ... for the homeland's sacred cause."<sup>23</sup> Interestingly the same notice that mentioned the baron's initial donation also publicized that Lieutenant-Coronel Antonio Pires Barbosa had made the same offer.<sup>24</sup> National Guard officers were also frequently seen in the newspapers offering money to volunteers, like the offer seen in the *Diário de S. Paulo* edition published on October 10, 1865, in which a coronel from Araraquara offered 200\$000 réis to every national guard who volunteered for service in his town.<sup>25</sup> The Baron and the colonel were a few of the many individuals tied to the monarchical state who donated to the war cause. In Itapetininga, Colonel Paulino Ayres de Aguirre offered 100\$000 réis to any national guard who volunteered for service in Paraguay in 1866.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, in Rio Claro, the local National Guard commander offered 200\$000 to all the national guards under his command who

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<sup>23</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, November 11, 1866.

<sup>24</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 9, 1865.

<sup>25</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, October 10, 1865.

<sup>26</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 16, 1866.

volunteered for war.<sup>27</sup> It is important to note that much of the donated money to soldiers came from officers in the National Guard, which muddied the line between civilian and military personnel. Nevertheless, the Guard and its men can be understood as civilians because its foundational core delineated the National Guard as a civilian paramilitary institution designed to keep the peace in urban and rural regions, though in volunteering for military service, such men fully transitioned from paramilitaries to full-fledged soldiers.<sup>28</sup> Noticeably, most donations from elite landowners were publicized in the Conservative *Diário de S. Paulo*, the newspaper with the most affinity to their concerns.

Offers did not solely originate from National Guard officers and aristocrats; civilians also donated plenty of money to soldiers and the government. Manoel da Rocha Ribeiro, a sexagenarian resident of Campinas, donated 6:000\$000 réis, a large sum that could have purchased up to four adult male slaves, to the war effort because he was too old to serve himself and he did not want his sickly only son, Bento de Oliveira Rocha, to go and fight. In his letter offering the money to the provincial president, Rocha Ribeiro was very clear about what he saw as the responsibility of every Brazilian during "this time in which we now encounter ourselves engaged in the survival of the nation's honour and dignity."<sup>29</sup> Rocha Ribeiro's son, Bento, was a student and an only son, both criteria that would have exempted him from military service whether his father was wealthy or not. Certainly, Rocha Ribeiro was an extremely wealthy man to be able to donate such a quantity to the government. Although he wished to keep his only son away from the battlefield, his donation indicates a sense of real patriotism because his son would likely have been spared from impressment. This donation was made in January 1865, when the

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<sup>27</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, September 2, 1865.

<sup>28</sup> Wilma Peres Costa, *A Espada de Dâmoçles: o Exército, a Guerra do Paraguai e a crise do império* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1996): 51-63.

<sup>29</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, January 28, 1865.

war had scarcely begun and long before the recruitment woes of the Brazilian empire increased to the point that the state resolved to buy enslaved people for military service, so Rocha Ribeiro did not need to donate so much money to protect his son from forced recruitment. His comments about responsibility to the nation demonstrated that Rocha Ribeiro donated that money not just to ensure that his son would be kept from the war but because of some sense of nationalism. Moreover, it is possible that in donating so much money to the government, Rocha Ribeiro may have sought to purchase some form of insurance for his son.

At the beginning of the war, substitutes were an option for those who wanted to evade military service, so long as they could either pay the 400\$000 réis to the state or negotiate a price with the substitute. Newspapers published offers for substitutes, and such articles were more frequent in the earlier days of the war, though advertisements in search of substitutes were still common even as late as 1866. Substitutions were only available to men enlisted in the army and the navy or called up from National Guard. Since the *Voluntários da Pátria* was a voluntary unit, there were no stipulations for substitutions. Moreover, since substitutes were an expensive option, rarely did impressed army or navy men have the resources to pay for one, leaving most substitutes to be procured by members of the National Guard. As the war progressed and substitutes became more expensive, their quality also decreased. The press, military officers, and politicians alike were vexed by the use of substitutions which meant that, instead of the army receiving someone with a basic level of training from the National Guard, the corporation received someone who may have had no experience with arms at all. The detractors of substitutions viewed them as an easy way for wealthy national guardsmen to shirk their military duties.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Izecksohn, *Slavery and War*, 134-135.

Some offers made by citizens were of actual war materials; for example, the National Guard Colonel Antonio Ferreira da Silva Junior led a community fundraiser drive in Santos that raised enough money to buy five-hundred weapons and two-hundred and fifty thousand artillery fuses. Silva's paramilitary status as a national guardsmen likely gave him the connections to make such a purchase, but it was the monetary donations from the citizens of Santos that made it all possible.<sup>31</sup> Many volunteers even turned down their enlistment bonuses, as did Manoel Pedro de Oliveira who refused the 100\$000 réis offered by the Baron of Piracicaba to those from the town who volunteered; although volunteers who refused their bonuses were military men, their donations were lumped with civilian donations in the press and government documents.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, volunteers who refused their enlistment bonuses often received praise for doing so. That was the case with Carlos Boncault who refused his 200\$000 réis bonus and whose decision was "impelled by true patriotism" according to the *Diário de S. Paulo*.<sup>33</sup>

The press was rife with complaints about substitutes and their poor quality. On December 8, 1866, the doctor João Mendes de Almeida offered 800\$000 to 1:000\$000 réis to be shared among "six individuals willing to be offered to the state as volunteers." The fact that the advertisement mentioned that these men would be offered to the state indicates they were substitutes since the article did not mention the money being an enlistment bonus.<sup>34</sup> Some ads did not include a monetary value to be given to substitutes, like the one from December 6, 1866, which sought two substitutes to replace two national guards.<sup>35</sup> The fact that two guards searched for substitutes demonstrates the pessimistic view some members of Brazilian society had

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<sup>31</sup> "Expediente da Presidencia," *Diário de S. Paulo*, August 25, 1865.

<sup>32</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, March 5, 1865.

<sup>33</sup> "Voluntário da Pátria," *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 22, 1865.

<sup>34</sup> "Voluntários," *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 8, 1866.

<sup>35</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, December 6, 1866.

regarding military service and the failure of the National Guard to protect its members from recruitment during the Paraguayan War. To be in the National Guard, men had to have a certain income level and social respectability. Such men certainly looked down upon the regular army and hoped to find someone else to spare them from army service. Substitution was an ineffective recruitment strategy, and few substitutes were sent to the front. According to Wilma Peres Costa, out of the ninety-one thousand men sent to the Platine region to fight, less than five thousand were substitutes.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, substitutes were targets for public discontent. Complaints about the price and quality of substitutes were constantly published in newspapers. The *Diário de S. Paulo* claimed in November 1866 that men as old as sixty were being offered as substitutes and that prices were as high as 1:400\$000 réis.<sup>37</sup> Other articles in this opposition newspapers derided those who used substitutes because it prevented the government from having another recruitable man available. In December 1866, the *Diário de S. Paulo* criticized Odorico Guaycurú for using a substitute to avoid military service. The circumstances of Guaycurú's recruitment were unclear, although the newspaper mentioned that the young man was legally not old enough to enter the army. However, he was old enough to serve in the navy, and the editor believed Odorico ought to join the navy. Altogether, using substitutes was looked down upon because it was seen as a way to shirk military duty and lowered the number of available men whom the army could impress.<sup>38</sup>

Cash donations or gifts to volunteers came not only from individuals and the enlistment bonuses offered by the imperial government, but also from local governments and officials who donated directly to soldiers. In November 1866, São Paulo's city councillors offered 400\$000 réis to each of the nine volunteers who had recently arrived from Campinas. The *Diário de S.*

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<sup>36</sup> Costa, *A Espada de Dâmocles*, 315.

<sup>37</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, November 22, 1866.

<sup>38</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 16, 1866.



*Paulo* suggested that such actions should be "applauded" by the public as the money was collected entirely from the councilmen's private funds; more importantly, the newspaper urged all "good patriots" to "imitate this act."<sup>39</sup> It is important to note that despite being the opposition newspaper, the *Diário de S. Paulo* did not oppose the war, but instead chose to oppose how the war was being conducted.

Women also demonstrated themselves to be great patriots during the Paraguayan War. In July 1865, the *Correio Paulistano* published a list containing the names of fifty-seven women who had recently donated to the war along with the value of their donations, which totaled 683\$000 réis. Given that this came at a time when women's financial security depended on their husbands or fathers in most cases, such donations suggest that the women were not only in the upper echelons of society but also closely followed the war and were concerned about its progress. However, donations ranged from 2\$000 to 50\$000 réis, which indicated women of relatively modest means and members of the middle class also donated money to this fund.<sup>40</sup>

The participation of women in the Paraguayan War is a crucial step in the analysis of civilian involvement in the conflict. Women participated indirectly and directly. On the home front, they worked in raising money for the campaign, sewed flags, and organized parades. On the frontlines, they worked as nurses, seamstresses, cooks, and merchants, while a few even fought alongside the male soldiers, though not officially as soldiers.<sup>41</sup> Notably, women's roles in the Paraguayan War demonstrate the rigidity of social status in Brazilian society. Women from the popular classes followed their husbands and sons into war to work as food sellers and seamstresses. In contrast, elite women, participated by sewing flags and uniforms, though they

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<sup>39</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, November 17, 1866.

<sup>40</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, July 9, 1865.

<sup>41</sup> Rocha and Magalhães, "Mulheres na Guerra do Paraguai, os dois lados da moeda: Aa "Voluntárias" e a "Imperatriz" da América Latina," 134-152.

also held positions of significance in fundraising drives. On February 16, 1865, the *Correio Paulistano* published a notice that mentioned ladies in São Paulo were sewing a flag for the volunteer battalion being organized there.<sup>42</sup> The *Correio* was very interested in the story of the flag; once it was finished and presented to the volunteers another notice was published mentioning that the flag came with a lance and a silver shield.<sup>43</sup> The sewing of the flag was especially symbolic because it highlighted femininity and masculinity ideals. Women sewed the flag, the symbolic embodiment of the nation, and the men went off to defend it. Importantly, the grandiose presentation of the flag brought elite women into the public sphere by connecting notions of nationhood to the purity of femininity. The participation of women in the war primarily reflected the social conditions at home.<sup>44</sup> Women from all backgrounds performed duties according to their social rank and contemporary expectations of femininity, though exceptions existed as well.<sup>45</sup>

Jovita Alves Feitosa was a young woman of seventeen years from Piauí who enlisted for military service during the enthusiastic response in the early months of the war by cutting her hair so she could pass for a man. Unfortunately for Jovita, her pierced ears gave her identity away; nevertheless, she was allowed to accompany Piauí's Second Volunteer Battalion as a Second Sergeant all the way to Rio de Janeiro where the War Ministry denied her wishes to fight alongside the men from her province. During her journey to Rio, she became a celebrity but after she was denied her request to fight as a soldier she fell from the public eye and befell tragic circumstances. Sadly, Jovita committed suicide over a failed love affair in 1867. Nevertheless, Jovita's prominence in the news opened important discussions about contemporary

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<sup>42</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, February 16, 1865.

<sup>43</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, May 14, 1865.

<sup>44</sup> Carvalho, *Jovita Alves Feitosa*, 46-47.

<sup>45</sup> Ipsen, "Patrícias, Patriarchy, and Popular Demobilization," 303-330.

understandings of the role of women and men in times of war.<sup>46</sup> In an editorial published in September 1865 and entitled "Feminine Patriotism" the *Correio Paulistano's* editor lauded women's actions on the home front but wondered, "what could a lady do on the battlefield?" Apart from mentioning that women had been taking over the management of their husbands' and fathers' businesses, the author revealed little of women's actions in the war effort. Instead, he repeatedly promoted ideas of a genteel femininity and expressed discontent with the idea that women could take up arms in the name of the nation. Altogether, this article demonstrates the views of contemporary Brazilian men through the author's various and repeated assertions that only men belong on the battlefields, while women had to remain the primary caregiver for their families and the men in their lives. Moreover, as this article was published during Jovita Alves Feitosa's journey from Piauí to Rio, the author was commenting on what he perceived as ludicrous—that Jovita might have been accepted as a soldier.<sup>47</sup>

Not all patriotic donors gave money directly to soldiers. Donations were frequently made out to the central government in Rio de Janeiro. Individuals and organizations alike raised money for the government's war expenses. Dr. Guilherme Ellis, a foreign medical professional, donated 500\$000 réis directly to the government for administrative expenses in May 1865, indicating that he and other foreigners may have felt a sense of community in Brazil and were drawn to aiding the nation during its hour of need. However, Ellis' intent may never be uncovered as the newspaper article did not include his reasoning for the donation.<sup>48</sup> Brazilians also gave money to the government for the war effort, as did the lieutenant-colonel from Campinas, Querubim Uriel Ribeiro de Camargo e Castro, who gave the government 600\$000 réis and 170\$000 réis to all

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<sup>46</sup> Carvalho, *Jovita Alves Feitosa*, 35-75.

<sup>47</sup> "Patriotismo Feminil," *Correio Paulistano*, September 19, 1865.

<sup>48</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, May 14, 1865.

national guards under his command who volunteered for service in September 1865.<sup>49</sup>

Of course, some donations were made to the state with the expectation that some benefit would come to the donor. It is unreasonable to expect someone to donate such large quantities of money with no expectation of receiving something in return; however, it is often difficult to determine what individuals sought when making such donations. In late 1866, the *Diário de S. Paulo* published a notice that Major Francisco Martins de Almeida, a national guard officer who also worked as an accountant in the imperial treasury, offered the provincial government a loan of 12:000\$000 réis so that it could afford its necessities, like, the civil servant's wages, street illumination, and policing in its cities. Although the loan was given without any interest, it was still a loan, not a donation; nevertheless, Almeida lent the government a significant amount of money that helped the state stay afloat. The fact that the loan earned Almeida no interest indicates that he felt that the state and the nation were at stake in the war. He viewed the state's problems as his problems as well, demonstrating that Brazilians felt the nation itself was threatened, and more importantly, that Brazilians viewed the nation and the state as a collective entity. Moreover, the *Diário de S. Paulo*'s opinion on this loan is overwhelmingly positive, viewing it as an exhibition of "real patriotism" and deserving of praise, which indicates the public well received the loan.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, because the newspaper did not indicate why Almeida donated such a large quantity of money it is impossible to know his motives when he made the donation.

