

# Peru-Bolivia Confederation, 1836 (PERU-BOLIVIA)

# MUNUC 34



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## CHAIR LETTER

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Dear Delegates,

I would like to give you a warm welcome to the Peru-Bolivia Confederation! The year is 1836 and Marshal Andres de Santa Cruz is calling on *you* to write a constitution for a new nation of united Peru and Bolivia. However, that will not be the end of your journey. Afterwards, we will face various challenges head on. Either we overcome them and successfully establish a prosperous country, or we fail and dissolve into separate regions.

My name is Sara Hingson-Rodriguez and I will be chairing in character as Santa Cruz on this committee. I am extremely excited that you will be joining us in creating a constitution for this young nation and seeing it through its first crises. At UChicago, I am a fourth year Political Science major with a minor in Human Rights. Last year I was an Experienced Assistant Chair (EAC) for the Kingdom of Afghanistan in MUNUC 33. Outside of MUNUC, I am an Under-Secretary General for ChoMUN, our college conference, and am trying to learn French on Duolingo. My job is to ensure that this committee exceeds your expectations. Your job is to work diligently together and enjoy yourselves. I hope to give you all a unique and rewarding experience.

My goal is for you to actively participate in the direction of the committee. It is always more engaging and entertaining when delegates are proactive. We will also be dealing with crisis elements. Hybrid committees contain both General Assembly and crisis mechanics, meaning that you will get the best of both worlds! However, I also understand that this can be confusing, especially during the transition period. Please do not hesitate to ask questions. This is meant to be a learning experience and a way for you to expand your knowledge. My expectations for delegates are very high and I have full faith that you will exceed them.

As a reminder, I expect you all to handle debate maturely and with our 21st century principles in mind. Treat your fellow delegates the way you would like to be treated.

André and I cannot wait to meet all of you! I know you will make MUNUC 34 an amazing experience.  
Do not hesitate to contact any of us if you have any questions.

Good luck and best wishes,

Sara Hingson-Rodriguez

Chair, Peru-Bolivia Confederation, 1836

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## CRISIS DIRECTOR LETTER

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Dear Delegates,

We're very happy to welcome you to MUNUC 34! My name is Andre Altherr and I'll be your Crisis Director for the Peru-Bolivia Confederation, 1836. I'm from New York City and am currently a Fourth Year at the University of Chicago majoring in History and International Relations. Despite once having had a social life, I now spend my free-time on much tamer activities like reading obscure histories of the Byzantines and Central Europe and relaxing with the best of Stephen King and 20th century sci-fi anthologies. When not reading, I enjoy hiking, watching *House*, and trying to catch up on much needed sleep.

I've helped run and participated in numerous Model UN conferences in both college and high school, and I believe that this activity has the potential to hone public speaking, develop your creativity and critical thinking, and ignite interest in new fields. Sara and I care very deeply about making this committee an inclusive space in which all of you feel safe, comfortable, and motivated to challenge yourself to grow as a delegate, statesperson, and human. We trust that you will conduct yourselves with maturity and tact when discussing sensitive subjects. If you have questions about the expectations of delegates, feel free to email us.

With all of that being said, Model UN should be an activity that is, first and foremost, fun! We hope that you will work collaboratively and honestly, and that you will leave this committee with new friends and new interests.

All the best,

Andre Altherr

Crisis Director, Peru-Bolivia Confederation, 1836

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## COMMITTEE STRUCTURE & MECHANICS

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Hybrid committees are characterized by both General Assembly (GA) and Crisis elements. We understand that many delegates may not have experience with either. As such, we hope that this section will clarify any points of confusion on committee structure. However, please do not hesitate to reach out if any questions remain.

### ***Before Conference***

Regardless of your experience, we encourage you to visit the MUNUC website to familiarize yourself with the terminology often heard during conferences. Moreover, the website also provides great advice on how to improve your speeches and note writing. For this committee you are not required to submit a position paper, but we encourage you to think about your goals for this conference, both as part of a larger coalition and as an individual.

The committee will use two different Model UN formats during its tenure, taking the form of a General Assembly during the initial two sessions of constitution-writing and then transitioning to a traditional Crisis Committee for the remainder of the conference. GAs are characterized by coalition building—forming blocs to write a resolution and then voting on the finished product. We expect your constitution to include government structures and individual rights. You might ask yourself, what would an effective judicial system look like? How should executive power be concentrated?

In contrast, Crisis Committees not only allow the “frontroom,” or the committee room, to pass directives but also allow you to implement their personal objectives in the “backroom.” Unlike GA resolutions, directives are much shorter in length and are more focused in response to a crisis. You can take action that significantly impacts the types of crises presented to you. Delegates send notes to the “backroom” which detail personal goals and how you want to accomplish them. During the first part of the committee, the backroom will be closed to ensure that you are focused on writing a constitution. Once we transition to the second part, the backroom will open up and you can send notes to an Assistant Chair (AC). MUNUC’s website outlines the structure of a traditional committee

and a crisis committee. We hope to make this transition as smooth as possible, please reach out with any questions.

### ***Part One: Drafting the Constitution of a New Nation***

The first part of the committee will be exclusively dedicated to drafting and passing a constitution for the Peru-Bolivia Confederation. When the first session begins in September 1836, a state spanning the vast territories of Peru and Bolivia is only an idea in the mind of Marshal Andrés de Santa Cruz. Therefore, it will be the job of assembled delegates from the republics of Bolivia, North Peru, and South Peru, to realize his dream and form a new confederation under a new constitution. This portion will take up the first two sessions of the conference, and will take the form of traditional GA structure. By the end of the second session, the committee will have a fairly comprehensive constitution. While it will be important to get to the crisis sessions eventually, we encourage you to make the most of your available time to properly debate and consider the clauses of the new constitution.

These critical sessions will determine the theoretical and functional foundations of the new state and will establish the powers of the committee. The central question will be around how to structure a powerful state which unites the vast diversity of peoples, economies, and local structures within the three republics. It will also be up to you to establish more detailed answers to constitutional structures, including the term limits and electoral procedures for the executive and members of congress, the exact function of the executive office, the role of the judiciary, and much more. You can find an example of the Bolivian constitution created by Marshal de Santa Cruz in 1831 in the Appendix. While you will not need to build an entire constitution from scratch, it will be important for you to take a deep look at many of its central components. Everything, from the powers that the committee wields to the strength of the economy, will be determined by the clauses of this final constitution. It is also important to remember that the people of various regions will have different reactions to certain constitutional provisions. Structures that particularly favor certain groups or regions may displease others, with inevitable impacts upon the coming crisis sessions.

Although crisis elements, including your individual resources and connections, will not be available to you during the period of constitutional debate, you should keep your plans for later sessions in



mind. As you and your fellow delegates develop the structures that will govern your collective powers, remember that all of you will be able to use these structures to fulfill your own agenda. This is important not only because you want to aim to shape the constitution in ways that will benefit you in the coming crisis sessions. You may create intentional weaknesses or strengthen government institutions which you hope to exploit. Compromise accordingly, as everyone has their own philosophical preferences and personal motives during the drafting process. It is essential that you figure out what constitutional visions are compatible with your own in order to best shape the final document.

### ***Part Two: Holding the Peru-Bolivian Confederation Together***

During the second part, the committee will transition to Crisis, taking into account the structural changes made in the creation of the constitution during the GA sessions. As the inaugural members of the congress of a new unified state that you have created, you will be forced to deal with the host of problems created by the new state and the structure that you have given to it. These problems will arise in the form of updates or crisis breaks. The backroom will be notified every time a directive is passed, meaning that your actions directly affect the types of crises presented. A variety of characters will appear before you, bringing a new challenge each time. Moreover, your individual notes will impact the challenges these characters announce, which is why it is important to prepare comprehensive objectives for yourself and the committee.

Notes are part of what sets Crisis apart from GAs. Notepads will be made available to you at the beginning of the first session, even though you will not be using them until later. Your notes will be directed toward an AC: one of our helpful MUNUC staffers. If you are feeling lost or are not sure if your plan is feasible, you can ask them for advice out of character. Most of the time, your notes will be from the perspective of your assigned character and directed toward a secretary, friend, family member, etc. At the beginning, you will want to build your resources and expand your influence in order to enact whatever plan you have. Ultimately, you want your notes to create a crisis break. This shows that you are proactively guiding the committee. Remember, your goals need to be realistically accomplished within three sessions and should consider the historical context of the committee. The



Peru-Bolivia Confederation was established in 1836, meaning that your actions are limited by the available technology of the time.

As mentioned previously, directives are shorter than resolutions and are typically between one and three pages. Directives take specific actions and those that pass will go into effect, so precise and careful wording is key. Keep in mind that along with directives, you will also be allowed to amend your constitution during the second part of the conference. Of course, you will have to follow the procedures that they agreed upon in the first portion, which will make this option more or less feasible.

Although the stated objective of this committee is to maintain a unified nation, in the end, you are the ones who will determine the fate of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation. We look forward to seeing how you will grow over the course of MUNUC 34 and cannot wait to see your responses to whatever crisis breaks we throw your way.

# TOPIC: PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION

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## Statement of the Problem

### ***Internal Policy***

Unification has the potential to remedy some of the economic problems facing Bolivia. The Peruvian region has more available resources than Bolivia. Peru's economy could flourish—if the central government were stable enough. As mentioned before, Santa Cruz is known for his administrative acumen. If anyone could make Peru-Bolivia a regional powerhouse, it would be him. In addition, re-establishing the geographic boundaries of the viceroyalty would not upset any economic or cultural boundaries since Bolivia and Peru had been governed as one territory under Spanish colonial rule for years.<sup>1</sup> By 1836, Santa Cruz has established himself as the protector over three main regions: Northern Peru, Southern Peru, and Bolivia. In Lima, conservatives opposed the free-trade policies of the Liberals to the south and opposed Santa Cruz on these grounds.<sup>2</sup> However, Liberals were not necessarily aligned under Santa Cruz either. Some Liberals viewed him as too autocratic and were willing to align with anti-confederation forces. The perception of Santa Cruz as a Bolivian outsider also works against him politically.<sup>3</sup>

### ***Economic Tensions***

*"The treasury was empty. Agricultural lands within thirty leagues of the capital were but one vast expanse of desolation...The economic resources of the people had been drained as a result of the many taxes, and they had been reduced to famine because of the total siege which they had suffered. One saw nothing but misery and desolation wherever one looked."*

- Hipolito Unanue, Peru's first minister of finance, 1822<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 156

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> Ibid

<sup>4</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 139-140

The war for independence hurt agricultural production. Clashes between royalist and rebel forces damaged once prosperous fields. The fields that were spared complete destruction were degraded in order to sustain the soldiers of two large armies.<sup>5</sup> The production of food, wine, sugar, and cotton were disrupted during the war due to labor shortages caused by armies recruiting farm workers and slaves.<sup>6</sup> However, one positive is that silver mining production began to make a recovery from its decline a decade earlier. Conservative *Limeños* along the coast adopted protectionist policies to promote domestic growth against American traders. Wealthy farmers, millers, and merchants in Lima and in the north were willing to look to Chile to re-establish trade relations. They remembered how profitable trade once was, giving sugar and tobacco in exchange for Chilean wheat.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, southern Peru developed different economic goals which were more aligned with Bolivia. Before independence, food, wine, and brandy were exported north and to Bolivia. These farmers expected economic recovery through free trade policies with Bolivia.<sup>8</sup> In addition, wool production in the south had grown in response to a rising demand from Great Britain, whose industrial revolution was in full swing. Furthermore, industry leaders and local politicians chafed at Lima's control over the region and saw uniting with Bolivia as the best way forward.

These divisions pose challenges for Santa Cruz and the representatives at Tapacari. To ensure the success of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation, the interests of all three regions will need to be taken into consideration. North Peru and Lima have the greatest opposition against unification due in part to their economic and political interests. Elites in Lima seek to maintain authority over all of Peru and see no reason to unite with Bolivia especially since it would weaken their control over southern Peru.

### ***The Rise of the Caudillo***

Post-independence, military leaders called *caudillos* sought political power. They continued to have support from within the army and succeeded in establishing themselves as an influential institution.

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<sup>5</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 140

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

<sup>7</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 141

<sup>8</sup> Ibid

*Caudillos* were by no means united. Personal rivalries and power struggles were the norm, each group vying for alliances and prestige.<sup>9</sup> *Caudillos* allied with elites and indigenous communities to further their own goals, and rewarded their followers with bureaucratic positions. Both conservative and Liberal *caudillos* existed, although they were not as loyal to the label as other politicians. Conservatives favored protectionist trade policies, a strong central government, and supported the Catholic Church. In comparison, Liberals advocated for free trade and wanted to encourage European migration. They were also in favor of a federal system of government.<sup>10</sup> Santa Cruz and his rival General Agustín Gamarra are examples of *caudillos*. Gamarra's views are categorized as conservative and Santa Cruz's views as Liberal. But in reality, both were flexible in their ideologies and were more concerned with ensuring that they remained in power.<sup>11</sup> Gamarra briefly served as president of Peru from 1829 to 1833 and fought against Santa Cruz.<sup>12</sup>

### ***Santa Cruz's Constitutional Expectations***

In 1831, a new Bolivian constitution was passed during Santa Cruz's presidency.<sup>13</sup> The new government structure would have two legislative chambers: the Chamber of Senators and the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber of Deputies is elected by Bolivian citizens and representation is based on population. In the Senate, representation is three Senators for each department. Each chamber has their own duties listed in Articles 36 and 43. Presidents serve four year terms and are elected by an electoral board. A judiciary system is also established with district courts and a Supreme Court. The constitution also includes a section on how to add amendments and a list of guaranteed rights (similar to our own Bill of Rights). You may use this constitution as a starting point, however you are not required to do so. It is important to remember that this is meant to represent three different regions, each with varying levels of loyalty.

The complete constitution can be found in Appendix A.

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<sup>9</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 137

<sup>10</sup> Daniel M. Masterson, *The History of Peru* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 73

<sup>11</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 137

<sup>12</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 129

<sup>13</sup> "Constitutional History of Bolivia," ConstitutionNet (International IDEA, December 9, 2019), <https://constitutionnet.org/country/constitutional-history-bolivia>

Once Santa Cruz assumed control over Peru, the state was divided into North and South due to diverging economic and political objectives. Santa Cruz envisioned that each state—North Peru, South Peru, and Bolivia—would operate quasi-independently from each other, with parallel governments.<sup>14</sup> Each state would have its own president and congress, organized in the same manner Bolivia's constitution laid out. At this point, Santa Cruz is still the president of Bolivia and his goal is to add protector of the *Confederación Perú-Boliviana* to his title. Of course, these are merely wishes at this point. Ultimately, responsibility lies with the constitutional assembly to determine how the three states will be governed.



