



Canning House

# Forgotten Histories

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# THE LINCOLNSHIRE FARMERS IN PARAGUAY

## A desperate search for people to 'boom' a loan

by Mary Godward and Andrew Nickson

On sweltering hot days in December 1872 and January 1873 some 762 men, women and children from England were dumped on the marshy outskirts of the tiny village of Itapé in the Paraguayan countryside. Soon after another 130 were dumped near the village of Itá. In total, 892 'colonists', including around 360 children, were brought to Paraguay, the largest programme of its kind to the country until the arrival of the Mennonites in the Chaco in 1926. Together, they would go down in the footnotes of history as the ill-fated 'Lincolnshire Farmers'. The story of how they came to be there is a shocking indictment of how the urban poor were used as pawns by international financiers and venal politicians during the Victorian period.



Paraguay had just been defeated in the Triple Alliance War (1865–70), the bloodiest war in Latin American history, against the combined forces of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, which many historians still refer to as a genocide. The total population of Paraguay fell from 525,000 to around 220,000, of whom only 28,000 were adult males.<sup>1</sup> An occupying force of mainly Brazilian troops still controlled the country, which lay in absolute ruins. It was the worst possible time and place for a foreign colonisation scheme, let alone one from Britain, which still had no diplomatic representation in the country.



*Paraguayan mother bearing her dead child to the grave<sup>2</sup>*

The scam began when the puppet governments of presidents Cirilo Rivarola and Juan Salvador Jovellanos established in Asunción by the Allied victors in 1870 sought to raise funds for post-war reconstruction by floating bond issues on the then booming London capital market. Máximo Terrero, the Argentinian son-in-law of General Juan Manuel de Rosas, the former Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires, and financial agent in London of the Rivarola government, connived with a syndicate led by merchant bankers Waring Brothers to float a bond

issue in November 1871. Brokers Robinson, Fleming & Co. were contracted to market the bonds. They issued a prospectus that presented Paraguay in glowing terms that were at total variance with the prostrate state of the economy and concealing the impossibility of generating the necessary revenue to service loan repayments. The bonds had a par value of £1,000,000. But with an issue price of £80 at 8% interest, Warings had to account for only £64 of every £100 in bonds. The syndicate used this difference to engage in 'buying back' the bonds. These phoney purchases were a common practice in the speculative bubble for Latin American bond issues at the time and would later give rise to a public enquiry in 1875. The syndicate made a profit of £128,465, from which Warings took the lion's share (£60,205). Only £400,000 of the bond proceeds were sent to Paraguay and this soon disappeared into the pockets of corrupt politicians.<sup>3</sup> Tererro was rewarded by Jovellanos with an appointment as Consul General in London.

Buoyed by the apparent success of the first loan, in March 1872 President Jovellanos approved a second bond issue in London. This was floated in May for a par value of £2,000,000 at 8% interest. As with the 1871 loan, the syndicate launched a glowing prospectus about Paraguay on 1 June. In an attempt to keep up the bond price, it also engaged in "insider trading", making phoney purchases so as to give the false impression that the issue had been over-subscribed.

But weeks later, by the end of June, the speculative bubble for Latin American bonds had burst, frightening off potential bondholders,

and no more of the 1872 issue could be placed. The issue stalled with a par value of only £562,200, barely one quarter of the proposed £2,000,000. The amount due to Paraguay was only £410,406, while the syndicate earned a large commission of £67,474.<sup>4</sup>

In response to the crisis, Terrero and the syndicate now sought to link the bond issue explicitly to an emigration scheme to Paraguay, using part of the proceeds from bond sales themselves to finance it. They hoped that publicity about the venture – by suggesting

that Paraguay was an excellent place for British colonisation – would encourage further sales of the bonds and keep up their market price. Despite the dire state of its economy, brokers Robinson, Fleming & Co., placed another prospectus in *The Times* on 25 June 1872. In the name of the Paraguayan Emigration Agency they now described the country in highly exaggerated terms as an ideal destination for



Henry Luke Robinson (1828–1880), partner in Robinson, Fleming & Co. whose son travelled out to Paraguay with colonists on the Kepler.