In the end, service offers and patriotic donations were key elements of the war on the home front. In the early years of the war, Brazilian citizens were fully invested in the war. Those who could donate financially did so generously, and those who could not found more modest

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<sup>49</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, September 2, 1865.

<sup>50</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 12, 1866.

ways to participate and support the nation's troops. Moreover, the war effort at home served as a significant opening for elite women to enter the public sphere. At the same time, women from the popular classes also performed vital roles in the war by caring for frontline soldiers and even fighting alongside them at times. Newspapers were a crucial vehicle for the patriotism involved in such donations and acts, often lauding such actions as deserving praise. Interestingly the *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo*'s views often aligned despite them being on opposite sides of parliament. More importantly, newspapers were a medium by which people could enter the existing discussions about patriotism and nationalism. The press certainly promoted nationalism whenever reporting on donations and service offers. Regardless of the nature of their donation, the praise given to donors was always overwhelmingly positive and frequently argued that more citizens should adopt such behaviour.

### **Slave Donations**

The donation of slaves to the army began as soon as the war broke out and gained momentum in 1866. Public donations demonstrated that nineteenth-century Brazilians loved their nation so much that they would give their money to the war effort. Though the self-serving nature of some of the donations was unmistakable, such donations must be understood as a form of patriotism, but the act of "donating" a possibly unwilling human being to the horrors of warfare is horrific. Nevertheless, these are still demonstrations that wealthy Brazilians were willing to stake their fortunes on victory. Although slave donations figure prominently in such works, there is room for discussion regarding what slave donations meant to those donating and those who were donated. Newspapers figured prominently in the discussions about slave donations in the public sphere. The overall position held by the *Correio Paulistano* and the

*Diário de S. Paulo* was that such donations were honourable and patriotic acts deserving of praise, but neither paper engaged actively in discussions regarding emancipation. Moreover, the newspapers' coverage of slave recruitment is inconsistent and inconclusive; not every slave donation was publicized, and articles rarely included the donor's perspective which meant it was unclear whether they donated their chattel out of a sense of patriotism or whether owners were compensated for selling their slaves to the government. It is important to note that slaves also had a significant degree of agency in their lives, but the press silenced this agency while discussing these men's futures as soldiers. The bottom line was that the slave's entry into the military life, apart from runaways, was almost entirely dependent on their masters' decision.

This section aims to analyze the circumstances regarding those slaves freed by private individuals in the province of São Paulo, where only one-hundred and twelve men were freed for military service, a tiny number considering that the 1872 census counted over eighty-eight thousand slaves in the province. Of those one-hundred and twelve freedmen, sixty-six were enlisted as substitutes, six came from a religious order and the category that this chapter focuses on—the slaves freed by private citizens—numbered forty-five.<sup>51</sup> Altogether, the slave soldiers from São Paulo represented only 0.02% of all slaves freed for military service during the Paraguayan War.<sup>52</sup> Importantly, there were eleven separate donations published by the press in São Paulo for a total of thirty-five freedmen who became soldiers. The analysis in this chapter will focus on the thirty-five slaves donated prior to the compensated emancipations that began in November 1866.

The idea to enlist large numbers of freed slaves in the army came from the upper

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<sup>51</sup> Jorge Luiz Prata da Sousa, "O contingente mobilizado para a Guerra do Paraguai: As estatísticas sobre os libertos," *Semina-Revista dos Pós-Graduandos em História da UPF* 19:2 (2020): 132.

<sup>52</sup> Kraay, "Slavery, Citizenship and Military Service," 243.

echelons of Brazilian politics and even received ardent support from Pedro II, who donated one-hundred and ninety slaves from the imperial household and gave the imperial treasury 100:000\$000 réis from his own fortune to be spent on purchasing slaves for military service.<sup>53</sup> Importantly, donations of slaves occurred before the emperor's acts in 1866; however, prior to late 1866, donations were sporadic and were initiated by the slaveowner instead of being drawn from the government's appeals for slave donations as became the case in late 1866. Furthermore, the use of slaves for military service in Brazil went back hundreds of years to the seventeenth-century during the colonial wars against the Dutch (1645-1654) and more recently during Brazil's independence struggles (1822-1823) and the Ragamuffin War (1835-1845). By the beginning of the Paraguayan War in 1864, most of the empire's rank and file were persons of colour, further establishing soldiering as a dishonourable occupation in a society where social status was organized by race and class.<sup>54</sup> The donation of slaves occurred mainly during the first wave of patriotism at the beginning of the war. They were highly uncommon even in 1864 and 1865, and by 1866 they had all but disappeared.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, analyzing the slave donations published in the newspapers still provide valuable information on how Brazilians slaveowners understood their place within society and their duties to the nation.

It appears as though the newspapers understood the bad publicity that could accompany the donation of slaves to the army because, in certain news articles, the word slave was omitted. This was the case with the notice published in March of 1865 announcing that Vincent de Mello, a Mogy-Mirim resident, "offered" three men to the Ministry of War for military service. Sagely,

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<sup>53</sup> Mateus de Oliveira Couto, "Os escravos libertos na Guerra do Paraguai: Luta, resistência e preconceito!" *Contra Relatos desde el Sur* 10 (2013): 93-105.

<sup>54</sup> Vitor Izecksohn, "O Recrutamento de Libertos para a Guerra do Paraguai: considerações recentes sobre um tema complexo," *Navigator* 11:21 (2015): 96-110.

<sup>55</sup> Diego Rodrigues Santos Matheus, "Tem sangue retinto pisado, atrás do herói emoldurado": a participação dos escravizados na Guerra do Paraguai," *Monografia, Universidade de Taubaté* (2019): 47.

the editor did not mention whether the men were free, which could indicate that some held negative views regarding the use of captive men for the nation's defence. Interestingly, the newspaper editor adds that such an act will "enlarge the list of those whose value is written in golden letters in the book of national gratitude." What makes this a peculiar source is that the editor quickly accepts the former bondsmen into the ranks of men who enlisted freely and deserve praise for their sacrifice to the nation.<sup>56</sup> What distinguishes these men as former slaves is the fact that the editor claimed they had been "offered" to the government which indicated they had no choice in the matter. This follows a pattern uncovered by Kraay who demonstrated that Brazil had a long history of granting citizenship to those former captives who fought under the state's flag.<sup>57</sup> The same omission occurred in other instances as well, like the publication from a few days later in March when the *Correio Paulistano* proudly announced that Manoel Lopez de Oliveira, a citizen of Sorocaba, "came to practice a valuable act of love towards the homeland" by offering one man to the army because "he cannot [enlist] and nor does he have sons suitable for this." Oliveira indicated that neither he nor his sons wished to fight the Paraguayans. He did not elaborate on why his sons were not suitable for military service, which perhaps served as an admission that Brazilians viewed military service pejoratively and thought it was best left to those seen as belonging to a lower social class. Moreover, the editor stated that such a "generous and as it was patriotic offer should not stay in ears"; this idiom likely meant that such a story should be told and spread around the community. The emphasis on promoting this story is a further demonstration that newspapers sought to persuade the population to participate in the war effort and that they hoped that by publishing news of donations, other Brazilians would have felt

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<sup>56</sup> "Noticiário," *Correio Paulistano* March 4, 1865.

<sup>57</sup> Kraay, "Arming Slaves in Brazil from the Seventeenth Century to the Nineteenth Century," 147.



compelled to donate as well.<sup>58</sup>

As in the case of cash donations, slaves were frequently donated by members of the military. A brief article from March 1865 reported that National Guard Coronel Manoel Lopez de Oliveira donated one slave for military service along with 50\$000 réis to forty-six volunteers from Sorocaba and animals to carry the soldiers to the capital. Evidence suggests this Manoel Lopez de Oliveira is the same man from the previous paragraph. It is possible that the *Correio Paulistano* published Oliveira's donations twice because of his status in the community; more likely, however, it was done to give the appearance that many generous donations were being made and thus to persuade more donors to come forward. The editor added that "this is another of those brilliant acts of elevated patriotism that we are proud to register in our paper and whose great merit we leave to the appreciation of our readers."<sup>59</sup> The editorial comment suggests that readers would appreciate such an offer which could indicate that Brazilians viewed war donations of all kinds as patriotic acts worthy of receiving praise and public attention. A Guard captain from Limeira received comparable praise when he spent 200\$000 réis to free a light-skinned slave for military service. Kraay's research has found that often light-skinned slaves were freed because their almost white skin tone created questions about who was eligible to be a slave. Given that white people were not considered to be eligible as slaves, such light-skinned persons were often sold and manumitted at lower prices than the average slave.<sup>60</sup> The *Correio Paulistano* mentioned that Captain Manoel Ferraz de Camargo, the donor from Limeira, had three sons who could not serve, but "they will not be missed in the rank and file of our brave patricians because they were substituted dignifiedly." More important, the editor explained that

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<sup>58</sup> "Noticiário," *Correio Paulistano* March 7, 1865.

<sup>59</sup> "Noticiário," *Correio Paulistano* March 14, 1865.

<sup>60</sup> Hendrik Kraay, "Bystander Intervention and Literary Portrayals: White Slaves in Brazil, 1850-1880s," *Slavery and Abolition* 41:3 (2020): 599-622.

Camargo “made [the slave] a citizen and a soldier and washed a stain from the Brazilian nation.”<sup>61</sup> Apart from showing that national guardsmen were frequent donors in the war effort, this article shows how Brazilians understood the connection between military service and citizenship for the disenfranchised. Freedom was not the only necessary requirement to be a citizen. Marginalized individuals had to provide service to the nation to be accepted as a full member of the nation. Moreover, within the context of slave donations, it was common for fathers to purchase slaves to protect their sons from serving in the war. This was the case with Floriano de Camargo Campos, a farmer from Campinas who bought a slave to serve in his minor son's place. The fact that Francisco de Campos Novaes, Floriano's son, was a minor, and the son of a wealthy farmer, meant that he was likely somewhat safe from impressment, indicating that he purchased the slave for service because of true patriotic sentiments, though the possibility the father did this to protect his son from future impressment was also a possibility.<sup>62</sup>

As recruitment came to a standstill in 1866, the Council of State began discussing the possibility of freeing slaves for military service in Paraguay. The discussions regarding military emancipation in late 1866 were held in secrecy due to fears of the possible public outrage that such a use of executive power could have been interpreted as a violation of property rights by the slave-owning class. The council suggested an emancipation program focused on three distinct categories of slaves: first, the slaves owned by the state or imperial household; second, the slaves owned by religious orders; and lastly, the slaves owned by private individuals.<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, the proponents of this project sought to use the 1823 decree that recommended freeing slaves who had served as soldiers in the independence war as the basis for slave recruitment in 1866. In

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<sup>61</sup> “A Pedido,” *Correio Paulistano* September 27, 1865.

<sup>62</sup> “Acto Patriótico,” *Correio Paulistano* December 19, 1866.

<sup>63</sup> Mateus de Oliveira Couto, “Os escravos libertos na Guerra do Paraguai: luta, resistência e preconceito,” 98-99.

other words, the government would ask for slave donations but compensate owners unwilling to part with their chattel for free.<sup>64</sup> Although all councillors agreed that owners should be compensated for parting with their property, the application of the emancipation project proposed by the emperor and his councillors was one of the most divisive and contentious debates in the war. Some councillors were concerned about the intrusion on the rights and liberties of Brazilian citizens. Some councillors like the Viscount of Jequitinhonha and the Viscount of Itaboraí also feared that the Brazilian economy could not bear the weight of compensating slaveowners for their expropriated property. However, the most vocalized concern was the possible repercussions to the institution of slavery if the state indeed emancipated large numbers of captive men for military service. The Viscount of Itaboraí expressed fears that that freeing a large number of slaves would cause resentment among those kept in bondage, which, combined with the loss in numerical strength caused by wartime recruitment in the institutions tasked with maintaining the peace, would have left the Brazilian population unprotected against slave revolts.<sup>65</sup>

Although most councillors were concerned with the financial robustness of the empire or the social implications created by an emancipation project, the influential councillor, the Marquis of São Vicente, José Antônio Pimenta Bueno, was concerned with the nation's ethnic composition. Pimenta Bueno presented a racist and Darwinist view of military recruitment in which he saw an opportunity to decrease the number of Afro-Brazilian captives while protecting white and free black workers from recruitment. Although Pimenta Bueno did not directly state that military service could be used to dispose of individuals of African descent, the councillor did state that "it is preferable to spare the most civilized and virtuous class of society, and not the

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<sup>64</sup> Senado Federal, "Terceiro conselho de estado, 1865-1867," in *Atas do conselho de estado pleno*, ed. José Honório Rodrigues (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1973): 46.

<sup>65</sup> Senado Federal, "Terceiro conselho de estado, 1865-1867," 46-47.

other, less civilized, less virtuous, and possibly dangerous.”<sup>66</sup> Pimenta Bueno did not directly say that recruitment could be used to "whiten" the empire. However, “the civilized class” implied free people, which as a social class included both white and black Brazilians, and the less civilized class was the enslaved population, all of whom were black or descendants of Africans. Thus, it is hard to ignore the presence of a racialized argument for slave recruitment. Some councillors even believed that state-owned slaves received "better treatment" than regular slaves, and due to these conditions, they would not accept risking their lives for a freedom worse than their current captivity. The Council of State’s debate on military emancipation was a combative and indecisive event since both of those in support and against the proposal had five votes each.<sup>67</sup>

According to the 1872 Ministry of War report, 4,003 slaves were freed for military service during the war. Out of the total number of freed slaves, 112 came from the province of São Paulo, the ninth-highest provincial figure, though this number demonstrates the slaveowner’s reluctance to participate in the war effort.<sup>68</sup> The 1872 national census, the first of its kind in Brazil, reported that there were one and a half million slaves throughout the empire, with over eight-hundred-thousand being males, proving that slave recruitment was a relatively minor part of recruitment for the Paraguayan War in terms of effective numbers.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, Kraay found that 2,902 men were freed for service in the navy during the Paraguayan War.<sup>70</sup> Considering that there were over 88,000 male slaves in the province of São Paulo in 1872, the 112 emancipated men sent throughout the war is an insignificant proportion of the slave

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<sup>66</sup> Senado Federal, “Terceiro conselho de estado, 1865-1867,” 47.