### ***Foreign Policy***

#### Chile

Although the Confederation of Peru and Bolivia has not even been formalized, it is already clear that its most troublesome neighbor will be the Republic of Chile. The first main area of dispute is territorial, with many members of the Chilean government openly coveting the Bolivian port of Cobija, seeing it as a natural extension of Chilean territory and the key to ensuring its control of the

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<sup>14</sup> Lane Carter Kendall. "Andrés Santa Cruz and the Peru-Bolivian Confederation." *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 16, no. 1 (1936): 29-48. doi:10.2307/2506573.

southeastern Pacific. The second, and perhaps the most important area of dispute, is the issue of trade within South America and with European markets. With its extensive coastline and significant mining operations, Chile has long dominated trade with Europe from the Pacific side of South America, but the arrival of a unified Confederation between Peru and Bolivia has opened the prospect of a challenge to Chile's trade preeminence. The combination of the unified market created by the union of the two states, their port facilities, mineral resources, and the prospect of a stable government under Santa Cruz make the proposed confederation the potential economic juggernaut of the region. Additionally, relations between Peru and Chile have been rocky since 1831, when the Peruvians began a tariff war between the two countries which would destroy the previously profitable trade exchange of Chilean wheat for Peruvian sugar. Although the two countries would sign a treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation in January 1835 in an effort to overcome their differences, the repudiation of the treaty by President Orbegoso in May left relations in an even worse state.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, the Chilean hostility to Peru has extended to the new union with Bolivia, poisoning the Chilean public's mind against it from the outset. A final wedge with the Chileans is the presence in Peru of Chilean exile Ramón Freire, the former Supreme Director and later President of Chile whose Liberal forces were defeated in the Chilean Civil War by the Conservatives who currently rule under President Joaquin Prieto. Freire continues to command a loyal following in Chile, and has been lobbying Santa Cruz's government for aid in his schemes to return the Liberals to power in Chile.<sup>16</sup> The Chilean government is understandably irate at the protection being afforded to Freire by Santa Cruz, and some of the President's advisors have suggested that removing him from the country might go a ways towards mollifying the Chileans. Others argue that Freire is potentially a useful tool against a government whose interests are diametrically opposed to those of the new Confederation.

### Argentina

Another foreign policy concern is relations with Bolivia's southern neighbor, the Argentine Confederation. While not nearly as worried by the economic threat of the Peru-Bolivian Confederation as the Chileans, the Argentine government under Governor of Buenos Aires Juan

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<sup>15</sup> HAHRA, 41

<sup>16</sup> HAHRA, 42

Manuel de Rosas has taken a noticeably hostile stance towards the new confederation's military potential in the region. It appears that Rosas, a dictator in all but name, feels that his Unitarian enemies might look towards Santa Cruz, who is known to be sympathetic to their cause, and neighboring Peru-Bolivia for support. Since the 1833 coup that granted him complete dominance over Buenos Aires and much of the country, Rosas has utilized the full powers of the state to terrorize the Unitarians, who have changed from supporting a centralized state to general opposition to Rosas' rule. Over time, his regime confiscated Unitarian lands, decorated people and buildings with the red of Rosas' Federalists, and harassed and imprisoned Unitarians. Luckily for Peru-Bolivia, there is a mutual loathing between Rosas and the Chilean President Portales that almost equals that between Rosas and Santa Cruz, effectively forestalling the danger of an alliance between the two. That being said, Argentina's opposition to the Confederation's very existence will present a significant distraction from the more potent danger of Chile until Rosas is mollified or removed.

### Great Powers

While the great powers of Europe no longer possess territorial holdings in our vicinity, the importance of trade with South America and jockeying for economic influence nonetheless leaves many European nations distinctly interested in the future of the Peru-Bolivia conglomerate. Our trade policy towards the foreign powers will matter immensely in determining their attitude towards Santa Cruz and the Confederation of Peru-Bolivia. Many proponents of domestic production in both countries support a firmly protectionist policy in the interest of reducing competition for local industries. Others have suggested that not only would free trade with foreign states be advisable on economic grounds, encouraging cheap exports and facilitating the importation of foreign tools critical to improving the efficiency of the mining and agricultural sectors, but that it would also give foreign traders, and by extension their governments, a stake in the survival of the new state. Aside from extending diplomatic and economic support, the Great Powers, particularly France, Great Britain, and, to a more limited extent, the United States, also possess the ability to project military forces into South America. Although the use of foreign troops is unlikely due to the mutual desire of the Great Powers to maintain some balance of power, they possess potent navies whose use in trade interdiction to enforce compliance cannot be underestimated. Though they are not nearly as



concerned with the status of our new nation as our neighbors might be, the Great Powers nonetheless have the potential to have an outsized impact upon our economic and territorial destinies, although whether for good or ill remains to be seen.

# History of the Problem

## A Brief Note

What was once known as the Viceroyalty of Peru encompasses present day Peru, Bolivia, Chile and even parts of Brazil. Before delving into the history of the region, we would like to take this moment to define some of the terms you will see in the following sections. Within the Spanish colonies, it was more common than in the English colonies to see intermarriages between people of different ethnic or racial backgrounds. As a result, people were classified based on their background. For example, *criollos* are people born in the colonies to Spanish parents and *mestizos* are those with mixed Spanish and indigenous ancestry.

After defeating the Incas in the 16th century, the Spanish imposed the *encomienda* system upon the indigenous population.

Conquistador Francisco Pizarro granted land or *encomiendas* to his favored followers.

*Encomiendas* resembled some elements of the tribute system that the Incas had in place

called the *mita*.<sup>17</sup> In return for indigenous labor, Spanish lords would convert them to Catholicism. The *encomienda* system would eventually be replaced by *corregidores*. *Corregidores* supervised *reducciones*, or villages of indigenous laborers concentrated to perform various tasks within the colonial economy.<sup>18</sup>

Slavery in Peru was not officially abolished until 1854. While General Jose de San Martin declared slavery abolished earlier in 1821 when he entered the Viceroyalty, slavery continued to exist afterwards since the declaration was not enforced. Under no circumstances during the course of this



<sup>17</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 44

<sup>18</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 54

committee may delegates either as a group or individually exploit or maliciously target indigenous people or Peru-Bolivians of African descent. As Executives, we are trusting you to act responsibly.

## ***The Struggle for Independence***

### **Bourbon Reforms**

In 1701, Philip V from the French Bourbon line ascended the Spanish throne after the last Hapsburg king.<sup>19</sup> Ideas from the French Enlightenment and Great Britain's economic power after their victory in the Seven Years War helped bring about the Bourbon Reforms. The main purpose of these reforms was to improve the economy through bureaucratic changes and more Spanish immigration.<sup>20</sup> Under Charles III, a new *intendencia* system to replace the *corregimiento* system was introduced along with tax increases. Paid bureaucrats, including tax collectors, responded directly to the crown and were European-born, replacing the *criollo* administrators. Despite these efforts however, the British continued to dominate international trade. Eventually, this resulted in free trade between the Viceroyalty of Peru and other European nations.



Within the colonies, prices dropped with greater competition.<sup>21</sup> Since merchants were no longer able to artificially inflate prices, their earnings decreased. There was also a reorganization of the Spanish territory itself. The Viceroyalty of Rio de La Plata was added in 1776, where present-day Argentina is

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<sup>19</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 89

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 91

located.<sup>22</sup> Ultimately, these reforms would be insufficient to address the bureaucratic corruption that had become commonplace. Moreover, because these reforms reduced Lima's prestige within the empire and alienated the former *criollo* administrators, a new *criollo* consciousness was formed.<sup>23</sup> *Criollo* consciousness refers to the development of a *criollo* identity separate from the Spanish empire.

### The Rebellion of Túpac Amaru

Jose Gabriel Condorcanqui was a *curaca*, or a local ethnic leader, who governed an area near Cuzco.<sup>24</sup> Claiming to be a descendant of Túpac Amaru, the last Incan emperor, he changed his name to Túpac Amaru II. He led a revolt in 1780 against the corruption of the *corregidores*, or Spanish administrators.<sup>25</sup> He was influenced by rising Incan nationalism and called for a "revival" of the Incan empire.<sup>26</sup> The inciting incident occurred when Túpac Amaru executed the *corregidor* Antonio Juan de



Arriaga y Gurbista in the village of Tinta. For years, Arriaga had imposed excessive taxes on the indigenous groups under his authority.<sup>27</sup> Afterwards, Túpac Amaru defeated the royalist forces sent to subdue him. While a few other *curacas* from the Cuzco province joined his rebellion, he did not receive universal support, with other leaders joining the Spanish instead.<sup>28</sup> Other rebellions inspired by Túpac Amaru also broke out throughout the highlands.<sup>29</sup> During the subsequent violence, churches, *haciendas* (Spanish estates), and other Spanish institutions such as *obrajes* (textile mills) were burned. Many non-indigenous people and any indigenous person deemed "mestizo-like" were killed.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 92

<sup>23</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 93

<sup>24</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 96

<sup>25</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 97

<sup>26</sup> Ibid

<sup>27</sup> Ibid

<sup>28</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 98

<sup>29</sup> Ibid

<sup>30</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 99

Túpac Amaru proclaimed an end to the *alcabala* (internal tariffs) and *mita* (indigenous labor tribute).<sup>31</sup> His declarations for an Incan revival were meant to include *criollos* and *mestizos*. However, rebellions in La Paz called for death to all non-indigenous people. Other rebellions were actually led by *criollos* in urban centers, notably in Arequipa and Oruro.<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, fear of future violence and economic disruptions caused the non-indigenous populations to turn against these rebellions. In 1781, Túpac Amaru was publicly executed after he was captured laying siege to Cuzco.<sup>33</sup>

### Independence From Spain

In 1808, Napoleon Bonaparte invaded Spain and installed his brother, Joseph, as king. The conflict served as a catalyst for independence movements across South America in the early 19th century.<sup>34</sup> In Madrid, rebellions broke out against French control. Eventually, the Junta Central was established by the rebels, declaring themselves the legitimate Spanish government and claimed sovereignty over the colonial viceroalties.<sup>35</sup> But Ferdinand VII, the previous Bourbon monarch, formally abdicated the Spanish throne to Joseph, leading to questions of legitimacy and authority for local leaders. Which government should colonial leaders acknowledge? Moreover, other political trends also came to fruition at this time. Americans are familiar with how the European Enlightenment influenced the United States' independence movement. Philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke wrote about how to bring rationality to government and criticized absolute monarchies.<sup>36</sup> These ideas not only affected the US but also the French Revolution and more recently the Haitian Revolution in 1804. In addition, economic pressures also contributed to the political instability. Silver production declined in conjunction with a decrease in population of urban centers and an agricultural crisis.<sup>37</sup> Tax hikes and the new intendant system (where *intendentes* had greater oversight over tax collection and reported directly to the Spanish crown) also contributed to

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<sup>31</sup> Alberto Flores Galindo and Antonio Cisneros, *The Peru READER History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Orin Starn, Degregori Carlos Iván, and Robin Kirk, 2nd ed. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 160

<sup>32</sup> Ibid

<sup>33</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 99

<sup>34</sup> Daniel M. Masterson, *The History of Peru* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 67

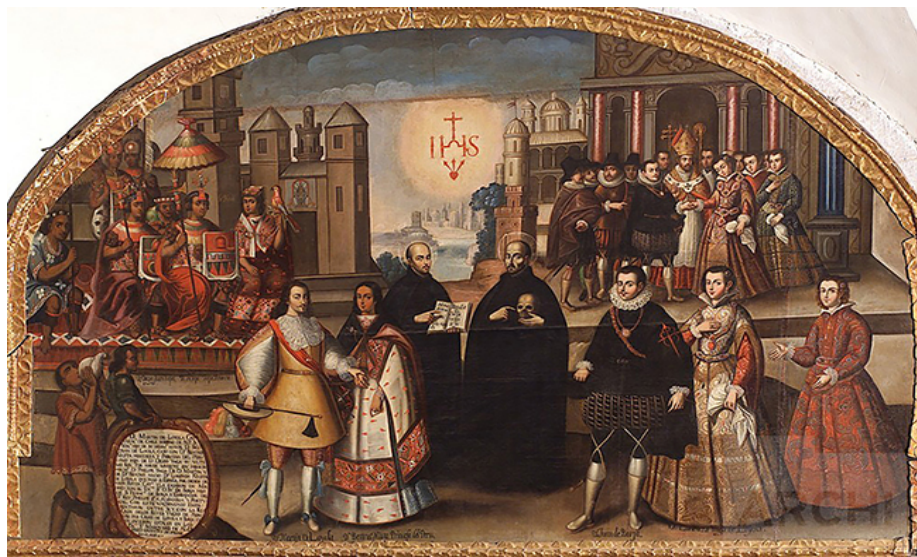
<sup>35</sup> Herbert S. Klein, *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 87

<sup>36</sup> Matthew White, "The Enlightenment," *Discovering Literature: Restoration and 18th Century* (British Library, June 21, 2018), <https://www.bl.uk/restoration-18th-century-literature/articles/the-enlightenment#>

<sup>37</sup> Herbert S. Klein, *Bolivia: The Evolution of a Multi-Ethnic Society*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1992), 87

the independence movement.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Great Britain was also interested in supporting revolutions in the Americas to satisfy its own imperial expansions.<sup>39</sup> Despite these factors, elites were overall unwilling to support independence.

Just as there were factors for independence, there were also factors against it. Since the Túpac Amaru II rebellion, Spain focused on strengthening its hold over the Viceroyalty of Peru to withstand any attempts of insurrection by indigenous groups. The elites were even opposed to the enactment of Spain's Constitution of 1812, which would have granted Peru more sovereignty from Spain.<sup>40</sup> Conservatism was especially strong in Lima, where the primarily white elites (or *limeños*) were isolated from the interior provinces. Economic, political, and familial ties connected Lima closely with Spain. The elites benefited from the economic system in place that exploited indigenous labor and feared that any indigenous inclusion would overhaul the social and political order. Social division based on class and race were institutionalized, stifling social mobility. One Spanish colonial policy—*dos republicas* or “two republics”—clearly separated the “Spanish world” from the “Indigenous world.”<sup>41</sup>



Pro-independence sentiments were strongest in Upper Peru within the Viceroyalty.<sup>42</sup> Significant resources were expended by Viceroy José Fernando Abascal y Sousa to subdue provincial revolts

<sup>38</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 92

<sup>39</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 89

<sup>40</sup> Daniel M. Masterson, *The History of Peru* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 68

<sup>41</sup> Daniel M. Masterson, *The History of Peru* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 69

<sup>42</sup> Daniel M. Masterson, *The History of Peru* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2009), 68



between 1811 and 1814. The most serious revolt occurred in Cuzco, where local *hacendados* (owners of large estates) lead an urban movement that included both the Catholic clergy and indigenous leaders.<sup>43</sup> The revolts were caused by the return of Ferdinand VII, who abolished the Constitution of 1812 and restored an absolute monarchy.<sup>44</sup> In the end, the uprisings confirmed the *limeños'* greatest fears and they sent an army to end the revolt in 1816. The same year, Abascal retired to Spain, turning the viceroy position to Joaquin de la Pezuela. In 1821, Pezuela was deposed by Jose de la Serna.