European emigration. Terrero even appointed John and George Fleming as Paraguayan consul and vice-consul respectively in London.

A recruiting agent, John William Billiat, was hired by Robinson, Fleming & Co. He received enquiries at his London office, where he explained the “Terms and Conditions to Emigrants to Paraguay, issued under the seal of the Government of Paraguay”.<sup>5</sup> These included a charge for passage of £25 per adult (£5 per child) repayable over six years, after which the title deeds for land (40 acres for each head of family plus 20 acres for every child over 14, male or female) would be handed to the colonist. Free rations would be granted for only two weeks after land was allotted to colonists, after which they would be provided at cost. Farm animals (cows, pigs and bullocks) and agricultural implements would be supplied at cost repayable at 5% interest. As was common practice at the time, recruiting agents were paid a fixed commission for each colonist, irrespective of the background of each recruit and their suitability for an emigration scheme. Billiat is believed to have received £5 for every head of family that he recruited.

How the colonists came later to be known as the “Lincolnshire Farmers” remains somewhat of a mystery. The epithet probably



Terms and Conditions to Emigrants to Paraguay, under J.W. Billiat

derived from the fact that Billiat's own family came from there and in August he did indeed hold public meetings in Lincolnshire (Grantham, Sleaford, Melton Mowbray and Lincoln).

But even before they left, critical reports had appeared both in the London and Buenos Aires press and in UK diplomatic correspondence which referred to them in the most derogatory terms, as "urban paupers" recruited "from the streets of London". This distortion probably reflected a strong class prejudice of the time. The reality was more complex. Our research based on newly-available data shows that in fact most emigrants were urban artisans with a very wide range of experience, such as shoemakers,

Daily Price List on application.

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**FORMATION OF ENGLISH COLONY IN PARAGUAY,  
SOUTH AMERICA.**

**PASSAGE MONEY** Paid from Home in England to Home in Paraguay.

Free Grants, Forty Acres of Land, given to all men above the age of Eighteen years, and Twenty Acres each to all Children above the age of Fourteen years, open to free selection.

Rations found for all until the first Harvest. Implements found. Seed Corn given. One Cow with Calf provided for each two families. One Pig for each family. Full particulars may be had of J. W. Billiat, 152, Upper Thames Street, London, who will meet intending Emigrants (from 12 to 9 p.m.), at the Angel Hotel, Grantham, August 17th; Red Lion, Sleaford, August 19th; White Lion, Melton Mowbray, August 20th; and Spread Eagle, Lincoln, August 23rd.

Vessels despatched latter end of September and October. As the Emigrants are limited to 200, Families (irrespective of size) apply early, as the number are fast being enrolled.

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**EMIGRATION TO THE FAR WEST!!**

An emigrant who has recently arrived in the Western States of America, writes:—"When you come do not stay in the cities, but go as far as your money will take

*The Grantham Journal*, 10 August 1872

Lincolnshire Wolds

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tailors, carpenters, cooks and waiters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, locksmiths, and barbers. There were 'gentleman's servants' as well as a photographer and an engineer. One couple even brought their own domestic servant and another was the brother of a bondholder. The existence of letters written home describing their plight confirms that many of them were literate. The colonists were also a multinational group. There was a large contingent of 178 German nationals<sup>6</sup>, members of a London community of sugar bakeries and shoemakers. However, persons with agricultural experience were probably no more than 10% and only 15% came from Lincolnshire.

