

PARAGUAYAN HISTORY: Manuscript Sources in the United States*

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Interest in Paraguay has increased greatly in the United States over the last twenty years. For a long time, the only serious North American specialist in the history of that ignored nation was Harris Gaylord Warren. In recent years, however, the dean of North American Paraguayanists has been joined by an enthusiastic group of historians who have focused on such topics as the Comunero Revolt, the Intendencia and Independence eras, the Francia and López periods, the War of the Triple Alliance, and the Chaco War.¹ At the same time, this group of scholars has moved away from the traditional political, military, and diplomatic considerations of Paraguayan history into such realms as social and economic development, and demography. Although the number of Paraguayanists in this country remains small, significant progress has been made.

As interest has grown, so has the need for a thorough consideration of the sources available. The Archivo Nacional de Asunción is an almost untapped treasure trove; the Archivo General de la Nación in Buenos Aires is also extremely useful, particularly for the late colonial and independence periods; and, of course, the Archivo General de Indias in Seville remains an indispensable repository for any student of colonial Spanish America.

As scholars here and abroad delved deeper into Paraguayan history, they began to examine previously ignored sources outside the Hispanic world.² No one, however, has yet thoroughly described or analyzed the manuscript material held in various North American collections. In this era of inflation, institutional cutbacks, and scarce grant money, the need to husband both time and funds would suggest strongly that these readily available sources be used before traveling abroad. Moreover, in contrast to much of the material in the Archivo

*The authors wish to thank for their aid in the compilation of this research article Harris Gaylord Warren, Charles Stansifer, David Null, Jane Garner, Barbara Robinson, Ann Hyde, and Dan Smith. Needless to say, any error or omission of a significant collection is the sole responsibility of the authors.

Nacional de Asunción, large portions of the U.S. documentation are fully cataloged and chronologically arranged.

As an introduction to the fine documentary materials on Paraguay available in the United States, this assessment discusses strengths and weaknesses of the various manuscript collections. There are, of course, many libraries in the United States with extensive newspaper, periodical, and secondary sources on Paraguay; however, an examination of those printed collections will have to await a more ambitious undertaking.

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Manuel E. Gondra Manuscript Collection

The best known and best cataloged repository of documents on Paraguayan history in the United States is the Manuel E. Gondra Manuscript Collection at the University of Texas at Austin. Gondra, a Paraguayan statesman and scholar (1871–1927), took advantage of his various sojourns abroad to collect copies of manuscripts in foreign archives relevant to the history of his country. He also transcribed documents from the Archivo Nacional de Asunción. When completed, his collection comprised over twenty thousand pages and covered more than three centuries. While the strength of the collection naturally resides in its Paraguayan historical documentation, its value to the study of the greater Río de la Plata region cannot be underestimated.³

In 1939 the University of Texas acquired from Gondra's heirs his extensive collection of more than 9,000 books and pamphlets, 270 maps (many of them originals), as well as the manuscripts. Then in the late 1940s, Carlos Eduardo Casteñeda and Jack Autrey Dabbs compiled an admirable *Calendar* of the Gondra Manuscript Collection. It lists documents in chronological order, giving author, place, and a short description, and the original archive or source from which the manuscripts were transcribed. The *Calendar* also provides an excellent index.

The variety of documents in the Gondra Collection is so rich that the *Calendar* must be perused in order to appreciate them. However, to sample their varied nature and to indicate their potential value, the holdings for the year 1748 will be listed. For that year, the collection contains a letter to the Viceroy of Peru describing the tumultuous behavior of a Paraguayan priest; an account of the depredations of raiding Chaco Indians; a letter from the Cabildo of Asunción relating the poverty of the province and explaining the need for defense against the Indians; a document setting forth the problems of taxing Paraguayan products leaving the province; and more on Indian attacks and the need to "reduce" the Indians of the Chaco.