Ultimately, the armies of José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar defeated the Spanish army and ensured that the most important viceroyalty in

*From a Mother  
again*

My sons and the rest of the dead still  
belong to the owner of the horses  
And the owner of the lands, and the battles.

A few apple trees grow among their bones  
and the tough gorse. That's how they fertilize  
this dark tilled land.  
That's how they serve the owner  
of war, hunger, and the horses.

Excerpt from "The Battle of Ayacucho," a poem  
by Antonio Cisneros



South America was liberated—closing any possibility of a reconquest of the region. José de San Martín was an Argentine general who defeated the Spanish Royalist army in the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata (present day Argentina) and in Chile. Half

of his forces were slaves who San Martin conscripted from urban slave owners.<sup>45</sup> San Martin occupied Lima and declared independence on July 28, 1821. He emancipated the children of slaves born after independence day and ended indigenous tributes.<sup>46</sup> However, these proclamations motivated the *limeños* against San Martin and deposed his ministers. In 1822, San Martin left Peru.

Peru's first republican constitution was ratified in 1823. Congress called upon Simon Bolivar, a Venezuelan military leader who played a significant role in liberating Venezuela and Nueva Granada

<sup>43</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 128.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid

<sup>45</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 102

<sup>46</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 105-106



(present day Colombia), to defeat the remaining Spanish forces.<sup>47</sup> The new government faced an empty treasury and severe military losses. The republic's first president, Jose de la Riva Aquero, was even exiled for conspiring with Viceroy La Serna to oust Bolivar.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, Bolivar was granted dictatorial powers in 1824. With financial backing from Great Britain, he continued to wage war against royalist forces. While he was successful in the Battle of Junin against General Jose de Canterac, Bolivar was unable to declare victory. Finally, on December 9, 1824 at the Pampa of Ayacucho, General Jose de Sucre, Bolivar's second-in-command, won the key battle that ended the fighting in Peru.<sup>49</sup>

### ***Initial Post-Independence Politics***

#### **Bolivia**

With the ultimate defeat of the royalists in Upper Peru in 1825, the decision of what to do with the newly liberated region fell upon General Sucre. He called together an assembly of constituents from all Upper Peruvian Provinces, with the goal to form a new government. This assembly, which gathered in the city of Chuquisaca, eventually produced a formal declaration of independence for the newly created Republic of Bolivia in August. Even at this point, however, the independence of the republic from the rest of Peru was not assured, as Bolivar remained unconvinced of the need for the division, though he would eventually relent following lobbying by Sucre and local notables. Although Bolivar technically held the honor of being Bolivia's first president, Sucre was its effective leader from the beginning, and he became the second President following Bolivar's resignation in early 1826. Sucre embarked upon an ambitious program of state-building, with the most pressing issue being the perilous state of the economy. The nation suffered due to the pitiful status of the area's once-bountiful mines, the severance of its local economy from the rest of Spanish America, and the inevitable complications of establishing a new economic order from scratch. Sucre nationalized the mines with the intention of attracting foreign investment to upgrade them and reopen them in a far more profitable form, yet despite the speculative boom in Europe as a result, very little foreign expertise or machinery ever made its way to Bolivia. The abolition of the *mita* system of forced labor

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<sup>47</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 106

<sup>48</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 107

<sup>49</sup> Christine Hunefeldt, *A Brief History of Peru*, 2nd ed. (Facts On File, 2010), 109

also made it difficult to attract free labor for the mines at anything but ruinously high wages, further complicating efforts to expand mining operations.<sup>50</sup>

The other notable effort of Sucre's presidency was his attacks on the privileged position of the Catholic Church. Already predisposed towards anticlericalism, Sucre's assault on the Church was further inspired by their rather dogged support for the royalist cause during the war for independence and the state's dire need for revenue. Sucre established almost complete government control over the Church, taking charge of the collection of tithes, assuming control over regularized donations, and charging the state with paying the salaries of Church officials. Most importantly, he also oversaw the closure of the majority of the republic's convents and monasteries and the confiscation of their private estates. Sucre's efforts were exceptionally successful in hobbling the Church as a political and economic force, making it fully subservient to the state for decades with minimal popular or elite resistance. However, although the windfall from these actions entailed revenue gains in excess of 8 million pesos, it ultimately made little difference to the fiscal health of the state.<sup>51</sup> While the property gained was vast, there were few buyers in an economically depressed Bolivia, and although Sucre was able to establish some state primary schools and orphanages with the proceeds, the simultaneous need to pay Church officials added a new burden to the budget.<sup>52</sup>

His attempts to fix the fiscal crisis having met with minimal success, Sucre was increasingly beset by the opposition of many of his former generals that made governing increasingly difficult. This culminated in a failed assassination and coup attempt in August 1828, leading a wounded Sucre to resign the presidency and leave for Caracas, never to return to Bolivia.<sup>53</sup> The four men who served as President of Bolivia following Sucre's departure were largely irrelevant to the nation's wellbeing, each serving for only a few months at most with little opportunity for significant legislative action, existing only as interims while the nation awaited the arrival of the duly elected president, Andres de Santa Cruz.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Klein, 106-107

<sup>51</sup> Klein, 109-110

<sup>52</sup> Klein, 111

<sup>53</sup> Klein, 111

<sup>54</sup> Klein, 112

## Peru

Following its achievement of independence in 1824, Peruvian politics entered into a tumultuous period in which it would be embroiled for much of the next decade. In its early years, the presidents of Peru had few chances to make real reforms. The country was effectively divided into halves politically, with the Conservatives and Liberals dividing the country along a north-south axis. The Conservatives, largely centered in Lima, were heavily protectionist and nationalistic, opposing free trade, supporting corporate interests and state monopolies, and pushing for authoritarian social restrictions. The Liberals, centered around the city of Arequipa in the south, although also enjoying the support of neo-Bolivarian intellectuals and bureaucrats in Lima, stood for free trade and a decentralization of power away from Lima. Whereas the Conservatives had a clearly defined base of support in the popular classes of artisans and migrants in the cities, the Liberal coalition was fractured between northern intellectuals and southern separatists. This, combined with the Conservative predominance around the dominant capital region, allowed them to hold the reins of government for much of Peru's early years, stifling the presidency of the Liberal José La Mar and allowing Conservative Augustín Gamarra free reign for much of his four years of office.<sup>55</sup> Many Liberals therefore increasingly looked towards neighboring Bolivia and its new reformist leader as their possible salvation.<sup>56</sup>

The country's divisions climaxed in 1833, when President Gamarra, upon the completion of his term of office, attempted to ensure the succession of Manuel Bermúdez, a puppet of Gamarra,<sup>57</sup> only to find himself stymied by the election of Liberal Luis de Orbegoso.<sup>58</sup> In response, Gamarra dissolved Parliament and proclaimed Bermúdez the provisional president. Ultimately, he was deserted by his troops when he attempted to engage the forces of President Orbegoso, forcing him into exile. This in turn led General Felipe Santiago de Salaverry to make his own bid for power in February 1835,<sup>59</sup> sending Peru into the civil war which would lead to Santa Cruz's invasion.

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<sup>55</sup> Klaren, 154-155

<sup>56</sup> Klein, 116

<sup>57</sup> HAHR, 36

<sup>58</sup> Klaren, 155

<sup>59</sup> HAHR, 36-37

## Societal Outlooks

During independence, reforms meant to promote equality and other Enlightenment ideals such as San Martín's decree ending indigenous tributes were enacted. However, economic instability led to the reinstatement of the tribute tax in 1826, renamed to the *contribucion indigena* (indigenous contribution).<sup>60</sup> These made up 40% of the young Peruvian republic's revenue at the time.<sup>61</sup> In addition, a new form of the *mita* was reintroduced as *servicio a la república* (service to the republic). The role of indigenous nobility such as the *curacas* was replaced by *criollo* elites after independence.<sup>62</sup> Instead of Spaniards at the pinnacle of the social hierarchy, now *criollos* took over that spot. The Peruvian constitution of 1823 explicitly denied indigenous people citizenship, prohibited them from owning land, learning to read and write Spanish, and earning a professional title.<sup>63</sup>

Despite these laws, there were positive trends after independence. For example, the *hacienda* as an institution was on the decline. The disruptions caused by the wars and turmoil afterwards encouraged indigenous communities to develop their own economies and handle their own affairs without any intermediaries. For instance, herders were able to transport their own goods, primarily wool, to the markets in Arequipa.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, even with the re-imposition of the tributes, the lack of resources and manpower of the Peruvian republic gave indigenous communities more leeway to negotiate with local governments.<sup>65</sup> Finally, indigenous people continued to advocate for themselves and their rights in court and elsewhere.

Another important issue is the abolition of slavery. During independence, *criollo* elites feared that any social improvements for slaves and indigenous people would lead to rebellions and violence. However, during the wars for independence, generals from different regions recruited slaves into their armies, promising freedom after their service.<sup>66</sup> Many other slaves took advantage of the chaos

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<sup>60</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 146

<sup>61</sup> Ibid

<sup>62</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 140

<sup>63</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 147

<sup>64</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 148

<sup>65</sup> Ibid

<sup>66</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 150

and escaped. Even with San Martín's previous declarations of emancipation to any children born to slaves, the abolition of slavery in Peru was not enforced until 1854 due to objections from powerful slave owners who owned farming estates. Bolivia shares a similar story, with emancipation declared in 1827, but not enforced until 1851. Even so, the slave population was declining. One reason was the abolition of the slave trade back in 1812.<sup>67</sup> Another, was the war for independence. But another key reason was the increasing number of slaves buying their own freedom. Since the early 1800s, agricultural production had been declining. As a result, many slaves were sent to Lima and other urban centers to become apprentices. Even though they had to send some of their earnings back, many could save enough to buy themselves freedom.<sup>68</sup>

Santa Cruz has decided that both indigenous exploitation and slavery are unwelcome in the new confederation and will not tolerate any discussion to the contrary. This is the beginning of a new era, and he hopes that you representatives will focus on the most effective way to implement a new constitution.

### ***Andres De Santa Cruz***

#### **Early Life and Peru**

Santa Cruz was born in 1792 in La Paz to the royal governor of Azangaro and his Quechua wife.<sup>69</sup> He began his military career fighting to suppress the 1807 rebellion, and spent much of the next fourteen years demonstrating his military prowess by fighting the revolutionary armies. He would finally defect to the revolutionary cause following his capture in 1821, and become a successful general under San Martín following a quick rise through the ranks. Although his record in an independent command was far more mixed,<sup>70</sup> he served with distinction as Bolívar's Chief of Staff, and, having earned the Liberator's trust, would be appointed by Bolívar as president of the Peruvian Council of Government. Following the anti-Bolivarian revolution in Peru in early 1827, Santa Cruz served as effective President of Peru for a few months before being replaced by José de la Mar and

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid

<sup>68</sup> Klarén Peter Flindell, *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes* (New York, NY: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 152

<sup>69</sup> Klein, 112

<sup>70</sup> HAHR, 29-30

subsequently dispatched to Chile as the Peruvian minister.<sup>71</sup> It was during his tenure in Chile that Sucre decided to depart from Bolivia, and with the encouragement of Santa Cruz's friend, General Agustín Gamarra, encouraged the Bolivian congress to elect Santa Cruz President of Bolivia.<sup>72</sup> Although the Bolivian General Pedro Blanco would attempt to seize the presidency for himself, this effort would be defeated by Santa Cruz's allies in La Paz, allowing Santa Cruz to be formally invested in the office of President of Bolivia in May 1829.<sup>73</sup>

### Rule Over Bolivia

Santa Cruz spent much of the next few years attempting to resuscitate the fiscal health of the state and the economy as a whole, and brought a firm mercantilist mindset to the resulting reforms. In an attempt to reduce reliance upon Peruvian ports, heavy taxes were placed on Peruvian imports, while funds were invested to provide subsidies and improved infrastructure for the sole Bolivian port of Cobija, succeeding in rapidly increasing its size and importance as an import hub.<sup>74</sup> His protectionist policies also included specialized tariffs, particularly aiming to protect the native textile industry by banning the importation of competing cloth for a time, a move which was ultimately reversed in the face of a failure by domestic industry to meet local demand.<sup>75</sup> Despite the limitations of his protectionist policies, after two years, Santa Cruz was able to claim with some measure of accuracy that the quality and quantity of domestic production had increased to the point where the army could be outfitted exclusively from domestic sources with the exception of armaments.<sup>76</sup> He also worked to rationalize the confused tax regime in Bolivia, replacing old colonial taxes with a uniform tax of 5 percent, and effectively regularized public credit arrangements, creating a far more stable economic situation for Bolivia within a few years of his ascension to the presidency.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, no amount of effort by Santa Cruz could make up for the loss of revenues stemming from the stagnation of the mining sector or the enormous burden of the army upon the treasury, eating up between 40 and 50 percent of the annual budget, not to mention the growth of the bureaucracy

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<sup>71</sup> HAHR, 32-33

<sup>72</sup> Klein, 112

<sup>73</sup> HAHR, 34

<sup>74</sup> Klein, 113

<sup>75</sup> Klein, 114

<sup>76</sup> HAHR, 34

<sup>77</sup> Klein, 113

during the period. Starting in 1830, the government therefore began to debase the peso by reducing its silver content, allowing the government to make up for shortfalls but simultaneously causing a small erosion of confidence in the economy. While the government would be able to cover its costs throughout the early years of Santa Cruz's presidency, little was left over for much-needed investments in infrastructure or credit for industrial development, hampering growth.<sup>78</sup>

Where Santa Cruz's reforms were most successful was in the realm of public administration and political stability. Despite the constitution technically limiting the powers of the presidency, Santa Cruz asserted almost dictatorial powers, using them to muzzle unfriendly press and exile his opponents, although constantly ensuring that his repression was never so harsh as to alienate the elite classes,<sup>79</sup> and kept the army quiet through a mix of strict discipline and rewards for loyalty.<sup>80</sup> In the administrative realm, he scrapped the old Spanish colonial code for a new rationalized version constructed along enlightened Napoleonic lines and regularized local administrations to increase the efficiency of regional governance.<sup>81</sup> By the end of his first six years in power, Santa Cruz had succeeded in transforming Bolivia into a stable and relatively efficient state, albeit one with an underdeveloped economy, and began to look towards the neighboring state of Peru as a new opportunity for greatness.

### Efforts Towards Unification

Santa Cruz had not forgotten about Peru since being denied the formal presidency in 1827, and the continual political strife within Peru encouraged his dreams of reuniting the old viceroyalty of Peru through conquest.<sup>82</sup> With the onset of the civil war in Peru in 1835 between ex-president Gamarra, President Orbegoso, and General Salaverry, Santa Cruz realized he held the opportunity to put his plans into action. While he initially leaned towards collaboration with Gamarra, who had recently fled to La Paz, going so far as to provide him with troops in exchange for a promise to join the two nations in a confederation,<sup>83</sup> the collapse of Orbegoso's forces in the face of Salaverry led the former

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<sup>78</sup> Klein, 114-115

<sup>79</sup> Klein, 116

<sup>80</sup> HAHR, 34

<sup>81</sup> Klein, 116

<sup>82</sup> Klaren, 155

<sup>83</sup> HAHR, 36-37



to Santa Cruz's door. Seeing the benefits in Orbegoso's legitimacy as the elected president of Peru, Santa Cruz negotiated an agreement whereby Peru would pay for the Bolivian intervention and agree to enter into a confederation.