<sup>67</sup> Senado Federal, “Terceiro conselho de estado, 1865-1867,” 46-54.

<sup>68</sup> Viscount of Rio Branco, *Relatorio da Repartição de Negocios de Guerra, 1872*, 92.

<sup>69</sup> Império do Brazil, *Recenseamento do Brazil, 1872*, 4.

<sup>70</sup> Kraay, “Slavery, Citizenship and Military Service,” 243.

population of São Paulo, a tenth of one percent of all males. Nevertheless, the same cannot be said about the impact that emancipation for military service had on those men. There is very little information remaining about the 112 slave soldiers from São Paulo and unfortunately, their histories may never be uncovered since they left no written documentation, though one can assume that the transition from slavery to the battlefields was not an easy one.

The unwillingness of Paulista slaveowners to risk their wealth in the war became ever clearer after an analysis of the origins of freed slave soldiers; of the 112 captives released for military service in São Paulo, none came from the imperial household or the state; religious organizations freed 6 while 45 were freed by private owners who may have received financial compensation in the form of cash and government bonds before freeing their bondsmen. It is unclear from the war minister's report whether those slaveowners donated or sold their slaves. Finally, sixty-one were sent to the army as substitutes to replace mobilized national guards or recruited soldiers.<sup>71</sup> The ending of the legal transatlantic slave trade in 1850 likely made slaveowners more reluctant to donate slaves or to sell them to the state, seeing that prices had risen significantly after 1850. Importantly, the Council of State began these discussions in November 1866, and religious orders started freeing their slaves for service in late 1866, which explains their absence from the *Correio Paulistano* and *Diário de S. Paulo*. Moreover, compensated emancipations only began in 1867, outside the scope of this project.

The majority of the eleven separate slave donations found in the *Diário de S. Paulo* and the *Correio Paulistano* came from National Guard officers or statesmen, as previously mentioned. Only ten of the donated slaves came from civilian sources and the remaining twenty-five slaves were donated by men associated to the state. Noticeably, the thirty-five donations in

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<sup>71</sup> Viscount of Rio Branco, *Relatorio da Repartição de Negocios de Guerra*, 1872, 92.

the first two years of the war corroborate the statistics presented by the 1872 Ministry of War report, indicating that more donations were made early in the war since there were only ten donations made between 1867 and 1870. Interestingly, the largest single donation of ten slaves was made by provincial president Dr Tavares Bastos in November 1866.<sup>72</sup> Noticeably, paid emancipations were not publicized in the press, likely because many disliked the idea of the government “buying” slaves for military service.

In December 1866, nearly a month after politicians began discussing the compensated emancipation of slaves for military service, the *Correio Paulistano* published an article about Commander Vincente de Souza Queiroz's donation of "three black men" and his plans to free three more for military service in the south. The editor did not hold back when sharing his thoughts on this event, and he boldly stated that Queiroz's example "should be followed by all of those in search of an analogous manner to manifest their love for the national cause." The words used by the editor went beyond the implicit message that others should also make donations that accompanied most articles focused on civil donations to the war cause. Instead, the editor explicitly stated that others looking to participate in the war effort should imitate Queiroz.<sup>73</sup> This is likely caused by the downturn in the number of volunteers after the battle of Curupaty in September 1866. Nonetheless, it is a concrete affirmation that newspapers sought to convince their readers to participate in the war effort in any way they could. Later in the same month, the *Correio Paulistano* published another article about donations; this time, National Guard Commander Luiz Antonio de Souza Barros donated three slaves. Perhaps because it had only been two weeks since the editor pleaded with the readers to donate more slaves, the article simply stated that "it was not necessary to comment" on the importance and admiration that such

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<sup>72</sup> “Patriotismo,” *Diário de S.Paulo*, November 21, 1866.

<sup>73</sup> “Acto patriótico,” *Correio Paulistano*, December 1, 1866.

an act ought to receive.<sup>74</sup>

Even politicians and civil servants donated when they could. Midway through December 1866, the *Correio Paulistano* mentioned that the senator Francisco Antonio de Souza Queiroz donated two slaves for military service and promised another four more for the same purpose.<sup>75</sup> Another example of a politician donating slaves for the war effort comes from the lawyer, a parliament member and São Paulo's provincial President briefly during the Paraguayan War, Dr Tavares Bastos, whose father was São Paulo's provincial president in the 1850s and was himself an elected parliamentary representative for the province of Alagoas, winning three separate elections from 1861 to 1870.<sup>76</sup> Tavares Bastos, who was also the youngest elected parliamentarian in imperial Brazil's history, received praise from the *Diário de S. Paulo* for donating ten slaves for the war.<sup>77</sup> Bastos's donation and the reasoning behind it can be extrapolated from the context around November 1866. Moreover, the emperor himself pressured individuals to donate their slaves to the war effort, and there is no doubt that Bastos could have been one individual who was pressured to donate, considering that he was a parliamentary representative.

Although less frequent, women and less affluent citizens also donated slaves. In August 1866, the *Correio Paulistano* published a very brief note mentioning that Dona Anna Roza de Araujo donated her slave, Arão, to the army. Dona Anna likely notified the newspaper about her donation herself. The fact that Arão's name was published in the paper indicates she may not have owned many slaves and had a more personal connection to the bondsman than slaveowners

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<sup>74</sup> "Actos patrióticos," *Correio Paulistano*, December 14, 1866.

<sup>75</sup> "Actos patrióticos," *Correio Paulistano*, December 14, 1866.

<sup>76</sup> "Tavares Bastos," Academia Brasileira de Letras, accessed May 10, 2023, <https://www.academia.org.br/academicos/tavares-bastos/biografia>

<sup>77</sup> "Patriotismo," *Diário de S. Paulo*, November 21, 1866.

with more captives.<sup>78</sup> By and large, slave donations comprised only a few slaves at a time, which could be an indication that some donations were made by people with fewer resources to donate or that those with many slaves did not want to give them away. This may have very well been the case with the donation made by Antonio Ferraz Pacheco, whose son was too young to fight, so instead, he sent his slave, Cezario, in October 1866.<sup>79</sup> Another example of less wealthy Brazilians donating slaves came from Campinas, then a small town in the interior of the São Paulo province. Three men there intended to pool their money to buy three slaves for military service, likely because their resources allowed for the purchase of the most slaves possible. It is also likely each man did not contribute equally, since otherwise they each could have bought a slave each separately. The *Diário de S. Paulo* praised the proposal of Abreu Sampaio, Francisco de Araujo Rozo, and Francisco de Paula Simões dos Santos as “patriotic acts” even though they had not yet purchased any slaves for military service.<sup>80</sup> The reason why these men had to pool money to buy slaves for military service originated much earlier than the Paraguayan War. Slavery was slowly dying in Brazil since the end of the legal slave trade in 1850. The lack of incoming slaves from Africa meant that the prices of bondpeople skyrocketed; moreover, São Paulo's coffee plantations were beginning their gradual ascent into being Brazil's most important industry, meaning that the slaves coming from the Northeast through the internal slave trade were extraordinarily costly and unaffordable for many Brazilians.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, since this article was published in December 1866, it can be inferred that the three men from Campinas might have been influenced by the emperor's plea with Brazilians to free their slaves for military

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<sup>78</sup> “Patriotismo,” *Correio Paulistano*, August 30, 1866.

<sup>79</sup> “Patriotismo,” *Correio Paulistano*, October 6, 1866.

<sup>80</sup> “Actos de patriotismo,” *Diário de S. Paulo* December 12, 1866.

<sup>81</sup> Jeffery D. Needell, *Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831-1871* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006):273.



service.

Some donations did not feature slaves being freed by their masters directly. This category also includes the events held to raise money for the purchase of slaves for military service. These were less frequent than the donations themselves; however, the notice published in the *Correio Paulistano* in February 1865 demonstrates how quickly the Brazilian population turned to the enslaved to solve their manpower issue. The small notice in the news section of the paper mentioned that Capitan João Soares and a few of his friends intended to put on a show at the São José Theatre to collect funds for the “manumission of slaves ... to the end of enlarging the rank and file of the defenders of the country.” Presumably, Soares was a National Guard officer, for the article made no mention of his intentions to serve (and the Guard had not been called up yet). Notably, the newspaper's reaction to Soares's offer demonstrates the public reaction to such acts, and the editor stated that “we praise, how it deserves [to be praised], such a patriotic idea” and then went on to acclaim the captain, a sugar planter, for his “erudition.”<sup>82</sup>

Not all Brazilians were happy with the recruitment of former bondsmen. In December 1866, soon after the Council of State began discussing the compensated emancipation of slaves, the opposition *Diário de S. Paulo* published an article condemning the recruitment of slaves as an immoral attack on the property rights of Brazilian citizens. The article began by stating that “moral law should regulate the actions of the state like the state regulates the actions of individuals. The state cannot infringe them with impunity, like the individual cannot forget them [moral laws].” The editor's position is clear: the government could not expropriate citizens’ property without their consent, and recruiting slaves, even if compensating the masters, was a dangerous attack on the institution of slavery as a whole. Prior to this, the *Diário de S. Paulo*

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<sup>82</sup> “Noticiário,” *Correio Paulistano* February 1, 1865.

looked at slave donations positively, though now that donations had turned into state-led recruitment of slaves, the editor had much to complain about. The first point of criticism that the editor presented was the claim that people were receiving titles of nobility for donating slaves, which he saw as immoral, though he provided no evidence to substantiate this allegation. It is only later in the article that the editor presents more credible criticism like the cost of freeing so many slaves, the possible damage to the morale and quality of soldiers in the army, the economic problems that would be caused by so many labourers being conscripted, and the impact on Brazil's image and "dignity."<sup>83</sup> Interestingly, the opposition newspaper shared some of the concerns expressed by the Viscount of Jequitinhonha who declared the proposal to have be "impolite, indecorous, inefficient, and onerous to the public coffers."<sup>84</sup> These sentiments expressed by Jequitinhonha were shared by the Viscount of Itaboraí who believed freeing state-owned slaves would not be enough to end the conflict and raised the issue of having captive men fighting in the place of free ones.<sup>85</sup>

Something that makes this article genuinely fascinating is the political beliefs attached to this condemnation of slave recruitment which clearly defends the slaveowner's right to have complete control over their property. The editor has an apparent abolitionist stance, and he claimed that "slavery is one of the plagues that corrupt Brazil."<sup>86</sup> Even more curiously, he attacked the institution by claiming that Brazilians "will not applaud [slavery] as a natural fact."<sup>87</sup> Moreover, later in the article, the author suggests that "gradual emancipation would be highly convenient" since it would not disrupt agriculture industry and give masters the time to find a

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<sup>83</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 29, 1866.

<sup>84</sup> Senado Federal, "Terceiro conselho de estado, 1865-1867," 46.

<sup>85</sup> Senado Federal, "Terceiro conselho de estado," 47.

<sup>86</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 29, 1866.

<sup>87</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 29, 1866.

new labour force. Overall, the article appears to contradict itself repeatedly by taking an abolitionist stance while defending the masters' rights to property which shows the complicated relationship Brazilians had with slavery in the 1860s. Nevertheless, this was the conservative rhetoric regarding abolitionism, something which may seem contradictory to modern readers. Moreover, the fact this stance was taken by the *Diário de S. Paulo*, the newspaper more closely associated with the landowning class, aligned perfectly with Conservative beliefs regarding abolition. Although this discussion is beyond the scope of this project, the Conservative Party oversaw the creation of the Free-Womb Law of 1871 viewed constitutionalism and monarchical support as the basis of their ideology which sought to promote political stability and social order. To many Conservatives, Pedro II's abolitionist project was not solely about the liberation of captives, but also the nature of the state. These Conservatives were concerned about what an unconstitutional act such as the intrusion on citizen's rights to own property would mean for the state that based itself on the constitution; they believed that emancipation had to be gradual and done on the masters' terms as to not violate their property rights.<sup>88</sup> Few Brazilians defended the institution of slavery; they recognized it as evil and dehumanizing, but because of economic reasons and political principles, it was difficult to take concrete action with immediate results against slavery.<sup>89</sup>

Unfortunately for enslaved Brazilians, the Paraguayan War did not drastically change the population's views regarding slavery, though this view is not the consensus among the scholarship on the Paraguayan War.<sup>90</sup> The action of donating slaves followed patterns that defended the institution, even if a few donors had abolitionist ideals behind their actions.

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<sup>88</sup> Needell, *Party of Order*, 266-278.

<sup>89</sup> *Diário de S. Paulo*, December 29, 1866.

<sup>90</sup> Kraay, "Slavery," 248-249.

Moreover, the discussions about black citizenship were at the forefront of the negotiations between the state and slave masters for the manumission and impressment of many Afro-Brazilians. Additionally, the slave donations offered an interesting discussion about the patriotism of Brazilian citizens. Indeed, one may look at slave donations and assume that they were an easy way for masters to avoid military service; however, that would not represent the entire truth that some Brazilians donated their slaves, their wealth, to a cause that they believed in and because they truly felt obligated to contribute to the war effort. Nevertheless, there is much to criticize as well considering their decision to doom another human being to the battlefields without considering the captive's wishes. Crucially, newspapers were the meeting place for these discussions, and they served as a place in the public sphere where individuals could express the reasoning behind their actions, which was often patriotism and concern for the war effort. Although some may believe such acts were purely performative, there were no legal punishments for failing to support the war effort through donations or appearances at public meetings, meaning that those involved in those events deliberately chose to participate. Importantly, newspapers were more than just vehicles for private individuals to declare their patriotic feelings. The articles about slave donations published in both of São Paulo's major newspapers were rife with the opinions and beliefs of editors and columnists who used their platform to promote patriotism and instill it in other Brazilians.

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Public donations during the Paraguayan War took many shapes and came from various sources. The number of donations and their contents demonstrated that the Brazilian public viewed the war as a collective issue in that everyone had a role to play, a role which they

performed according to their financial and material means. Although most donors were wealthy, a significant number of less affluent individuals donated as well. Those unwilling or unable to participate militarily could participate by giving the state the necessary resources to prosecute the war. The donations were seen as patriotic offers, and the *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo* rarely questioned the donor's reasons or criticized them for not enlisting as soldiers. Giving money to the state to conduct warfare and administer its territories is indubitably a demonstration of patriotism, strengthening the idea that the Brazilian empire was a nation.