The Gondra Collection's strength lies in the colonial period, particularly the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is an indispensable starting point for understanding the impact of the Chaco and Indian frontier on colonial Paraguay, and for studying the "unknown" seventeenth century and the impact of the Brazilian *bandeirantes* and Jesuit economic competition. It could also be utilized for greatly needed economic and demographic studies of the colonial period, as well as for the formation of colonial elites. Many other possible research topics are suggested by the Gondra papers, which under certain conditions can be photocopied through interlibrary loan.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA—RIVERSIDE

The Special Collections Department of the UC Riverside Library boasts a strong collection of primary materials on Paraguay. Obtained through the efforts of Professor Hugo Rodríguez-Alcalá, the materials cover a wide variety of subjects and are especially valuable for the 1890–1925 period. Any analysis of Paraguayan intellectual elites—their composition, values, and impact on national life—would profit greatly from the use of these materials. They also might form the documentary base for biographical studies or investigations into family history. In 1973 the Latin American Studies program at the university published a helpful *Research Guide* for a portion of the collection. Unfortunately, the guide is somewhat selective and does not address the books and documents acquired since 1969.⁴ The Riverside holdings remain unorganized and largely uncatalogued, and therefore represent a challenge to the researcher. If mined properly, however, the Riverside material should yield a series of substantial finds. Access to the collection is permitted during regular library hours and photocopying is allowed. The following collections form the major component of the Riverside holdings.

Colección Juan Silvano Godoi

Juan Silvano Godoi (1850–1926) was a key figure in the political and intellectual life of Paraguay following the Triple Alliance War. As a young man, he served first as a member of the 1870 Constituent Assembly and later as Paraguayan Minister to Brazil. After political reversals, Godoi spent time in exile in Buenos Aires. He returned to Paraguay in 1895 and shortly thereafter became director of the National Library, Museum, and Archive, a position he held until his death. Godoi contributed greatly to the cultural development of his country. From the vantage points of political and administrative posts, he witnessed the cycle of *golpes* and intrigues that characterized the postwar years. Moreover, his political activity corresponded exactly to the earliest phase of the Colorado-

Liberal rivalry, a period still shrouded in mystery and held sacrosanct by both political parties.⁵

Housed in a dozen archival boxes at Riverside, the Godoi collection consists of personal letters and documents, materials of historical importance copied from the Asunción Archive (particularly from its Sección Civil), a large series of newspaper clippings from the 1890s, individual journals and newspapers, a collection of López-era banknotes and maps, and a few photographs from the turn of the century. Unquestionably the most valuable piece is a ten-volume personal diary covering the period from 1897 to 1921. Concentrating on "Acontecimientos históricos, políticos, personales, y familiares," the diary has yet to be utilized by historians. Regrettably, volume five, which covers the pivotal year of 1904, appears to be missing from the collection.

What follows is a sampling of the Godoi holdings, partially organized by *caja* and *carpeta*. A thorough cataloging of the materials is planned in the near future.

Caja Carpeta

1	1 no. 5	Power of Attorney granted by Eliza Lynch, 1879
1	4	<i>Papel Sellado</i> , 1828–33; various decrees of Dr. Francia (copies)
1	6	Printed booklet: "Correspondencia diplomática entre el gobierno del Paraguay y la legación de los Estados Unidos," 1868
2	14	Various property titles, 1865–68
4	8	<i>El Semanario</i> , 1853–56, incomplete; <i>El Paraguayo Independiente</i> , 1845, incomplete
6	25	Correspondence of Dr. Francia (copies), consisting of: José Artigas to Francia, 1820; Francia to Bernardo de Velazco, 1821; Aimé Bonpland to Francia, 1822?
8	15 A	Documents relating to the Archivo Nacional, 1900–26
9	1–8	Various articles and correspondence of J. S. Godoi
10	20 no. 54	Documents relating to the 1873 Revolution
50		Manuscript version of <i>Monografías históricas</i> (an unpublished second volume?), 1897

Colección Díaz Pérez

The Riverside Special Collections Library also houses the personal papers of Viriato Díaz Pérez (1875–1958), a Spanish author and critic who immigrated to Paraguay in 1905. Díaz Pérez was soon to be found at the

center of Paraguayan literary and intellectual life, as is reflected in this collection of personal correspondence.⁶ Selected newspaper clippings and review articles, personal memorabilia, and some issues of journals (Caja 26 contains several numbers of *El Economista Paraguayo*) complete the collection. In general, the Díaz Pérez materials do not match the quality of the Colección Godoi.