In June 1835, with this agreement, Santa Cruz led the Bolivian army into Peru, and although this would lead Gamarra to declare for Salaverry, Gamarra would be defeated on August 13 at the battle of Yanachocha, forcing him into Costa Rican exile. While Salaverry would be a tougher nut to crack, he too would eventually be defeated by the Bolivian army under Santa Cruz at Sacabaya on February 7 and executed shortly after, ending active armed resistance.<sup>84</sup> Now the master of Peru, Santa Cruz would reorganize the country into two new states. North Peru, made up of the provinces of Amazonas, Junín, La Libertad, Huaylas, and Lima, while South Peru, consisted of Cuzco, Ayachucho, Arequipa, Puno, and Litoral.<sup>85</sup> With these new administrative regions established, it was finally time to formalize the Confederation.

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<sup>84</sup> HAHR, 38-39

<sup>85</sup> Klein, 117



### Economic Conditions from 1800-1830<sup>86</sup>

As José San Martín arrived in Peru during the 1820's, and the war for independence began, the Viceroyalty of Peru had abruptly changed its economy. The agrarian sector had shifted into modernity by implementing new agricultural practices, diversifying the production in the area, and using credits to further invest in terrain. At the beginning of the 19th century, there was a predominance of indigenous communities throughout the valleys close to the coast. These communities, which were controlled by their traditional leaders, planted large pieces of land, which were independent of each other and the cities. This meant that these communities were peripheral to the markets and transactions which occurred primarily in cities. Additionally, every community

<sup>86</sup> Cosamalón, Jesús, Fernando Armas, José Deustua, Monsalve Martín, and Salinas Alejandro. "Economía de La Primera Centuria." Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, April 2020. <https://www.bcrp.gob.pe/docs/Publicaciones/libros/historia/4-economia-de-la-primera-centuria-independiente.pdf>.

used a separate currency, which became an issue since they needed these coins in order to pay tribute to their Viceroy and King.

The remainder of the country, excluding indigenous communities and cities, were large estates that were generally owned by aristocratic criollo or Spanish people, religious orders, big businessmen, and some small indigenous owners. The hegemony of the *hacienda* (big estate) as the dominant production method was clear. Generally, these were closed universes, similar to the indigenous communities, which exploited workers and offered bad payment. Each *hacienda* cultivated a different crop, which distinguished it from its adversaries. Therefore, although there was a common production of sugar, wheat, and rice, there were also different varieties of production that each *hacienda* had such as cotton, corn, alfalfa, or others.

Slowly, mercantilism, which was the government policy to control the economy in order to augment state power,<sup>87</sup> began losing ground to capitalism, due in large part to the *censos*, which covered the *hacienda's* needs for long-term credits. These were paid by renting out the terrain to other farmers who could farm it and then the owner of the *hacienda* would pay 5% to the institution that gave him the credit. The terrain, however, was "linked" perpetually to the institution which gave the credit. The two main benefits of the *censos* were that it kept investment and consumption high. The Church, nobles, and other persons and institutions needed it in order to get money and not lose their status. It is worth mentioning that these types of credits had previously been questioned by Spanish and European citizens since nobles made income from the owner's terrains through several generations. This meant that children and grandchildren of the first owners would be paying for these credits.

Finally, an important economic factor was the horrible conditions that workers had in the *hacienda*. Most of them were slaves, meaning that the owners of the land just gave them a piece of land to cultivate and weren't given any other benefits. Slaves were analogous to the common practice in the Andean terrains of using indigenous people to work the land. As commonly known, *hacienda* owners took advantage of their workers, and they sought to exploit them as much as possible in order to

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<sup>87</sup> Encyclopedia Britannica. "Mercantilism | Definition & Examples." Accessed August 19, 2021.  
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/mercantilism>.

increase the production of their terrain. These economic factors are important to the independence process led by José San Martín, as remedying these terrible economic conditions was one of the goals.

## Character Biographies

### **1. *Mariano Enrique Calvo de la Banda y Cuéllar, Vice President of Bolivia***

Mariano Enrique Calvo de la Banda y Cuéllar was born on July 18th, 1782, to a noble family in Chuquisaca, Bolivia. He was determined to follow in his father's footsteps of becoming a lawyer and studied law at Universidad Mayor, Real y Pontificia de San Francisco Xavier de Chuquisaca. Initially fighting for the royalists during the wars for independence, he decided to switch sides and has since played an important role in Bolivian politics. He has served both as Minister of the Supreme Court and Minister of Foreign Relations, gaining the trust of Andres de Santa Cruz and the respect of his fellow Bolivians. As Vice President of Bolivia, Calvo works within the executive branch of government. He presides over cabinet meetings along with Santa Cruz and is also responsible for communicating with Congress of the progress being made at Tapacarí. Calvo is known for being an excellent legal writer and he hopes to leverage those skills along with his previous government experience at the constitutional assembly.

### ***North Peru***

### **2. *José Trinidad Morán, Amazonas Representative***

José Trinidad Morán was born on November 26th 1796 in El Tocuyo, Venezuela to Gregorio Morán and María del Rosario Manzano. His brother and father joined the war against Spain for Venezuela, and Morán chose to follow in their footsteps. He served under Simón Bolívar with his brother, Juan Jacinto. He fought for independence in Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. During his time in the army, he obtained the rank of major general. Here is where he met Andrés de Santa Cruz. Morán fought against Agustín Gamarra in the Battle of Yanacocha, where Gamarra was defeated and Santa Cruz secured his victory over Peru. This military battle convinced Santa Cruz that Morán would be a great representative for the Amazonas region. Having gained Peruvian citizenship, he moved his family to Amazonas capital, Chachapoyas. The main industries of the region are agriculture and mining. Morán has made herding sheep his hobby in his spare time, finding it relaxing; given that he is considered a hero of the wars for independence, Morán wants to live peacefully. He also has connections in Arequipa, since his wife, Rafaela Zereceda, was originally from there.

### **3. *Manuel Villarán Loli, Huaylas Representative***

Manuel Villarán Loli was born on March 4th, 1784, in Huaraz, Peru to José Ignacio Villarán and Manuela Loli. He attended the Seminary of Santo Toribio in Lima, training to become a priest. Loli also studied Canons at Universidad Mayor de San Marcos. While he was a priest at La Magdalena, he became friends with José de San Martín and Simón Bolívar. He even became Bolívar's chaplain and signed the Act of Independence of Peru. He gained experience at constitutional assemblies during Peru's National Convention of 1833, which sought to reform Peru's constitution before Andres de Santa Cruz came to power. He was Huaylas's representative then as well. Knowing what works in a constitution and what does not, Loli's insight is invaluable to Santa Cruz. While Loli is a devout man, he feels that he has a knack for governing. He recognizes that many people in Huaylas are concerned with Santa Cruz, but believes that a fair constitution will put them at ease. Under a new nation uniting Peru and Bolivia, he has ambitions of becoming a minister under Santa Cruz's future Cabinet. Of course, a constitution needs to create a cabinet first!

### **4. *José de la Riva Agüero, Junín Representative***

José de la Riva Agüero was born on May 3rd, 1783, in Lima, Peru to nobles José De la Riva Agüero y Basso della Rovere and María Josefa Sánchez Boquete Román de Aulestia. He also inherited the title Marquess of Montealegre de Aulestia from his mother's side. He was raised in Spain and even participated in the Napoleonic wars in 1808. One year later, he returned to Peru to fight for independence. Riva Agüero met José de San Martín, who placed Riva Agüero in charge of Lima after the city was captured. Furthermore, Riva Agüero was the first President of Peru in 1823. His time in office was short and when the Spanish regained Lima for a short period, he was forced to flee to Callao and lost the trust of the people. He also opposed the arrival of Simón Bolívar and Antonio José de Sucre. He even conspired with the royalists to keep them from entering Peru. After Sucre defeated Riva Agüero, he was exiled to Chile for his actions. During his exile, he maintained ties with the North Peruvian elite and lent his support to Andres de Santa Cruz, allowing him to return to Peru to represent Junín. Junín is located in the center of Peru and exports potato, coffee, fruit, and silver.

Riva Agüero hopes to improve his reputation among Peruvians and consolidate his power in North Peru.

### **5. *Luis José de Orbegoso, La Libertad Representative***

Luis José de Orbegoso was born on August 25th 1795 in La Libertad, Peru to Doctor Justo Pastor de Orbegoso and Francisca Josefa Moncada Galindo y Morales. Both were *criollo* nobles with political ties. Orbegoso's father was a judge in the Viceroyalty and his mother was the fourth Countess of Olmos. Orbegoso was raised in Trujillo before moving to Lima to study at the Real Convictorio de San Carlos, where he enjoyed learning math and physics. After his father's death, he decided against joining the clergy and returned to manage his family's estate. Surprisingly, he gained a passion for agriculture. During independence, he served in the rebel army and allowed them to use his estate. In doing so, he helped provide much needed food and supplies. In 1833, he was elected as the provisional president of Peru but felt stifled by the office and his political opponents. La Libertad produces sugar and other assorted foodstuffs. Orbegoso hopes to maintain North Peru's autonomy within the confederation. He understands that many people in La Libertad are wary of uniting with Bolivia and seeks to assuage their concerns.

### **6. *Evaristo Tadeo Gómez Sánchez, Lima Representative***

Evaristo Tadeo Gómez Sánchez was born on October 26th, 1766, in Arequipa, Peru. Sánchez was the illegitimate son of Nicolasa Gómez-Sánchez y Cano, a prominent noble in Lima. His mother, María Paula del Carmen de Benavides y Corzo was the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Arequipa and her family was willing to fund Sánchez's education. He studied law at the University of San Marcos and became a lawyer in Lima. He decided to return to Arequipa and was interested in establishing an Academy for Sciences and the Arts. He finally succeeded in this goal by the end of 1821. In just a few years, the Academy became part of the newly created National University of San Agustín in Arequipa. Despite his ties in Arequipa, he would represent Lima's interest in front of Andres de Santa Cruz, calling for North Peru to take a united stance. At the same time, he is serving as a member of the Supreme Court in Peru while participating at Tapacari. Sánchez recognizes that his connections to Arequipa may damage his reputation among *limeños*. Lima is a very important province and



without its support the Peru-Bolivia Confederation is at risk of collapse. He hopes to represent their wishes faithfully, which may put him at odds with Andres de Santa Cruz.

## ***South Peru***

### ***7. Nicolás Fernández de Piérola y Flores, Arequipa Representative***

Nicolás Fernández de Piérola y Flores was born on October 20th, 1788, in Camaná, Arequipa to Pedro Fernández de Piérola and Pascuala Flores del Campo. He went to Spain to study law and was even a professor at the Central University of Madrid until he was forced to leave due to political unrest. When he returned to Peru in 1826, independence had already been achieved. Flores once again immersed himself in the politics of Arequipa. He represented Arequipa during the General Constituent Congress of 1827, which drafted the second Peruvian constitution. Flores believes that separation from North Peru is what's best not only for Arequipa, but for South Peru as a region. In addition to politics, he is also an amateur naturalist, specifically mineralogy. He was asked to oversee some of the mining operations in Arequipa when he first returned, which is what prompted his interest. Arequipa is one of the largest cities in Peru. As a province, Arequipa is known for exporting wheat, cotton, onion, garlic, and milk.

### ***8. Juan Pío de Tristán y Moscoso, Ayacucho Representative***

Juan Pío de Tristán y Moscoso was born on July 11th, 1773, in Arequipa, Peru to José Joaquín Tristán del Pozo y Carassa, and María Mercedes Moscoso Pérez Oblitas. His parents were aristocrats and sent him to Spain to study at Salamanca. However, he decided to go to France instead, where he studied at the College of Benedictines in Sorèze. The events of the French Revolution drove him back to Spain, where he enlisted in the army before returning to South America. Once back, Tristán served as an assistant to the viceroy of Río de la Plata in Buenos Aires for two years. As expected, he joined the royalist forces on behalf of Spain. This did not stop him from having a respectful relationship with Manuel Belgrano, an Argentine rebel general and former classmate. He was known for his honor and for treating rebels with dignity. As a result, when independence was proclaimed, he was able to become a politician in the new republic. Ayacucho is located in the south of Peru and primarily produces potatoes, wheat, and barley. Tristán is looking out for Ayacucho's best interests

as its representative and hopes to encourage more trade in the region. Success in Ayacucho will mean recognition and perhaps a position in Andres de Santa Cruz's new government.

#### **9. *Martin Condemayta, Cuzco Representative***

Martin Condemayta was born on January 30, 1800, in Cuzco to a moderately wealthy landowner and his Quechua wife. He was educated by Jesuit tutors, but never took much of an interest in academics, instead focusing on the improvement of his family's lands and the cultivation of relationships with their mainly Quechua tenants. With the arrival of revolution in Peru, Condemayta joined the rebels under San Martin, seeing it as the perfect opportunity for adventure, and would make his mark in several key battles. Following the achievement of Peruvian independence, he would return to manage his lands, raising his profile in the province with his opposition to the government's protectionist policies, which he asserted were hurting local exports. As the representative of the poorest and least populated province in Southern Peru, he is mainly concerned with ensuring a stable political environment and the continuous flow of agricultural trade, both domestically and abroad.

#### **10. *Domingo Nieto, Litoral Representative***

Domingo Nieto was born on August 15th, 1803, in Moquegua, Peru to Domingo Nieto Hurtado de Mendoza and María del Carmen Márquez. His family was awarded the title Earls of Alastay for their service to the Spanish crown. As a young boy, he was fascinated by the history and literature of Greece and Rome. Nieto decided to join the fight for independence at the age of 18 and quickly rose up the military ranks. He continued to serve in the military and is friends with Luis José de Orbegoso. However, he does not understand why Orbegoso would join with Andres de Santa Cruz. He strongly believes that Peru is better off as a united state. The reason he accepted the responsibility of representing Litoral is due to Orbegoso's encouragement. Litoral is the province directly on the border with Chile and there is reason to believe that Chile seeks to make the territory its own. Another reason Nieto took the position is to keep an eye on Chile.

### **11. Manuel Bartolomé Ferreyros, Puno Representative**

Manuel Bartolomé Ferreyros was born on August 24th, 1793, in Lima, Peru to Manuel Ferreyros y Pérez and María Andrea de la Mata y Ulloa. When he was 15, Ferreyros became an accounting clerk for the Viceroyalty's customs office. During the wars for independence, he decided to support the rebels wholeheartedly. He was a frequent contributor to the newspaper, *La Abeja Republicana*, advocating for a republican form of government and criticized the monarchy. After independence was attained, he went to Gran Colombia in order to forge diplomatic ties with the country. Afterwards, he returned to Peru as part of Felipe Santiago Salaverry's administration as the Director General of Customs. Once Salaverry was deposed, he fled to Ecuador and wrote articles for the newspaper, *El Ariete*. He also took this time to write poetry in addition to his political articles. Ferreyros returned to Peru in order to secretly rally support against Andres de Santa Cruz. He found himself in Puno and was able to establish communication with opposition leaders. Puno is located in the Andes and exports quinoa and potatoes. There are also many sheep, alpaca and llama herds.