Individuals of lesser wealth offered whatever they could to help the war effort, often banding together and putting their resources together to give them greater purchasing power; in this way, the patriotic donations brought local communities closer together. Schools offered their services to the volunteers' children free of charge and doctors and pharmacists offered free services to soldiers' families.<sup>91</sup> Although evidence points to donations coming from all sectors of society, the majority of donations came from the sociopolitical elite with ties to the monarchical regime, and the professional classes of educated citizens and skilled workers in urban areas. Nonetheless, donations and support also came from the countryside where patriotic offers frequently aimed at helping volunteers on their journey to a population centre where they could enlist.

Women also played an important role in the home front, both in terms of their material and symbolic support. Salles noted that tailors were sewing uniforms for free.<sup>92</sup> Elite women also played a key role in managing fundraisers for the injured and for celebrations after the war's end. The Paulista press sought to minimize the role of women by publishing their achievements in the home front as a reflection of their role at home. They were commended for sewing up flags and

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<sup>91</sup> "Offerecimento Patriótico," *Diário de S. Paulo* December 8, 1866.

<sup>92</sup> Salles, *A Guerra do Paraguai*, 99.

uniforms, but the *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo*'s negative reaction to Jovita Alves Feitosa was a clear indication of the press' chauvinism. Nonetheless, the role of women in the Brazilian war effort during the Paraguayan War is a fascinating subject that merits further consideration in the academic community, much like the subject of civilian support during in the war effort.

Civilians doing their part for the war and aiding Brazil's war effort through material means demonstrates that the Brazilian population was willing to stake their fortunes on an imperial victory. This was the case because their interests were closely aligned with the central government in Rio de Janeiro and because they felt that the invading Paraguayans genuinely endangered their nation. Crucially, the roles played by civilians to aid the war effort demonstrate that Brazilians recognized each other as members of an imagined community that we today acknowledge as a nation. Civilian participation went beyond simply giving the central government cash. The willingness to help others and aid the state in its war demonstrates that imperial Brazilians did not lack a national spirit or a sense of community beyond their immediate locality. Instead, an analysis of the home front during the Paraguayan War shows that the population identified themselves with the imagined community that united Brazilians within the state and was taken by the patriotic fervour that consumed Brazilians in the initial years of the war.

Interestingly, slave donations were a specific and important form of donation within the broader spectrum of patriotic donations. The practice was rooted in Brazilian history, having occurred previously during colonial wars, the war for independence, and local revolts during the nineteenth century. It is crucial to note that the slaves did not remain captives while in the army; prior to being impressed, they were manumitted by their owners so it could not be said Brazil

fielded an army of slaves. There were eleven separate donations published by the press in São Paulo for a total of thirty-five freed slaves who became soldiers. Noticeably, the Ministry of War report from 1872 notes there were forty-five donations throughout the whole war, which indicates the press accurately followed slave recruitment and that the vast majority of donations came during the patriotic year of 1865; their number declined in 1866 and never rose again. In total there were 112 military service emancipations in São Paulo, a much smaller number than in other provinces with similar slave populations. This was likely because of the growing coffee industry in São Paulo which caused owners to be hesitant of giving up their labourers. Nevertheless, the sixty-one paid emancipations are not much more than the forty-five donations which may indicate it was not the compensation for the slave that put off Paulista slaveowners, but their own economic interests at home instead.

Many donors cited the war as the nation's time of need, indicating a sense of responsibility to the nation during the war. Indeed, the cash donations to the government and extra bonuses offered to soldiers were the most prominent ways that civilians assisted the war effort. This demonstrates that people identified with the state and its war in meaningful ways; the patriotic rhetoric discussed in the earlier chapter appears to have found ground within the population and manifested itself in these donations. Brazilians honestly did believe that the Paraguayan invasion was an affront to the empire; one of the earliest principles of the Brazilian nation after independence was the empire's territorial integrity, meaning that for the population to unite and find various ways to support the war from the home front can be understood as an assertion of the Brazilian nation as a single national entity.<sup>93</sup> Whether destined to the Ministry of War's treasury or into the pockets of a volunteer, patriotic donations during the Paraguayan War

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<sup>93</sup> E. Bradford Burns, *Nationalism in Brazil: A Historical Survey* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1968): 5.

greatly assisted the empire's war effort. Although the bonuses demonstrate the difficulty the armed forces encountered while recruiting, they also display the Brazilian willingness to invest in the war and believe in protecting the nation.

It may be argued that, by donating money and slaves, some Brazilians sought to shirk their duty to the homeland or that their attachment to the nation ended when their lives were in peril; however, that argument fails to consider the perspective of those donating resources to the state. Although their lives were not at risk, their fortunes and quality of life indeed were. Wealthy Brazilians gave their own money to the state to wage war. Arguably, this is a strong demonstration of patriotism and an existing national identity. Wealthy slaveowners would not willingly part with their wealth if they did not believe in the cause or felt that their community was under threat; this can also be emphasized in the case of those who lacked the wealth to donate large quantities. Individuals whose livelihoods were not secure would not have donated if they did not feel some sense of attachment and love for the nation. More important for recognizing the existence of a Brazilian nation was the donor's understanding of their actions and the public opinion on these donations by contemporaries. Many, like Rocha Ribeiro and the Baron of Guaratinguetá, were vocal exponents of the patriotic rhetoric that sought to protect the empire's territorial integrity. Both the government and opposition newspapers were overwhelmingly positive towards such donations. Columnists and editors alike lauded such donations as patriotic acts that others ought to emulate. The fact that the money came from private funds rather than being whisked away from public coffers made such donations extremely popular. The press reacted positively to donations because they meant a decrease in the financial burden suffered by the state. Nevertheless, what truly matters in this discussion is that contemporaries viewed their donations as patriotic acts, which indicates that the Brazilian



nation was already established and in a period of reinforcement at the beginning of the conflict.

Chapter 3  
**The Press is Mightier Than the Rifle:  
 Patriotic Literature in the Paraguayan War**

By 1864, thousands of newspapers had been established and dissolved in Brazil. Large periodicals published daily news, parliamentary debates, opinion pieces, and advertisement as expected, but they also published short stories, poetry, private letters, songs, and other forms of written culture, which are crucial media for understanding how people processed the nationalistic rhetoric associated with the Paraguayan War. Thorough research into the two major newspapers in São Paulo, the *Correio Paulistano* and *Diário de S. Paulo* demonstrates that literary culture revealed an acute presence of nationalist sentiments among the population. It was commonplace for literary works published in São Paulo's periodicals to reiterate the same arguments regarding national honour and defence made by the imperial government in Rio de Janeiro. Importantly, newspapers, one of the primary vehicles for nationalist rhetoric, were exclusively an urban phenomenon for this period, which links nicely with E. Bradford Burns' claim that nationalism was an ideology held predominantly by urban elites.<sup>1</sup>

One cannot dismiss literary works as a product created by intentional social engineering; literature both reflects and projects idealized social conditions and preferences of its time. Hobsbawm claims that nationalism creates nations, and Anderson reasons that art, like "poetry, fictional, prose, and the plastic arts," are the cultural "products of nationalism."<sup>2</sup> Together, these statements indicate that art is a tool for states and nationalists to propagate their views. John Breuilly asserts that identity is based on culture which, means that art, and specifically literature,

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<sup>1</sup> E. Bradford Burns, *Nationalism in Brazil: A Historical Survey* (New York: Praeger, 1968): 39.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6;141.

plays a crucial role in nation-formation and identity development.<sup>3</sup> Literature's key role is evident given the power of the written language as a means of communication and as a standard universal language that fostered national consciousness.<sup>4</sup>

A great example of the social engineering that went into literary works is the idea of Indianism, which was readily displayed by many of Brazil's leading writers and poets in the nineteenth century in a deliberate attempt to foster a national identity based on an Indian past. Authors like the prolific José de Alencar wrote classic books like *O Guarani* (1857) and *Iracema* (1865) that romanticized Indigenous peoples as "the real Brazilians" who were corrupted by the Portuguese. Apart from being a way to display anti-Portuguese sentiments, a central piece of the early Brazilian identity, Indianism attempted to forge a positive national identity by looking at its surrounding environment. By employing nationalised principles, it focused on a romanticized Indigenous past and reproached the imported culture from Europe. The *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Magazine of the Brazilian Historic and Geographic Institute, founded in 1839) published various articles on Brazilian's "Indian past," which serves as further evidence of the role of Indianism in the construction of the Brazilian identity.<sup>5</sup>

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first one, "Poetry and Music," analyzes how poems and song lyrics published by the newspapers sought to influence the male audience to volunteer for military service. The second section, "Short Stories," is focused on the fictional literary works published by the press, which aimed to romanticize the military service to encourage more men to volunteer. The third section, "Letters," discusses the correspondence published in the press in 1865, which presented a positive image from the volunteers' point of

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<sup>3</sup> John Breuilly, "Introduction", in *Nations and Nationalism*, ed. Ernest Gellner (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006): xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 35-44.

<sup>5</sup> Burns, *Nationalism in Brazil*, 44-46.

view. Often such correspondence emphasized one's reason for enlisting and encouraged others to do the same. The *Diário de S. Paulo* and the *Correio Paulistano*'s use of such materials indicated their attempt to popularize military service amongst their audiences. Interestingly, both newspapers published very similar literature during the first two years of the war despite being on opposite sides of the parliamentary benches.

### Poetry and Music

Brazilian nationalism in the nineteenth century was led by the empire's literary elite; thus, it is easy to understand why newspapers, traditionally a public sphere dominated by cultural elites, were so heavily used by the patriotic intelligentsia. In their quest to assist the government's war effort against Paraguay, Brazilian newspapers resorted to various means to attempt to reach the public. Poetry and music were even more important than prose because verse and song could be used to address non-readers. Although illiterate people would not have been able to read the lyrics, they were able to listen in during public readings of the newspapers, thereby benefitting the government as their messages reached a larger audience than it would have solely relying on the literate population. Poetry and music arguably make more lasting impact on memory.<sup>6</sup>

In 1866, the *Correio Paulistano* published a song from Province of Ceará, in the far northeast of Brazil. Its composer, Juvenal Galeno, sought to encompass the main points of what the elite-led patriotic movement viewed as tenets of Brazilian identity, and more importantly, what they viewed as necessary for recruitment for the war. Born in Fortaleza, capital of Ceará in 1836, Galeno lived a full life in service of his empire through the National Guard and public

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<sup>6</sup> Hendrik Kraay, Celso Thomas Castilho, and Teresa Cribelli, "Introduction," in *Press, Power, and Culture in Imperial Brazil* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2021): 18.

office, though his passion was writing.<sup>7</sup> Galeno's song attempted to form a bond with its popular-class listeners by using language that was familiar or endearing to them. Galeno starts the song by saying goodbye to the "people of this land" and to the fields of the Sertão, which meant "the interior, the heartland of the lands."<sup>8</sup> because the war horn is calling the nation's men. Galeno describes himself as a man of the people and of the land that he comes from, which gives the reader a sense of familiarity with his words and indicates an attempt to persuade the audience to view the events surrounding 1866 as he does. Later in the poem he claims to be a "son of a Tapuya," likely on his mother's side. Tapuyas were indigenous people native to northern and northeastern Brazil. Moreover, Galeno frequently uses specific racial terms to broaden his audience and include Brazilians who were marginalized by high society. For example, in the first stanza, Galeno refers to his listeners as "caboclos da nação,"<sup>9</sup> meaning men of the nation, though *caboclo* meant more than just "man." The word *caboclo* implies some level of racial mixing between Portuguese and Indigenous ancestors or acculturation on the part of the indigenous people; moreover, the word also has geographical implications as it can be used to denote someone from the Sertão.<sup>10</sup> The composer's word choice was deliberate and highlights the intended purposes of his writing. In pointing to a real or imagined Indigenous ancestry, he appeals to Indianism. It is important to note that although Indianism was an elite led project, popular classes could adhere to them since many Brazilians shared Indigenous ancestry. The same effect appears when the composer chooses to describe himself as "cabra" in the first stanza;

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<sup>7</sup> Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario Bibliographico Brasileiro vol. 5* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1899): 276-277.

<sup>8</sup> "Sertão," *Diccionario da lingua portuguesa compost pelo padre D. Rafael Bluteau, reformado, e accrescentado por Antonio de Moraes Silva natural do Rio de Janeiro* (Lisboa: Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1789):396.

<sup>9</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, September 23, 1866.

<sup>10</sup> "Cabloclo," *Dicionário Priberam*, accessed December 4, 2023, <https://dicionario.priberam.org/caboclo>

*cabra* is a pejorative term for an individual whose father is mulatto and mother is black.<sup>11</sup> In presenting himself and other volunteers as racially mixed individuals, the composer represents the nation as an entity made up by people like them, which intended to unite the population under the central government's leadership. In these ways, Galeno's poetry reflected the prevailing belief that the nation was (or should be) made up by its people and the state.<sup>12</sup>

The character aspect most frequently emphasized in Galeno's song is the martial spirit present in all Brazilians, though the need to defend national honour is prominent as well. In the second stanza, Galeno uses the personification of a rooster to describe himself as a formidable warrior:

In war I am also a rooster  
When I am to battle  
It's the rooster flapping its wings ...  
With its sharp beak  
Will peck Paraguay<sup>13</sup>

The use of a rooster as a symbol of a martial identity may have some political meaning that is lost to modern researchers, but Galeno's explicit description of himself as a tough fighter is meant to be universal to all Brazilian men, for he uses popular terms to describe himself as a common man. Moreover, Galeno's use of popular language connects the story of the protagonist, a racially mixed volunteer in the Brazilian army who comes from a poorer background, to the broader popular class in northeastern Brazil. Although Galeno is from the northeast, the fact that a São Paulo newspaper published his song indicated that it likely would have resonated with the Paulista population, many of whom share indigenous ancestry. Galeno portrays this war and the

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<sup>11</sup> "Cabra," in *Diccionario da Lingua Brasileira* ed. Luiz Maria da Silva Pinto (Ouro Preto: Typographia de Silva, 1832): 177.