Colección Julio César Chaves

In 1971 UC Riverside acquired more than thirty-three hundred volumes from the collection of Julio César Chaves, the eminent biographer of Dr. José Gaspar de Francia and Carlos Antonio López. Although the UCR holdings include no personal correspondence of Chaves, they contain a large number of pamphlets (many detailing the Chaco dispute) and other secondary works. Little primary documentation is included, an interesting exception being a bound series of sixty-one original letters from Carlos Antonio López and Francisco Solano López to their agent in London, Carlos Calvo. Written between 1860 and 1862, the letters are catalogued at Riverside as Special Collections Mss. 36.

Colección Hugo Rodríguez-Alcalá

Between 1974 and 1980, Professor Rodríguez-Alcalá augmented these holdings with five generous donations from his private collection of unpublished letters, manuscripts, articles, pamphlets, photographs, and memorabilia from the leading poets, novelists, essayists, and historians of Paraguay. These notables include Augusto Roa Bastos, Gabriel Casaccia, Josefina Plá, Alejandro Guanes, Hérib Campos Cervera, Pablo Max Ynsfrán, Efraim Cardozo, Benigno Riquelme García, and Teresa Lamas Carísimo de Rodríguez-Alcalá. Unlike the Godoi and Díaz Pérez materials, the Rodríguez-Alcalá collection is well organized and ready for use. As a repository of primary sources for biographers and literary historians of Paraguay, it is unmatched in the United States.

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Colección Juan Natalicio González

A little known, but extremely important source, is the Juan Natalicio González Collection at the University of Kansas in Lawrence. González (1896–1966), a key historian and literary figure, was also the chief spokesman for the nationalist wing of the Colorado party in the post-Chaco War period. During that time, he achieved great popularity in Paraguay and, in the late 1940s, served briefly as president. Forced into

exile, he was partially vindicated when General Alfredo Stroessner came to power in 1954. Government suspicion of González's political ambitions, however, resulted in his "safe" appointment as ambassador to Mexico, a position he held for many years.⁷

The Kansas holdings, housed in the Department of Special Collections at the Spencer Library, clearly reflect González's many interests, and the collection consequently contains information on almost any phase of Paraguayan history. An extremely valuable source for the colonial era is a seventeen-volume set of *Actas Capitulares del Cabildo de la Asunción* (Ms. E206–E220, Ms. G42–G43, Ms. P492:1). These transcribed copies from the Archivo Nacional date from 1595–1709. Dealing with such topics as Indian relations, the governance of Asunción, and the complicated relations with the Jesuit order, these records would contribute greatly to any study of the little-known seventeenth century. Another extraction from the National Archive is a five-volume typed manuscript of the "Libros de Real Hacienda" (Ms. E221). This portion of the González Collection covers the years 1772 to 1788, and is therefore a prime source for the Intendencia era, particularly with regard to the financial and economic structure of the colony. Such documentation would be of great importance in establishing the commercial parameters of the yerba trade.