When Hugh Macdonell, the British Consul in Buenos Aires saw the "prospectuses" issued by Robinson, Fleming & Co., he wrote to the Foreign Office warning that the statements about the salubrious climate, peaceful state of the country, and security of settlers "must be at variance with truth".<sup>7</sup> The government of William Gladstone became so worried by this false propaganda that the Emigration Board issued a warning in *The Times* on 24 October 1872 that "it could not recommend persons of labouring class to emigrate to Paraguay". This was the first of several official statements pointing out that Paraguay was still

**Emigration to Paraguay.**—From recent advices, official and otherwise, received by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Emigration Commissioners have been directed to make known that her Majesty's government cannot recommend persons of the laboring classes to emigrate to Paraguay. Since the termination, in 1870, of the exhausting war with Brazil and its allies, the country has remained in a very unsettled state. But, more than this, it is situated partly in the tropics, and the climate, the employments afforded by the staple productions, the want of easy access to good markets, the language, the habits and customs of the natives, render Paraguay by no means a suitable place for British laborers. Emigrants, therefore, will do well to consider that in choosing Paraguay, or any of the neighbouring South American states for a future home, they will have to contend with far greater difficulties than are to be encountered in the British colonies.—*Standard*.

'Emigration to Paraguay: Caution to Emigrants'  
in *The Grantham Journal*, 1872



desperately poor and barely coping with the aftermath of a devastating war that had decimated its population. The same day it issued a public notice to the same effect.

Unfortunately, this first official warning came three weeks after the first group of 370 colonists had left Liverpool on 2 October on the *Kepler*. *The Times* reported that it had taken “300 selected agricultural emigrants”. In contrast, the Emigration Board, a public body that promoted emigration, witnessed the departure of the *Rydal Hall* and reported that “*Many of the people were apparently very poor with families ill-nourished and sluggish looking*”. With a strong foretaste of what was to happen, it stated “*But looking at the Rydal Hall’s people as in some sort of pioneer party, there is great doubt whether very many of them especially the children may not succumb to the change of climate, of food and of circumstances involved in the settling down as a portion of the labouring classes in Paraguay*”.<sup>8</sup> On 25 October, the very next day after this warning, the *Rydal Hall* set sail from London with a further 392 emigrants bound for Paraguay.



The *Rydal Hall* (1871)<sup>9</sup>

On 12 December the *Vanguard* left Liverpool with 130 more colonists, bringing our estimate of the total number of emigrants to 892. The number of children was around 360, a surprisingly high proportion for a rural emigration scheme. On 13 February 1873 the Emigration Commissioners issued a second and even stronger warning. The distribution of 15,000 copies of this notice on billboards in London and other major towns effectively put a stop to the emigration scheme. In response, the representative of the Paraguayan government protested that, given the global importance of London, the British government was effectively denying the country the opportunity of European immigration. From the moment they left, the emigration scheme to Paraguay would generate extensive coverage in English newspapers.

# EMIGRATION

TO

# PARAGUAY.

# CAUTION TO EMIGRANTS.

In the month of October last the Emigration Commissioners, under instructions from the Secretary of State, put out a Notice cautioning  
Proceeding to Paraguay. As, notwithstanding that Notice, it is reported that arrangements have been made to establish a regular Emigration of English emigrants against

As soon as they arrived in Asunción, the capital of Paraguay, the 'Lincolnshire farmers' were disowned by the Paraguayan government of Jovellanos, which denied that it even knew they were coming and that it had any obligation whatsoever towards them. However, excitement at the arrival of the colonists had appeared in the Asunción press as much as three months before their arrival, as this cutting from *El Orden* of 4 August 1872 shows.

to feliz y honroso para ambos Estados.

### Emigración para el Paraguay

Los Sres. Robinson, Fleming y C.<sup>a</sup> en nombre del Gobierno Paraguayo, dieron en Londres los pasos necesarios para la ejecución de algunas cláusulas del contrato del último empréstito que este Gobierno levantó en aquella plaza. Ya estaban prontos a seguir viaje cerca de 1,000 inmigrantes, que deberán formar una colonia en este país, y se decía que el contrato era para la remesa de 10,000 personas. Los planes para esta nueva tentativa de colonización fueron hechos con toda prolijidad posible.

En el número de inmigrantes se encuentran carpinteros, agricultores, refinadores y fabricantes de azúcar, mecánicos y viñateros.

Los inmigrantes serán acompañados por los ministros de sus religiones y por personas que tratarán de la educación de sus hijos en las escuelas.

No serán aceptados inmigrantes sin que presenten testimonio de buena comportamiento, y los agentes del gobierno paraguayo adoptarán medidas para que sean escogidas personas que se muestran deseosas de emigrar.