<sup>12</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism*, 19.

<sup>13</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, September 23, 1866. "Também na Guerra sou gallo / Quando estou a pelejar; / É o gallo batendo as azas... / Com seu biquinho afiado / Vae picar o Paraguay."

nation itself as something that belongs to the citizens, and the responsibility to defend the nation fell on them. The theme of soldiers as roosters seems to imply that cockfighting was a popular form of entertainment in Brazil at the time. This is corroborated by a poem published in the *Diário de S. Paulo* in March 1866 which proclaims that “soldiers from the countryside are roosters” and lauds their bravery and toughness.<sup>14</sup>

The sheer scale of combat in the Paraguayan War meant that Brazilian recruiters could not get away with simply impressing society’s poorest and most undesirable members. The war machine needed to be fueled and it would take every man it could. To change public perception of the army and its soldiers, the two most circulated newspapers in São Paulo launched a campaign to ennoble the soldier, an early example of something the military attempts to do more forcefully later on in the twentieth-century.<sup>15</sup> In a March 1866 poem entitled “Exhortation to the Brazilians,” J. C. Leal implores readers to volunteer and do their duty to the nation.<sup>16</sup> In the first stanza, Leal asks for “warriors without the fear of death,” and continues to urge others to volunteer for military service throughout the poem. Shame is also a key theme in Leal’s poem; he wonders where the homeland’s brave sons are while the “nation suffers.” Leal’s piece, much like many other literary works published in the *Correio Paulistano* and the *Diário de S. Paulo* during the war, appealed to certain themes in hopes of striking an emotional chord in the hearts of the nation’s citizens in hopes of receiving better sustained public support against Paraguay.

The literary attempt to ennoble the soldier is seen in a poem written by the voluntário da pátria, J. Autran de Albuquerque, to his fellow volunteers, in which he connects fulfillment of one’s duty to their nation to honour and social respect. Noticeably, Albuquerque does not appear

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<sup>14</sup> Gloza, “Um pouco de tudo,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, March 22, 1866.

<sup>15</sup> Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood*, 238-267.

<sup>16</sup> J. C. Leal, “Exhortação aos brasileiros,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 6, 1866.

in Sacramento Blake's dictionary of Brazilian writers, which may indicate that he and other authors submitting their work to newspapers were literate citizens not directly involved in the production of literary materials, but simply amateur poets who used this opportunity to express their patriotism and divulge their work.<sup>17</sup>

In the first stanza of the poem, Albuquerque writes that the "homeland asks for valor from its sons" and later in the second stanza he writes that the "affront to the national flag, only with blood can it be washed."<sup>18</sup> Albuquerque's message to other volunteers, and more important, the would-be volunteers, was clear: the nation needed their help in the battlefield because national honour could only be restored with the blood of Paraguayans. Importantly, this message demonstrates an attempt to endow volunteers and soldiers alike with the honour that comes with defending national honour, something which is even more visible in the poem written to the soldiers from São Paulo by Dr. Antonio Augusto Pereira da Cunha, which echoes the same nationalistic sentiments promoted by the central government and its supporting intelligentsia. Pereira da Cunha is also not present in Sacramento Blake's reference work; the author claims he was a doctor, and although the title was not only awarded to medical doctors at the time but also bachelor's degree holders, the fact that he was professional of some sort further cements the idea these authors were not recognized literary figures but instead were amateurs who used the *Diário de S. Paulo* and the *Correio Paulistano* to express nationalistic sentiments sparked by the war.

Pereira da Cunha's poem was published by the *Correio Paulistano* in March 1865, and it highlighted a soldier's responsibility to defend national honour and the glory that came with success. In the third stanza he connects the horrors of battle to the soldiers' valiant efforts and

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<sup>17</sup> Augusto Victorino Alves Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario Bibliographico Brasileiro*, vol. 3 (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1895), <<Missing Page Number>>.

<sup>18</sup> J. Autran de Albuquerque, "A' Armas," *Correio Paulistano*, March 12, 1865. "Vil affronta á bandeira da pátria. Só com sangue se póde lavar."



glory that comes with victory:

From afar the hymns of war echo  
And our soldiers searching for victory  
Brandishing their swords in the carnage  
In the field of honour, they searched only for victory.<sup>19</sup>

Pereira da Cunha's words are in harmony with the empire's views on Paraguay's attack on Brazilian soil: it was an affront to the national honour, and it had to be met with brute force. The response to Paraguay's insults came on the battlefields, which Pereira da Cunha names the "field of honour." His poem bestows social honours and respect to rank-and-file soldiers not commonly seen in nineteenth-century militaries where society's lowest ranked men were impressed together to form the bulk of infantry units as discussed earlier in the first chapter.

Albuquerque's poem emphasizes the otherness of the enemy. His xenophobic views on the Paraguayans were not only a method of distinguishing Brazilians from their belligerent neighbours, but also stoked hatred against the Paraguayans in the minds of Brazilians. In the eighth stanza of his poem, Albuquerque calls them "assassins" and "cruel cannibals," which intends to dehumanize them and to create an image of an inhuman enemy in the collective consciousness of the Brazilian population.<sup>20</sup> This was not uncommon in the patriotic literature published in newspapers in any war; in fact, numerous poems directed criticisms towards Paraguay and its dictator in the first years of the war. Published in the *Diário de S. Paulo* in April 1866, A. R. de Torres Bandeira's poem, "Down with Paraguay" is a critical condemnation of the Guarani republic and its dictator.<sup>21</sup> In the third stanza, Bandeira claims that the Paraguayan people are enslaved by the despotic López and later compares him to the infamous Roman

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<sup>19</sup> Dr Antonio Augusto Pereira da Cunha, *Correio Paulistano*, March 19, 1865. "Ao longe retumbão os hymnos da Guerra. E nossos soldados buscando a Victoria. Brandindo as espadas por entre a carnage. No campo de honra buscavão só gloria.

<sup>20</sup> J. Autran de Albuquerque, "A' Armas," *Correio Paulistano*, March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1865. "Assassinios, crueis canibais"

<sup>21</sup> A. R. de Torres Bandeira, "Abaixo o Paraguay," *Diário de S. Paulo*, April 28, 1866.

emperor, Caligula. Moreover, the poem frequently addresses the themes of national honour and political rights. In the third stanza, Bandeira calls the war “the cause that sustains Brazilians in this fight for honour and humanity.” Bandeira’s view echoes the imperial propaganda that pointed to the war as a conflict as a war between a constitutional and liberal monarchy against a dysfunctional republic controlled by a tyrant, like an article published on September 2, 1866 that presented the war as a battle for civilization and “in the maps it [civilization] is called Brazil.”<sup>22</sup> Importantly, by claiming that Brazil fought on the side of humanity and liberty against despotism, poets like Bandeira sought to influence public opinion regarding the war, while ennobling the soldier in the government’s unending quest to find more bodies for the tribute of blood.

Criticizing López’s autocratic rule was a common practice for Brazilian poets during the war; often they emphasized that Brazil’s war was against the dictator and not the Paraguayan people. Noticeably, the literature written during the war oscillated between painting the Paraguayans as victims of their tyrant’s recklessness and murderous savages that threatened the empire’s existence. Poets found every reason to attack López’s character in the press and one poem went as far as to claim that the “despot” was illiterate.<sup>23</sup> Others believed the dictator ought to fear the oncoming reprisal from the Brazilian empire. Altogether, the literary focus on the Paraguayan dictator aimed to encourage popular support for the war by placing López as the antagonist for key beliefs held by the Brazilians; hence, so many poems criticizing López’s autocratic behaviour while applauding Brazilian constitutionalism. Symbolically, this was a fundamental criticism of the Paraguayan Republic used to motivate Brazilians whose nation’s

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<sup>22</sup> “Lopez e o Governo,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, September 2, 1866.

<sup>23</sup> P.G., “Leitores,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, June 16, 1866.

political foundations were monarchical constitutionalism.<sup>24</sup> The constitution was evidently important for Brazilian's political identity, and a news article from the *Correio Paulistano* from March 1865 mentioned that people were celebrating the anniversary of the constitution and many came to cheer on the voluntários da pátria marching during the celebrations.<sup>25</sup>

The poetry and literary materials in São Paulo's most circulated newspapers did not all originate from the pens of civilians; often soldiers also expressed their own thoughts and feelings through poetry that found its way into the newspapers. Such poems often spoke of duty and the hardships of fulfilling one's duty to the nation while leaving family behind, like the poem below written by an anonymous author who claims to be a voluntário da pátria. The anonymous poet wasted no time in addressing the painful separation of families caused by war. The sound of the war horns in the first stanza causes his wife to cry with grief, knowing that her husband is leaving to perhaps never return. The poem also revealed the man's indecision as he "returns back and divided" after wishing her goodbye. Later in the second stanza, the horns blast again, and, in his response, the volunteer hastens to join the army, but not before remembering his wife and the internal conflict he faces between fulfilling his duty to the nation and to her. These conflicting loyalties are again addressed in the third stanza, in which the author claims that "he does not know if there is equality in the duty to the homeland and a husband's duties." Essentially, the author feels as though he is stuck between a rock and a hard place, unable to feel confident in his choice to volunteer for the war, but unable to not fulfill his role when duty calls. In the fourth stanza, the protagonist makes his decision to volunteer because "the life belongs to the homeland," and the moral of the poem then becomes clear: the homeland is the ultimate home,

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<sup>24</sup> Hendrik Kraay, *Days of National Festivity in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1823-1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013): 113.

<sup>25</sup> "Noticiario," *Correio Paulistano*, March 28, 1865.

and all good men must fight to defend it.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, it is in this conflict between duty and love that the reader encounters one of the more prominent implications of masculinity by the author. Ideas of masculinity at the time demanded that a man provide for and to protect his wife, but by enlisting, the volunteer leaves his wife alone and undefended at home, though for the volunteer not to enlist would have been just as shameful and emasculating.<sup>27</sup>

At the time, the military barracks were seen as a place for dangerous men best kept away from civil society, whereas the house was seen as the epitome of social civility. A man's duty was to protect his kin and dependents from the aggression of other males, specially from the sexual aggression of other males.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, for the volunteer to leave his home and leave his wife unprotected, the situation must have been extraordinary since in regular circumstances he likely would have been socially ostracized for such an act. Newspapers and politicians alike projected the Paraguayan invasion in those same terms: the invasion was an unwanted sexual advance towards the mother nation. Repeatedly, the empire is referred to as the *pátria*, homeland, feminine according to the gendered nature of nouns in the Portuguese language. The conflict was presented as an attack upon the masculinity of Brazilians, as their empire and essentially the nation's proverbial home was intruded upon by another male competitor, which explains the volunteer's difficulties in making his decision. Staying home would have protected his wife but leave his *pátria* at the mercy of other men; however, if he chose to defend his *pátria*, his wife would have been left alone, unguarded against the advances of other men while he was away in the battlefield.

Although the poem from the anonymous author returns to this element of separation

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<sup>26</sup> O Voluntário da Pátria, *Correio Paulistano*, March 29, 1865.

<sup>27</sup> Martha S. Santos, *Cleansing Honor with Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845-1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012): 85-122.

<sup>28</sup> Beattie, *The Tribute of Blood*, 8-9.

repeatedly, it also heavily focuses on the man's obligation to participate in the war and reveals how ideas of masculinity were understood in the middle of the nineteenth century. In the second and third stanza, while the author is conflicted whether to stay or go, he declares that to stay would be a shame, but to leave would be a cruelty. Shame is often used to persuade men to join the military in times of war, and shaming those unwilling to volunteer is frequently seen in the literature published in newspapers during the Paraguayan War. Anna Becker concludes that shame has been historically weaponized against certain kinds of masculinity, and men unwilling to fight for the nation were made to feel as though they were less than men because of their unwillingness to risk their lives in battle.<sup>29</sup> This weaponized masculinity is also seen in Galeno's song, in which he asks in the fifth stanza that "those who are brave follow him" and tells "those who are not [brave], 'do not come!'"<sup>30</sup> Galeno claims that only brave men will follow him into war, consequently branding those who would not follow him as unpatriotic cowards.

Furthermore, Albuquerque's intended message to the readers is made obvious in the first line of the last stanza where he claims that "life belongs to the homeland." Using shame and appealing to a sense of duty reinforces the idea that nations have certain character traits. Willingness to fight for the nation is a positive trait which indicates national pride and an aspect of the national identity that the central government in Rio de Janeiro and its supporters throughout the empire sought to propagate and harness for the war effort, while unwillingness to fight for the nation is deemed shameful and met with attacks on one's masculinity.

Other songs followed similar themes as Galeno's song. Published in the *Diário de S. Paulo* in late 1865, Pedro Luiz's "Hymno de Guerra" emphasized national honour and scathingly

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<sup>29</sup> Anna Becker, "Shamed to Death: Social Image Concerns and War Participation," (2023): 1-51. Accessed April 28, 2023, <https://annabecker.net/publication/jmp/>.

<sup>30</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, September 29, 1866. "Quem fôr valente me siga, Quem não fôr não venha não"

criticized López.<sup>31</sup> The song's chorus is punctuated by a rallying cry: “For the homeland! For God! For the World!” The lyrics connect the nation to the Catholic religion, but also attack the perceived barbarity of the López regime by claiming that defeating the Paraguayan dictator would be good for humanity. Moreover, Luiz's critical stance on López is repeatedly featured in the song, an attempt to rouse the population's support against the enemy. In the fourth verse, Luiz states that “the coward has stained our land.” The symbolism behind the songwriter's words is clear; it criticizes López for his cowardly and unexpected attack on the empire. Whether the land was stained with shame or blood, the songwriter does not say; however, the line is a definite endorsement of the central government's view that national honour was tarnished when the Paraguayans crossed the border.