The bound set of *Dr. José Gaspar de Francia, Documentos del Archivo Nacional de Asunción* (Ms. E194, volumes 1–6) consists of typed copies of documents from the Asunción Archive covering the period 1772 to 1840. Volume 1 is titled "Datos biográficos"; volume 2, "El consulado"; and volume 3–4, "La dictadura." The entire work totals over twenty-five hundred pages, each page stamped "Archivo Nacional." A continuation of these materials is *Carlos Antonio López, Documentos del Archivo Nacional de Asunción* (Ms. E193, volumes 1–10). Volume 1 is titled "La familia," 2 "El consulado," and 3 "La presidencia." The López compilation consists of some thirty-five hundred pages covering the period 1807 to 1863; each page again is stamped with the seal of the Archivo Nacional. Both the Francia and López holdings are chronologically arranged and incorporate letters and affidavits from the uncatalogued Sección Civil. The value of these materials cannot be overestimated. They represent what is probably the main source for studies involving Paraguayan political and economic structure, diplomatic relations, land tenure and utilization, and even the history of agriculture in the nineteenth century.

Original and Copied Nineteenth Century Material (Ms. E222) contains some interesting documents of the 1860s, including *procesos* of criminals and documents detailing the Uruguaiana and Corrientes campaigns during the Triple Alliance conflict. Although possibly not as important as the Francia or López holdings, they will still interest anyone concerned with the Paraguayan War (1864–70).

The González Collection also boasts some excellent sources for the diplomatic historian. *Paraguayan Diplomacy* (Ms. E202) is a collection of original documents by various Paraguayan diplomats and officials between 1847 and 1914. This section consists of about five hundred pages of original manuscripts by such luminaries as Juan Andrés Gelly, Juan Cristomo Centurión, Carmelo and Natalicio Talavera, and Cecilio Báez. Another collection, *Victor Morinigo, Escritos y Cartas* (Ms. E192, volumes 1 and 2) consists of about six hundred pages and covers diplomacy in the 1930–57 era. Original sources on the Chaco War and Morínigo's involvement in national politics are included as well.

Material on the recent history of Paraguay is found in *Chaco War* (Ms. E199). Orders, maps, decrees, and reports concerned with military operations (1932–33) are present, many of them with the letterhead "El Estado Mayor" and confidential in nature. The human dimension of the Chaco conflict and its effect on class consciousness have yet to be explored adequately. *Paraguay, Miscellaneous Documents* (Ms. E203) is a four-hundred-page set of original documents and manuscripts on the Chaco War, Paraguayan politics in the 1920s and 1930s, and literature. It includes one lengthy typewritten manuscript, "El Dictador Francia," by Mario Antonio Laconich, one-time director of the Archivo Nacional.

The González materials are also useful in analyzing the recent economic development of the country. *Río Paraguay* (Ms. D144) is a complete survey of trade and commerce on the Paraguay River between 1917 and 1949. Documents on the history of river trade, laws, decrees, and geography are included, along with several charts and graphs. The *Plan de desarrollo económico del Paraguay* (Ms. E198) is a two-hundred-page official government plan with additional reports covering the years 1945–46. It has never been published. An understanding of economic development in this period could provide the background for an analysis of Paraguayan society during the early Stroessner years.

Paraguay "Grupo Staudt" (Ms. E200) consists of 150 pages of material, original documents and typewritten copies, relative to the formation, operation, and subsequent government-decreed dissolution of a key economic cartel that operated in the late 1940s. In a similar vein, *Paraguay, Latrocinios Chavistas* (Ms. E201) contains more than a hundred reports, manuscripts, and documents relative to the systematic looting of the National Treasury and the National Bank of Paraguay between the years 1948 and 1961.

The González Collection also includes a series of *Government Reports* (Ms. E225–229), consisting of a 1925 Dirección General de Estadística report to the Ministro de Hacienda; a 1926 Memoria of the Dirección de Ganadería e Inspector de Carnes; and a 1935 Departamento de Marina "Proyecto de limpieza del Río Paraguay." There is also an interest-

ing 1951 *Informe* from a Special Commission for the Rehabilitation of the State Railway of Paraguay and a 1953 series of the *Boletín Informativo*, issued by the Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores. The documentation contained in these various statistical reports might prove of great interest to the quantitative historian.