'Emigración para el Paraguay', *El Orden*, 1872

See translation below.

#### Emigration to Paraguay

Messrs. Robinson, Fleming and Co., on behalf of the Paraguayan Government, took necessary steps in London for the execution of some clauses of the contract for the last loan that this Government raised there. About 1,000 immigrants, who will have to form a colony in this country, were already ready to continue their journey, and it was said that the contract was for the consignment of 10,000 people. The plans for this new attempt at colonisation were made as meticulously as possible.

Among the immigrants are carpenters, farmers, refiners and manufacturers of sugar, mechanics and vintners.

Immigrants will be accompanied by the ministers of their religions, and by people who will deal with their children's education in schools.

Immigrants will not be accepted without presenting testimony of good behaviour, and Paraguayan government agents will adopt measures to ensure that people who are chosen show a desire to emigrate.

Robinson, Fleming & Co. also began to wash its hands of them. The firm's own agent in Asunción, Walter Seymour, even described them as "*paupers, mostly from large cities, and totally incapable of living in the countryside - tailors, shoemakers, watchmakers, cane-makers and from all kinds of trades except farming*".<sup>10</sup>



The arrival of the first group of Lincolnshire Farmers at the port of Asunción on the riverboat, Cisne, 6 December 1872, painted by Charles Sansom, one of the colonists.

© Christie's Images Limited, 2011

After two days in Asunción, the first group from the *Kepler* was sent to Paraguarí, some 60 km to the south-east of the capital, where they were housed at the roofless railway station. Eventually, the colonists moved on bullock carts to the village of Itapé, some 130 kms from Asunción and on Christmas Day 1872 a lottery was held to distribute the land amongst them. When the second group from the *Rydal Hall* stayed in Paraguarí en route to Itapé, eleven children died and the Count Amelot, the French Chargé d'Affaires, who happened to be

visiting the town reported that he had never seen such misery.<sup>11</sup> The third group of 130 who arrived later on the *Vanguard* were taken to a different location near the village of Itá. Meanwhile, those in Itapé endured atrocious conditions. Housed in tents located in “a low place partially underwater when it rained”, they were exposed to the burning Paraguayan summer where temperatures regularly top 40°C.

Meanwhile, on 13 September 1872, two weeks before the departure of the *Kepler*, Gregorio Benites, a Minister Plenipotentiary who outranked Terrero, had arrived in London and replaced him as Consul. Benites wrote to *The Times* saying that the emigration scheme had never been approved by the Paraguayan government, calling it “an industrial speculation”.<sup>12</sup> Terrero replied, denying these claims. Benites did nothing to halt the scheme. Instead he asked Robinson, Fleming & Co. for an advance on account of the second loan, allegedly “for purposes other than provided in the contract”, which the company declined to do. This refusal led to various actions in the Court of Chancery. This legal dispute led Robinson, Fleming & Co., to refuse to release funds from the bond issue to its own local agent, Walter Seymour. Robinson, Fleming & Co. washed its hands of any responsibility to the colonists, even telling Billiat, who had accompanied the colonists to Paraguay, that henceforth he should apply to the Paraguayan government for funds.

The freezing of funds came at a tragic time for the desperate colonists. The Paraguayan winter had not brought any relief to their suffering, given that the majority of colonists were already weak from illness, their crops had failed and they lacked any support from

Robinson, Fleming & Co. In addition, they faced dangers from the lawlessness and insecurity caused by the political anarchy at the time with an on-going uprising against the Jovellanos government. Marauding bands of outlaws were attacking farmsteads, as shown by this reward notice in the newspaper, *Fénix*, on 11 May 1873 following the murder of two colonists, Owen and Elizabeth Newman.<sup>13</sup>