### **12. Ramón Herrera y Rodado, Tacna Representative**

Ramón Herrera y Rodado was born on December 7th, 1799, in Santiago, Chile to Francisco Manuel de Herrera and Francisca de Paula Rodado. Herrera's father was a prosecutor who moved to Buenos Aires from Spain with his wife before settling in Chile. During the wars for independence he joined the royalist army and was stationed in Lima. After participating in a few battles, he decided to join the rebels under José de San Martín. He was acknowledged as an excellent military officer not only by San Martín but also Andres de Santa Cruz for his service. He served as the Minister of War and Navy during the short-lived presidency of José de la Riva Agüero, the first president of Peru. He wants to promote peace between the Peru-Bolivia Confederation and Chile. Tacna is located at the southernmost part of Peru and exports copper, wine, and cotton. Its proximity to Chile means that any conflict will certainly impact the province.

## ***Bolivia***

### ***13. Gregorio Reinolds, Cochabamaba Representative***

Gregorio Reinolds was born on October 23, 1781, in the city of Cochabamba to a wealthy family with extensive agricultural landholdings outside of the city, with his father's death at an early age leaving him sole heir to their vast properties. Although well educated in languages and law, as befitted a man of his status, he would be an undistinguished student, and instead focused upon building local connections and increasing his crop yields through increased labor discipline and limited modernization. While some from the province would urge that the province commit itself either to the crown or the cause of independence, Reinolds would use his connections to keep the area in a studied neutrality, carefully guarding its agricultural production against the ravages of invading armies. Although lacking a formal position, he exerts a dominant influence upon the governance of the province, and is dedicated to deafening its, and his own, economic interests at all costs. As the foremost agricultural province of Bolivia, Cochabamaba has suffered under the protective tariffs of Santa Cruz, which have deprived the province of potentially lucrative foreign markets and raised the costs of importing useful agricultural equipment. Relatively isolated from the rest of the country and the provinces of Peru, Cochabamaba inhabitants are also far less interested in the Confederation or its territorial integrity than other provinces, although they are always open to economic persuasion.

### ***14. José Mariano Serrano, Chuquisaca Representative***

José Mariano Serrano was born on the 8th of September, 1788, to a moderately wealthy family in the city of Chuquisaca. A dedicated student with a keen interest in both the law and politics, he quickly established a prominent law practice in the city before being forced to flee to Tucumán after falling afoul of the local garrison commander in a legal case. This would not prove to be a great setback, however, as he would quickly reestablish himself in his new home, and as a result was able to get himself elected to both the 1813 Assembly and the 1816 Congress of Tucumán for the deliberation on the independence of La Plata. He would spend the next several years playing a prominent role in the administration of the Tucumán republic and later province, before returning to Bolivia following the removal of his patron Bernabé Araoz. He has since acquired national stature as a delegate in the assembly that declared Bolivian independence and as a brilliant legal mind in the High Court of

Chuquisaca. His time in Argentina has cultivated in him a deep interest in encouraging interstate trade and cooperation, but also has connections to many Argentine Federalists, and is thus firmly opposed to Argentine President Rosas.

#### ***15. José Miguel de Velasco, La Paz Representative***

José Miguel de Velasco was born on September 29, 1795, in the city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra to a local noble family with deep connections to prominent royal military officers. After studying at the Franciscan College of La Paz and the Colciliar Seminary of San Antonio de Abad in Cuzco, he enlisted in the royal army at 17, serving with some distinction in the repression of the 1810 La Paz revolution. He would then defect to the revolutionary cause, serving under San Martín before being appointed Prefect of Chuquisaca by Bolívar and fighting in the pivotal battles of Junín and Ayacucho. He would spend the next decade as one of the preeminent military figures in Bolivia, and would be recognized by Santa Cruz for his contributions to the victories over Peru by being appointed to the largely ceremonial role of Vice President. As the capital of Bolivia, La Paz has grown used to the economic and political benefits of independence, and although they stand firmly behind Santa Cruz, many are worried about the loss of influence that too centralized a Confederation might see.

#### ***16. José María Dalence, Oruro Representative***

José María Dalence was born on February 19, 1800, in the city of Oruro to a firmly middle class father with a long familial history of serving as bureaucrats in the Spanish colonial government and his Quechua wife. Having distinguished himself in his studies, he was able to win a scholarship to the University of Saint Francis Xavier, where he studied economics, before leaving to join the bureaucracy of the newly independent Bolivia. His efficiency and knowledge of economic realities allowed him to rise rapidly through the ranks of the bureaucracy of his home province, eventually finding himself as vice-prefect. Unusual in the region for his scientific and rigorous approach to economic study, Dalence has begun to realize that Bolivia's current economic trajectory is unsustainable, with steadily decreasing government revenues stemming from the lack of healthy trade networks or domestic production, and looks towards a relatively centralized Peru-Bolivian Confederation as the key to unlocking the greater economic potential of both nations. Although it lacks major cities, the province of Oruro is home to many nascent cloth industries in Bolivia, and has

thus been a strong supporter of Santa Cruz's protectionist policies, as reducing foreign competition and ensuring a strong domestic market for their goods is the key to the province's further development.

### ***17. José María Linares, Potosí Representative***

José María Linares was born on July 10, 1808, to a Spaniard of noble descent and his Bolivian wife in the countryside outside Potosí. Recognized as a high achiever from an early age, he impressed both Sucre and Bolívar upon taking his oral exams in front of them, earning him a gold medal and the support of Sucre, who would use his influence to get him a prestigious professorship at the Pichincha National School. Following his graduation from Universidad Mayor Real y Pontificia San Francisco, he has been rising rapidly through the ranks of local governance, currently serving as prefect of Potosí, a position he has used to improve the economic infrastructure of his region and cultivate a national profile. Despite his young age, he has distinguished himself through his brilliance and rigid inflexibility, in addition to the significant fortune inherited from his father, and has dedicated himself to improving the morals of the people and asserting civilian preeminence over the armed forces. Formerly one of the richest areas of South America thanks to its rich silver mines, the decline of the mining industry due to expensive labor and a lack of modern tools has left the province a shell of its former self, leading to its interest in gaining investment from at home or abroad to improve its fortunes. As it is also home to Bolivia's only coastline, its inhabitants are firmly aware of the threat posed by Chilean aggression, and are determined to safeguard their outlet to the sea by whatever means necessary.

### ***18. Fermín Eyzaguirre, Santa Cruz de la Sierra Representative***

Fermín Eyzaguirre was born on December 21, 1787, in the town of Maco Kapac, outside of La Paz, as the youngest of seven in a struggling peasant family. Seeing few prospects available at home and hungry for advancement, Eyzaguirre joined the colonial army as a lowly private, but his hard work and determination to impress his superiors saw him ascend to the rank of sergeant by the time the revolutionary wars broke out. During the early years of the conflicts, he attached himself to the rising star of Andrés de Santa Cruz, and would join him in defection to the Spanish following their capture in 1820. Although hardly the most brilliant of soldiers, under Santa Cruz's wing he has risen to the

rank of Colonel and placed in charge of the essential state of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where he has governed the fractious province with an iron fist. Containing both Bolivia's most populous city and some of its most sparsely populated pasturelands, Santa Cruz de la Sierra has no clear interests as such, as the centralizing instincts of La Paz diverge greatly from the isolationist ranchers. Eyzaguirre is therefore free to pursue his own ideals moving forwards, which appear to be grounded mainly in a love and respect for the military, a distrust of fractious civilian parliamentary politics, and a centralizing instinct.

### ***19. Manuel Sánchez de Velasco, Tarija Representative***

Manuel Sánchez de Velasco was born on July 2, 1780, in the town of San Lorenzo to decently prosperous local *vinegrons* who ran one of the larger wineries in the area. Receiving an inadequate education from hired tutors, his real instruction came when he began to help with the management of the property. Over the next few decades, he became adept at navigating the intricacies of the wine production and export market, forming good relations with local workers and aiming to produce the highest quality wines in Bolivia. Despite its relative remoteness, parts of the province, including some of Velasco's vineyards, did suffer at the hands of both the Spanish and revolutionary armies, and it has left him with a deep aversion to the conflict. Additionally, much of the province has close cross-border connections with nearby Argentina, which has proved a useful market for their goods, in contrast to their relative isolation from the rest of Bolivia, not to mention Peru, although some are intrigued by the prospect of encouraging wine exports abroad.

### ***Unaffiliated***

### ***20. Francisco de Paula León de Aguirre Velasco, Bishop of La Paz***

Francisco de Paula León de Aguirre Velasco was born on February 5th, 1790, in Santa Cruz, Bolivia. As a young man, he was interested in pursuing music. However, as the youngest son of six, his parents did not have the funds to send him to a music conservatory and instead encouraged him to become a priest. At first, he decided to join the rebel army under Andrés de Santa Cruz as a drummer. After sustaining a severe injury, he was no longer able to serve in the army and became ordained as a priest in 1818. After the wars of independence were over, Velasco became choir



director in the Catedral de Nuestra Señora de La Paz. He was appointed Bishop of La Paz on May 19th, 1835. As a bishop, he is in charge of the clergy within his diocese. He is able to direct funds where they are needed and leads High Mass, a mass where more ceremony is required.

#### ***21. Jorge Benavente Macoaga, Archbishop of Lima***

Jorge Benavente Macoaga was born on April 21st, 1784, to Colonel Pedro Benavente and María Isabel Macoaga. He was a studious child, a trait that continued through his adult life. He studied in multiple colleges and universities in many cities in South America including Colegio Carolino in La Paz, Colegio de la Purísima Concepción in Arequipa, the University of San Antonio Abad del Cuzco, and the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos in Lima. He remained close to his professors and university leadership since he graduated. He also served as a board member of directors of the Lima Bar Association before deciding to dedicate himself to church administration. He advocated for independence and at the behest of José de San Martín, Macoaga even signed the Act of Independence of Peru on July 15th, 1821. He became Archbishop of Lima in 1835 and hopes to elevate his position. As archbishop, he oversees all the bishops under his jurisdiction and decides what spiritual matters they should promulgate to the public.

#### ***22. Ramona Sinosan y Palisa, Mother Superior of the Convent of San Francisco***

Ramona Sinosan y Palisa was born on February 10th, 1798, in La Paz, Bolivia. Her father was a royalist judge and her mother was related to Spanish nobility. However, Palisa found herself supporting independence and secretly collaborated with the rebels by smuggling food and medical supplies. In 1816, she was caught and sent to a convent in La Paz. At first, she had a difficult time adjusting to her new life at the convent, especially since the Mother Superior at the time was a staunch royalist. However, once Bolivia gained independence, Palisa began to enjoy studying philosophy and completing community service at the convent. She quickly moved up the ranks to become one of the youngest mother superiors in South America. As a mother superior, she is in charge of the nuns at the Convent of San Francisco. Since San Francisco or Saint Francis of Assisi is the patron saint of the poor, the nuns at the convent are often found assisting the poor in various ways, from providing education to medical services. Palisa organizes the nuns and assigns them

based on their skills. At the constitutional assembly, she hopes to shed light on these issues and represent the interests of the Catholic convents.

### ***23. Roberto Quispe, Representative of the Aymara People***

Roberto Quispe was born on March 18, 1775, north of La Paz to an Aymara family, but was captured at the age of six by Spanish forces leading retaliatory raids following the Aymara rebellion that nearly captured La Paz in 1780. He was held as a household servant by a Spanish army officer in La Paz, in whose household he gained a rudimentary Spanish education and an understanding of urban trade networks. Following his master's death in 1798, he left La Paz to settle in an Aymara village, adopting the surname of Quispe after the local Aymara merchant with whom he found employment. He would, in time, become a prosperous merchant in his own right, trading Aymara agricultural products and handicrafts in the cities and refined mechanical tools and medicines to the Aymara. He has been a firm proponent of the integration of the Aymara as an integral part of the Bolivian nation, aiming to maintain their cultural identity while simultaneously encouraging higher education and economic development as a means of improving their reputation. The Aymara are spread across much of northern Bolivia and southern Peru, and therefore have much to gain from the Confederation, but also look with fear at the danger of being either ignored or left behind economically in the new state, as much state-driven economic development has thus far been focused on the cities and large landholdings rather than indigenous communities.

### ***24. Q'orianka Toledo, Representative of the Quechua People***

Q'orianka Toledo was born on September 15, 1778, west of Cuzco to an influential kuraka and his wife. His early childhood was marked in many ways by the rebellion of Túpac Amaru in 1780 in which much of his family participated, and the resulting Spanish repression, which claimed the lives of many relatives and devastated the local economy. He received a Jesuit education and received a great deal of exposure to the Spanish way of life in his frequent visits to nearby towns. Following the death of his father, he succeeded him as kuraka, a position he has used to great effect over the years to cultivate both his own personal trade networks and his personal relationships with Quechua from other parts of Peru. That being said, Toledo cannot truly claim to be the representative of all of Quechua, as they are a vast people consisting of many tribes spanning from Ecuador to Bolivia, and

therefore, although he commands a great deal of influence amongst the Peruvian Quechua, he is almost unknown elsewhere. Spanish colonial rule was not kind to the Quechua, and it is Toledo's task to ensure that indigenous rights and traditional ways of life are protected under the new Confederation.

### ***25. Moisés Chota Valera, Representative of the Asháninka People***

Moisés Chota Valera was born on November 3, 1795, in the valley of the Ene River to an Asháninka chief and a mixed-race mother, and, unusually for his people, was educated by Jesuit priests, largely at his mother's behest. While he never distinguished himself particularly amongst his own people, as one of the few Asháninka with an interest in Spanish colonial society, he became one of the best known Asháninka amongst the Spanish, frequently mediating disputes between Asháninka and encroaching Spanish farmers, making him the natural choice for the Asháninka's representative in the upcoming convention. The Asháninka, unlike the majority of the indigenous peoples of Peru and Bolivia, practice subsistence agriculture and have largely resisted Christianization efforts. Their greatest concern is that a strong state in Peru might see efforts to exploit the bountiful natural resources of their traditional roaming grounds, efforts they have resisted forcefully for centuries, and look for a strong central government that can guarantee their autonomy.