Also included in this collection are several personal scrapbooks of González (Ms. E223–224), along with two scrapbooks of newspaper articles, and mimeographs on economics, transportation, and energy for the late 1940s and 1950s (Ms. E230–231). Finally, the collection features a Spanish typescript of Félix de Azara's 1793 *Descripción histórica, física, política y geográfica del Paraguay* (Ms. E197); also, *Guaraní Indians* (Ms. E195, volumes 1–3, and Ms. E196), a four-volume set containing hand and typewritten manuscripts and documents. This item is mainly a Spanish-Guaraní dictionary and grammar, although volume four deals with Guaraní botanical nomenclature.

The González materials are unavailable through interlibrary loan, but the library staff generally is willing to photocopy excerpts from the collection.

UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

In the late 1950s, a UNESCO microfilm unit under the direction of Francisco Sevillano Colom, in conjunction with the Paraguayan government, photographed some two hundred thousand pages of manuscripts held by the Archivo Nacional de Asunción. This team concentrated on the Sección Histórica of the Archive, but also filmed volumes from the Sección Nueva Encuadernación, as well as various periodicals. Upon completion of the project, the Archive was given a copy of the microfilmed volumes and another copy was deposited at the Mexico City Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia.⁸

With copies of the microfilm from the Mexico City depository, the University of Louisville Library assembled a significant number of volumes of the Sección Histórica. The library now possesses volumes 1–10, 56–75, 102–7, 124–293, 313, 316–19, and 359–70. These volumes mostly cover the years 1750–1850 and touch upon every imaginable topic in Paraguayan history of that period. Possible research topics utilizing this microfilm resource include: the question of the Indian frontier; the political, cultural, and economic integration of the province into the Viceregal system; activities of Franciscan missionaries assuming many of the burdens of the expelled Jesuits; the quickening economic life of the province in the late colonial era; and political and social displacement of the traditional landed elite by newly arrived merchant immigrants in the last thirty years of the colonial period. For the early national era, this collec-

tion and its counterpart at Miami University in Ohio would be extremely useful for studying the policies of the national polity during the administrations of Doctor Francia and the first López.

A researcher interested in this source should inspect first the 1958 *Hispanic American Historical Review* article that briefly describes the contents of the volumes microfilmed. Certain volumes, such as Cabildo records, are arranged fully in chronological order. Others are only roughly chronological. The legibility of these microfilms varies considerably, depending upon the state of the original in Asunción.

The University of Louisville Library also possesses an interesting typescript extracted from Asunción Archivo Hacienda records for the years 1803 and 1805–11. It is catalogued under Bareiro, José Doroteo: *Archivo Nacional: Libro no. 6–7, 9–14, año 1803, 1805–1811: Libro mayor de la Real Caja del Paraguay del cargo de los Ministros de Real Hazda. . . .* An informative and useful source for the provincial finances and taxation during the last ten years of Spanish rule in Paraguay, this work of 239 pages is held in the Patterson Rare Book Room of the library. Reproduction is permitted, as is interlibrary loan of reels of the microfilm collection.

MIAMI UNIVERSITY

Harris Gaylord Warren, former chairman of the History Department at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, acquired for that university's library an extensive microfilm collection of the Sección Histórica of the Archivo Nacional de Asunción. This microfilm also came from the UNESCO commission's activities in Paraguay. As such, it has both the strengths and weaknesses of its counterpart in Louisville, but the Miami holdings generally do not duplicate those of Louisville. Instead they continue the Sección Histórica volumes into the 1850s and 1860s.

The volumes at Miami are 245, 249–51, 255, 261–63, 266–68, 272, 280–81, 288, 291–307, 312, 316, and 319–56. The volumes from approximately 290 to 356 cover the period from 1850 to the end of the Triple Alliance War in 1870. Also microfilmed were incomplete runs of two government newspapers, *El Paraguayo Independiente* and *El Semanario*. Again the interested scholar is referred to the 1959 *HAHR* article for a general description of the contents.⁹ Serious researchers concerned with the López eras cannot afford to neglect this portion of the National Archive and can obtain microfilm reels from Miami by interlibrary loan. The Miami library also holds an unpublished "historia" by Dr. William Steward, an important actor in the López era and the reconstruction of Paraguay.

GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF UTAH, SALT LAKE CITY

In the early 1970s, the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints began microfilming a series of little-known Paraguayan church records dealing with genealogical matters. The materials microfilmed included not only documents from the Archivo de la Arquidiócesis in Asunción, but also from the smaller church archives in Concepción and Villarica. In the main, they consist of parish registers of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and deaths.

Historical demographers will find the Utah holdings of great interest. The records are mainly from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although the documents sometimes go back as far as the mid-1700s, as is the case for Asunción and Luque. The demographic impact of the Triple Alliance War has been the subject of much speculation, but little hard data has as yet come to light. The Salt Lake City repository may provide the answer.

Catalogs listing the extensive holdings of the society are available in many branch libraries throughout the United States. Copies of most of the microfilm in the Salt Lake City collection are available upon request.

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

The National Archives of the United States needs little introduction to any scholar interested in diplomatic history.¹⁰ Within its vast collections are the General Records of the Department of State (Record Group 59), and Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State (Record Group 84). These two groups contain all diplomatic communications pertaining to the United States and Paraguay since 1844, when relations between the two nations commenced. They include official instructions to diplomats in Asunción, consular reports, reports of special agents, and communications from Paraguayan governments as well as from their diplomats in Washington. All research touching on the United States and Paraguay starts here, and from this archive and diplomatic records elsewhere, a historian someday will produce that long-overdue and urgently needed general history of the relations between the two countries. From Record Group 59, the following material is available on microfilm from the National Archives: Despatches from United States Ministers to Paraguay and Uruguay, 1858–1906; State Department Registers of Correspondence, 1870–1906; Despatches from United States Consuls in Asunción, Paraguay, 1844–1906; Notes from the Paraguayan Legation in the United States to the Department of State, 1853–1906; and Notes to Foreign Legations in the United States from the Department of State, 1834–1906 (Uruguay and Paraguay).¹¹

The Archives offers registers and indices to facilitate research, but places certain restrictions on the use of some material. For instance, Record Group 59 is open only through 1949. Permission to use restricted sources must be obtained from the State Department.

Another section of the National Archives pertinent to Paraguay is Record Group 76, Records of Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations. Contained in this group are records relating to the United States arbitration of boundaries between Argentina and Paraguay (1878); the United States-Paraguayan difficulties of 1858–59; and the United States participation in the Commission of Inquiry and Conciliation to investigate and attempt to mediate the Chaco dispute between Paraguay and Bolivia (1929–30). The archives also possesses extensive collections of United States military attaché reports from Asunción. The two relevant sources are Records of the Office of the Direction of Intelligence (G-2), 1917–49 in Records of the War Department General and Special Staffs (Record Group 165); and Records of the Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Intelligence, 1939–55 in Records of the Army Staff (Record Group 319).

The Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library (Record Group 45) contains the communications of Lieutenant Thomas J. Page while in command of the *Water Witch* expedition to Paraguay (1853–56); the correspondence of Commodore W. B. Shubrick, commander of the 1858 expedition; and papers of the South Atlantic Squadron (1866–70) relating to naval activities during the Paraguayan War. In addition, navigational surveys of the Paraná-Paraguay river systems, taken during the *Water Witch* expedition, are housed in the Records of the Hydrographic Office (Record Group 37). Scattered throughout other record groups are materials pertaining to such diverse topics as agriculture, trade, economic conditions, health, etc. An investigator would do well to consult the *Guide to Materials on Latin America in the National Archives of the United States*.¹² Photocopying of National Archives materials is generally permitted.