**ASEGINATO  
GRATIFICACION!!!**  
de  
**CIEN PESOS FUERTES, ORO**  
Per cuanto en la noche del Sábado 3 del corriente mes, han sido asesinados los subditos ingleses Owen Newman y su muger Elizabeth en su casa habitacion en la colonia Inglesa de Itapé. Al mismo tiempo se robaron de la casa los siguientes articulos: un reloj grande de plata con cadena larga de plata, una escopeta con la culata recién compuesta con metal blanco, una pistola grande, una caja chica de metal conteniendo dinero.  
Cualquiera persona ó personas que puedan dar informes para la aprehension de los criminales del mencionado asesinato horrible, recibirán la gratificacion enumerada arriba, que se pagará en el acto en la calle de la Asuncion N.º 1.  
Asuncion, Mayo 9 de 1872.  
Gualtero Seymour  
Gerente de la Colonia Inglesa

'Asesinato: Gratificacion!!! de Cien Pesos Fuertes, Oro', *Fénix*, 11 May 1873  
See translation below.

**Murder: Reward!!! of One Hundred Pesos Fuertes, Gold**

On the night of Saturday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of this month, the English subjects Owen Newman and his wife Elizabeth were murdered in their home in the English colony of Itapé. At the same time, the following items were stolen from the house: a large silver watch with a long silver chain, a shotgun with a freshly made white metal stock, a large pistol, a small metal box containing money.

Any person or persons who can provide information to aid the apprehension of the criminals of the aforementioned horrific murder will receive the reward listed above, which will be paid immediately at Calle de la Asunción No. 1.

Asuncion, May 9, 1872.

Walter Seymour

Manager of the English Colony



Annie Kennett, a few years after arriving in Rosario, Argentina

Yet the English were often able to count on the kindness and generosity of local Paraguayan families. Eight-year-old Annie Kennett says in her diary from Itapé that, following a terrible storm that caused her family to seek refuge, *“The native women are a kind-hearted lot. They took us in, gave us their beds until we got another tent.”*<sup>14</sup> And in a letter from Itá, Emma Edwards wrote that *“They are all the same. They all grow what they eat and are not like the English. Whatever they have got to eat they will give it to you if you pass their houses”*.<sup>15</sup>

Disease and malnutrition began to take their toll at Itapé. In early August a delegation of three men desperately sought help from the Italian consul, Rodrigo Assensio y Ximenes. In their letter penned to him on arrival in Asunción, they said: *“... there is no provisions now to be obtained in the colony of any description ... there is remaining in the colony children who have lost Father and Mother .... Men have when there [their] health [h]as permitted them, toiled on the land allotted them, but as soon as there [their] crops have arrived through the soil, it [h]as been eaten by the vermin”*. They also made a forthright condemnation of the syndicate: *“We have also further to state that the contract entered into between Robinson, Fleming, and Company and ourselves is entirely fallen to the ground, as they have not carried out there agreement in any shape or form”* and

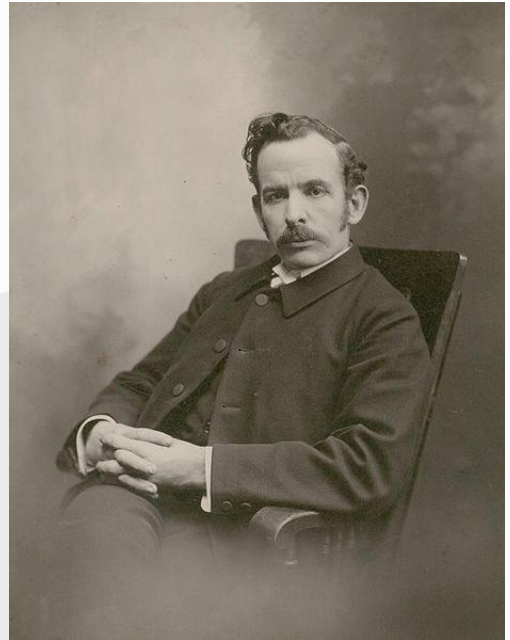
pleaded that all “*may speedily be removed from the colony of Itapé to Buenos Ayres, or else sent back to England, before we are reduced to the last and dreaded fear of starvation*”.<sup>16</sup>

The situation at Itapé had become so bad by the time Assensio y Ximenes visited in September 1873 that he reported, “*the graves equalled the number of their tents*”.<sup>17</sup> Despite the pressure from Robinson, Fleming & Co. to remain there, as their situation worsened, destitute families abandoned the colony. They endured a seven-day odyssey on bullock carts to Paraguari station and then to Asunción, where they begged on the streets and sold their last possessions to survive. A large group who could not afford carts walked all the way to Paraguari while a smaller group even walked for weeks to the border with Argentina in the south-east of the country.