### ***26. Sancho Bailaba, Representative of the Chiquitano People***

Sancho Bailaba was born on August 17, 1795, to a Chiquitano agricultural foreman running the estate of an absentee Spanish landlord outside of San Ignacio de Velasco. He received only a rudimentary education, with much of his exposure to outside ideas coming from his time in the army, with young Bailaba having joined the Spanish colonial forces at the age of 17. He fought for Spanish forces until his capture by the revolutionary armies in 1822, after which he joined up with the rebel forces, with which he served until the end of the conflict. He would in time use his earnings from his time in the army to buy up a plot of land and establish a growing Chiquitano farming community of free landholders, giving him a prominent position in this largely structureless indigenous group. The Chiquitano are a relatively new people, having only established themselves as a cohesive ethnic group with their relatively eager and rapid conversion to Christianity in the 1690s, and, under Jesuit guidance, rapidly established themselves as sedentary agricultural farmers in eastern Bolivia. The

expulsion of the Jesuits, however, left them vulnerable to the exploitation of Spanish landowners, who have coerced many of the Chiquitano into labor on their estates. The Chiquitano are therefore not looking for any sort of enforced separation or independence from the rest of Bolivia, but rather hope to see their economic and political rights recognized, such that they may become equal partners in the national project of this new Confederation.

### ***27. Juan Gualberto Valvida, Director of the National University of San Agustín***

Juan Gualberto Valvida was born on May 22, 1785, to a moderately wealthy merchant family in the city of Arequipa, although previous generations of the family had been born into relative poverty. A bright and opinionated student, he would be enrolled in the University of San Marcos in the study of law, but would clash repeatedly with his professors and fellow students, accusing them, in many cases correctly, of looking down on him for his provincial birth and newness of his family's wealth. Although he graduated with honors, he would leave Lima immediately, returning to Arequipa to tutor privately and set up his own law practice. A chance meeting with Bolivar during the latter's sojourn into Peru would help contribute to the Liberator's decision in 1825 to establish the National University of San Augustin in Arequipa, with Valvida appointed as its first rector. Although it has taken years of hard work, he has finally established the University as the preeminent institution of higher learning in southern Peru, as well as one of the centers of Liberal Ideological opposition to the Conservatives in Peru. He was one of the most prominent voices calling for Santa Cruz's liberation of Southern Peru from northern oppression, and he has entered the constitutional convention determined to create a stable and just confederation that can secure Southern Peru's position. Perhaps, the constitution will even pull power away from Lima.

### ***28. Tomás de Cantos, Rector of the University of San Marcos***

Tomás de Cantos was born on June 15, 1770, in Lima to wealthy merchant parents, who used their wealth and their son's not-inconsiderable intellectual qualities to secure him admission to the University of San Marcos and a teaching position upon his graduation. Using his connections with local elites and members of the Church, de Cantos was able to secure himself the position of rector following the flight of the previous occupant after the Spanish abandoned the city during the revolutionary wars. Like Lima itself, the University has proven a bastion of conservative forces in

Peru which dominated the country until its conquest by Santa Cruz, and has therefore thrown its full weight behind opposition to centralist arguments regarding the new constitution, instead pushing for a fully federalist model which would ensure Lima's political and economic independence. Trained in religious studies, de Cantos is also a dedicated friend of the Church, and therefore views with great suspicion the anticlerical tendencies of the Bolivians, but is above all interested in preserving the influence of his beloved university.

### ***29. Hernando Siles Salinas, Rector of the University of Saint Francis Xavier***

Hernando Siles Salinas was born on October 8, 1765, in La Paz as the third son of a moderately wealthy lawyer and his Spanish-born wife. He proved himself an able student and graduated at the top of his class at the University of Saint Francis Xavier, and, to the disapproval of his parents, opted to accept a professorship at the University rather than enter into the private legal practice. As a professor at the only university in Bolivia before 1830, he would teach many of the revolutionary generation, including many of his fellow delegates, and would be a firm voice calling for a firmly legalistic republic along the lines of the American version he had so closely studied. He, along with much of the rest of the faculty, are not terribly interested in the more aggressive designs of Santa Cruz or the economics of the new nation, but they are devoted to ensuring that the new Constitution of the Confederation be a firmly balanced one, enshrining the values of separation of powers and civilian rule. Although he has little personal power, he has the prestige and influence of the university at his full disposal.

### ***30. Josefa Sánchez de Boquete, Newspaper Editor***

Josefa Sánchez de Boquete was born on May 24th, 1790, in Lima, Peru. In 1811, her family arranged a marriage between herself and Alejandro Sánchez de Boquete to strengthen their business relationship as both families were prominent jewelers. Boquete continues to maintain her connections not only with other jewelers but other artisans as well. She was very active in the independence movement and donated money to the rebel army and other independence causes. She hosted meetings in her home where advocates could discuss recruitment tactics and create pamphlets and propaganda bulletins. Along with her daughter and niece, she edited a newsletter named *Boletines Pro Libertad*. After independence was achieved, she rebranded the newsletter into a

newspaper named *Boletines de Lima* and now publishes articles about a wide range of topics, from politics to entertainment. Andres de Santa Cruz invited Boquete in the hopes that she would write favorably about the proceedings of the assembly and gain support in Lima. Even though the newspaper is small, she hopes that having first-hand knowledge of the latest developments in the Peru-Bolivia Confederation will give her the edge over her competitors and expand her readership.

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## APPENDIX A

# Bolivia: Political Constitution of 1831, August 14, 1831

ANDRES SANTA-CRUZ, GREAT CITIZEN, RESTORER OF THE COUNTRY, AND  
PRESIDENT OF THE BOLIVIAN REPUBLIC & C.

We let all Bolivians know that the General Constituent Assembly has decreed, and we publish the following political Constitution.

## IN THE NAME OF GOD LAWGIVER OF THE UNIVERSE

The Bolivian Nation, through its Representatives legally gathered in the General Constituent Assembly, reforming the political Constitution sanctioned on November 6, 1826, decrees the following:

### Title 1

### Of the Nation

### Chapter 1

### Of the Bolivian Nation

**Article 1 .-** The Bolivian Nation is forever free and independent: it cannot be the patrimony of any person or family. The name of Bolivia is unchangeable.

**Article 2.-** Sovereignty resides essentially in the Nation; and it alone has the exclusive right to dictate, repeal and interpret its laws, in accordance with this Constitution.



## Chapter 2

### Territory

**Article 3.-** The territory of the Bolivian Nation includes the departments of Potosí, Chuquisaca, La Paz, Santa-cruz, Cochabamba and Oruro, and the Litoral and Tarija provinces.

**Article 4.-** It is divided into departments, provinces and cantons

**Article 5.-** By one law, the most convenient division will be made, and by another, its limits will be fixed, in agreement with the neighboring States.

## Title 2

### Of the Religion

#### Single Chapter

**Article 6.-** The Catholic, Apostolic, Roman Religion is that of the Republic, excluding all public worship. The Government will protect and enforce it, recognizing the principle that there is no human power over consciences.

## Title 3

### Of the Government

#### Chapter 1

## Of the form of Government

**Article 7.-** The Government of Bolivia is republican, representative popular, in the form of unity.

**Article 8.-** The Nation delegates the exercise of its sovereignty to the three high Powers, Legislative, Executive and Judicial.

**Article 9.-** Each Power shall exercise the powers indicated by this Constitution, exceeding the limits that it prescribes.

## Chapter 2

### Of the Bolivians

**Article 10.- The following** are Bolivians: 1<sup>o</sup> All those born in the territory of Bolivia; 2<sup>o</sup> The children of a Bolivian father or mother, born outside the territory, after they legally express their will to settle in Bolivia; 3<sup>o</sup> Foreigners who obtain a letter of nature, or have three years of residence in the territory of the Republic

**Article 11.-** The duties of every Bolivian are: 1<sup>o</sup> Live subject to the Constitution and the laws; 2<sup>o</sup> Respect and obey the constituted authorities; 3<sup>o</sup> Contribute to public expenses, in proportion to their assets; 4<sup>o</sup> Watch over the preservation of public liberties; 5<sup>o</sup> Sacrifice his goods, and his life itself, when the health of the Republic demands it;

## Chapter 3

### Citizens

**Article 12.- The following** are citizens of Bolivia: 1<sup>o</sup> Bolivians who are married, or over twenty-one years of age, who profess some industry, science or art, without subjection to another in the class of domestic servant; 2<sup>o</sup> Foreigners married to a Bolivian woman, who meet the qualities of the previous number; 3<sup>o</sup> Single foreigners who have lived in the Republic for four years and have the same conditions; 4<sup>o</sup> Foreigners who are at the service of the Republic, and those who fight in its defense; 5<sup>o</sup> Foreigners who obtain a citizenship card.

**Article 13.-** Only those who are practicing citizens can obtain public jobs and positions.

**Article 14 .-** The exercise of citizenship is suspended: 1 ° Due to insanity; 2 ° Due to the status of a declared fraudulent debtor; 3 ° For being criminally prosecuted for a crime that merits corporal or infamous punishment; 4 ° For being notoriously drunk, gambler or beggar.

**Article 15.-** The right of citizenship is lost: 1st By treason to the public cause; 2 ° By naturalizing in a foreign country; 3 ° For having suffered corporal or infamous punishment, by virtue of judicial condemnation; 4 ° For admitting jobs, titles or emoluments of another Government, without the consent of the Senate.

**Article 16 .-** Those included in the previous article may be rehabilitated by the House of Representatives.

## **Title 4**

### **Legislative Power**

#### **Chapter 1**

### **On the division, powers and restrictions of this Power**

**Article 17 ° .-** The Legislative Power will be issued by a Congress composed of two Chambers; one for Representatives and one for Senators.

**Article 18 .-** On August 6 of each year, Congress will meet in the capital of the Republic.

**Article 19 .-** The particular attributions of each Chamber will be detailed in its place. They are generals of the Congress: 1. Verify the appointment of President and Vice President of the Republic, in the periods indicated by the Constitution; 2. Choose the place where the Government should reside, and move to another when serious circumstances so require, and two-thirds of the members that make up the Chambers so decide; 3. Elect the Councilors of State from the list of candidates proposed by

each department; 4. To invest in time of war or of extraordinary danger, the President of the Republic, with the powers that are deemed indispensable for the salvation of the State.

**Article 20 .-** The members of the Legislative Body may be appointed President and Vice President of the Republic, Ministers or Councilors of State, and diplomatic agents, ceasing to belong to its Chamber.

**Article 21.-** No individual of the Legislative Body may be imprisoned during his deputation, except by order of his respective Chamber; Unless he is caught in the act of a crime worth capital punishment.

**Article 22 .-** The members of Congress will be inviolable for the opinions they issue in the exercise of their functions.

**Article 23.-** The sessions of the Chambers will last three months, and will open and close at the same time.

**Article 24.-** The sessions will be opened with the assistance of the Executive Power.

**Article 25 .-** The sessions will be public, and only the State business that requires reservation will be dealt with in secret.

**Article 26.-** Business in each Chamber will be resolved by the absolute majority of votes of the members present.

**Article 27.-** The Legislative Body is restricted: 1st None of the Chambers may hold its sessions, without two-thirds of the individuals that compose them being present; 2<sup>a</sup> A Chamber may not initiate a bill, relative to the branch that the Constitution commits to the other; more may invite her to take into consideration the motions that pass her; 3rd Meeting the Chambers extraordinarily, they will not be able to take care of other objects, that of those that were summoned by the Government.

**Article 28.-** No member of Congress may receive, during his deputation, and two years later, employment of the Executive Power; except those designated in article 20, and those that are stopover.

**Article 29.-** The Chambers will meet: 1st When opening and closing their sessions; 2 ° To fill the attributions designated in article 19; 3 ° To review the laws returned by the Executive; 4 ° When requested by one of the Chambers

**Article 30.-** Once the Chambers have been gathered, one of their Presidents will preside over them in turn: the meeting will be held in the Chamber of Senators, the presidency beginning with that of the latter.

# Chapter 1

## House of Representatives

**Article 31.-** The basis for forming the House of Representatives will be the population.

**Article 32.-** For the calculation of the population, exact censuses will be made in each five-year period; the last census must serve for the first legislature

**Article 33.-** The Chamber of Representatives shall be composed of the Deputies elected by the peoples in accordance with the law.

**Article 34.-** For every forty thousand souls of the population, and the fractions that reach twenty thousand, a Representative shall be elected.

**Article 35 .-** To be a Representative it is necessary: 1 ° To be a practicing citizen; 2 ° To have been born in the department, or have lived in it for five years; 3 ° Have a capital of six thousand pesos in real estate, and failing that, a profession, art or trade, that produces an income of five hundred pesos; 4 ° The age of twenty-five years of age; 5 ° Never have been condemned to corporal punishment or infamy.

**Article 36 ° .-** The House of Representatives has the initiative: 1 ° In the arrangement of the territorial division; 2 ° In the annual contributions and public expenses; 3 ° In authorizing the Executive Power to negotiate loans, and adopt arbitrations for the amortization of the public debt; 4 ° In appointing the salaries of the Majistrates, judges and employees of the Republic; 5 ° In the reforms that it deems necessary in the fields of finance and war; 6 ° In the creation and elimination of jobs; 7 ° In setting expenses, in view of the budget presented by the Executive Power, and in examining and approving the accounts of the previous year; 8 ° In making war or peace; 9 ° In alliances and all kinds of treaties; 10. In foreign business; 11. In granting the pass to foreign troops; 12. In determining for the year the armed force of sea and land; 13. In giving ordinances to the navy, army and national guard; 14. In enabling all kinds of ports; 15. In the value, type, law, weight and denomination of the coins, as in the arrangement of weights and measures; 16. In the construction of roads, highways, bridges and public buildings, in the improvement of the police force, and in all branches of industry; 17. In granting general pardons, letters of nature and citizenship; 18. In empowering those dismissed from the exercise of citizenship. letters of nature and citizenship; 18. In empowering those dismissed from the exercise of citizenship. letters of nature and citizenship; 18. In empowering those dismissed from the exercise of citizenship.

**Article 37.-** It also corresponds to the House of Representatives, to accuse before the Senators, the President and Vice President of the Republic, their Ministers, the Councilors of State, the members of both Houses, and the members of the Supreme Court of Justice, for treason, misappropriation of

public funds, infractions of the Constitution, and other crimes that deserve the death penalty, infamy, suspension, or perpetual disqualification from obtaining employment.

**Article 38 °.-** The House of Representatives will be renewed by half every two years: the first half will come out by luck; and if any fraction remains, it will come out in the second biennium.

**Article 39 .-** The Representatives may not be reelected for the same Chamber, until after a biennium of its renewal.

## Chapter 3

### Of the Chamber of Senators

**Article 40.-** The same electors who appoint the Representatives shall also elect the Senators, by means of delegates appointed in a proportion of five for each Senator.

**Article 41.-** Three Senators will be appointed for each department, one for the province of Tarija and another for the Coast.

**Article 42.-** To be a Senator it is required: 1 ° To be a citizen in exercise, and to have a ten-year residence of the Republic; 2 ° To have been born in the department, or have lived in it for five years; 3 ° To be thirty-five years old; 4 ° A capital of twelve thousand pesos in real estate, or an income of one thousand pesos, or a profession that produces it; 5 ° Not to have been condemned to corporal punishment or infamy.