The second chapter introduced Jovita Alves Feitosa, the young woman from Piauí who enlisted for military service disguised as a man. For a few months in 1865 she was one of the most famous people in Brazil and her popularity translated into some interesting appearances in literature, such as the poem published by the *Diário de S. Paulo* in 1865 titled “Jovita.”<sup>32</sup> The poem begins by talking about the cassava root with its ugly and hairy exterior and compares it to Jovita who lacks “hair on the chin,” but has enthusiasm and “mustard in her nose.” The imagery created by the author paints masculinity as ugly and tough like the outside of a cassava root, and he contrasts that with Jovita's feminine qualities. Under the pseudonym G.M., the author plays with that contradicting example of gender roles. In the third stanza, the author says that “exchanging the balls makes a sergeant a nurse.”<sup>33</sup> The crass idiom used by the author meant to insult men for not enlisting through the imagery of cross dressing. Essentially the author

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<sup>31</sup> Pedro Luiz, “Hymno de Guerra,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, October 4, 1865.

<sup>32</sup> G.M., “Jovita,” *Diário de S. Paulo*, October 1, 1865.

<sup>33</sup> “e trocando as bolas fazem do sargento uma enfermeira” exchanging the balls, make the sergeant into a nurse

suggested that men without Jovita's courage lack "balls," a euphemism for masculinity and should be relegated to nursing which was seen a feminine role. The thinly veiled attacks on the masculinity of the men in the areas that Jovita passed through continued throughout the poem. In the eleventh stanza, the author proudly exclaims that Jovita "is a woman" at face value, but "a man in bravery!" Additionally, the author uses words like "admire," "bravery," "Amazon" and "heroine" to describe Jovita, which demonstrates an attempt to ennoble the volunteer soldiers. As an individual, she challenged gender norms, but as a symbol she served an important role in reinforcing traditional gender structures by being the centre of a shame campaign that used her story to tarnish the sense of manhood of men in Brazil. In fact, Jovita had no obligation to enlist, and that she did so nevertheless fueled questions about the masculinity and honour of men who remained engaged in civilian life. This poem about Jovita can be understood as both a celebration of her actions and fighting spirit, but also a defence of traditional gender roles and exhortation for men who had not yet volunteered for service to do so.<sup>34</sup>

Together, poetry and music were key media used by newspapers to propagate a sense of nationalism and to emphasize men's responsibility to fulfill their duty to the homeland in the hope that it would aid the central government's daunting task of convincing unwilling citizens to sign up for war. The emotive language used in poetry and music helped the population to sympathize with the plight of the nation and those who answered the call of duty, while the practice of reading newspapers to the public helped propagate the nationalistic messages created by authors and composers to those outside the literate class. Nevertheless, the emotional writing and the attempts to inspire others with a sense of duty were not exclusive to the media already discussed. The practice of letter writing was at its peak during the nineteenth-century and

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<sup>34</sup> G.M., "Jovita," *Diário de S.Paulo*, October 1, 1865.

soldiers' letters from the front were regularly published in newspapers, which gave readers and listeners a glimpse of what a soldier's life was like, but also gave propagandists an opportunity to push their patriotic rhetoric to a larger audience.

## Letters

One of the more interesting features of nineteenth-century newspapers in Brazil was the readers' ability to pay and have their letters to the community published in a special section of the paper. Known as *apedidos*, these articles often displayed public opinion and were seldom like one another; they frequently offered opinions on current events, although they also served as a place for private citizens to make announcements.<sup>35</sup> During the Paraguayan War, many *apedidos* focused on the conflict, for it was an important discussion point for Brazilians. *Apellidos* were not devoid of political or military interests; many were published by literate soldiers saying goodbye to their communities and their writers often explained why they volunteered for service. This is clearly seen in Voluntário Claudino de Almeida Cezar's *apedido* addressed to friends and family. As the author says his farewells to them, he notes that he is departing to answer the "the call of the nation that demands the arms of its sons in its defence."<sup>36</sup> The term "arms" can mean both weapons and upper body limbs in English; however, Cezar's letter deliberately used the term as upper limbs as manpower; perhaps this was done to emphasize the need for the physical strength needed on the frontlines. On the same page of this newspaper edition, there is another farewell letter, from Luiz Augusto da Silva Espiridão, which also mentions that he is leaving "in

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<sup>35</sup> Teresa Cribelli, "Apellidos and Public Discourse: Paid Letters and Articles in the *Jornal do Commercio*, 1870," in *Press, Power, and Culture in Imperial Brazil*, edited by Hendrik Kraay, Celso Thomas Castilho, and Teresa Cribelli (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2021): 199-216.

<sup>36</sup> Claudino de Almeida Cezar, "Carta de um Voluntário da patria," *Correio Paulistano*, February 23, 1865. "brado da patria, que demanda em sua defeza o braços de seus filhos"



defence of his homeland.”<sup>37</sup> These *apedidos* indicate that people did believe that the nation was in danger and that it was their duty to help, though whether their hearts simply held empty optimism or wrote so enthusiastically to appear strong for the sake of others may be something that we will never know. Although some critics may argue that writing such letters was a performative act, the fact that most were written by men leaving for war and by their loved ones wishing their goodbyes indicates that the sentiments expressed in such letters were genuine.

Newspapers also published letters from soldiers on the frontlines. On January 24, 1866, the *Correio Paulistano* printed a letter in which an unnamed officer describes the journey of São Paulo’s Seventh Voluntários to Passo da Pátria, an important river crossing into Paraguay.<sup>38</sup> The letter is mostly about military movements, though the language used was certainly chosen for its patriotic overtones. The officer notes the Seventh has been given the “honourable duty” to guard the artillery because of its “glorious past.” The paper tries to appeal to a Paulista martial past directly in connection to current military duties performed by Paulista soldiers; the letter may not have directly pled for volunteers, but it connected honour to national service which sought to persuade individuals to volunteer and further demonstrates how newspapers deliberately chose certain letters to encourage patriotic sentiments in its readers.

Not all letters sent back from the front were positive. After the initial bloom of patriotism in 1865, the year of 1866 saw the population’s support slowly recede until the Battle of Curupayty (September 22), which demoralized the population and turned them against the war effort. Numerous letters like the following two pieces published by opposition the *Diário de S. Paulo* in April 1866 demonstrate the material and moral difficulties of the Brazilian campaign. The two letters were grouped together in one article by the newspaper and the soldiers’ names

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<sup>37</sup> Luiz Augusto da Silva Espiridão, “Despedida,” *Correio Paulistano*, February 23, 1865. “em defeza de sua patria”

<sup>38</sup> *Correio Paulistano*, January 24, 1866.

were kept from the public. The first letter is a complaint to the soldier's family back home. The unnamed Paulista complained about hunger and apparent inactivity of the army. The soldier viewed the situation as hopeless; supplies were running low and soldiers grew hungrier while their unit, which was stationed in Coxim, Mato Grosso, risked being attacked by the enemy while the camp lacked enough food and morale to effectively fight off a Paraguayan counterattack. The second letter did little to make the situation seem better; the author also complained about hunger and lack of resources. It is important to mention that these letters came from the Mato Grosso campaign in 1866 and not the crossing into Paraguay which was happening simultaneously. Both letters focused on the material scarcity in the army camps and both soldiers were concerned about what that could mean for the army's performance in the battlefield. Moreover, the second letter talked about the unit's recent engagements, noting that significant victories were won even though soldiers went hungry. Although the author's outrage is palpable, he also seemed fiercely proud of those victories and the effectiveness of Brazilian soldiers under duress. While this letter criticizes the war effort, it also demonstrates the newspapers' attempts to ennoble Brazilian soldiers; presenting the soldiers as dutiful and brave, even though the imperial leadership failed to meet their basic needs persuades the population to sympathize with the men in the frontlines, which strengthens the nation and its bond with the people. Although the people compose the nation, the nation itself is an entity with on its own.<sup>39</sup>

While numerous letters discussed the misery at the front, many others attempted to inspire hope and patriotism in the population back at home. Francisco de Paula Penteadó's April 1866 letter from Paraguay illustrates that perfectly. He writes about the latest imperial victory, this time at Passo da Pátria, where the Brazilians first entered Paraguayan territory. The author

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<sup>39</sup> "Guerra," *Diário de S. Paulo*, April 5, 1866.

emphasizes the heroics of the soldiers who fought in the dead of the night and shared intimate details about combat against what he estimated were eight hundred to one thousand Paraguayan soldiers. The letter states that, after hours of exchanging fire, the Brazilians mounted their bayonets and furiously charged their enemy, coming away victorious from the carnage. The troops' spirits soared, according to the author, the band played the national anthem, and the soldiers sang "Long live the emperor!" during combat. After the battle, Penteado was even hugged by his unit commander for his bravery.<sup>40</sup> Penteado's letter cannot be verified for its accuracy, because although the skirmish is mentioned in a contemporary chronicle of the war, the patriotism is not mentioned in the chronicle.<sup>41</sup> However, if one is to accept Penteado's claims at face value, they demonstrate a common sense of patriotism among the soldiers, while the newspaper's interest in publishing the letter shows that the editors believed that their readers would be interested in reading personal accounts of the war. By publishing Penteado's letter, the newspaper promoted a patriotic response among its readers and furthered national unity. The letter's scene of bravery and camaraderie serves to encourage more men to enlist, but also to feel pride that the nation's soldiers were fighting fiercely in name of the empire. Moreover, by publishing such letters, newspapers placed themselves in the middle of the public discussions about the war.<sup>42</sup> Noticeably, these publications were being made by the *Diário de S. Paulo*, meaning that even the opposition newspaper was joining in the patriotic chorus.

Overall, letters were an excellent source material for newspapers, and they played a significant part in the two newspapers' shared project to assist the government's war effort.

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<sup>40</sup> Francisco de Paula Penteado, "Passo da Patria, 12 de Abril," *Diario de S. Paulo*, May 26, 1866.

<sup>41</sup> *Chronica dos principaes acontecimentos concernentes á actual Guerra do Paraguay (2º Anno) em continuação da Chronica Nacional publicada nas folhinhas de Laemmert: segunda parte: janeiro a junho de 1866* (Rio de Janeiro: Eduardo and Henrique Laemmert, 1866): 4-5.

<sup>42</sup> Penteado, "Passo da Patria, 12 de Abril," *Diario de S. Paulo*, May 26, 1866.

Letters shortened the distance between the front and the people at home; they gave civilians a glimpse into the life of the servicemen defending the nation which, in turn, helped unite the nation. Stories of brave acts performed, or indignities suffered, by men of every province gave people heroes to cheer for, and weakened the regional differences between provinces, since now they fought together as one army, and received press attention at levels unseen before. Moreover, the experience of soldiers divulged through letters helped shape public opinion by giving the soldiers a place to express themselves in the public sphere.

### **Short Stories**

Short stories were another medium that in which patriotic authors wrote during the Paraguayan War. Unsurprisingly, the emotive language and virtue-signals that were used in poetry and music also appear in these narratives published by the newspapers. Short stories attempted to romanticize participation in the war while promoting a national identity that valued a martial culture, honour, and masculinity to persuade men into volunteering for military service. In April 1865, the *Correio Paulistano* published a short story entitled “History of a Voluntário da Pátria,” written by an author who only identified themselves as a Paulista, a person born in the province of São Paulo.<sup>43</sup> Importantly, although this short story is a fictional work, the author presents it as a true story, which serves to legitimize the story in the eyes of the reader, further deepening the story’s emotional pull. The nationalistic overtones of the narrative are explicitly part of the story; characters are described as patriotic and certain characteristics such as honour and morality are emphasized as traits held by the protagonist as his family. The story highlights that the family attends church every Sunday, emphasizing their Catholic identity and pointing to

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<sup>43</sup> “História de um Voluntário da Pátria,” *Correio Paulistano*, April 2, 1865.

Brazil's national religion, a key signifier of Brazilian identity as established by the 1824 Constitution, which designated Catholicism as the religion of the empire.<sup>44</sup>

The narrative follows the story of the Andrade family, led by João de Andrade, whose family include his wife Dona Luiza, his son Ernesto, and his niece Emília. The author describes them as a typical poor Brazilian family and, although the author does not mention the name of the city they live in, he implies that they live near the provincial capital of São Paulo. Though the family lacks money, they are happy and very well respected in the community. Emilia and Ernesto were “in love.”<sup>45</sup> On New Year's Day in 1865, Ernesto announces to his family that he will join the Voluntários to which his family responds that, although they feel an “immense pride,” they cannot help but feel concerned for his life. Ernesto could not have joined the Voluntários da Pátria on New Year's Day in 1865 since the new corporation would not be created until a few days later, clearly an error on the author's part. Ernesto's departure is delayed because his mother falls ill, and during that time he discusses his departure with Emilia, his love interest, who asks Ernesto whether he will abandon her to go south for the war. Ernesto assures his beloved that she will be with him wherever he goes and that the memory of her will “encourage him in battle,”<sup>46</sup> but that he “feels forced to go ... [for] the nation calls; you know well that she is our mother.”<sup>47</sup> Ernesto's response shows how much he cares for Emília while simultaneously demonstrating that his priorities were to fulfill his duties to the motherland; to the reader this demonstrates the sacrifices that he is willing to make for the country. Not even love could keep him from performing his duty. Ernesto's sacrifice is not only his, for Emilia, D. Luiza, and João

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<sup>44</sup> Império do Brazil and Conselho do Governo, “Título I, Artigo 5,” in *Constituição política do Império do Brazil*, Rio de Janeiro, 25/03/1824. Accessed on April 28, 2023.

[http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil\\_03/constituicao/constituicao24.htm](http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicao24.htm).

<sup>45</sup> “História de um Voluntário da Pátria,” *Correio Paulistano*, April 2, 1865.

<sup>46</sup> “História de um Voluntário da Pátria,” *Correio Paulistano*, April 2, 1865.

<sup>47</sup> “História de um Voluntário da Pátria,” *Correio Paulistano*, April 2, 1865.

all sacrifice their family for the nation. This focus on sacrifice and loss is meant to arouse sympathy in the readers and connects well with Anderson's claim that "the idea of ultimate sacrifice" is attached to an idealized view of purity which can only be fulfilled through death.<sup>48</sup> In that sense, Ernesto's love for his homeland is as pure and noble as his love for Emilia, since he is well aware that he might die in military service, though that does not deter him from volunteering.