In Asunción Bartolomé Mitre, former president of Argentina, Italian consul Rodrigo Assensio y Ximenes, and others provided help to individual colonists. Billiat had left for England on 10 June, ostensibly to plead for help from the syndicate, leaving matters in the hands of Captain Henry Cavendish Angelo. Although employed by Robinson, Fleming & Co. he sent anonymous letters to Buenos Aires newspapers describing the plight of the colonists. After a few bachelors managed to work their passage to Buenos Aires, first-hand accounts of the dire straits of their companions produced a wave of sympathy within the British and German communities. On 18 August, Seymour wrote to the British Chargé d’Affaires in Buenos Aires, Frederick St. John, pleading for help. In his letter he said that “*The colony of Itapé is in*



*a state of anarchy, and in spite of all economy their provisions are exhausted... In the colony of Itá there is actual starvation and I must fear that some persons and children will perish from want of food."*<sup>18</sup> St. John responded quickly by organising an emergency 'rescue fund' with the help of the British community and the St. Patrick Benevolent Society. Intense media competition over news of the scandal certainly helped the appeal and £1,800 was raised in a matter of weeks. During October–December 1873, almost all of the survivors were brought downriver from Asunción in steamers to Buenos Aires, some of them disembarking in Rosario. About half of them settled permanently in Argentina, where they have many descendants. Probably the most famous was the social reformer, William Case Morris. Others re-emigrated or returned to England. Very few remained in Paraguay. These included the Battcock, Edwards, and Pattenden families, and George Stapley, as well as several German families. George Mulhall, one of the organisers of the rescue, said that 162 colonists had died although our research suggests that the number was lower, at around 65–80.



**William Case Morris**, known as "Dr Barnardo of Argentina", founded a network of children's homes across Argentina, a church and more than 30 schools. He is still one of Argentina's best-loved social reformers and is highly regarded, with a statue standing in Buenos Aires as well as railway stations and football stadia named after him.

A German observer at the time, Heinrich Mangels, described the business of the Lincolnshire Farmers as a “cruel swindle”.<sup>19</sup> The 1875 parliamentary enquiry into the Latin American loans fiasco absolved the syndicate of any wrongdoing. Its head, Charles Waring, even suggested to the enquiry “that it might prove expedient to send a gunboat to Paraguay” in order to oblige the Asuncion government to pay its debts.<sup>20</sup>

The exchange between the Committee and George Fleming illustrated the arrogance of the financiers.

“Did you know the state Paraguay was in at the time you issued the prospectus?”

“It was perfectly peaceful”.

“Yes, very peaceful, did you not know that the population had been almost exterminated”.

“No.”<sup>21</sup>

As the renowned US historian Harris Gaylord Warren concluded, “Robinson, Fleming & Co. stayed within the law, mainly because there was so little law to stay within. There was no adequate government supervision of bond flotations and nothing to prevent anyone from promoting mad emigration schemes”. For their part, the politicians of Paraguay were only too happy to get their hands on a substantial amount of gold which, not surprisingly, they surreptitiously shipped out of Asuncion and lodged in Buenos Aires bank accounts and in Argentine real estate.<sup>22</sup> Walter Seymour put the matter succinctly years later in his autobiography, “In raising the two loans for Paraguay, conditions were made that large sums should be

employed in the establishment of a bank here, in railways, in public works, and in encouraging immigration. This was proposed in London to boom the loan."<sup>23</sup>