OTHER PARAGUAYAN MATERIALS IN UNITED STATES REPOSITORIES

The Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress includes the personal papers of diplomats, statesmen, politicians, and soldiers, as well as the papers of presidents prior to Herbert Hoover. Because the various holdings are arranged by name rather than by topic, a historian of Paraguay first must know which particular American statesmen or diplomats were concerned with Paraguayan events. Then the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress can be asked whether the Library possesses the personal papers of those individuals.¹³ In addition, various presidential libraries throughout the United States also contain material of

associates and subordinates. Inasmuch as the National Archives is in charge of these libraries, researchers should inquire of the Archives as to whether an individual's papers are included in any presidential library.¹⁴

Scattered throughout the United States are other small collections pertaining to Paraguay. They can be divided into three loose categories of missionary material, records of former diplomats, and miscellaneous materials. In the first category are the Archives of the Mennonite Church, held by Goshen College in Goshen, Indiana.¹⁵ Within this collection are materials referring to the settlement of Russian Mennonites in the Paraguayan Chaco. The papers of Thomas Bond Wood, a Methodist missionary in Paraguay, are found in the DePauw University Archives under Indiana Methodism, with a finding register (*National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* MS 68–895).¹⁶ Another missionary in Paraguay from 1922 to 1925, Hazel Chamberlain, deposited her papers in the University of Oregon Library in Eugene (MS 72–325). Finally, the papers of Abram Martens Lohrentz, a Mennonite missionary and oculist in Paraguay during 1945–46, are placed (with a guide) in the Mennonite Library and Archives in North Newton, Kansas (MS 74–458).

The papers of American diplomats stationed in Paraguay appear from time to time. The records (and an unpublished finding aid) of Albert B. Hale, commercial attaché to Asunción in 1914–16, are held by the University of Illinois Archives (MS 67–459). The papers of Nicolay A. Grevstad, U.S. Minister to Paraguay from 1911 to 1915, are in the Norwegian-American Historical Association Archives at St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota (MS 68–1895). Wesley Frost, minister and ambassador to Paraguay during World War II, placed his materials in the Oberlin College Archives in Oberlin, Ohio. An unpublished finding aid is also available (MS 70–384). The records of Walter B. Graham, secretary to a U.S. minister to Paraguay, are housed in the New York Public Library (MS 70–1724). Finally, the papers of Robert C. Schenck, a U.S. envoy to Paraguay from 1851 to 1853 are located at the Miami University Library in Oxford, Ohio (MS 71–314).

Included in the miscellaneous category are the papers of two American naval officers involved in the Paraguayan expedition of 1858–59. The Duke University Library houses the Louis M. Goldsborough Collection along with a guide (MS 62–2189); and the papers of John Jay Almy are found in the New York Public Library (MS 68–1020). The New York Public Library also has a volume of papers concerning the Bishop of Asunción, Bernardino de Cárdenas, and his difficulties with the Jesuits in seventeenth-century Paraguay (MS 68–1113). For the colonial era, the Latin American collection in the Yale University Library has a few items, with an unpublished register available (MS 65–1080). The Academy of American Franciscan History Library in Potomac, Maryland, holds microfilm copies of documents from various European and

Latin American archives pertaining to this order's history in the Río de la Plata and Paraguay. Unfortunately, no guide to this collection exists. For economic history of the Carlos Antonio López era, the Rhode Island Historical Society Collection in Providence possesses the records of the United States and Paraguayan Navigation Company, the corporate body directed by the notorious U.S. Consul Edward A. Hopkins (MS 74–948). Finally, the important Gordon report on commercial possibilities in Paraguay (1842–43) is located in the records of the British Foreign Office, with a copy to be found at the University of California at Berkeley, cataloged in the microtext library as Film 4202 JX.