The "History of a Voluntário da Pátria" is a smartly written piece of wartime propaganda. Of course, the story uses words like brave and noble to describe the soldiers, but the image created by Ernesto's character is meant to ennoble the army's rank and file in a far greater way than simple adjectives might do. Ernesto is the perfect son and has a happy life with his parents and his beloved Emilia, yet he risks it all to defend the nation against its enemies. Essentially, the author is calling on other young men to follow Ernesto's example; the central message in the story is that a man's duty to his nation supersedes his familial ties because the nation itself is a greater family and that any honourable man should be ready to sacrifice his comfortable life among his loved ones to go off and fight in a war with dignity. Moreover, reminding Emilia that the country is their mother serves to reinforce the paternalistic narratives in Brazilian nationalism that feminize the political nation and places the emperor on a symbolic pedestal as the nation's father.

In April 1865, the *Correio Paulistano* published another short story directed at bolstering recruitment. Written by Alberto de Carvalho (who is also conspicuously absent from Sacramento Blake's dictionary), the plot is centred on a man sharing a story about his very recent return from a trip through São Paulo's hinterland and his views on current events.<sup>49</sup> The protagonist learned

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<sup>48</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 144.

<sup>49</sup> Alberto de Carvalho, "Por Enquanto," *Correio Paulistano*, April 9, 1865.

about the Voluntários da Pátria soon after returning and his views on their social character and values highlights how literati sought to ennoble the Brazilian soldier in hopes that, by connecting service to the nation to social respect, more individuals would volunteer or enlist. The protagonist declares that creating the unit “highly ennobles the pure patriotism of Paulistas,” viewing them as knights and that he “had ardent wishes to share in the same glory that awaits them [the voluntários],” while lamenting not being able to volunteer himself.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, the protagonist proclaims that all volunteers have one goal in mind: “seeing López in our hands.”<sup>51</sup> In his closing remark about the war, the protagonist mentions that Lopez is glad that the volunteers are still far away because they all know how to “avenge the audacity of the brazen president of the tiny Paraguay.”<sup>52</sup> Carvajal’s rhetoric is quite simple: the volunteers are noble and courageous warriors who hold an esteemed place of veneration in society for their deeds in avenging national honour in face of the insults made by Paraguay’s dictator.

Altogether, short stories were influential pieces of propaganda disseminated by the newspapers. Despite being fictitious, the emotional responses elicited by those narratives were certainly real. The values that such stories broadcast were aligned with those seen in other literary works; importantly, what this exhibited was that in terms of literary publication, the *Correio Paulistano* and *Diário de S. Paulo* published similar materials despite them being on opposing ends of politics. The similarity between publications indicated that the values and ideas presented in such materials must have resonated with the audience, or at the very least indicated that newspaper editors thought it would resonate with the audience.

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<sup>50</sup> “altamente nobilita o acrisolado patriotismo dos Paulistas...e tive ardentes desejos de compartilhar com eles da mesma gloria que os espera.”

<sup>51</sup> “Vêr o Lopes em nossas mãos.”

<sup>52</sup> “Vingar a audacia do atrevido president to pequenissimo Paraguay.”

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Altogether, the press played a significant role in the mobilization for war during the Paraguayan War, and noticeably, it functioned in a variety of capacities. The publications in the press ranged from war correspondence and attempts to encourage the population to participate in the war effort to the literary materials analyzed throughout this chapter. It may be impossible to find written communication between representatives of the state and newspapers directly discussing a propaganda project to be disseminated to the public through the black-and-white pages of the *Diário* and the *Correio*. Nevertheless, the increased publications centred around themes of military nature, patriotic duty, masculinity, and national honour were clear demonstrations that São Paulo's largest newspapers sought to use their influence and reach to assist the government with recruitment. Moreover, the literary themes and social values used in these publications were meant to reflect the idealized Brazilian identity political elites wished to project onto the population. Newspapers were the primary medium used to disseminate propaganda and nationalistic materials to the literate population, though it was common for papers to be read communally so that illiterate people could be informed as well. Popular artistic mediums like poetry, music, prose, and letter writing were used to foster patriotic sentiment in Brazil's population with help from the newspapers that published them. Such materials helped foster and shape a national identity. Both Hobsbawm and Anderson emphasized the key role played by literature in the process of nation building and the literary works published by two major newspapers in São Paulo in 1865 and 1866 exemplify this.

Often, such literary materials highlighted the commonalities between different regions and social groups which sought to lessen the many cultural, ethnic, and social differences in



Brazil. The source material used by newspapers also emphasized loss and sacrifice, two concepts that transcend regional differences and unite communities together in grief. The *Diário* and *Correio*, for their part, intertwined xenophobia, honour, and moralist reasons to fight Paraguay within the literary works that they published as part of their efforts to draw attention to the army's manpower needs and to try to establish service to the nation as a signifier of Brazilianess. Importantly, an analysis of literary culture in newspapers demonstrates an existing sense of nationalism in Brazil based on a constitutional monarchy, one that attempted to appeal to masculinity and honour to persuade its citizens to give up their lives for the nation. Moreover, it also appealed to a national identity by uniting the distanced provinces together, through grief, sacrifice, pride, fear, and of course direct participation in the conflict.

The first section analyzed the poetry and music published in the newspapers from 1865 and 1866 and found that such materials emphasized concepts of masculinity, duty, honour, and patriotism to encourage men to volunteer for military service. Poems like those by J. C. Leal and J. Aufran de Albuquerque accentuated the connections between military service in defence of the nation, social respectability, and honour; however, considering that military service was looked down upon by Brazilians, these connections were not readily apparent even in the nation's time of need. Knowing that Brazilians resisted military service at every opportunity, the analyzed newspapers published poetry and music that highlighted honour and respectability in connection to military service, and this was certainly done in hopes it would have changed perceptions of the army. Wartime verse like the poems about Jovita Alves Feitosa focused on shame and masculinity. In attacking the masculinity of those who did not volunteer, the *Diário* and *Correio* tried to shame them into doing so by calling their manhood into question, and Jovita's prominence added fuel to the fire. Many viewed her determined attitude as a blemish on the

honour of Brazilian men who had not signed up for military service yet. Such insults were effective and devastating to male morale, since the patriarchal order of Brazilian society demanded that men be strong, violent, protective of their kin and land; therefore, for a woman to believe that she could be a soldier was a pointed condemnation of those who avoided service.

This chapter's second section dealt with the letters that were written to the newspapers during the first two years of the Paraguayan War. At the beginning of the war, these letters reflected the public enthusiasm for the war. There were heartfelt goodbyes and honourable declarations from volunteers who wished to let the world know they would defend the nation in its hour of need. Furthermore, these letters were crucial sources for understanding the downturn in volunteerism in 1866. Letters from the frontlines often spoke of the misery faced by soldiers who fought more than just their armed enemies. Soldiers suffered through the cold, hunger, and disease, and such news returned home in the letters written by soldiers. Additionally, these letters were part of a lively aspect of the *apedidos* section of the newspapers, a segment of the newspapers for paid submissions from the readers, often containing fascinating insights into nineteenth-century culture.

The third section within this chapter focused on the fictional short stories published in São Paulo's leading Liberal and Conservative newspapers. The fictional literature published in the newspapers echoed the same themes of honour, masculinity, and one's duty to the nation. Again, like with the poetry and music published, the *Diário's* and *Correio's* goal was clear: the materials intended to encourage men to volunteer for military service, as did the 1865 short story, "História de um Voluntário da Pátria," which detailed the struggles of a young man's duty to his beloved family and his nation. Despite the standards of masculinity at the time demanding the protagonist stay at home to protect his wife, the moral of the story was that a man's duty to his

country superseded that to the home. Religion was another key theme highlighted in the story which served to emphasize a key aspect of Brazilian identity, Catholicism.

Together the themes were meant to project the idealized Brazilian identity, an identity based on the patriarchal nature of the patronage system that dominated Brazilian politics and social relationships. It was also based on the state's official language and religion, Portuguese and Catholicism. Perhaps more importantly, in the context of war, the political identity of Brazilians was intrinsically attached to the constitution and the monarchy that gave Brazil independence. Moreover, the territoriality of Brazil held significant importance to the national identity as well, it was within the territorial confines to the imperial borders that the nation lived. Therefore, the Paraguayan invasion represented more than just a military threat; the invasion was an attack on the core principles of Brazil conducted by a republican dictatorship whose constitution had only been established in 1844 by a dictator. Victory displayed the logistical weaknesses of the Brazilian empire, but a loss would have demonstrated political inferiority in comparison to the neighbouring republics. Considering that the Brazilian identity was built around the constitutional monarchy, the territory it held, and its perceived superiority to its neighbours, the Paraguayan War was more than a conflict over political influence and economic control of the Platine riverine system; it was a war for the defence of the imperial identity.

Of course, there were significant issues with the documentation for this chapter. There were the expected issues in literary analysis; however, the larger issue circled around the sincerity of the publications discussed. Critics may claim that such poems, short stories, and letters were part of a performative act; rather, it was more likely that such publications were genuine declarations of patriotism, given that at times such materials were published as *apedidos*. Moreover, often such materials were being written in honour of a close one who

volunteered for service, even more indicative that such sentiments were genuine.

Altogether, the literary materials published in the press sought to convince more men to volunteer for military service while ennobling the soldiers by connecting elite-driven ideas about national identity to military service in the defence of the nation. These materials can be seen to have been very successful in the early years of the war, although volunteer recruitment would ultimately falter, due to the horrible conditions that soldiers were subjected to and the news of these conditions making it back home.

## Conclusion

Brazil had never been involved in a war of such scale before the Paraguayan War, and prior to this conflict, impressment was the central strategy for military recruitment. The empire established the Voluntários da Pátria in January 1865, hoping that financial and social rewards would promote volunteerism, which they did for a time. When volunteerism failed in early 1866, the government was forced to give up its modernization efforts in recruitment and return to impressment if it had any hopes of maintaining an effective military in the Platine region. The press and military recruitment intersected throughout the war, as newspapers played a key role in divulging information regarding recruitment, but the *Correio Paulistano* and *Diário de S. Paulo* also campaigned to persuade its audience to volunteer for service through a positive representation of recruitment and civilian support in the war effort, along with the publication of various literary materials that endorsed narratives that supported the government's interests regarding the war and military recruitment.

The first chapter investigated the development of recruitment throughout Brazilian history, from the colonial era to the Paraguayan War. This chapter also discussed the role that newspapers played in recruitment. Through the first two years of the war, newspapers did what they could to present a positive image of recruitment and attempted to persuade their audience to enlist even as written submissions complained about recruitment in their local communities in 1866. Additionally, through the analysis of recruitment in the press, this chapter dissected the rise and fall of voluntary recruitment, beginning with the enthusiastic initial response and its decline caused by the war's duration, high casualty rates, and news from the frontlines noting the awful

conditions soldiers were subjected to.

The second chapter analyzed the role that civilians played in supporting the war effort and how that demonstrated that contemporary Brazilians recognized themselves and each other as members of the same national community despite their differences in ethnicity and social class. The chapter discussed different kind of donations which included financial and material donations directly to the state or soldiers, service offers through which individuals offered their professional skills to help soldiers and their families. The newspapers' role was to divulge patriotic acts in hopes it would encourage others to do the same, and thus promote national solidarity. This chapter also discussed volunteerism but made explicit distinctions between volunteering in the civilian front and volunteering for military service as demonstrations of nationalism.

The third chapter focused entirely on the literature published in the press during the first two years of the Paraguayan War. Short-stories, poetry, and songs were written to romanticize military service and to persuade men to enlist. The emotive language and symbolism used in stories like the "História de um Voluntário da Pátria" perfectly synthesize the social ideals being suggested to readers. Authors of such stories sought to convince their readers that it was their duty to defend the nation's honour and that there was no greater honour than risking one's life for emperor and country. Moreover, this chapter also analyzed letters written by soldiers from the frontlines which also documented the rise and fall of voluntary recruitment. The letters published in 1865 urged more civilians to enlist, but by 1866, some letters from frontline soldiers complained about conditions, although many still urged others to enlist. Given the newspapers' willingness to promote a narrative of honour through military service, it its entirely likely that negative letters from the frontlines were published with less frequency than positive letters.

Editors were not likely to want to publish negative news regularly considering they were aiming to help the recruitment crisis. Although both newspapers agreed on the narratives that connected honour with military service, as the opposition's newspaper the *Diário de S. Paulo* had an incentive to publish negative news criticizing the government's war effort since it could have helped the *Diário's* political backers in their electoral campaign. Despite its allegiance to the opposition, the *Diário* shared the *Correio Paulistano's* opinion regarding the war as an affront to Brazilian honour and the necessity of recruitment.

Several themes continuously appeared in both the context of newspapers and recruitment. Themes like state-formation and the relationship between a state and the people whom it governs were intimately tied with the newspapers and military recruitment for the war. The recruitment struggles revealed the Brazilian empire's structural and administrative weaknesses, for the state lacked sufficient resources and bureaucratic control to exert the influence to persuade its population to adhere to the national cause effectively. After the initial enthusiasm for the war wore down, the government struggled with voluntary recruitment to such extents that impressment had once again become the primary recruitment strategy for the Brazilian military and the Council of State sought to liberate slaves for military service and, by 1866,

Moreover, the newspapers functioned as a mediator between the state and its people; in its literary recruitment campaign, the two newspapers demonstrated the need for modern states to accrue public support for the sake government stability, but also because a supportive population might not have resisted the encroachments into traditional power structures that occurred during the Paraguayan War. The newspapers then were not just the place where the public debated current events, but also a medium of persuasion and a stage for announcing compromises between the state and its people. Interestingly, the press was an agent of its own; certainly the

publications chosen for publication had a goal in mind. At the same time, the press also created a neutral arena where readers debated the current events. *Apedidos* were a perfect example of this. This section published materials written by the readers, which included less editorial oversight than publications made by press reporters. *Apedidos* were just one part of the public debate. Public readings of the newspapers were a common activity during this period, and they provided a perfect opportunity for people to discuss and debate current events affecting the local and national communities.

The creation of the Voluntários da Pátria demonstrates that the state recognized that the population had a deep aversion towards military service and would need to be coaxed into enlisting through financial and social rewards; this was essentially an exhibition of the give and take required for a relatively stable relationship between the people and the state. Both newspapers used their influence and reach to support volunteerism at every turn, establishing themselves as both the space where citizens shared their grievances, and where the state promoted its patriotic narrative and pleaded for assistance from the people, notwithstanding the partisan differences between them.