**Article 43 °.-** The powers of the Senate are: 1. To form the Civil, Penal, Procedural, Mining and Commerce Codes, and ecclesiastical regulations; 2. Initiate all laws related to judicial reforms; 3. To initiate the laws, that repress the infractions of the Constitution made by the Majistrates, judges, civil, ecclesiastical and military employees; 4. Hear the complaints against the Ministers of the Supreme Court, judge them definitively, and apply responsibility to them. A special law will arrange this judgment; 5.<sup>a</sup> Initiate the laws on the exercise of the patronage, and everything else that concerns it; 6.<sup>a</sup> Examine the Conciliar decisions, bulls, briefs and Pontifical rescripts, for their retention or pass; 7.<sup>a</sup> To initiate the laws of the press, and those of studies and method of public education; 8.<sup>a</sup> Create public establishments, and promote the established; 9.<sup>a</sup> Protect freedom of the press; 10. To decree awards and public honors to those who deserve them for their services to the Republic; 11. To condemn to eternal reproach the usurpers of the supreme authority, and the distinguished criminals; 12. To grant Bolivians the admission of the jobs, titles and emoluments that another Government may grant them, when they deserve them for their services.

**Article 44.-** It is also the responsibility of the Senate to publicly judge the accused by the House of Representatives. In this case, the concurrence of two-thirds of the votes will make a judgment against the accused, for the sole purpose of separating him from employment, passing his case to the Supreme Court of justice to judge in accordance with the laws.

**Article 45.-** It also belongs to the Senate, to propose in a shortlist to the Ministers of the Supreme Court and Superiors of Justice, to the Archbishops and Bishops, and to approve the Generals of the army proposed by the Executive.

**Article 46.-** The Senate will be renewed by thirds every two years: the first and second third will come out by luck; and if there is a fraction, it will remain to be released in the second biennium.

**Article 47.-** Senators may not be reelected until two years after their renewal.

## Chapter 6

### Of the formation of Laws

**Article 48.-** The Government may present to the Chambers the bills that it deems convenient; except those that are directed to reform the Constitution.

**Article 49.-** The Ministers of State may attend the sessions to discuss the laws and other matters that are not constitutional; but they cannot be found in the voting.

**Article 50.-** Any of the Chambers may initiate a law on the businesses that this Constitution does not expressly commit to them.

**Article 51.-** Once a bill has been adopted in the Chamber that initiated it, it shall be passed on to the other, so that once it is discussed, it may be approved or discarded during the period of that session.

**Article 52.-** No bill rejected by one of the Chambers may be repeated in the session of that year.

**Article 53.-** The bills of law approved by both Chambers will be passed to the Executive.

**Article 54.-** If the Executive Power subscribes them, or does not return them objected within ten days, they will have the force of law.

**Article 55.-** If the Government believes that [Law No. is](#) convenient, it must return it with its observations to the respective Chamber, within a period of ten peremptory days.

**Article 56.-** Once both Chambers have been reunited, they will reconsider the laws returned by the Executive in accordance with the previous article, and two-thirds of the votes will make their final sanction.

**Article 57.-** The votes of both Chambers, in the case of the preceding article, will be nominal by yes, or by no; and the observations of the Executive, the names and bases of the voters will be published immediately by the press.

**Article 58.-** If the bills returned by the Executive do not obtain two-thirds of the votes, and are approved in the first renewal of both Houses, with the absolute plurality of its members present, they will have the force of law, and they will be executed without further diligence.

**Article 59.-** The bills that pass to the Government in the last ten days of the sessions of the Chambers, may be retained until the first sessions, and then they must be returned to the Executive with their observations.

**Article 60.-** The Chamber in which the law had its beginning shall send two copies to the President of the Republic, signed by its President and Secretary, with the following formula: The Chamber of. ... with the approval of the de. ... address to the Executive Power the law on. ...to be enacted.

**Article 61.-** Laws will be promulgated with this formula: N. of N. President of the Bolivian Republic - We let all Bolivians know that Congress has decreed, and We publish the following law. (here the text) We therefore send all the authorities of the Republic to comply with it and enforce it.

**Article 62.-** The Minister will have it printed, published and circulated to whom it may concern, and it will be signed by the President and the respective Minister of State.

**Article 63.-** In the decrees issued by the Legislative Body, the formula will be: Execute

## Title 5

### Executive Power



# Chapter

## 1

**Article 64.-** The Executive Power resides in the President of the State and three Ministers of the office.

## Chapter 2 The

### President

**Article 65.-** To be President of the Republic, the following qualities are required: 1. To have been born in the territory of Bolivia, and to be a practicing citizen; 2. To be thirty-five years old; 3. To have done important services to the Republic; 4. To have talents accredited for the administration of the State; 5. Never have been condemned by the courts to corporal punishment or infamously.

**Article 66 °.-** The President of the Republic will be elected by the electoral boards of the parish. If no one obtains two-thirds of the votes of the electors who vote in the meetings, the Congress, who is responsible for making the regulation, will choose the three candidates who have gathered the greatest number of votes, and from them will elect the President of the Republic.

**Article 67.-** This election will be held in permanent session, and by secret ballots. If, after the scrutiny, no one gathers two-thirds of the votes of the members attending the election, the vote will be contracted to the two candidates who have obtained the greatest number of votes; and if none have them, the votes will be repeated until they are obtained.

**Article 68.-** The first election of the President will be made by the General Assembly in permanent session, after the Constitution has been approved, and by roll call, in which the elect must gather three-quarters of the votes.

**Article 69.-** The constitutionally elected President, before taking office, shall take the following oath in the hands of the President of the Senate, once the two Chambers have met, and the first time in the hands of the President of the General Assembly: I N I swear by God our Lord and these Holy Evangelists, that I will legally carry out the office of President entrusted to me by the Nation; that I will protect the Religion of the State; I will preserve the integrity and independence of the Republic; I will observe, and will faithfully enforce the Constitution and the laws. If I do so, God help me; and if not, he will sue me, and the country before the law.

**Article 70.-** The duration of the President of the Republic will be four years; and he may be reelected, in accordance with articles 66 and 67.

**Article 71.-** The President of the Republic is the head of the State administration, responsible for his administrative acts, in accordance with this Constitution.

**Article 72 °.-** The attributions of the President of the Republic are: 1st Open the sessions of the Chambers, and present them a message on the state of the Republic; 2nd order to publish, circulate and enforce the laws; 3rd Issue the decrees and special regulations for compliance with the laws; 4 ° a Comply with and enforce the judgments of the courts of justice; 5th Return to the Chambers, within the term of ten days, with the observations that it deems appropriate, the laws that in its judgment deserve to be considered again; 6th Retain the laws that are passed in the last ten days prior to the last session of the Chambers, to present them with their observations to the immediate ones; 7th Order to promulgate the laws, which, having been observed, will be sanctioned according to articles 56 and 58; 8th Appoint and separate by himself the Ministers of the office; 9th To request the Legislative Body the extension of its ordinary sessions, up to thirty days; 10th Summon the Legislative Body for extraordinary sessions, if necessary; 11 ° To dispose of the armed forces of land and sea, for the external defense and internal security of the Republic; 12th Command the armies of the Republic; and in person when he deems it convenient, in which case the Vice President will be in charge of the supreme administration of the State; 13 ° Appoint the employees in the army up to the rank of Colonel inclusive, and propose to the Senate for the high class with the report of their services. On the battlefield he may confer the jobs of the upper class in the name of the Nation; 14 ° Grant licenses and retirements to the military, and pensions to these or their families, according to the laws; 15 ° Declare war, with prior decree of the Legislative Body; 16 ° Granting patents for marque; 17 ° Have the national guard for internal security, within the limits of their respective departments, and outside of them with the consent of the Legislative Body; 18 ° Establish military schools; 19 ° Appoint the diplomatic Ministers, Consuls and subordinates of the Department of Foreign Relations; 20 ° Direct diplomatic negotiations, and celebrate treaties of peace, friendship, federation, alliance, truces, neutrality, trade and any other; the approval of the Legislative Body must always proceed; 21 ° Celebrate agreements on the instructions given by the Congress; 22 ° Receive Ambassadors and foreign Ministers; 23 ° Exercise the general patronage with respect to the churches, benefits and ecclesiastical persons, in accordance with the laws; 24 ° To present to the Archbishops and Bishops, choosing one of the shortlist that the Senate will pass to him; 25 ° Elect one of the ecclesiastics proposed by the Council of State, for the dignities, canonges and perks; 26 ° Grant the pass or suspend the Council decisions, bulls, briefs and Pontifical rescripts, with the consent of the Senate; 27 ° Provide all the jobs of the Republic, which are not reserved by this Constitution to another Power; 28 ° Elect the Ministers of the Supreme Court and Superiors of justice, from the list that the Senate will pass; 29 ° Declare the retirement of employees, according to the laws; 30 ° Take care of the collection and investment of public funds, in accordance with the laws; 31 ° To request from the heads of all branches and departments of the administration, the reports it deems appropriate; 32 ° To suspend for up to three months the employees of the Republic, for carelessness, omission, or poor performance of their duties, in a kind of correctional punishment. If the crime requires formation of cause, for the dismissal or other effects, it will pass it to the knowledge of the competent court; 33. Confirm the sentences pronounced by the councils of war, in accordance with the military laws; 34. To commute to the defendants the capital penalties to which they are condemned by the courts in an exile of ten years; 35. All police objects and public establishments, whatever they may be, are under the supreme inspection of the President, according to the laws and ordinances that govern them; 36. Issue the letters of nature and citizenship, decreed by the House of Representatives; 37. To issue, in the name of the Republic, the titles and appointments to the Majistrates, judges and employees; 38.

Dissolve the Constitutional Chambers, with the affirmative opinion of the Council of State, and the Supreme Court together, when they manifest and undoubtedly go beyond the limits prescribed by this Constitution.

**Article 73.-** Once the Chambers have been dissolved, in accordance with the foregoing attribution, the President shall summon others for the following constitutional period. Members of the dissolved Chambers may be reelected in this period.

**Article 74.** The following are restrictions of the President of the Republic: 1. The President may not deprive any Bolivian of his liberty, nor impose any penalty on him, except correctional to the employees. ; 2. When the security of the Republic requires the arrest of one or more individuals, they may not be detained for more than forty-eight hours, without placing the accused at the disposal of the competent court or judge; 3rd. He may not deprive any man of his property, except in the case that the public interest urgently requires it, and then a just compensation must precede the owner; 4th It may not impede the elections, nor the other attributions that by the laws compete to the other Powers of the Republic; 5th When the President leaves the place where the government resides, he may not do so without taking with him, at least, one of the Secretaries of the office,

**Article 75.-** All these restrictions will not take place in cases of sudden invasion or internal commotions. In such events, he will use extraordinary powers, with the affirmative opinion of the Council of State.

**Article 76.-** He may not be absent from the territory of the Republic, without permission from the Legislative Body, during the period of his administration, not one year later.

**Article 77.-** The accusations to which according to the Constitution the President is subject, cannot be made except during the exercise of his functions, or a year later, after which no one will be able to accuse him.

**Article 78.-** If by a revolution, or a military mutiny, the President of the Republic is deposed, he will be judged according to the Constitution and the laws; and the Chambers will not be able to elect another, without that one being constitutionally dismissed.

## Chapter 3

### Vice President

**Article 79.-** There will be a Vice President of the Republic, elected in the same way as the President.

**Article 80.-** In cases of death, physical or moral impossibility, or suspension of the President, the Vice President shall carry out his office.

**Article 81 °.-** To be Vice President, the same qualifications as for President are required.

**Article 82 °.-** The Vice President of the Republic may be in charge of any of the Ministries of the office, in the opinion of the President.

**Article 83 °.-** The Vice President is responsible before the law, for the acts of his administration as Head of State, or as Minister Secretary.

**Article 84 .-** You may not be absent from the territory of the Republic and the capital, without the permission of the President, after the opinion of the Council of State.

## Chapter 4

### Of the Ministers of State

**Article 85.-** There will be three Ministers of State for the dispatch: one will be in charge of the departments of the Interior and Foreign Relations, the other that of Finance, and the third that of War.

**Article 86.-** The three Ministers will dispatch under the immediate orders of the President.

**Article 87.-** No court or public person shall comply with the orders of the President, which are not signed by himself, and signed by the Minister of the office in the respective department.

**Article 88 °.-** The Ministers of the office will be responsible for the orders that authorize against the Constitution, laws, decrees, and public treaties. A special law will fix the responsibility of the President, Vice President, Ministers and Councilors of State.

**Article 89.-** The Ministers of State shall form and present to the respective Chambers the annual budgets of the expenses to be made in their respective branches; and they will render an account of those that had been done in the previous year.

**Article 90 °.-** In the absence of the President and Vice President of the Republic, the three Ministers of State shall be in charge of the administration, and the Minister of the Interior and Foreign Relations shall preside.

**Article 91.-** In such a case, and within ten days, the Council of Ministers will convene the Legislative Body extraordinarily; Unless the absence of the President and Vice President comes from both being in the campaign.

**Article 92 .-** To be a Minister of State, the same qualifications are required as for a Senator.

## **Title 6**

### **Council of State**

#### **Single Chapter**

**Article 93.-** There shall be a Council of State composed of seven individuals, appointed by Congress with an absolute plurality of votes, in accordance with the 3rd attribution of Article 19.

**Article 94 .-** For each department there will be a State Councilor, and another for the Litoral de Tarija provinces.

**Article 95.-** The same electors who appoint the Representatives and Senators, will pass to the Constitutional Congress a list of candidates, which does not exceed ten individuals, nor less than five.

**Article 96.-** The President and Vice-President of the Republic, who have finished their constitutional mandate, shall be ex officio Councilors of State, to more than the seven individuals of Article 93.

**Article 97 ° .-** To be a Councilor of State the same qualifications are needed as for a Senator.

**Article 98 ° .-** The powers of the Council of State are: 1. To give precisely its opinions to the Executive Power, on all matters that will be passed to it in consultation; 2. To summon the Legislative Chambers in the period established by the Constitution and the laws, if the Executive Power does not do so; and also the electoral boards in the cases of the law; 3. To watch over the observance of the Constitution, and to inform the Legislative Body on the infractions of it; 4. Make proposals to the government for dignities, canopies and perks.

**Article 99 ° .-** The President of the Republic will hear the opinion of the Council on serious matters, being completely free to make the appropriate resolutions.

**Article 100.-** The Councilors of State are responsible, not only for the opinions they render to the Executive Power, but also for all the acts of their peculiar attribution.

**Article 101 .-** The Councilors of State may not be suspended from their destiny, except in the way that the Deputies can be.

**Article 102 ° .-** In the absence of the President, Vice President and Council of Ministers, the President of the Council of State will be in charge of the administration of the Republic; in which case he will convene the Legislative Body extraordinarily, within a term of ten days, for the cases of the law.

**Article 103 .-** The members of the Council of State will last for four years, and may not be reelected until after another four years. A special law will fix the exercise of the powers of this body.

## **Title 7**

### **Of the Judicial Power**

#### **Chapter 1**

#### **Of the attributions of this Power**

**Article 104 ° .-** The power to judge belongs exclusively to the courts established by law.

**Article 105 ° .-** The Majistrates and judges may not be suspended from their jobs, except in the cases determined by organic laws.