NOTES

1. Adalberto López, *The Revolt of the Comuneros, 1721–1735: A Study in the Colonial History of Paraguay* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976); Richard Alan White, *Paraguay's Autonomous Revolution, 1810–1840* (Albuquerque, 1978); John Holt Williams, *The Rise and Fall of the Paraguayan Republic, 1800–1870* (Austin, 1979); Charles J. Kolinski, *Independence or Death! The Story of the Paraguayan War* (Gainesville, 1965); Harris Gaylord Warren, *Paraguay and the Triple Alliance: The Postwar Decade, 1869–1878* (Austin, 1978); David H. Zook, *Conduct of the Chaco War* (New York, 1961); and Leslie B. Rout, *Politics of the Chaco Peace Conference, 1935–1939* (Austin, 1970). In addition, Paul Lewis, although a political scientist rather than a historian, has published two significant works on the political history of Paraguay in this century: *The Politics of Exile: Paraguay's Febrerista Party* (Chapel Hill, 1965), and *Paraguay under Stroessner* (Chapel Hill, 1980).
2. The best general guide to sources on Paraguayan history is the series of Inter-American Notes by John Hoyt Williams, "Paraguayan Historical Resources," *The Americas* 34, 1–4 (1977–78):113–23, 274–84, 407–18, and 537–52, respectively. Also see John Hoyt Williams, "The Archivo Nacional de Asunción," *LARR* 6:1 (Spring 1971):101–18.
3. Raúl Amaral, *Manuel Gondra, el humanista* (Asunción, 1957); and the excellent short sketch of Gondra by Carlos E. Casteñeda, "Manuel E. Gondra, Statesman and Scholar," in the *Calendar of the Manuel E. Gondra Manuscript Collection. The University of Texas Library*, by Carlos Eduardo Casteñeda and Jack Autry Dabbs (Mexico, 1952), pp. 15–22.
4. Pastora Montoro de López Roman, et al., *Research Guide to the Godoi-Díaz-Pérez Collection in the Library of the University of California Riverside* (Riverside, Latin American Studies Program Research Guide no. 1, 1973).
5. Silvano Mosqueira, *Juan Silvano Godoi, su vida y su obra* (Asunción, 1935).
6. Carlos Zubizarreta, "Viriato Díaz Pérez," in *Cien vidas paraguayas* (Buenos Aires, 1961), pp. 148–49; and Rafael Eladio Velázquez, *Breve historia de la cultura en el Paraguay*, seventh ed., (Asunción, 1980), pp. 209–20.
7. Gilberto González y Contreras, *Juan Natalicio González: Descubridor del Paraguay* (Asunción, 1951).
8. Francisco Sevillano Colom, "Lista del contenido de los volúmenes microfilmados del Archivo Nacional de Asunción," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 38:1 (Feb. 1958):60–120. Also see Pan American Institute of Geography and History, Commission on History, *Guía de los documentos microfotografiados por la Unidad Móvil de Microfilm de la UNESCO* (México, 1963).
9. Sevillano Colom, "Lista."
10. National Archives and Record Services, *Guide to the National Archives of the United States* (Washington, 1974).
11. National Archives and Record Service, *Catalog of National Archive Microfilm Publications* (Washington, 1974).

12. George S. Ulibarri and John P. Harrison, *Guide to Materials on Latin America in the National Archives of the United States* (Washington, 1974).
13. For information about the various collections in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, see *A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States*, edited by Philip M. Hamer (New Haven, 1961); Curtis W. Garrison, *List of Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress to July 1931* (Washington, 1932); C. Percy Powell, *List of Manuscript Collections Received in the Library of Congress, July 1931 to July 1938* (Washington, 1939); the *Annual Report of the Library of Congress* from 1938 to 1942; and the *Quarterly Journal of Current Acquisitions* from 1943 to the present.
14. Accession to presidential libraries and the opening of previously closed holdings are announced in *Prologue* and usually in the *American Historical Association Newsletter*.
15. Hamer, *A Guide*, p. 173.
16. For these collections with an associated MS number, see the relevant volume of the Library of Congress Catalogs, *The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, 1959–.