This thesis also dove deeply into themes like nationhood and nationalism. Through an overview of recent scholarship on the subject, which included works from both historians and political scientists, it was determined that the Brazilian empire met all necessary subjective and objective criteria for nationhood. Importantly, a shared language, a common territory, and a mutual historical past were enough to establish that nineteenth-century Brazil was in fact a nation in contemporary terms and as we understand nations in the present day. However, a plurality of cultures in which individuals were free to be part of multiple cultural subgroups did not detract from the nationhood of imperial Brazil. Despite ethnic and class divisions within the Brazilian



population, those born in Brazil were legally considered Brazilian even if enslaved, and although slaves and freed people were not recognized as citizens, free Afro-Brazilians were. The lack of ethnic or class restriction to Brazilian national status indicates that Brazilian elites who wrote the constitution in 1824 recognized nationality as a concept independent of race or class; it was the community into which one was born. Importantly, recruitment for the Paraguayan War demonstrated that the concept of nationality transcended class and race in Brazil. News reports from 1865 mentioned that the sons of politicians, and even law school students volunteered for service. Moreover, the literature published in the press often appealed to racial terms in hopes of endearing the struggle to free Afro-Brazilians. Nevertheless, this boom of volunteerism ended in early 1866, and with the return of impressment, only those deemed socially undesirable were meant to be recruited, though the scale of the Paraguayan War forced recruiters to ignore recruitment traditions and men who previously would have been safe from the recruiters now fled to the hills along with the “undesirables” as recruiters approached.

Another cultural concept that this thesis engaged with was the reach of the press in nineteenth-century Brazil, and academic research has convincingly demonstrated that Brazil maintained a strong oral communication culture where it was common for the literate members of the community to lead collective reading sessions where the illiterate would have the newspapers read to them prior to the group engaging in discussion. In the context of collective reading, it becomes clear that the press had a much larger reach than previously assumed; importantly, this adds further significance to the press’ recruitment campaign since the newspapers were aware that their patriotic narratives would certainly reach more than just the privileged and literate population. They would make their way into the popular classes where the financial bonuses announced as the reward for voluntary service would have been more

attractive to the audience.

The war brought disastrous results for Paraguay and early estimates suggested seventy percent of the prewar population perished due to conflict, starvation, and diseases. More recent estimates from historians Thomas L. Whigham and Barbara Potthast confirm the earlier estimates by claiming the Paraguayan loss of life was somewhere between sixty and sixty-nine percent. Brazil's war losses amounted to less than two percent of the total population. The horrific cost of lives was not the only cost that Paraguay was forced to bear, for the defeated nation was required to pay around four hundred contos of réis as war indemnities to the allies, a little over ten million dollars in 1870,<sup>1</sup> something which Paraguay was not able to pay off until 1945. Brazil also had significant financial burdens; the many debts incurred by the state during the war caused the national budget to run a deficit for a few years, but the debt would be entirely paid off by the 1880s.<sup>2</sup>

Contrary to the agreements between allies in 1865, Brazil made peace separately with Paraguay in 1872 and the treaty established the borders between the countries, one of the primary catalysts for the tensions between the empire and the isolated republic prior to the war. The new boundaries set were chosen based on the Portuguese colonial claims from the eighteenth century, which meant that Brazil came out of the war with new territory and a concrete border with at least some of its neighbours. Argentina hoped to annex Paraguay in the aftermath of the conflict, and although that would not come to fruition, Argentina and Paraguay's peace treaty in 1875 granted the Argentines new land at the expense of Paraguay's southern border. Despite the official peace treaty being signed in 1872, the Brazilian occupation of Paraguay continued until

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<sup>1</sup> Julian Smith Duncan, "Exchange Value of the Mil-réis in US Dollars," in *Public and Private Operators of Railways in Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 183.

<sup>2</sup> Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 481-488.

May 13, 1876.<sup>3</sup>

The Paraguayan War demonstrated the need to change military recruitment, for the army could not be left in tatters considering that Brazil had competing land claims with nearly all of its neighbours. Arguably, the massive failure of recruitment was a result of the way in which Brazil was politically constructed. The power held by local authorities enabled them to resist new means of recruitment, and importantly, changes to recruitment were seen to impact the prospective soldier's social status. For example, conscription conducted through a draft lottery faced staunch opposition, for it threatened to reduce all men to a single category which created confusion and anxiety among the free poor living in a slavocracy. In 1874, new legislation was passed prohibiting impressment and introducing conscription through a draft lottery that chose men at random from a registration list. No draft would be effectively conducted under the 1874 law and press gangs continued to terrorize the population.<sup>4</sup>

The war brought many new European ideas regarding military organization, and conscription was seen as a better recruitment strategy for the republic (proclaimed in 1889) that sought to win support from its citizens rather than set press gangs loose on the population. Nevertheless, impressment continued throughout the early years of the republic as the state dealt with various rebellions. A new bill in 1908 was introduced to delineate the parameters of universal conscription. It proposed to establish draft registries based on birth registries and to draft five to eight percent of each state's young male population which would have provided the army enough men once exemptions were accounted for and significantly lowering the state numbers of forcibly recruited men. Noticeably, most of the earlier exemptions remained in place,

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<sup>3</sup> Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra*, 490-495.

<sup>4</sup> Beattie, *Tribute of Blood*, 64-80.

with the exception of those granted to students, commerce workers, and civil servants; the latter in fact risked losing their jobs if they failed to register for the draft. Moreover, the 1908 law established that the draft would only be resorted to if voluntary based enlistment did not meet the army's manpower demands. Again the 1908 law did not result in a successful draft; only in 1916, amid the Great War, did the Brazilian congress approve legislation granting the recruitment authorities financial backing and administrative authority to conduct a successful draft.<sup>5</sup>

Importantly, the war propelled previous narratives supported by the state that encouraged identification with the national territory, cultures, and memory.<sup>6</sup> In the years after the war, the state sought to harness public support to legitimize the monarchy through the memory of the conflict.<sup>7</sup> Certainly, the struggles soldiers lived through in the trenches had the potential to create bonds among soldiers. The misery experienced by Paulista, Carioca, Bahian, Pernambucan, Maranhense, and soldiers from every other province, united men from different parts of the empire in the trenches. The monarchical state that governed them was purely coincidental and unnecessary for the bond created in the trenches. Their shared experiences gave them an emotional and traumatic bond with each other that brought the country together.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the war created a new cast of national heroes like the Marshal Luís Alves de Lima e Silva, who was named the Duke of Caxias upon his return to Rio de Janeiro in 1869, and who faithfully served his empire and emperor for a lifetime of military achievements; and Marshal Manuel Luís Osório, the Marquis of Herval, whose battle exploits included being shot off his horse, suffering serious injuries, and remaining in the frontlines amongst his troops. The “Iron Duke,” as Caxias

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<sup>5</sup> Beattie, *Tribute of Blood*, 81-236.

<sup>6</sup> Monique Hellen Santos Reis Cerqueira, “A Guerra do Paraguai na construção nacional do Império,” *Semina – Revista dos Pós-Graduandos em História da UPF* 19:2 (2020): 21-36.

<sup>7</sup> Monique Hellen Santos Reis Cerqueira, “Entre cartas e jornais: os discursos sobre a Guerra do Paraguai (1864-1870) como uma afirmação identitária” (MA diss., Universidade Federal de Sergipe, 2019): 79-107.

<sup>8</sup> Whigham, *Road to Armageddon*, 421.

was later known, holds a key position in Brazil's military identity; he is the patron of the army and his lifetime of service to the nation is still held in high regard by contemporary Brazilians on the right side of the political spectrum. Importantly, the memory studies written after the war were responsible for validating the role of such heroes in hopes their virtues would be imitated by future generations and trying to further legitimize the monarchical state.<sup>9</sup>

The government's emphatic attempts to reinvigorate and legitimize the monarchy's image in the years after the war was indicative of the internal turmoil brewing in the country. After the Paraguayan War, the monarchy grew increasingly isolated, and disputes about the throne's centralized power created a rift between the monarchy and the church in 1874.<sup>10</sup> Republicanism had been a radical idea in Brazilian politics since the colonial era, but the increasing professionalization of the army, more specifically the officer corps, since the Paraguayan War increased republican influence in the military.<sup>11</sup> The large-scale and rapid introduction of subaltern classes into the lower branches of the officer corps further politicized the army; moreover, the enlistment of a large number of free and freed men into the army popularized abolitionist ideas in the barracks.<sup>12</sup> It is important to mention that there is no academic consensus on the war's influence on abolitionism; some argue that the army's abolitionist stance was magnified and used as propaganda. These critics view the social changes that occurred in the 1870s and 1880s as more important to abolition in 1888.<sup>13</sup> The now professionalized officer corps returned from the war disillusioned with the empire's ineffectiveness and many resented

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<sup>9</sup> Oliveira, "A história e nacionalidade," 64-65.

<sup>10</sup> Schwarcz and Starling, *Brazil: A Biography*, 351.

<sup>11</sup> Raymundo Faoro, *Os donos do poder: Formação do patronato político brasileiro* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2021): 464.

<sup>12</sup> Wilma Peres da Costa, *A espada de dâmocles: o Exército, a Guerra do Paraguai e a crise do Império* (São Paulo: Editora HUIITEC-Editora da UNICAMP, 1996): 269-272.

<sup>13</sup> Hendrik Kraay, "Slavery, Citizenship and Military Service in Brazil's Mobilization for the Paraguayan War," *Slavery & Abolition* 18: 3 (1997): 248-249.

the conditions the army had been left in prior to the war. Additionally, parliamentary plans to shrink the army once again angered veterans and officers who felt they had proved the military's importance to society. Those officers were influenced by new ideas regarding state and military organization from Europe and believed modernization was necessary for Brazil's development. This context enabled republicanism and abolitionism to gain traction amongst soldiers, eventually culminating in the coup d'état on November 15, 1889, that removed the emperor Pedro II from his throne.<sup>14</sup>

The Paraguayan War had massive consequences for all the states involved. It marked the peak of the monarchical power in Brazil, and it led to its quick demise. Nonetheless, the conflict was a defining moment in Brazilian history; the logistical and administrative improvements made to fight the war were significant steps in Brazil's development. The *Voluntários da Pátria* fundamentally changed how the military sought to recruit in principle, although in practice the change was not immediate. Furthermore, the war bonded the dispersed Brazilian population and further melded existing the familial ties that united the nation despite the cultural differences and geographic distances. Perhaps Brazil's relatively new image of a peaceful state on the international stage along with more memorable or less controversial noteworthy events that have affected Brazil as a nation and Brazilians' sense of nationality, like the five World Cup wins and even the two disastrous World Cup losses on home soil, have overshadowed the Paraguayan War's importance to Brazilian identity; nevertheless, an analysis of the *Diário de S. Paulo* and the *Correio Paulistano* from 1865 to 1866 demonstrated that it was on the battlefields of Paraguay that the Brazilian sibling nations, as the provinces were often affectionately called in the press, outgrew the monarchical patriarchal family. Importantly, it was on the literature

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<sup>14</sup> Costa, *A espada de dâmocles*, 265-306.

published in the press that the national identity was projected, though perhaps more importantly, it was in the letters sent into the newspapers that this national identity was reaffirmed. Moreover, it is critical to note that this project has focused on a single province of the Brazilian empire; further research into the daily periodicals in other provinces is still required for a fuller picture of the Brazilian identity in the nineteenth century.

This thesis focused on the press, military recruitment, and how they intersected with national identity. The record number of volunteer enlistments in 1865 demonstrated that the public adhered to the national cause and indicated a strong sense of connection between the population and the state. The decrease in volunteer numbers after 1866 can be explained by the news reporting on the awful conditions at the frontlines and the long duration of the war. It is easy to volunteer and beat the patriotic drums at the beginning of a war when most believe that it will end quickly, though as the years roll by and the fear of death and the reality of the horrors of war sink in, patriotism and enthusiasm for the war fades away. The press' publication of volunteer enlistments perfectly demonstrated this pattern, as the number of publications peaked in mid-1865 and decreased to almost none by the early months of 1866. The press' attempt to present recruitment positively can be seen as an attempt to support the state in its war, and its publication of recruitment abuses ought to be understood as the press fulfilling its journalistic duty in spite of its political goals. The *Diário*, despite being the opposition newspaper, supported recruitment, though it protested how recruitment was conducted likely because of its interest in changing up the political landscape.

Moreover, the press played a key role in the civilian mobilization for war. The newspapers enthusiastically published news reports about patriotic donations of all kinds. Such donations included cash bonuses for volunteers, monetary and material donations to the state,

and the performance of services to the state and to soldiers. Importantly, these donations demonstrated that the population shared the state's perspective on the conflict and felt a sense of responsibility to the state in its hour of need. Although the most donations came from the professional classes and public servants and the largest donations came from the property-owning class, there is significant evidence that the working poor donated as well. Noticeably, the press' involvement with such materials indicated editors sought to coax more donations from its audience. The enthusiastic praise given to those who donated in the black-and-white pages of the press were undeniable evidence of the press' support and encouragement of patriotic donations.

The newspapers sought to inspire more than just donations, however. They projected an idealized national identity in the concepts of honour and masculinity portrayed in literature to encourage more enlistments among its audience. Noticeably, the values in the poetry, short stories, and music emphasized a sense of masculinity and honour that would compel men to volunteer for service. Moreover, the letters published in the press were a double-edged sword; initially, they were mostly patriotic declarations of one's reasoning for enlisting for combat and heart-felt goodbyes that demonstrated the population believed in the cause and emotionally supported the volunteers. However, as the war progressed, the letters became mostly complaints about the terrible conditions at the front and recruitment abuses happening at home.

Undoubtedly, the content of each newspaper was carefully selected by editors who in all likelihood sought to support the monarchical regime that they were intimately tied to, despite their partisan differences. There is no evidence directly connecting a state initiative to the press's patriotic publications. However, the fact that São Paulo's two largest newspapers, each of which was tied to one of the major political parties, began publishing literature that supported the national government's narrative regarding the war and its wartime policies demonstrated that



newspapers were indeed engaged in a campaign to help the state's war effort through its role as a medium of communication.

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