On another very hot summer day in Paraguay over 130 years later, Andrew Nickson arrived in Itapé in search of oral testimony about the 'Lincolnshire farmers'. His first visit was to the local priest, Padre Severiano Vega, who had assembled a small collection of historical objects in his church in order to promote greater local awareness of the cultural heritage of the area. But neither he nor Albino Ortíz Rotela, the local mayor, had ever heard of the Lincolnshire Farmers. With a group of curious locals, that grew larger as the day wore on, visits were made to each of the most elderly people in the community in turn, but none knew anything about it and some were no doubt beginning to doubt the story altogether. But everything suddenly changed when the group spoke to Manuel Vera Duarte, the oldest person in the village. Born in Itapé, he had emigrated to Argentina after the Chaco War (1932-35) against Bolivia. Luckily, he had returned home from Buenos Aires some months earlier to pass his final days in his birthplace. His eyes lit up as he recalled what his aunts, Fernanda, Raquel and Balbina Vera Paniagua, had told him when he was a small boy. "Don't touch the pots – the English may come back to collect them". He explained that when they left Itapé, the colonists had left utensils such as teapots, porcelain jars and 'even salad bowls' with their Paraguayan neighbours. No doubt these articles of European manufacture were considered luxury items in rural Paraguay at the time. Then he took the group to the place, known as *caa'guy guazú* ('large forest' in Guaraní), 2 km from the village where he said the English stayed. Other neighbours then

appeared who told about the table-clothes made of pink silk – perhaps an exaggeration – that the colonists had owned. As dusk fell and Nickson was about to head back to Asunción, Francisca Ovieda, an elderly widow who had heard about the visit from a neighbour, approached. Her recollection gave a surprising insight into a possible reason for the extremely high mortality rate suffered by the colonists. When she was a child her mother told her that *los ingleses* had suffered a lot from a foot infection caused by bites from a tiny insect called *pique* and that in order to treat the illness they used the only medicine that they had brought with them from London – a laxative!<sup>24</sup>

The authors' database ([The Lincolnshire Farmers in Paraguay](#)) now covers personal details of 757 of the total number of 'Lincolnshire Farmers', which we currently estimate at 892. On-going research continues into each of the families and the database is updated as new information emerges. Several families in Argentina and elsewhere have recently 'discovered' their Paraguayan roots and a group visit to Itapé and Itá is being planned.



This piece was written and submitted to **Canning House's** **Forgotten Histories** project by Mary Godward and Andrew Nickson.

**Mary Godward** is an independent researcher based in Buenos Aires. With a background in teaching, she specialised in cultural relations when she joined the British Council in 1998 and was the Director of the Argentina office from 2014 to 2019. A family link initially spurred her interest in the Lincolnshire Farmers and she has now teamed up with Andrew Nickson to try and solve some of the many mysteries surrounding the scheme, unearthing unpublished documents which may be held by families and archives.

**Andrew Nickson** is Honorary Reader in Public Management and Latin American Development at the University of Birmingham. He is lead trainer at the United Nations Service Staff College in Turin on Decentralised Governance and Peacebuilding, and Macroeconomics for Peace. He writes for the Economist Intelligence Unit, Oxford Analytica and IHS Markit. He has a research interest in Nepal, Sierra Leone and Paraguay. His recent writing on Paraguay include co-editing *The Paraguay Reader* (2013), *Historical Dictionary of Paraguay* (2015) and *Revolutionary Movements in Latin America After the Cold War: The Case of the Ejército del Pueblo Paraguayo* (2019).