**Article 106 ° .-** Any failure of the Majistrates and judges in the performance of their positions, produces popular action, which can be tried within a year, by the House of Representatives, or immediately by any Bolivian, according to the laws .

**Article 107 ° .-** The Majistrates and judges are personally responsible. A special law will determine the way to enforce this responsibility.

**Article 108.-** The Government and the courts may not, in any case, alter or dispense with the procedures and formulas that the laws prescribe in the various kinds of trials.

**Article 109 °.-** No Bolivian may be tried in civil and criminal cases, except by the court previously designated by law.

**Article 110 °.-** Justice will be administered on behalf of the Nation; and the executives and provisions of the superior courts, will be headed in the same way.

## Chapter 2

### Of the Supreme Court

**Article 111.-** The first judicial magistrature of the Republic will reside in the Supreme Court of justice. This will be made up of a President, six Members and a Prosecutor, divided into the appropriate rooms.

**Article 112 °.-** To be an individual of the Supreme Court of Justice it is required: 1. To be a practicing citizen; 2. The age of thirty-five years; 3. To have been an individual of any of the Judicial District Courts; 4. Not to have been condemned to corporal punishment or infamous.

**Article 113.** The powers of the Supreme Court of Justice are: 1. To hear the criminal cases of the President and Vice President of the Republic, the Ministers and Councilors of State, and the members of the Chambers, when the Legislative Body decrees it; 2. To hear the civil cases of the President and Vice President of the Republic, when they are sued; 3. To know of the causes that result from the contracts or negotiations of the Executive Power; 4. To know all the contentious causes of the national patronage; 5. To know the contentious causes of the Plenipotentiary Ministers, Consuls and all kinds of diplomatic Ajentes; 6. To know of the criminal cases of all kinds of diplomatic Ajentes of the Republic; 7. To know of the causes of separation of the Judicial District Magistrates, and Departmental Prefects; 8. <sup>a</sup> Settling the powers of the district courts among themselves, and those of these with the other authorities; 9. To know in all kinds of third instances of the common jurisdiction; 10. Hear the doubts of the other courts about the intelligence of any law, and consult the Executive to promote the appropriate declaration of the Chambers; 11. To hear the appeals for annulment, which are filed against the sentences given in the last instance by the District Courts, or ecclesiastical courts by force; 12. Examine the status and progress of civil and criminal cases pending in the district courts and ecclesiastical courts, by the means established by law. Hear the doubts of the other courts about the intelligence of any law, and consult the Executive to promote the appropriate declaration of the Chambers; 11. To hear the appeals for annulment, which are filed against the sentences given in the last instance by the District Courts, or ecclesiastical courts by force; 12. Examine the status and progress of civil and criminal cases pending in the district courts and ecclesiastical courts, by the means established by law. Hear the doubts of the other courts about the intelligence of any law, and

consult the Executive to promote the appropriate declaration of the Chambers; 11. To hear the appeals for annulment, which are filed against the sentences given in the last instance by the District Courts, or ecclesiastical courts by force; 12. Examine the status and progress of civil and criminal cases pending in the district courts and ecclesiastical courts, by the means established by law.

## Chapter 3

### Of the Judicial District Courts

**Article 114 °.-** Judicial district courts will be established in those departments that the Legislative Body deems convenient.

**Article 115 °.-** To be a member of these Courts it is required: 1. To be a practicing citizen; 2. Being thirty years of age; 3. Not to have been condemned to corporal or infamous punishment; 4. To have been a rapporteur, prosecutor, judge of letters, army auditor, or lawyer rector, all with four-year service; or lawyer who has practiced his profession with credit, for eight years.

**Article 116 °.-** The powers of the Judicial District Courts are: 1. To hear in second instance all civil and criminal cases, in accordance with the laws; 2<sup>a</sup> To know of the competences between all the junior judges of his judicial district; 3<sup>rd</sup> To know of the resources of force, that are introduced of the courts and ecclesiastical authorities of its territory; 4<sup>th</sup> Hearing of the appeals for annulment of the judgments of the judges of first instance, which cause enforcement; 5<sup>th</sup> Know the causes of separation of judges and employees designated by law.

## Chapter 4

### Of the Judicial Parties

**Article 117 °.-** Proportionally equal judicial parties will be established in the provinces; and in each party capital there will be a Judge of letters, with the court that the laws determine

**Article 118.-** The powers of the Judges of letters are reduced to contentious matters, and they can hear without appeal up to the amount of two hundred pesos



**Article 119 °.-** To be a Judge of letters it is required: 1. To be a practicing citizen; 2. To have the age of twenty-five years; 3. To be a lawyer received in any of the Courts of the Republic; 4. To have practiced the profession with credit, for four years completed; 5. Not having been sentenced to corporal or infamous punishment.

## Chapter 5

### On the Administration of Justice

**Article 120.-** There will be justices of the peace in the capitals and cantons of the Republic, for conciliations and verbal trials.

**Article 121 .-** The Justices of the Peace will be appointed by the Prefects of the departments, from those proposed in short by the respective judges of letters.

**Article 122 °.-** The fate of the Justice of the Peace in council; and no citizen, without just cause, may exempt himself from performing it.

**Article 123 °.-** The justices of the peace will be renewed each year; and they will not be able to be reelected, but after two.

**Article 124 .-** There are not known in the trials more than three instances. The appeal of notorious injustice is hereby abolished.

**Article 125 °.-** No Bolivian can be imprisoned, without prior information on the fact and a written order from the competent judge.

**Article 126 °.-** Continuous act, if possible, you must give your statement without oath, which in no case may be deferred for more time than forty-eight hours.

**Article 127 °.-** In fraganti, any criminal may be arrested by any person, and brought before the judge.

**Article 128.-** In criminal cases, the trial will be public, from the moment the confession is taken from the defendant.

**Article 129 °.-** No torture shall ever be used, nor shall a confession be required by pressure.

**Article 130 ° .-** The prisons should only serve for the security of the inmates. Any measure, which under the pretext of precaution, leads to mortify them beyond what it requires, is an attack against individual security, which will be punished according to the laws.

**Article 131 ° .-** All confiscation of property, and all cruel punishment and transcendental infamy are abolished.

**Article 132.-** If in extraordinary circumstances, the security of the Republic requires the suspension of any of the formalities prescribed by this Constitution and the laws, the Chambers may decree it. If these are not in session, the Executive, with the affirmative opinion of the Council of State, may perform this function as a provisional measure, in charge of giving an account to the Chambers, and of answering for the abuses that it may have committed.

## **Title 8**

### **Of the Internal Regime**

#### **Single Chapter**

**Article 133 ° .-** The superior government of each department will reside in a Prefect; that of each province in a Governor and that of the cantons in a Corregidor.

**Article 134 ° .-** In the campaign there will be Mayors.

**Article 135 ° .-** To be a Prefect or Governor it is required: 1 ° To be a practicing citizen; 2 ° To have the age of thirty years; 3 ° Not to have been condemned to corporal punishment or infamous.

**Article 136.-** The Prefects and Governors will last in the performance of their functions, for a term of four years; but they may be reelected.

**Article 137 ° .-** The destinies of Corregidor and Mayor are a service to the Homeland; and no citizen, without just cause, may exempt himself from performing them.

**Article 138 ° .-** The Corregidores and Mayors will last in their destinies, as long as their good services last, in the opinion of the Prefects and Governors.

**Article 139 °.-** The attributions of the Prefects, Governors, Correjidors and Mayors, will be determined by a law.

**Article 140 °.-** It is forbidden to the Prefects, Governors and Correjidors all judicial knowledge; but if the public tranquility requires the apprehension of an individual, and the circumstances do not allow it to be brought to the notice of the respective judge, they may, of course, order it, reporting to the competent court within forty-eight hours. Any excess that these employees commit, against individual security, or that of the home, produces popular action.

## **Title 9**

### **Of the Force**

#### **Single Chapter**

**Article 141 °.-** There will be a permanent armed force in the Republic, which will be made up of the army of the line and a squad.

**Article 142 °.-** There will also be a National Guard, and a Military Guard, whose arrangement and duties will be designated by law.

**Article 143.-** The armed forces are essentially obedient; in no case can he deliberate.

## **Title 10**

### **Of the Reform of the Constitution**

#### **Single Chapter**

**Article 144 ° .-** If it is noticed that one or more articles of this Constitution deserve reform, the proposal will be made in writing, signed at least, by half of the present members of any of the Chambers.

**Article 145 ° .-** The proposition will be read three times, with an interval of six days from one reading to the other; and after the third, the Chamber will deliberate whether or not the proposal may be admitted to discussion.

**Article 146 ° .-** Admitted to discussion by two-thirds of the votes, and once the Chamber is convinced of the need to reform the Constitution, it will observe the provisions for the formation of other laws. In this case, the Chambers will meet in accordance with article 29 attribution 4, to indicate the bases on which the reform was imposed; for which two-thirds of the votes of both Chambers will be necessary.

**Article 147 ° .-** In the first sessions of the Legislature in which there is renewal, the matter will be proposed and discussed; and whatever the assembled Chambers resolve, will be fulfilled.

**Article 148.-** Before this resolution, the Chambers of the State Council and the Executive Power will consult on the convenience and necessity of the reform.

## Final Title

## of the Guarantees

## Single Chapter

**Article 149 ° .-** The Constitution guarantees all Bolivians their civil liberty, their individual security, their property and their equality before the law, whether it rewards or punishes.

**Article 150 ° .-** Everyone can communicate their thoughts orally or in writing, and publish them through the press, without prior censorship, under the responsibility that the laws determine.

**Article 151 ° .-** Every Bolivian may remain or leave the territory of the Republic, as it suits him, taking his property with him; but keeping the police regulations, and always except the right of a third party.

**Article 152.-** Every Bolivian house is an inviolable asylum: its search will be in the cases and in the manner determined by the law.

**Article 153 °.-** All hereditary jobs and privileges are abolished, and all properties are alienable, even if they belong to pious works, to religions or other objects.

**Article 154 °.-** No gender of work or industry may be prohibited, unless it is opposed to public customs, safety and health.

**Article 155 °.-** Every inventor will have ownership of their discoveries and their productions. The law will assure you a temporary exclusive privilege, or compensation for the loss you may have, if published.

**Article 156 °.-** No one has been born a slave in Bolivia since August 6, 1825. The introduction of slaves into its territory is prohibited.

**Article 157 °.-** No Bolivian is obliged to do what the law does not mandate, or is prevented from doing what it does not prohibit.

**Article 158.-** Private actions, which in no way offend the public order established by the laws, nor harm a third party, are reserved only to God, and exempt from all authority.

**Article 159 °.-** All the inhabitants of the Republic have the right to raise their complaints, and be heard by all authorities.

**Article 160.-** The secrecy of the letters is inviolable: the employees of the postal rental will be responsible for the violation of this guarantee, outside the cases prescribed by law.

**Article 161.-** Arbitrary requisitions and unjust seizure of the papers and correspondence of any Bolivian are prohibited. The law shall determine in which cases, and with what justification they may proceed to occupy them.

**Article 162 °.-** No man, or gathering of individuals, can make petitions in the name of the people, without their authorization, let alone assume the title of sovereign People. Violation of this article is a crime of sedition.

**Article 163.-** The constitutional Powers may not suspend the Constitution, and the rights that correspond to Bolivians, except in the cases and circumstances expressed in the Constitution itself, indicating the term that the suspension should last.

**Article 164 °.-** All laws and decrees that are in opposition to it are repealed by this Constitution.

**Article 165 °.-** Anyone who attempts by de facto against this Constitution, or against the Head of the administration of the Republic, is a traitor, infamous and civilly dead.

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Given in the Chamber of Sessions in La Paz de Ayacucho on August 14, 1831.-

Casimiro Olañeta, Deputy for Chuquisaca, PRESIDENT - Francisco María de Pinero, Deputy for Peace, VICE-PRESIDENT - Fermín Eisaguirre, Deputy for Peace - Manuel María Urcullo, Deputy for Chuquisaca - José Ignacio de Sanjines, Deputy for Potosí - Gavino Ibañes, Deputy for Tarija - Melchor Mendizabal, Deputy for Oruro - Marcos de Campos, Deputy for Peace - Mariano Teran, Deputy for Potosí - Mariano Méndez, Deputy for Cochabamba - José María Dalence, Deputy for Oruro - Manuel Ilario Irigoyen, Deputy for Cochabamba - José Agustín de la Tapia, Deputy for Peace - Mariano Calvimontes, Deputy for Chuquisaca - Francisco María Gonzales, Deputy for Potosí - Jose María García Manzaneda, Deputy for Peace - José María de Aguirre, Deputy for Tarija - Miguel Loaiza, Deputy for the Peace - José Villafán, Deputy for Oruro - Manuel Obispo Electo, Deputy for Chuquisaca - Manuel Martín, Deputy for Potosí - José Andres Salvatierra, Deputy for Santa Cruz - Andrés María Torrico, Deputy for Cochabamba - Tomás Frías, Deputy for Potosí - José Ballivián, Deputy for Peace - Miguel del Carpio, Deputy for Potosí - Martín Cardon, Deputy for Peace - Miguel María Aguirre, Deputy for Cochabamba - Rafael Monje, Deputy for Peace - José Garrón, Deputy for Potosí - Justo Pastor Ibañes, Deputy for Peace - José Manuel Loza, Deputy for the Peace of Ayacucho, SECRETARY - Manuel de la Cruz Méndez, Deputy for Cochabamba, SECRETARY. Deputy for Potosí - José Ballivián, Deputy for Peace - Miguel del Carpio, Deputy for Potosí - Martín Cardon, Deputy for Peace - Miguel María Aguirre, Deputy for Cochabamba - Rafael Monje, Deputy for Peace - José Garrón, Deputy for Potosí - Justo Pastor Ibañes, Deputy for Peace - José Manuel Loza, Deputy for Peace of Ayacucho, SECRETARY - Manuel de la Cruz Méndez, Deputy for Cochabamba, SECRETARY. Deputy for Potosí - José Ballivián, Deputy for Peace - Miguel del Carpio, Deputy for Potosí - Martín Cardon, Deputy for Peace - Miguel María Aguirre, Deputy for Cochabamba - Rafael Monje, Deputy for Peace - José Garrón, Deputy for Potosí - Justo Pastor Ibañes, Deputy for Peace - José Manuel Loza, Deputy for Peace of Ayacucho, SECRETARY - Manuel de la Cruz Méndez, Deputy for Cochabamba, SECRETARY.

We therefore send all the authorities of the Republic to comply with it and enforce it.-

Government Palace in La Paz de Ayacucho on August 14, 1831.-

ANDRÉS SANTA-CRUZ.- The VICE-PRESIDENT IN CHARGE OF THE MINISTRY OF WAR, José Miguel de Velasco.- The MINISTER OF INTERIOR AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Mariano Enrique Calvo.- The MINISTER OF FINANCE, José María de Lara.

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