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## References

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- <sup>1</sup> An even higher death rate is given by Thomas Whigham and Barbara Potthast, "The Paraguayan rosetta stone: new insights into the demographics of the Paraguayan war, 1864-1870." *Latin American Research Review* 34.1 (1999): 174-86.
- <sup>2</sup> *Harper's Weekly*, New York, 26 February 1870. The title here is the published caption to the image.
- <sup>3</sup> Harris Gaylord Warren, "The golden fleecing: the Paraguayan loans of 1871 and 1872". *Inter-American Economic Affairs* 26 (1) (Summer 1972): 3-24.
- <sup>4</sup> Warren, *ibid*.
- <sup>5</sup> Stephen King Collection, State Library of South Australia
- <sup>6</sup> Förster, B. *Deutsche Colonien in dem oberem La Plata—Gebiete mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Paraguay*. Leipzig, 1886, zweite Auflage quoted in Herken Krauer, J.C. (2019) *La inmigración en el Paraguay de posguerra: el caso de los "Lincolnshire Farmers" (1872-1873)*, *Handbook of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 46.
- <sup>7</sup> Letter dated 2 August 1872 from Hugh MacDonell to Earl Granville, FO 59/35 ff.20-25.
- <sup>8</sup> Letter dated 26 October 1872 from Captain Foster to Assistant Secretary Immigration Board, CO 318/267 ff. 355-356.
- <sup>9</sup> *Scottish Built Ships: the history of shipbuilding in Scotland*, available at <https://www.clydeships.co.uk/>.
- <sup>10</sup> Walter R Seymour to St. John, Asuncion, June 1, 1873, F.O. 59/35 quoted in Harris Gaylord Warren (1965), "The Lincolnshire Farmers: an abortive emigration scheme 1872-1873," *The Americas*, Vol. 21/3, 243-269.
- <sup>11</sup> St John to Granville, No. 7, Buenos Aires, April 2, 1873, and No. 31, June 9, 1873, F.O. 59/35 quoted in Harris Gaylord Warren (1965), "The Lincolnshire Farmers: an abortive emigration scheme 1872-1873," *The Americas*, Vol. 21/3, 243-269.
- <sup>12</sup> Letter from Gregorio Benites to The Times newspaper dated 4 October 1873 in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 12 December 1873, Universidad de San Andrés.
- <sup>13</sup> The reward notice appeared in six issues of the newspaper throughout May with the year wrongly stated as 1872.
- <sup>14</sup> Annie Elizabeth Kennett, "The Lincolnshire farmers in Paraguay", in Peter Lambert and Andrew Nickson (2013) *The Paraguay Reader*. Duke University Press, p. 140.
- <sup>15</sup> Available at [http://www.argbrit.org/Lincolnshire\\_Farmers/LF\\_Edwards.htm](http://www.argbrit.org/Lincolnshire_Farmers/LF_Edwards.htm)
- <sup>16</sup> Letter dated 6 August 1873 from Itape colonists to Rodrigo Assensio y Ximenes, F.O. 118/150, ff. 204-205.
- <sup>17</sup> Letter dated 20 June 1873 from Rodrigo Assensio y Ximenes to Frederick St John, F.O.118/150, ff. 197-199.

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<sup>18</sup> Letter dated 18 Aug 1873 from Walter Seymour to Frederick St. John, in *The Standard* (Buenos Aires), 28 August 1873, Universidad de San Andrés.

<sup>19</sup> Heinrich Mangels (1904) *Wirtschaftliche, naturgeschichtliche und klimatologische Abhandlungen aus Paraguay*. München: Verlagsanstalt Dr. Fr. P. Datterer, quoted in Jan M. G. Kleinpenning (2009) *Rural Paraguay 1870-1963: A geography of progress, plunder and poverty*. Vol. 2. Madrid: Instituto Ibero-Americano, p.150.

<sup>20</sup> Parl. Papers, "Loans," p.204, quoted in Carlos Marichal (1989) *A century of debt crisis in Latin America: From independence to the great depression, 1820-1930*. Princeton University Press, p. 95.

<sup>21</sup> Parl. Papers, "Loans", p.188, quoted in Carlos Marichal (1989) *A century of debt crisis in Latin America: From independence to the great depression, 1820-1930*. Princeton University Press, p. 95.

<sup>22</sup> Harris Gaylord Warren, "The Golden Fleecing: the Paraguayan Loans of 1871 and 1872," *Journal of Interamerican Economic Affairs*, No.26 (1972), 11-13.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Seymour (1910) *Ups and downs of a wandering life*. London: John Long, p. 137.

<sup>24</sup> Andrew Nickson, "Los Mendigos de Londres en Itapé: Una sórdida historia de emigración tras la Guerra contra la Triple Alianza", *Correo Semanal, Ultima Hora* (Asunción), 22 de julio de 1995.